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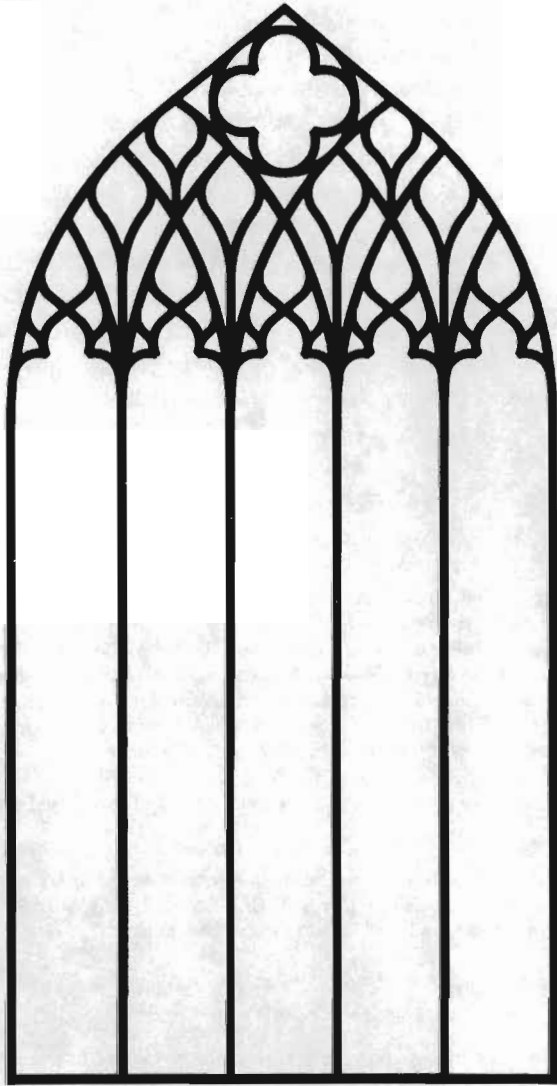


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Correction: In Kahlile Mehr's "An LDS International Trio, 1974-97" (Fall 1999), two events related to missionary work in Africa that happened at the same time were inadvertently given different dates. Rendell and Rachel Mabey learned that Edwin and Janath Cannon had received mission calls on 3 October (not 30 October) (p. 109), and the farewell meeting in the conference room of the First Presidency occurred on 3 October 1978 (not 1998) (p. 110). Also, *Spencer W. Kimball* by Edward L. Kimball and Andrew E. Kimball Jr. was published in 1977, not 1978 (note 1).

COVER: Abstraction of the window tracery, Salt Lake City Tenth Ward. Design by Warren Archer.

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The *Journal of Mormon History* exists to foster scholarly research and publication in the field of Mormon history. Manuscripts dealing with all aspects of Mormon history are welcome, including twentieth-century history, regional and local history, women's history, and ethnic/minorities history. First consideration will be given to those which make a strong contribution to knowledge through new interpretations and/or new information. The Board of Editors will also consider the paper's general interest, accuracy, level of interpretation, and literary quality. The *Journal* does not consider reprints or simultaneous submissions.

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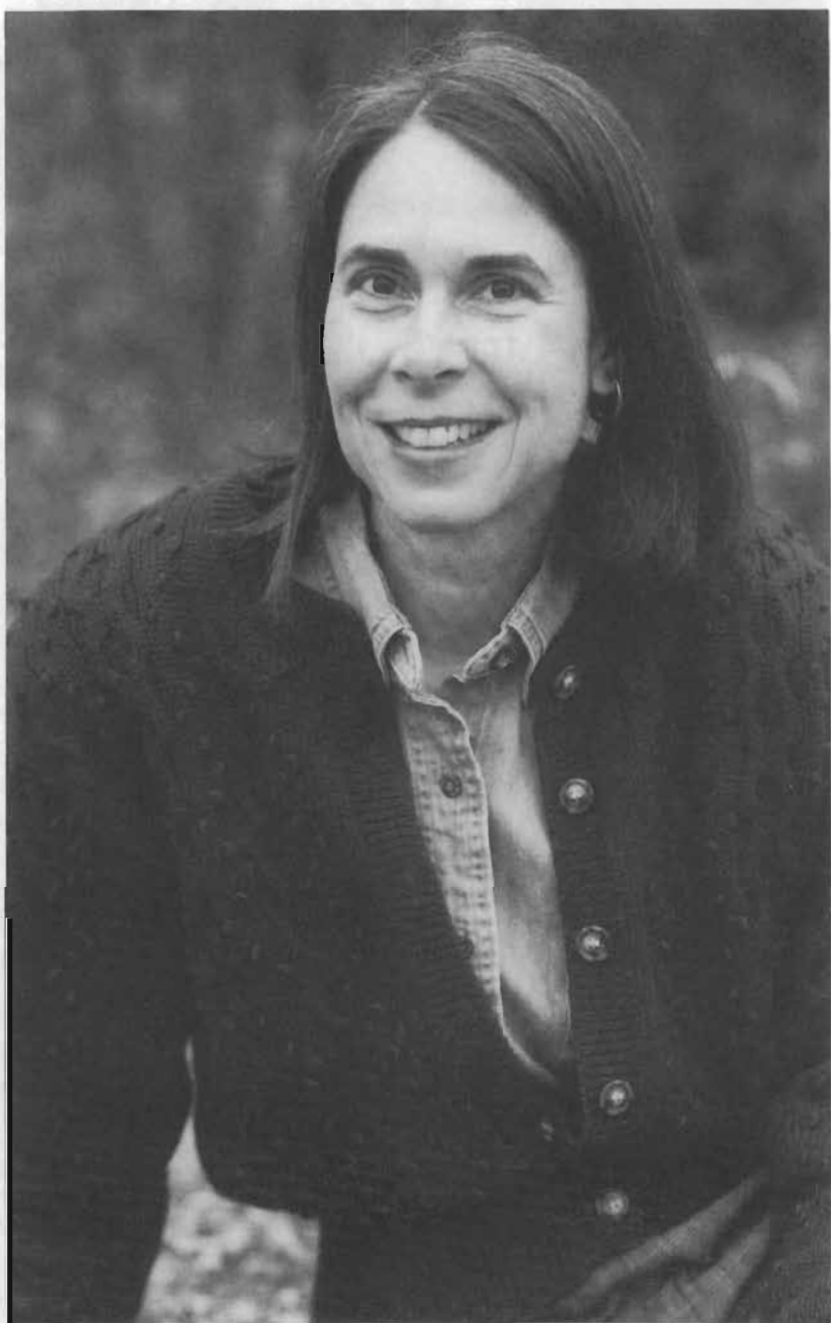
FORM AND FEELING IN A CAREFULLY CRAFTED LIFE: ELIZA R. SNOW'S “POEM OF POEMS”

Jill Mulway Derr

ON 7 DECEMBER 1887, the body of Eliza R. Snow was conveyed in a casket of native pine from the Lion House to the Assembly Hall on Temple Square in Salt Lake City. “The organ and speakers’ stands were draped in white” and graced with “long sprays of green vines,” the casket surrounded with floral wreaths, crosses, anchors, and crowns. The hall was filled to capacity with Eliza’s family and friends, her brothers and sisters in the gospel of Jesus Christ. None of them, perhaps, shed tears. Eighty-three-year-old Eliza had requested “that no one should exhibit sorrow or emotion at her departure.” Between the singing of two of her hymns, “O My Father” and “Bury Me Quietly When I Die,” eight men praised Zion’s legendary poetess, prophetess, priestess, and presidentess, several of them honoring this childless woman as “mother,” even as “the Mother of this people.”¹ Following the

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Acknowledgements: I express appreciation to Wendy Parker and



Jill Mulvay Derr. Photo by Mark Walter Smith

services, her remains were interred in the private cemetery of her late husband Brigham Young. Carved into the large white stone tablet later laid to cover her grave were leaves of oak and ivy and the name “Eliza R. Snow Smith,” a final and lasting witness of her marriage to the Prophet Joseph.

One of the speakers at her funeral—Scotsman, editor, and poet John Nicholson—extolled her uncommonly bright intellect, her strict morality, and her sympathy, concluding: “As she was a poet of great excellence, the greatest production in this respect that she has given to the world has been her life, which has been a poem from its commencement to its close.”² As a biographer, I have found it intriguing to think about Eliza R. Snow’s life as a poem.³ If I assume

Anissa Olson, research assistants, for transcribing and organizing minutes containing Eliza R. Snow’s addresses to dozens of local women’s meetings. I am indebted to Maureen Ursenbach Beecher, not only for her scholarship, but also for her friendship, mentoring, and collaboration over the years. Upon Maureen’s retirement from Brigham Young University in 1997, she graciously bequeathed to me her voluminous files on Eliza Snow.

¹*The Life and Labors of Eliza R. Snow Smith with a Full Account of Her Funeral Services* (Salt Lake City: Juvenile Instructor Office, 1888), 24, 33.

²*Ibid.*, 29.

³For more than a century, Eliza R. Snow has been the subject of biographical articles in LDS Church publications, most of them drawn largely from the life sketch she originally prepared for Edward W. Tullidge’s *The Women of Mormondom* (New York: n.pub., 1877) and revised for historian Hubert Howe Bancroft in the early 1880s (holograph, Bancroft Library, Berkeley, California). Snow’s first serious biographer was her nephew LeRoi C. Snow who located her earliest published poems and serially published her trail diaries, 1846-49 (holographs, Huntington Library, San Marino, California) with some deletions in the *Improvement Era* 46-47 (March 1943-February 1944). The same diaries along with Snow’s life sketch, selected reminiscences and poems, and “Story of Jesus” were published in *Eliza R. Snow, An Immortal: Selected Writings of Eliza R. Snow* (Salt Lake City: Nicholas G. Morgan Sr. Foundation, 1957), a significant attempt at making Snow’s writings more widely available. The most important corpus of scholarly work on Snow has been Maureen Ursenbach Beecher’s. Other scholars, including John E. Hallwas, Todd Compton, and I have published studies on aspects of Snow’s life, but the volume and detail of Beecher’s work distinguish it as foundational. Eight of Beecher’s fifteen articles on Snow were collected in *Eliza and Her Sisters* (Salt Lake City: Aspen

that she consciously crafted her life, I can explore the forms or structures she chose as a means of expression. I can probe the truth she perceived and desired to articulate, the feelings she attempted to communicate. I can study the responses of those who encountered her. I can acknowledge that the text which was her life might lend itself to any number of different readings. At frequent points, however, I will meet questions I cannot answer, patterns I cannot discern, shaping effected by a mind and hand other than her own. Recognizing that her life was indeed a work of art, I must concede at the outset that it takes an artist, a Creator with infinitely greater skill than myself to understand and assess Eliza's masterpiece.

Eliza Roxcy Snow was twenty-two years old when she published her first poem, "Missolonghi," in the 22 July 1826 issue of the *Ravenna, Ohio, Western Courier*. Appearing over the pen name "Narcissa," the thirty-four lines of blank verse were extraordinarily self-revealing. The struggle of the Greeks to free themselves from four hundred years of domination under the Ottoman Empire captured the attention of the American press in the 1820s. Missolonghi, strategically located on Greece's west coast, was the site of a heroic but unsuccessful attempt in 1825-26 to withstand the last of many Turkish sieges of the city.⁴ Through the columns of the *Western Courier*, Eliza, according to her own account, had "watched with deep interest the events of the war." After a small band of Greek defenders cut their way through enemy lines and escaped, the Turks entered Missolonghi where the remaining Greek citizens exploded a powder magazine, killing themselves and their invaders. Following news of "the terrible destruction, by the Turks, of Missolonghi," Eliza submitted her poem to the *Courier*.⁵

Books, 1991). Beecher's edition of essential Snow documents, *The Personal Writings of Eliza Roxcy Snow* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1995), includes Snow's "Sketch of My Life," Snow's Nauvoo Journal, 1842-44 (holograph, Historical Department Archives of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City; hereafter LDS Church Archives), and her trail diaries. Edited and annotated with great scholarly care, it has become indispensable to anyone studying Snow.

⁴Lord Byron died at Missolonghi in 1824, four months after he arrived there to support the Greek cause.

⁵Beecher, *Personal Writings*, 7-8; Narcissa [pseud.], "Missolonghi," *Western Courier* (Ravenna, Ohio), 22 July 1826, next published in LeRoi C.

"Arise my infant muse, awake thy lyre," she begins, calling upon American women to "lament / How bled the matron and the maid of Greece." In Eliza's poem, the "Grecian daughter" rushes to the battlefield with "healing balm" to "save a husband, brother, or a sire." The carnage she sees there "Wakes her resentment on the cruel foe," and "she seeks revenge." Entering the battle herself, "Fearless of death, regardless of her fate," she ultimately dies for her country.

"That 'men are born poets' is a common adage," Eliza would reflect half a century after she wrote "Missolonghi." By then, she had written hundreds of poems, but she laid no claim to being born a poet. "I," she declared, "was born a patriot."⁶ She shared with other Americans of her generation an immense pride in the infant nation and its unique republican government. Both her grandfathers fought in the American Revolutionary War; and as a child, she listened to their narratives "with beating pulse and with fond emotion."⁷ She was eight when troops mustered for the War of 1812. In her youth she imbibed the rhetoric of liberty she would employ throughout her life.

Eliza's parents, Oliver Snow and Rosetta Pettibone Snow, moved from Becket, Massachusetts, to the Ohio frontier when she was two. For the Snows, as for many other Americans, the frontier was a place to experience personal liberty coupled with hardship. Oliver and Rosetta struggled to clear their land at Mantua in Portage County, and their children later listened to their recital of "the privations they endured in that new and heavily timbered country."⁸ In their own way, it would seem, the Snows lived out what American historian Harry L. Watson called "a recurrent national dream of heroic experience and frontier valor."⁹ According to Eliza, Oliver and Rosetta's four daughters and three sons "were strictly disciplined to habits of temperance, honesty, and industry" and educated "without preference to either sex." Further, the "daughters were

Snow, "Recently Discovered Poems of Eliza R. Snow," *Week-Day Religious Education* 1 (March 1937): 6-7.

⁶Beecher, *Personal Writings*, 8.

⁷Ibid.

⁸Eliza R. Snow Smith, *Biography and Family Record of Lorenzo Snow* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1884), 2.

⁹Harry L. Watson, *Liberty and Power: The Politics of Jacksonian America* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1990), 18.

early trained to the kitchen and housekeeping,” particularly needlework, Rosetta insisting that “useful knowledge was the most reliable basis of independence.”¹⁰

Concepts of liberty and independence suffused Eliza’s Ohio childhood. But the Missolonghi poem reveals something more of her feelings. Who is the Grecian daughter rushing into the Missolonghi battle to die for a noble cause?¹¹ Who desires to “bear her tender frame” and her femaleness “swift to the field”? It is Eliza herself—a patriot, yearning to enlist as soldier, crusader, warrior.

In what battle would this young woman engage? Eliza celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of the Declaration of Independence by publishing a poem memorializing the deaths of John Adams and Thomas Jefferson on 4 July 1826.¹² The revolution launched by their declaration was long over, but the “eternal warfare between liberty and power, virtue and corruption”¹³ raged on. Like many of her compatriots, young Eliza believed that the new American nation would regenerate a corrupted world, hasten the final triumph of truth and justice, and usher in the millennial dawn.¹⁴ She saw the

¹⁰Beecher, *Personal Writings*, 6.

¹¹William Cullen Bryant’s poem, “Song of the Greek Amazon,” published in 1824, similarly evoked the image of the young woman warrior: “I buckle to my slender side / The pistol and the scimitar / And in my maiden flower and pride / Am come to share the task of war.” The poem, published in the *United States Literary Gazette*, 1 December 1824, may have met Snow’s eyes if it was reprinted in other papers. *The Poetical Works of William Cullen Bryant*, edited by Parke Godwin, 2 vols. (1883; reprinted., New York: Atheneum House, 1967), 1:116.

¹²Narcissa [pseud.], “Adams and Jefferson,” *Western Courier* (Ravenna, Ohio), 27 July 1826. It was next published in LeRoi C. Snow, “Historian Finds Early Eliza R. Snow Poems,” *Deseret News*, 29 August 1936, in connection with a long article in which LeRoi Snow describes Frederick G. Waite’s successful search at Western Reserve University in Cleveland, Ohio, for his aunt’s early poems.

¹³Watson, *Liberty and Power*, 47.

¹⁴Richard T. Hughes and C. Leonard Allen, *Illusions of Innocence: Protestant Primitivism in America, 1630-1875* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), 20, observe that “the quest for the millennium during the revolutionary period and thereafter . . . was often a quest for the primordium” or “life that had characterized the first man and the first

world in terms of a cosmic conflict. And she would find a way to move onto the field and battle for truth and right.

Eliza's publication of "Missolonghi" and other poems in her early twenties, signaled her decision to use poetry as a form, a means to convey her feelings and ideas, and make her voice heard in the public sphere. Although not unheard of, such a decision was unusual for young women in the 1820s, for whom home and family were considered the appropriate and natural sphere. Oliver Snow—farmer, two-term county commissioner, and longtime justice of the peace—relied upon his daughter as his secretary in conducting his civic affairs. Intelligent Eliza was perhaps emboldened by this work, which allowed her some access to the public life that ordinarily excluded women. In addition to working for her father, Eliza also assumed the occupations of seamstress and schoolteacher. But her vocation—her calling—was poet.

Poetry was not a commercial venture for her. It would be another two decades before an American poet could earn a living by writing. Eliza wished, she said, "to be useful as a writer."¹⁵ The seventeenth- and eighteenth-century poets she read and imitated showed her that the poet spoke to the public, often assuming a prophetic role. Though she was far removed from New England's Federalist literati, many of her early poems were written in a similar mode, one in which, literary historian Lawrence Buell explains, "The Neoclassical didacticism of Addison, Pope, and Johnson merged with the heritage of Puritan didacticism." These post-Revolutionary poets assumed "a posture of moral monitorship," both echoing Puritan divines and prefiguring American Romantic writers who would "prophetically indict and instruct" their society.¹⁶ A poet could be an instrument of divine providence.

Eliza's early poems celebrated historical and current events and addressed social and religious issues. Her personal notebook in-

woman in the Garden." Snow internalized the "primordial/millennial fervor" at its height between the Revolution and the Civil War when American primitivist movements flourished, including the two with which she affiliated, the Disciples of Christ and the Latter-day Saints.

¹⁵Beecher, *Personal Writings*, 7.

¹⁶Lawrence Buell, *New England Literary Culture from Revolution through Renaissance* (Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 93-94.

cludes some satirical poems and more personal verses that date to this period but apparently were not published.¹⁷ An epic poem of 1,851 lines, "Personification of Truth [and] Error," is not dated, but I believe it was largely written during these early years. Through five lengthy chapters of blank verse, Error, whose parents are Ignorance and Prejudice, is pitted against Truth, whose parents are Candor and Investigation. This morality play makes for tedious reading, but it underscores Eliza's early identification with the ongoing battle for truth. She published the epic in her second volume of poems in 1877; by this period, it was already stylistically inaccessible to an audience whose tastes differed dramatically from her own girlhood likings.¹⁸ Perhaps she was unwilling to leave unpublished a work to which she had given so much of her early energy. Certainly she was affirming that, dated though it was, "Personification" still represented her world view: a cosmos where the conflict between truth and error raged, moving the world to an eschatological climax, the end times, the triumph of truth, a millennial era of Edenic purity and peace. It was a world where the poet, like the prophet, had a role to play.

Between 1826 and 1832, Eliza published twenty-three poems in the *Ravenna Western Courier* and *Ohio Star*, all "over assumed signatures" such as Narcissa, Tullia, Cornelia, and Pocahontas. She wished to be "unknown as an author," she later explained. Though her anonymity was short-lived, poetry still offered her a kind of protection. "In school," Eliza recalled in her life sketch, "I often bothered my teachers by writing my dissertations in rhyme, thereby forcing from them acknowledgments of inability to correct my articles, through lack of poetical talent."¹⁹

As a writer of poetry, a "loftier, more difficult form, she automatically had the upper hand," literary critic Karen Lynn

¹⁷Snow's *Journal*, 1842-82, holograph, LDS Church Archives, includes daily entries for Nauvoo, 1842-44, in "Nauvoo Journal," Beecher, *Personal Writings*, 52-99, as well as drafts of Snow's poetry and letters dated through 1882. Beecher reproduces the journal but not the notebook.

¹⁸Eliza R. Snow, "Personification of Truth, Error, Etc., An Epic Poem in Five Chapters," *Poems, Religious, Historical and Political*, 2 vols. (Vol. 1: Liverpool: F. D. Richards, 1856; and Vol. 2: Salt Lake City: LDS Printing and Publishing Establishment, 1877), 2:213-80.

¹⁹Beecher, *Personal Writings*, 7. Angle brackets in Beecher's text indicate that Eliza inserted "from them."

Davidson explains. "As she found when she was a schoolgirl, poetry was an excellent strategy for catching others off guard. Because her work was verse, [the] subject matter was less open to criticism." Later readers, like her early teachers, would hesitate when confronted with complex poetic forms or flowery eloquence. Thus, continues Davidson, "as a poet, she could scold, consign her enemies to hell . . . write love poetry, vent her fury, and assume all kinds of roles that would have been otherwise difficult for a dignified woman."²⁰ Poetry was Eliza's entrée to the public sphere, but she would present herself there with something of a veiled face. "A poem may express honest feeling," Davidson comments, "but it can't express totally spontaneous feeling, because that feeling has gone through a filter, a modifying process, as it has been constructed into a poem."²¹ Such filtering became an integral part of Eliza's self-expression.

If writing poetry was the first form Eliza embraced, the second was her "single blessedness." I believe it is possible, even probable, that as a young adult Eliza Snow decided to postpone or forego marriage. Her earliest photograph, taken in her early fifties, shows her an attractive woman with wide-set dark eyes, a high forehead, and tidily coiffed dark hair. In her twenties she was not without admirers, commenting, "Although in my youth I had considered marriage ordained of God; and without vanity can say, I had what was [sic] considered very flattering proposals, I remained single; and why, I could not comprehend at the time."²² In her study of single women in America in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, Lee Virginia Chambers-Schiller observes that "after the revolutionary war. . . some Americans dramatically changed their attitudes toward marriage and singlehood. At first tentatively, and then with greater assurance, they questioned whether marriage and motherhood comprised women's only true destiny." She continues, "Popular culture lauded women who held high standards for prospective husbands and who vowed to stay single unless they found a mate equal to themselves in morality, integrity, courage, and learning."²³

²⁰Karen Lynn Davidson, Letter to Jill Mulvay Derr, 18 November 1998.

²¹Ibid.

²²Beecher, *Personal Writings*, 16.

²³Lee Virginia Chambers-Schiller, *Liberty, A Better Husband: Single*

Eliza may have refused early proposals because she knew she had not yet met her equal. In retrospect, she saw “the providences of God” in her decision to decline offers of marriage: “I do not know that one of my former suitors have received the Gospel, which shows that I was singularly preserved from the bondage of a marriage tie which would, in all probability, have prevented my receiving, or from the free exercise of the religion which has been, and now is dearer to me than my life.”²⁴

Perhaps Eliza’s aspirations as poet also played a part in her early disinclination to marry. Chambers-Schiller describes a Cult of Single Blessedness that “promoted singlehood as at least as holy, and perhaps more pure, a state than marriage” and “encouraged the search for eternal happiness through the adoption of a ‘higher calling’ than marriage.”²⁵ Educators Elizabeth Peabody and Catherine Beecher and reformer Dorothea Dix, women born within three or four years of Eliza Snow, were crusaders who lived out their fruitful lives in “single blessedness.” Consciously or, as Eliza herself indicates, unconsciously, she may well have chosen to join them. She spoke frequently during the last half of her life of woman’s “noble independence.”²⁶ Indeed, “almost anything innocent is preferable to dependence,” she once observed.²⁷ She maintained her birth name for all but the last seven of her eighty-three years and, fittingly, it is the name by which she is remembered.

Eliza chose to be a poet, likely chose to postpone or forego marriage and, most importantly, chose to become a member of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. A handful of Eliza’s early

Women in America: The Generations of 1780-1840 (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1984), 12.

²⁴Beecher, *Personal Writings*, 16.

²⁵Chambers-Schiller, *Liberty*, 18.

²⁶For example, Snow speaks of woman acting “with noble independence.” Snow, “Woman,” *Poems*, 2:176, first published in *The Mormon*, 27 December 1856. She exhorted young women to develop “independence of character” in “To the Young Sisters in Provo,” *Woman’s Exponent* 2 (15 April 1874): 170. “The priesthood is not going to say what we shall do. It is a choosing time and we should do the choosing ourselves,” she declared in 1875. “R. S. Reports . . . Annual Meeting of the 19th Ward R. S.,” *Woman’s Exponent* 4 (1 October 1875): 67.

²⁷Beecher, *Personal Writings*, 15.

poems affirmed her faith in God and in Christ's victory over sin and death,²⁸ but none of them hinted at the changing religious landscape of Ohio's Western Reserve in 1830 and 1831. Eliza, her mother, and her sisters Leonora and Amanda, became members of the newly established Church of Disciples of Christ at Mantua sometime between January 1827 and April 1829.²⁹ Assembling in a new congregation with many of their neighbors, they listened to the preaching of Sidney Rigdon, Walter Scott, and Thomas Campbell. Like Rigdon, Oliver and Rosetta Snow were Baptists drawn to the restorationist ideas of Alexander Campbell and others. A friend of the Snow family and a frequent visitor at their home, Rigdon may have personally delivered to the Snows news of his November 1830 conversion to Mormonism. By the following summer, there were a thousand Mormon converts in Ohio's Western Reserve. The restored Church of Christ, as it was then known, would station itself in Kirtland for the next seven years.³⁰

Sidney Rigdon also may have been responsible for Joseph Smith's visit to the Snow family in 1831, at some point after Joseph and his wife, Emma, moved to Kirtland in February. Snow family "hospitality was proverbial," Eliza recalled, "their house a welcome resort for the honorable of all denominations." During 1831, perhaps when he was staying near Mantua at Hiram, Joseph baptized Eliza's mother and her sister Leonora. But Eliza hesitated. Like other seekers, she had "yearned for the gifts and manifestations of which [the] ancient Apostles testified." She listened to "Alexander Cambell [sic] advocate the literal meaning of the Scriptures . . . hoped his new light led to a fulness—was baptized."³¹ She seems

²⁸See N., "Human Life—What is it?" *Western Courier* (Ravenna, Ohio), 14 February 1829; Tullia [pseud.], "The God I Worship," *Ohio Star* (Ravenna, Ohio), 7 July 1830; Tullia, "The Grand Conquest," *ibid.*, 11 November 1830; Tullia, "A Fragment," *ibid.*, 20 October 1831; and Tullia, *ibid.*, "The Grave," 10 May 1832.

²⁹"Church [of Disciples of Christ at Mantua] Records, 1827-1893," 1, holograph, in possession of Alice Hurd, 4206 State Road, Mantua, Ohio (August 1996); photograph of holograph, 1-7, in my possession.

³⁰Richard Lloyd Anderson captures the remarkably rapid expansion of the Church in "The Impact of the First Preaching in Ohio," *BYU Studies* 11 (Summer 1971): 474-96.

³¹Beecher, *Personal Writings*, 8, 9.

to have maintained some connection with the Disciples until fall 1834, when the Mantua Disciples records list her and her father Oliver as “lost.”³² Eliza’s reminiscence reveals only that she learned Campbell “and his followers disclaimed all authority” and that her baptism, therefore, “was of no consequence.” She was searching for “the voice of God revealing to man as in former dispensations” but considered Mormonism’s prophetic claims “a hoax—too good to be true.” Skeptically, perhaps not wanting to join her mother and sister in another mistake, she waited to see whether Mormonism would “‘flash in the pan’ and go out.”³³

But Rosetta and Leonora’s continuing witness of “frequent manifestations of the power of God” among the Saints prompted her to ask for baptism.³⁴ Even as she prepared to make the request, “many strong arguments against . . . joining the Church” surged within her.³⁵ She put them behind her and entered the waters of baptism on 5 April 1835. “My heart was fixed,” is the phrase she used several times to describe her determination. She had chosen the cause into which she would pour all of her energy, a cause she believed joined heaven and earth and promised her a part in working toward the final victory of truth. Years later she elaborated upon her brother Lorenzo’s decision to be baptized in June 1836, expressing her relief that he had given up “his youthful ambition to be in the military” and instead would enter “the arena for championship with the armies of heaven.” She continued, “Wielding the sword of the Spirit of the Almighty, he now takes the field to battle with the powers of darkness, priestcraft, superstition, and wickedness, until the kingdoms of this world shall become the kingdom of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ.”³⁶ She might have been describing her own conversion.

The magnitude of Eliza’s decision was soon manifest in the changes she made in her life. In the autumn of 1835, she left her parents’ house, moved to Kirtland, and made her home with Joseph

5. ³²“Church [of Disciples of Christ at Mantua] Records, 1827-1893,”

³³Beecher, *Personal Writings*, 9.

³⁴*Ibid.*, 10.

³⁵Minutes of the [Senior and Junior] Cooperative Retrenchment Association, 1869-73, 22 June 1872, holograph, LDS Church Archives.

³⁶Snow Smith, *Biography and Family Record of Lorenzo Snow*, 6-7.

and Emma Smith while she taught their family school. "I went into the united order and all I possessed went in," she later recalled as one listener recorded. "I had money; I sent for the building committee of the Kirtland Temple asked if they wanted money they felt very thankful for they had a debt due in return they offered me a note which I refused thinking all things were common."³⁷ Her pattern, like that of other restorationists, was the primitive church. She continued to hunger for the gifts of the Spirit. She cherished "the baptism of the Spirit" she received the evening following her baptism, and treasured the memory of the dedication of the Kirtland Temple and subsequent meetings in that building where she witnessed with the Saints of latter days "many manifestations of the power of God."³⁸ Oliver and Rosetta Snow and their two younger sons joined Eliza, Leonora, and Lorenzo briefly in Kirtland. Then, in the wake of apostasy and conflict there, the Snow family migrated with the Saints to Missouri.

Eliza's experience in Missouri intensified her commitment as a Latter-day Saint and transformed her poetry. When the family settled for four brief months in Adam-ondi-Ahman, Daviess County, Eliza stepped daily on soil where, according to the Prophet Joseph, Adam and Eve and the ancients had gathered and would gather again (D&C 107:53-56; 116; Dan. 7:9-14). She was dwelling in sacred time where past, present, and future merged. Her sense of living an ancient life was amplified as she and other Saints experienced mob harassment and mounting persecution.³⁹ She encountered for perhaps the first time in her life an armed enemy. A fighting spirit pervades her description of the family's wintry departure from Adam-ondi-Ahman:

³⁷Box Elder Stake [Brigham City Ward], Relief Society Minutes, 1868-76, 1875-84, 10 September 1878, holograph, LDS Church Archives. Unless otherwise noted, all Relief Society minutes cited hereafter are holographs or microfilms of holographs, housed in the LDS Church Archives. All quotations from local minutes preserve the grammar and spelling of local secretaries.

³⁸Beecher, *Personal Writings*, 10.

³⁹For an insightful discussion of LDS figural understanding of the Bible and identification with Old and New Testament figures and types, see Grant Underwood, *The Millenarian World of Early Mormonism* (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1993), 58-75.

It was December and very cold when we left our home, and, after assisting in the morning arrangements for the journey, in order to warm my aching feet, I started on foot and walked until the teams came up. When about two miles out, I met one of the so-called Militia who accosted me with, "Well, I think this will cure you of your faith". Looking him squarely in the eye, I replied, "No, Sir, it will take more than this to cure me of my faith." His countenance dropped, and he responded, "I must confess you are a better soldier than I am." I passed on, thinking that, unless he was above the average of his fellows in that section, I was not complimented by his confession.⁴⁰

Eliza left no record of other verbal battles she might have waged in Missouri or of violence she may have suffered physically there. But the impact of the experience on her poetry is unmistakable. She had written two hymns in the eight months following her April 1835 baptism and then fallen silent as a poet.⁴¹ On 24 October 1838, she broke her silence with a passionate outcry:

Awake! my slumbering Minstrel; thou hast lain
Like one that's number'd with th'unheeded slain!
Unlock thy music—let thy numbers flow
Like torrents bursting from the melting snow.⁴²

"Melting snow," an apt, if unintentional, play on her name, underscores her dissolving restraint. She will address her "song," she states, not to the "Gentile ear," but rather to the "heavenly throng." Her iambic pentameter couplets march through time heralding the restoration of the gospel, the coming forth of the Book of Mormon, the gathering of the Saints first in Jackson County, Missouri and then, after fleeing Kirtland, Ohio's "vile apostates," at Adam-ondi-Ahman. There, as winter approaches, a lawless mob attacks the Saints, egregiously abridging the liberties Eliza's grandfathers had fought to secure:

⁴⁰Beecher, *Personal Writings*, 12.

⁴¹"Praise Ye the Lord," *Messenger and Advocate* 1 (August 1835): 176; "The Glorious Day Is Rolling On," *ibid.*, 2 (January 1836): 256; both included in Emma Smith's *A Collection of Sacred Hymns, for the Church of the Latter Day Saints* (Kirtland, Ohio: F. G. Williams & Co., 1835), 92-94.

⁴²"The Gathering of the Saints, and the Commencement of the City of Adam-ondi-Ahman," Snow, *Poems* 1:7.

Where are thy far-fam'd laws, Columbia? Where
 Thy boasted freedom—thy protecting care?
 Is *this* a land of Rights? Stern facts shall say
 If legal justice here maintains its sway.
 The official powers of State are *sheer pretence*,
 When they're exerted in the Saints' defence.⁴³

She employs the contrast between liberty and power, virtue and corruption, so popular among her Jacksonian contemporaries, to proclaim not only her own angry sense of betrayal but the shocked indignation of her people at unchecked mob depredations. And the suffering of the Saints was soon tragically intensified. Her poem, dated three days before Missouri governor Lilburn W. Boggs issued his Extermination Order and six days before the Haun's Mill Massacre, anticipates dozens of her subsequent political poems. Virtually all of them exude the passionate outrage that the Missouri persecutions engendered in her.

If initially, as a newly baptized Latter-day Saint, Eliza had been reluctant to raise her voice as poet to "prophetically indict and instruct," she hesitated no longer. Perhaps she had feared that her own jeremiads would infringe on a role reserved for the Prophet. Sometime between 1838 and 1839, however, she reclaimed her sense of vocation as poet. Joseph Smith himself called her "Zion's Poetess," though whether this title triggered or celebrated her renewed productivity is not clear. As soon as the Saints found refuge in Illinois, she began writing and publishing poetry for and on behalf of her people—chronicling their history, castigating their enemies, articulating their truths, and buttressing their faith and loyalty.⁴⁴ She shouldered this responsibility for the rest of her life, assuming among Latter-day Saints a prominence that would not likely have been hers in broader American culture. Though many of her beloved hymn texts remain in the Latter-day Saint hymnal, she described her more expansive work as "Zion's Poetess" in the title she affixed to her two volumes of poetry, the first published in 1856 and the second in 1877: *Poems, Religious, Historical and Political*.

⁴³Ibid., 1:13-14.

⁴⁴John E. Hallwas, "The Midwestern Poetry of Eliza Snow," *Western Illinois Regional Studies* 5 (Fall 1982): 139, described Snow as "a lyrical commentator on the struggles of the Mormons in the Midwest."

Just as Eliza's experience in Missouri transformed her poetry, so her experience in Nauvoo transformed her ideas about marriage. I have suggested that sometime in her twenties Eliza consciously decided to postpone or forego marriage to maintain her own independence and perhaps pursue what many nineteenth-century spinsters believed to be a "higher calling." Certainly she had determined to remain single until she found a marriage partner whose world view, zeal, and competencies matched her own. There is nothing to suggest that her 1842 decision to marry Joseph Smith was an easy one. Initially repelled by the idea of plural marriage, she accepted his proposal only after receiving her own spiritual witness of the principle. While her 1842-44 Nauvoo journal makes no reference to the secret marriage, it reveals the emotional mayhem that the new union kindled in Eliza as she treasured new and tender feelings, mourned her parents' disaffection with the Church, and found her character impugned.⁴⁵ She was deeply attached to the Prophet Joseph and anguished over his death 27 June 1844.⁴⁶ She never disclosed her sentiments upon marrying Brigham Young three months later, 3 October 1844, but that marriage endured until Young's death in 1877.

First married at age thirty-eight, Eliza was plural wife to a living husband for a total of thirty-five years. "As I increased in knowledge concerning the principle and design of Plural Marriage," she later explained to non-Mormon readers, "I grew in love with it, and today esteem it a precious, sacred principle—necessary in the elevation and salvation of the human family."⁴⁷ Eliza Snow became an unwavering

⁴⁵Snow told Relief Society sisters in 1872, "Polygamy did not hurt Me but to be looked upon as A Woman of light Character that did hurt me The very idea of my not being a virtuous Woman." Payson Ward, Utah Stake, Relief Society Minutes, 1868-77, 1877-85, 26 September 1872.

⁴⁶Beecher, *Personal Writings*, 52-99. Snow's Nauvoo poetry hints at her marriage to Joseph Smith. See Maureen Ursenbach Beecher, "Inadvertent Disclosure: Autobiography in the Poetry of Eliza R. Snow," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 23 (Spring 1990): 94-107. Jill Mulvay Derr, "The Significance of 'O My Father' in the Personal Journey of Eliza R. Snow," *BYU Studies* 36 (1996-97): 89-94, discusses Snow's marriage to Joseph Smith and her grief at his death. Todd Compton, *In Sacred Loneliness: The Plural Wives of Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1996), 306-41, recounts Snow's grief and presents a detailed sketch of her life.

advocate of plural marriage, one of its staunchest defenders. Indeed, being a plural wife became central to her identity. It is important to emphasize, however, that as a plural wife she was not required to give up the advantages that "single blessedness" had offered her. In choosing plural marriage as a life structure or form, she retained her name, her independence remained largely intact, and she continued to distinguish herself through the "higher calling" of her poetry. Moreover, she gained unanticipated opportunities both for emotional attachment and for personal achievement and ecclesiastical authority.⁴⁸

Though she was a devoted daughter and sister, Eliza's voluntary spinsterhood suggests that, in her twenties and thirties, she chose achievement over attachment.⁴⁹ Through her forties and fifties, however, following her entry into plural marriage, attachment became an increasingly significant part of her life. She committed herself not only to Joseph Smith, whom she adored, and then to Brigham Young, for whom she developed genuine affection, but also to their wives, her sister wives. In Kirtland and Nauvoo, she was a school-teacher boarding in one home after another. She journeyed from Nauvoo to Winter Quarters appended, sometimes uncomfortably, to the family of Stephen and Hannah Markham. But at Winter Quarters, she began moving in circles of women, most of them plural wives of Joseph and Brigham.

Her second trail journal manifests the growing warmth she felt in what was becoming her family circle. "This is truly a glorious time with the mothers & daughters in Zion," she noted on 1 June 1847. Five days later, 6 June 1847, she wrote "Had a glorious time at sis. Young's present sis[ter]. Whit[ney]. Kim[ball]. Chase &c. I had for-

⁴⁷The sentence ends: "—in redeeming woman from the curse, and world from corruptions." Beecher, *Personal Writings*, 17. The idea of woman's redemption from "the curse" is discussed briefly below.

⁴⁸See psychologist Carol Gilligan, *In a Different Voice: Psychological Theory and Women's Development* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1982), for a study of women's need both to affiliate and to achieve.

⁴⁹If Snow indeed chose achievement over attachment, it was not necessarily an easy or unequivocal choice. "Good society has been my undeviating aim, and for which I have endeavored to render myself worthy, ever since my earliest childhood," she wrote in the 1850s. Snow, "Good Society," *Poems* 2:134.

gotten to mention a time of blessing at sis K's the day after we met at Sarah's sis Sess[ions]. & myself blest Helen—I spoke & she interpreted. I then blest the girls in a song, singing to each in rotation."⁵⁰ Amid sorrow, physical privations, and death, these spiritual feasts—the possibility of ministering comfort through the exercise of spiritual gifts—captured Eliza's full attention and energy. "Improving in the gifts," she eventually became known as "prophetess," widely esteemed for her gifts of prophecy, speaking in tongues, and healing. Never surrendering a certain reserve and independence, Eliza nonetheless became warmly attached to her sister wives and sisters in the gospel of Jesus Christ. That sense of attachment would increase after the Saints moved to the Great Basin and she settled into Brigham Young's Lion House in Salt Lake City for some thirty-one years.

At the heart of her connectedness was the theology that crowned Joseph Smith's teachings, a theology of eternal covenants and ties. Holy temple ordinances bound disciple to God, husband to wife, parent to child, and generation to generation. If she had assimilated ideas of liberty and independence in her youth, at middle age she experienced the power of affinity and union. She married Joseph Smith anticipating they would be wife and husband "for time and for all eternity," obtaining through their faithfulness "exaltation and glory in all things . . . which glory shall be a fulness and a continuation of the seeds forever and ever." Thus they would become "gods, because they have no end . . . because they continue" (D&C 132:18, 19, 20). Eliza comprehended priesthood as godly power, God's power: the power to bring together, to forge continuities and connections, the essence of creating and healing. Priesthood sanctified relationships and generated unity.

Eliza understood priesthood as the power to order, govern, and

⁵⁰Beecher, *Personal Writings*, 176. Beecher discusses women's bonding during this period in "Women at Winter Quarters," *Sunstone* 8 (July-August 1983): 11-19. For a discussion of the exercise of charismatic gifts among Mormon women, see Linda King Newell, "Gifts of the Spirit: Women's Share," in *Sisters in Spirit: Mormon Women in Historical and Cultural Perspective*, edited by Maureen Ursenbach Beecher and Lavina Fielding Anderson (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987), 111-50; also Jill Mulvay Derr, Janath Russell Cannon, and Maureen Ursenbach Beecher, *Women of Covenant: The Story of Relief Society* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Book, 1992), 35-37, 44-45, 67-68, 128-29, 219-22.

minister, actualized in the Church's ecclesiastical order and holy ordinances. She believed, as Joseph Smith had taught, that in the temple priesthood ordinances "the power of godliness is manifest" (D&C 84:20). In those ordinances, performed in the Endowment House in Salt Lake City from 1855 to 1884, Eliza was a "constant officiate." Presiding over women's sacred rites there, she became known among her sisters as a "leading Priestess of this dispensation."⁵¹ Only through the priesthood could the Saints become a pure people, able to enter God's presence or receive the coming Lord. By virtue of the restoration of the priesthood, the Latter-day Saints, she wrote, "hold *the keys to all reform*,"⁵² the power to transform a corrupt world, to unite the righteous in battling the powers of darkness until Christ himself shall come to consummate the victory of Truth. Eliza could not separate her own part in that battle from the binding power of the priesthood. Her tender personal attachments were sanctified by priesthood; as priestess she officiated in the ordinances of the priesthood. And she described the Latter-day Saint women's Relief Society, which flowered magnificently under her long leadership, as "an organization that cannot exist without the Priesthood, from the fact that it derives all its authority and influence from that source."⁵³

No form was more congruent with Eliza's crusading passion than her position as general president of the Relief Society and head of the women's organizations of the Church. Her work as presidentess of Latter-day Saint women during the last twenty years of her life, from 1867 to 1887, consummated her fiery aspirations for loyal service in a sacred cause. It also became an ultimate expression of her womanhood and her connection to her sisters. If as prophetess she had exercised the gifts of the Spirit, as presidentess she instructed her sisters in exercising those gifts. If, ministering in the temple as priestess, she had come to understand woman's holy po-

⁵¹Beecher, *Personal Writings*, 32. Snow was traveling with her sister wife Zina D.H. Young when the two were welcomed in Kanab, Utah, as "leading Priestesses of this dispensation." M. Elizabeth Little, "A Welcome," *Woman's Exponent* 9 (1 April 1881): 165.

⁵²Eliza R. Snow, "One of Time's Changes," *Poems* 2:180; emphasis hers.

⁵³Eliza R. Snow, "Female Relief Society," *Deseret News Weekly*, 22 April 1868.

sition in time and eternity, as presidentess she brought that understanding to a wide circle of women, enabling them to see the sacred, eternal significance of family and public duties.

The full role that Eliza and her sisters played in bringing about the rebirth of Relief Society in 1866-67 can only be surmised. Her own account divulges little beyond the calling she received from Brigham Young. "As I had been intimately associated with, and had officiated as Secretary for the first [Relief Society] organization, Pres. Young commissioned me to assist the Bishops in organizing Branches of the Society in their respective Wards." She briefly mentions Joseph Smith's organization of Relief Society in 1842, says nothing of its disbandment in 1844, and notes with elusive succinctness, that it "remained in status quo until it was reorganized under the direction of Prest. B. Young in the year 1855, commencing in the Fifteenth Ward, S.L. City."⁵⁴ In fact, in January 1854, a cluster of women had organized their own "Indian Relief Society" to make clothing for indigent Native American women and children. By June Brigham Young was calling for the establishment of such charitable societies in each ward and at least twenty-two were operational before the 1855 date Eliza seems to have misremembered.⁵⁵

Most of these ward Relief Societies dissolved after the "move south" in 1858, and Brigham Young was slow to reinvigorate the movement. Following the Civil War, Young placed renewed emphasis on economic self-sufficiency and organizational refinement. Calling "Sister Eliza" to preside over the reorganization of the ward Relief Societies manifested his complete trust in her loyalty, her capability, and her comprehensive understanding of the restored gospel of Jesus Christ. Thus, shortly after inviting Eliza to work with bishops administratively, he "told [her] he was going to give [her] an other mission." She was "to instruct the sisters." She recalled, "Altho' my heart went 'pit a pat' for the time being, I did not, and could not then form an adequate estimate of the magnitude of the work before me."⁵⁶

⁵⁴Beecher, *Personal Writings*, 35.

⁵⁵See Richard L. Jensen, "Forgotten Relief Societies, 1844-67," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 16 (Spring 1983): 105-25.

⁵⁶*Ibid.* Beecher, *Personal Writings*, 35, shows that in the phrase "an other mission," "other" has been inserted above the line.

The Relief Society, organized by revelation to the Prophet Joseph Smith, granted women a niche within the Church organization and provided them temporal and spiritual duties. It was a form, a structure freighted with possibilities; and Eliza worked assiduously to comprehend and maximize those possibilities. In Nauvoo under the direction of its first president, Emma Smith (1842-44), the Relief Society had accomplished significant charitable work, contributed to the temple, and petitioned the governor of Illinois on the Prophet's behalf. It had also become a forum for opposing polygamy, with the result that following its 16 March 1844 meeting, its operations were suspended until recommenced in 1854.⁵⁷ In 1867, given Brigham Young's mandate to firmly reestablish the organization in each ward, sixty-three-year-old Eliza stepped forward to assemble, organize, and teach women. She traveled the length and breadth of Utah Territory, reading in one ward after another the Prophet's instructions to women from the minutes she had taken in Nauvoo. Sister Eliza expanded her writing skills into powerful speaking skills, using the pulpit more than the pen to elaborate and magnify the purposes of Relief Society. She emphasized that although the women were to be largely self-governing, they must willingly accept counsel and direction from priesthood leaders. Most importantly, in terms of her assignment to instruct, she taught that Relief Society was to enliven women with a sense of their high and holy callings as daughters of God.

Many scholars have highlighted the importance during this period of Relief Society's economic missions—such as home manufacture, grain storage, silk raising, and medical training—as well as its developing political activism.⁵⁸ The significance of these new pub-

⁵⁷See Derr, Cannon, and Beecher, *Women of Covenant*, 23-58, 60-63; Linda King Newell and Valeen Tippetts Avery, *Mormon Enigma: Emma Hale Smith, Prophet's Wife, "Elect Lady," Polygamy's Foe* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Company, 1984), 169-82.

⁵⁸Leonard J. Arrington, "The Economic Contributions of Mormon Women," *Western Humanities Review* 9 (Spring 1955): 145-64 is the seminal study followed by others, though not for nearly two decades, including, among many, such surveys as Cheryll Lynn May, "Charitable Sisters," in *Mormon Sisters: Women in Early Utah*, edited by Claudia L. Bushman (1976; new edition: Logan: Utah State University, 1997), 225-39; Derr, Cannon, and Beecher, *Women of Covenant*, 99-113; and such specific studies as Jessie

lic responsibilities in enlarging Mormon women's abilities and influence cannot be overestimated. Eliza was an active booster of such enterprises. Her greatest gift, however, was her capacity to inspire her sisters—to quicken them with her own seemingly boundless reserves of faith and energy. Seeing her wield spiritual and temporal power not only intrigued them, but also strengthened them, lifting them beyond the images of subjugation featured so prominently in the popular press's relentless critique of polygamy.

Emmeline B. Wells, the *Woman's Exponent* editor who served as Relief Society general secretary (1892-1910) and later as president (1910-21), observed at a meeting in Manti, Utah, in 1884, as recorded by the local secretary: "When contrasting how low spirited and weary the sisters were before the Relief Societies were organized. I think what A blessing that we can meet and talk of the goodness of God and bear our testimonies to each other."⁵⁹

Relief Society women would not be gathering to complain about their difficulties in plural marriage. "Let the sisters be careful not to speak against POLYGAMY; the kingdom of God cannot be built without it," Eliza warned the women of Ephraim.⁶⁰ "Plurality of Wives is a great trial if you want to sit in the courts of Heaven honor Polygamy dont suffer your Lips to say ought even if you do not believe in it," she declared to the sisters of Payson.⁶¹ Visiting Lehi in October 1869, she announced: "I was mortified last conference to hear president Young say, he was affraid to call A vote to see

L. Embry, "Relief Society Grain Storage Program, 1876-1940" (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1974); Christine Croft Waters, "Pioneering Physicians in Utah, 1847-1900" (M.A. thesis, University of Utah, 1976); and Chris Rigby Arrington, "The Finest of Fabrics: Mormon Women and the Silk Industry in Early Utah," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 46 (Fall 1978): 376-96. The extensive scholarship on Mormon women's political activism is surveyed and well represented in Carol Cornwall Madsen, ed., *Battle for the Ballot: Essays on Woman Suffrage in Utah, 1870-1896* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1997).

⁵⁹Manti North Ward, Sanpete Stake, Relief Society Minutes, 1883-89, 17 September 1884, holograph, LDS Church Archives.

⁶⁰"R.S. Report . . . Ephraim, Sanpete Co., Friday, July 26th, 1875, [submitted by Agnes S. Armstrong]," *Woman's Exponent* 4 (15 August 1875): 42.

⁶¹Payson Relief Society Minutes, 26 September 1872.

if the Sisters would sustain polygamy, I told him he had not faith in the Sisters and if he had Called the vote he would have found that the Sisters would have sustained that principle.”⁶²

Ten weeks later Latter-day Saint women throughout the territory rallied in mass meetings where they articulated their firm objections to the anti-polygamy legislation pending in Congress and affirmed that they had become plural wives by their own choice. These “indignation meetings,” as they were known, signaled Latter-day Saint women’s decision to speak for themselves. “While we have been misrepresented by speech and press, and exhibited in every shade but our true light, the ladies of Utah, as a general thing, have remained silent,” Sister Eliza acknowledged at the Great Indignation Meeting in the Salt Lake Tabernacle, insisting that it was time “as women of God” to break that silence.⁶³ With impressive strength and certitude, Latter-day Saint women articulated their grievances, appealed for their rights and the rights of their husbands, fathers, and brothers, and supported plural marriage. Through the “indignation meetings,” Eliza and her sisters made a dramatic entry into public life and simultaneously quenched any final suspicions of Brigham Young that the reorganization of the Relief Societies might promote opposition to plural marriage.⁶⁴

But Eliza’s emphasis was primarily positive, expansive. In Draper in 1870, “Sr. Eliza R. Snow arose & said She was happy to meet with her sisters, who had come together with a portion of the Holy Spirit in our hearts, & the love of God beaming in our countenances.” She spoke encouragingly and tried to maintain the sense of intimacy that characterized less formal gatherings of women. “I

⁶²Lehi Ward, Alpine Stake, Relief Society Minutes, 1868-79, 1878-82, 1882-92, 27 October 1869.

⁶³“Great Indignation Meeting,” *Deseret Evening News*, 14 and 15 January 1870. The relationship between the “indignation meetings” and the granting of suffrage to the women of Utah Territory in February 1870 is discussed in Lola Van Wagenen, “In Their Own Behalf: The Politicization of Mormon Women and the 1870 Franchise,” *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 24 (Winter 1991): 31-43, reprinted in Madsen, *Battle for the Ballot*, 60-73.

⁶⁴In 1845, Young had explicitly instructed women not to gather for Relief Society meetings. See Derr, Cannon, and Beecher, *Women of Covenant*, 63; Newell and Avery, *Mormon Enigma*, 175.

have been quarreling with this stand it appears so high," she told sisters in Provo in 1871. "I promised once I would not again be exalted so much above my sisters but I study obedience." Yet she fully intended to move women beyond their sewing circles, entreating them to wake up and understand their potential for being and doing. "Do we keep in view that God sent us here to hold high and responsible positions? We? Yes, we! the daughters of the Most High God." She asked: "Do we realize our responsibilities? And that we have as much to do with the salvation of our souls as the brethren? They can not save us, we must save ourselves." Her urge to prod sometimes exceeded her tact. In 1884 she greeted sisters in the Davis Stake by saying "she need not say she was pleased to meet with us her presence showed that." She then continued in the same no-nonsense vein, "We all understand that we are weak so it is hardly necessary to make so many excuses when we arise to speak." She was blunt but not entirely unsympathetic. "The first time Aunt Eliza asked me to speak in meeting," recalled Emily Snyder Richards, later a representative to national suffrage association conferences, "I could not, and she said, 'Never mind, but when you are asked to speak again, try and have something to say,' and I did."⁶⁵

Eliza taught repeatedly that women could have access to personal revelations and to gifts of the Spirit. "This is a day of restitution," she wrote, "and when that heavenly simplicity which characterized the ancient worthies, those who associated with angels, and conversed with the Most High, is restored, the saints of the last days will freely participate in the same blessings." "Step forward," she urged, "and be prepared when the angels come to talk with the sisters, as they did with Sarah and Abraham." She testified, "When we meet together in this way if our Eyes Could be touched we Should [see] heavenly beings around us."⁶⁶

⁶⁵Draper Ward, East Jordan Stake, Relief Society Minutes, 1868-72, 26 May 1870; Provo Third Ward, Utah Stake, Relief Society Minutes, 1868-81, 11 September 1871; "Salt Lake Stake," *Woman's Exponent* 16 (1 October 1887): 70; "R.S. Report . . . Ephraim, July 26th, 1875," 42; Davis Stake, Relief Society Minutes, 1878-87, 18 April 1884; "General Conference of Relief Society," *Woman's Exponent* 30 (December 1901): 54.

⁶⁶Eliza R. Snow, "Simplicity. To the Saints in Zion," *Woman's Exponent* 6 (1 June 1877): 6; "R.S. Report . . . Ephraim, July 26th, 1875," 43; Lehi Relief Society, 23 April 1875.

With the 1867 reorganization of the Relief Society, followed by the Retrenchment Associations (soon renamed the Young Ladies Mutual Improvement Associations) and by the Primary Associations for children in 1878—all executed under Eliza's direction—Latter-day Saint women acquired public duties and official assignments that moved them beyond their homes. Encouraging women to assume these new responsibilities, Eliza declared, "Let your first business be to perform your duties at home. But inasmuch as you are wise stewards, you will find time for social duties, because these are incumbent upon us as daughters and mothers in Zion." "Every sister should feel that she has a work to perform," she urged.⁶⁷ Additional duties were not universally welcomed, however. Priscilla Paul Jennings, mother of seven and a member of the Relief Society general board, recalled long after Eliza's death that she was "one apart from domestic life." Eliza "had often urged her to do more in the Relief Society, and she sometimes wished Sister Eliza had children and a family, then she would realize the care of home."⁶⁸

Not only did Eliza teach her sisters to accept new responsibilities, but she also zealously articulated the sacred significance of those duties. For example, she counseled those making regular visits to homes as teachers (known today as visiting teachers) that they were

not merely to beg in behalf of the poor, but they are to act the part of Saviours, and they need the spirit of the Lord, that when they enter a house they may understand the spirit that prevails there, I say to my sisters who are called to be Teachers, when you visit, do all the good you can if any such are cast down, who have lost the spirit of the Lord, speak words of encouragements [sic] to them, and impart of the spirit from your own bosom to enlighten and bring back to the light of the gospel, We must act the part of the mother who when she sees her infant cold and chillely instead of pushing it from her, she seeks to resuscitate it by clasping it in her bosom, and imparting of her own warmth.⁶⁹

⁶⁷"An Address by Miss Eliza R. Snow, 14 August 1873," *Woman's Exponent* 2 (15 September 1873): 63; Lehi Relief Society, 23 April 1875.

⁶⁸Priscilla P. Jennings quoted in "Eliza R. Snow," *Woman's Exponent* 38 (February 1910): 53.

⁶⁹Provo Second Ward, Utah Stake, Relief Society Minutes, 1869-82, September 1869, holograph, LDS Church Archives.

The Holy Spirit, she explained, would enlarge women's capacities to perform whatever they were asked to do:

Well do we not my Sisters hold a portion of the Priesthood, with the Brethren, well are we doing all we can, a few of us are, but can we do the work of all, No, we are to be rewarded according to our works, It is nescesary that we should put our shoulders together, that we should be united. . . . let us put away the Spirit of strife, It will take every effort we can make to carry out the counsels given to us, The Priesthood of God expects a great deal from us, for we were Created for help mates, Now shall we go to our homes, and say, now this is all I can do, No, It was reserved for Noble Spirits to come forth in these days, we hold forth Nobler and Highter duties than the Women of the world.⁷⁰

She constantly interwove her exhortations to store grain, raise silk, and pursue medical training with the remarkable theology she knew could empower women and enable them to find eternal significance in their everyday lives:

Wee sometimes undervalue our responsibilities Wee do not belong to Woman's Rights, Yet wee believe in Womans divinity before the Fall it seemed Man and Woman were one. The same as the Father and Son are one. After the Fall A curse came upon Woman She became subservient to Man, since that time Woman has differed in feelings sometimes even in interest which should not be. . . . The Gospel is calculated to bring back the Union which was the day before the Fall. Some Ladies in the states Lecture Woman is to be supreme The mans Position is to rule but through wise government there need be no oppression especially if Woman will honar their head as she should do. Still Wee anticipate through the Gospel that Woman will hold the same Position as Eve did before the Fall.⁷¹

Adam and Eve had "equal rights" in the Garden of Eden, Eliza taught, and "the Lord gave Conjointly to both but after the Fall Man and Woman had her orders given seperately," yet ultimately through obedience, "we can enjoy perfect union again." She affirmed that "Woman was not only created as a helpmeet for man but to be one with him in the priesthood" and testified that faithful

⁷⁰East Bountiful Ward, Davis Stake, Relief Society Minutes, 1875-83, 14 November 1876.

⁷¹Payson Relief Society, 9 September 1871.

sisters would become "fit Companions of the Gods and Holy ones." Such exalted women would "stand at the head of a world the same as Eve did," obtaining the "*power of reigning, and the right to reign.*"⁷² For Eliza, the promised glories of the future were as certain as the hard realities of the present. Across years of her own painful questioning, she had worked to weave them together. If the resulting fabric was not seamless, it was substantial enough to clothe her and her sisters with hope and confidence. While listening to Eliza speak, Mary Ann Freeze wrote, she "Felt like shouting hallelujah."⁷³

There is a remarkable androgyny in Eliza R. Snow's leadership. She exercised power in both masculine and feminine ways. She could be exceedingly bold. Emmeline B. Wells recalled years later that "Sister Eliza R. Snow was a born leader, and one might say a general, a commander. . . . Her extraordinary powers and strength of character and firmly established convictions of the Gospel gave her the confidence and assurance, if one may use the term, to act independently in places, and at times, when other women would have faltered or hesitated to undertake such heroic efforts."⁷⁴

On the other hand, Eliza's capacity for tenderness, affection, and blessing through the Spirit deeply touched hundreds of women. At a meeting in the Davis Stake in 1880, "Sister Snow felt to bless the Sisters with a new tongue, which she did in a mild & gentle

⁷²Box Elder Stake Relief Society Minutes, 23 November 1870; Bountiful Ward, Davis Stake, Relief Society Minutes, 1868-75, 7 November 1870; Lehi Relief Society, 27 October 1880, 27 October 1869, 18 October 1883; Snow, "Woman," *Poems* 2:176.

⁷³Mary Ann Burnham Freeze, Diary, 9 March 1883, holograph, Special Collections and Manuscripts, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah. These concepts are discussed in greater detail in Derr, "Significance of 'O My Father,' 102-114; Jill C. Mulvay [Derr], "Eliza R. Snow and the Woman Question," *BYU Studies* 16 (Winter 1976): 260-64. Traditional Christian ideas concerning "the curse" upon woman were questioned and reinterpreted by such women as Judith Sargent Murray, Hannah Mather Crocker, Mary Wollstonecraft, and Sarah Grimke. See Donna A. Behnke, *Religious Issues in Nineteenth Century Feminism* (Troy, N.Y.: Whitson, 1982), 11-44.

⁷⁴Emmeline B. Wells, "L.D.S. Women of the Past: Personal Impressions," *Woman's Exponent* 36 (February 1908): 50.

manner Sister Young giving the interpretation by the Spirit of God. Many were melted to tears by the softening influence of the spirit."⁷⁵

In 1887, during the last months of her life, at a meeting in Salt Lake City, "Sister Eliza exercised the gift of tongues, and a part of the interpretation was given by Dr. E. S. Barney. The spirit of blessing seemed to rest upon Sister Eliza and the sweet influence was diffused like a soothing balm, bringing consolation to those in sorrow, or who were passing through deep trials."⁷⁶

A letter Eliza wrote to a Sister Brown regarding Relief Society's grain storage program reflects her capacity to both assert and assuage. "My Dear Sister Brown," she began,

Do not give yourself any more trouble about the wheat. It is for us to be "subject to the powers that be." We never act in opposition to the Priesthood. We have a right to explain to the Bishops our missions &c &c—it was right for you to tell the Bishop what Pres. Taylor said—but we never contend with them, wheat or no wheat. All of the wheat the sisters have in Wasatch Co. had better be in the bottom of Salt Lake than that it should create contention. It is true, the Lord has called on us to store wheat, but if Bishops of our Wards are willing to take responsibilities to the contrary, I yield to the Bishop—it is him and God for it—I obey the authority which God in his providence places over me. . . .

If [the bishops or stake presidents] forbid Relief Society meetings, they shoulder the consequences—all right unless the sisters have given occasion for such stringent measures, which I hope not. The sisters should be peace-makers every where.

Now Sister Brown—do as the authorities over you require, and set your heart at rest—we had better all die with famine than drive the spirit of God from our midst. Sometimes in trying to avert one wrong, there is danger of creating a greater one. I know very well that the circumstances in which you are placed are very trying and I think you may better take it easier and let the responsibility rest where it belongs. "Study the things that make for peace," &c.

With much love to yourself & family . . .⁷⁷

⁷⁵Davis Stake Relief Society, 16 July 1880.

⁷⁶"Editorial Notes," *Woman's Exponent* 15 (1 February 1887): 133.

⁷⁷Eliza R. Snow, Letter to Sister Brown, 24 March [no year], holograph, Daughters of Utah Pioneers Collection, used by permission. This letter may well have followed one Snow wrote to Emma Lorena Barrows Brown on 19 January 1880, responding to her questions about the local disagreement over wheat. In this letter, Snow advised: "We will not

The energy and dynamism of Eliza's Relief Society work came from her capacity to balance or bring together opposites—male and female, temporal and spiritual, independence and restraint, power and submission. “She did more for the Womanhood of the Church [than] any woman, before or since her time,” Susa Young Gates proclaimed.⁷⁸ Eliza's own assessment was more modest. “What would the woman of Zion have been to day if the Lord had not organized these Societies,” she asked in 1883. “W[e] should have been a dead set.”⁷⁹

By the time she reached her mid-sixties, Eliza R. Snow was in an extraordinary position for an American woman, extraordinary for any woman in any age. She wielded phenomenal religious power: charismatic power (as prophetess, she exercised the gifts of tongues, prophecy, and healing); liturgical power (as priestess, she presided over women who ministered temple rites in the Endowment House); and ecclesiastical power (as presidentess, she directed the work of Latter-day Saints women within the Church organization). Insofar as imperfect mortals rise to such stature, she was the female counterpart of prophet, priest, and king.

Religious offices can, but do not necessarily, represent inward spiritual power. Such power is more elusive, less readily identified. Eliza was “determin'd. . . to be a *Saint*.” Such a task, “an arduous toil,” requires inward, not outward ordering.⁸⁰ The right form is essential—not a form through which one's feelings might be expressed, but a form through which one's feelings might be molded and polished, transformed and refined. Mormonism provided theology for Eliza's cosmic battle, manifestations of divine power to direct and strengthen the forces fighting for truth, and a commis-

quarrel with the Priesthood, although it is in ‘*earthen vessels*.’” Kristen Hacken South, “Introduction to the Journal of Emma Lorena Barrows Brown,” *BYU Studies* 34, no. 4 (1994-95): 38.

⁷⁸Susa Young Gates, “Life in the Lion House,” Susa Young Gates Collection, Box 12, fd. 2, p. 40, Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City.

⁷⁹Lehi Relief Society, 18 October 1883.

⁸⁰Eliza R. Snow, “Evening Thoughts or What It Is to Be a Saint,” *Poems* 1:3-6; recorded in her Nauvoo Journal, 16 November 1842, and later included in part in “Sketch of My Life,” Beecher, *Personal Writings*, 61-63, 42-44; first published as “Saturday Evening Thoughts,” *Times and Seasons* 4 (2 January 1843): 64.

sion—a work for Eliza herself to perform. But Mormonism looked beyond war to a reign of peace, to reconciliation and harmony, oneness and eternal life with God and Jesus Christ. The errand of the Saints in the wilderness was to build a city on a hill, Zion, where mortal men and women would learn heavenly forms and patterns, and thereby become one with God and with one another. Individual conformity to heavenly patterns, heavenly government, and divine law would bring personal righteousness and peace. Collective conformity would bring Zion, a sanctified community ready to receive Christ. For Eliza, the life of a saint was a life of discipline, of conforming. “By strict obedience,” she wrote, “Jesus won / The prize with glory rife: / ‘Thy will, O God, not mine be done,’ / adorned his mortal life.”⁸¹ Obedience and sacrifice were central to Eliza’s identity as a Latter-day Saint. Her 1842 poem, “What It Is to Be a Saint,” describes her conversion in those terms.

The proclamation sounded in my ear—
 It reach’d my heart— I listen’d to the sound—
 Counted the cost, and laid my earthly all
 Upon the altar, and with purpose fix’d
 Unalterably, . . .
 Embrac’d the Everlasting Covenant;
 And am determin’d now *to be a Saint*,
 And number with the tried and faithful ones,
 Whose race is measur’d with their life; whose prize
 Is everlasting, and whose happiness
 Is God’s approval; and to whom ’tis more
 Than meat and drink to do His righteous will.⁸²

The inward struggle to submit oneself to God’s will is intensely personal. Across time women and men have recorded that struggle and its attendant anguish of spirit in terms that have varied from plain to eloquent but always with poignancy. Eliza rarely spoke or wrote of her inward struggles. Her deep commitment to God, to obedience and sacrifice, merged with her crusad-

⁸¹ Eliza R. Snow, “How Great the Wisdom and the Love,” *Hymns of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1986), 195. The hymn was first published in the Church’s 1871 hymnal.

⁸² Snow, “What It Is to Be a Saint,” 4.

ing energy. She desired to be a good soldier, obeying orders, pressing forward, bearing hardship without complaint. She viewed her personal internal battles through the lens of her own didacticism. She perpetually edited not only what she shared with others, but even the thoughts she was willing to entertain, as shown in this 1843 poem:

Though I'm ever determin'd to watch unto pray'r
 I'm so human—so subject to feeling
 I, oft on a sudden, before I'm aware
 Find unhallow'd thoughts over me stealing
 And a dark featur'd spirit, foreboding no good
 O'er my feelings insensibly creeping,
 And twining around me a sorrowful mood
 That with grace cannot be in good keeping;
 But I hastily bid all such spirits depart—
 My *detector* pronounces them evil;
 They should never be suffer'd to rankle the heart—
 Let them go, whence they came, to the devil[.]⁸³

Susa Young Gates remembered Aunt Eliza as not only “single-purposed . . . eloquent, exquisitely-high-principled, intellectual to the point of art,” but possessing “the power to con[t]rol her every appetite and passion.” Starting late in the 1850s, Susa recalled, Eliza tried an extreme water treatment to cure her tuberculosis. There stood in Eliza’s small Lion House bedroom “a wooden tub of cold water each morning winter and summer. Into this cold water, breaking the ice-crust in the winter for the purpose, went Aunt Eliza, every morning of her life.”⁸⁴ Brigham Young’s daughters were always welcome in Eliza’s room, Susa recalled, “although they did not go as often as might have been good for them; for dear Aunt Eliza’s homilies were not always relished by the high-spirited girls who loved fun and frolic with a normal healthy zest.”⁸⁵

⁸³Eliza R. Snow, “Lines written by request of Elder [unfinished title],” *Nauvoo Journal*, 11 February 1843, in Beecher, *Personal Writings*, 65; later published as “As I Believe. Dedicated to President Heber C. Kimball,” *Poems* 1:74-46.

⁸⁴Gates, “Life in the Lion House,” 39.

⁸⁵*Ibid.*, 40.

Eliza's public discourse usually rose above homily, but it was marked by moral exhortation and frequent calls to duty. "We should have no individual interests," was the clarion call she issued to women in Ogden. "We should realize we are the daughters of God, bought with blood of His Son; if we would reflect upon these things we should do our duty with all our souls. Never shrink from a duty, be it ever so trifling; this will refer to young and old; it will apply to me."⁸⁶

Eliza believed that a life lived in conformity with the commandments of God was the only means of receiving the Holy Spirit. "We should not act from feeling but from principle," she preached in Lehi, "and seek to understand the workings of the Spirit of God for it is not Trouble Grief and Sadness that it bringeth, but peace Joy and Sattesfaction." "Let us overcome every thing that seperates us from God," she exhorted the women of Davis Stake. "My desire is to live my Religion every day of my life but my sisters I live it very imperfectly," she confessed in Payson. "Learn day by day a little more and a little more, and lay of[f] every day a little more of your imperfections until we will come to perfection."⁸⁷ These were wise and sympathetic entreaties.

But Eliza could chide and often did. Were Saints awake to their duties or asleep? Were they keeping the Word of Wisdom or imbibing "the habits and customs, and the spirit of the world?" Were they teaching their children? "Well, but now, Sister Eliza, are you not scolding folks," she interjected as she sermonized in 1873. "I have to talk so loud, as I want you all to hear, and it may seem like scolding." Then she went on. "There are a great many good things that I could talk about, but I want to talk about things that will produce effects, and effects of salvation."⁸⁸

Both as seamstress and as poet, Eliza worked with patterns, schemes, and forms. Everything about her reflected an orderly life. Her appearance was immaculate; her room was tidy; she was punc-

⁸⁶"Relief Society Conference Weber Stake of Zion . . . May 9 and 10," *Woman's Exponent* 8 (1 June 1879): 252.

⁸⁷Lehi Relief Society, 27 October 1869; Davis Stake Relief Society, 18 April 1884; Payson Relief Society, 26 September 1872; Mt. Pleasant North Ward, North San Pete Stake, Relief Society Minutes, 1878-89, 7 August 1880.

⁸⁸"An Address by Miss Eliza R. Snow, 14 August 1873," *Woman's Exponent* 2 (15 September 1873): 62, 63.

tual; her work was organized and efficient. She labored to conform herself to the teachings and example of Jesus Christ and to obey the priesthood leaders she sustained as His authorized servants. She maintained a public persona of exactness. "I have passed through trials some very tight places but thanks to our Heavenly Father I have never faltered," she would tell Brigham City sisters four years before her death.⁸⁹

She "felt thankful She had not apostatised," she said on another occasion.⁹⁰ Feelings that might erode faith or provoke contention had to be kept in check—particularly negative feelings about plural marriage. "Wee must honor Plurality of Wives," she insisted. "Do not encourage tattling talebearing &c do not speak against plural marriage but sustain your husbands and honor them in all righteousness &c[.]" "Let us honour ourselves by honouring every principle which God reveals through his servants, [and] let us never oppose a plurality of wives." Not only did she admonish her sisters not to murmur, but she advised: "It is better not to sympathize with those who complain of domestic troubles but rather encourage them to make the best of it." "There is a sympathy that is false and does not tend to good," she believed. "We should not pity each other in our trials but encourage each other to overcome them."⁹¹

She had her own ideas about encouragement. "For instence," she explained, "one Sister will say to another, I would not bear that[.] directly that Sister feels I am abused, I cannot bear it[.] if that Sister [listening to her] was in the line of her duty She would say Yes You can acknowledge the hand of God in all things, by doing so we can find consolation What even if My husband abuse me. Wee ought to have confidence in Our Heavenly Father that all will be right and be for our good. Do right suffer no jealousy or selfishness to creep into your Hearts keep the Spirit of God in your Bosom." She repeated

⁸⁹Box Elder Stake Relief Society, 24 September 1883.

⁹⁰Payson Relief Society, 18 November 1879.

⁹¹Payson Relief Society, 9 September 1871; Spanish Fork, Utah Stake, Relief Society Minutes, 1871-80, 1875-84, 10 September 1871, 9 November 1881; Provo Second Ward Relief Society, September 1869; "Correspondence," Mary L. Woolf and Mary E. Griffith, Letter from "Hyde Park Jan. 3rd," *Woman's Exponent* 7 (15 June 1878): 15.

this theme: “‘But,’ a sister says, ‘I have been injured, I must be re-vengeed.’ Sister, be silent, trust in God, He will repay.”⁹²

“To be sure we have trials; but what are they?” she asked in a lengthy speech delivered in the Ogden Tabernacle in 1873.

I want to ask my sisters now a serious question. When you are filled with the Spirit of God, and the Holy Ghost rests upon you—that comforter which Jesus promised, and which takes of the things of God and gives them to us, and shows us things to come, and brings all things to our remembrance—when you are filled with this spirit, do you have any trials? I do not think you do. For that satisfies and fills up every longing of the human heart, and fills up every vacuum. When I am filled with that spirit my soul is satisfied; and I can say in good earnest, that the trifling things of the day do not seem to stand in my way at all. But just let me loose my hold of that spirit and power of the Gospel, and partake of the spirit of the world, in the slightest degree, and trouble comes; there is something wrong. I am tried; and what will comfort me? You cannot impart comfort to me that will satisfy the Immortal mind, but that which comes from the fountain above.⁹³

When sisters came to her “in trouble about polygamy,” she said, “sis^{rs} bare it all and pray for the spirit of God to help you, I have lived thirty years in it.” She testified that “our greatest afflictions will bring our greatest blessings.”⁹⁴

Eliza’s unwillingness to extend sympathy to those experiencing pain and difficulty in their personal lives, especially within their plural marriages, certainly might be viewed as a defect, particularly from our own late twentieth-century perspective. Eliza had borne insults, to be sure, but she probably could not imagine the sorrow of women who had none of the sense of independence or personal achievement she had maintained as the accomplished plural wife of two prophets. Within those marriages, she had not suffered crushing poverty, personal cruelty, physical abuse, or the jealousy and heart-break of a wife displaced in her husband’s affections by another

⁹²Payson Relief Society, 9 September 1871; “R.S. Report . . . Ephraim, July 26th, 1875,” 43.

⁹³“An Address by Miss Eliza R. Snow,” 62.

⁹⁴Provo Third Ward Relief Society, 11 September 1871; Box Elder Stake Relief Society, 11 August 1879.

woman. As an individual who desired to control her own intense passion and high ambition, Eliza believed that emotional restraint was a strength. She did not elaborate upon her personal trials or traumas, past or present. She bore her suffering as a good Christian soldier, with a stiff upper lip and help from God. She expected others to do the same. *Exponent* editor Emmeline B. Wells, a strong woman herself, who moved into public life after concentrating for years on family concerns, found Eliza's reserve frustrating. At the end of one of dozens of days Emmeline spent traveling with Eliza to visit local women's meetings, she recorded in her diary 10 July 1878: "This morning went with Aunt Eliza R. Snow to attend the Conference at Farmington and had as pleasant a time as possible when one's heart is broken, I cannot say much to Aunt Eliza she does not think I ought to give way to emotions not in the least."⁹⁵

Eliza's emotional restraint distanced her from her sisters far more than the pulpits behind which she stood or the accolades she received. She had an engaging sense of humor; she was not unkind; she wrote affectionate letters to family and friends; she embraced sisters who felt inadequate and ministered tirelessly to the sick. But her preference for emotional discipline, manifest sometimes as detachment and even dismissiveness, has overshadowed the ways in which she was also a nurturer. Critics of Mormon polygamy portrayed her as unwomanly and cold-hearted.⁹⁶ Even among her own people, she has often been remembered more for the rigid form she maintained than the feeling that energized her extraordinary life.

For all her public presence, Eliza was an exceedingly private person. Her journals and letters provide only rare glimpses of her vulnerabilities. Her poetry, as Maureen Ursenbach Beecher has

⁹⁵Emmeline B. Wells, Diary, 10 July 1878, typescript, Joseph Fielding Smith Institute for Latter-day Saint History; holograph, Archives and Manuscripts, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University. I thank Carol Cornwall Madsen for bringing this entry to my attention.

⁹⁶For example, Emily Faithfull, *Three Visits to America* (Edinburgh: David Douglas, Castle Street, 1884), 155, portrays Snow as counseling a wife who says she will die if her husband takes a plural wife, "Die, then; there are hundreds of women up in that burying-ground who have gone there because they could not be resigned to the will and order of God." Emmeline B. Wells refutes the purported interview in "Miss Faithfull Again," *Woman's Exponent* 13 (1 December 1884): 100.

shown, occasionally contains “inadvertent disclosure” of her feelings.⁹⁷ A poem she wrote in 1855 but never published reveals something of one internal battle, representative perhaps of many. I believe she composed it in great frustration, after turning over to Heber C. Kimball and George A. Smith the minute book of the Female Relief Society of Nauvoo and learning that the apostles planned to significantly revise her record of Joseph Smith’s sermons to the women before including them in the Church’s official history.⁹⁸ To allow the amendment of her beloved Prophet’s expansive, empowering teachings to women—a record she had transcribed and safeguarded faithfully—must have tried her severely. Her poem begins with a long, long litany of sacrifices one might make—leaving one’s childhood home, giving up friends and family, suffering sorrow. One might receive spiritual manifestations and suppose one is in the right path, and doing well, but ultimately, she writes:

... we all are requir’d to surrender,
 And never tenaciously hold—
 On the altar to cheerfully tender
 That which some esteem dearer than gold.
 ... our labors, our tithings & offerings
 Will to little or nothing amount,
 If that one—just that one little item
 Is withheld from the gen’ral account.
 Though we keep every other commandment,
 In the *one*, we may be lacking still:
 Not to sell and impart our possessions,
 But to lay on the altar, the will.⁹⁹

The essential work of the saint, as Eliza understood it, was to surrender the will. “I am my self ambitious,” she told her sisters, “and the grand object of my Life is to preform Every Duty or promose I

⁹⁷Beecher, “Inadvertent Disclosure.”

⁹⁸The apostles’ request for the minutes is recorded in Historian’s Office Journal, 29 and 30 March 1855, holograph, LDS Church Archives. For revision of the record, see Derr, Cannon, and Beecher, *Women of Covenant*, 74-75.

⁹⁹Eliza R. Snow, “The Will,” Journal, 1842-82, dated March 1855, holograph, LDS Church Archives.

may have made before I Came here in Relation to the Salvation of my Kindred and to Gain for my self an High and Exalted place in the Kingdom of God."¹⁰⁰ She knew that the price for that glory was not one mite less than everything. She poured her energy into the restored gospel of Jesus Christ, the pattern, the form, that she believed to be divine, the only truth that could ultimately set anyone free.

"Form," wrote literary critic Marden J. Clark with reference to a sonnet, "—the form that seems to restrict, to limit, to hold one in—*has actually been the means of liberating the energy.*" He emphasizes, "The poem gets most of its energy from what the poet does with its form: from the way it works within or strains against or plays with the conventions of its form."¹⁰¹ Working within, straining against, playing with the conventions of the gospel she embraced, Eliza made her life a poem. The form she chose as a young woman ultimately liberated her energy—her power. Susa Young Gates heralded her Aunt Eliza as the "the greatest woman of modern times."¹⁰² The assessment of British traveler Emily Pfeiffer was less effusive but perhaps more telling. Following her visit to Utah in the early 1880s, Mrs. Pfeiffer composed a vivid description of the aging Eliza Snow:

We were introduced into the presence of an old lady with a mild and serious face, spare frame, and the sort of dignity which comes from the possession of, and living up to, an idea. She had the high narrow forehead of a visionary, was upright, and her black dress hung upon her with a certain homely grace. She received us at first quietly, and rather coldly.

"You are from England," she said; "you show some courage in coming among the Mormons, seeing the sort of people we are said to be."

We replied something to the effect, that to believe nothing that we hear and only half that we see, would be cutting the sources of knowledge too short, but that we were come to Salt Lake City to take an impression for ourselves. . . . Having felt the way with a few questions, Sister Smith took from her neck a chain to which was

¹⁰⁰Lehi Relief Society, 27 October 1869.

¹⁰¹Marden J. Clark, "Liberating Form," *BYU Studies* 15 (Autumn 1974): 34, 33. Clark also describes the Church as a "liberating form."

¹⁰²Gates, "Life in the Lion House," 39.

attached a large ornamented gold watch, a relic, as she told us, most precious to her, it having been the property of the murdered prophet whose wife she had been. From this the conversation drifted naturally into subjects connected with Mormonism, and the trials its possessors had undergone for their faith. She saw in these trials the seal of its truth; and gradually finding that she was talking to willing listeners, the fire kindled, and the old priestess unfolded to us the inner life of her singular faith, expounding, and at last I could not but feel almost exhorting, in the spirit of a Hebrew prophetess. The face that had been cold to us at first grew full of human love and pity; the dim eyes that had looked upon the world for eighty years were tearful, her voice vibrating with emotion. She was sorrowful, struggling with the thought that she possessed a treasure of living truth which she was unable to share with those who owned themselves in darkness, or with only that little light which is as "a lantern to the feet." I do not envy the condition of that soul that could have watched the earnest face of Sister Snow, and not have felt lifted to some meeting-place of sympathy far above prejudice and even knowledge, and in spite of the impediment of a repulsive creed. All that can be found in this singular communion as food for the higher life would seem to have been seized upon and assimilated by this earnest adherent, who was now giving testimony of it in a full tide of natural and simple eloquence. We were both of us deeply touched. . . . I see the tall, slim, sable-robed figure, with the human love and longing in the dim eyes, see it as I saw it then, and shall never see it again; though the heart of the aged priestess which was of those that "hope all things," seemed to tell her we should meet again.¹⁰³

Three years later, on 5 December 1887, Eliza R. Snow died in her room in the Lion House. Her friends placed upon her casket "a sheaf of ripe wheat, tied with white ribbon, emblematic of her ripe age, and that her work was finished."¹⁰⁴ At the conclusion of the funeral services in the Assembly Hall, the choir sang lines she had penned:

¹⁰³Emily Pfeiffer, *Flying Leaves from East and West* (London: Field and Tuer, Leadenhall Press, E.C./New York: Scribner and Welford, 1885), 145-46, 167. I thank Edwina Jo Snow and Ronald W. Walker for calling this account to my attention.

¹⁰⁴[Emmeline B. Wells, editor], "Eliza Roxie Snow Smith. A Tribute of Affection," *Woman's Exponent* 16 (15 December 1887): 109.

The future is bright, and it beckons me on
 Where the noble and pure and the brave have gone;
 Those who battled for truth with their mind and might,
 With their garments clean and their armor bright:
 They are dwelling with God in a world on high:
 Bury me quietly when I die.¹⁰⁵

And so was Eliza buried. Her friend Emmeline Wells composed for the next issue of the *Woman's Exponent* "A Tribute of Affection." "She was spoken of as 'The Elect Lady,'" Emmeline wrote. "Her exemplary life and purity of character was not only, as Elder Nicholson expressed it 'from beginning to close a beautiful poem,' but was the poem of poems of all, in itself the most complete and perfect."¹⁰⁶

A poem of poems . . . A ballad, a sonnet, an epic? We continue to ponder, knowing that its harmony stirs us even if we cannot fully grasp its meaning.

¹⁰⁵Eliza R. Snow, "Bury Me Quietly," *Woman's Exponent* 10 (1 December 1881): 97. Snow included the poem in "Sketch of My Life," Beecher, *Personal Writings*, 44-45.

¹⁰⁶[Wells], "A Tribute of Affection," 108. The title "Elect Lady" (2 John 1:1), first given Emma Smith in 1830 (D&C 25:3), was fulfilled in her calling as president of the Relief Society and later applied to subsequent Relief Society leaders. Derr, Cannon, and Beecher, *Women of Covenant*, 10, 28.



Laurie F. Maffly-Kipp

LOOKING WEST: MORMONISM AND THE PACIFIC WORLD

Laurie F. Maffly-Kipp

ON 24 JULY 1851, Louisa Barnes Pratt spent the day fulfilling her customary duties. As the wife of Addison Pratt, one of the first Mormon missionaries in the Society Islands (of which Tahiti is a part), she oversaw the teaching of the natives and children, alongside the other missionary wives. Her older daughters helped out with these responsibilities; they were assigned students of their own to school in the ways of civilization. Louisa's obligations were even more demanding on the many occasions when her husband was called away to responsibilities on another island, as he had been nearly three weeks earlier. And he was still gone. On that particular day she spent the entire afternoon in the meeting-house that doubled as a school. Only when she returned home late in the day did she notice the date, which prompted her to write in her journal: "It never once occurred to our minds that the day was passing away unheeded; we had intended in some way to celebrate it, but the ship left on the 4th and the most of the white men being gone away on her there were not enough of us to make it any object to get up a feast or party."¹

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We can all sympathize with Louisa's plight. How many times have we, caught up in the round of daily tasks, forgotten an important birthday or anniversary that we had fully intended to commemorate? But there was more involved for Louisa than the human propensity to let something slip. Circumstances rendered celebration of this most important of days very difficult. She had students to attend to. All the white men of the settlement were away, which added to her workload and may have made a party with both native women and men imprudent. Most telling, though, was her statement that there were not enough people who would consider the occasion worth marking. Unlike Utah, where Louisa may well have witnessed the elaborate 1849 procession led by dozens of bishops, women in white, and marching bands, Pioneer Day held little meaning for the growing number of native converts in the South Seas.² Although there is no doubt that even in Utah the holiday grew only gradually to become the extravaganza that it is today, Louisa's other comments about native practices indicate that the locals would have relished a good party if a reasonable motive had been offered. But instead, living in a place with novel rhythms and patterns of living, she had temporarily forgotten.

1994), as well as numerous articles on religion in the American West, African-American religious history, and issues of religion, race and ethnicity in the United States. She is currently at work on a book-length study of the religious history of the American West.

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¹S. George Ellsworth, ed., *The History of Louisa Barnes Pratt, Mormon Missionary Widow and Pioneer* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1998), 137.

²Davis Bitton, "The Ritualization of Mormon History," in *The Ritualization of Mormon History and Other Essays*, edited by Davis Bitton (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994), 173.

Now let us move forward to 1896. Andrew Jenson, the historian who oversaw the compilation of nineteenth-century missionary manuscript histories, visited many of the sites about which he wrote to assess the current status of the LDS Church in these far-flung locations. When he reached Tahiti, he encountered an elderly resident and early Mormon convert who remembered the formative years of missionary work there, nearly a half century earlier. The resident commented to Jenson that when Benjamin Grouard, an early missionary, arrived there in 1847, "he changed the Sabbath to correct time." His comments indicated the LDS elders set his people on a new historical course, radically changing their sense of the world.³

Time, space, memory, and history. All of these concepts seem encapsulated by these two anecdotes, one a tale of *displacement* through travel, the other of *replacement* through conversion. We cannot be entirely sure what the elderly Tahitian intended by the evocative phrase "he changed the Sabbath to correct time," but surely it suggests that his awareness of time and space had been radically altered through his embrace of Mormonism. Similarly, the fact that Louisa Pratt could forget one of the founding events in the experience of the young LDS Church implies that her own awareness of time had shifted in this new place; she was now learning what it meant, experientially, to be Mormon in a new location.

This, of course, is what religion does. It reorients the believer, it reorders one's sense of time and place, and redraws the sacred map of one's life and one's surroundings.⁴ The normative story of early Mormonism itself follows this pattern: It has often been portrayed as a religious movement inextricably bound to a particular time and space, anchored there by a sacred story and a community of memory. It was, we have often been told, "quintessentially American," a westward migrating band of settlers who proclaimed the ultimate sanctity of the American landscape, a people who achieved

³Andrew Jenson, French Polynesia Mission Manuscript History, n.p., Historical Department Archives of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (hereafter LDS Church Archives), Salt Lake City.

⁴Jonathan Z. Smith, *To Take Place: Toward Theory in Ritual* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1987). On religious geography, see Belden C. Lane, *Landscapes of the Sacred: Geography and Narrative in American Spirituality* (New York: Paulist Press, 1988).

a particular fusion of sacred and profane in the material construction of an earthly Zion. Some came from other places, of course—from England, from Scandinavia, from other parts of Europe. But all were pulled into a new sense of religious geography and history defined by a westward trek. Many scholars, following Brigham Young, have linked the spatial movement across the American continent to the process of “making Saints,” so that today, through collective and ritualized memorialization, this movement has become integral to religious identity.⁵

Yet there are other voices, faint but insistent, from the nineteenth-century missionary texts, that speak of a distinctive ordering process. We know little about them: only scattered words and anecdotes noted by others, or the very occasional letter written by a convert literate in English. They tell a somewhat different story, one no less Mormon, but with a particular sense of what it meant to “become a people.” Theirs is not the traditional story of migration and settlement in Zion. They were not necessarily led to the Church by the promise of a gathering nor by the sanctity of the temple rituals (since most knew they would not enter a temple in this life), nor even by the many elements of a Mormon life-style that came to be so associated with the Church in the Great Basin. They did not become Saints, in the majority sense. Yet they came into the fold, sometimes in surprisingly large numbers, and thereafter the “Sabbath was changed to correct time.” In 1847, less than four years after the initiation of missions to the Pacific Islands, the Church could claim 2,000 members in the Society Islands, roughly twice the number of Scottish Saints at the same moment.⁶

This lecture reconsiders, in broad brush strokes, those early Pacific Saints who converted in the first waves of missionary activity prior to about 1890. I argue that their understanding of Mormon identity was quite distinct from the Saint-making that was occurring

⁵On the religious geography of Mormonism, see David E. Sopher, *Geography of Religions* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1967), 57; and Richard L. Bushman, *Making Space for the Mormons*, Leonard J. Arrington Mormon History Lecture Series No. 2 (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1997).

⁶David Whittaker, “Early Mormon Pamphleteering” (Ph.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1982), 284 note 9.

simultaneously on the American continent. Because of the many constraints of isolation and what one historian has aptly called the "tyranny of distance,"⁷ as well as the unsettled state of the Church back home, many of the first converts to Mormonism encountered a religious system that was, in certain respects, relatively unformed and adaptable. But more than this, they brought to their embrace of the faith particular ways of seeing the world based on indigenous customs, beliefs, and political needs in the face of an increasingly bewildering colonial situation. Theirs was a faith shaped not only by a context of Protestant persecution and intolerance, although this was surely part of it, but also by the complexities of imperialism and missionary competition in the emerging global arena of the Pacific world. To understand the emergence of Pacific Mormonism, therefore, necessitates consideration not only of the development of relations between LDS missionaries and indigenous peoples but also attention to the diverse and competitive religious world in which their new identity was forged.

MISSIONARY MIGRATION TO THE PACIFIC BASIN

Long before colonial governments moved in to occupy the islands of Polynesia, European and American missionaries had discovered the inherent possibilities of proselytism there. Protestant missionaries began to arrive in the islands in 1797, when the London Missionary Society (LMS), a Calvinist organization, sent thirty emissaries to Tahiti, led by four ordained ministers. Almost immediately, they reported astounding success in converting the local populations: by 1815, King Pomare II had reconquered Tahiti and proclaimed Christianity the national religion. In 1820 an American association, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM), arrived in the Sandwich Islands. In short order, they baptized several important members of the royal family. Similarly, in the ensuing decades, the Methodists moved into Tonga and Fiji, and several French Roman Catholic orders established stations in Tahiti and the Marquesas, although their numbers never rivaled those of the Protestants. By the 1840s when the first Mormon elders arrived in the Society Islands, much of the

⁷This evocative phrase is borrowed from Geoffrey Blainey, *The Tyranny of Distance: How Distance Shaped Australia's History* (Melbourne: Macmillan, 1975).

eastern Pacific, peopled primarily by Polynesians, had a considerable degree of exposure to, if not full acceptance of, Protestant religion.⁸

Mormon missionaries arrived relatively late in this era of religious migration, and they entered immediately into arenas of conflict. Between 1843, when the first three elders departed for the Society Islands, and the 1890s, when the Church experienced tremendous success among the Maori of New Zealand, LDS missionaries had visited every major Polynesian island group. These fields were part of a larger sphere of Pacific enterprise for the nineteenth-century Church that included California, the west coast of South America, Samoa, Tonga, and Australia. Many of these achievements are well known to Mormon scholars and have been thoroughly recounted in the work of R. Lanier Britsch. By 1852, when local political events abruptly ended the missionary venture, the Church had baptized several thousand natives scattered over dozens of islands. In Hawaii, by 1889, the Honolulu branch of the church probably was larger than any other outside of Utah, with 891 members. By 1913, nearly a quarter of the native Hawaiian population claimed membership in the LDS Church. And in New Zealand, in the closing two decades of the last century, nearly 10 percent of the Maori population professed the faith.⁹

⁸Charles W. Forman, *The Island Churches of the South Pacific: Emergence in the Twentieth Century* (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1982), 3-10; and Neil Gunson, *Messengers of Grace: Evangelical Missionaries in the South Seas, 1797-1860* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1978), 12-27. Although Roman Catholics gained many converts in the Marquesas, which became almost completely Catholic, they were much less successful in areas where the Protestants had entered the field first. See Ralph M. Wiltgen, *The Founding of the Roman Catholic Church in Oceania, 1825-1850* (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1979).

⁹The rich literature on Mormonism in the Pacific Basin is growing rapidly. Among the most salient for this study were Ian Barber, "Between Biculturalism and Assimilation: The Changing Place of Maori Culture in the Twentieth-Century New Zealand Mormon Church," *New Zealand Journal of History* 29, no. 2 (October 1995): 142-69; R. Lanier Britsch, *Unto the Islands of the Sea* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Books, 1986); S. George Ellsworth, *Zion in Paradise: Early Mormons in the South Seas* (Logan: Faculty Association, Utah State University, 1959); Grant Underwood, "Mor-

But throughout these decades, LDS missionaries never failed to lament the persecution and competition provoked by the presence of other Christians, who were equally intent on converting the local populations. Early in his sojourn in the Sandwich Islands, future apostle George Q. Cannon recorded his dismay at the intensity of religious conflict. Speaking of the native peoples, he surmised that

had there been no priestcraft among them, misleading them and poisoning their minds against the truth, and tempting them with worldly advantages and popularity, the entire nation, I am convinced, could have been readily brought to receive and believe in the principles of the gospel. But everything was done to have them shun us, to inspire them with suspicion, to make us unpopular. These influences, with those vicious and destructive practices which are fast hurrying the nation to extinction, were against us. But for all this, we had wonderful success among them.

Cannon concluded that “the Sandwich Islander is being destroyed and blotted from the face of the earth, by too much of what is called in Babylon, civilization.”¹⁰ Early missionaries filled their journals and diaries with discussions of mutual antagonisms and missed opportunities, as Saints saw their paths to progress blocked at every turn by the false teachings of their rivals.

Paradoxically, Cannon may have been exactly wrong in this regard. I would suggest that it was in large measure the attention brought to LDS missionaries through the constant ridicule of religious rivals that attracted the initial interest of indigenous peoples. Mormons, a persecuted minority on the American continent, felt the myriad effects of this status and its social consequences in the mission field. Yet even though the missionaries regarded this situation negatively, their marginality had unintended and even

monism, the Maori, and Cultural Authenticity,” *Journal of Pacific History* (forthcoming); David J. Whittaker, “Mormon Missiology: An Introduction and Guide to the Sources,” 1998; photocopy of typescript courtesy of Whittaker; and David J. Whittaker, with the assistance of Chris McClellan, “Mormon Missions and Missionaries: A Bibliographic Guide to Published and Manuscript Sources,” 1993; photocopy of typescript courtesy of Whittaker.

¹⁰George Q. Cannon, *My First Mission*, Faith-Promoting Series, No. 1 (Salt Lake City: Juvenile Instructor Office, 1879), 44-45.

positive consequences for their ability to communicate with native peoples.

Further, the element of choice afforded to potential converts by the diversity of religious groups, in many instances highlighted the distinctive ways of the Mormons. From the native perspective, then, the arrival of LDS missionaries opened up the possibility of a spiritual marketplace, in which Protestants were forced to vie more persuasively for their attention and in which their newfound power of choice gave them additional political leverage in the face of Euro-American political domination. Like their brothers and sisters in Utah, then, Mormons in the Pacific felt the effects of religious and political persecution. But the differing political and cultural context in which this encounter took place lent a distinctive quality to the development of the faith in the South Seas.

GOING NATIVE

From the start, educational, social, and political differences distinguished Mormon missionaries from their Christian competitors. Mormons prior to 1890 were American but not American, of the same culture, in many respects, but a people set apart. They were a self-designated “peculiar people.” This cultural ambiguity, which rendered them the objects of European and American scorn, also distinguished them in the eyes of local populations. Although some natives clearly saw Mormons as just another set of whites intent on “reforming” them,¹¹ more often islanders differentiated them from their Protestant counterparts in ways that proved advantageous from a religious perspective.

At the most basic level, Mormon male missionaries, often young, poor, and sometimes uneducated, frequently were forced to live among the natives in ways that Protestant ministers did not. By

¹¹American Mormon James Brown, whether because of temperament or timing, seemed to attract the wrath of local officials and natives alike, who associated him with American aggression. He was driven off one of the Society Islands by the colonial governor and exiled from another by islanders who threatened to kill him. He recalled that the natives held councils to see “what could be done to get rid of the ‘plant Mormonism, from America,’ before it spread over the island and became master.” James Brown, *Giant of the Lord: Life of a Pioneer* (1902; reprinted., Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1960), 255.

the time Mormons arrived on the Pacific scene, missionaries of the LMS and other evangelical groups had moved beyond their more charismatic, first-generation roots and were quickly establishing themselves economically and educationally within island societies. The second-generation clergy often exacted a tax from local peoples to pay for their missionary expenses. Generally they were well-educated men who saw their sacred calling as something that set them apart from the objects of their labor. For both social and ideological reasons, they favored a separation of the cultures.

Socially, British missionaries in particular tended to style themselves as "English gentlemen" after their years of theological schooling. They lived apart, engaged their missionary pupils as servants, and maintained a life-style marked by as much British-derived refinement as they could manage. And ideologically, they favored limiting one's encounters with natives to discrete moments of preaching and teaching because it reinforced what clergy saw as the appropriate line of demarcation between the sacred and the mundane elements of life. At least one missionary had a policy of never letting natives enter his house, because of the "corrosive influence" they might have on his children.¹²

Contrast this position to the first weeks of George Q. Cannon's stay in Hawaii. Along with a group of young, relatively inexperienced missionaries, Cannon arrived on Maui with barely enough money to afford a roof over his head. Not being able to pay for a rooming house, he and his companion rented a "native house," the term for the most primitive of dwellings that had neither a floor nor a solid roof. It was, in other words, a thatched hut, much like that occupied by most islanders. The native owner, taking pity upon the group because they were white, managed to secure a table and three chairs, at which they ate local fare cooked by their landlord.¹³ If poverty enforced a particular proximity to native peoples, so too did the challenge of language acquisition. Addison Pratt lived among the natives in the Society Islands as a teacher; but because he was simultaneously trying to learn the local

¹²Gunson, *Messengers of Grace*, 133-35, 204. See also Andrew Thornley, "Religious Interaction," in *Culture Contact in the Pacific: Essays on Contact, Encounter, and Response*, edited by Max Quanchi and Ron Adams (Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 73-82.

¹³Cannon, *My First Mission*, 12-13.

language he was forced into a role reversal, attending school himself and going to services conducted by natives.¹⁴

The material circumstances of the LDS missionaries typically brought them into closer proximity to indigenous peoples than the cautious distance cultivated by Protestant clergy. But this familiarity and less studied approach to proselytization was not attributable to a greater cultural enlightenment on the part of the Saints. Like other Euro-Americans, white Mormons experienced an awkward divide between themselves and their native charges. As several historians have noted, the call to preach to the Lamanites encoded a double message: On the one hand, missionaries carried an announcement of salvation and future hope; on the other, they reminded converts that they were degraded, uncivilized creatures who had fallen from the virtues of their ancestors.¹⁵ Throughout the history of outreach in the Pacific, LDS missionaries voiced tremendous unease with indigenous practices and vacillated between emphasizing the importance of assimilating natives into Western civilization and guardedly incorporating local practices into the Church.¹⁶ George Q. Cannon reiterated that he admired the islanders yet consistently asserted the need for an unclouded line of influence from the missionary to the missionized: "The Lord sends His Elders out to teach and not to be taught," he insisted. "The man who goes out expecting the people to whom he is sent, to teach, enlighten and benefit him commits a great blunder. He does not understand the nature of his priesthood and calling."¹⁷

But if American Saints criticized the natives, their theology more often suggested another target for condemnation. Like Cannon, who asserted that the Sandwich Islanders would have easily

¹⁴Ellsworth, *Zion in Paradise*, 11.

¹⁵Norman Douglas, "The Sons of Lehi and the Seed of Cain: Racial Myths in Mormon Scripture and Their Relevance to the Pacific Islands," *Journal of Religious History* 8, no. 1 (June 1974), 94; David J. Whittaker, "Mormons and Native Americans: A Historical and Bibliographical Introduction," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 18 (Winter 1985): 33-64.

¹⁶On missionary ambivalence about native cultures and the ability to incorporate them into the faith, see Barber, "Between Biculturalism."

¹⁷Cannon, *My First Mission*, 56.

accepted the gospel had they not been seduced by the vicious ways of the Gentiles, Saints frequently blamed indigenous degradation on the influence of Europeans and Americans. Although Mormons simultaneously appreciated that Protestants had “laid the ground-work” for the reception of the restored gospel in the islands, they blamed all defects on prolonged exposure to corrupt whites. Unlike Protestant missionaries, who could censure only the natives for their own “uncivilized” behavior, the Mormon critique of Euro-American civilization left a way out—a means by which they could condemn practices but still see the local peoples as relatively blameless. These assumptions made their close contact with the natives less problematic, in certain respects.

We can only wonder, however, how local peoples perceived the distinctions that LDS missionaries made between the Euro-American theological tradition, which was to be rejected as false, and many other trappings of American culture—clothing, sexual mores, manners, and a particular approach to education—which were to be embraced. It fostered a spiritual and cultural chemistry at odds with the Protestant approach to Christian culture that some of them already had accepted. If the Protestants asked for a strict division between the sacred and the profane, they also wanted to reform many of the less spiritual elements of native life. The Mormons, on the other hand, sought a particular amalgam of the divine and the mundane but, at the same time, urged the natives to distill the admixture of Euro-American ways, keeping some desirable elements and shedding others. Polynesian peoples, often accused by whites of living in “undisciplined” ways that defied logic, must surely have puzzled over the competing patterns of right living communicated by their missionary visitors.¹⁸

¹⁸On cultural change and islander responses, see Thornley, “Religious Interaction,” 74-77. On the particular problems faced by native women, see Patricia Grimshaw, *Paths of Duty: American Missionary Wives in Nineteenth-Century Hawaii* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1989); Margaret Jolly and Martha Macintyre, eds., *Family and Gender in the Pacific: Domestic Contradictions and the Colonial Impact* (Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press, 1989); and Carol Cornwall Madsen, “Mormon Missionary Wives in Nineteenth-Century Polynesia,” *Journal of Mormon History* 13 (1986-87): 61-88.

SONGS, SIGNS, AND WONDERS

Despite LDS intentions, then, material resources dictated a higher degree of intimacy than that experienced in the Protestant missionary setting. In like manner, Mormon strategies of spreading the gospel also unintentionally induced a style of intercultural communication more familiar to indigenous peoples. Missionary work among the Protestants and Catholics most often consisted of preaching (proclaiming and interpreting the Bible), teaching language skills (to facilitate individual comprehension of the scriptures), and catechesis (a study of lessons and precepts derived from biblical truths). Theirs was, by any measure, a text-based religious movement, albeit one which relied on the most progressive British and American educational techniques.¹⁹ By the mid-nineteenth century, Protestants had translated the gospel widely and circulated copies of the Bible in the vernacular throughout their fields of labor. To be sure, for many natives the association of Protestant missionaries with European and American culture was a strong asset, particularly among those peoples who looked upon the acquisition of new technologies (literacy being chief among them) proffered by their missionary neighbors as a valuable resource.²⁰

Mormons, cognizant of the potent skills they could offer alongside the gospel message, were anxious to communicate through print, a concern attested to by early publishing efforts in Great Britain, Australia, and Hawaii. Missionaries reported handing out tracts wherever they went, and many spent the better part of their days disseminating the few copies of the Book of Mormon or the works of Orson Pratt and his brother, Parley P. Pratt, that were available to them. As David Whittaker has noted, the real problem was not simply the accessibility of literature, but the fact that it was obtainable only in English and thus was quite useless in the native context. In Tahiti, the few books furnished to the missionaries were given out to Americans and British on passing ships. Even in the first years of involvement in Australia, although language was not an issue, the mission was so poorly supplied that the two local copies of the Book of Mormon were read aloud in meetings at the Sydney Branch.²¹

¹⁹Gunson, *Messengers of Grace*, 237-38.

²⁰Thornley, "Religious Interaction," 78.

²¹Whittaker, "Early Mormon Pamphleteering," 282; Marjorie

Although the American Saints lamented this state of affairs, the dearth of texts encouraged a different quality of relationship with their native charges. Forced immediately out of their books, missionaries paraphrased, told stories, testified, prayed, and sang—in short, used precisely the kind of communicative techniques familiar to members of an oral culture. Louisa Pratt lamented the lack of privacy that the work entailed but marveled at the apparent enthusiasm of the Tahitians for this approach: “The house for the first two months was nearly always thronged at night with the people talking reading and singing.” Her husband, Addison, noted that “All the Pacific Islanders have a great desire for learning psalms and hymn tunes . . . [;] when they once learn a tune, they never tire of singing it. They will collect at a neighbor’s house at dark and sing a new tune over and over till midnight.”²² The Pratts also used local feasts as a way to mark and celebrate the reorganization of time, something apparently motivated by native desires. Louisa reflected that “every little turn in their affairs must be celebrated by a feast, even to changing the Sabbath.”²³

Other aspects of Mormon spiritual practice also resonated with traditional native ways. Most of the Protestant evangelists in the region, it must be remembered, were Calvinist and therefore harbored a deep suspicion of religious enthusiasms, eschewing the manifestation of spiritual gifts in the present age as heretical. Latter-day Saints, in contrast, cultivated the gifts of the Spirit; and their necessary lack of emphasis on written materials only highlighted this distinguishing characteristic. As Pacific Mission president, Parley P. Pratt pointed out in an 1854 circular, “This Christianity of the New Testament is a system of visions, angels, revelations, prophesyings, gifts, miracles, etc. Such a system you can never oppose—it speaks and acts for itself; its votaries know what they experience, see, hear and feel.”²⁴

Throughout early missionary accounts, perhaps the most often

Newton, *Southern Cross Saints: The Mormons in Australia* (Laie, Hawaii: Institute for Polynesian Studies, 1991), 56; Ellsworth, *Zion in Paradise*, 20.

²²Ellsworth, *History of Louisa Barnes Pratt*, 128; Jenson, French Polynesia Mission Manuscript History, n.p.

²³Ellsworth, *History of Louisa Barnes Pratt*, 161.

²⁴*Autobiography of Parley Parker Pratt*, edited by Parley Parker Pratt [Jr.] (1938; reprinted, Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1985), 378.

reported scene was that of a healing by a missionary. James Brown, serving in Tahiti between 1850 and 1852, recounted extensive experiences of anointing and healing the sick, and preaching “on the signs, gifts of angels, etc.”²⁵ Healing was also an important means by which missionary wives could interact with native women. Having brought along her consecrated oil, Louisa Pratt was in constant demand: “The females had great faith in the oil,” she observed. They repaid her for her ministrations with food and other gifts, cementing the bonds of reciprocity.²⁶

Mormon missionaries, because of their commitment to continuous revelation, also put more stock in prophecy and visions than their Protestant counterparts; this feature of the LDS faith also had structural parallels in traditional native beliefs and practices. Peter Turner, a Methodist missionary in Tonga, expressed frustration that the natives wanted more “mystical” and “visionary” accounts of religious experience than he felt comfortable providing. His charges said that they had visions of heaven and Christ, and they wanted an opportunity to speak with him about such spiritual manifestations. Turner, however, could only instruct them to be suspicious of these experiences.²⁷

Mormons, in contrast, not only brought a faith that encompassed and legitimated the expression of spiritual power by the individual, but also brought information about a particular prophet. Louisa Pratt hung pictures of Joseph and Hyrum Smith on the wall in her bedroom, and was startled that “all the People on the Island came to look at [them].” One evening, she described how a visiting man left the gathered group to look at the picture: “he kneeled before it in order that the painting might come in range with his eyes. . . . For a quarter of an hour he looked steadfastly upon it, I believe without turning his eyes.” Louisa did not assume that the man was engaged in worship, concluding rather that “he wished undoubtedly to imprint the lineaments of the features upon his mind.”²⁸

While we cannot always presume to understand how native

²⁵Brown, *Giant of the Lord*, 228.

²⁶Ellsworth, *History of Louisa Barnes Pratt*, 128, 154.

²⁷Gunson, *Messengers of Grace*, 229.

²⁸Ellsworth, *History of Louisa Barnes Pratt*, 128. Underwood, “Cultural Authenticity,” discusses similar resonances among the Maori.

peoples interpreted particular religious behaviors and incorporated them into their shifting understandings of the world, by all accounts Mormon spiritual practices helped bring islanders into the community by meshing well with previously existent customs. Cannon remarked that the local people already believed in the laying on of hands for the sick. "It was not contrary to their traditions for them to believe in this ordinance, for their old native priests before the missionaries came, had considerable power which they exercised, and in which the people had confidence."²⁹

Yet the easier "fit" between Mormon religious practices and indigenous customs also raised the specter of the potential confusion, or even the purposeful mixing, of the two modes of religion. If Mormonism offered a way to build upon certain aspects of the native past, it also had powers that rivaled or competed with traditional spirits in ways that the missionaries found more disconcerting. In Tahiti, Brown baptized a couple, then healed their infant of an illness. A short time later, he watched as an older couple entered the room, walked over, and kissed the baby, "then went through some ancient heathen ceremony that I could not understand." When the baby died within the hour, Brown asked the parents to explain what had happened. They told him that the couple "had power with evil spirits, and had afflicted [the baby] in the first place." Brown's priesthood had apparently broken their power, and "they could not reunite it with the babe until they could come and touch it; and when they had done that, the parents and all concerned lost faith, and could not resist the influence that came with the old pair of witches."³⁰ While Brown was uncomfortable with this admixture of religious powers, it is clear that the natives were not; pragmatic in their beliefs, they chose to accept the work of whichever healer seemed most powerful.

Brown's incident also underscores the point that Mormon missionaries, often traveling alone without much of an institutional life to show the local peoples, also looked more traditionally powerful than did other Christians. The distance of Mormon missionaries from the bureaucratic apparatus of the church, while clearly a source of sorrow for them, ironically often elevated them in the eyes of the islanders. Protestant missionaries, because of their greater structural

²⁹Cannon, *My First Mission*, 56.

³⁰Brown, *Giant of the Lord*, 229-30.

organization and ties to local Euro-American officials, were more likely to be perceived as colonial government agents.³¹ Mormons, by comparison, looked more like the traditional spiritual entrepreneurs or healers with whom the natives were familiar, and thus their techniques may have been more easily accepted.

The potential correspondence between indigenous and Mormon healing and prophetic traditions also provided a point of leverage for natives against Protestant missionaries; it is clear that natives rapidly gained sophistication in playing the politics of the missionaries to their advantage. Brown recorded another incident in which a young woman who had been healed of an illness became the focal point of conflict between rival religious groups over who would take credit for her recovery. Her family disagreed among themselves about who had been responsible, finally telling the Protestant delegation that it had been their doing. But Brown later reported with some satisfaction on his final visit with her: "She ran out to meet me, and told me that she had not been sick one day since she had been baptized."³² One can only imagine the family meeting during which the natives debated whose side they should take.

In sum, then, Mormon religious practices—some improvised, others quite deliberately charismatic and experiential—also distinguished them from their Christian missionary colleagues, providing a mode of experience that was filled with the spirit. Clearly, it offered natives a religious option quite distinct from that proffered by evangelicals, one that was, in significant respects, less demanding than they totally renounce their previous way of life. But the very resonance with their traditional beliefs that made Mormon ways attractive also raised the possibility of inventive mixing with older traditions. One could be fairly certain that a native Congregationalist would not confuse catechism lessons with ancient Hawaiian rituals; but Mormon healings, anointings, and claims of prophetic experiences had such close cultural analogues with older religions that the two could be—and were—sometimes creatively fused instead of the latter being superseded by the gospel. Once again, both the promise and peril of Mormon missionary intimacy were evident.

³¹Gunson, *Messengers of Grace*, 143.

³²Brown, *Giant of the Lord*, 208.

A STORIED PEOPLE

Now to turn to the stories, for stories lay at the heart of the Mormon message. Several scholars have pointed out recently that the Book of Mormon provided a story for indigenous peoples of the New World, that it gave them ways to place themselves religiously in a sacred narrative, and that this acquisition of a story was a chief attraction of the church for Polynesian peoples. This is undoubtedly true. LDS missionaries approached potential converts by holding up the Book of Mormon (if they had a copy to spare) and declaring that they had brought with them a history of their own people, a message of hope and ultimate salvation. In New Zealand, missionaries claimed to see remnants of the divinely revealed religion in the practices of the Maori. As backhanded a compliment as this message might be, it does seem clear, as Grant Underwood has pointed out, that the Maori, along with other Polynesians, found in the Book of Mormon a "culturally compatible resource for defining their identity."³³

But the concept of defining an identity in the first place is something that bears further analysis in light of the colonial context. Scholars know very little about the collective self-understanding of Polynesian peoples in the era before contact with Europeans and Americans. After the arrival of whites beginning in the late eighteenth century, native peoples almost immediately began adapting and integrating new beliefs and practices into their ways of life. Most important for our purposes here is that, unlike in our own society, where our notion of peoplehood is based on a sense of common heritage rooted in genetic attributes, customs, and language, the peoples of Oceania may have had little if any conception of ethnicity or peoplehood, at least in the modern sense, prior to the arrival of missionaries and entrepreneurs.³⁴ What this meant, scholars have suggested, is that natives had little attachment to the idea that traditional practices and beliefs ought to be preserved as part of a cultural

³³Douglas, "Sons of Lehi," 100; Underwood, "Cultural Authenticity," 1. See also Barber, "Between Biculturalism."

³⁴Alan Howard, "Cultural Paradigms, History, and the Search for Identity in Oceania," in *Cultural Identity and Ethnicity in the Pacific*, edited by Jocelyn Linnekin and Lin Poyer (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1990), 260.

legacy; in other words, the idea that who one *was* fundamentally was not necessarily related intimately to observing the ways of one's genetic forebears or of having a story to tell about the endurance of familial characteristics at all. The notion of having a *past* in common with others of like genetic makeup was not necessarily an aspect of this Pacific self-understanding.³⁵

This observation, I think, makes the acquisition of a religious identity through the Book of Mormon an even more consequential act, one intimately connected to the colonial context. What was crucial was not just the type of identity it provided but also the process through which genetically based identity became a salient mode of self-understanding. Polynesians did not necessarily need to name themselves as a people before the arrival of Europeans; and with the colonial invasion, a negative identity (*who we are not*) became just as important as a positive one (*who we are*). Thus, it was not important solely that they were part of the House of Israel but also that they were not Gentiles, those increasingly oppressive officials who had made necessary their adaptation to a new self-awareness in the first place. In 1851, Louisa Pratt reported speaking at a women's meeting about the origins of the Book of Mormon. Significantly, one of the natives asked "if the ancient Nephites were Europeans. I told them they were the ancient fathers of the Tahitians. At this they appeared greatly interested, and wished to learn more about the book."³⁶

I am admittedly speculating on this point, but I suspect that what was communicated most immediately to native peoples was the identity structure framed by the Book of Mormon accounts, not the details of the players involved. Although the narrative itself is cer-

³⁵The subject of ethnic identity is too complex to enter into fully here. These conclusions should not be taken to suggest that Polynesian peoples had no self-conception, or group conceptions, whatsoever. What is in question is the genetic basis of that self-understanding. In a social world in which, prior to colonial contact, people lived among others who were quite similar physically, linguistically, and culturally, it is likely that these markers did not form the basis for any understanding of difference. For more discussion of this point, see Geoffrey M. White and John Kirkpatrick, eds., *Person, Self and Experience: Exploring Pacific Ethnopsychologies* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985).

³⁶Ellsworth, *History of Louisa Barnes Pratt*, 149.

tainly unique, what was also distinctive in the non-Euro-American context was the assembly of religious geography and the placement of particular peoples joined by family groupings within a sacred mapping of the world. It should also be noted that native peoples began to make these connections even in the face of missionary ambivalence about the placement of Pacific Islanders in the sacred story. Recent scholarship has argued persuasively that the first several generations of Mormons were ambivalent, if not categorically conflicted, about the ultimate importance of racial and ethnic distinctions in the plan of salvation. Were these differences eternal ones, ordained in the premortal existence? And what role would they play in the unfolding of history? The Polynesian peoples, in particular, were tenuously located in early Mormon descriptions (Louisa Pratt was well ahead of both her time and Church authorities); only later generations would agree definitively that Pacific Islanders were, in keeping with the Book of Mormon portrayal, the descendants of Hagoth and his fellow migrants from the Old World, and thus members of the House of Israel in their own right.³⁷

Despite the ambiguity of these mental maps, the LDS commitment to the literal unfolding of the destiny of the House of Israel meant that early Mormons had a remarkably intricate awareness of human diversity and its religious import. They had a deeply racialized—one might even say tribalized—view of sacred history, inasmuch as their commitment to the Old Testament narrative and its New World counterpart also brought them back to a tale of race and place. Whether those human differences would be important in the hereafter or exactly where particular peoples, including the Pacific Islanders, fit into the equation was in some respects less important than the overall predisposition to locate and understand new people and new experiences in light of a sacred story embedded in a sacred landscape.³⁸ This feature of Mormon religious identity proved particularly compelling to natives in an emerging colonial context.

³⁷For recent explorations of the historical development of Mormonism as an ethnic marker, see Arnold H. Green, "Gathering and Election: Israelite Descent and Universalism in Mormon Discourse," *Journal of Mormon History* 25, no. 1 (Spring 1999): 195-228; and Armand Mauss, "In Search of Ephraim: Traditional Mormon Conceptions of Lineage and Race," *ibid.*, 131-73. See also Douglas, "Sons of Lehi."

³⁸I find it significant, in this respect, that William Mulder, "The

Aside from reading themselves directly into the story, natives in a colonized situation could also interpret the story of more recent Mormon persecution on another level we should not overlook. Even if islanders had yet to make the connection between their own community and the journey of Hagoth to the New World, some were still captivated, and their hearts turned, by the ongoing persecution of American Mormons in their own homeland and throughout the Pacific and by the critique of Euro-American culture that lay at the heart of Mormon claims to legitimacy. When Parley P. Pratt described the Mormons in his first Pacific Mission pamphlet as a people “disfranchised, robbed, plundered, dispersed, slandered in every possible way, and driven to the mountains and deserts of the American interior,” one might have thought this a strange way to attract followers.³⁹ But the description held potential resonance for almost every indigenous group in the nineteenth-century Pacific; and for some, it still does. As late as the 1960s, Ian Barber concluded that many urban Maori still viewed their church as non-European. In other words, they identify strongly with the LDS Church as symbolic of an ongoing oppositional stance toward a colonizing power. Like the African American adaptation of the Old Testament theme of chosenness, the ongoing history of the Mormon people exhibited an internal logic and message of hope that stood on its own.⁴⁰

Mormon Gathering,” in *Mormonism and American Culture*, edited by Marvin S. Hill and James B. Allen (New York: Harper & Row, 1972): 94, notes that the concept of the new settlement, articulated as early as 1830, described the gathering not by relation to a specific geographical location but by proximity to particular peoples: the settlement would take place “on the borders of the Lamanites.” On the same theme and its relation to Native Americans, see Ronald W. Walker, “Seeking the ‘Remnant’: The Native American During the Joseph Smith Period,” *Journal of Mormon History* 19, no. 1 (Spring 1993): 1-33. Both studies suggest that Mormon sacred geography was inextricably bound to the locations of particular peoples, not to the natural landscape alone.

³⁹Pratt, “Proclamation . . .,” in *The Essential Parley P. Pratt* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1990), 155.

⁴⁰Barber, “Between Biculturalism and Assimilation,” 167. On resonances with the African American theme of chosenness, see Albert J. Raboteau, “African Americans, Exodus, and the American Israel,” in *Fire in the Bones: Reflections on African-American Religious History*, edited by Albert

It takes nothing away from the spiritual power of the Mormon message to suggest that native converts also saw in their new fellowship a solution to some of the political complications forced upon them by European and American political occupation. God may still work in history through natural, as well as more dramatically supernatural, means. Moreover, conversion entails a turning of the soul, a change of heart, and one cannot change hearts without first achieving a degree of intimacy. This is exactly what LDS missionaries, sometimes intentionally and often in spite of themselves, did so well in the Pacific. They lived among the native peoples, they used familiar techniques of communication and encouraged immediate religious experience and expression, they offered a means of molding identity, and they told a story of persecution and triumph. Many islanders could see that the Mormons were a "peculiar people" because they were ridiculed and rejected before native eyes, cast out by the very people who were systematically overturning native ways of life. While we still have more silences than voices to tell us exactly how Pacific Islanders understood what they saw, heard and felt, the moments of human intimacy are apparent.

CONCLUSIONS

The Pacific Basin was an international crossroads in the nineteenth century. Today, I have discussed two particular types of encounters that took place there. First, it was a religious meeting point for Protestants, Catholics, Mormons, and indigenous peoples throughout the region. But it was also a cultural meeting point for islanders and the Europeans and Americans who came seeking profit, power, and the truth of the gospel. I have tried to sketch out some of the points of contact and conflict that comprised the early mission fields, and to describe the ways in which American Mormons presented distinctive practical and theological alternatives to native peoples by placing themselves over against European and American colonial powers.

However, these were alternatives that Pacific peoples had to make sense of, to integrate into a larger framework in which the world as they once knew it was falling away. Just as American missionaries, coming to the South Seas, packed away in their bags their own cultural luggage and communal memories, experiencing a

sense of displacement, so too did natives bring to the encounter a context of engagement with whites that colored their views and shaped their decisions, forcing them into a replacement within their own land. While it must always be remembered that, in most situations, many more natives remained indifferent or hostile to Mormonism than converted to it, the reasons for its appeal lay in both its religious and its political distinctiveness.

Moreover, as far away from Utah as the South Seas is, some of this story must certainly resonate with the normative Mormon westering saga. It is not a tale of spatial movement, to be sure, but it is a narrative of changed spaces and times. Like the Utah pioneers, Pacific Mormons were a people dominated by, and persecuted by, ruling powers in their midst.⁴¹ For both groups, faith provided a point of resistance in a politically oppressive situation. In both contexts, belief in the restored gospel mixed with native cultural traditions and even catalyzed splinter movements that accepted parts of the original faith but not others. In both settings, time and space were transformed, and the past became new again. What the early Polynesian Saints lacked, however, that the Utah Saints achieved very early on, were the technological skills and material resources to record and begin to assess their own history.

As the LDS Church reaches another cultural crossing, as it becomes ever more cognizant of its increasingly multicultural membership, these stories of origin, of replacement and displacement, will multiply. As much of a nineteenth-century saga as this is, it has many contemporary resonances in discussions over unity and diversity in the Church at the close of the twentieth century. A key difference today is that Mormon missionaries do not occupy the same oppositional stance to American political power as that inhabited by their forebears. They have become thoroughly associated with the United States as an imperial force in the eyes of other peoples, a fact that complicates the task of evangelization inasmuch as the Mormon message is now equated with assimilation to American civilization.

Yet in a global context, the question of the religious mapping of a sacred story is still a salient issue. Mormons living "on the margins" of the sacred tent, glimpsing the tradition as it has been con-

⁴¹For a sustained discussion of American imperialism in Utah, see Donald W. Meinig, "The Mormon Nation and the American Empire," *Journal of Mormon History* 22, no. 1 (Spring 1996): 33-51.

structed and memorialized from a different vantage point, will certainly be more suspicious of readily equating American values with restored gospel truths. Like the early Pacific missionaries, they may choose to draw distinctions between the precepts that unify the faith and the cultural presumptions that diversify it. And they will bring to the community other sacred stories. It remains to be seen how the Church as an institution will respond, and whether these new voices will be interpreted as a threat or a welcoming call.

WILFORD WOODRUFF'S VISION OF THE SIGNERS OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

Brian H. Stuy

WITH THE EXCEPTION of Joseph Smith's visions, few are better known than those received by Wilford Woodruff in the St. George Temple shortly after its dedication in 1877. According to Woodruff, on two successive August nights the signers of the Declaration of Independence appeared to him in the spirit and demanded to know why no work had been performed for them in the Endowment House or the newly completed St. George Temple. Woodruff recounted that they stated, "You have had the use of the Endowment House for a number of years, and yet nothing has ever been done for us. We laid the foundation of the government you now enjoy, and we never apostatized from it, but we remained true to it and were faithful to God." Upon reflecting why the work had not already been performed for these extraordinary individuals, Woodruff recalled: "I thought it very singular, that notwithstanding so much work had been done, and yet nothing had been done for them. The thought never entered my

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heart, from the fact, I suppose, that heretofore our minds were reaching after our more immediate friends and relatives." Woodruff concluded to take immediate action, and "I straightway went into the baptismal font and called upon brother McCallister to baptize me for the signers of the Declaration of Independence, and fifty other eminent men, making one hundred in all, including John Wesley, Columbus, and others; I then baptized him for every President of the United States, except three; and when their cause is just, somebody will do the work for them."¹

Leaders and teachers have used this experience to encourage Church members to perform temple proxy work for their deceased relatives. In fact, in just about any Sunday School lesson dealing with temple work, Woodruff's vision of the signers of the Declaration of Independence is used to bolster and promote diligence in seeking out and performing proxy ordinances for one's ancestors. Its validity as an actual encounter with the spirit world has never been questioned.

PROXY BAPTISMS IN NAUVOO AND SALT LAKE CITY

A survey of the Nauvoo Temple and Salt Lake City Endowment House baptismal records shows that Wilford Woodruff was not the first member of the Church to be concerned with the eternal welfare of prominent men and women in history. In fact, saving ordinances were performed for famous personalities as soon as the doctrine of vicarious temple work was revealed.² Charlotte Haven, writing home

¹Wilford Woodruff, 16 September 1877, *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (London and Liverpool: LDS Booksellers Depot, 1855-86), 19:229.

²Joseph Smith introduced the doctrine of baptism for the dead to the Saints in Nauvoo in a discourse he delivered at the funeral of Seymour Brunson, a member of the Nauvoo High Council, on 15 August 1840. Smith taught that "people could now act for their friends who had departed this life, and that the plan of salvation was calculated to save all who were willing to obey the requirements of the law of God." Andrew F. Ehat and Lyndon W. Cook, *The Words of Joseph Smith* (Provo, Utah: BYU Religious Studies Center, 1980), 49. Smith's teachings were based on a reading of 1 Corinthians 15:29, in which Paul mentions a vicarious baptismal ordinance in support of his teachings on the resurrection. On 19 January 1841, Smith dictated a revelation formally introducing the doctrine of proxy baptisms, later Doctrine and Covenants 124. Almost immediately, the Saints began

from Nauvoo, reported that she witnessed baptisms for the dead in the Mississippi River in early May 1843:

We followed the bank toward town, and . . . spied quite a crowd of people, and soon perceived there was a baptism. Two elders stood knee-deep in the icy cold water, and immersed one after another as fast as they could come down the bank. We soon observed that some of them went in and were plunged several times. We were told that they were baptized for the dead who had not had an opportunity of adopting the doctrines of the Latter Day Saints. So these poor mortals in ice-cold water were releasing their ancestors and relatives from purgatory! We drew a little nearer and heard several names repeated by the elders as the victims were douched, and you can imagine our surprise when the name George Washington was called. So after these fifty years he is out of purgatory and on his way to the "celestial" heaven!³

In addition to this baptism reported by Charlotte Haven, vicarious baptisms were completed for George Washington on at least three other occasions in Nauvoo.⁴ Others for whom proxy ordi-

to perform baptisms for the dead in the Mississippi River. On 3 October 1841, Joseph Smith instructed that the Saints must suspend such ordinances until the baptismal font in the Nauvoo Temple was completed. With the font completed on 8 November 1841, baptisms for the dead recommenced on Sunday, 21 November 1841. *Ibid.*, 98.

³Charlotte Haven, Letter to "My dear home friends," 2 May 1843 in *Among the Mormons: Historical Accounts by Contemporary Observers*, edited by William Mulder and A. Russell Mortensen (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1958), 123. I was unable to locate a baptismal record for the event Charlotte Haven describes.

⁴Proxies in these three baptisms for Washington were Joseph Smith's brother Don Carlos Smith, John Harrington, and Stephen Jones. Nauvoo Baptismal Record Index, microfilm #820155, Family History Library, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City. The baptismal records from Nauvoo are a collection of notes, often undated, recorded by individuals who participated in the proxy ordinances. These records have been extracted and indexed, listing the proxy name, the ordinance date, the person performing the baptism, and the microfilm location of the baptismal record. This index is arranged alphabetically by proxy name. All references to the Nauvoo baptismal records refer to the proxy index rather than to the updated and unorganized baptismal records. Other proxy

nances were done in Nauvoo include Benjamin Franklin,⁵ Presidents John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, James Monroe, and William Henry Harrison; George Washington's wife, Martha Dandridge Custis Washington, and mother, Mary Ball Washington; and Thomas Jefferson's wife Martha Wayles Jefferson.⁶ Wilford Woodruff would later repeat the proxy baptisms in St. George for all of these individuals.

The departure from Nauvoo and exodus to Utah interrupted

temple ordinance records used in this article are Endowment House Baptisms for the Dead (hereafter Endowment House, date, microfilm number) and St. George Temple Baptisms for the Dead (hereafter St. George, date, microfilm number), all housed at the Family History Library. Baptisms are kept in separate books from endowments, and each book is microfilmed separately.

⁵Proxy work for Benjamin Franklin was performed by John Harrington (Nauvoo, 1841, #820153), with a second proxy baptism by Haden Wells Church following thirty years later (Endowment House, 23 August 1871, #183384) and a third by John M. Bernhisel (Endowment House, 23 August 1876, #183388). After a fourth proxy baptism by Woodruff, the Church's International Genealogical Index (IGI) shows that Franklin's work was repeated several more times: On 23 March 1880 and 3 June 1884 in the St. George Temple; on 20 May 1972 in the London Temple; on 3 May 1975 in the Arizona Temple; and most recently on 16 July 1992 in the Boise Temple.

⁶In Nauvoo in 1841, these baptisms were performed: James Adams (no relation) for John Adams; Stephen Jones for Thomas Jefferson; John Harrington for James Monroe; and both Ebenezer [sic] Robinson and John Harrington for William Henry Harrison (Nauvoo, 1841, 2, 81, 109, 71, 76 #820152-820155). John Adams's baptism was repeated in Utah by Samuel H. B. Smith and by Haden Wells Church (Endowment House, 15 November 1871, 17 April 1872, #183384). Martha Dandridge Custis Washington had three proxy baptisms: by John Harrington (Nauvoo, 1841, 174, #820155), by John M. Bernhisel (Nauvoo, 29 July 1844, #183379), and by Mary Lawrence Bernhisel, Bernhisel's daughter, in the Endowment House, 12 August 1874 (John M. Bernhisel, "Temple Record Book," 12 August 1874, 188, Family History Library). Mary Ball Washington was baptized by proxy first in Nauvoo by John M. Bernhisel and again by Mary Lawrence Bernhisel in Salt Lake City (Nauvoo, 29 July 1844, #183379; Bernhisel, "Temple Record Book," 12 August 1874, 188). Martha Jefferson's proxy baptism was done in Nauvoo by Sarah M. Cleveland (Nauvoo 1841, 87, #820153).

proxy temple ordinances; but the completion of the Salt Lake Endowment House in 1855 allowed the Saints to once more perform baptisms for the dead in behalf of deceased family and friends. Several members sought out and performed proxy ordinances for prominent individuals, including the signers of the Declaration of Independence. One of the first to systematically perform the work for the Founding Fathers was Haden Wells Church, who in 1871 and 1872 received proxy baptisms in the Endowment House for many of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, as well as for U.S. Presidents Andrew Jackson and James Knox Polk. On one occasion, Church was confirmed by an individual who would play an important role in Woodruff's experience, John Daniel Thompson McAllister, who also served as recorder for many of the baptisms. Church's wife, Matilda, was proxy baptized for many of the signers wives.⁷

Another individual who sought to perform the baptismal work for prominent men and women from colonial American history was John M. Bernhisel, Utah's first territorial delegate to Congress. Although he was responsible for performing proxy baptisms for several distinguished men and women while in Nauvoo, he increased his work for prominent "friends" in the Endowment House in Salt Lake. His baptismal record book indicates that on 25 June 1873 he acted as proxy for American statesman William Henry Seward, journalist Horace Greeley, educator Horace Mann, and Declaration of Independence signer George Clymer.⁸ On 8 July 1874, Bernhisel was baptized for Benjamin Rush, another Declaration of Independence signer, along with British political philosopher John Locke and deceased President Millard Fillmore.⁹ In August he was baptized for writer Washington Irving and Swiss-American naturalist Louis J. R. Agassiz. The following week, Bernhisel's daughter Mary, was re-

⁷Church performed the proxy baptisms for twenty-nine of the fifty-four signers—just more than half. Why he did not perform the work for the remaining signers is unknown (Endowment House, 23 August 1871, 17 April 1872, #183384). Oliver Wolcott, one of the signers for whom Church did not perform the work, nevertheless had his work performed by a descendant, Phineas Wolcott Cook (*ibid.*, 13 September 1872, #183384).

⁸Bernhisel, "Temple Record Book," 176.

⁹*Ibid.*, 194.

baptized for Mary Ball Washington and Martha Washington, for whom John M. Bernhisel had acted as proxy in Nauvoo.¹⁰

In 1876, most likely in response to United States centennial celebrations, Bernhisel began a systematic program of proxy work for the Founding Fathers and other U.S. leaders. On 9 August 1876, he and his daughter Mary were baptized in the Endowment House for most of the deceased U.S. presidents and their wives. In addition, Bernhisel performed baptismal work for Revolutionary War hero Patrick Henry.¹¹

Two weeks later, Bernhisel returned to the Endowment House with a longer list of worthies: the remaining signers of the Declaration of Independence and the U.S. Constitution, and John Tyler, tenth U.S. president, who had been absent from Bernhisel's 9 August listing.¹² Bernhisel did not perform baptismal work for signers whose proxy baptisms had previously been completed: Charles Carroll of Carrollton, Benjamin Rush, James Wilson, and John Adams.¹³

WOODRUFF'S PROXY BAPTISMS IN THE ST. GEORGE TEMPLE

Upon the completion of the St. George Temple in January

¹⁰*Ibid.*, 186-188; and 5, 12 August 1874.

¹¹On this same date, Bernhisel acted as proxy for Presidents John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, James Monroe, John Quincy Adams, Martin Van Buren, William Henry Harrison, James K. Polk, Millard Fillmore, Franklin Pierce, and Andrew Johnson (Endowment House, 9 August 1876, #183388). Excluded were George Washington, Andrew Jackson, John Tyler, Zachary Taylor, James Buchanan, and Abraham Lincoln. Mary was baptized for Abigail Smith Adams, Dolley Payne Todd Madison, Louisa Catherine Johnson Adams, Rachel Donelson Robards Jackson, Martha Wayles Skelton Jefferson, Jane Means Appleton Pierce, Hannah Hoes Van Buren, and Anna Tuthill Symmes Harrison.

¹²*Ibid.*, 23 August 1876, #183388. Bernhisel's listing of the signers of the U.S. Constitution inexplicably omitted Daniel Jenifer, Richard Dobbs Spaight, Jared Ingersoll, and Alexander Hamilton. Bernhisel had been baptized for Charles Carroll and Benjamin Rush previously (Bernhisel, "Temple Record Book," 30 June 1875, 196; Nauvoo, n.d., #820155).

¹³Bernhisel had been baptized for Carroll (Bernhisel, "Temple Record Book," 30 June 1875, 196), and for Benjamin Rush (Nauvoo, n.d., #820154). Mary Sloan had been baptized for James Wilson (Nauvoo, 21 June 1843, #820155), but whether Bernhisel was aware of this baptism is unknown.

1877, performing proxy ordinances for deceased family and friends became an important duty for the Saints. President Brigham Young, in addressing the Saints at the St. George Temple dedicatory services, asked the members to consider the spirits of past generations: "What do you suppose the fathers would say if they could speak from the dead? Would they not say, 'We have lain here thousands of years, here in this prison house, waiting for this dispensation to come? Here we are, bound and fettered, in the association of those who are filthy?'"¹⁴ Wilford Woodruff took these teachings to heart. On Sunday, 19 August 1877, he records in his journal: "I spent the evening in preparing a list of the noted men of the 17 Century and 18th, including the Signers of the declaration of Independence and the 16 president[s] of the United States for Baptism on Tuesday the 21 Aug. 1877."¹⁵ The individuals for whom Woodruff performed baptismal work on 21 August 1877 included all of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, with the exception of William Floyd and Thomas Jefferson whose baptisms, he knew, had already been performed in the St. George Temple.¹⁶ But Woodruff apparently did not know of the proxy baptisms Haden Church and John Bernhisel had completed earlier for the signers of the Declaration of Independence and past U.S. presidents.¹⁷ In fact, *every* signer of the Declaration of Inde-

¹⁴Brigham Young, 1 January 1877, *Journal of Discourses*, 18:304.

¹⁵*Wilford Woodruff's Journal, 1833-1898*, typescript, edited by Scott G. Kenney, 9 vols. (Midvale, Utah: Signature Books, 1983-85), 7:367.

¹⁶Addison Everett had been baptized for William Floyd (St. George, 13 March 1877, #170841). John Hancock's baptism and endowment were performed by his third cousin, Levi Ward Hancock, on successive days (St. George, 29 and 30 May 1877, #170843, #170542).

¹⁷On the other hand, Woodruff *may* have known of Bernhisel's work. On 9 August 1876, the first day that Bernhisel performed proxy baptisms, Woodruff was doing live sealings, also in the Endowment House. When Bernhisel returned to the Endowment House two weeks later on 23 August to do baptisms for most of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, however, Woodruff was speaking at a funeral. If he was aware of any individual names, it seems likely he would not have performed the work again in St. George, just as he omitted William Floyd and John Hancock. Exceptions, however, do exist. Woodruff conducted the sealing of Charlotte Corday to Joseph Smith on 5 September 1870, following her proxy baptism by Josephine Ursenbach (Endowment House, 29 December

pendence had been baptized by proxy before Woodruff performed that ordinance in the St. George Temple in 1877.

Woodruff next compiled a list of the U.S. presidents and their wives, omitting Martin Van Buren and James Buchanan because he perceived them as guilty of crimes against the Saints.¹⁸ A third past president, Ulysses S. Grant, was still alive at the time. Woodruff's presidential listing, however, included only two names for whom baptismal work had not already been performed: Zachary Taylor and Abraham Lincoln. Although he purposely left Martin Van Buren off his baptismal list as a form of posthumous payback, unbeknownst to him John M. Bernhisel had performed Van Buren's baptism the previous year in the Endowment House.¹⁹ Additionally, Woodruff did proxy baptisms for George Washington's parents, grandparents, and great-grandparents.

Woodruff then listed forty-five prominent men from the past two centuries, including such notables as Daniel Webster, Washington Irving, and William Henry Seward, all of whose proxy baptisms had been completed in the Endowment House.²⁰ Also on Woodruff's list were explorers Christopher Columbus,²¹ Americus Ves-

1869, #183382). It is difficult to understand Woodruff's perceived need to reperform Corday's baptism in St. George. D. Michael Quinn, *The Mormon Hierarchy: Extensions of Power* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1997), 766.

¹⁸Woodruff 7:368. Van Buren had refused to assist the Saints during their Missouri troubles in 1838, and Buchanan had sent Johnston's Army to Utah in 1857.

¹⁹Buchanan's proxy baptism was done on 4 June 1932 in the Salt Lake Temple, with endowments following on 19 October 1932, Salt Lake Temple Endowment Records, Book 4T, 924, #184290, Family History Genealogy Library. Van Buren's baptism was repeated 4 May 1938, and he was endowed 21 June 1938, both in the Salt Lake Temple. *Ibid.*, Book 6H, 203, #184314.

²⁰Woodruff, 21 August 1877, 7:368. On 6 September 1876, John Young Smith was proxy baptized for Daniel Webster, Noah Webster, John Locke, and Horace Greeley, and another name that appeared on Woodruff's list, Henry Clay (Endowment House, 6 September 1876, #183388). John M. Bernhisel had been baptized for Washington Irving and Louis J. R. Agassiz on 5 August 1874 and for William Henry Seward on 25 June 1873. See note 10.

²¹Although Woodruff appears to be the first to arrange for

pucius, David Livingstone, theologian John Wesley, and French emperor Charles Louis Napoleon Bonaparte.

Woodruff also compiled a list of seventy famous women. Many were wives of the men already listed, in addition to some women notable for their own merits, including English novelists Jane Austen and Charlotte Bronte, English poet and feminist Elizabeth Barrett Browning, and Queen of France Marie Antoinette.²²

DETERMINING WOODRUFF'S SOURCES

Biographical information in the St. George Temple Baptismal Records suggests that Wilford Woodruff used a reference source in compiling his listing of prominent men and women. Although these records lack biographical information for the signers of the Declaration of Independence, they do contain the birth date and place, along with the death date for nearly every other individual. Among those for whom biographical information is available, several records contain incomplete information, listing only the birthplace, for example, without the date. Others include only the year of an individual's death, but not the place or exact day. By compiling and analyzing this biographical information, I have determined that a two-volume work by Evert A. Duyckinck, entitled *Portrait Gallery of Eminent Men and Women of Europe and America*,²³ was the source Woodruff consulted. Although Duyckinck's volumes contain many individuals not found on Woodruff's listing, they contain virtually all the names on Woodruff's list with only the biographical information that he included in the proxy records. (See Appendix for a listing of names and the sources of Woodruff's biographical information.) Of the forty-five prominent men on Woodruff's list (exclud-

Columbus's baptism, he has not been the last. The LDS International Genealogical Index (IGI) searches reveal further baptisms on 26 July 1988 in the Swiss Temple, on 9 and 16 January 1992 in the Arizona Temple, on 20 March and 10 July 1992 in the Provo Temple, and 23 January 1993 in the Portland Temple. Just as the centennial celebration of America's independence seemed to have prompted Woodruff to seek out the Founding Fathers, so the pentecentennial anniversary of Columbus's discovery apparently generated renewed interest in his salvation.

²²Woodruff 7:369.

²³Evert A. Duyckinck, *Portrait Gallery of Eminent Men and Women of Europe and America* (New York: Henry J. Johnson, 1873).

ing the presidents and signers), only four do not have biographical essays in Duyckinck's works, and only thirteen of Woodruff's seventy women do not. Nine of these thirteen are related to President George Washington.²⁴

Comparing the order of Woodruff's names with Duyckinck's also suggests Woodruff's dependence on these volumes. The following portion of Woodruff's list demonstrates clearly the strong correlation between Woodruff's order and Duyckinck's:

<i>Woodruff's List</i>	<i>Duyckinck's Portrait Gallery</i>
Daniel Webster	2:129
Washington Irving	2:150
Michael Faraday	2:173
William Makepeace Thackeray	2:189
John Caldwell Calhoun	2:203
Baron Justin Von Liebig	2:222
Henry Clay	2:228
Edward George Earle Lytton Bulwer	2:259
George Peabody	2:291
Charles Louis Napoleon Bonaparte	2:304

In short, not only are most of Woodruff's names in these two volumes, but the names replicate Duyckinck's order as well. Furthermore, there is a strong correlation between the biographical data in Woodruff's records and the information in Duyckinck's volumes. For example, both Duyckinck and Woodruff report only the birth year (1801) for American naval officer and Civil War hero David Glascoe Farragut. Neither record gives a death date or year for David Livingston. In fact, a comparison between the two listings shows *not a single instance* in which Woodruff's proxy record contains accurate biographical information not contained in Duyckinck's volumes.²⁵

²⁴The names and biographical information contained in Woodruff's listing do not correspond to the information provided by Duyckinck's essay on George Washington. It is probable that Woodruff used another source when compiling the family of the first president.

²⁵In several instances, Woodruff has information not found in Duyckinck's volumes, but these additions are always inaccurate. For ex-

Furthermore, in his journal entry for 3-5 August 1876, Woodruff suggests that he may have been reading a companion set of Duyckinck's entitled *National Portrait Gallery of Eminent Americans*:

In my leasure moments of late I have read the life of Daniel Boone the great explorer & pioneer of Kentucky and afterwards Early settler of Louisiana and it is vary Strange that Kentucky should have Cheated him out of his land & home after locating the Country & fighting Indians 40 years. Also the Lands in Louisiana that the spanish Government gave him was taken from him By Congress and he never had any land given him untill he was about 80 years old and a short time before his death.²⁶

Woodruff adds other details: that Boone had lived three months in the wilderness of Kentucky alone without any "bread, sugar, or salt" in an area surrounded by Indians and later settled with his family in a fort of his own making. Duyckinck's biographical essay on Boone includes every item of information that Woodruff recorded, including the fact that "Daniel had been absent two years, during which time he had tasted *neither bread nor salt*."²⁷

Wilford Woodruff apparently left Duyckinck's *National Por-*

ample, Duyckinck's biographical essay lists only the month and year of Baron Justin von Liebig's birth (May 1803), while Woodruff's baptismal and endowment records list the birth date as 18 May 1803. Woodruff is wrong; Von Liebig was born on 12 May 1803. (It is possible that he transposed the "18" from the baron's death date, 18 April 1873.) Duyckinck gives the death date for Daniel Webster's wife, Grace Fletcher Webster, as January 1828. Woodruff shows the date as 28 January 1828. She actually died on 21 January 1828. Other inaccuracies include Sarah Margaret Fuller's birth date (listed as 1801, actually 1810); Jane Austin's death date (listed as 1813, Duyckinck has 1819, actually 1817); Dorothy Payne's death date (listed as 1843, actually 1849), and the addition of birth month and year for Marie Antoinette's mother, Empress Marie Theresa (listed as June 1752, actually 13 May 1717). A search of Duyckinck's essays for each respective person reveals no explanation why the false information was included. Since extant baptismal and endowment records were transcribed from the actual ordinance slips, it is possible that these inaccuracies crept in during transcription, as is most likely the case with Sarah Fuller's death date.

²⁶Woodruff 7:281.

²⁷Duyckinck, "Daniel Boone," *National Portrait Gallery* (New York: Johnson, Fry, & Company, 1862), 1:185; emphasis mine.

trait Gallery of Eminent Americans in Salt Lake City when he left for St. George on 1 November 1876. That he did not have the two-volume *National Portrait Gallery of Eminent Americans* that he had been reading during the previous months is strongly supported by the fact that he did not perform the baptismal work for anyone whose biography is found only in this work, including Daniel Boone, Patrick Henry, and Henry Wadsworth Longfellow—men who were greatly admired and whom Woodruff certainly would have considered worthy of proxy attention.²⁸ It seems, however, that Woodruff continued to read Duyckinck's two-volume *Portrait Gallery of Eminent Men and Women of Europe and America*; and from these two volumes, Woodruff drew the majority of his baptismal listing. After settling in St. George, he recorded on 15 December 1876 that he "spent the day in Reading Livingston's travels in Africa up to the time of his death and to the final resting place of his body in the west Minster Abbey in London. This History was quite interesting."²⁹

THE NEED FOR WOODRUFF'S PROXY WORK

It seems likely that, if the signers had literally appeared to Woodruff, he would have used all of the resources at his disposal to compile as complete and comprehensive a listing of worthies as he could. Woodruff's use of Duyckinck's volumes does nothing in and of itself to cause us to question his experience as a literal visitation from the spirit world. But because the baptismal work had been previously performed for every individual who had signed the Declaration of Independence—the very men Woodruff explicitly states

²⁸All of the presidents of the United States for whom Woodruff performed ordinance work had biographical sketches in Duyckinck's *National Portrait Gallery of Eminent Americans*; however, in these instances the biographical data contained in Woodruff's baptismal records are so dissimilar from those found in Duyckinck's work as to virtually preclude its use by Woodruff. This fact, coupled with Woodruff's non-performance of proxy work for Daniel Boone, whom Woodruff obviously greatly admired, convinces me that he did not possess this work in St. George. What reference work he did use in compiling his information on the Presidents of the United States is not known.

²⁹Woodruff, 7:295-96. David Livingstone, for whom Woodruff performed proxy baptism, appears in Duyckinck's *Portrait Gallery*, 2:605.

appeared to him—we must consider the nature of his experience with these men. It seems unlikely that they would have literally appeared to him in August 1877, after their proxy baptisms had been done, to express their unhappiness that no proxy work had been performed for them, yet this was certainly the main message that Woodruff understood from his experience. Woodruff stated that they said: “You have had the use of the Endowment House for a number of years, and *yet nothing has ever been done for us.*”³⁰ On at least two other occasions, he also spoke of this experience. In 1892, he described how these individuals “came to me two nights in succession and pleaded with [me] as one man pleads with another to redeem them.”³¹ Six years later, at the April 1898 general conference, Woodruff again said:

General Washington and all the men that labored for the purpose were inspired of the Lord. Another thing I am going to say here, because I have a right to say it. Every one of those men that signed the Declaration of Independence with General Washington called upon me, as an Apostle of the Lord Jesus Christ, in the Temple at St. George two consecutive nights, and *demand[ed] at my hands that I should go forth and attend to the ordinances of the house of God for them.*³²

Yet Haden Wells Church and John M. Bernhisel had both done their proxy baptisms in the Endowment House before Woodruff says they appeared to him in St. George. Why would they need to urge Wilford Woodruff to repeat the same ordinances? They could not have been referring to endowments, since these were not performed for the dead in the Endowment House.³³

³⁰*Journal of Discourses* 19:229; emphasis mine.

³¹Charles F. Middleton, “Notes from a Priesthood Meeting held in 1892,” Historical Department of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City (hereafter LDS Church Archives).

³²*Conference Report of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 10 April 1898 (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, semi-annual), 89-90; emphasis mine.

³³Brigham Young specifically taught that proxy endowments could be performed only in designated temples, not in the Endowment House. “Some brethren here are anxious to know whether they can receive endowments for their [deceased] sons or for their [deceased] daughters. No, they cannot until we have a Temple; but they can officiate in the

PREVIOUS VISIONS OF WILFORD WOODRUFF

To put Woodruff's encounter with the signers into context, it might be helpful to look at another experience that he often recounted, involving visitations from deceased Church President Brigham Young. After the dedication of the Salt Lake Temple in 1893, Woodruff, reflecting on his accomplishments for that year, wrote in his journal: "Two nights in succession before John Taylor[']s Death [in 1887] President Young gave me the Keys of the Temple and told me to go and dedicate it which I did."³⁴ It seems clear that, in 1893 Wilford Woodruff believed that Brigham Young, who had died in 1877, had literally appeared to him and conveyed keys that allowed Woodruff to complete and dedicate the Salt Lake Temple.³⁵

But Woodruff's contemporary journal entries about these visitations convey a completely different idea. On 12 March 1887, Woodruff recorded the dreams in which Brigham Young visited him:

I dreamed last night that the L D Saints were holding a great Conference at Salt Lake City at the great Temple and thousands of

ordinances so far as baptism and sealing are concerned. . . . We can attend to these ordinances now before the Temple is built here [in Salt Lake]; but no one can receive endowments for another, until a Temple is prepared in which to administer them." Brigham Young, 4 September 1873, *Journal of Discourses* 16:187. Ordinances performed in the Endowment House included "baptizing people for the remission of sins, for their health and for their dead friends. . . . We also have the privilege of sealing women to men [in plural and monogamous marriages], without a Temple. . . . [B]ut when we come to other sealing ordinances, ordinances pertaining to the holy Priesthood, to connect the chain of the Priesthood from father Adam until now, by sealing children to their parents, being sealed for our forefathers, etc., they cannot be done without a Temple. But we can seal women to men [in marriages], but not men to men [in adoption sealings] without a Temple." *Ibid.*, 186.

³⁴Woodruff 9:279, "A Synopsis of Wilford Woodruff Labors in 1893."

³⁵For more background on Wilford Woodruff's experiences with Brigham Young in relation to building the Salt Lake Temple, see my article, "Come, Let Us Go Up to the Mountain of the Lord': The Salt Lake Temple Dedication," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 31 (Fall 1998): 102-5.

Mechanics were laboring hard to finish the Temple. I was requested to open the Conference As I was an Exile and they might not have me with them long. The Key of the Temple was given me to open it. As I went to the door A large Company were assembled and I overtook Presid[en]t Brigham Young and He asked what the matter was with the great Company at the Door. Some one Answered the Elders did not want to Let the people into the Temple. He said *Oh, oh, oh* and turned to me & said let all[,] all into the Temple who seek for Salvation. I saw several who were Dead and among the Number my wife Phebe. I Believe there is some meaning to this dream.³⁶

Woodruff records that he received similar dreams for the next three nights, and wrote on 15 March: "I dream almost Ev[e]ry night of these great Meetings. I do not understand what those Dreams Mean."³⁷ It is significant that, at the time he had these dreams, Woodruff could not readily interpret them. I believe that these dreams, and their later metamorphosis into his claim of an actual visitation from Brigham Young, set a helpful clear context in which we can better consider the events surrounding the St. George proxy baptisms and endowment work. I hypothesize that the same process of metamorphosis was at work here.

Wilford Woodruff attached great importance to his dreams and frequently recorded them in his journals.³⁸ For Woodruff, the

³⁶Woodruff 8:429.

³⁷Ibid.

³⁸Woodruff recorded at least three dozen of his own dreams and scores of dreams received by others. For example, he recorded a dream that ZCMI burned and another that John Taylor openly solemnized plural marriages, neither of which happened. Woodruff, 17 February 1879, 7:456; 16 December 1879, 7:535. Woodruff also had dreams which were later fulfilled, including two 1839 dreams about the death of his daughter Sarah Emma, who died the next year. Ibid., 28 November 1839, 1:371; 17 July 1840, 1:485. After recording a dream, he would frequently comment something like "What this Dream means time will soon Determin[e]." Ibid., 26 March 1840, 1:429. Thomas G. Alexander documents many of Woodruff's dreams and how his dreams changed in response to different concerns and stresses. *Things in Heaven and Earth: The Life and Times of Wilford Woodruff, a Mormon Prophet* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1991), 39-40, 94, 97, 119, 122, 147, 199, 227. In 1890 when governmental pressure was intense to abandon polygamy, the conflict for Woodruff was resolved

Lord could reveal principles and truths through dreams as easily as through literal visitations and felt that God had given him prophetic dreams of the future and taught him many truths through dreams. Thus, previous to 1877 Woodruff had learned to pay close attention to his dreams and to act on any truth that he felt they conveyed.³⁹

Furthermore, Woodruff's journal does not include any mention of the signers' visitation to him on 19-20 and 20-21 August. From his journal alone, the impression is that Woodruff simply decided to perform the work for these prominent individuals. However, in recounting his St. George experience at the Salt Lake Temple dedication sixteen years later, Woodruff's language suggests a dream, rather than a literal visitation: "A class of men came to me in the *night visions*, and argued with me to have the work done for them. They were the Signers of the Declaration of Independence."⁴⁰

I believe, then, that Wilford Woodruff compiled his list and went to the St. George Temple on 21 August 1877 in response to night visions, or dreams. Baptismal records indicate that Woodruff first baptized John Daniel Thompson McAllister for George Washington, his family, and the other deceased U.S. presidents—twenty-one individuals in all.⁴¹ McAllister then baptized Wilford Woodruff for the signers and other prominent men, resulting in ninety-nine additional baptisms.⁴² After completing baptisms for the men on

when he saw a vision of the Church's destruction if he refused to relinquish plural marriage. See his discourse of 1 November 1891, in Brian H. Stuy, *Collected Discourses of President Wilford Woodruff, His Two Counselors, the Twelve Apostles, and Others* (Burbank, Calif.: B.H.S. Publishing, 1986-91), 2:287-88. Given his propensity for viewing personal dreams as a medium for divine revelation, it is probable that the vision motivating the Manifesto was a dream.

³⁹Woodruff, 8 October 1881, *Journal of Discourses*, 22:331-32.

⁴⁰Joseph West Smith, Journal, 11 April 1893, Special Collections and Manuscripts, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah; emphasis mine; also John D. T. McAllister Journal, 7 April 1893, *ibid.*

⁴¹McAllister frequently performed proxy ordinances for famous historical personalities. In addition to acting in the confirmation of eleven signers proxy baptized by Haden Wells Church in 1871, McAllister was baptized for several prominent individuals, including the first Emperor of Russia and Austria (Endowment House, 9 August 1871, 12 June 1872, #1183384).

Woodruff's list, McAllister baptized Lucy Bigelow Young, a plural wife of Brigham Young, for Woodruff's seventy prominent women. Local Saints immediately began doing their endowments, completing this portion on 20 February 1878.

Seventeen years later, Woodruff had another experience with a distinguished early American from beyond the veil which again motivated him to complete more temple ordinances.

March 19, 1894 – I had a Dream in the night. I met with Benjamin Franklin. I thought He was on the Earth. I spent several hours with him And talked over our Endowments. He wanted some more work done for him than had been done which I promised him He should have. I thought then He died and while waiting for burial I awoke. I thought vary strange of my Dream. I made up my mind to get 2d Anointing for Benjamin Franklin & George Washington.⁴³

CONCLUSION

The 1876 centennial celebrations of America's independence, coupled with Woodruff's intensive reading of biographies of the important leaders and personalities in St. George in 1876 and 1877, no doubt prompted his urgency that the Church's redemptive ordinances be performed for these individuals. For the patriotic Woodruff, no group of individuals deserved this work more than the Founding Fathers of the United States. Unaware that their proxy baptisms had already been completed, he had a dream or "visitation" from them expressing their anxiety that "nothing had been done for them."⁴⁴ Acting on these dreams, Woodruff compiled a list of worthy individuals from biographical books at his disposal in August 1877. Upon his return to Salt Lake City in September, he told the gathered Saints that he had received a visitation from the Founding Fathers. Each retelling reinforced that idea. Other leaders

⁴²The baptismal records for the last twenty-four prominent men are missing from the St. George Temple records. However, the endowment records indicate a 21 August 1877 baptismal date, and Woodruff's journal lists them as having been on his list. The names of those for whom work was done but for whom no baptismal record is extant follow "Lord George Gordon Byron" in Appendix.

⁴³Woodruff 9:293.

⁴⁴Woodruff, 16 September 1877, *Journal of Discourses* 19:229.

of the Church quickly accepted Woodruff's experience, using it as a clarion call to perform temple work.

It is apparent from the life and teachings of Wilford Woodruff that he honestly and sincerely desired the salvation of every son and daughter of God. Woodruff was a man who viewed himself as living in a time when God's hand was moving among the human race, bringing to pass His final work. Woodruff felt that God communicated to His children through dreams, among other means. Thus, it would matter little whether the signers of the Declaration of Independence appeared to him in person or in a dream, since, doctrinally and scripturally, Woodruff made little distinction between dreams and visions.⁴⁵

Thus, the issue is not whether Woodruff experienced a dream or a literal visitation of the Founding Fathers. I believe rather that the key question concerns the need for Woodruff's experience. Since the proxy baptismal work had already been performed for all of these individuals, what reason would they have for visiting him, either in dream or by visitation, and how could they accurately reproach him that "nothing has ever been done for us"? Since proxy endowments could not be performed in the Endowment House, the only work they could legitimately desire would be their proxy baptisms. The only explanation consistent with the evidence presented by Woodruff's testimony and the baptismal records from Nauvoo and the Endowment House is that Woodruff, unaware of these records, felt an anxiety about redeeming the souls of these distinguished figures and acted upon it.

A later Church president would be moved by the same desire to insure the salvation of the founding fathers of the United States. Immediately upon becoming president of the Church in November 1985, President Ezra Taft Benson assigned the Family History Library staff to research what proxy work had been completed for the "Founding Fathers"—signers of the Articles of Association (1774), the Declaration of Independence (1776), the Articles of Confederation (1778), and the members of the Constitutional Convention (1787).⁴⁶ Benson's assignment included these men's wives and chil-

⁴⁵See 1 Nephi 1:5-8, 16; 2:2; 3:2; 8:2 ("Behold, I have dreamed a dream; or, in other words, I have seen a vision"); Ether 9:3.

⁴⁶President Benson, speaking at the October 1987 general conference, detailed his assignment from then-president Spencer W. Kimball

dren. Although many ordinances had already been completed, those omitted were performed by various General Authorities before the end of the bicentennial celebration of the Constitutional Convention (1987).⁴⁷

In the days immediately following the Nauvoo revelation on baptism for the dead, many members felt a desire to participate in the salvation of individuals they felt had been of benefit to them, including family friends, government leaders, and distinguished personages from the past. By performing the proxy work for these individuals, members felt a kinship with the deceased and felt that these "friends" were in some way beholden to them for their salvation. For Latter-day Saints, no group of men represented the greatness of the American society more than the Founding Fathers, especially the signers of the Declaration of Independence.

But as this article demonstrates, the desire of many individual Saints to perform the work for the same eminent men and women has resulted in tremendous duplication of effort and created a cultural attitude bordering on hero worship. The Church, in a recent issue of the *Ensign*, has announced that members should no longer "submit the names of deceased celebrities and historical personalities," stating that "temple work for most of the people in these categories has already been done."⁴⁸ In the case of Wilford Woodruff

"to go into the vault of the St. George Temple and check the early records." Benson then described locating the original proxy records for the work performed by Woodruff: "I saw with my own eyes the record of the work which was done for the Founding Fathers of this great nation, beginning with George Washington." Benson then bore testimony of Woodruff's experience, declaring, "The Founding Fathers of this nation, those great men, appeared within those sacred walls and had their vicarious work done for them" (*Conference Report*, October 1987, p. 5).

⁴⁷The research on this "Founding Fathers" project is available in the Family History Library. I wish to thank Lynne Watkins Jorgensen for this information.

⁴⁸*Ensign*, July 1999, 65-66. Other historic personalities whose work was performed in the Endowment House during the early 1870s include composers Handel, Haydn, Beethoven (Endowment House, 21 June 1871, #183384), Civil War generals Robert E. Lee and Thomas E. "Stonewall" Jackson (*ibid.*, 17 April 1872), and French King Louis XVI (*ibid.*, 26 July 1871). Endowment House proxy records show that many members used

and the signers of the Declaration of Independence, that was especially the case.

APPENDIX
INDIVIDUALS WHOSE PROXY BAPTISMS WERE PERFORMED
BY WILFORD WOODRUFF ON 21 AUGUST 1877

Note: The names are given in order of baptism. Names of already-baptized individuals appear in italics.

1. Individuals for whom Wilford Woodruff baptized John Daniel Thompson McAllister, date of endowment, and name of proxy.

George Washington, also ordained a high priest,⁴⁹ 22 August 1877, John Daniel Thompson McAllister
 John Washington, 22 August 1877, John Lytle
 Sir Henry Washington, 22 August 1877, Ute Perkins
 Lawrence Washington, 22 August 1877, Thomas Day
 Augustine Washington, 22 August 1877, Hugh Snape Cousens
 Lawrence Washington (Augustine's father) 22 August 1877, Charles Alfonso Terry
 Lawrence Washington, 22 August 1877, William Richey
 Daniel Parke Custis, 22 August 1877, Henry William Bigler
 John Parke Custis, 22 August 1877, David Moss
James Madison, 22 August 1877, John Lyman Smith
James Monroe, 22 August 1877, Henry Eyring
John Quincy Adams, 22 August 1877, William Fawcett
Andrew Jackson, 22 August 1877, Joseph Harmon
William Henry Harrison, 23 August 1877, Moses Franklin Farnsworth
John Tyler, 23 August 1877, Matthew Clayton
James Knox Polk, 23 August 1877, George Coombs
 Zachary Taylor, 23 August 1877, Heber Christopher D. Riding
Millard Fillmore, 23 August 1877, John D. T. McAllister
Franklin Pierce, 23 August 1877, David Mustard
 Abraham Lincoln, 23 August 1877, William White Smith

histories in compiling lists of famous "friends."

⁴⁹During the performance of the endowment, men are ordained to priesthood office, usually elder, but Woodruff apparently held George Washington, Benjamin Franklin, Christopher Columbus, John Wesley, and Horatio Nelson in especially high regard, as he had them ordained high priests.

Andrew Johnson, 23 August 1877, Adolphus Rema Whitehead

2. Signers of the Declaration of Independence for whom John Daniel Thompson McAllister baptized Wilford Woodruff and name of endowment proxy and date. State of each in parenthesis. References to Duyckinck's volumes added if he included a biographical sketch.

- William Hooper* (NC), 23 August 1877, Charles Smith
Joseph Hewes (NC), 23 August 1877, Joseph Harmon
John Penn (NC), 23 August 1877, William Richey
Button Gwinnett (GA), 23 August 1877, Samuel Bradshaw
Lyman Hall (GA), 23 August 1877, Jonathan Flatt
Edward Rutledge (SC), 23 August 1877, Ute Perkins
George Walton (GA), 23 August 1877, John Mathew Mansfield
Thomas Heyward Jr. (SC), 23 August 1877, John Peck Chidester
Thomas Lynch (SC), 23 August 1877, Peter Edmund Van Orden
Arthur Middleton (SC), 23 August 1877, John Foy Chidester
Samuel Chase (MD), 23 August 1877, David Moss
William Paca (MD), 23 August 1877, Joseph Henry Randall
Thomas Stone (MD), 23 August 1877, John Lytle
Charles Carroll of Carrollton (MD), 24 August 1877, Thomas Hall
George Wythe (VA), 23 August 1877, Joseph Wetherber Carpenter
Richard Henry Lee (VA), 23 August 1877, Charles Alphonso Terry
Thomas Jefferson (VA), 23 August 1877, Lorenzo Brown, *Portrait Gallery* 1:279
Benjamin Harrison (VA), 23 August 1877, John Lyman Smith
Thomas Nelson Jr. (VA), 23 August 1877, Henry William Biglow
Francis Lightfoot Lee (VA), 23 August 1877, John Madison Childester
Carter Braxton (VA), 23 August 1877, Hugh Snape Consens
Robert Morris (PA), 23 August 1877, Hiram Bigelow
Benjamin Rush (PA), 23 August 1877, Joseph Orton
Benjamin Franklin (PA), also ordained a high priest, 23 August 1877, Moses Martin Sanders. *Portrait Gallery* 1:192
John Morton (PA), 23 August 1877, Thomas Cottam
George Clymer (PA), 23 August 1877, William Fawcett
James Smith (PA), 23 August 1877, John Schmutz
George Taylor (PA), 23 August 1877, Mosiah Lyman Hancock
James Wilson (PA), 24 August 1877, Heber Christopher Dolbel Riding
George Ross (PA), 24 August 1877, George Coombs
Caesar Rodney (DE), 24 August 1877, Samuel Walter Jamis

- George Read* (DE), 24 August 1877, William Richey
Thomas McKean (DE), 24 August 1877, Isaiah Cox
Philip Livingston (NY), 23 August 1877, Addison Everett
Francis Lewis (NY), 24 August 1877, Joseph Henry Randall
Lewis Morris (NY), 24 August 1877, Harrison Pearce
Richard Stockton (NJ), 24 August 1877, Mosiah Lyman Hancock
John Witherspoon (NJ), 24 August 1877, Thomas Hall
Francis Hopkinson (NJ), 24 August 1877, John Matthew Mansfield
John Hart (NJ), 24 August 1877, Josiah Ginle Hardy
Abraham Clark (NJ), 24 August 1877, Charles Alphonso Terry
Josiah Bartlett (NH), 24 August 1877, Warren Hardy
William Whipple (NH), 24 August 1877, Henry William Bigler
Samuel Adams (MA), 24 August 1877, William Gant Perkins
John Adams (MA), 24 August 1877, Jacob Gates
Robert Treat Paine (MA), 24 August 1877, Hugh Snape Cousens
Elbridge Gerry (MA), 24 August 1877, Moses Martin Sanders
Stephen Hopkins (RI), 24 August 1877, Ute Perkins
William Ellery (RI), 24 August 1877, James Monroe Ide
Roger Sherman (CT), 24 August 1877, Oliver John Harmon
Samuel Huntington (CT), 24 August 1877, John Lytle
William Williams (CT), 24 August 1877, William Burt
Oliver Wolcott (CT), 24 August 1877, Samuel William Goold
Matthew Thornton (NH), 24 August 1877, Thomas Cottam
Demetrius Parepa, 24 August 1877, Allen Freeman Smithson
Daniel Webster, 23 August 1877, William Gant Perkins. *Portrait Gallery* 2:129
Washington Irving, 24 August 1877, James Daniel Smithson. *Portrait Gallery* 2:150
Michael Faraday, 21 August 1877, Joseph Henry Randall. *Portrait Gallery* 2:173
William Makepeace Thackeray, 21 August 1877, William Cameron. *Portrait Gallery* 2:189
John Caldwell Calhoun, 21 August 1877, Hugh Snape Cousens. *Portrait Gallery* 2:203
Baron Justin Von Liebig, 1 September 1877, Abner Parker Hardy. *Portrait Gallery* 2:222
Henry Clay, 21 August 1877, Moses Martin Sanders. *Portrait Gallery* 2:228
Edward George Earle Lytton Bulwer, 21 August 1877, George Jarvis. *Portrait Gallery* 2:259
George Peabody, 21 August 1877, Charles William Bennett. *Portrait Gallery* 2:291
Charles Louis Napoleon Bonapart, 1 September 1877, Thomas H. Chison. *Portrait Gallery* 2:304

- Thomas Chalmers, 1 September 1877, George Jarvis. *Portrait Gallery* 2:337
 William Henry Seward, 24 August 1877, Jesse Wentworth Crosby. *Portrait Gallery* 2:461
- Thomas Jonathan Jackson, 21 August 1877, Charles Alphonso Terry. *Portrait Gallery* 2:486
- David Glascoe Farragut, 1 September 1877, Daniel Monroe Thomas. *Portrait Gallery* 2:504
- Hiram Powers, 1 September 1877, Samuel Miles. *Portrait Gallery* 2:522
 Louis John Rodolph Agassiz, 1 September 1877, Charles Alphonso Terry. *Portrait Gallery* 2:528
- David Livingstone, 1 September 1877, Hugh Snape Cousens. *Portrait Gallery* 2:605
- Christopher Columbus, also ordained a high priest, 24 August 1877, Adolphus Remie Whitehead
- Americus Vespucius, 21 August 1877, Samuel Miles
- John Wesley, also ordained a high priest, 24 August 1877, James Godson Bleak
- Lord George Gordon Byron, 14 November 1877, William Parker. *Portrait Gallery* 1:507
- Frederic Henry Alexander Von Humboldt, 24 October 1877, Nils Christian Flygare. *Portrait Gallery* 1:466
- Count Camillo Benso di Cavour, 25 October 1877, August Henry Frederick Wilcken. *Portrait Gallery* 2:54
- Samuel Johnson, 13 September 1877, William Roberts. *Portrait Gallery* 1:5
 Thomas Babington Macaulay, 21 November 1877, Andrew Hyrum Whittock. *Portrait Gallery* 2:104
- Frederick II of Prussia, 19 September 1877, William Roberts. *Portrait Gallery* 1:60
- Edward Gibbon, 19 September 1877, Charles Alfonzo Terry. *Portrait Gallery* 1:75
- David Garrick, 20 September 1877, George Frederick Jarvis. *Portrait Gallery* 1:106
- Sir Joshua Reynolds, 20 September 1877, Harrison Gray Otis Peck. *Portrait Gallery* 1:169
- Robert Burns, 20 September 1877, Silas Gardner Higgins. *Portrait Gallery* 1:204
- Johann Wolfgang Goethe, 20 September 1877, Charles Lowell Walker. *Portrait Gallery* 1:226
- John Philip Kemble, 20 September 1877, William Roberts. *Portrait Gallery* 1:240
- Frederick Von Schiller, 20 September 1877, Brigham Jarvis. *Portrait Gallery* 1:310

- Henry Grattan, 20 September 1877, Charles Smith. *Portrait Gallery* 1:323
- Horatio Nelson, also ordained a high priest, 21 August 1877, James Godson Bleak. *Portrait Gallery* 1:378
- John Philpot Curran, 20 September 1877, Charles Alphonzo Terry. *Portrait Gallery* 1:396
- George Stephenson, 24 October 1877, Anthony Johnson Stratton. *Portrait Gallery* 1:433
- Walter Scott, 25 October 1877, Horatio Harris Merrill. *Portrait Gallery* 1:476
- Lord Henry Brougham, 9 November 1877, Thomas Miller. *Portrait Gallery* 1:494
- William Wordsworth, 14 November 1877, James Hansen. *Portrait Gallery* 1:544
- Daniel O'Connell, 14 November 1877, Severin Nelson Lee. *Portrait Gallery* 2:5
- Richard Cobden, 16 November 1877, David Henry Cannon Jr. *Portrait Gallery* 2:71
- Oliver Goldsmith, 19 September 1877, Silas Gardner Higgins. *Portrait Gallery* 1:28
- Benito Juarez, 15 November 1877, Rudolph Buchman. *Portrait Gallery* 2:124

3. Individuals for whom John Daniel Thompson McAllister baptized Lucy Bigelow Young. Names of the men to whom they were connected, usually a spouse, follow in parenthesis.

- Elizabeth Christina (Frederick II) 23 August 1877, Anne Eva Knechtel Siegmiller. *Portrait Gallery* 1:61
- Eva Maria Veigel (David Garrick). The endowment was performed for "Viollet Garrick." 23 August 1877, Margaret Baird Mathie. *Portrait Gallery* 1:117
- Miss Nugent (Edmund Burke), 20 February 1878, Caroline Bleak Hardy. *Portrait Gallery* 1:163
- Jean Armour (Robert Burns), 20 February 1878 Elizabeth Thomas Morse. *Portrait Gallery* 1:209
- Christiane Vulpius (Goethe), 20 February 1878, Roena Sylvester Jarvis. *Portrait Gallery* 1:237
- Mrs. John Philip Kemble, 23 August 1877, Anna Charlotte Eldredge Chidester. *Portrait Gallery* 1:240
- Martha Wayles (Thomas Jefferson), 23 August 1877, Anna Laurie Ivins. *Portrait Gallery* 1:282
- Charlotte Von Lengefeld (Friedrich Schiller), 23 August 1877, Isabella Hill Romney. *Portrait Gallery* 1:319

- Henrietta Fitzgerald (Henry Gratton), 23 August 1877, Mary Ann Heibbet Jeffrie. *Portrait Gallery* 1:327
- Miss Herbert (Horatio Nelson), 20 February 1878, Eliza Medlock Campbell. *Portrait Gallery* 1:378
- Mrs. Creagh (John P. Curran), 23 August 1877, Lucy Celestia Bigelow. *Portrait Gallery* 1:401
- Fanny Henderson (George Stephenson), 23 August 1877, Mary Elvira Bigelow. *Portrait Gallery* 1:434
- Charlotte Margaret Carpenter (Walter Scott), 20 February 1878, Martha Emma Pell. *Portrait Gallery* 1:479
- Mary Ann Eden (Henry Lord Brougham), 23 August 1877, Lodemia Elizabeth Chidester Ruby. *Portrait Gallery* 1:506
- Miss Milbanke (Lord Byron), 20 February 1878, Sarah Leaver. *Portrait Gallery* 1:516
- Mary Hutchinson (William Wordsworth), 23 August 1877, Susan Foy Chidester. *Portrait Gallery* 1:557
- Lady Catherine Pakenham (Arthur Duke of Wellington), 23 August 1877, Hannah Gold Perkins. *Portrait Gallery* 1:586
- Elizabeth Dykes (Thomas Moore), 20 February 1878, Anna Marinda Colborn Miles. *Portrait Gallery* 1:600
- Rachel Donnelson (Andrew Jackson), 23 August 1877, Martha Ann Knight Mills. *Portrait Gallery* 1:618
- Mary O'Connell (Daniel O'Connell), 23 August 1877, Ann Crosby Thomas. *Portrait Gallery* 2:8
- Miss Melbourne (Lord Palmerston), 23 August 1877, Elizabeth Thomas Morse. *Portrait Gallery* 2:41
- Princess Charlotte (Benito Juarez), 23 August 1877, Amanda Elizabeth Starr. *Portrait Gallery* 2:125
- Abigail Eastman (Ebenezer Webster), 23 August 1877, Laura Ann Amelia Starr. *Portrait Gallery* 2:129
- Grace Fletcher (Daniel Webster), 23 August 1877, Hannah Elder Baldwin Crosby. *Portrait Gallery* 2:134
- Miss Hoffman (Washington Irving), 23 August 1877, Eliza Ann Lund. *Portrait Gallery* 2:150
- Sarah Barnard (Michael Faraday), 23 August 1877, Anna Warren Perkins. *Portrait Gallery* 2:173
- Miss Shaw (William Makepeace Thackeray), 23 August 1877, Alice Hulme Thompson Lougee. *Portrait Gallery* 2:189
- Martha Caldwell (Patrick Calhoun), 23 August 1877, Johannah Christina Winberg Mansfield. *Portrait Gallery* 2:203
- Miss Judkin (Stonewall Jackson), 23 August 1877, Emily Brown Bush Spencer. *Portrait Gallery* 2:189

- Mrs. Elijah Gibbs, 20 February 1878, Mary Ann Hibbitt Jeffrey
 Catherine Maria Sedgewick, 23 August 1877, Mary Parker Chidester. *Portrait Gallery* 2:80
- Mary Russell Mitford, 23 August 1877, Sarah Anna Arterbury Church. *Portrait Gallery* 2:116
- Lady Sidney Morgan, 23 August 1877, Mary Lockwood Kemp. *Portrait Gallery* 2:167
- Mary Fairfax Somerville, 23 August 1877, Maria Marks Harman. *Portrait Gallery* 2:219
- Letitia Elizabeth Landon, 23 August 1877, Adeliza Alger McArthur. *Portrait Gallery* 2:244
- Sarah Margaret Fuller, 23 August 1877, Caroline Smith Coltam. *Portrait Gallery* 2:273
- Emily Chubbuch Judson, 23 August 1877, Mary Ann Allen Steers. *Portrait Gallery* 2:321
- Elizabeth Barrett Browning, 23 August 1877, Johanna Maria Schultz Nixon. *Portrait Gallery* 2:352
- Francis Locke, 23 August 1877, Abigail Finch Kelsey. *Portrait Gallery* 2:411
Hannah More, 20 February 1878 Sarah Kelsey. *Portrait Gallery* 1:43. Elizabeth Bernhisel was baptized by proxy for More on 25 June 1873 in the Endowment House. Bernhisel, Temple Record Book, 174.
- Marie Antoinette, 20 February 1878, Alice Hulme Thompson Longel. *Portrait Gallery* 1:87
- Maria Theresa, 20 February 1878, Balbina Rohner Wellaner. *Portrait Gallery* 1:87
- Frances Burney, 22 August 1877, Anne Thorpe Wells. *Portrait Gallery* 1:139
Mary Ball, Washington's mother, 22 August 1877, Ann Davis McAllister. *Portrait Gallery* 1:123
- Martha Dandridge Washington*, 22 August 1877, Lucy Bigelow Young. *Portrait Gallery* 1:182
- Charlotte Corday*, 20 February 1878, Anna Charlotte Eldredge Chidester. *Portrait Gallery* 1:218
- Mrs. John Washington, 22 August 1877, Martha Mecham Bigelow
 Mrs. Henry Washington, 22 August 1877, Abigail Finch Kelsey
 Mrs. Lawrence Washington, 22 August 1877, Johanna Maria Schultz Nixon
 Mrs. Washington (Augustine Washington), 22 August 1877, Sarah Pulsipher Alger
 Mrs. Mildred Warner Washington, Augustine's mother, 23 August 1877, Margaret Kay Mustard
- Anne Fairfax, 23 August 1877, Susannah Mahetebel Rogers Keate
 Mary Philippe, 23 August 1877, Jennette Potter Oxborrow. *Portrait Gallery* 1:182

- Miss Martha Parke Custis, Daughter of Martha Washington, 24 August 1877, Rhoda Mabel Young. Ann Cannon Woodbury did this proxy endowment a second time on 20 February 1878.
- Mrs. John Parke Custis, 23 August 1877, Anna Elmer Smith
- Marie Fackrell, 23 August 1877, Ann Davis McAllister
- Euphrasyné Parepa, 24 August 1877, Lucy Bigelow Young
- Countess Demetrius Parepa, mother of Euphrasyné, 23 August 1877, Minema White Snow
- Sarah Ford, mother of Samuel Johnson, 23 August 1877, Jane Taylor Smith. *Portrait Gallery* 1:5
- Abigail Smith (John Adams), 23 August 1877, Catherine Donald Rankin Pimm. *Portrait Gallery* 1:255
- Maria Edgeworth, 23 August 1877, Sarah Hallam Worthen. *Portrait Gallery* 1:293
- Sarah Van Brugh Livingston, 23 August 1877, Alice Maria Worthen. *Portrait Gallery* 1:334
- Jane Austen, 23 August 1877, Sarah Price Smith. *Portrait Gallery* 1:409
- Sarah Kemble (John Philip Kemble), 23 August 1877, Marietta Simmons Barney Calkin. *Portrait Gallery* 1:241
- Dorothy Payne, 23 August 1877, Elizabeth Reeves Liston. *Portrait Gallery* 1:488
- Elizabeth Gurney, 23 August 1877, Orpha Maria Redfield Everett. *Portrait Gallery* 1:529
- Felicia Dorothea Browne [Hemans], *Portrait Gallery* 1:566
- Lydia Huntley, 23 August 1877, Margaret Ried Angier Peck. *Portrait Gallery* 1:605
- Anna Murphy, 23 August 1877, Mary Brommelli Eyring. *Portrait Gallery* 2:12
- Charlotte Bronte, 23 August 1877, Lucy Bigelow Young. *Portrait Gallery* 2:44

WHY DID THE SCOTS CONVERT?

Polly Aird

THE MORMON MISSIONARIES to Scotland in the 1840s and 1850s did not find a land of brooks singing in heathery glens or tidy thatched cottages on the banks of bonny lochs. In west-central Scotland where they met their greatest successes, the elders found Glasgow and its satellite towns suffocating under a pall of black coal smoke, textile mills that spewed bleach and dyes into streams already stinking with human waste, and several families crowded into rooms meant for one.

The population of this region had quadrupled in the first half of the nineteenth century. In the Highlands, the lairds had cleared tenant farmers off their lands so that they could run more profitable sheep. Many of these homeless Scots emigrated to North America, but others descended from the hills and flooded into the cities. Thousands of Irish escaping the recurring potato famines also left for the New World, but other throngs crossed the Irish Sea and settled in urban Scotland. Rural lowlanders left their farms and villages, gave up their cottage industries which brought increasingly

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fewer shillings, and joined the highlanders and Irish in the factory towns.

In the gray urban environment of the Industrial Revolution—about as different from a “spiritual” environment as could be imagined—Mormon missionaries found an impressive number of converts among the working classes. What influence did economic and social dislocation factors have on a Scot’s decision to embrace Mormonism? Historians studying emigration typically look at *push*, *pull*, and *means*.¹ *Push* forces are those that encourage one to leave one’s homeland, are often related to expanding populations and economic difficulties, or are responses to calamities such as famines. *Pull* refers to the incentives that draw one to a new country, such as work and land opportunities or a chance to live under a more appealing religious or political system. And finally, one must have the *means* to secure passage on a ship, buy a wagon and supplies, purchase land, and build a new home.

Most Mormon historians agree that socioeconomic push and pull factors played some role in conversion and subsequent emigration.² Two analyses, however, emphasize the converts’ religious

¹For example, see Roger Daniels, *Coming to America: A History of Immigration and Ethnicity in American Life* (New York: HarperCollins, 1991), 16-17.

²Bernard Aspinwall, “A Fertile Field: Scotland in the Days of the Early Missions,” in *Mormons in Early Victorian Britain*, edited by Richard L. Jensen and Malcolm R. Thorp (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1989), 114-17; Frederick S. Buchanan, “Scots Among the Mormons,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 36 (Fall 1968): 332-34; Frederick S. Buchanan, “The Ebb and Flow of Mormonism in Scotland, 1840-1900,” *BYU Studies* 27 (1987): 30-31; Richard O. Cowan, “Church Growth in England, 1841-1914,” in *Truth Will Prevail: The Rise of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in the British Isles, 1837-1987*, edited by V. Ben Bloxham, James R. Moss, and Larry C. Porter (Cambridge, England: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1987), 213; Tim B. Heaton, Stan L. Albrecht, and J. Randal Johnson, “The Making of British Saints in Historical Perspective,” *BYU Studies* 27 (1987): 121-29; Robert L. Lively Jr., “Some Sociological Reflections on the Nineteenth-Century British Mission,” in *Mormons in Early Victorian Britain*, edited by Richard L. Jensen and Malcolm R. Thorp (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1989), 27-28; and Philip A. M. Taylor, “Why Did British Mormons Emigrate,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 22 (July

background and the theology preached by the missionaries as the motivating forces and see little influence from material pressures. Malcolm R. Thorp concludes, "In the last analysis, it was the unsettled religious conditions in the 1840s that offer the key to understanding Mormon successes. The strength of the movement lay in its ability to appeal to the disaffected from the sectarian congregations."³

In the second study, another Mormon historian, Rex Thomas Price Jr., found that an ideological framework gave a greater understanding of the missionaries' success and the reasons for conversion. Using the theses of Jan Shipps (that "Mormons were living inside a new vision of world history") and Richard L. Bushman (who saw the Book of Mormon as influencing that vision), Price goes a step further: "This replication, as Shipps called it, only layered and surrounded a core belief. At center, Mormon missionary success was a function of belief in a restored Church."⁴

Push, pull, means, and religious vision: Can these forces provide a larger perspective in which to view conversion motivation during the 1840s and 1850s when Mormonism reached its peak in nineteenth-century Scotland? In this paper, I will examine demographic information about the converts, the socioeconomic conditions in which they lived, the message of the missionaries, and the reasons that converts themselves gave for their conversions for the light these four factors shed on the nature of the converts' motivations and perspectives.

The information about the converts' demographic qualities and living conditions focuses on Scotland as a specific instance of a bigger picture. However, my analysis of the missionary message expands to include all of Great Britain. This is because the primary source material is the British Mission's *The Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star*, first issued as a monthly in May 1840. Sales figures and discussions of subscriptions in almost every Scottish conference report of this period supply ample evidence that Scottish as well as English Saints read the *Millennial Star*. Whether the elders in Scot-

1954): 250.

³Malcolm R. Thorp, "The Religious Backgrounds of Mormon Converts in Britain, 1837-52," *Journal of Mormon History* 4 (1977): 65.

⁴Rex Thomas Price Jr., "The Mormon Missionary of the Nineteenth Century" (Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin Madison, 1991), x, 485-86.

land preached exactly the same material or somehow tailored it for the local circumstances is difficult to assess and needs further research.

DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION ON THE CONVERTS

The membership statistics for 1851 show that Scottish Mormons totaled 3,283 members in three conferences, with over 2,000 members in the Glasgow area.⁵ Glasgow and the whole west-central lowlands of Scotland were a great industrialized center, particularly in textiles and, as the century moved on, in shipbuilding. The iron industry leapt forward when a new technique for smelting was developed in 1828 and exploitation of the coal fields grew proportionately. Iron was needed for railways, bridges, steamships, and machines, and coal ran everything: the mills, factories, shipbuilding yards, and home cooking and heating. Even the lights in the mills and the city streets burned coal gas.

Historians agree that most conversions to Mormonism in Great Britain were among the working classes.⁶ The working classes can be divided generally into three groups: (1) skilled workers, such as weavers, shoemakers, or miners, (2) semi-skilled workers who tended machines in mills and shipyards, and (3) unskilled laborers.

Scottish Mormon converts match the larger British data in coming from the same segment of the population.⁷ To illustrate the

⁵"Statistical Report of the Church in the British Islands for the Half-year Ending June 1st, 1851," *Millennial Star* 13 (1 July 1851): 207.

⁶Rebecca Bartholomew, *Audacious Women: Early British Mormon Immigrants* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1995), 32-36; Susan L. Fales, "Artisans, Millhands, and Laborers: The Mormons of Leeds and Their Nonconformist Neighbors," in *Mormons in Early Victorian Britain*, edited by Richard L. Jensen and Malcolm R. Thorp (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1989), 164; Heaton, Albrecht, and Johnson, "The Making of British Saints," 121; Malcolm R. Thorp, "The Setting for the Restoration in Britain: Political, Social, and Economic Conditions," in *Truth Will Prevail: The Rise of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in the British Isles, 1837-1987*, edited by V. Ben Bloxham, James R. Moss, and Larry C. Porter (Cambridge, Eng.: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1987), 57.

⁷Aspinwall, "A Fertile Field," 114-16; Frederick S. Buchanan, "The Emigration of Scottish Mormons to Utah, 1849-1900" (M.A. thesis, University of Utah, 1961), 55-56.

subgroups of the working class to which they belonged, I have taken a sample based on Church emigration records in Liverpool, where the Mormon companies boarded their ships, since the rosters regularly included the occupations of the emigrants. Using a typical record for 1854, I found the following in the skilled workers group: In the textile industry, which includes wool, cotton, linen, and jute production, were four weavers, a bleacher, a dyer, two cloth “lappers,” a pattern drawer, a printer, a flax dresser, a rope yarn hackler, and two rope makers. In tool-making and ship-building were a molder, an edge tool maker, a boiler maker, an engineer, and a shipwright. Then came a high representation of fourteen coal miners. Typical skilled trades of the day included a mariner, a fisherman, four joiners, a plasterer, a painter, two blacksmiths, a shoemaker, a cooper, two saw millers, a stone cutter, and two masons. A few agricultural pursuits were also represented with a farmer, a ploughman, and a currier.

There were no semi-skilled laborers and only four unskilled laborers. Only two emigrants—a shopman and a clerk—could be classified as middle class.⁸

It is important to note that these emigrants were not integrated into the mechanization and mass production of the Industrial Revolution in a mill or factory setting. Of course, it is hard to be certain. An “engineer” could have been the designer, the builder, or the operator of an engine. Was the “printer” a book printer or a textile printer? If he worked in a textile mill, was he a hand-block printer or did he run one of the new machines with great copper rollers? Most likely he was the former, as several hand-block printers were described as such among the Mormon converts.

Robert Hodgert, baptized in 1841 in Bridge of Weir, about

⁸Passenger list for the *John M. Wood*, which sailed on 12 March 1854 from Liverpool to New Orleans. The list is given in two places: “British Mission Emigration Records from the Liverpool Office,” Historical Department Archives, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City (hereafter cited as LDS Church Archives), and “S. W. Richards’ Passengers on Board the Ship John M. Wood for New Orleans,” Huntington Library, San Marino, Calif. Frederick S. Buchanan has extracted a slightly different list of the Scottish passengers on this ship based only on the British Mission records in his “The Emigration of Scottish Mormons,” Appendix B.

fifteen miles west of Glasgow, told in his autobiography of going to work in a cotton-spinning mill near Paisley at the age of ten.⁹ But if we do not count child labor, I think we can safely conclude that the majority of adult Mormon emigrants were skilled hand laborers; they were not running factory machines.

CONVERTS' SOCIOECONOMIC CONDITIONS

In February 1847, before Brigham Young had designated the Salt Lake Valley as the gathering place for the faithful, Apostles Orson Hyde, Parley Pratt, and John Taylor, then in charge of the British Mission, submitted an appeal to Queen Victoria asking the government to sponsor emigration to Oregon or Vancouver Island. Under the title "Memorial to the Queen, for the relief, by Emigration, of a portion of her Poor Subjects," it read in part: "Your memorialists are moved to address your Majesty by the unexampled amount of abject, helpless, and unmerited misery which at present prevails among the labouring classes of this country. By all your memorialists this wretchedness has, to some extent, been witnessed; by all it has been deplored; and by many among them it has been bitterly felt."¹⁰ The document, signed by nearly 13,000 British Mormons, went to each member of Parliament. Although one member of Parliament expressed interest, the scheme died for lack of government funding and fear of starting a precedent.

The question here is not how this document came to be written but whether the desperate poverty portrayed was a fact of life for the mid-nineteenth century British Saints. Confirmation that hard times affected many of the converts can be gleaned from letters written home by the American elders. For instance, Orson Hyde in a letter to his wife, described the new converts as "those who . . . are mostly manufacturers and some other mechanics. They know how to do but little else than to spin and weave cotton, and make cambrick, mull and lace, and what they would do in Kirtland or the city 'Far West,' I cannot say. They are extremely poor, most of them not

⁹Robert Hodgert, *Journal of Robert Hodgert [1824-67]*, *Elder of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (N.p., n.d.), Family History Library, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, 3.

¹⁰Reprinted in Frederick Hawkins Piercy, *Route from Liverpool to Great Salt Lake Valley*, edited by Fawn M. Brodie (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1962), 9-12.

having a change of clothes decent to be baptized in, but they have open hearts and strong faith.”¹¹

Taking a closer look at the conditions under which the converts lived, we find a society declining by every measure. The first half of the nineteenth century saw probably the greatest transformation in human history since the dawn of agriculture and metallurgy. British social historian E. J. Hobsbawm, an authority on the Industrial Revolution, writes, “That the condition of the labouring poor was appalling between 1815 and 1848 was not denied by any reasonable observer, and by 1840 there were a good many of these. That it was actually deteriorating was widely assumed. In Britain the Malthusian population theory, which held that the growth of population must inevitably outrun that of the means of subsistence, was based on such an assumption.” Hobsbawm concludes: “How was one to find quantitative expression for the fact, which few would today deny, that the Industrial Revolution created the ugliest world in which man has ever lived . . . ? Or, by uprooting men and women in unprecedented numbers and depriving them of the certainties of the ages, probably the unhappiest world?”¹²

Every historian of Scotland points out that this was a period of decreasing wages for all trades that were being mechanized. Handloom weaving—an occupation of many of the converts—was a notorious case. The real wages of cotton weavers fell by at least 38 percent between 1820 and 1838, and this after an earlier drop of nearly the same proportion. Wool weavers did somewhat better initially, as cotton weaving was mechanized first. But between the early 1830s and 1850, the wages of wool handloom weavers fell 25 percent. Coinciding with a trend to larger family size, the smaller wages had to spread ever further.¹³

Peter McIntyre, an 1841 Scottish convert from Argyleshire, worked at a number of jobs, including selling fruit from his garden, keeping books for a coal company, spading “heavy clay land,” clean-

¹¹Quoted by H. Dean Garrett in “Great Britain of the Early 1800s,” *Regional Studies in Latter-day Saint Church History*, edited by Donald Q. Cannon (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University, 1990), 61.

¹²E. J. Hobsbawm, *The Age of Revolution: 1789-1848* (New York: New American Library, 1962), 243, 350.

¹³Norman Murray, *The Scottish Hand Loom Weavers 1790-1850: A Social History* (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, 1978), 84-121.

ing privies, and mending nets. He kept a diary of his journey to Utah in 1853; observing slave huts from the deck of a steamboat going up the Mississippi, he compared his poor wages and hard life in Scotland to slavery: "We . . . know that Great Britain is the seat of slavery, that one white slave works more in one day than 4 black slaves, with less to support his body, as his wages there will not afford, because I know that I wrought many days upon bread and water, doing the work of 5 black slaves, and traveled 5 miles to work for 1/8 S. per day, to support my family of eight, and meal at 1/8 S. the small peck."¹⁴

In the coal industry, as the demand increased, so did miners' wages. Although they were low compared to some of the skilled trades, miners were often allotted free housing, fuel, medical care, and cheap education for the youngest children. But in the 1840s, pushed by the potato famines in Ireland, thousands of Irish arrived in the coal fields of the west-central lowlands, depressing wages. Although miners could live in modest comfort, given the side benefits of their occupation—often being as well off as those in highly skilled trades—the work itself entailed all kinds of daily dangers: suffocation, fire, explosion, collapsing winding gear for the cage that let the miner down into the pit, falling coal or rock from the roof, and so on.¹⁵ One Scottish miner convert, Matthew Rowan, described falling sixty-six feet down a shaft; he broke his jaw and ribs and shattered his elbow but was paid only a small compensation by the mine owner.¹⁶

Since skilled hand work was increasingly threatened by mechanization, why did these workers not seek the training that would put them into the mill and factory operations and secure their jobs? Unfortunately, that was not the way it worked. With

¹⁴Peter McIntyre, *Autobiography and Journal of Peter McIntyre*, ca. 1850, typescript, LDS Church Archives, 36.

¹⁵David Bremner, *The Industries of Scotland: Their Rise, Progress and Present Condition* (1869; reprinted, Newton Abbot, Eng.: David & Charles Reprints, 1969), 1-31; National Coal Board, Scottish Division, *A Short History of the Scottish Coal-Mining Industry* (Edinburgh: Pillans & Wilson, Ltd., 1958), 50-54; Anthony Slaven, *The Development of the West of Scotland: 1750-1960* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1975), 111-16.

¹⁶Matthew Rowan, *Reminiscences, 1853-64*, microfilm of typescript, LDS Church Archives.

each new technical advance, the manufacturers replaced the skilled adult male workers with lower paid women or youths who could tend the machines. The Mormon converts must have been aware that it was just a matter of time before the demand for their specialized hand skills would disappear. The future cannot have looked very bright.

Besides mechanization, all workers were threatened by the burgeoning population. Glasgow and its suburbs had grown from a little over 84,000 in 1801 to nearly 360,000 fifty years later, a four-fold increase, resulting in under- and unemployment for many and depressed wages for others.¹⁷ In the newly crowded urban areas, housing conditions deteriorated, disease spread, mortality rates increased, and even the number of pawnbrokers rose rapidly, giving some indication of how precarious life was.¹⁸

Tenement houses became common—three- or four-story buildings, each having a common entrance, staircase, and privy. The flats were usually one or sometimes two rooms. Single-room living was not new to the working classes; most had come originally from farms or villages where one-room cottages were the norm. Instead, the decline in living standards came from the housing shortage and the crowding of two or more families into space meant for one.¹⁹ Conditions became squalid and filthy:

The habit of leaving piles of human faeces on street edges for periodic collection by scavengers who operated for their own profit . . . became a serious danger. Wells ran dry and water became impure. Unpaved streets . . . disintegrated into morasses of mud and filth. Houses built for occupation by single families were subdivided and extended until hundreds of people were accommodated in buildings designed to hold a dozen.²⁰

¹⁷R. A. Cage, "Population and Employment Characteristics," in *The Working Class in Glasgow, 1750-1914*, edited by R. A. Cage (London: Croom Helm, 1987), 10-11.

¹⁸R. A. Cage, "The Standard of Living Debate: Glasgow, 1800-1850," *Journal of Economic History* 43 (March 1983): 175-82.

¹⁹Colin McWilliam, *Scottish Townscape* (London: Collins, 1975), 150-51; Slaven, *The Development of the West of Scotland*, 149.

²⁰Enid Gaudie, "The Middle Class and Working-Class Housing in the Nineteenth Century," in *Social Class in Scotland: Past and Present*, edited by A. Allan MacLaren (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, Ltd., n.d.), 17.

It is important to recognize that this historian was describing conditions for the working classes, not the totally destitute who crowded into Glasgow. Those unfortunates subsisted in inhuman conditions. Edwin Chadwick, in his *Report on the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population of Great Britain* in 1842 accorded Glasgow the status of the worst city in all of Great Britain.²¹

Why did Mormonism, with its promise of material help, not attract the totally destitute? One answer may be that the poorest of the poor lived like animals, even hoarding their own bodily wastes to help pay the rent. Chadwick's report gives many descriptions of what he and his colleagues found: "We saw half-dressed wretches crowding together to be warm; and in one bed, although in the middle of the day, several women were imprisoned under a blanket, because as many others who had on their backs all the articles of dress that belonged to the party were then out of doors in the streets."²² People so desperate for survival were hardly in a position to explore religious sects for one that might help.

Hand in hand with crowded, unsanitary housing went poor health. The period from 1832 to 1855 stands out as the worst, with epidemics of cholera, typhus, and other infectious diseases. Glasgow was the hardest hit, but the story repeated itself in all urban areas. Mortality rates rose for all ages, indicating an overall worsening of living conditions. The single largest killer was tuberculosis. Drinking water was polluted, human and industrial waste drained into streams and ditches, and stinking dunghills of human waste sat in tenement courtyards. Pure water was not piped into Glasgow until 1860. The air, too, was black from coal burning, which was used for every element of domestic and industrial energy.

Malnutrition further compounded poor health. With extensive unemployment and low wages, some could not afford to buy enough food. Although oats decreased in price, potatoes, beef, and butter

²¹"It might admit of dispute, but, on the whole, it appeared to us that both the structural arrangements and the condition of the population in Glasgow was the worst of any we had seen in any part of Great Britain." Quoted in M. A. Crowther, "Poverty, Health and Welfare," in *People and Society in Scotland, Volume II, 1830-1914*, edited by W. Hamish Fraser and R. J. Morris (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, Ltd., 1990), 265.

²²Quoted in T. C. Smout, *A Century of the Scottish People, 1830-1950* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1986), 30.

all jumped. Malnutrition reached crisis proportions in an economic depression in 1841-42 when, it was reported, a third of the population of Paisley was dependent on charity.²³ This depression was followed by potato crop failures in the mid-1840s, giving this period the name of the "hungry forties."

Andrew Sprowl, an 1840 Mormon convert from Paisley, recalled that in 1847 poverty had come upon his family like a fiend. He said he had suffered "idleness for fore & five weeks together, . . . dearth of food, part of the last & this year has reduced us to want . . . all our clothes pledged except our every day apparel to purchase a little food, up to the mouth in debt & deep water besides[,] my wife & children to keep the house as if hiding from a mad being thinly clad."²⁴

The increase in population likewise overwhelmed the educational system. Scotland had been renowned for setting up elementary schools through the established Church of Scotland in the early seventeenth century. This system probably reached its peak in the mid-eighteenth century, when the population was fairly stable on farms or in villages. When the Church of Scotland split in two in the Disruption of 1843 (explained below), parish schools were likewise split. The new Free Church, as well as others, set up new schools but could not rectify underfunding, overlap, and less than basic education.

The real blow to primary education, however, came from industrialization and the rapid shift of population to urban areas, with its attendant social dislocation. Children might attend school for five or six years, but often less than two; and at least half of the children did not attend at all. Children of factory workers or coal miners typically started work by age ten. A government plan for handling the increasing demand on the system did not exist, and the parish and burgh schools confronted problems they were not equipped to face.²⁵ One historian describes the situation as follows:

²³Slaven, *The Development of the West of Scotland*, 135-59; Cage, "Health in Glasgow," in *The Working Class in Glasgow*, 56-76.

²⁴Andrew Sproul, *Diary, 1841-47*, typescript by Federal Writers' Project, WPA, 1936, Utah State Historical Society, 99.

²⁵James Scotland, *The History of Scottish Education*, 2 vols. (London: University of London Press, Ltd., 1969), 1:185-87.

The national school system began to decline rapidly. Parish schools established to accommodate 50 to 100 students . . . could not cope with thousands. . . . Though the Church of Scotland, other denominations, and various voluntary groups attempted to meet the new needs . . . , by 1834 the Rev. George Lewis of Dundee could write a startling exposé of educational conditions entitled *Scotland a Half-Educated Nation: Both in the Quantity and Quality of Her Educational Institutions*.²⁶

To fully understand the context in which the converts lived, we need to look at their religious background. Scottish Mormons, no matter what their original church affiliation or lack thereof, frequently recorded that they believed literally in the Bible and worried over which church was true. For example, James Ririe, an 1847 convert from Aberdeen, wrote in his autobiography, "During this time I began to inquire more after truth. I was at the time in communion with the Free Church of Scotland. I believed it was the church nearest to the truth."²⁷

Biblical literalism, however, dominated religious belief and was not limited to those attracted to Mormonism. James Begg, a Free Church minister, worked to improve housing because Jesus had said that, when a man prays, he should go into a closet and shut the door, which was impossible in the typical one-room tenement flats.²⁸

The 1820s and into the 1840s had seen a splintering of the established Presbyterian Church of Scotland. The deepest split, the Disruption of 1843, resulted from ten years of intense controversy over patronage—whether the crown, the large landowners, the universities, and the town councils (the patrons) or the congregation could choose the parish minister. It ended when nearly half the congregations and more than a third of the clergy seceded to form the Free Church.

²⁶Douglas Myers, "Scottish Schoolmasters in the Nineteenth Century: Professionalism and Politics," in *Scottish Culture and Scottish Education, 1800-1980*, edited by Walter M. Humes and Hamish M. Paterson (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, Ltd., 1983), 81.

²⁷James Ririe, "James Ririe—1827-1905," *Our Pioneer Heritage*, compiled and edited by Kate B. Carter, 20 vols. (Salt Lake City: Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1966) 9:339.

²⁸Gordon Donaldson, *The Faith of the Scots* (London: B. T. Batsford, Ltd., 1990), 125.

The 1830s and 1840s were also a time of revivalism, although it cannot compare to the evangelistic fire that raged over western New York in the early 1800s. Evangelists were particularly successful in the industrial areas and especially among the handloom weavers. Their widespread theme was the need to prepare for the coming millennium. They also taught, in contrast to the Church of Scotland's doctrine of predestination, that salvation was for all, not just the "Elect." The evangelical leaders, ousted from the Established Church for their nonconformist thinking, initially preached in the open, but eventually merged with the Baptist, Methodist, or Congregationalist churches or joined the Free Church after the Disruption.²⁹ The Disruption, however, absorbed much of the evangelical fervor or diverted it, and it was not until the 1870s and 1880s that evangelism revived.³⁰

By mid-century skilled workers formed a significant percentage of the membership of both the Church of Scotland and the Free Church. But others joined the United Presbyterian Church, while a much smaller proportion became Methodists, Baptists, or Congregationalists. Chartism, a popular movement that began with the goal of extending the franchise to the working classes, believed in bringing about change through moral persuasion. In the early 1840s, handloom weavers were instrumental in starting over twenty Chartist churches in central Scotland.³¹

Deciding which, if any, congregation to join was complicated by urban crowding. Churches were often unable to accommodate those who might wish to attend. In Barony parish in Glasgow, the source of many Mormon converts, there was only one church or chapel for 12,500 people. Calton and Bridgeton, other Glasgow districts in which Saints lived, had only one chapel for 29,000

²⁹Callum G. Brown, "Religion, Class and Church Growth," in *People and Society in Scotland, Volume II, 1830-1914*, edited by W. Hamish Fraser and R. J. Morris (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, Ltd., 1990), 2:323-25; Donaldson, *The Faith of the Scots*, 126-30; Thorp, "The Religious Backgrounds of Mormon Converts," 51-65; Frederick S. Buchanan, *A Good Time Coming: Mormon Letters to Scotland* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1988), 6-9.

³⁰Donaldson, *The Faith of the Scots*, 130-32.

³¹Brown, "Religion, Class and Church Growth," 321-24.

inhabitants.³² The 1851 church census in Scotland showed that only about a fifth of the population attended any church.³³ One study has identified the urban working class as the majority of the non-churchgoers.³⁴

Two other aspects of organized religion in Scotland need to be mentioned: the emphasis on class distinctions and the attitude of the clergy. Churches typically charged rent for a pew or seat and had only a few free seats for the poor. This policy excluded the poorest would-be parishioners as well as the less-well-paid members of the working classes; those who succeeded in getting the free seats had to accept the class markers that came with them.³⁵ This situation was obviously an issue for the working classes, for the newly formed Chartist churches prohibited pew rents.³⁶ In addition, when the middle classes in Glasgow complained that the poorer working parishioners posed a health hazard, the Church of Scotland proposed building separate churches for the working classes. General lack of money, however, meant that there were never enough churches to meet the need. In other cases, middle-class churches moved out to the suburbs, where the poorer parishioners could not get to them.³⁷

The second aspect was the united view of the poor and working classes held by the clergy of the Established and Free churches, the industrialists, and the landowners. Exceptions existed, of course, but the common position taken and often preached—influenced no doubt by the fatalistic doctrine of predestination—was that free enterprise and the existing order were divinely decreed, that wages were determined by the immutable natural laws of supply and demand and could not be altered, that poverty came from moral and spiritual failings, and that obedience to one's betters and patient endurance were praiseworthy virtues.³⁸

³²Smout, *A Century of the Scottish People*, 197; Brown, "Religion, Class and Church Growth," 123.

³³Donaldson, *The Faith of the Scots*, 136.

³⁴Hugh McLeod, *Religion and the Working Class in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (London: Macmillan, 1984), 12.

³⁵Smout, *A Century of the Scottish People*, 202; Brown, "Religion, Class and Church Growth," 321.

³⁶Brown, "Religion, Class and Church Growth," 324.

³⁷McLeod, *Religion and the Working Class*, 59.

³⁸A. C. Cheyne, *The Transforming of the Kirk: Victorian Scotland's*

Thus, Scotland in the 1840s is a picture of biblical literalism, an established church split into multiple sects, evangelical preaching of an imminent millennium, too few churches in the densely populated areas, discriminatory pew rents, and clergy who were not responsive to the plight of many parishioners.

In contrast to low church attendance was a high participation in whisky drinking. Whisky was a national pastime, not simply a palliative for the working-class Scot responding to an existence over which he had little control. Drinking to capacity was a Scottish characteristic. The term “drunkenness” was rarely used, for drinking was seen as a sign of conviviality. The Church of Scotland turned a blind eye to alcohol abuse; one minister was nicknamed Bonum Magnum because he could drink five bottles of claret at one sitting and apparently remain sober. Apprentices in the majority of trades were required to pay a “fine” of seven pounds or so when they entered a firm. This money was set aside until there was perhaps fifty pounds, at which point it would be spent on whisky and the entire village—men, women, and children—would get drunk for a week or more.³⁹ An 1834 report to Parliament states:

So much has spirit drinking become associated with customs and practices in Scotland, that there is scarcely an event in life, scarcely a circumstance that occurs, not a transaction can be done, . . . with which spirit drinking is not associated . . . it [has] struck its fibrous roots into everything so deeply, that to tear up the spirit-drinking practices is like tearing up the whole social system of society.⁴⁰

But with the rise in human misery came even greater consumption. By one estimate, in the middle of the nineteenth century, Glasgow had a whisky shop, not counting the pubs, for every fourteen families.⁴¹ Mining and factory areas, where residents presumably had some disposable income, had the most pubs and whisky shops. The poor also drank, especially to numb their misery, but they had less money to spend on it. The temperance movement was mostly

Religious Revolution (Edinburgh: Saint Andrew Press, 1983), 110-21; Smout, *A Century of the Scottish People*, 186.

³⁹Elsbeth King, *Scotland Sober and Free: The Temperance Movement, 1829-1979* (Glasgow: Glasgow Museums and Art Galleries, 1979), 5-6.

⁴⁰Parliamentary Papers (1834), viii: 139, as quoted in *ibid.*, 6.

⁴¹Donaldson, *The Faith of the Scots*, 124.

directed towards them, with the goal of keeping otherwise surviving families from descending into abject poverty.⁴²

Against this background of universal imbibing, the Mormons preached the evils of alcohol.⁴³ Was drunkenness a problem among the Scottish Saints? Certainly to some degree. In membership records of the branches, one finds occasional notes of someone being "cut off" for intoxication. The minutes of the Glasgow conference for March 1849 recorded, "President Kelsey arose and stated, that it was resolved by this council, at last conference, that unless the president, council, and members of the Girvan branch, would come out from their filth, drunkenness, quarrelling, backbiting, &c., that we would disfellowship the whole branch."⁴⁴ Council meeting minutes of the Falkirk Branch for 1852 and early 1853 include the reasons given for motions to cut off or suspend members: "They found her drunk," "and now she has got drunk or intoxicated," "They [a married couple] had also been found drunk," and "For taking spirituous liquor & mingling with the people of the world."⁴⁵

The skilled laborers reacted against their situation in a variety of ways besides alcohol. Many joined societies that provided insurance, or trade unions, but the unions had been weakened by earlier unsuccessful strikes, and the fight to preserve jobs or improve wages and working conditions progressed slowly.⁴⁶ Some became involved

⁴²Ian Levitt and Christopher Smout, *The State of the Scottish Working-Class in 1843: A Statistical and Spatial Enquiry Based on the Data from the Poor Law Commission Report of 1844* (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1979), 136-37.

⁴³For example, see Brigham Young's 6 April 1850 sermon, printed in the *Millennial Star* on 15 September 1850: "I tell you one thing, if we obey the word of the Lord, this people have got to quit drinking whisky, and leave off using so much tobacco, tea, and coffee." Reprinted in *The Essential Brigham Young* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1992), 35.

⁴⁴*Report of the Glasgow Quarterly Conference, Held in the Mechanics' Institution, Canning Street, Calton, Glasgow, March 24 and 25, 1849*, LDS Church Archives.

⁴⁵"Falkirk Branch (Scotland), British Mission, Record of Members and Historical Record," Council Meeting Minutes, 7 March 1852 to 20 February 1853, LDS Church Archives.

⁴⁶Bruce Lenman, *An Economic History of Modern Scotland 1660-1976* (Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books, 1977), 150-60; W. Knox, "The Political

in politics, particularly with the Reform Act of 1832 and then Chartism, which, among other things, sought to extend the vote to the working classes which the Reform Act had failed to do. Others became religious seekers, hoping to understand their condition or find salvation from it. John F. C. Harrison, from his initial study of Mormon autobiographies of the 1830s and 1840s, found that emigration presented the only real choice open to them:

The pursuit of material well-being and escape from the anxieties and stresses that poverty entails preoccupied most of them for much of their time. . . . They did not, for the most part, make the decisions that affected their lives, but were, in effect controlled by others. A working man, even a skilled artisan with traditional notions of independence, could do little about external conditions that affected his work. Perhaps the biggest step toward emancipation that he could take was emigration, which seemed to offer a new dimension of freedom.⁴⁷

For centuries, Europeans have harbored a utopian vision of the "West" as an untamed wilderness offering a chance for freedom from social inequalities and the opportunity for easy wealth. Historian Gerald D. Nash puts it this way:

The West represented an ideal society to millions of Europeans throughout the ages. That idea has been deeply imbedded in western European culture through the last two thousand years. The West seemed to symbolize another, and perhaps better, world that lacked many of the strains and stresses of an older Europe. Its youth, its freshness, and its seemingly limitless opportunities beckoned to people everywhere.⁴⁸

Emigration to North America had been the solution to extreme

and Workplace Culture of the Scottish Working Class, 1832-1914," in *People and Society in Scotland*, 2:148-49; E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (New York: Vintage Books, 1966), 240-63.

⁴⁷John F. C. Harrison, "The Popular History of Early Victorian Britain: A Mormon Contribution," in *Mormons in Early Victorian Britain*, edited by Richard L. Jensen and Malcolm R. Thorp (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1989), 15.

⁴⁸Gerald D. Nash, "European Images of America: The West in Historical Perspective," *Montana: The Magazine of Western History* 42 (Spring 1992): 4.

conditions in Scotland since the early seventeenth century. In a twelve-year period preceding the American War of Independence, approximately 25,000 Scots emigrated to the American continent.⁴⁹ Bernard Aspinwall sums up the Scots' connection to America as follows: "A strong tradition of transatlantic trade, emigration, and religious sentiments bound Glasgow into a transatlantic moral world; America was merely Scotland renewed and regenerated and the Atlantic but a Scottish loch. . . . Emigration . . . became normal in most families; it was a well-established Scottish tradition."⁵⁰ The Scottish convert Robert Hodgert matter-of-factly recorded that in 1841 his grandparents and aunt emigrated to Canada where an uncle was living who had "amassed a good fortune."⁵¹

Confirming Harrison's finding that Mormon converts viewed emigration as a solution to their problems is a letter to Apostle John Taylor from Franklin D. Richards, then president of the British Mission, dated 2 March 1855, "I would say again in reference to the emigration of the Saints to the States, that the horrors of war, the prevalence of hunger, producing bread riots, and the general depression of trade all serve to render it as impossible to stop emigration as it would be to dam up the Hudson [River] with bulrushes."⁵²

THE MISSIONARY MESSAGE

Much of what the missionaries taught fit with one or another of the evangelical religious beliefs of the time. The Irvingites stressed the Second Coming, the gathering of Israel, the apostasy of the established churches, and gifts of the Spirit; they spoke of angels and held that the true church must be composed of prophets and apostles. Campbellites urged a New Testament restoration. Baptists believed that baptism by immersion was essential for the remission of sins. Joanna Southcott had prophesied about coming wars, harvest

⁴⁹Daniels, *Coming to America*, 83.

⁵⁰Aspinwall, "A Fertile Field," 107-8.

⁵¹Hodgert, *Journal*, 4.

⁵²Quoted by Richard L. Jensen, "The British Gathering to Zion," in *Truth Will Prevail: The Rise of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in the British Isles, 1837-1987*, edited by V. Ben Bloxham, James R. Moss, and Larry C. Porter (Cambridge, Eng.: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1987), 177-78.

failures, and other calamities as preparing the way for the millennium. What the elders added to these and other primitivist, evangelical sects was a new, unified vision of the restored church, combining the Old Testament prophets, New Testament apostles, and a new dispensation through Joseph Smith. The missionaries spoke with authority, enthusiasm, and dedication in plain language. They offered hope and promise to weary and troubled people. Even the plain dress of the missionaries communicated that these Mormon elders were common folk like themselves and as Christ had been in his day.

The Church authorities counseled the missionaries to focus on “first principles”—faith, repentance, baptism by immersion for the remission of sins, and the gift of the Holy Ghost—but to avoid controversial doctrines such as plural marriage and baptism for the dead until after the converts were well grounded in the new belief system.⁵³ The missionaries presented the first principles in a context of biblical literalism, the coming millennium, a primitive, restored church with living prophets, an exodus already underway that would take believers to a literal promised land, and a kingdom of God actually being built in the West.

The daily experience of the working classes fit into what the missionaries preached about the Second Coming of Christ: that it would be preceded by plagues, pestilence, famine, and disasters of all kinds, both natural and humanmade. The *Millennial Star* carried a regular column, “Signs of the Times.” One article, “Do We Not Live in the Last Days?” stated, “We are rapidly merging into the last days, and we shall be compelled to witness the scenes thereof.”⁵⁴

Such a merging of signs was expressed by John Lyon, an 1844 convert and poet from Kilmarnock. He wrote a poem about the year 1849:

And many a fond endearing tie—
'Mong friends has parted been,
By pestilence and poverty,
Since thy bleak face was seen!

⁵³Price, “The Mormon Missionary of the Nineteenth Century,” 314.

⁵⁴From the *Frontier Guardian*, “Do We Not Live in the Last Days?” *Millennial Star* 13 (1 July 1851): 205.

And darker still, Time's record will
 Unveil the world's decline,
 Till coming fate, past woes relate,
 E'en worse than 'Forty-nine.⁵⁵

To prepare for the millennium, the Saints were encouraged to "gather to Zion." Gathering was as much a doctrine as baptism. Book of Mormon patriarch Lehi articulated the message: "But, said he, . . . we have obtained a land of promise, a land which is choice above all other lands. . . . Yea, the Lord hath covenanted this land unto me, and to my children forever, and also all those who should be led out of other countries by the hand of the Lord" (2 Ne. 1:5). It is not surprising, then, that the elders in preaching about Zion should have made statements that sounded like promises.

Whether the missionaries tailored their message to the Scottish audience is difficult to determine, but the flavor of their preaching in Great Britain is captured in the *Millennial Star*. This paper had become semi-monthly in 1845, and then in April 1852, a weekly with 23,000 subscribers. In its pages, such "promises" and the visions they must have evoked for the readers were regular fare, made by all of the leading authorities.

In March 1848, Brigham Young issued instructions from Winter Quarters: "To all the Saints in England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and adjacent islands and countries, we say, emigrate as speedily as possible to this vicinity."⁵⁶ The next September, Parley Pratt, in a letter to the Saints in Great Britain, extolled the newly settled Salt Lake Valley:

There has been no prevailing sickness of any kind, and very few deaths. . . . It is certainly the most healthy and delightful climate I ever lived in or read of. . . . The supply of pasture for grazing animals is without limit in every direction. Millions of people could live in these countries and raise cattle and sheep to any amount. . . . Oh, what a life *we* live! It is the dream of the poets actually fulfilled in real life. . . . Here . . . no chains or fetters bind the limbs of man; no slave exists to tremble, toil and sweat for nought, or fear and crouch, full

⁵⁵T. Edgar Lyon Jr., *John Lyon: The Life of a Pioneer Poet* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University, 1989), 131; italics omitted.

⁵⁶*Millennial Star* 10:40-41, quoted in Milton R. Hunter, *Brigham Young, the Colonizer* (Santa Barbara, Calif.: Peregrine Smith, Inc., 1973), 94.

low to please his fellow man. . . . Here, too, we all are rich—there is no real poverty.⁵⁷

In February 1849, an editorial, probably written by Orson Pratt, the editor, even promised silver and gold:

Oh! how cheering to the poor Saints, who have so long been borne down with poverty and wretchedness, to escape from old Babylon, and wend their way to a land of peace and plenty . . . there among the majestic mountains, and in the fertile vallies of a promised land, remember the Lord your God . . . and when you gather up the precious metals and heap up riches as the dust, remember the poor Saints in Great Britain, and send them deliverance. Remember . . . that the Lord your God has had compassion upon you, and brought you forth into a land that is rich in gold, and in silver, and in the precious metals. . . . for the Lord shall multiply gold as brass, and silver as iron, as saith the prophet Isaiah.⁵⁸

In the October 1850 general conference held in Manchester, England, John Taylor, in describing the Salt Lake Valley, also mentioned precious metals, “We have plenty of gold in that country, with which we can beautify our pots and dishes if we think proper. . . . We can dig into the mountains for the ores we need. . . . You go to work there, and turn over the rich soil, and dig in the mountains, and you will find an abundant supply of all things necessary for life; and that too, without a great amount of trouble.”⁵⁹

Although it is impossible to ascertain how literally the converts took such promises, it seems likely that many of them believed that was exactly what they would find in Utah. After all, the missionaries were preaching the literal fulfillment of biblical scriptures, so why would the converts not take pronouncements by the apostles of God literally?

In September 1850, a “gentleman” wrote to Orson Hyde that one could see in Salt Lake City

oceans of wheat waving in the distance as far as the eye can reach,

⁵⁷*Millennial Star* 11 (15 January 1849): 22-24.

⁵⁸“Emigration,” *Millennial Star* 11 (15 February 1849): 56-57.

⁵⁹“General Conference of the Church . . . for Great Britain and Adjacent Countries, Held in the Carpenters’ Hall, Manchester, on Saturday and Sunday, 5th and 6th Days of October, 1850,” *Millennial Star* 12 (1 December 1850): 358-60.

each acre yielding the products of three in the best wheat growing districts in the States. . . . The goddess of health makes her home among the granite peaks . . . , and the zephyrs she breaths o'er our valleys, kill away the pains and aches of old age. . . . Many very old people who came here labouring under disease, hoping only to be buried among their own people, have, as if by magic, entirely regained their health, and seem to be living in the vigour and bloom of a second youthfulness.⁶⁰

The July 1852 General Epistle from the First Presidency reads, "Let all who can procure a loaf of bread, and one garment on their back, be assured there is water plenty and pure by the way, and doubt no longer, but come next year to the place of gathering, even in flocks, as doves fly to their windows before a storm."⁶¹

The vision that the elders and the *Millennial Star* held out to the converts was impossible to resist. A regular fever of emigration ensued, with sometimes two-thirds of a conference leaving their homeland in one season.⁶² Here was the answer to spiritual seeking that held open the door to temporal salvation as well. Buchanan put it succinctly: "An article of faith among the Mormons could very well be the statement that 'a religion which has not the power to save men temporally and make them prosperous and happy here, cannot be depended upon to save them spiritually.'"⁶³ The enthusiasm and earnestness of the elders, combined with the excitement of members continually setting out for Utah, new missionaries arriving from the Valley, stirring news about the building up of the kingdom of God there, even perhaps the burden on one's purse—tithing, supporting the missionaries and traveling elders, or subscriptions to the *Millennial Star*—contributed to keeping the convert's zeal at a high pitch. To leave sinful "Babylon" and go to Zion was the constant cry.

In addition, the elders described how it was practical and possible: there were ships hired to take them to the New World, organ-

⁶⁰"From the Great Salt Lake Valley," *Millennial Star* 13 (15 March 1851): 87.

⁶¹First Presidency, Seventh General Epistle, *Millennial Star* 14 (17 July 1852): 325.

⁶²*Quarterly Report of the Edinburgh Conference of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Held in Whitefield Chapel, Carrubber's Close, High Street, Edinburgh, September 5, 1852*, LDS Church Archives, 6.

⁶³Buchanan, "Emigration of Scottish Mormons to Utah," 51.

ized companies on-board, agents to receive them at the American ports, other agents to procure wagons and teams, overland companies with leaders who had been over the route before and were versed in pioneer arts, even counsel about where to stay in Liverpool before boarding the ship so as not to be robbed or swindled, and instructions on how to yoke a pair of oxen at the outfitting grounds. For many, the cost was subsidized through the Perpetual Emigrating Fund, though once established in Utah, the Saints were expected to repay the loan so that others could come.

One difficulty in this study is how to distinguish between what the not-yet-converted heard that may have influenced them and what was preached to those already in the fold. We will never know for sure, but definitely some converts wrote of attending meetings for a period of months or longer before being baptized. One example is William Carruth, an 1845 convert of Renfrewshire, who said he was baptized a year and five months after his brother-in-law, with whom he was living.⁶⁴ Robert Hodgert first heard Samuel Mulliner and Alexander Wright preach in April 1840 but was not baptized until October 1841.⁶⁵

CONVERTS' REASONS FOR CONVERTING

Three analyses of British Mormon diaries and reminiscences have been published. The most thorough, Malcolm R. Thorp's, studied nearly three hundred individuals who joined the Church between 1837 and 1852 and for whom a record exists in diaries, reminiscences, or "insightful family histories."⁶⁶ Rebecca Bartholomew studied 100 accounts by or about women converts between 1838 and 1888, consisting of diaries, autobiographies, and biographies by children or other descendants. Half of her sources were biographies and, hence, are less valuable than first-person accounts.⁶⁷ The third historian, John F. C. Harrison, studied the history of the common people of Great Britain in the 1830s and 1840s as seen through their eyes. He read thirty-five Mormon

⁶⁴William Carruth, *Autobiography and Journal, 1857-63*, microfilm of holograph, not paginated, before Novemebr 1858, LDS Church Archives.

⁶⁵Hodgert, *Journal*, 3-4.

⁶⁶Thorp, "The Religious Backgrounds of Mormon Converts," 52.

⁶⁷Bartholomew, *Audacious Women*, xii-xiii.

journals and autobiographies as well as an unspecified number of non-Mormon ones for the same period to gain insight into the mental world of working-class people.⁶⁸

Thorp discovered that almost half (140 out of 298) of the journalers or autobiographists credited religious factors as the primary reason for their conversion. In particular, they stated that "primitive simplicity" or "plainness of doctrines" (forty-five converts) and "spiritual manifestations" (twenty-four) were instrumental in persuading them. As Thorp puts it, "This . . . suggests that converts considered the concept of a restoration of Biblical truth to be the most attractive feature of the religion. . . . Mormonism conformed to their image of pristine Christianity."⁶⁹

A typical conversion account that follows this pattern is Robert Hodgert's:

My uncle Alexander and I, instead of going to the "Kirk," stayed at home on Sundays to read the Bible, and to our astonishment found everything favorable to the principles taught by the elders. This led me to doubt of the truth of the entire fabric of modern Christianity. I was worked upon by some influence to . . . ask of God to know if Mormonism was true. . . . my prayers were answered to my unspeakable joy, and from that hour I felt myself a new creature in Christ Jesus. A sudden burst of light came upon me, my entire nature seemed changed, and in the language of the Apostle, old things had passed away and all things had become new.⁷⁰

Thorp's findings, however, need to be examined in the light of Harrison's study. Harrison points out that these were "spiritual" autobiographies, characterized by a focus on the religious factors that influenced the individual. He also found that the Mormon autobiographies are "very similar" to non-Mormon personal histories of the same type and period:

In the classic form of this genre, the early events lead up to a crisis out of which is born a new self. The search for personal salvation, the failure to find "rest" in any of the religious modes or institutions tried, and the final conversion experience are familiar from puritan models dating back to the seventeenth century. Methodism revitalized and

⁶⁸Harrison, "The Popular History," 1-4, 14.

⁶⁹Thorp, "The Religious Backgrounds of Mormon Converts," 63.

⁷⁰Hodgert, *Journal*, 3-4.

strengthened this tradition and made it available to thousands of working people in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. . . . Our Mormon autobiographies conform closely to the classic pattern of conversion narrative, albeit in a somewhat attenuated form (little is said, for instance, about the inner spiritual strivings, more about going from sect to sect).⁷¹

Confirming Harrison's observation that Mormon narratives tell little about the interior life of the individual, Bartholomew notes that, in the women's accounts she studied, "conversion images are few, which is puzzling considering how dramatic a step it was to join another church. This omission in the histories handicaps us in trying to understand what was operating in a woman's heart and mind as she made this monumental decision to join a strange new sect."⁷²

Thorp points out that few converts mention economic circumstances, emigration, or building Zion as influencing their decision. He adds, "If Mormonism was primarily a response to the unsettled conditions during the 'hungry forties,' then certainly there would be indications of this in the personal accounts used for this study. What is significant is how *little* evidence there is that relates to social conditions during this troubled decade."⁷³

There are, nevertheless, some glimpses of conditions. For example, James Ririe wrote of trying to find any kind of work without success for seven weeks: "I had a hard time of it. . . . I had no money. I was running in debt every night for my lodgings. I visited my friends until I thought I would wear my welcome out. I walked the streets in Aberdeen so that in passing the bakery shops, the smell of the bread made me sick." He eventually found a position at the combworks, but earned so little he had only oatmeal and molasses to eat "until I got more wages and then I treated myself to one cent's worth of skim milk a day."⁷⁴

Harrison writes:

For common people, making a living was the central experience of their lives. The lifelong waking hours of all but a small minority of the population were dominated by work of some kind,

⁷¹Harrison, "The Popular History," 13-14.

⁷²Bartholomew, *Audacious Women*, 66.

⁷³Thorp, "The Religious Backgrounds of Mormon Converts," 63-64.

⁷⁴Ririe, "James Ririe," 351.

and this comes through very clearly in the autobiographies. Two aspects stand out: first, the great variety of types of occupation, from many kinds of laboring to skilled crafts and trades; and second, the many different jobs at which an individual worker tried his hand."⁷⁵

He comments further that reading converts' autobiographies leaves the impression that the majority moved restlessly from place to place and from job to job, a mobility that paralleled their religious seeking, going from one sect to another. This rootlessness was a direct result of the Industrial Revolution and the social dislocation it caused; before industrialization, people rarely left their home district. Thus Thorp's contention that the unsettled religious conditions of the 1840s were the primary reason for conversion needs to be expanded and interpreted in the light of the period's major social and economic changes.

Harrison also points out that, in writing their spiritual autobiographies, converts slighted many aspects of their lives. Rarely do they mention grandparents, aunts, or uncles, unless the writer was sent to live with them; siblings are seldom mentioned by more than their name; sometimes even their names are omitted for a simple enumeration; almost nothing about the writer's childhood is included; information about courtship and marriage is starkly factual, and children are typically referred to only by name and date of birth.⁷⁶

Two examples will illustrate the brevity of recording courtship and marriage. William Carruth, with no mention of Margaret before this point, wrote, "I will know [sic] write a short account of our jurneyings to the Camp of Isrial, Great Salt Lake, State of Deseret, N. America. Acording to previous apointment, I left Birkenhead on Saterdag the 12th of Febr. 1848 and went to Eldersley distant about 3 miles where my weding party had convened acording to former arangements. And on the evening of the same day I was married to Margaret Ellwood."⁷⁷ Peter McIntyre, also with no preliminaries, simply records, "Upon a short acquaintance, I was married a second time to Margaret Baxter, on [blank], 1840."⁷⁸

⁷⁵Harrison, "The Popular History," 10-11.

⁷⁶Ibid., 9-12.

⁷⁷Carruth, *Autobiography and Journal*, [12 February 1848].

⁷⁸McIntyre, *Autobiography*, 12.

Did these writers feel that matters pertaining to family, childhood, and marriage were of little interest to the reader? Or were they irrelevant to the writer's primary purpose, which was to recount his religious experience?

Besides the fact that the converts were writing spiritual autobiographies, Harrison suggests a further clue about why they failed to describe their ugly, unhappy world: "Instead of relating the episodes in their lives to happenings on the national scene, their reminiscences are, with very few exceptions, essentially local and familial. The things that stuck in the memory were personal and even trivial."⁷⁹ Carruth gives a marvelous example of the trivial in his autobiography when he said he and his bride took the train from Paisley, "on Monday Febr. 14th 1848 at 45 minuts past 3 PM."⁸⁰

I would suggest that economic hardships were rarely directly addressed in converts' accounts for several reasons. First, it seems likely that the writers did not discuss them because the economic difficulties were so obvious and widespread that an explanation was unnecessary. Second, they did not fit the purpose of a religious autobiography, which was to create an account documenting their spiritual journey. Third, to admit poverty as a motive for conversion would call into question the sincerity of their conversion. And finally, most of the authors intended their reminiscences as a legacy for their posterity and naturally favored nobler religious motives.

If the converts' purpose in writing was to relate their religious journey and consequently mention families or the world in which they lived only peripherally, can we find another source for how they viewed their lives? Taking a folklorist's approach, I believe we can learn much from poems and songs written by these same converts. As Austin E. Fife enjoins, "The local historian should be dynamic about the recording of songs, poems, proverbs, and sayings. . . . I believe that these songs would be more useful than any single historical document in describing the morale of the community at any particular period in its history."⁸¹

What do poems and songs of that period tell us about the converts' perspectives? John Lyon, who was president of the Glasgow

⁷⁹Harrison, "The Popular History," 14.

⁸⁰Carruth, *Autobiography and Journal*, [14 February 1848].

⁸¹Austin E. Fife, *Exploring Western Americana* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: UMI Research Press, 1988), 51.

Conference in 1852 until he emigrated in early 1853, described the hard times in his poems. "The Poet's Farewell" includes a bleak picture of conditions:

For the terror of night
Gives the tyrant his right,
And her sons starve with nothing to do.

...

Proud Scotia, for ever, adieu.⁸²

"It's a Cauld Barren Blast That Blaws Nobody Good" (1853), paints a portrait of a neighborhood:

At the sign of the Bottle, and Three Golden Balls,
Near the Home of the drunkard—the old Prison walls!
There the pimply-faced publican, swelled like a tub,
Wi' a red partan nose, that would blaze wi' a rub,
And his neighbour, the pawnbroker, live at their ease;
On the last dregs o' wretchedness, want, and disease,
For them thousands go naked and perish for food—
"It's a cauld barren blast that blaws nobody good."⁸³

Another poem, "The Mountain Dell," published in the *Millennial Star* in 1850, dwells on the promise of a better life in Utah:

Away, away to the mountain dell,
The valley of the free:
Where faith has broke the tyrant's yoke,
That bound fair liberty.

...

No famished children there shall pine,
Nor frantic mother wild,
Ere seek to take that life away
She gave her infant child!

...

Then hie ye home, ye Saints who roam,
Your hope is in the west!⁸⁴

⁸²Lyon, *John Lyon*, 167.

⁸³*Ibid.*, 289.

⁸⁴*Ibid.*, 143; italics omitted.

A verse in the famous Mormon Handcart Song by John D. T. McAllister, who wrote it after returning from a mission to Great Britain, also acknowledges what the convert had left behind:

The land that boasts of so much light
 We know they're all as dark as night
 Where poor men toil and want for bread,
 And rich men's dogs are better fed.⁸⁵

Other songs repeat the message that one is leaving "Babylon" with its sins and misery to go and prosper in the Promised Land. The *Millennial Star* regularly carried pieces like this one written by John Jaques, an 1845 convert in Stratford-upon-Avon, England:

Rejoice! Rejoice! ye scattered Saints,
 Be glad! Dry every tear;
 The Lord has heard your cries for aid,
 Deliverance is near.

...

Rejoice! all ye who've been oppressed
 Full many a gloomy day,
 Who've prayed the dark and lowering clouds
 Would break and pass away.⁸⁶

Another mixes the spiritual and temporal blessings the convert hoped to receive. "The Latter-day Zion" was written by J. B. Price and published in 1856:

Arise, O glorious Zion,
 Thou city of the Lord;

...

For silver, gold; for iron, brass,
 Shall God on thee bestow,
 And cause thy holy mountain's breast
 With milk and wine to flow:
 To thee the orphan and oppressed
 From every land shall come,

⁸⁵Fife, *Exploring Western Americana*, 19.

⁸⁶*Millennial Star* 17 (24 November 1855), reprinted in LeRoy R. Hafen and Ann W. Hafen, *Handcarts to Zion: The Story of a Unique Western Migration, 1856-1860* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1960), 260-61.

With the afflicted and distressed,
The blind, the halt, the dumb.⁸⁷

Thus, through poems and songs we find that the converts deplored the terrible times in which they lived and fervently desired to escape to Zion.

CONCLUSIONS

Many "push" factors were driving Scots to emigrate: dropping wages and diminishing demand for skilled hand labor; fetid, polluted, and crowded cities with falling standards of living in housing, nutrition, health, and education; and a multiplicity of sects, too few churches, and clergy that ignored the plight of the working classes. Extreme conditions in the past had sent thousands of Scots to seek a better life in North America, so the idea of emigration was familiar to the Scottish converts. We also find many "pull" factors: a new religion that preached the restored church of Christ, a promised land already revealed and being settled in America, a vision of spiritual as well as material prosperity in the new Zion, and direction and aid in getting there.

Why, one might ask, with so many push and pull forces, did not thousands more convert? We will never know, lacking equal access to the written reasons of those who also heard the missionaries but did not respond. Nevertheless, we can get a glimpse of how the majority of Scots reacted to the missionary message from some of the converts' autobiographies. James Ririe wrote, "I then wrote home to my people and acquaintances. So delighted with the truth was I that I thought I had nothing to do but just tell them of it and they would be as happy as I. To my great disappointment, I found they treated it with contempt and did not answer my letter at all. Some of them did later, and told me it was the 'worst of the worst I had joined.'"⁸⁸ William Carruth recounted a similar experience after he first heard an elder preach on

the first principals of the Gospel and the establishing of Gods Kingdom upon the earth in the latter days. Never cane [sic] I forget that evening. Every word that he spoke I beleaved without the least hesitation, and I felt as if all that I had upon the earth I could have

⁸⁷*Millennial Star* 18 (28 May 1856), reprinted in *ibid.*, 266.

⁸⁸Ririe, "James Ririe," 343.

laid down at his feet. . . . But to my great astonishment those of our naighbours whom we had invited to atend considered him one of the greatest blasphemers they had ever before heard.⁸⁹

Obviously, the message the Mormons brought did not impress or engage much of the population.

But for those who were drawn to the new religion, such push and pull forces did indeed play a part in their decision. Driven by the social dislocations of the Industrial Revolution, they moved from one place to another, from one job to another, from one sect to another. They sought economic stability and a church that embraced the literal word of the Bible and made sense to their hearts, minds, and experience. In Mormonism, they found a coherent scriptural world in which the miseries of their lives were “signs of the times” and the promise of Zion was God’s salvation for them. In their minds, economics and religion were inseparable.

William Gibson, in justifying his decision to emigrate to a group of striking miners in Fifeshire, shows the influence of both push and pull forces within the context of his religious belief: “Can you blame us for wishing to leave such a state of things & go to a land where we can have a part of the soil we can call our own & work it for ourselves & own no master but our God?”⁹⁰

Emerging from the baptismal waters, the convert entered a world in which the spiritual and the temporal merged. In leaving Scotland, the Saints left sinful Babylon as well as their oppressors. Zion was both a spiritual kingdom and a secular place where God’s people would prosper. This indivisibility of their world is expressed in the conference minutes of the August 1842 Glasgow Conference: “Elder [Parley] Pratt then addressed the meeting upon the spiritual and temporal welfare of mankind in general, he also gave a brief outline of the produce, extent, and grandness of the Country of America, . . . and he thought that it was nothing unreasonable that the Angels of the Lord should come forth and command his people to go to such a land.”⁹¹ Combining farm produce and angels in one breath strikes us as incongruous; but to the nineteenth-century con-

⁸⁹Carruth, *Autobiography and Journal*, [ca. 1844].

⁹⁰Quoted in Buchanan, “Scots Among the Mormons,” 332.

⁹¹Glasgow Conference, Minutes, 15 August 1842, LDS Church Archives.

verts, it was reality. For them, the world and the Bible were one. They were replicating the ancient stories, living in sacred time, partaking in God's restored church. Social, economic, and religious distinctions ceased to have meaning, for one's belief and one's experience formed a single entity.

STAR VALLEY, WYOMING: POLYGAMOUS HAVEN

Dan Erickson

ON 15 AUGUST 1909 Mormon Church President Joseph F. Smith dedicated the Star Valley Stake Tabernacle. Its Middle English steeple, 140 feet above the ground, was visible from all points in the valley. For five years, its sandstone had been hauled ten miles over bumpy snow-covered roads by teams and wagons from a quarry on the west side of the valley. Loads of timber had gone to the mill where they became lumber and shingles. Women sold handcrafted items and baked goods to help finance the \$45,000 project. A thousand could be seated in its main hall, and Star Valley residents could boast that it was perhaps the finest building in western Wyoming.¹ It announced that the Mormon presence in this high, isolated valley was permanent.

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¹George A. Osmond, *George Osmond and Family Pioneers* (N.p.: Distributed through George A. Osmond, n.d.), 145-53; Lee R. Call, ed., *Star Valley and Its Communities* (Afton, Wyo.: Star Valley Independent, 1971),

Two forces determined the Mormon settlement of Star Valley. The first was a general Mormon expansion from overcrowded Utah and Idaho that sent settlement probes into many secondary areas during the 1870s and 1880s, withdrawing from the least hospitable ones.² This effort settled Star Valley in 1879-80, but frost often coats the ground ten months out of twelve, and the initial settlement shriveled and shrank. The second effort, however, was motivated by a desperate search for refuge as federal pressure against polygamists in Utah and Idaho threatened Mormon families. Under this unremitting pressure, climate became less significant than security and the benign willingness of Wyoming officials to look the other way. Star Valley really took permanent root in 1885.

Nor did Star Valley's role in the Mormon polygamy saga cease with Wilford Woodruff's 1890 Manifesto, which publicly declared an end to Church-sanctioned new plural marriages. Steeped in the polygamous tradition, and bound by faith, family ties, and a sense of persecution and deliverance, Star Valley became a tightly woven community where many inhabitants continued to revere polygamy as holy. It became part of the ambiguous and clandestine world of post-Manifesto polygamy—not in isolation but as part of the cross-currents at work among the Church's hierarchy.³ Focusing on

5-6. This work updates a 1951 history by a University of Wyoming extension class organized at Afton; Howard M. Carlisle, *Colonist Fathers, Corporate Sons: A Selective History of the Call Family* (N.p.: Calls Trust, 1996), 69-70.

²Dean L. May, "Between Two Cultures: The Mormon Settlement of Star Valley, Wyoming," *Journal of Mormon History* 13 (1986-87): 125-40; Richard Sherlock, "Mormon Migration and Settlement after 1875," *Journal of Mormon History* 2 (1975): 53-68. Both see Star Valley settlement as part of the general out-migration of land-hungry Mormons, unrelated to polygamous pressures. Three other studies are more tentative in ascribing motivations for settlement: Ray M. Hall, "A History of the Latter-day Saint Settlement of Star Valley, Wyoming" (M.S. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1962), 3, 23; Forrest Weber Kennington and Kathaleen Kennington Hamblin, *A History of Star Valley, 1800-1900* (Salt Lake City: N.p., 1989), 111-16, 138-40; Call, *Star Valley*, 2-5.

³Thomas G. Alexander, *Mormonism in Transition: A History of the Latter-day Saints, 1890-1930* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986), 11. For an example of this sentiment, see Heber Don Carlos Clark, "A Life History," Historical Department Archives, Church of Jesus Christ of

individuals' motives, this paper illustrates that polygamy was the primary impetus for the settlement of Star Valley, Wyoming, in the late 1880s and acknowledges the high prices these "ordinary members," both as individuals and as families, paid for their undisturbed haven.

THE FIRST FOUNDING OF STAR VALLEY

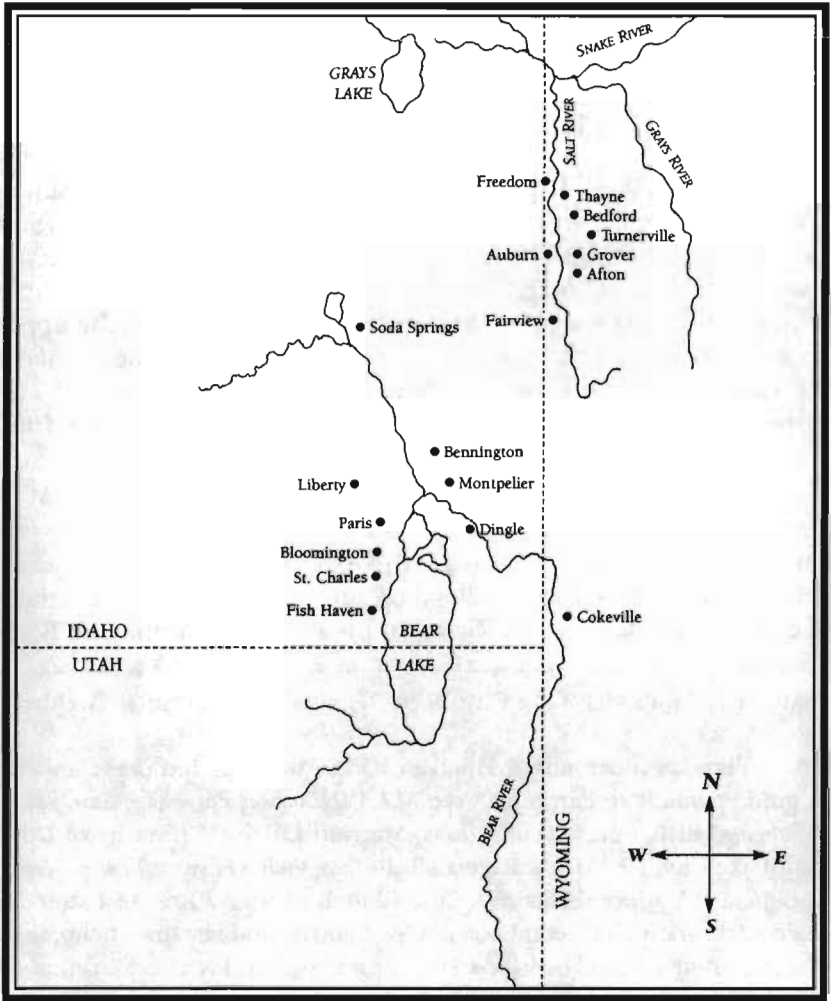
In the fall of 1877, Apostle Moses Thatcher and Presiding Bishop William B. Preston visited Wyoming's Salt River Valley (Star Valley's original name) by way of existing Mormon settlements in Bear Lake Valley.⁴ Star Valley is hour-glass shaped with the "narrows" separating the upper and lower valleys. For a time, the upper valley went by Star Valley with the lower valley maintaining the name of Salt River Valley. Eventually both were known as Star Valley. The valley straddled two states and three counties, Bear Lake and Caribou in Idaho, and Uinta in Wyoming.

Without permanent settlers, geographically close to other Mormon communities, and suitable for agriculture, its potential was immediately apparent.⁵ In August 1878 Thatcher and Preston again inspected the Salt River Valley accompanied by apostles Brigham Young Jr. and Charles C. Rich. On the west bank of the Salt River

Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City (hereafter cited as LDS Church Archives), 25.

⁴For speculation that Thatcher had earlier explored the valley with a guide named "Indian John," see *M.I.A. Historical Pageant of Star Valley, Wyoming*, 1915, Special Collections, Marriott Library, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, 10; "M.I.A. Pageant Tells Star Valley History," *Deseret News*, 2 Sept. 1915, Journal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (chronological scrapbook of typed entries and newspaper clippings, 1830-present), 28 July 1915, LDS Church Archives; "The Mormons in Wyoming and Idaho," in *Heart Throbs of the West*, compiled by Kate B. Carter, 12 vols. (Salt Lake City: Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1946), 7:513.

⁵"Colonization in Salt River Valley," 6, Star Valley Stake, Historical Records and Minutes, LDS Church Archives, LR 8685, series 2, microfilm; Andrew Jenson, *Encyclopedic History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Publishing Company, 1941), 832-33; Hall, "A History," 26; "Star Valley Stake to Celebrate Centennial," *Star Valley Independent*, 23 July 1992, 6-7; May, "Between Two Cultures," 132; Kennington and Hamblin, *A History of Star Valley*, 26.



**STAR VALLEY AND
BEAR LAKE VALLEY
SETTLEMENTS**

on 29 August 1878, the four knelt "in the midst of this most sweet and beautiful Valley on a lovely Sunday morning, with all nature smiling around." With Young acting as voice, "we humbly dedicated it, the surrounding mountains, timber and streams to the Lord our God for the use of His Saints."⁶

The valley was officially set apart for settlement at the 7 May 1879 meeting of the apostles at Salt Lake City, with Thatcher and Rich, then presiding authority in Bear Lake, designated to "superintend the settlement of our people in [the] Salt River Valley Wyoming Ter[ritory]," particularly by Latter-day Saints from the Bear Lake region only forty miles away.⁷ Administratively the valley would be a branch of the Bear Lake Stake.⁸

In June 1879 the first group of permanent settlers arrived in the Salt River Valley and settled at the site that would later be called Freedom.⁹ Among them were two polygamists from St. Charles,

⁶Moses Thatcher, Journal No. 3, 11, MSS 731, Special Collections and Manuscripts, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah. Thatcher retrospectively dated this visit as August 1879; but settlers came into both the upper and lower valley in June and August 1879, and Thatcher is clear that the valley had no inhabitants. I therefore concur with Dean May's conclusion that this visit actually took place in August 1878. See May, "Between Two Cultures," 129. Andrew Jenson, *Encyclopedic History*, 833, also dates this visit as 29 August 1878. See also "Colonization in Salt River Valley," 6.

⁷Moses Thatcher, Journal No. 3, 109; Jenson, *Encyclopedic History*, 833; Andrew Jenson, "With the Saints in Star Valley," *Deseret News*, 9 November 1929, in *Journal History of the Church*, 9 November 1929, 2. Leonard J. Arrington, *Charles C. Rich: Mormon General and Western Frontiersman* (Provo, Utah: BYU Press, 1974), 309, suggests that Star Valley's first settlers may have been "called" to colonize the valley.

⁸Hall, "A History," 27; John Henry Evans, *Charles Coulson Rich: Pioneer Builder of the West* (New York: Macmillan, 1936), 340. William Budge, a polygamist, was president of Bear Lake Stake. Ezra J. Poulsen, "Pioneer Portraits: William Budge," *Idaho Yesterdays* 15 (Winter 1972): 24-25.

⁹This group of twenty-seven were all related to each other. *M.I.A. Historical Pageant*, 4-5; Call, *Star Valley*, 2, 127-32. Kennington and Hamblin, *A History of Star Valley*, 116, 122. The traditional story holds that Freedom obtained its name "because a fugitive could move across the border of either state and gain his freedom." Velma Linford, *Wyoming: Frontier State*

Idaho, John S. Rolph and William H. Heap, whose move may have been motivated by the U.S. Supreme Court's decision on 6 January 1879 in the George Reynolds case that polygamy was not protected under the First Amendment.¹⁰ A second group arrived in August and built cabins at the present site of Auburn.¹¹

The following summer a few more settlers trickled in. Thatcher, Rich, Preston, William Budge, George Osmond, and some wives and children visited Star Valley.¹² Thatcher praised Star Valley as "certainly one of the very finest and most beautiful [valleys] I have ever seen in the Mountains" and installed newly transplanted Bear Lake member Charles D. Cazier as the settlement's presiding authority, which action was "unanimously sustained by vote." The Mormons also sustained Thatcher's proposal to change the valley's name to "Star Valley."¹³ The Church leaders next designated the site for

(Denver: Old West Publishing, 1947), 330; Call, *Star Valley*, 128; Rodello Hunter, *Wyoming Wife* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1969), 16.

¹⁰Call, *Star Valley*, 127; Elinor Millward Brown, *My Valley, My Town, Fairview* (Afton, Wyo.: Afton Thrifty Print, 1986), 11; *Reynolds v. United States*, 98 US 145 (1879). Idaho's legislature had, on 15 February 1879, requested Congress to enact laws to enforce the policy implied in the Reynolds decision. Merle W. Wells, *Anti-Mormonism in Idaho, 1872-92* (Provo, Utah: BYU Press, 1978), 17. For Rolph's and Heap's polygamist status, see the U.S. 1880 census; William Henry Harrison Heap, family group sheet, photocopy in my possession; Hall, "A History," 21.

¹¹Jenson, *Encyclopedic History*, 833. Approximately ten adults and ten children spent the 1879-80 winter in the upper valley. Ben Welch and August Lehmberg may have trapped in Star Valley prior to moving there. See Call, *Star Valley*, 1-2, 14; Kennington and Hamblin, *A History of Star Valley*, 118-19; Hall, "A History," 28; J. Patrick Wilde, *Treasured Tidbits of Time: An Informal History of Mormon Conquest and Settlement of the Bear Lake Valley* (Providence, Utah: Keith W. Watkins and Sons, 1977), 103.

¹²Andrew Jenson, *Encyclopedic History*, 833, dates this visit at 3 September 1880. The 1880 census enumerated seven households (forty-five people) in the upper and lower valleys.

¹³Moses Thatcher, Journal No. 3, 110; "Salt River Valley," *Deseret News*, 29 September 1880, 545; Jenson, *Encyclopedic History*, 833; Emma Higgs Wakefield and Ramona Farrer Cottom, "Through the Years," LDS Church Archives, MS 5509, 26; May, "Between Two Cultures," 129-30; Kennington and Hamblin, *A History of Star Valley*, 116; Hall, "A History,"

Afton, directing Cazier to survey and parcel it into thirty blocks of ten acres each.¹⁴

Despite this promising beginning, "the winters were long, the snows deep, and the frost severe."¹⁵ The challenges to hopeful farmers were too severe to allow the community to follow the pattern of other church colonization efforts of the late 1870s.¹⁶ The growing season was sometimes a mere fifty days, sharply restricting the types of vegetables and crops that would grow to maturity.¹⁷ Although nine families spent the 1880-81 winter near Auburn and additional groups arrived in 1881, an exodus of the disheartened also occurred.¹⁸ Among them was Cazier, who moved to Bennington, Idaho, in the summer of 1881.¹⁹ In the upper valley, only the Lehmberg and Welch families endured the winters of 1881-82 and 1882-83; only the Rolph and Heap extended families lived in the lower valley until 1885.²⁰ Moroni Hunt and John Wilkes built cabins

20, 29.

¹⁴Jenson, *Encyclopedic History*, 833.

¹⁵Evans, *Charles Coulson Rich*, 340.

¹⁶For typical settlement patterns, see D. W. Meinig, "The Mormon Culture Region: Strategies and Patterns in the Geography of the American West, 1847-1964," *Geographers Association Annals* 55 (1965): 198, 203-4; D. W. Meinig, "The Mormon Nation and the America in Empire," *Journal of Mormon History* 22 (Spring 1996): 42-43; Leonard J. Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom: An Economic History of the Latter-day Saints 1830-1900* (1958; reprinted Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1966), 354-55; James B. Allen and Glen M. Leonard, *The Story of the Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1976), 385; Lowry Nelson, *The Mormon Village: A Pattern and Technique of Land Settlement* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1952), 40; Richard H. Jackson and Robert L. Layton, "The Mormon Village: Analysis of a Settlement Type," *Professional Geographer* 28 (May 1976): 138; Leonard J. Arrington and Davis Bitton, *The Mormon Experience: A History of the Latter-day Saints*, 2d ed. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992), 119; May, "Between Two Cultures," 130-31; Sherlock, "Mormon Migration," 58.

¹⁷Carlisle, *Colonist Fathers*, 59.

¹⁸Jenson, *Encyclopedic History*, 833; *M.I.A. Historical Pageant*, 5.

¹⁹In 1885, Cazier was called to return to Star Valley as the presiding elder. Hall, "A History," 31; Evans, *Charles Coulson Rich*, 341.

²⁰"Colonization in Salt River Valley," 7, 15; Call, *Star Valley*, 13-19.

in 1883 but stayed only one winter. For five years following the first winter (1879-80) the valley actually lost population.²¹ It is fair to say that the 1879 settlement thrust followed the typical pattern of late 1870s Mormon colonization, but the fit immediately became less precise. Star Valley may have remained a footnote in Mormon settlement history except for the intervention of other forces that assured permanent settlement in 1885.

IMPETUS FOR RESETTLEMENT

In 1879 the Quorum of the Twelve selected young apostle Moses Thatcher to establish a mission in Mexico. By February 1880 he reported favorably on colonization prospects. Although Church leaders did not act on his proposal, they remembered it. When the Edmunds Act of 1882 provided for comprehensive prosecution of polygamy, they dispatched him, accompanied by Apostle Erastus Snow, to northern Mexico for further exploration. In 1885, Thatcher served on a purchasing committee commissioned by Church President John Taylor to acquire land in Mexico.²²

Thatcher's revived interest in Wyoming coincided with his activities in Mexico. On 23-30 October 1884, he again visited Star Valley, reiterating his belief that "Star Valley is one of the finest in all this mountain region and should be settled."²³ Then, three key developments in the anti-polygamy campaign gave urgency to the valley's settlement.²⁴ First, Fred T. Dubois, an avid anti-Mormon serving as U.S. district marshal with jurisdiction for Idaho, began

Grant Campbell came into the valley in 1884, then in 1885 moved his family seven miles south to the Fairview area. Hall, "A History," 30-32.

²¹Kennington and Hamblin, *A History of Star Valley*, 118.

²²B. Carmon Hardy, "The Mormon Colonies of Northern Mexico: A History, 1885-1912" (Ph.D. diss., Wayne State University, 1963), 53-74; F. LaMond Tullis, *Mormons in Mexico* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1987), 34-57.

²³Moses Thatcher, *Diary of Lamanite Mission 1883-84*, 1 November 1884, MS 98, Special Collections, Marriott Library, University of Utah, Salt Lake City. Thatcher's comments confirm that "settlement" had not yet occurred.

²⁴Kennington and Hamblin, *A History of Star Valley*, 118, admit that interest revived around 1885 but suggest it may have been due to increased promotional articles in the *Deseret News*.

active arrests of polygamists in that state. The first polygamy trials were held 6 April 1885.²⁵ Law officials began periodic raids in Bear Lake Valley, usually arriving by train in Montpelier.²⁶ Across the Utah border, pursuit and prosecution in Cache Valley became particularly heavy in 1886-88.²⁷ Even though bounty hunters pursued polygamists into Wyoming, at times invading their homes, that risk was minimal compared to the danger in Utah and Idaho.²⁸

Second, passage of the 1885 Idaho Test Oath disfranchised all 25,000 Mormons in Idaho, regardless of their marital status.²⁹ A large proportion of Star Valley's early settlers in the years 1885-90 consisted of polygamists fleeing Idaho Territory.³⁰ Third, on 1 February 1885 in his final public ad-

²⁵Wells, *Anti-Mormonism in Idaho*, 63,

²⁶Leonard J. Arrington, *History of Idaho*, 2 vols. (Moscow: University of Idaho Press, 1994), 1:372-73; Hall, "A History," 22; A. M. Rich, "History of Montpelier, 1864-1925," *News-Examiner* (Montpelier), 20 February 1958; Wilde, *Treasured Tidbits*, 182. For Mormon systems of warning Idaho polygamists about impending raids in Bear Lake, see Russell R. Rich, "History of the Latter-day Saint Settlement of the Bear Lake Valley 1863-1900" (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1948), 210-13; Dana Bennett, "Mormon Polygamy in Early Southeastern Idaho," *Idaho Yesterdays* 28 (Spring 1984): 28; Bonnie Thompson, *Folklore in the Bear Lake Valley* (Salt Lake City: Granite Publishing Company, 1972), 154-56, 158.

²⁷S. George Ellsworth, "Political Developments," in *The History of a Valley: Cache Valley, Utah-Idaho*, edited by Joel E. Ricks (Logan, Utah: Cache Valley Centennial Commission, 1956), 114.

²⁸Hall, "A History," 22.

²⁹Wells, *Anti-Mormonism in Idaho*, 57-75; Merle W. Wells, "The Anti-Mormon Test Oath, 1884-1892," *Pacific Historical Review* 24 (August 1955): 235-52; James H. Hawley, ed., *History of Idaho*, 2 vols. (Chicago: S. J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1920), 1:189. Because it destroyed Mormon political power, E. Leo Lyman, "A Mormon Transition in Idaho Politics," *Idaho Yesterdays* 20 (Winter 1977): 3, has called the Idaho Test Oath "the most important of all anti-Mormon legislation." In 1888 the Idaho Supreme Court sustained the Test Oath (Section 571 of the Revised Statutes of Idaho-Election Law) in *Innis v. Bolton*; in 1890 the U.S. Supreme Court in *Davis v. Beason* also declared it legal. Edwin Brown Firmage and Richard Collin Mangrum, *Zion in the Courts: A Legal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1830-1900* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988), 233-34.

³⁰Lawrence G. Coates, Peter G. Goag, Ronald L. Hatzenbuehler, and

dress before going into hiding, Church President John Taylor emphatically affirmed the theological importance of polygamy and defiantly claimed he would “Never! NO NEVER! NO, NEVER!” recant the principle.³¹ On 25 February 1885, through the Church’s newspaper, the *Deseret News*, Taylor also advised that it was better for families to find a safe haven and remove there than go to jail and either “incarcerated in the territory with thieves and murderers and other vile characters, or sent to the American Siberia in Detroit to serve out a long term of imprisonment.”³²

Merwin R. Swanson, “The Mormon Settlement of Southeastern Idaho, 1845-1900,” *Journal of Mormon History* 20 (Fall 1994): 59; Hawley, *History of Idaho*, 199; Hall, “A History,” 20-22; J. Wilde, *Treasured Tidbits*, 99, 121. The Idaho Test Oath became law on 3 February 1885. Grenville H. Gibbs, “Mormonism in Idaho Politics, 1880-1890,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 21 (Oct. 1953): 296-97, calls this date the “dramatic climax” of the Idaho anti-Mormon campaign. Following this development was the April 1885 U.S. Supreme Court decision in *Clawson v. The United States* (114 U.S. 477), which ruled as constitutional the exclusion of Mormons from juries in polygamy and cohabitation cases, and the practice of procuring jurors by direct selection, a device used by anti-Mormon Idaho Marshal Fred Dubois. A contemporary source reporting on the immediate effect of the disfranchisement of 12,000 polygamists in Utah between 1882 and 1884 is Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of Utah* (San Francisco: The History Company, Publishers, 1889), 687. For a day-by-day description of the arrests, imprisonments, and fines of Mormon Church members due to the anti-polygamy campaign see Andrew Jenson, comp., *Church Chronology*, 2d rev. ed. (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1914).

³¹John Taylor, 1 February 1885, *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (London and Liverpool: LDS Booksellers Depot, 1855-86), 26:152. For a detailed study of the theological importance of plural marriage, see B. Carmon Hardy, *Solemn Covenant: The Mormon Polygamous Passage* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992), 39-60. See also D. Michael Quinn, “LDS Church Authority and New Plural Marriages, 1890-1904,” *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 18 (Spring 1985): 27-32; Samuel W. Taylor, *The Kingdom or Nothing: The Life of John Taylor, Militant Mormon* (New York: Macmillan, 1976), 322-53.

³²When prisons in Idaho, Arizona, and Utah became overcrowded, Mormons convicted of cohabitation were sent to the federal penitentiary in Detroit. B. Carmon Hardy, “The American Siberia: Mormon Prisoners in Detroit in the 1880s,” *Michigan History* 50 (September 1966): 197-210. *Deseret News Weekly*, 25 February 1885, 2, quoted in *ibid.*, 207. See also John

In short, increased enforcement of the Edmunds Act put intolerable pressure on polygamists who saw the merits of following Taylor to the “underground.” Forced into seclusion, polygamous husbands—and many plural wives with their children—hid from federal marshals in secret rooms, ditches, or bushes; for others, a permanent solution was moving outside Utah, Idaho, and Arizona territories or out of the country.³³ At this point Moses Thatcher became a key figure in the Church’s strategy to seek safe haven for Mormon polygamists. In May 1885 he and Erastus Snow met with senior government officials in Mexico City who agreed to allow Mormon colonies in northern Mexico. Although polygamy was against Mexican law, the apostles were told that Mormon plural families were welcome if they were brought in quietly.³⁴ In May, Thatcher penned an article in the *Utah Journal*, reprinted in July in the *Deseret News*, praising Star Valley’s soil, timber, streams, fish and game, and announcing that the valley was now “open for settlement.”³⁵ Andrew Jenson notes that this

letter published in the official organ of the Church seemed to direct the attention of many home seekers to Star Valley, and the year 1885 witnessed the actual settlement of both valleys, Star Valley proper and lower Salt River Valley. Among those who re-settled the valley in 1885 were a number of brethren and their families who fled from Utah because of the anti-polygamy crusade.³⁶

Taylor and George Q. Cannon, Letter to Arizona Stake President [first name not given] Layton, 16 December 1884, quoted in Thomas Cottam Romney, *The Mormon Colonies in Mexico* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1938), 52.

³³Jessie L. Embry, *Mormon Polygamous Families: Life in the Principle* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1987), 17-18.

³⁴B. Carmon Hardy, “Mormon Polygamy in Mexico and Canada: A Legal and Historiographical Review,” in *The Mormon Presence in Canada*, edited by Brigham Y. Card, Herbert C. Northcott, John E. Foster, Howard Palmer, and George K. Jarvis (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1990), 191-93; Hardy, *Solemn Covenant*, 176-77.

³⁵M[oses] Thatcher, “Star Valley,” *Utah Journal*, 2 May 1885, 29 July 1885, *Journal History*.

³⁶Andrew Jenson, Manuscript History of Star Valley Stake, 1, LR 8685, LDS Church Archives. Martha Sonntag Bradley, “Polygamy,” in *Historical Atlas of Mormonism*, edited by S. Kent Brown and Donald Q. Cannon (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1994), 116-17, notes that Afton, founded in 1885, was a new “polygamy related” settlement. Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom*, 383, also lists Star Valley with Alberta and northern Mexico

THE STAR VALLEY SETTLEMENT 1885-90

From its low point during the winter of 1884-85, the valley had both a literal and a population spring in 1885. By the end of the century, Star Valley had five settlements with post offices and 417 families, numbering over 2,200.³⁷ One study has called Star Valley's 1885-1900 growth "a land boom of sorts" and the population increase as "nothing short of fantastic."³⁸ Afton's townsite was surveyed in the fall of 1885. In October 1885, Charles D. Cazier, recalled by William Budge, returned as presiding elder.³⁹ The first grain was harvested in 1886.⁴⁰ By 1887 Star Valley had a full-fledged ward, and in 1892 the Star Valley Stake was organized boasting seven wards.⁴¹ As communities flourished, the residents, bound by blood and by their faith, developed a strong community identity. No small factor was their common motivation for coming to Star Valley: to escape persecution and prosecution for polygamy.⁴²

as "directly related to the Raid in the sense that polygamous husbands sought to find locations for their families in out-of-the-way places unlikely to be visited by federal deputies."

³⁷Hall, "A History," 30-32; Kennington and Hamblin, *A History of Star Valley*, 130; "Star Valley Stake," 6-7; Merna Thurman Madden, comp., *The Descendants of Edward Moroni Thurman* (Provo, Utah: J. Grant Stevenson, 1964), 29.

³⁸Kennington and Hamblin, *A History of Star Valley*, 120, 130. See also Hall, "A History," 43. In 1900, Star Valley Stake had 2,219 members, including a patriarch, 79 high priests, 87 seventies, 143 elders, 28 priests, 38 teachers, 179 deacons, 866 lay members (including women), and 800 children under 8 years of age. Kennington and Hamblin, *A History of Star Valley*, 136. If one resident's estimate that 10 percent of the population was non-Mormon is correct, then the valley's total population in 1900 would have been approximately 2,500. Charles Moser, Oral History, interviewed by Charles S. Peterson, 27 June 1972, 13, Utah State Oral History Project, Special Collections, Merrill Library, Utah State University, Logan.

³⁹Hall, "A History," 37, dates the meeting where he was resustained at 6 December, the *Deseret News* at 15 November. *Journal History*, 4 December 1885, 3.

⁴⁰Carlisle, *Colonist Fathers*, 58.

⁴¹Kennington and Hamblin, *A History of Star Valley*, 131-36; Jenson, *Encyclopedic History*, 833-34.

⁴²Kennington and Hamblin, *A History of Star Valley*, 139-40; Hall, "A

A significant factor in Star Valley's reputation for safety was Wyoming's comparative tolerance for polygamy.⁴³ Although officials were fairly careful not to make public pronouncements on the record, a significant number of early residents believed that Wyoming politicians, pressing toward statehood, which it achieved on 10 July 1889, wanted good farmers and were not inclined to examine their marital status. Particularly important were Thomas Moonlight, territorial governor from January 1887 to April 1889, and Francis Warren, territorial governor twice (February 1885–November 1886, and April 1890 until he was elected the state's first governor in September 1890; he resigned in November when he was also elected U.S. Senator).⁴⁴ Moonlight, a champion of the small homestead, believed Wyoming should abandon large-scale cattle ranching for farming, and the Mormons fit his plan to increase the state's agricultural base.⁴⁵ A third benign influence was Senator Joseph M. Carey, whom Apostle Abraham Hoagland Cannon identified as friendly to Mormon interests, urging Wyoming Saints to vote for Republicans "as a reward to Delegate Carey and his

History," 3. Outlaws also appreciated its isolation. Tom McCarty and Matt Warner spent the 1889-90 winter safe behind its snow-closed passes; in 1893 Uinta County Sheriff John Ward captured Butch Cassidy in Star Valley. "Star Valley Was Part of the Last Frontier," *Jackson Hole Courier*, 15 July 1948, 8; Kennington and Hamblin, *A History of Star Valley*, 98-99.

⁴³Carter, "The Mormons in Wyoming and Idaho," 523; *M.I.A. Historical Pageant*, 6.

⁴⁴*Wyoming: Some Historical Facts*, 4, 13.

⁴⁵In 1887 Moonlight declared, "The first great important demand, then, in the way of population is farmers, practical, every-day farmers, who will put their hands to the plow and not look back." Thomas Moonlight, "Annual Report of the Governor of Wyoming," quoted in Lewis L. Gould, *Wyoming: A Political History, 1868-1896* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968), 96-97. In 1870 only 2.5 percent of Wyoming's employment came from agriculture compared to 13.4 percent in Idaho and 48.5 percent in Utah. Leonard J. Arrington, *The Changing Economic Structure of the Mountain West, 1850-1950* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1963): 41-44. In 1890 the population percentage engaged in crop production in Wyoming was still the lowest of all Rocky Mountain states and territories. Gould, *Wyoming: A Political History, 1868-1896*, 129. In appreciation for Moonlight's lenient policy towards Mormon polygamists, years later, Star Valley Mormon Anson Vasco Call sent him a hand-carved mahogany walking cane. Carlisle, *Colonist Fathers*, 59.

party for getting Wyoming admitted as a State without any anti-Mormon legislation in the charter."⁴⁶

As the anti-polygamy campaign intensified, Ole A. Jensen of Clarkston, Utah, lamented that many of his neighbors were in prison, Canada, or Mexico. Jensen moved his plural family to Star Valley in 1890, believing that "the Wyoming government was favorable, and invited the Latter-day Saints to come here and settle." He passed on the story, for which no official documentation exists, that Utah and Idaho marshals offered to pursue polygamists into Wyoming Territory, but Moonlight refused: "No, thank you, if we wish to prosecute the Mormons, we have officers of our own."⁴⁷ Similarly Cache Valley polygamist Harvey Dixon, forced into hiding by the Raid, in 1885, had his plural families "on the road [in 1885] to a place where he could find partial safety and build a new home in what was known as Star Valley Wyoming 150 to 200 miles away." He felt Star Valley gave him "some protection, as it was [a] very isolated place at the time and the Governor of that state gave them some protection."⁴⁸ Edward Moroni Thurman, who had

⁴⁶Abraham Hoagland Cannon, Journal, 31 July 1890, BYU Archives; see also entry of 10 July 1890; Edward Leo Lyman, "Statehood, Political Allegiance, and Utah's First U.S. Senate Seats: Prizes for the National Parties and Local Factions," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 63 (Fall 1995): 349-50; Lyman, "A Mormon Transition in Idaho Politics," 24-29; Wells, *Anti-Mormonism in Idaho*, 152 note 55. Andrew Jenson, "Rambles in Star Valley," [written 6 October 1891] *Deseret Evening News*, 16 October 1891; Journal History, 6 October 1891, 10-11, noted: "Be it said to her credit that Wyoming has always treated our people fairly and justly, while her neighbor, Idaho has exhibited a hatred." For a personal account, see Frank W. Mondell, "My Story," in *Wyoming State Tribune* (Cheyenne), 6 September 1935, quoted in T. A. Larson, *History of Wyoming* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1965), 291.

⁴⁷Ole Andersen Jensen, Diary, 1891, typescript, 11-12, MS 666, LDS Church Archives; Kennington and Hamblin, *A History of Star Valley*, 138. Another version of the story attributes the refusal to Carey. Madden, *The Descendants of Edward Moroni Thurman*, 22-23.

⁴⁸Harvey Dixon, Jr., "The Life of a Mormon Frontiersman," 4, 5, 7, MS 12781, LDS Church Archives; Carter, "The Mormons in Wyoming and Idaho," 515.

two plural families in Cache Valley, was forced to spend much of his time hiding outside the valley. Citing the belief that Wyoming government officials intended to ignore polygamists, in the summer of 1888 Thurman moved five miles north of Afton's townsite. During the first summer he lived in a wagon box while he plowed furrows around a section of land he planned to homestead. He relocated his first wife and her family to Wyoming in the fall of 1888. In the summer of 1890 he moved his second family there as well.⁴⁹

Not all Star Valley pioneers were polygamists. Some early settlers, influenced by numerous newspaper articles, saw Star Valley as fertile ground for economic opportunity.⁵⁰ The Bedford area was first used to graze Church cattle, and its community was initially established by Presiding Bishop William Preston, who sent several of his relatives there to homestead. Turnerville was founded by William Turner, Archibald Gardner's son-in-law, who moved to the lower valley in 1890 to establish a saw mill.⁵¹

Still, the records of the settlers themselves and their descendants stress refuge as their preeminent motivation. The daughter of early Mormon polygamist William Kennington so attributed Afton's lure for her family: "It was peaceable and quiet away from their

⁴⁹Madden, *The Descendants of Edward Moroni Thurman*, 60-64.

⁵⁰See the following articles, all under the same date in the *Journal History* except as otherwise noted: (1) *Utah Journal*, 2 May 1885; (2) *Deseret News*, 29 July 1885, 4 December 1885; 4 September 1903 (*Journal History*, 14 August, 4); (3) *Ogden Herald*, 10 December 1886 (*Journal History*, 6 December, 4); and (4) *Deseret Evening News*, 10 and 24 May 1888; 5 May 1889 (*Journal History*, 28 February, 7); 4 April 1889 (*Journal History*, 3 April); 6 May 1889 (*Journal History*, 2 May, 5); 9 July 1889; 16 January 1890 (*Journal History*, 7 January, 6-7); 16 October 1891 (*Journal History*, 6 October, 10-11); 13 March 1892. Sherlock, "Mormon Migration," 57-58, attributes increased migration to Star Valley to such promotional articles. See also Call, *Star Valley*, 135; Madden, *The Descendants of Edward Moroni Thurman*, 29.

⁵¹"Colonization in Salt River Valley," 14; Clarence Gardner, "Autobiography and Journals, 1895-1957," MS 5509, LDS Church Archives, 32-33; Call, *Star Valley*, 57, 107, 113-14; Rand Merritt, *Tell Me 'Bout the Good Ole Days: A History of Bedford & Turnerville, Wyoming* (Afton, Wyo.: Afton Thrifty Print, 1991), 1-13.

enemies.”⁵² “There were a lot of polygamists . . . [who] moved in here from Utah,” recalled Truman Call. “This [Star Valley] was kind of a polygamous place for a while.”⁵³ Even non-Mormon Charles Heiner, who homesteaded in Fairview in 1888, explained, “There were many people here with more than one family, as they were protected by the laws of Wyoming and polygamists were not arrested here as they made good settlers for the state.”⁵⁴

Typical of Star Valley’s settlers was polygamist Phineas Wolcott Cook. Following his son-in-law, polygamist Byron Harvey Allred Sr., who had already fled to Wyoming to escape persecution for his plural unions, Cook moved his youngest family from Logan to Afton in 1889. They first occupied a one-room log cabin with a dirt floor which they blanketed with shingle sawdust for padding and then covered with a makeshift carpet. “Star Valley proved to be a haven for the persecuted polygamous families who came there,” recorded Cook’s son. “It was because of polygamy that [he] and many others fled to Star Valley.”⁵⁵

Even monogamous settlers usually had blood kinship with fleeing polygamists. Warren Longhurst homesteaded in Star Valley in 1889 next to Alta Matilda Rolph Allred and Byron Harvey Allred Sr., the parents of his wife, Myra Irene Allred. Longhurst, not then a polygamist, later took a plural wife and moved to Mexico in 1903, again following Myra’s parents who moved to Mexico in the 1890s as post-Manifesto polygamists.⁵⁶

⁵²M. K. Ranzenberg, “History of Susan Ida Dixon Kennington,” Archive of the Mormon Experience, Lee Library, 2.

⁵³Truman Call, Oral History, interviewed by Laurel Call Schmidt, 8 November 1981, 5, LDS Polygamy Oral History Project, Redd Center of Western Studies, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

⁵⁴Charles G. Heiner, “History of Charles G. Heiner,” typescript, ca. 1943, Archive of the Mormon Experience, 5.

⁵⁵Mary Viola Allred Stout, “History of Byron Harvey Allred, Sr.,” microfilm, MS 12926, LDS Church Archives; Rhea A. Kunz, *Voices of Women Approbating Celestial or Plural Marriage: My Sacred Heritage* (Draper, Utah: Review and Preview Publishers, 1978), 211-15, 209. The son was Carl Cook.

⁵⁶Nelle Spilsbury Hatch, “Warren Longhurst,” in *Stalwarts South of the Border*, compiled and edited by Nelle Spilsbury Hatch and B. Carmon Hardy (N.p.: Ernestine Hatch, 1985), 410-11.

The extended Call family followed the same pattern. Anson Vasco Call, a polygamist with three wives, served a mission in 1885 to escape federal marshals. In the fall of 1887, "at the advice of uncle Chester Call," he left two pregnant wives in Bountiful, Utah, with relatives and moved one wife and her four children to Star Valley, accompanied by another uncle, Anson Bowen Call, who later brought his own wife, daughter, and mother-in-law to the valley. Anson Vasco Call brought his two remaining wives to Afton the next spring, after their babies were born. In 1888, Anson Vasco's brother, polygamist Joseph Holbrook Call, built two homes in Afton a block from each other for his two families because, according to his daughter, polygamists were not "bothered as much there as they were in Idaho or Utah." Joseph's son, Truman, corroborated the family view of Wyoming hospitality: "They came to Afton because the Wyoming governor said he wanted some good citizens in this end of the state." Anson Vasco and Joseph lived in Star Valley "the rest of their lives," began a construction business, and were known as the area's finest carpenters.⁵⁷

Charles Gates Cazier married a second wife in 1884 and moved to Bennington, Idaho, in Bear Lake Valley. In 1886, he followed his father (Charles Drake Cazier, Star Valley's first presiding elder) to Star Valley, where the two built identical houses seventy-five yards apart. Charles' son Edgar recalled that "the biggest share of them [in Star Valley] were from polygamous families."⁵⁸ Henry Martin Harmon moved his two families from Cache Valley to Star Valley in 1885 because of its isolation from the outside world and "due to

⁵⁷Anson Bowen Call, "The Anson B. Call Family," 2-28-1939, Kimball Young Collection, Garrett Evangelical Theological Seminary, Evanston, Illinois, Box 1, fd. 26, doc. 2, p. 1, photocopy in my possession; Velan Call, "The Anson B. Call Family," 2-27-1939, *ibid.*, Box 8, p. 1, photocopy in my possession; Anson V. Call, III, "An Account of the Doings of Anson V. Call, II," LDS Church Archives, MS 5384, 1-2; Carlisle, *Colonist Fathers*, 44-45, 54; Gladys Call Mallory [Joseph Call's daughter], Oral History, interviewed by Gary L. Shumway, 16 November 1981, 1, LDS Polygamy Oral History Project, MSS OH 509; Truman Call [Joseph Holbrook Call's son], Oral History, 1-2, 5; "Gladys Call Mallory," Oral History, 2, 5.

⁵⁸Edgar L. Cazier, Oral History, interviewed by Laurel Schmidt, 13 February 1982, LDS Polygamy Oral History Project, 8, 1-2, MS OH 508; Call, *Star Valley*, 21.

persecutions of families living polygamy.”⁵⁹ Harmon and his two wives, Susan Marler Harmon and Mary Alzina Sperry Harmon, homesteaded in Star Valley and raised twenty-four children. Harmon’s daughter Susan Elizabeth and polygamist son-in-law Harvey Dixon also moved to Afton.⁶⁰ Harmon and Dixon helped survey the Afton townsite and some of the valley’s first irrigation ditches.

In addition to resident settlers, Star Valley was a way station on the underground for a transient population of plural wives and

⁵⁹Estella B. Harmon, “Brief History of Henry Martin Harmon,” n.d., 2, Alvaretta Harmon Davis, “My Family History, As I Remember My Parents Telling It,” 21 January 1932, 1-2; Millie Harmon Henderson, “History of Susan Marler Harmon,” 1-2; Estella B. Harmon, “History of Mary Alzina Sperry Harmon,” 1 (all in Archive of the Mormon Experience); Osmond, *George Osmond and Family Pioneers*, 442.

⁶⁰Brown, *My Valley, My Town*, 15. Recent studies have documented a significant revision in the percentage of Mormons living in polygamous families during this period. See James E. Smith and Phillip R. Kunz, “Polygamy and Fertility in Nineteenth-Century America,” *Population Studies* 30 (November 1976): 470; Lowell “Ben” Bennion, “The Incidence of Mormon Polygamy in 1880: ‘Dixie’ versus Davis Stake,” *Journal of Mormon History* 11 (1984): 27-42; Stanley S. Ivins, “Notes on Mormon Polygamy,” *Western Humanities Review* 10 (Summer 1956): 230-32; Dean L. May, “People on the Mormon Frontier: Kanab’s Families of 1874,” *Journal of Family History* 1 (1976): 172; Larry M. Logue, “A Time of Marriage: Monogamy and Polygamy in a Utah Town,” *Journal of Mormon History* 11 (1984): 7-13; Larry M. Logue, *A Sermon in the Desert: Belief and Behavior in Early St. George, Utah* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988), 44-71; D. Gene Pace, “Wives of Nineteenth-Century Mormon Bishops: A Quantitative Analysis,” *Journal of the West* 21 (April 1982): 51. In Pace’s sample 58-70 percent of bishops’ wives were married to a man with another wife, a very high percentage because ecclesiastical leaders were asked/required to enter plural unions. See Hardy, *Solemn Covenant*, 16-17. Ole Jensen, who served in a Cache Valley bishopric in the early 1880s before moving to Star Valley, recorded that Presiding Bishop Preston told the bishopric members “to take more wives or step down and out of your positions as members of the Bishopric.” Ole Andersen Jensen, *Diary*, 8. Star Valley polygamist Arthur Pendry Welchman, “Private Diary of Arthur Pendry Welchman,” compiled by family, typewritten by Jessie Joanna (Hokanson) Miller, MS 1343, fd. 2, p. 132, LDS Church Archives, records similar instructions from an ecclesiastical authority.

young children avoiding arrest and the very real threat of being forced to testify against polygamist husbands and fathers.⁶¹ Joseph Marion Tanner, president of Brigham Young College and prominent resident of Logan, Utah, brought his plural wife, Annie Clark Tanner, and her newborn baby, to her brother's ranch in Auburn in August 1889. Upon arriving, Annie declared, "I was glad to remain. I felt that I had come to my journey's end. There was no need of going further, since our people had religious liberty in Wyoming."⁶² Similarly Helon Henry Tracy Sr., who had already served time in the Utah State Penitentiary, sent two of his pregnant plural wives to Afton for the winter of 1889-90 where each delivered babies.⁶³ Jessie McGavin Loveland, daughter of polygamist Roland McGavin, recalled that her mother taught Jessie's brother to lie about his last name to conceal his father's identity. When McGavin moved both plural families to Star Valley in 1889, they joined "a lot of polygamists that went to Star Valley to get away from these 'fed[s].'"⁶⁴

Elizabeth Frances Fellows, an Ogden schoolteacher, married Benjamin Chamberlin Critchlow, bishop of Ogden First Ward, in 1881, and managed to conceal the marriage for five years until she became pregnant. Elizabeth's daughter Georgina Critchlow Bick-

⁶¹Embry, *Mormon Polygamous Families*, 19-22; Kimberly Jensen James, "Between Two Fires': Women on the 'Underground' of Mormon Polygamy," *Journal of Mormon History* 8 (1986): 49-61; Martha Sonntag Bradley, "Hide and Seek': Children on the Underground," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 5 (Spring 1983): 133-53.

⁶²Annie Clark Tanner, *A Mormon Mother: An Autobiography by Annie Clark Tanner* (Salt Lake City: Tanner Trust Fund, University of Utah Library, 1991), 111. Her brother was Hyrum Clark. See also Eliza Avery Clark (Woodruff) Lambert, "Autobiography and Recollections," 13, Archive of the Mormon Experience, Vault MSS 777, Box 6, fd. 21.

⁶³Kunz, *Voices of Women*, 258-59; see prisoner lists in Rosa Mae M. Evans, "Judicial Prosecution of Prisoners for LDS Plural Marriage: Prison Sentences, 1884-1895" (M.S. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1986), Appendix D, 130; Stan Larson, *Prisoner for Polygamy: The Memoirs and Letters of Rudger Clawson at the Utah Territorial Penitentiary, 1884-87* (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1993), 229.

⁶⁴Jessie McGavin Loveland, Oral History, interview by Jane Loveland Moffit, April 1977, 2-5, Utah State University Oral History Program, Special Collections, Merrill Library, Utah State University, Logan, Utah.

more reported that the mother and children “moved from place to place and lived in different places under different names until I was almost four years old.” A younger brother died in hiding. They found a six-year respite in Afton beginning in 1888: “Quite a number of the polygamous families had gathered [there] because there were no laws against polygamy in Wyoming at the time. This little settlement of Afton was mostly made up of polygamous families. . . . We lived there for six years.” Elizabeth expressed gratitude that, for the first time in years, she could participate fully and openly in church activities.⁶⁵

Star Valley was also a sanctuary for transient polygamist husbands hiding from the Raid. Harvey Dixon, after barely galloping away from pursuing marshals in Clifton, Idaho, decided to bring his second family to Star Valley “where Officers of the law had no jurisdiction over him—that is they had no jurisdiction over him as long as he was out of their reach.” In 1885, Dixon, herding “five or six cows and fifty or seventy-five head of sheep,” set out for “a place where he could find partial safety and build a new home. . . [Here] he had some protection, as it was very isolated place at that time.” The family moved into a two-room cabin near a river built by trappers and then abandoned, which they hailed as a blessing from heaven. They had finally “come to a place where they could rest and enjoy a small measure of security.” A bishop in Clifton for seventeen years, Dixon became a permanent Star Valley resident.⁶⁶

Polygamist Arthur P. Welchman worked at numerous jobs in various locales for eight years to support his plural wives, Joanna

⁶⁵Benjamin Chamberlin Critchlow, family group sheet, photocopy in my possession; Georgina Bolette Critchlow Bickmore, Oral History, interviewed by Steven Hales, 3 July 1982, 1-5, LDS Polygamy Oral History Project, MSS OH 607; Georgina Bolette Critchlow Bickmore, in “Addendum to Autobiography of Benjamin Chamberlin Critchlow,” in *Critchlow and Related Families*, compiled and edited by Georgina Bolette Critchlow Bickmore, Charlotte Rhonda Critchlow Ryberg, and Francis Elizabeth Critchlow (N.p., 1967), 128-31; Elizabeth Francis Fellows Critchlow, “History of Elizabeth Francis Fellows Critchlow,” *ibid.*, 165.

⁶⁶Ranzenberg, “History of Susan Ida Dixon Kennington,” 1-2. Susan’s mother is Harvey Dixon’s second wife Susan Elizabeth Harmon. Dixon, *The Life of a Mormon Frontiersman*, 4-5; Call, *Star Valley*, 22; Brown, *My Valley, My Town*, 15.

Murry Bee Welchman and Sarah Lucretia Kershaw Welchman, and their children in Cache Valley, making brief trips home infrequently and with the utmost caution. His children hardly recognized him. Welchman's daughter Emma recalls that a friend told them about Star Valley as a place where "they might find sanctuary from the officers." In the fall of 1888, the family moved so quietly that they did not even tell their neighbors. Arthur met them in Bloomington, Idaho, for the winter of 1888-89; they homesteaded in Star Valley the following summer. Their first shelter was a dug-out, excavated into a hillside with rocks and poles supporting the walls and ceiling and a finish layer of straw, sagebrush, and adobe clay. They covered the dirt floor with a homemade carpet. Welchman built a fence on the hill behind the dug-out to keep animals from walking onto the roof.⁶⁷

William Kennington and his wife, Annie Rebecca Seward Kennington, moved to Liberty in the Bear Lake Valley in the 1870s. William and his close friend, Aaron Bracken, vowed that if either died, the other would take care of the deceased man's family. When Bracken died in the mid-1880s, Kennington married Bracken's widow, Elizabeth Ann Lee Bracken, polygamously. Because "he had to keep away from the United States Marshals" he moved "to Star Valley," at first keeping one family in Liberty. But after a close call with the Idaho marshals while traveling between the two homes, he moved his second family to the safety of Star Valley.⁶⁸

In April 1884 Charles Henry Haderlie married Bertha Schiess, the sister of his first wife, Babetta Schiess Haderlie, in the Logan Temple. He served a British mission (October 1885-June 1888) to avoid prosecution, returning to Logan in disguise. Only a week later, he fled to Soda Springs, then to Star Valley where he established a

⁶⁷*A Life History of Olof Julyous Hokanson and Emma Joanna Welchman Hokanson*, typescript, n.d., Star Valley Branch Library, Afton, Wyoming, 7-10; "Private Diary of Arthur Pendry Welchman," 146.

⁶⁸Maud K. Ranzenberg, "A History of William Henry Kennington . . .," typescript, ca. 1973, 2, Archive of the Mormon Experience, MSS 1386; Maud K. Ranzenberg, "A History of Annie Rebecca Seward Kennington . . .," typescript, n.d., 1, *ibid.*; Ira Kennington and Albert Kennington, "A History of Elizabeth Ann Lee Bracken Kennington," typescript, n.d., 1, *ibid.*; Maud Kennington Ranzenberg, "The History of Alonzo Richard Kennington," typescript, n.d., 2-3, *ibid.*; Call, *Star Valley*, 23.

ranch, sent for his families, and became a permanent resident. Haderlie later served as first counselor in the Freedom Ward bishopric.⁶⁹

Many polygamists chose Star Valley as a safe haven only after experiencing first-hand the legal rigors of the Edmunds Act. After twenty years of polygamous life in the Bear Lake Valley and many close calls with the marshals, Jacob Michaelson was arrested and tried in Boise. Due to technicalities the case was dropped. But rather than risk a second arrest, Michaelson took the younger of his two wives, Elizabeth Emma Barker Michaelson, and her children to Star Valley and settled south of present-day Thayne. Poverty was real; they worked "in the hay fields pulling weeds anything for a dime or two; and even then the children had to go barefooted to school and Sunday school."⁷⁰ At age sixty-nine, Phineas Wolcott Cook was arrested and sent to the Utah State Penitentiary. Due to his age and illness, the judge imposed a "lenient" term. Desperate to avoid this hunted life, Cook "considered very seriously taking his youngest family to Canada." His second wife, Johanna Cook, refused to go. She had "sacrificed so much to come to Zion she did not intend to leave it. But she did consent to go to Star Valley." When Cook was released from prison in January 1889, the family moved to Wyoming "where there was less chance of interference by government officials."⁷¹

In June 1886 Joseph Holbrook Call was sealed in the Logan Temple to his second wife, Martha Ester Williams, who spent her "first year of married life . . . going from one place to another trying to keep away from the law." Arrested in Chesterfield, Idaho, and tried several times in Soda Springs, Call was acquitted each time because the Idaho officials could locate only one wife. In October

⁶⁹Life of Charles Henry Haderlie, 2-3, LDS Church Archives, MS 12767.

⁷⁰"Life Story of Elizabeth Emma Michaelson, April 3, 1853-July 24, 1928," 3, photocopy in my possession; "Life Story of Jacob Michaelson February 1, 1839-December 5, 1928," 7-8, photocopy in my possession. I am grateful to Tim Rathbone for providing these documents.

⁷¹Larson, *Prisoner for Polygamy*, 214; Evans, "Judicial Prosecution of Prisoners for LDS Plural Marriage," 120; *The Life and History of Phineas Wolcott Cook*, 2d ed. (Brigham City, Utah: The Phineas Wolcott Cook Family Organization, 1980), A-21, A-24; Kunz, *Voices of Women*, 209, 207; Carter, "The Mormons in Wyoming and Idaho," 520.

1888, he moved his families to Star Valley where “a man could live in peace, unmolested by the law,” and “happy to [be] away from snooping officers of the law.”⁷²

Mary Eliza Tracy’s father, Helon Henry Tracy of Ogden, was sentenced to the penitentiary (he had three wives) when she was eleven. When he was released, “he was afraid of being sent back. Not being a strong man, he was physically unable to endure life in the prison.” He moved his second and third families to Star Valley, also taking Mary, a child of the first wife. “It was just as if I, myself, were involved in the principle of polygamy,” she wrote. She later married post-Manifesto polygamist Byron Harvey Allred Sr. and, in November 1890, moved to Mexico for the next two decades.⁷³

Direct counsel by Church authorities was a motivation for some polygamists who settled in Star Valley. Archibald Gardner, who had built Utah’s first saw mill in 1847, was bishop of West Jordan Ward for thirty-two years, served two terms in the Utah Territorial Legislature, had eleven wives, and fathered forty-eight children. During the late 1880s he was in almost constant hiding; his relatives were brought before grand juries and their houses searched. He tried the Mormon colonies in Mexico but was unhappy with the economic prospects. When he returned to Utah, Church President Wilford Woodruff encouraged Gardner, then seventy-seven, to “take his youngest family and move to Star Valley where people were looked upon with more tolerance.” Gardner did so and, in 1889, built grist and saw mills near Afton. The next year, he moved his eleventh wife, Mary Larsen Gardner, and her children to Afton.⁷⁴

While Ole Jensen was serving a sentence for unlawful cohabi-

⁷²Joseph Holbrook Call, family group sheet, photocopy in my possession; Lucy I. Call Osmond and Lenna Osmond Wimmer, comps., *Joseph Holbrook Call Perpetual Family History* (N.p., 1964), 3, 9, 196; Truman Call, Oral History, 6; Carlisle, *Colonist Fathers*, 53, 197.

⁷³Mary Eliza Tracy Allred, “Autobiographical Sketch, 1937,” typescript, 1, 3-4, 11-12, MS 11822, LDS Church Archives; Kunz, *Voices of Women*, 258-59; Hardy, *Solemn Covenant*, Appendix II, #3.

⁷⁴Wakefield and Cottom, “Through the Years,” 11, 26, 32-33; Clarence Gardner, “Autobiography and Journals, 1895-1957,” 32; Delila Gardner Hughes, *The Life of Archibald Gardner: Utah Pioneer of 1847* (West Jordan, Utah: The Archibald Gardner Family Genealogical Association, 1939), 114, 122, 137-38; “Colonization in Salt River Valley,” 9.

tation, George Q. Cannon of the First Presidency and Apostle Francis M. Lyman, also in "the pen" for the same felony, told him: "Now do not say we called you, but we counsel you thus: to go to Star Valley and there you can live in peace, for that government favors the Mormons."⁷⁵ On 23 September 1890, "according to council formerly given by the Apostles," Ole, Lena, and Mary Jensen moved with their six children to Star Valley "on account of a favorable government, where we could live without being harassed by officers of the government on account of polygamy."⁷⁶

These early settlers unquestionably sacrificed material comforts in their homesteading efforts. The Jensen family reached Star Valley on "a very cold day" and took shelter in an "empty house without floor, door, or windows," lamented Ole. ". . . My wife Mary sat down and cried."⁷⁷ The Samuel Weber family was so isolated in their new home in Freedom that Verena Goldenberger Weber, remembering the sociability of Church meetings at their previous home "cried every Sunday. It seemed they had left everything to come to this place."⁷⁸

Few had experienced such harsh winters. The snow was so deep that, Georgina Bickmore recalled, "we could walk right over the fences anywhere we wanted to go."⁷⁹ Edna Clark Ericksen recalled riding to church in the family bobsled as a young girl, and holding Sunday services in a meeting house heated by huge pot-belly stove which she remembered as being "as tall as [a] room."⁸⁰

During the "hard winter" of 1889-90, up to eighteen feet of snow fell, blocking the canyon to Montpelier. Men snowshoed out to Montpelier, bringing back flour on their backs. The livestock suffered and starved. Horses were turned loose to fend for them-

⁷⁵Ole Andersen Jensen, *Diary*, 1888, 10. Jensen served six months in the Utah State Penitentiary (November 1888-May 1889) for unlawful cohabitation. The terms of Jensen, Cannon, and Lyman are documented in Evans, "Judicial Prosecution of Prisoners for LDS Plural Marriage," 119, 124-25; Larson, *Prisoner for Polygamy*, 213, 220, 232.

⁷⁶Ole Andersen Jensen, *Diary*, 1890, 11.

⁷⁷*Ibid.*

⁷⁸Quoted in Kennington and Hamblin, *A History of Star Valley*, 141.

⁷⁹Georgina Bolette Critchlow Bickmore, *Oral History*, 8.

⁸⁰Edna Ericksen, *Oral History*, interviewed by Leonard R. Grover, 18 October 1980, 5, LDS Polygamy Oral History Project, MSS OH 459.

selves, pawing the snow away from the dried bunch-grass in the foothills. William Kennington saved four horses by going up into the canyons, pulling up the grass, and carrying as much as he could down the hill in sacks. All but one of his cattle died. Some fed the straw stuffing from their mattresses to the cattle by hand. Phineas Cook reportedly lost 150 cattle. Byron Harvey Allred Sr. began the winter with 200 head of cattle. When he ran out of feed, the bawling of the starving animals became unbearable to him. When all but thirty-two had died, a neighbor found him standing in the field "weeping like a child." He told the neighbor he could have the remaining thirty-two if he would only take them "away where he could not hear their cries for food."⁸¹

The common suffering intensified the sense of community and also made moments of celebration brighter in contrast. Holiday celebrations were frequent. The first large Christmas party in the lower valley was held in 1886 at the home of William Heap, where it was reported that "the celebration lasted all day and night." At the Grant Campbell home in Fairview, families would "stay two days and nights and dance and eat. They would return home when the food ran out or when they were too tired to dance anymore."⁸²

Accounts of parades, quilting bees, and community and church plays abound, often sponsored by the Relief Society or Primary organizations. Fourth of July and 24th of July celebrations included potluck meals where the women served "the greatest dishes in the world." The midday feast would be followed by horse racing and a parade. Jessie McGavin Loveland recalled fondly that dancing was the valley's great pastime. Even the school children would "hurry

⁸¹Madden, *The Descendants of Edward Moroni Thurman*, 24; Ranzenberg, "A History of William Henry Kennington," 3; Carter, "The Mormons in Wyoming and Idaho," 519-20; Porter, *My Heritage of Faith*, 60. Lettie Critchlow Bickmore, "Her Life Story," rev. 1995, 5, in possession of Jean Bickmore White, reported a similar heartrending experience: "The snow was deep, hay was scarce, and the farmers ran out of feed before spring. As the farmers fed more sparingly, the cattle became thinner and some of them died or were killed for humane purposes. One of our neighbor's cows wandered over to our east fence and fell down. It lay there for some time before he came and shot her and took her away."

⁸²Quoted in Kennington and Hamblin, *A History of Star Valley*, 145, 144.

and eat our lunches. A couple of boys would play their harmonica and we'd dance. . . . We got the boys dancing too." Holiday parties would feature a children's afternoon dance, followed by "the big folks' dance at night."⁸³ Bound by religious and familial ties, these early settlers found ways to celebrate life enthusiastically despite the harshness of the new environment.

STAR VALLEY AND THE MANIFESTO

As 1890 commenced, the federal government's anti-polygamy campaign became increasingly severe. In February the U.S. Supreme Court upheld the Idaho Test Oath decision to disfranchise all Mormons, even nonpolygamists. On 19 May, in a five-to-four decision, the Supreme Court declared the provisions of the Edmunds-Tucker Act constitutional. It allowed for the seizure of all Church property in excess of \$50,000 and the redistribution of the funds to finance public non-Mormon schools, leaving open the possibility that the Church's temples would be confiscated.⁸⁴ That summer, the Cullom-Struble bill, applying the same Idaho test-oath standards to all U.S. territories including Utah, began to move through Congress.⁸⁵ Consequently, for the "Temporal Salvation of the Church," on 24 September 1890, Church President Wilford Woodruff issued the Manifesto publicly advising adherence to the law of the land.⁸⁶

The Manifesto had an immediate effect on some Star Valley members. Byron Harvey Allred Sr., second counselor in the Fairview Ward bishopric, was attending that general conference and also was planning to marry his third wife, eighteen-year-old Mary Eliza Tracy, in Salt Lake City. He sought counsel from Wilford Woodruff, George Q. Cannon, and Joseph F. Smith. Woodruff told Allred that the Church could sanction no more plural marriages in the United States but that the agreement did not apply to other lands. Joseph F. Smith then described the Mexican colonies, telling Allred that

⁸³Edna Ericksen, Oral History, 4-7; Jessie McGavin Loveland, Oral History, 6.

⁸⁴Arrington and Bitton, *The Mormon Experience*, 234.

⁸⁵Edward Leo Lyman, *Political Deliverance: The Mormon Quest for Utah Statehood* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986), 126-33.

⁸⁶*Wilford Woodruff's Journal, 1833-1898*, 25 September 1890, typescript, edited by Scott G. Kenney, 9 vols. (Midvale, Utah: Signature Books, 1983-85), 9:112-16.

many Saints had gone there to enter into polygamy and had established several small communities. Allred immediately took Mary Eliza to Mexico where they were married by Alexander F. McDonald on 21 November 1890. Allred moved the rest of his family to Mexico the following spring.⁸⁷

Anson Bowen Call, who had married his first wife in 1885, moved to Star Valley in 1887 at least partly because he planned to marry polygamously. In 1888 he became engaged to Star Valley resident Harriet Cazier, who was endowed in the Logan Temple in the fall of 1890; however, they were told that, because the temples might be seized, no more plural marriages could be performed. Troubled by the Manifesto, Call brought Harriet to Salt Lake City where they met with President Wilford Woodruff. Woodruff advised Call that to enter polygamy he must sell his property in Wyoming, move to Mexico, and "don't ever come back to live in the United States." The couple promptly traveled by train to Deming, New Mexico, then by wagon to Colonia Juarez where Alexander F. McDonald performed their marriage on 11 December 1890.⁸⁸

Due to the indiscretion of some post-Manifesto polygamists and the resulting undesirable publicity, Call's was the last plural marriage performed in 1890. But since he had relocated perma-

⁸⁷Mary Eliza Tracy Allred, "Autobiographical Sketch 1937," 45; Stout, "History of Byron Harvey Allred, Sr.," Quinn, "LDS Church Authority," 60; B. Harvey Allred, *A Leaf in Review*, 2d ed. (Draper, Utah: Review and Preview Publishers, 1980), 199; "A Biographical Sketch of the Life of Mary Evelyn Clark Allred," *Star of Truth* 2 (November 1954): 301; "What Is a Generation?," *Truth* 8 (February 1943): 200; Kunz, *Voices of Women*, 253-67; "A Biographical Sketch of the Life of Mary Evelyn Clark Allred," 313; Hardy, *Solemn Covenant*, Appendix II, #4.

⁸⁸Edgar L. Cazier, Oral History, 8; Glenna S. Call, "Anson Bowen Call," in Hatch and Hardy, *Stalwarts South of the Border*, 76-77; Theresa Thompson Call, "The Anson B. Call Family," 2-14-39, Kimball Young Collection, Box 1, fd. 26, document 3, p. 1, photocopy in my possession; H. Grant Ivins, Oral History, interviewed by Victor Jorgensen, 18 July 1972, 42, California State University, Fullerton, Oral History Program, University Library, OH 1856; Carlisle, *Colonist Fathers*, 67; Lorna Call Alder, Oral History, interviewed by Jessie L. Embry, 28 June 1976, 27, LDS Polygamy Oral History Project, MSS OH 388; Hardy, *Solemn Covenant*, 169; Quinn, "LDS Church Authority," 60; Gladys Call Mallory, Oral History, 2.

nently in Mexico for "the purpose of living the principle of plural marriage," eight years later, in March 1898, Call was sealed to a second plural wife, Dora Pratt, by Apostle John W. Taylor and, in January 1903, to Julia Sarah Abegg. Call fathered twenty-five children, was a bishop or in a bishopric for over thirty-seven years, and died at age ninety-six in Colonia Dublan, Mexico.⁸⁹

As in Utah, Idaho, and Arizona, the Manifesto did not immediately free Star Valley polygamists from the legal ramifications of their plural unions. Due to bounties offered for captured polygamists, until President Benjamin Harrison granted amnesty in January 1893, marshals from Utah and Idaho sometimes crossed the Wyoming border searching for prey.⁹⁰ Star Valley polygamists kept a look-out posted on "signal hill" in Fairview where they could see the roads. When danger approached, the look-out started a fire on the bench-like knoll. "One column of smoke meant for polygamist men to flee to the hills. Two columns meant a false alarm and all was clear."⁹¹

Star Valley polygamists also "built a log cabin about ten miles back in the mountains w[h]ere they could go when they thought they were in danger . . . called the Plyg's Cabin."⁹² The marshals did not

⁸⁹Abraham H. Cannon, Journal, 2 November 1890; Quinn, "LDS Church Authority," 60; Glenna S. Call, "Anson Bowen Call," 79; Jean Bickmore White, ed., *Church, State, and Politics: The Diaries of John Henry Smith*, 11 March 1898 (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1990), 392; Ara O. Call, Oral History, interviewed by Mike Cushman, 26 September 1971, 4-15, California State University, Fullerton, Oral History Program, OH 1043; Anson B. Call Jr., Oral History, interviewed by Jessie Embry, 17 July 1976, 13, LDS Polygamy Oral History Project, MSS OH 183; Hardy, *Solemn Covenant*, Appendix II, #34.

⁹⁰Wanda Ricks Wyler, *Thomas E. Ricks: Colonizer and Founder*, 2d ed. (Provo, Utah: M.C. Printing, 1989), 165-66; Thompson, *Folklore in Bear Valley*, 151.

⁹¹Wilde, *Treasured Tidbits*, 121, 99. See also Carlisle, *Colonist Fathers*, 67; Ranzenberg, "History of Susan Ida Dixon Kennington," 1; Madden, *The Descendants of Edward Moroni Thurman*, 23; Hunter, *Wyoming Wife*, 17. For examples of federal marshals' surprise raids in Star Valley, see S. Edwin Cazier, "One If by Land and Two If by Sea," *Star Valley Independent*, 7 August 1975, 2; S. Edwin Cazier, *Memories from Star Valley, Wyoming* (Salt Lake City: Hawkes Publishing, 1978), 32-35.

⁹²Dixon, "The Life of a Mormon Frontiersman," 6-7.

come often, recalled Edgar Cazier, son of polygamist Charles G. Cazier, but he recalled one incident when he heard that the marshals were in the valley; the men of the community all retreated and hid out in the cabin, which he later saw. "They had a point up there at Easter Peak [that] they would come out on, and they could watch down here all the time for any interference or anybody coming."⁹³

Most family arrangements in Star Valley changed very little after the Manifesto.⁹⁴ One Star Valley polygamist spoke for many: "They might take one of the families away from him. But when they did, they would take it over his dead body . . . [His families] were given to him by God, by man, and by the Church."⁹⁵ They fully understood the careful wording of the Manifesto, which, as Leonard Arrington has pointed out, "did not announce that polygamous living would be discontinued; it simply said that no more plural marriages would be sanctioned."⁹⁶ When in 1892 the Star Valley Stake was organized, the ranks of leadership were filled with polygamists. In 1890 George Osmond, a counselor in the Bear Valley Stake Presidency, had been sent on a mission to England to avoid the anti-polygamy campaign. When Osmond returned in August 1892, he was immediately installed as president of the new Star Valley Stake.⁹⁷ Osmond moved his second wife, Amelia Jacobson Osmond, and her three young sons to Star Valley and became a permanent resident.⁹⁸ First counselor in this presidency was William W. Burton who, in 1886, had moved to Star Valley with his three wives, sisters Ellen, Sarah Ann, and Rachel Fielding. Burton opened the valley's first trading post-store.⁹⁹ The second counselor, Anson Vasco Call, and

⁹³Edgar L. Cazier, Oral History, 8.

⁹⁴Ibid., 6; Kimball Young, *Isn't One Wife Enough* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1954), 416.

⁹⁵Edgar L. Cazier, Oral History, 7.

⁹⁶Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom*, 380.

⁹⁷Jenson, *Church Chronology*, 199, 14 August 1892.

⁹⁸Osmond, *George Osmond and Family Pioneers*, 76-85; Hall, "A History," 52.

⁹⁹"Colonization in Salt River Valley," 9; sketches of "Sarah Ann Fielding Burton," "Clarence Gardner and Alice Ann Burton Gardner," "Ellen Fielding Burton," "Heber F. and Delecta B. Burton," *William W. Burton Family, Book of Remembrance*, Vol. 2, LDS Church Archives; Call, *Star Valley*, 20, 82; Hall, "A History," 62; Carter, "The Mormons in Wyoming

William Kennington, stake clerk, were also Star Valley polygamists. These four men served for the next twelve years. At the time of the stake's organization in 1892, a majority of the Star Valley church leadership, stake officers and ward bishopricks, were either living in polygamous unions or were part of a Star Valley extended plural family.

STAR VALLEY AND POST-MANIFESTO POLYGAMY

Despite the Manifesto, then, polygamy was a common lifestyle in the Star Valley culture.¹⁰⁰ At the turn of the century, one well informed anti-Mormon described Star Valley as Mormonism's "most condensed bunch of polygamists."¹⁰¹ And despite public declarations, after the 1890 Woodruff Manifesto prominent Church leaders continued privately to promote the divine and eternal nature of plural unions.¹⁰² In January 1900, Apostle Mariner W. Merrill affirmed to his fellow apostles: "I am aware of the feeling growing among the people that plural families are unpopular. They are growing less [but] they will never die out. This principle will never be taken from the earth. . . . There are some who think the Church is going back upon the principle I tell them this is not so."¹⁰³ In the Mexican colonies in November 1900, Apostle

and Idaho," 515-16.

¹⁰⁰Larson, *History of Wyoming*, 291. See also Carlisle, *Colonist Fathers*, 72.

¹⁰¹Charles Mostyn Owen, in U.S. Senate, *Proceedings Before the Committee on Privileges and Elections of the United States Senate in the Matter of the Protests Against the Right of Hon. Reed Smoot, A Senator from the State of Utah, to Hold His Seat* (59th Cong. 1st sess., doc. 486), 4 vols. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1906), 2:421.

¹⁰²On the dynamics of post-Manifesto polygamy see Hardy, *Solemn Covenant*, 167-335; Quinn, "LDS Church Authority," 49-105; Kenneth L. Cannon II, "After the Manifesto: Mormon Polygamy 1890-1906," *Sunstone* 8 (January-April 1983): 27-35; Victor W. Jorgensen and B. Carmon Hardy, "The Taylor-Cowley Affair and the Watershed of Mormon History," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 48 (Winter 1980): 4-36; Richard S. Van Wagoner, *Mormon Polygamy: A History* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1989), 143-76.

¹⁰³Anthony H. Lund, *Journal*, 9 January 1900, quoted in Van Wagoner, *Mormon Polygamy*, 162 note 10; White, *Church, State, and Politics*, 9 January 1900, 433.

Abraham Owen Woodruff, in the presence of First Presidency counselor Joseph F. Smith, openly prophesied that “no year will ever pass, whether it be in this country [Mexico], in India, or wherever, from now until the coming of the Saviour, when children will not be born in plural marriage. And I make this prophecy in the name of Jesus Christ.”¹⁰⁴ Carlos Robinson Clark, son of Star Valley post-Manifesto polygamist Hyrum Don Carlos Clark, expressed a member’s understanding of this complex period: “[Polygamy] was ingrained in the early members of the Church. . . . Those that did [enter polygamy] got permission from the Presidency of the Church to do so. When they voted it down, there were a lot of members in the Church that felt the Church was doing it under pressure. In fact, some of the Twelve performed marriages on the QT you might say because they felt that it was being done under pressure.”¹⁰⁵

Star Valley residents had numerous friends and relatives who had moved to Mexico for greater security from U.S. law. Anson Bowen Call had been a prominent member of the community prior to his move to Mexico to marry Harriet Cazier as a plural wife. Byron Harvey Allred Sr. had served in the Fairview Ward bishopric until his move to Mexico to marry plural wife Mary Eliza Tracy in late 1890. His son, Byron Jr., was second counselor in the Star Valley Stake YMMIA, an alternate member of the Star Valley High Council when it was organized in 1892, had served in the Afton Ward bishopric, and continued to be a prominent member of the Star Valley community.¹⁰⁶ Call, Allred, and Cazier kinfolk were well represented in Star Valley.

¹⁰⁴Abraham O. Woodruff, as quoted by the clerk of the conference, Joseph Charles Bentley, “Journal and Notes,” 61, 18-19 November 1900, LDS Church Archives, quoted in Hardy, *Solemn Covenant*, 190. See also Merrill’s similar statement on 11 July 1899, in *A Ministry of Meetings: The Apostolic Diaries of Rudger Clawson*, edited by Stan Larson (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1993), 77. See also Quinn, “LDS Church Authority,” 89.

¹⁰⁵Carlos Robinson Clark, Oral History, 22, 8, interviewed by Stevan Hales, LDS Polygamy Oral History Project, 19 January 1982, BYU Archives. See also Mary Bennion Powell Muhs, Letter to Dr. George R. Stewart, 26 January 1952, Huntington Library, San Marino, Calif., 33, 198, 208.

¹⁰⁶Kunz, *Voices of Women*, 318, 365; see also Ole Andersen Jensen, *Diary*, 11.

At the turn of the century with polygamy both accepted and affirmed, Star Valley's history of polygamy entered a new period, one that drew the valley into the secret practices of post-Manifesto polygamy within the highest echelons of church leadership. It began in the summer of 1900 when twenty-seven-year-old Apostle Abraham Owen Woodruff, then a monogamist, spoke at Star Valley Stake conference. During his brief stay, he discussed "the principle" with Hyrum Clark, first counselor in the Auburn Ward bishopric, whose eighteen-year-old daughter Avery had attracted the apostle's attention.¹⁰⁷ According to Edna Clark Ericksen, Hyrum's daughter by his first wife, Ann Eliza Portor, Hyrum had talked to Ann about polygamy even before they were married: "His [Hyrum's] family was polygamous minded and . . . he was too. He said, 'So it might well be that some day I'll want to get another wife.' She thought that would be terrible. She went and talked to her father about it. Her father was a bishop. He said, 'No, that it is very noble and unselfish. If he wants another wife, you must be equal to it. That is my advice to you. Accept it as nobly as he does.'"¹⁰⁸

Clark, at first "shocked and surprised" to learn of this "new Polygamy," told Woodruff that he would approve the courtship only if he could be confident that "it can be sanctioned by the church." Woodruff then confided to Clark that "several of the brethren in high positions had been advised to take plural wives." Reassured, Clark agreed to discuss the possibility with his daughter.¹⁰⁹ Less than six months later, in January 1901, at Preston, Idaho, Apostle Matthias F. Cowley sealed Abraham Woodruff and Avery Clark. Avery continued to attend Brigham Young College in Logan, her marriage unknown to all but immediate family members.¹¹⁰ After a miscar-

¹⁰⁷"Autobiography and Recollections of Eliza Avery Clark (Woodruff) Lambert 1882-1953," 33-43.

¹⁰⁸"Edna Ericksen," Oral History, 16-17.

¹⁰⁹"Autobiography and Recollections of Eliza Avery Clark (Woodruff) Lambert," 41-42.

¹¹⁰*Ibid.*, 43-44; Hyrum Don Carlos Clark family group sheet, photocopy in my possession. Cowley retrospectively recalled marrying Woodruff and Clark in 1903. Based on Avery Clark's record, the marriage more likely took place in January 1901. Fred C. Collier, ed., *The Trials of Apostles John W. Taylor and Matthias F. Cowley* (Salt Lake City: Collier's Publishing Co., 1987), 29, 34; Hardy, *Solemn Covenant*, 208-9, 234 note 16,

riage, she became pregnant again and, in the fall of 1903, moved to Mexico, lived in Anthony W. Ivins's home, and taught at the Juarez Stake Academy, until her child was born in April 1904.¹¹¹

It is a reasonable conclusion that those who knew about post-Manifesto polygamy sanctioned by senior Church officials, concluded that the Manifesto's prohibition did not apply to Church members either, as long as they were careful to observe appropriate secrecy. In the early 1900s, other Star Valley residents who knew of the Woodruff-Clark union accordingly planned to enter polygamy. Arthur Benjamin Clark, (no known relation to Hyrum Clark), who had moved to Star Valley in 1885 to avoid prosecution, had served as the first presiding elder in the lower valley in 1886 and as Freedom Ward's first bishop in 1891. In March 1903, he married Marinda E. Griffith of Grover, Wyoming, as his fourth wife. Later that same year, he moved to Mexico and married Ethel A. Shirley as his fifth wife. Anthony W. Ivins performed the ceremony.¹¹²

Appendix II, #213; Quinn, "LDS Church Authority," 89. Cowley considered Abraham O. Woodruff his "best friend" among the apostles. Matthias F. Cowley, Letter to Avery Clark, 23 June 1904, Eliza Avery Clark Woodruff Papers, LDS Church Archives, MS 4021.

¹¹¹H. Grant Ivins, Oral History, 28; H. Grant Ivins, *Polygamy in Mexico as Practiced by the Mormon Church 1895-1905* (Salt Lake City: Collier's Publishing Co., 1981), 13. For the miscarriage, see Muhs, Letter to George Stewart, 23, and two coded letters: Ivan (Abraham O. Woodruff) to Mattie (Avery Clark), 30 September 1902; Isaac W. Brown (Abraham O. Woodruff) to Mattie (Avery Clark), 9 November 1902, Eliza Avery Clark Woodruff Papers. See also "Autobiography and Recollections of Eliza Avery Clark (Woodruff) Lambert," 44-50; Scott G. Kenney, ed., *Memories and Reflections: The Autobiography of E. E. Ericksen* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1987), 56 note 15.

¹¹²A. W. Ivins Record Book of Marriages, Anthony W. Ivins Collection, Box 10, fd. 5, Utah State Historical Society; Kunz, *Voices of Women*, 364; Verla Clark Cook, comp. and ed., "Arthur Benjamin Clark," *Book of Remembrance of Arthur Benjamin Clark and Descendants* (N.p.: Clark Family Organization, 1971), 6-7, LDS Church Archives; Cook, "Helen Margaret Ross Clark," *ibid.*, 11-12; "A Biographical Sketch of the Life of Mary Evelyn Clark Allred," 311; Hardy, *Solemn Covenant*, Appendix II, #49; "Colonization in Salt River Valley," 15; "With the Saints in Star Valley," *Journal History*, 9 November 1929, 2; Call, *Star Valley*, 17.

Byron Harvey Allred Jr., whose father had been one of the first to enter into post-Manifesto polygamy and move to Mexico in 1890, had contemplated becoming a polygamist for years.¹¹³ In June 1902 he explored the possibility with Church President Joseph F. Smith. According to Allred's daughter, Star Valley Stake President George Osmond and visiting authority Louis A. Kelsch of the First Council of the Seventy privately passed on a message from Smith that Allred, his first wife Charlotte, and wife-to-be Mary Evelyn Clark of Freedom, Wyoming, were authorized to enter polygamy if they were willing to move to Mexico.¹¹⁴ Kelsch had been in the missionary party headed by Apostle Heber J. Grant in August 1901 that began proselyting in Japan; he certainly knew that Apostle Grant supported new plural marriages.¹¹⁵ Kelsch had married a plural wife in 1898;

¹¹³Allred, *A Leaf in Review*, 198-201. Allred's granddaughter, Dorothy Allred Solomon, *In My Father's House* (New York: Franklin Watts, 1984), 7-9, dated his attraction to plural marriage to 1897 when Allred served a mission to the Indian Territory in Kansas and Arkansas, where he met Loren C. Woolley. Byron Harvey Allred Jr., *Indian Mission: The Missionary Journal of Byron Harvey Allred, Jr.* (Hamilton, Mt.: Bitterroot Publishing Company, 1981), makes no mention of discussing plural marriage with Woolley.

¹¹⁴Kunz, *Voices of Women*, 360-61; "A Biographical Sketch of the Life of Mary Evelyn Clark Allred," 298; "What Is a Generation?," *Truth* 8 (February 1943): 200; Hardy, *Solemn Covenant*, 318. They may have received similar counsel from William W. Burton, Osmond's first counselor, who was a relative of Joseph F. Smith. Collier, *The Trials of Apostles*, 26.

¹¹⁵Ronald W. Walker, "Strangers in a Strange Land: Heber J. Grant and the Opening of the Japanese Mission," *Journal of Mormon History* 13 (1986-87): 25, 29. Grant, already a polygamist, received private encouragement from Church President Lorenzo Snow on a visit home that he (Grant) "had better take the action needed to increase [his] family." On 11 July 1901 at a meeting of the Twelve and First Presidency, Snow specifically noted Grant's concern that he had no male heir but counseled the quorum not to "worry about these things." Although Grant interpreted these instructions as rescinding the encouragement he had received in May, he still hoped to marry again after his mission. Heber J. Grant, May-June 1901 Notebook, 26 May 1901, quoted in Quinn, "LDS Church Authority," 73; Larson, *A Ministry of Meetings*, 300-301, 11 July 1901; Collier, *The Trials of Apostles*, 29; Muhs, Letter to Stewart, 33-34; *Smoot Hearings*, 2:485; Van Wagoner, *Mormon Polygamy*, 156.

Apostle Matthias Cowley performed the ordinance with President George Q. Cannon's authorization.¹¹⁶ At the same time Allred's brother-in-law, Warren Longhurst, also a resident of Star Valley, arranged to marry Mary Evelyn Clark's half-sister, Helen M. ("Nellie") Clark; they were the daughters of Arthur Benjamin Clark.¹¹⁷

When knowledge of the upcoming nuptials began to circulate, members who had taken the Manifesto at face value became confused. In May 1903, Star Valley resident Wiley Nebeker wrote Apostle John Henry Smith, reporting the common rumor that there were men, some specifically called by apostles, to continue polygamy. He identified Matthias Cowley as one and may have also been referring to Abraham O. Woodruff, who allegedly spoke privately of individuals specifically chosen to continue the principle in secret.

Nebeker affirmed that he accepted plural marriage as divine and that he was troubled by the Manifesto ending the practice, then objected to the duplicity inherent in private sanction and public denial. "I am not converted to the idea that the Lord justifies deceit and falsehood," Nebeker wrote, "even if [plural marriage] brings persecution upon us." Citing Allred's and Longhurst's imminent marriages, Nebeker confided that one "may safely say that there is not a family in Star Valley, Mormon or non-Mormon, who has not heard of [them]. The names of the women are known by everyone."¹¹⁸

Nebeker suggested that Smith publicly squelch such rumors

¹¹⁶Collier, *The Trials of Apostles*, 26; Hardy, *Solemn Covenant*, Appendix II, #113; Kunz, *Voices of Women*, 360-63; Brown, *My Valley, My Town*, 16. For Cowley's and Kelsch's attendance at the Star Valley Stake Conference in February 1903, see *Journal History*, 15 February 1903, 1.

¹¹⁷Kunz, *Voices of Women*, 346, 372.

¹¹⁸Wiley Nebeker, Letter to Apostle John Henry Smith, 27 May 1903, John Henry Smith Letters, George A. Smith Family Papers, Special Collections, Marriott Library, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah; as cited and discussed in Hardy, *Solemn Covenant*, Appendix I, 370-71. I am grateful to B. Carmon Hardy for giving me a typescript photocopy of this letter. See also Carlos Ashby Badger, *Diaries*, 8 October 1904, LDS Church Archives, cited in Hardy, *Solemn Covenant*, 316; Orson P. Brown Interview, 2 March 1939, Kimball Young Papers, Box 1, fd. 22, p. 1, photocopy in my possession; Edwin B. Firmage, ed., *An Abundant Life: The Memoirs of Hugh B. Brown* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1988), 28-31; Brown, *My Valley, My Town*, 15.

through the *Deseret News* but also wanted a private explanation. Smith made no public announcement but promptly wrote Nebeker that “no one is authorized by the presiding authorities of the church to marry any plural wife to any man or to council any man or woman to enter into the practice of the plurality of wives.” Not only could men no longer enter into plural marriage, wrote Smith, but no such marriages had been authorized since the Manifesto. Smith then made the traditional distinction between doctrine and practice: “The doctrine is true but . . . until the laws of our country may be put in such form as not to jeopardize the lives and liberty of the saints,” the practice was forbidden.¹¹⁹

Despite Smith’s reassurance that the Allred/Longhurst marriages were not authorized, they took place as planned. President Joseph F. Smith sent Allred to Matthias Cowley who gave him a letter of recommendation and authorization for Anthony W. Ivins in Colonia Juarez.¹²⁰ Allred’s sister-in-law recorded how Evelyn Clark’s brothers took her secretly to Montpelier where she boarded the train and met Allred in Logan; they then left for Mexico where they were married on 15 July 1903. Apparently Warren Longhurst and Helen M. Clark traveled with them, since Anthony W. Ivins performed their marriages on the same day.¹²¹

¹¹⁹John Henry Smith, Letter to Wiley Nebeker, 3 June 1903, John Henry Smith Letterbooks, Ms 1365, microfilm, frame #464, LDS Church Archives. Despite Smith’s denial, Anson Bowen Call’s post-Manifesto plural marriage had been performed in Smith’s presence. White, *Church, State, and Politics*, 11 March 1898, 392.

¹²⁰Quinn, “LDS Church Authority,” 93; Van Wagoner, *Mormon Polygamy*, 163 note 13.

¹²¹Brown, *My Valley, My Town*, 16; Kunz, *Voices of Women*, 365; Solomon, *In My Father’s House*, 1; A. W. Ivins Record Book of Marriages; Cook, “Mary Evelyn Clark Allred,” *Book of Remembrance of Arthur Benjamin Clark and Descendants*, 261; Kunz, *Voices of Women*, 346; Solomon, *In My Father’s House*, 2; “What Is a Generation?,” *Truth* 8 (February 1943): 199. “A Biographical Sketch of the Life of Mary Evelyn Clark Allred,” 301-2, 314, does not name Longhurst’s companion but she is described as “a young lady, whom they [Longhurst and first wife Myra] had selected to be his plural wife.” The Ivins Marriage Record records her name as Helen M. Clark. In Cook, “Helen Margaret (Nellie) Clark Young,” in *Book of Remembrance of Arthur Benjamin Clark and Descendants*, 78, Helen describes

Later that year, in September 1903, Mary Minerva Clark, another daughter of Hyrum Clark and sister of Avery Clark Woodruff, became a plural wife of Edwin Turpin Bennion; the ceremony was performed in Alberta by Matthias F. Cowley.¹²² In December 1903, Hyrum Clark married his second wife, Mary Robinson, whom he introduced to his children first as a “hired girl” and later as a relative “just staying” with the family. Clark later moved Mary to Bear Lake Valley.¹²³

As part of their amnesty plea to President Benjamin Harrison in 1891, the First Presidency and the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles had assured political leaders that new plural marriages would cease.¹²⁴ In October 1891, under oath before Charles F. Loofbourow, Master in Chancery, the entire First Presidency—Wilford Woodruff, George Q. Cannon, and Joseph F. Smith—testified that

her marriage to Longhurst as a “loveless disaster,” dissolved by divorce in a bishop’s court two years later.

¹²²Kennedy, *Memories and Reflections: The Autobiography of E.E. Ericksen*, 150; “Theodore C. Bennion,” Oral History by Jessie Embry, 9 June 1976, 2, 13, LDS Polygamy Project, BYU Archives, MSS OH 288; Jessie L. Embry, “Exiles for the Principle: LDS Polygamy in Canada,” *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 18 (Fall 1985): 112; Hardy, *Solemn Covenant*, Appendix II, #16; “Edna Ericksen,” Oral History, BYU Archives, 19; Hyrum Don Carlos Clark family group sheet, photocopy in my possession. Edwin Bennion began courting Mary Clark in February 1903. May (Helen Woodruff) to Avery Clark, 5 February 1903, Eliza Avery Clark Woodruff Papers. Matthias F. Cowley’s performance of the marriage was confirmed to me by Marilyn Bennion (Cowley’s granddaughter) and Harden Bennion (Edwin Bennion’s son), on 7 January 1999.

¹²³Edna Ericksen, Oral History, 1, 3, 14; Heber Clark, “Life Sketch of Hyrum Don Carlos Clark,” Edna Clark Ericksen Papers, Special Collections, Marriott Library, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah, MS 617, Box 2, fd. 1, 18; Kennedy, *Memories and Reflections*, 30 note 16, 148; Hyrum Don Carlos Clark, family group sheet, photocopy in my possession; Carlos Robinson Clark, Oral History, 22, 8; Heber Don Carlos Clark, “A Life History,” 25.

¹²⁴See petition, *Contributor* 13 (February 1892): 196-97 and amnesty proclamation in James D. Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Presidents* (New York: Bureau of National Literature, 1917), for Benjamin Harrison, 7:5803-4 and Grover Cleveland, 8:5942-43.

the Manifesto prohibited cohabitation with existing plural wives as well.¹²⁵ But privately Woodruff told the apostles that the Manifesto did not apply to existing plural unions and that “any man who deserts and neglects his wives or children because of the Manifesto, should be handled on his fellowship.”¹²⁶ Accordingly, over the next decade, the dual messages regarding both continuing and new plural marriages led to increased non-Mormon criticism.

The problem was thrust into the public domain when Brigham H. Roberts, a polygamous member of the First Council of Seventy, was elected to the House of Representatives in 1898.¹²⁷ Roberts had been convicted of unlawful cohabitation, then cleared by President Harrison’s amnesty. Roberts’s opponents successfully opposed his seating, contending that his continued cohabitation made him ineligible for public service. The Congressional hearing that followed exposed the continued cohabitation of Church leaders with their plural wives; Mormonism was again labeled “the curse of this country to-day . . . nothing else than legalized licentiousness and corruption.”¹²⁸ Roberts was excluded by a resounding majority.¹²⁹

The Church had apparently inadequately assessed public resistance to polygamy, and the Roberts case opened floodgates of criticism. In March 1902 renewed efforts were mounted in Congress to pass a constitutional amendment forbidding polygamy and cohabitation.¹³⁰ That same year, Apostle Reed Smoot was elected to the U.S. Senate. Non-Mormons used the hearings on his seating as a

¹²⁵*Deseret Weekly News*, 24 October 1891, cited in Kenneth L. Cannon, II, “Beyond the Manifesto: Polygamous Cohabitation among LDS General Authorities after 1890,” *Utah Historical Quarterly*, 46 (Winter 1978): 26; B. H. Roberts, *A Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 6 vols. (1930; reprinted Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1965), 6: 223-26.

¹²⁶Abraham H. Cannon, Journal, 12 November 1891; see also Apostle Francis M. Lyman, Journal, 30 September 1890.

¹²⁷Davis Bitton, “The Exclusion of B. H. Roberts from Congress,” in his *The Ritualization of Mormon History* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994), 150-70.

¹²⁸*Congressional Record*, 56th Congress, 1st Session, 1900, vol. 33, pt. 2, p. 49, quoted in *ibid.*, 160.

¹²⁹Hardy, *Solemn Covenant*, 247-50.

¹³⁰*Ibid.*, 249; Van Wagoner, *Mormon Polygamy*, 160.

national platform to charge that the "body of [Church] officials, of whom Senator-elect Smoot is one, also practice or connive at and encourage the practice of polygamy and polygamous cohabitation."¹³¹ For two years, General Authorities, including Church President Joseph F. Smith, were forced to testify about the post-Manifesto plural unions and continued cohabitation that the Church had so cautiously tried to conceal.

Over 60 percent of the Church's General Authorities were guilty of unlawful cohabitation with their plural wives. While a matter of honor within Mormonism, the Senate Committee not unnaturally concluded that this pattern showed "a high disregard for the illegal cohabitation clauses of the antibigamy acts by a majority of those who made up the highest echelon of the church hierarchy."¹³² Even many Mormons had difficulty when President Smith embarrassingly testified under oath that he had fathered eleven children by his five plural wives since the Manifesto, even though he accepted the Manifesto as "a revelation forbidding alike plural marriage and unlawful cohabitation; and that revelation from the Lord is supplemented and reenforced by the statutes of the State of Utah." Smith then confessed that he, as head of the Church, was "living in open and proclaimed defiance of the statutes of that State, and also in defiance of a revelation received by my predecessor."¹³³

After Smith returned to Utah it became apparent that an official declaration would be necessary "to pacify the country."¹³⁴ A month after his Senate testimony, Smith issued the "Second Manifesto" at the April 1904 General Conference; this document vowed: "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."¹³⁵ While again not addressing the question of continued co-

¹³¹*Smoot Hearings*, 1:9.

¹³²Cannon, "Beyond the Manifesto," 31.

¹³³*Smoot Hearings*, 1:188, 336.

¹³⁴Antho H. Lund, *Diary*, 4-5 April 1904, quoted in Quinn, "LDS Church Authority," 98.

¹³⁵James R. Clark, ed., *Messages of the First Presidency of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 6 vols. (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1965-75), 4:84-85; Hardy, *Solemn Covenant*, 250-61.

habitation in existing plural marriages, it was a definitive renunciation of new polygamy.

Consequently, six months later when Anson Vasco Call, second counselor in the Star Valley Stake presidency, married his fourth wife, Margaret Ann Hepworth, on 12 October 1904, he was immediately dropped from his position at the November 1904 stake conference.¹³⁶ Next, Apostles Matthias Cowley and John W. Taylor were dropped from the Quorum of the Twelve in April 1906 for being “out of harmony” due to their post-Manifesto plural marriage activities.¹³⁷

The end of authorized plural marriages had come for Star Valley residents as for other Mormons. It is no wonder, given almost a decade and a half of ambiguity between the first and second manifestos, that some polygamous families now expressed dismay and sometimes guilt over their family relations.¹³⁸ After the 1904 Second Manifesto, former Star Valley resident Anson Bowen Call, an uncle of Anson Vasco Call, became concerned about whether his marriages were authentic and asked Anthony W. Ivins for counsel. Ivins, who had been given authority to seal marriages “for time and eternity,” including post-Manifesto plural unions, by Wilford Woodruff, George Q. Cannon, and Joseph F. Smith, assured Call that his marriages were as valid “as though [they] had been performed in the Salt Lake Temple.”¹³⁹ Despite “rumors that the Church did not ap-

¹³⁶Ole Andersen Jensen, Diary, November 1904, 29-30; Gladys Call Mallory [Anson Call's niece], Oral History, 7; Brown, *My Valley, My Town*, 15; Carlisle, *Colonist Fathers*, 71-75. Stuart Brown, later a Wyoming State Supreme Court Justice, under the pseudonym of Pilar Rich, published a novel, *The Saints of Snowville: Story of a Mormon Bishop* (New York: Exposition Press, 1970), which very thinly disguises Star Valley's people and events. Call's discipline is treated on pp. 47-48.

¹³⁷Francis M. Lyman, in *Seventy-Sixth Annual Conference of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints . . .* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1906), 93-94; Jorgensen and Hardy, “The Taylor-Cowley Affair and the Watershed of Mormon History,” 27-32; Quinn, “LDS Church Authority,” 102-3; Collier, *The Trials of Apostles*, 1-34.

¹³⁸Osmond and Wimmer, *Joseph Holbrook Call*, 5; Young, *Isn't One Wife Enough?* 439-42.

¹³⁹H. Grant Ivins, Oral History, 32; Ivins, *Polygamy in Mexico*, 4; Quinn, “LDS Church Authority,” 79.

prove of plural marriages performed since the Manifesto," Ivins told Call, "Don't you worry. . . . All [of] your marriages are right and they have all been done with the knowledge and approval of the President of the Church."¹⁴⁰

Given the Church's strong motivation for suppressing the memory of its polygamous past, Star Valley's next generation learned little of its own polygamous origins and tradition.¹⁴¹ A century later, polygamy is usually seen merely as a colorful element in Star Valley's history, rather than as the dominant reason for its colonization.

In many ways Star Valley's settlement paralleled the timing and process of the Mormon Church's expansion into Mexico. In both instances the endeavors were initiated in the late 1870s under the direction of Apostle Moses Thatcher, who again took up the colonization cause in 1885 due to the increased intensity of the anti-polygamy campaign.¹⁴² Star Valley, like Mexico, seemed to offer polygamous Mormons a haven. During this period, Mormon settlers generally sought places where economic opportunities would lead to material success. Yet economic motivation fails to fully explain the settlement of Star Valley. Winters were long and harsh, yet these fugitive Latter-day Saints rapidly created communities which perpetuated both Utah's agricultural tradition and the Mormon heritage. One writer has noted the "preponderance of relatives settling

¹⁴⁰Glenna S. Call, "Anson Bowen Call," 80; Hardy, *Solemn Covenant*, 169, Appendix II, #34. See a similar statement from Ivins to Mary Clark in Theodore C. Bennion, *Oral History*, 2; "Lorna Call Alder," *Oral History*, 28.

¹⁴¹Edna Ericksen, *Oral History*, BYU Archives, 18. See a similar pattern for the Alberta Mormon colonies. Jessie L. Embry, "Exiles for the Principle: LDS Polygamy in Canada," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 18 (Fall 1985): 116; Dan Erickson, "Alberta Polygamists? The Canadian Climate and Response to the Introduction of Mormonism's 'Peculiar Institution,'" *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 86 (Fall 1995): 162.

¹⁴²Romney, *The Mormon Colonies in Mexico*, 37-59; Hardy, "The Mormon Colonies of Northern Mexico: A History, 1885-1912," 40-66; Hardy, *Solemn Covenant*, 167. Contemporary accounts are given in "Mexican Mission," *Deseret News*, 4 May 1881, 2; A. W. Ivins, "History of Mexican Mission," *Deseret News*, 15 January 1900, 7.

in the same area” during this period.¹⁴³ In Star Valley, polygamy brought both immediate and extended families to the region.

Almost a quarter century later, speaking at Cheyenne in 1929, Church President Heber J. Grant praised Wyoming because “our people have never experienced the intolerance with which they have been regarded in some sections of other states.”¹⁴⁴ Founded primarily by Mormons seeking safe haven for their religious beliefs, to this day Star Valley remains tied to its unique Latter-day Saint heritage.

¹⁴³Sherlock, “Mormon Migration,” 66.

¹⁴⁴Larson, *History of Wyoming*, 224.

“HEATHEN IN OUR FAIR LAND”: PRESBYTERIAN WOMEN MISSIONARIES IN UTAH, 1870-90

Jana Kathryn Riess

“IS ANY WOMAN’S HEART UNTOUCHED,” asked a Presbyterian woman’s missionary newsletter in 1878, “as she reads of the dreadful delusion that has made and is still making fanatics of a large body of people from every quarter of the globe?” The delusion, the editor explained, was that “twin relic of barbarism” which had yet to be eradicated from the land—Mormonism. More specifically, the author was referring to the Mormon practice of plural marriage, or polygamy, as a chief concern of Christian women everywhere.¹

Perhaps no other social practice so distressed the American evangelical Christian community in the late nineteenth century, when Mormonism had achieved a powerful foothold in the Rocky Mountains and was importing converts by the thousands from England, Scandinavia, and elsewhere. Despite tremendous pressure

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¹*The Field Is the World: Eighth Annual Report of the Ladies’ Board of Missions* (New York: Ladies’ Board of Missions, 1878), 14.

from the "Gentile" Protestant world, polygamy showed no sign of disappearing. The practice had stubbornly survived political intimidation and Johnston's army; by the 1870s it seemed that no external government force would be capable of abolishing this lingering social cancer from the Wasatch landscape. Evangelical Protestant churches, which had resisted Mormonism at every turn almost from its inception, had begun in the late 1860s to take matters into their own hands by sending missionaries directly to the heart of Mormon country. The First Congregational Church of Salt Lake City was established in 1865, its founders followed closely by the Episcopalians in 1867, the Presbyterians in 1869, and the Methodists in 1870.² These Protestant pioneers set out with high ideals of proclaiming the true gospel to a misguided people, and fixing Utah on a straight path of righteousness.

One neglected facet of this history is the crucial role that women played in the evangelization of Utah.³ Since evangelicals viewed polygamy as a domestic problem and saw Mormon women as benighted passive participants in an oppressive system, many believed that women missionaries could offer a uniquely feminine influence in correcting the errant Mormon domestic sphere. Speaking on Christian women's roles in 1875, Rev. George Heckman voiced the era's reliance upon female piety and goodness. "Now in the Christian family woman sits enthroned," he explained. Although men are the official heads of the family, "*Woman is the great moral force of the family. On woman, far more than on man, depend the moral destinies of the race.*"⁴ While Heckman was speaking primar-

²Milton R. Hunter, *The Utah Story* (Salt Lake City: Milton R. Hunter, 1960), 163-66; Thomas Edgar Lyon, "Evangelical Protestant Missionary Activities in Mormon Dominated Areas, 1865-1900" (Ph.D. diss., University of Utah, 1962), 81.

³An example of this oversight is found in S. E. Wishard, "Utah," *Church at Home and Abroad* (N.p., 1893), 256-58, a summary of Presbyterian missions to Utah; amid the familiar names of John M. Coyner, Josiah Welch, and Duncan McMillan, there is no reference to the many women who labored as missionaries and missionary teachers in the territory.

⁴George C. Heckman, *An Address on Woman's Work in the Church, Before the Presbytery of New Albany, April 7, 1875* (Madison, Ind.: Courier Steam Printing House, 1875), 23, Sheldon Jackson Collection 165, Presbyterian Church (USA) Department of History and Records

ily about women's role in the family, many Protestant women by the 1870s were defining "family" ministry in terms of missionary work to the entire human family. Women's heavy moral responsibility demanded that they take up their crosses and minister to the lost. This article describes the efforts of Presbyterian women missionaries in Utah between 1870 and 1890, the two decades between the trans-continental railroad's opening the door to Protestant evangelists and Wilford Woodruff's Manifesto, which removed the urgent call to eradicate polygamy from the missionaries' *raison d'être*.

This era of women's missions to the Mormons coincided with a remarkable widening of women's activities within the Presbyterian Church in the late nineteenth century. The increasing feminization of American Protestantism both caused and in turn resulted from the influx of women into traditionally male roles, such as foreign missionary, teacher, and evangelist. Throughout the 1870s, the success of women's foreign missionary societies, organized locally and then centralized nationally, tallied an impressive total of churches erected, pamphlets printed, and schoolhouses furnished, all with women's own fundraising efforts.⁵

This type of tangible female success, mixed with the feminization of Protestant piety in the Victorian era, made women the ideal

Management Services, Philadelphia (hereafter Presbyterian Church History Department); emphasis Heckman's.

⁵For more on Protestant women's missionary activities in the late nineteenth century, see Dana Lee Robert, *American Women in Missions: A Social History of Their Thought and Practice* (Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press, 1996); Lori D. Ginzberg, *Women and the Work of Benevolence: Morality, Politics, and Class in the 19th-Century United States* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1990); Lois A. Boyd and R. Douglas Brackenridge, *Presbyterian Women in America: Two Centuries of a Quest for Status* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1983); Patricia Grimshaw, *Paths of Duty: American Women Missionary Wives in Nineteenth-Century Hawaii* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1989); Patricia Hill, *The World Their Household: The American Women's Foreign Mission Movement and Cultural Transformation, 1870-1920* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1989); Jane Hunter, *The Gospel of Gentility: American Women Missionaries in Turn-of-the-Century China* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1984); and especially Peggy Pascoe, *Relations of Rescue: The Search for Female Moral Authority in the American West, 1874-1939* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990).

candidates to bring the gospel to the heathen in their own land, a land polluted by domestic deviance. Surely women could reach the downtrodden plural wives of Utah with the liberating message of Christ's love. However, Presbyterian women had rather questionable success in their original task of ministering directly to plural wives. First, their encounters with polygamy (both real and imagined) led them to portray Mormons as culturally backward and racially inferior. The only categories available for Protestants to discuss polygamy came from Islam and other "uncivilized" religions, and so Protestant women regarded Utah as a heathen, even a foreign, land in need of evangelization. Second, both Presbyterian women missionaries and Mormon women drew from a similar vocabulary of Victorian gender roles and home ideology, yet because they used this discourse so differently, it became a site of significant contest. Mormon women tried to employ Victorian ideals of home and marriage to demonstrate their own felicity and liberation, while Protestants used those same categories to portray Mormon women and their families as debased.

After meeting with some steady resistance from plural wives themselves, who for the most part were not interested in being emancipated by Protestants, the Presbyterian women missionaries turned their efforts to educating Utah's youth, especially girls. The 1878 editorial quoted above pleaded, "Help us to save the daughters of these thirty thousand [polygamous] mothers from the terrible fate that awaits them. . . . Trained in our schools, they will in a few years scatter over the territory, carrying a Christian influence with them."⁶ "Woman's work for woman," the key theme of Presbyterian women's missions in the late nineteenth century, soon became "woman's work for children," as education proved itself to be the most effective means of exerting Protestant influence in Utah.

**WOMAN'S WORK FOR WOMAN:
PRESBYTERIAN WOMEN ENCOUNTER POLYGAMY**

It is critical to remember that any discussion of gender in nineteenth-century discourse is necessarily incomplete without a corresponding discussion of race. The myriad ways in which Protestant missionaries depicted Mormons as the "other," and the responses this approach engendered among Mormons themselves,

⁶*The Field Is the World: Eighth Annual Report*, 14.

have not been sufficiently analyzed by scholars. Gail Bederman, in her landmark work *Manliness and Civilization*, has reminded us that race and gender discourse in this period was intricately tied up in a larger discourse about civilization.⁷ For Protestants who carried the gospel abroad, this intermingling meant that they were exporting an entity called "civilization" along with religion; they sought to disseminate Christendom alongside Christianity. They perceived themselves as cultural emissaries who were rescuing the darker races of the world not only from doctrinal error but from ethnically engendered degradation.

What needs to be thrown into this mixture is the concept that Protestant missionaries applied many of the same ideas to Utah Mormons. One Congregational pastor called Utah "our American Turkey" and complained that "we send missionaries to the polytheists and Buddhists of Asia, but in Utah alone there are over one hundred thousand Mormons who are Buddhists and polytheists."⁸ Mormon women, he said, were like "the degraded women of Asia," who in their sorry condition cried out for help from the enlightened women of America. Another compared Mormonism to Shintoism and Buddhism, calling Mormonism "this latest-born of the faiths of darkness."⁹

This tendency to equate Mormonism with various Eastern religions was no accident; it was the logical result of Protestant missionaries' discourse about Christianity, gender, and civilization. If Mormonism were a non-Christian religion (and Protestant missionaries had no trouble agreeing that it was), then its stubborn presence in America challenged the accepted rhetoric about America as a beacon of Christian civilization. If Mormons were not Christians, then they also had to be presented as uncivilized. The two elements, Christianity and advanced civilization, went hand in hand.

Polygamy was the quickest means to accomplishing this task. The practice of polygamy, in Protestant eyes, made the Mormon

⁷Gail Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 25, 239.

⁸Rev. Walter Barrows, "Mormonism: A National Shame and Peril," *The Home Missionary*, September 1879, 113. *The Home Missionary* was a publication of the Congregational Church.

⁹"Teachings of Mormonism," *The Home Missionary*, August 1880, 97.

people infidels of the worst kind, whose immoral life-style blighted America's Christian civilization. Presbyterian evangelists compared Utahns to the "idolaters and the cannibals of the Sandwich Islands" who had "become a civilized and Christian nation" only through the diligent activity of Protestant missionaries.¹⁰ Another missionary proclaimed in 1881 that "the same methods by which Christianity has been carried into the jungles of India and the wilds of Africa will be required to carry and hold it in Utah. The citadel of polygamous Mormonism must be invested [sic] by a Christian army, as other strongholds of heathenism have been besieged."¹¹ These reformers' implicit associations of Mormons with "idolaters" from non-European areas of the globe spoke volumes to their Protestant listeners and readers. Mormon Utah, in their minds, was a foreign mission field on American soil; its people labored under the twin yokes of religious idolatry and shocking cultural inferiority.

Protestants also borrowed a language of fear from portrayals of Islam, often referring to Brigham Young as "the Yankee Muhammad" and discussing polygamous families with terms like *harem* and *concupinage*.¹² Methodist temperance activist Frances Willard, in her introduction to Jennie Froiseth's anti-polygamist page-turner *The Women of Mormonism*, claimed that "Turkey is in our midst. Modern Mohammedanism has its Mecca at Salt Lake, where Prophet Heber C. Kimball speaks of his wives as 'cows.'"¹³ Representing Mormonism as a non-Western,¹⁴ barbaric religion served Protestant mission-

¹⁰Robert McNiece and John Coyner, "The Christian Reconstruction of Utah," 23 and 30 March 1879, Sheldon Jackson Collection 154, Presbyterian Church History Department.

¹¹D. C. Haskell, "Mormonism: An Address," 8 June 1881, Sheldon Jackson Collection 161, Presbyterian Church History Department.

¹²Barrows, "How Shall the Mormon Question Be Settled?" *The Home Missionary*, October 1881, 162. For an excellent discussion of Orientalist portrayals of nineteenth-century Mormonism in popular fiction, see Terryl Givens, *The Viper on the Hearth: Mormons, Myths, and the Construction of Heresy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 130-37.

¹³Frances E. Willard, "Introduction," to *The Women of Mormonism, Or the Story of Polygamy as Told by the Victims Themselves*, by Jennie Froiseth (Detroit: C. G. G. Paine, 1882), xvi.

¹⁴Islam is a Western religion, but few Protestants in the nineteenth century made that distinction.

aries well. It simultaneously underscored their critique of the Mormon people and legitimated their own call to evangelize a heathen land. "We are practically in a foreign country," one of the first Presbyterian pastors in Utah declared, "for in no part of the heathen world can a people be found more hostile to Christian work, or in bondage to a religion more false and degrading than the Mormon people."¹⁵

Mormon women were aware of the charges that Mormons were uncivilized, un-American, and un-Christian. Between the lines of the *Woman's Exponent*, their line of defense can be discerned. Some Protestants had implied that Mormons were the antithesis of good New England stock. One missionary wrote that in Mormon country, "those acquainted with . . . the ways of the Pilgrim Fathers were few indeed. . . . [Utah is] a chaotic mixture of miners and cow-boys and Indians and Chinamen and Mormons."¹⁶ Yet Mormon women responded that, on the contrary, they were quintessential Americans, descended from old Puritan families. Zina Diantha Huntington Young, for example, was lauded in the *Exponent* as one of the New England Huntingtons, whose women had recently been praised in a Boston newspaper as paragons of female virtue and refinement.¹⁷ *Exponent* editor Emmeline B. Wells also specifically countered the equation of Mormon women with Muslim women by laying direct claim to the legacy of "our Pilgrim fathers and Pilgrim mothers" who had suffered to establish freedom of conscience on New England's shores. Moreover, she wrote, "There is no such place as a harem in Utah; in Utah there are homes, such as they have in New England, and there are plenty of Yankee women—you find them in every settlement—and the elements of the New England character abound in their children."¹⁸

In their encounters with polygamy, then, Protestants had a

¹⁵Rev. Robert G. McNiece, "The Christianization of Utah," 12 April 1879, Sheldon Jackson Collection 153, Presbyterian Church History Department.

¹⁶Rev. D. L. Leonard, "Five Years in Utah," *The Home Missionary*, October 1886, 226.

¹⁷"Our Relief Societies: Similar Organizations Wanted by Christian Ministers," *Woman's Exponent* 7 (15 October 1878), 76.

¹⁸Emmeline B. Wells, "Leading Captive Silly Women," *Woman's Exponent* 8 (15 September 1879), 60.

vested interest in portraying Mormons as culturally and racially "other." Mormons sought to counter these charges by noting their own American-ness and Puritan ancestry, which demonstrates that, although they disagreed with the Protestants' conclusions about their alleged debasement, they were operating in the same Victorian discourse about civilization as their Protestant detractors. Mormon women never questioned the Protestant assertion that America was a beacon to the world or that Yankee heritage demonstrated a certain refinement on the "savage" frontier. They simply claimed their own place within that discourse of civilization, refusing to concede their exclusion from Protestantism's vision of America's enlightened culture.

Furthermore, in their interactions with Presbyterian missionaries, civilization discourse was not the only language that Mormon women borrowed from Protestants and reconstructed to defend themselves. They also appropriated Victorian ideals of pious femininity and home protection.

Historian Peggy Pascoe has shown that Protestant women's missions to Utah were established as part of a quest for female moral authority in the West; Protestant women, bolstered by their own expanding influence and missionary status, sought to bestow some of their newly found freedoms on Mormon women, who appeared to suffer the worst kind of oppression. In a time when Victorian mores emphasized the pious superiority of female spirituality, Protestant women were horrified at the Mormon patriarchal order which "made a mockery of female purity and virtually enslaved wives."¹⁹

Protestants' depictions of the miseries of plural marriage fostered compassion in the hearts of female reformers in the East. In battling polygamy as a social evil, both male and female missionaries expressed the widespread conviction that gospel persuasion was the only way to effect change in Utah. "I am glad we had that petition to Congress," Presbyterian teacher May Lewis wrote a San Francisco ladies' missionary society in 1881, "but after all it is the power of the gospel which must break the evil down completely."²⁰

Kansas Congressman Dudley C. Haskell, speaking before the American Home Missionary Society in 1881, recognized that a key factor in successful evangelization was education, but he still offered

¹⁹Pascoe, *Relations of Rescue*, 21.

²⁰Quoted in *ibid.*

the women in his audience a rather naive strategy for destroying polygamy:

A little band of devoted women have begun there [in Salt Lake City] the anti-polygamy crusade, and have started a paper, the *Anti-Polygamy Standard*. Aid them. Circulate their paper. If the wives and mothers of America are made fully aware of the extent and character of the degradation of their sex, and informed of the need of their sympathy and support, the on-rushing tide of public sentiment would sweep away polygamy in a year.²¹

In other words, if Protestant women would simply raise the nation's consciousness and protest the evils of polygamy under a united front, the practice would crumble under the weight of the public pressure.

Yet Haskell's optimistic 1881 statement was illusory, for the 1870s had already seen significant resistance to Protestant efforts in Utah. Protestantism's most costly error in its Utah missions may have been its total underestimation of the tenacity of Mormon women. As early as 1856 Mrs. Benjamin G. Ferris, writing of her travels in Utah, described an encounter with the young mistress of her boarding house, who was a plural wife. She was "one of those good-natured, stupid fools, that would gulp down the most preposterous proposition, merely saying, perhaps, 'Du [sic] tell!' or 'You don't say so!'" Mrs. Ferris pronounced herself "quite ready to concede that a large portion of female Mormonism is made up of similar materials."²² Such a summation was more sarcastic than the usual characterization of the Mormon woman, who was most often pictured as an anemic victim of cruel forces, but it accurately reflected the incredulity with which Protestant women regarded Mormon female life. They were often flabbergasted by the injustices toward women which they believed were commonplace in Mormon households. Nellie S. Bakeman, a Baptist activist in the home missions movement, spoke pityingly of the plight of the Mormon woman. "The

²¹Haskell, "Mormonism: An Address." Representative Haskell's speech was lauded in the *Anti-Polygamy Standard* 2, no. 4 (July 1881): 29, as "a masterly production."

²²Mrs. Benjamin G. Ferris, *The Mormons at Home, with Some Incidents of Travel from Missouri to California, 1852-3, in a Series of Letters* (New York: Dix & Edwards, 1856), 119.

faces of the women are haunting me still—ashen, haggard, and hollowed-eyed,” she wrote in 1890. Bakeman claimed that, just as in foreign lands where the heathen had no concept of the virtuous Christian home, for Mormon women such homes existed only in the imagination: “The Mormon woman stands looking into our peaceful homes, and as she looks, the burden of her terrible life seems greater than she can bear; and who can describe the longing which she feels for ‘that kind of home.’”²³

Longing, however, was hardly the word that plural wife Helen Mar Kimball Smith Whitney would have used in reference to the “Christian” home. Her blunt, public defense of polygamy suggests the stubbornness with which many Mormon women celebrated their nontraditional life-style, much to the bewilderment of Protestants. Not only was plural marriage a moral life-style, wrote Whitney, it was the only moral life-style which fostered love in the home. The “prevalent monogamic mode,” she wrote, “has led to the greatest vices and social evils which are daily increasing, and degrading the human family,” such as adultery, divorce, and abortion.²⁴ She derided the Protestants’ attempts to help “poor down-trodden women” escape “from their polygamous yoke,” calling such efforts “a most ridiculous farce. It will compare with the collecting of money for the poor heathen, who would have been better off a thousand fold had they never seen a ‘Christian,’ through whose moral (?) ideas and associations thousands have become like themselves, impure and far more degraded than they would have been had not the waves of civilization passed over them.”²⁵

Whitney refused to be characterized as a victim but defended plural marriage as her own higher choice: “All my life and talents which the Lord has lent me, I wish to be devoted to this great and glorious cause.” Mormon women, she concluded, “are not so ignorant as some suppose.” In fact, they had the upper hand, since the emancipation of womankind, “which has been decreed,” would occur, not through the licentious property-driven institution of mo-

²³Nellie S. Bakeman, *A Home Question, or Mormon Women* (Boston: American Baptist Home Mission Society, 1890), 4.

²⁴Helen Mar Whitney, *Why We Practice Plural Marriage: By a “Mormon” Wife and Mother—Helen Mar Whitney* (Salt Lake City: Juvenile Instructor Office, 1884), 26-27.

²⁵*Ibid.*, 31.

nogamy, but rather through celestial plural marriage. It is the monogamous wife, Whitney countered, who is “the most wretched of slaves,” not the polygamous one.²⁶

But as historian Joan Smyth Iversen has cautioned, it is crucial for scholars to distinguish between Mormon women’s public rhetoric of celestial marriage and the reality of life in polygamy, since “even Mormon women who stoutly defended polygamy left records of ambivalent (albeit private) misgivings.”²⁷ Even courageous apologist Helen Mar Whitney vacillated openly about plural marriage in her youth, and she described her acceptance of a marriage to Joseph Smith at age fourteen as self-sacrifice: she was a “Ewe Lamb” whom her father “willingly laid . . . upon the alter.” In a short 1881 autobiography, she cast that decision—not recording her own feelings—but in terms of her father’s ambitions and her mother’s agonized silence:

Having a great desire to be connected with the Prophet, Joseph, he [her father, Heber C. Kimball] offered me to him; this I afterwards learned from the Prophet’s own mouth. . . . How cruel this seemed to the mother whose heartstrings were already stretched until they were ready to snap asunder, for he [Heber] had taken Sarah noon to wife & she thought she had made sufficient sacrifice. . . . I will pass over the temptations which I had during the twenty four hours after my father . . . asked me if I would be sealed to Joseph. . . . He [Joseph] said to me, “If you will take this step, it will ensure your eternal salvation and exaltation & that of your father’s household & all of your kindred. This promise was so great that I willingly gave myself to purchase so glorious a reward. None but God & his angels could see my mother’s bleeding heart.”²⁸

As another example, plural wife Annie Clark Tanner at-

²⁶Ibid., 9, 31, 55.

²⁷Joan Smyth Iversen, *The Antipolygamy Controversy in U.S. Women’s Movements, 1880-1925: A Debate on the American Home* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1997), 74.

²⁸Jeni Brobert Holzapfel and Richard Neitzel Holzapfel, eds., *A Woman’s View: Helen Mar Whitney’s Reminiscences of Early Church History* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Religious Studies Center, 1997), 482, 486. See Todd Compton’s biographical essay on Helen, including her lifelong struggle with depression: “Polygamy, Melancholy, Possession,” *In Sacred Loneliness; The Plural Wives of Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1997), 486-534.

tended the pro-polygamy women's mass meeting in the Salt Lake Theater in 1886, where protesters publicly objected to their treatment by the federal government. Yet Tanner harbored secret doubts about polygamy, exacerbated by her own sometimes unhappy plural marriage to Joseph Marion Tanner. In her memoir, written thirty years after Tanner announced that he would no longer visit or contribute financially to her twelve children, she mused on the fragmented family life, wife's loneliness, and lack of fatherly guidance for children in polygamy: "If things do not go just right for the husband in one home, he could go to another. The wife whom he leaves behind is, of course brokenhearted. . . . It is needless to observe that monogamous marriages are by far the more successful."²⁹ Yet Tanner waited until the year before her death to express these doubts in a memoir that was not published for another three decades. And whatever ambivalences most Mormon women harbored about the sanctity of plural marriage remained private, not to be scrutinized by interloping Protestants.

The conflict between Protestant women missionaries and Mormon women like Whitney, though contentious, resided in a common discourse. What is striking is that both groups drew heavily upon the ideal of true womanhood as promulgated in Victorian ideology. Both groups viewed the home as woman's proper domain, maintained that women were naturally more pious than men, and—some-what ironically for the mostly "spinster" missionaries—idealized the role of motherhood.³⁰ In the discourse of both groups, womankind adhered to a particular mandate to create upright homes and raise moral children. By extension, since the home was the central unit of society, female influence could ripple from that small sphere into the larger public realm. Women of both groups proclaimed that they were propelled, often against their will, into public life apart from the home: single missionary women underscored the urgency of their calling to minister in heathen lands, and Mormon women claimed to engage in public life to protect their threatened private (polygamous) life.

²⁹Annie Clark Tanner, *A Mormon Mother* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Library, 1983), 77, 272.

³⁰As elucidated below, the Presbyterian missionary teachers became, by 1880, mostly young single women rather than missionary wives.

For Mormon women, the rhetoric of Victorian domesticity served, somewhat paradoxically, as a kind of resistance. Against the charges that Mormonism was a debased theocracy ruled by men, its women countered with the Victorian model of womanhood as the heart of religion and the home. To parry the Protestants' continuous references to men's allegedly unbridled sexuality, Mormon women argued that polygamy was the only reasonable solution for keeping male libido in check. Using both the Victorian discourse of gender differentiation and the elevation of marriage to a sacred union, Mormon women argued in favor of the very life-style that Victorian Protestants found so reprehensible. Against Protestants' portrayal of Mormon women as degraded and voiceless, many Mormon women energetically responded with assertions of their own liberation.

Both groups, then, operated within the same discourse of gender roles, and both drew upon different aspects of that discourse in bolstering their own causes. But Presbyterian and Mormon women, who seemed to have more in common than had been apparent at first glance, saw the divide between themselves as insurmountable. Apart from the women's obvious theological differences, important social conflicts can be distinguished. Under particular contention were the debate over woman suffrage in Utah and Protestant women's outright dismissal of Mormon women's defenses of polygamy.

Mormon women saw themselves as somehow elevated over "Gentile" women because they, unlike their Protestant counterparts still struggling for the franchise, had voted in every territorial election since 1870. The U.S. government had not resisted when the franchise was granted to Utah women, believing that women would cast their votes to overturn the polygamous system that oppressed them. This had not occurred. Instead the women, claiming the superiority of the polygamous life-style, had banded together and consistently voted as a Mormon bloc, further aggravating Gentile authorities and the nation. "They said give the poor, ignorant creatures the franchise," wrote one editorialist, "and they will turn the tables on their tyrants by pitching them into the big pickling tub nature has provided. Well, our husbands gave us the right of franchise, showing how little fear they had of our vengeance." She gloated over the bewilderment of the would-be reformers, who said of the Mormon women: "We thought that they were fools, but

found they have out-witted us.”³¹ Mormon women used their franchise to preserve their life-style, demonstrating that they did not see themselves as being persecuted by polygamy, but rather by those who would seek to eradicate it.³²

Some Mormon women in the late nineteenth century joined the national campaign for woman suffrage, not only for themselves but for women everywhere. By the 1880s, the masthead of the Mormon women’s newspaper in Salt Lake City, *Woman’s Exponent*, proclaimed that it was dedicated to “the rights of women in Zion, and the rights of the women of all nations.” When temperance activist Frances Willard spoke in Salt Lake City, the *Exponent* lauded her with the benediction, “God speed Miss Willard in her work for temperance and the ballot.”³³ This support came despite Frances Willard’s own outspoken aversion to polygamy.

Protestant women activists like Willard almost unanimously condemned polygamy and generally dismissed Mormon women’s own insistence that they genuinely believed the practice to be divinely instituted. Baptist lecturer Nellie Bakeman proclaimed in 1890 that “thousands of women in the Territory of Utah are to-day in a condition of abject slavery” and suggested that they would flee their miserable lives if given any opportunity.³⁴ Many Mormon women wholeheartedly disagreed, claiming that plural marriage, somewhat paradoxically, made women strong and, for this reason, should be venerated. “Polygamy,” asserted one enthusiast, “gives

³¹“Mary,” writing from Grantsville, 9 March 1879, “Consistency Thou Art a Jewel,” *Woman’s Exponent* 7 (15 March 1879): 209.

³²Not all Mormon women felt wholly enthusiastic about woman suffrage. As Beverly Beeton, “Woman Suffrage in Territorial Utah,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 46, no. 2 (Spring 1978): 115, has pointed out, “Some were even openly opposed to women taking part in political affairs.” But as Lola Van Wagenen has amply demonstrated, “Mormon women helped gain suffrage by being activists in their own behalf.” Van Wagenen, “In Their Own Behalf: The Politicization of Mormon Women and the 1870 Franchise,” *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 24 (Winter 1991): 41. The franchise was a right sought by Mormon women, not simply a privilege granted by Mormon men.

³³“Miss Frances E. Willard,” *Woman’s Exponent* 12 (15 August 1883): 44.

³⁴Bakeman, *A Home Question*, 5-6.

women more time for thought, for mental culture, more freedom of action, a broader field of labor . . . ”³⁵ One polygamist wife claimed that “plural marriage makes woman more the companion and less the subordinate than any other form of marriage,” since women “have learned to be self-reliant and self-sustaining” and see their roles as loftier “than being a man’s pet or even [his] housekeeper.”³⁶ In polygamy, another editorialist claimed, “experience is gained; strength is developed; the power of governing is called into exercise; selfishness and self-ease are sacrificed; and the perfect type of womanhood is brought forth.”³⁷

If Protestants were unprepared for Mormon women’s obdurate determination to cling to plural marriage, it was partly because they underestimated the freedoms that these women thought polygamy afforded. Many Mormon women tied polygamy with the rhetoric of women’s rights, not of enslavement. “We do not believe that Polygamy detracts from a woman’s sphere,” one 1876 letter to the editor declared. “We can but believe that it is Monogamy which degrades her in this generation; we believe in Woman’s Rights, and it is her right to have a husband and a home.”³⁸

Mormon women’s associations of polygamy with liberation meant that many could hardly imagine a life without plural marriage and resisted quite openly when reformers sought to destroy this foundation of their world. Protestants were unprepared for such hostility from the very group they had come to rescue. John Coyner, one of the first Presbyterian educators in the West, wrote in 1879:

When I was a young man I read a book entitled, “Fifteen Years among the Mormons.” I was led to believe, from what I there read, that the women of Utah were held by the men, in a kind of captivity, not being able to escape from their degradation . . . and I supposed, that as soon as the railroad, with all its non-Mormon influences, had reached Utah, the most of the women would gladly embrace the opportunity of

³⁵“Women Talkers and Women Writers,” editorial, *Woman’s Exponent* 5 (15 August 1876): 44.

³⁶Blanche Beechwood [pseud. for Emmeline B. Wells], “A Mormon Woman’s View of Marriage,” *Woman’s Exponent* 6 (1 September 1877): 54.

³⁷“Topics of the Times,” *Woman’s Exponent* 12 (15 March 1884): 157.

³⁸“I.P.W.” Mill Creek Ward, 14 July 1876, letter to the editor, “Woman’s Voice,” *Woman’s Exponent* 5 (1 August 1876): 35.

fleeing the country, to escape thralldom. But, in this, I was much mistaken.³⁹

Coyner went on to describe, with grudging admiration, the devotion that Mormon women seemed to display for their faith. He had attended a conference in the Salt Lake Tabernacle, "packed from pit to dome with two thousand women, the most of whom, as shown by the uplifted hand when a vote was taken, were devoted Mormons." Many testified there of their strong belief in the divine sanction of plural marriage and that its morality was superior to the "unholy, licentious, and wicked" world. "It was," Coyner concluded, "the most remarkable meeting I ever attended."⁴⁰

If direct evangelization of the "benighted" women of Utah did not seem to be efficacious (as Coyner eventually realized) because most Mormon women did not see themselves as oppressed, then there was little more to be said. Mormon women, contrary to all expectations, did not consider themselves in need of deliverance. What, then, was to be done about the blight with which Mormonism had stained America's Christian empire? Presbyterian reformers turned to the issue of education. Utah, Coyner claimed, "stands to-day as the only State or Territory which has not a system of free schools." He saw this lack as a sinister plot by the Mormon Church "to keep her subjects in ignorance to enable her to control them." A lack of education was the key to Mormon success; if ignorance could be eradicated, adherents would leave the Mormon Church in droves. Utah Presbyterian pastor Rev. Robert McNiece agreed: "Under humane, well educated and lofty minded teachers the boys and girls who will soon control the affairs of this Territory . . . will be trained up to think for themselves, to hate despotism of every kind, to love good government and to appreciate the fact that on this earth there is no substitute for civil and religious liberty."⁴¹

The new focus of Presbyterian missions in Utah, which had been an undercurrent from the beginning but did not flourish

³⁹J. M. Coyner, *Letters on Mormonism* (Salt Lake City: Tribune Publishing and Printing Company, 1879), 10, Sheldon Jackson Collection 155, Presbyterian Church History Department.

⁴⁰*Ibid.*

⁴¹Robert G. McNiece, "The Christian Reconstruction of Utah," Sheldon Jackson Collection 154, Presbyterian Church History Department.

until 1880, was education. With this transition, the mission itself became feminized as a score of Presbyterian women arrived to teach school in Utah Territory. In 1880, 18 percent of Presbyterian missionary teachers in Mormon areas were men, 23 percent were married women, and 59 percent were single women. By 1890, men comprised only 3 percent of the force, with married women down to 12 percent, and single women dominating at 85 percent.⁴² As the demographics of the missionary community changed, so too did the locus of their attention. Adult Mormons were more realistically regarded as something of a "lost cause"—too entrenched in the polygamous system to choose the Christian life. In their place, the increasingly female missionary force concentrated its efforts on Utah's rising generation, youth who were perhaps not yet firmly established in the clutches of irreligion. One missionary teacher wrote from Moroni, Utah, that "the older portion of the community are so entrenched in the faith, they would be hard to convince but the younger children many of them seem to long for something better."⁴³

WOMAN'S WORK FOR CHILDREN: EDUCATION AS THE "PRESBYTERIAN PANACEA"

In 1897, the Woman's Board of Home Missions published a pamphlet entitled "From Within One Heart" which, though quite hackneyed in its anti-Mormon stereotypes, also dramatically symbolized the Presbyterians' missionary transition from converting polygamous wives to rescuing their helpless daughters. The author, B. M. Bush, briefly described her uphill work as a teacher in Utah including one little student who led her home to meet the girl's dying mother. "There, on a wretched bed, lay a poor, sick creature whose black eyes gazed out at me from her pallid face with the piteous look of some wounded animal. Wistful, sad, heartbroken, their owner lay dying indeed . . . of a broken heart and plural marriage." The woman "gasped out" her story in snatches, telling a lurid tale of her happy English girlhood, conversion to Mormonism, marriage to "Elder Graves," and subsequent discovery of the evil practice of polygamy.

⁴²Mark T. Banker, *Presbyterian Missions and Cultural Interaction in the Far Southwest, 1850-1950* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993): 85.

⁴³Sallie McMullin (Sorensen), Letter to Mrs. F. E. H. Haines, 23 September 1880, 305-15-53, Presbyterian Church History Department.

Her husband already had three wives, and he would delight in tormenting them by pointing out the lovely youthfulness of his latest acquisition. The first three responded with jealousy and hatred, leading to a terribly unhappy life for the tale's protagonist.

As a result, her one concern on her deathbed was for her daughter Mollie. "Don't let Mollie be like me!" she begged. "Save her from plural marriage." She made the author promise to find a home for Mollie and never inform her of her mother's shameful life. The author concluded the poignant tale by reminding her Presbyterian women readers that "Mollie is safe—but there are others."⁴⁴ Other girls remained who must be rescued from bigamous, false religion through Christian influence and education.

The story reflects how the focus of Presbyterian missions to Utah had changed since their beginnings in 1869; whereas the first missionaries had sought after the lofty ideal of ending polygamy by converting its participants to the truth, by the late 1870s the goal had become a bit more pragmatic. If the parents' generation was too entrenched in the practice of plural marriage and the Mormon religion, surely the younger set might be saved.

The widespread expectation among these missionaries was that education was the wrecking ball for the rapid demolition of Mormonism. "Continue to entrust to Christian people the mental and moral training of the children of Utah during the week," suggested Rev. Robert G. McNiece from Salt Lake City in 1879, on the eve of a great expansion in the Presbyterian educational endeavor in Utah. ". . . They will sooner or later organize here a moral power for the overthrow of Mormonism."⁴⁵ Instructor May Lewis, at the Salt Lake Institute, likewise believed firmly that Mormonism "will be overthrown, for as the children become educated they will never remain in this faith."⁴⁶ A vigorous course of Protestant action was outlined by Rep. Dudley Haskell in his 1881 address before the American Home Missionary Society. "Plant the school beside the church," he

⁴⁴B. M. Bush, *From Within One Heart*, 2d ed. (New York: Literature Department of the Woman's Board of Home Missions of the Presbyterian Church, 1898), 3.

⁴⁵McNiece, "The Christianization of Utah," 12 April 1879.

⁴⁶May Lewis, Letter to the Woman's Missionary Society of Phelps, 2 May 1881, 305-15-46, Presbyterian Church History Department.

advised. "Place the teacher by the side of the missionary. This is a battle to be won with the Bible and the school-book."⁴⁷

Presbyterians quickly ordered their ranks to follow this advice. Organizationally, women's missionary societies during the "Church Woman's Decade" of the 1880s increasingly recognized the importance of education in achieving their evangelistic goals in many parts of the globe. Rev. Sheldon Jackson, superintendent of several Western missions in the 1870s, helped in the latter half of that decade to organize a committee of women to oversee the activities of female missions in the West. This board concentrated its energies most directly in recruiting and supporting female missionary teachers, who would be sent to various "exceptional populations" throughout the region.⁴⁸ In 1877, the General Assembly formally commissioned the larger Board of Home Missions to oversee the establishment of church schools,⁴⁹ heeding Rev. Jackson's recommendation that "lady teachers and Bible readers" should be sent West to evangelize and educate the frontier.⁵⁰ The General Assembly established the Woman's Executive Committee of Home Missions as the auxiliary arm of the Home Board; the all-female committee exercised great

⁴⁷Haskell, "Mormonism: An Address," 26.

⁴⁸These "exceptional populations" were New Mexicans, Native Alaskans, Appalachians, and Mormons. Early efforts among African Americans in the south were not as institutionally successful.

⁴⁹Boyd and Brackenridge, *Presbyterian Women in America*, 19-24.

⁵⁰Banker, *Presbyterian Missions*, 71, 74. Jackson's organizational initiative was controversial, for many felt it would divide women's loyalties between home and foreign missions or divert attention altogether from the foreign field. Sheldon Jackson's most recent biographer has commented that "Jackson was undoubtedly adept at 'wheedling the dollars' out of the purses of prospective donors in the East. Gradually, by the end of the 1870s, this money-raising function became his primary role in connection with the growth of the Presbyterian schools and churches in Utah." In the early 1880s, Jackson moved his immediate attention to founding Presbyterian mission stations in Alaska, but he continued to raise funds for Utah missions and to write anti-Mormon tracts. Norman J. Bender, *Winning the West for Christ: Sheldon Jackson and Presbyterianism on the Rocky Mountain Frontier, 1869-1880* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996), esp. pp. 146-49.

autonomy in hiring and supporting its own female missionaries for Utah and parts West.

In Utah, the committee's work proceeded quickly. Schools had already been established in Salt Lake and Mount Pleasant in 1875, with Rev. John Coyner's wife at Salt Lake as "the first lady teacher in Utah."⁵¹ A trickle of Presbyterian teachers had made its way there by 1880; and in September of that year, fourteen young missionary women arrived en masse to teach school in the territory. Most of them boarded with families in the rural areas where the denomination established schools. At a cost of approximately four dollars a week, nearly one-half of the missionaries' salaries,⁵² boarding was even more expensive than housekeeping, yet it allowed the young women to see Mormon life first hand. Nellie Bartlett, a new teacher at Logan, was not impressed. "I am going to try hard and save money enough to go to housekeeping this fall if I am sent here again," she reported to Executive Committee Secretary Mrs. F. E. H. Haines. "I would then be spared *so much* that I have to endure boarding with mormons."⁵³ Grace Canning, stationed in Parowan, had a more positive experience. Her unnamed landlady, "a daughter of the late Joseph Smith's cousin," was "really an excellent woman and a brokenhearted one, though such a strong Mormon [sic]." Yet Canning's placement with a Mormon family exposed her to the religion's darker undercurrent. "Wife No. 2 lives here also," she wrote. "You see we are in the midst of the enemy."⁵⁴

⁵¹Mrs. William M. Ferry, Speech to the Presbyterian Teachers' Convocation, Manti, Utah, 26 August 1887, 305-3-4, Presbyterian Church History Department. Of course, many Mormon women had taught school in Utah, so the statement that Mrs. Coyner was the "first lady teacher" reveals more about Protestant women's refusal to apply the term "lady" to Mormon women than it does about Utah's educational history. See also Joyce Kinkead, *A Schoolmarm All My Life: Personal Narratives from Frontier Utah* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1996), and Jill Mulvay, "The Two Miss Cooks: Pioneer Professionals for Utah Schools," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 43, no. 4 (Fall 1975), 396-409.

⁵²"List of Teachers & Schools," 305-3-3, Presbyterian Church History Department, reported that in 1883 the average annual salary of the missionary teacher was \$450.

⁵³Nellie Bartlett, Letter to Mrs. F. E. H. Haines, 17 April 1881, 305-15-19, Presbyterian Church History Department.

With the school year beginning, the new teachers set to work immediately procuring supplies for their often makeshift school-rooms, enrolling students, and learning the Wasatch culture. They wrote urgent letters to Mrs. Haines requesting the purchase of new desks and readers; in some areas, the first schools had to rent buildings and experienced difficulties finding landlords who would take on such controversial Gentiles as tenants.⁵⁵ Mormon schools, where they existed, were often in disrepair and badly in need of qualified teachers.⁵⁶ Grace Canning confided that the two Mormon schools in Parowan were “two little old log huts not fit to place a pet horse in. Several of the children froze their feet last winter in them. So you see having our room warm and pleasant is to our advantage.”⁵⁷

Such a need for well-equipped schools made the initial work of enrolling students easier than expected in many places, despite the Mormon opposition to Protestant evangelization. “On account of the striking superiority of our Day schools and teachers over the local schools,” Rev. McNiece explained to his Eastern supporters in 1879, “the more intelligent Mormons, who have a laudable pride in securing a good education for their children, are bound to patronize these Mission schools.” McNiece had reason to feel encouraged. In

⁵⁴Grace Canning, Letter to Mrs. F. E. H. Haines, 27 October 1880, 305-15-26, Presbyterian Church History Department.

⁵⁵In 1879 a report of the Ladies' Board of Missions had acknowledged this difficulty, claiming that “no Mormon is permitted to rent a house for one of our schools or churches. If any man ventures to do so, he is excommunicated.” *The Field Is the World: Ninth Annual Report of the Ladies' Board of Missions* (New York: Ladies' Board of Missions, 1879), 14. Excommunication for such business transactions was rare.

⁵⁶Protestant claims of the shabby state of Mormon schools may well have been exaggerated, but pioneer Mormon schools did not reach the educational standards of the East: “[Utah] schools ran spasmodically in makeshift facilities or met in churches that doubled as public buildings. Teachers were poorly paid and taught only elementary subjects. Not only were there no high schools and no university students, but education was often feared and distrusted as were legal theory, medicine, and philosophy.” Charles S. Peterson, “A New Community: Mormon Teachers and the Separation of Church and State in Utah's Territorial Schools,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 48, no. 3 (Summer 1980): 295.

⁵⁷Canning, Letter to Mrs. F. E. H. Haines, 27 October 1880.

1879, he reported the work of “10 ministers, 8 churches, 11 schools, 15 teachers and 800 scholars” in Utah.⁵⁸ But by 1887, near the height of Presbyterian missions to Utah, the work had more than doubled: sixty-seven teachers instructed more than 2,100 pupils at thirty-three Presbyterian schools.⁵⁹

Missionary teachers disagreed about the religious knowledge of their pupils. May Lewis noted that “the gentile population” of Salt Lake City was “large and intelligent” but did not comment on the aptitude of her Mormon students. Annie McKean at Mormon-dominated Fillmore stated that her charges were very bright and eager to learn, yet also observed that her Sunday School students “didn’t know anything about the Bible—not even who was the *first man*.” She was quite happy to begin from scratch, writing that she “had often longed to tell the ‘dear old story’ to those who had never heard it.”⁶⁰ Fellow teachers Sallie McMullin and Mary Moore were in one accord about their pupils’ “ignorance and superstition.”⁶¹ Moore, at the Collegiate Institute in Salt Lake City, wrote that, were it not for the instruction children received in day school and Sunday School, they “would be in utter ignorance of God and the Bible.” At the Institute, “apostate” children, whose families had already left the LDS Church, comprised 65 percent of the student body.⁶² Although they had fled the den of iniquity, Moore discovered that these children still had no proper religious training: “A more irreligious class of persons can hardly be found. Having once been so woefully deceived in their religion they seem to have lost faith in all forms of belief, and are literally without hope and without God in the world. They do not

⁵⁸McNiece, “The Christianization of Utah,” n.p.

⁵⁹Doneta Gatherum, “The Kaysville Presbyterian Church, 1888-1989,” 3, Kaysville-Layton Historical Society. See also Theodore D. Martin and Marian E. Martin, “Presbyterian Work in Utah, 1869-1969,” Utah State Historical Society, B-190, Box 1, fd. 1.

⁶⁰Annie McKean, Letter to Mrs. F. E. H. Haines, 9 February 1881, 305-15-51, Presbyterian Church History Department.

⁶¹Sallie McMullin (Sorensen), Letter to Mrs. F. E. H. Haines, 23 September 1880, 305-15-53, Presbyterian Church History Department.

⁶²Statistics from May Lewis, Letter to the Woman’s Missionary Society of Phelps, 2 May 1881, 305-15-46, Presbyterian Church History Department.

attend religious worship, the Bible is never opened, nor the voice of prayer heard, in their homes."⁶³

Presbyterian schools thus attracted a mixture of Mormon, non-Mormon, and ex-Mormon attendees. Most students enrolled because of the mission schools' ostensible superiority, or the absence of a comparable Mormon alternative. P. J. Hart, a teacher in Kaysville, wrote that "while there is only one Apostate family in the place, there are a number of merely nominal Mormons. . . . These are the people who patronize our school and the excuse which they make to the stricter Mormons is, that our school is better than the Mormon school."⁶⁴

Sometimes the results were encouraging. "I am quite sure of four of my best pupils uniting with the people of God, at an early day," Miss S. C. Rea wrote optimistically from Ephraim.⁶⁵ Grace Canning felt she was doing good "to the poor Mormon women and children at least," although attendance at Parowan's Presbyterian Sunday School had been disappointing.⁶⁶ In most posts, however, due to the recalcitrance of the Mormon population, lasting success—especially in the form of young converts—was not forthcoming.

Ada Kingsbury, one of the first female missionary teachers in the territory, admitted from American Fork in 1880 that "at times, the way has seemed very dark, and the work discouraging." At least she was able to report numerical success, however; she had tripled the school's enrollment over the course of the previous school year. Sunday School was more of a challenge; Kingsbury related the common complaint that "a number of the Mormon families send to day school, who will not allow their children to attend S[unday] S[chool]."⁶⁷

Such comments reflected the not-unfounded suspicion with

⁶³Mary Moore, Letter to Mrs. F. E. H. Haines, 16 May 1880, 305-15-55, Presbyterian Church History Department.

⁶⁴Miss P. J. Hart, quoted in Gatherum, "The Kaysville Presbyterian Church," 4.

⁶⁵S. C. Rea, Letter to Mrs. F. E. H. Haines, 12 October 1881, 305-15-63, Presbyterian Church History Department.

⁶⁶Canning, Letter to Mrs. F. E. H. Haines, 27 October 1880.

⁶⁷Ada Kingsbury, Letter to Mrs. F. E. H. Haines, 11 May 1880, 305-15-41, Presbyterian Church History Department.

which many Mormons regarded the incursions of these "Gentile" teachers. Although Marcia Scovel reported from Ogden that "all the Mormons with whom we have to deal treat us very kindly," some teachers expressed distrust of their Mormon neighbors.⁶⁸ Ella McDonald, newly arrived in Kaysville, besought the missions board, "Please do not let me run out of money as they are all Mormons here and I cannot look to anything from them without I pay for it." After she had lived there for three months, her misgivings had given way to genuine fear: "I am trying to do all in my power to shew the beauty of the Christian life, but I feel how small and helpless I am. Everything seems smooth, on the surface, but I was told, the other day, by a young man who is boarding here, and who professes to be an infidel, that the feeling toward our invasion is so bitter, that he is sometimes troubled for my life; he added, however, 'that it is better now.'"⁶⁹

Protestants sometimes exaggerated their mistreatment at the hands of Utah Mormons, writing their mission organizations of threats received, church meetings interrupted, and schools boycotted. As historian Douglas Brackenridge has demonstrated, such rhetoric underscored the urgency of their missions and was sometimes a colorful and embellished version of fact.⁷⁰ Some Mormon parents did go so far as to withdraw their children from "sectarian" school. Missionary teacher S. C. Rea in Ephraim noted that "the parents are wholly uneducated and in many instances oppose the progress of their children."⁷¹ In other areas, the Presbyterian presence prompted Mormon community members to improve their own

⁶⁸Marcia Scovel, Letter to Mrs. F. E. H. Haines, 14 December 1880, 305-15-64, Presbyterian Church History Department.

⁶⁹Ella McDonald, Letter to Mrs. F. E. H. Haines, 11 October 1881, 305-15-49, Presbyterian Church History Department.

⁷⁰Douglas Brackenridge, "'Are You That Damned Presbyterian Devil?' The Evolution of an Anti-Mormon Story," *Journal of Mormon History* 21 (1995): 80-105. Brackenridge notes (89) that even when Mormon leaders may have tried to discourage Mormons from sending their children to Presbyterian schools, such admonitions had little impact on actual school enrollment. Mark Banker, *Presbyterian Missions*, 104, has also observed that in Utah, Presbyterians suffered only one recorded instance of actual violence against missionaries, when "'two drunken hoodlums' had assaulted a teacher in Mendon."

⁷¹Rea, Letter to Haines, 12 October 1881.

schools. P. J. Hart reported in 1887 that the Presbyterian school in Kaysville had motivated local Mormons to hold "a prolonged" school board meeting which "decided to employ better teachers."⁷²

Mormons' reservations may have arisen because strict weekday schoolteaching was not the only missionary activity of the women; many inaugurated Bible societies, musical groups, temperance reform, and of course Sunday School. To further cultivate mentoring relationships with young girls in Utah, many teachers ventured beyond the call of duty. Music seemed an extraordinarily serviceable means to enhance the girls' cultural refinement, and most missionary teachers played the organ and sang well enough to lead a chorus. Home mission women were especially sensitive to teaching the gospel through music; Victorian refinement influenced both why music was taught and why it was so well received. Presbyterian missionaries were not about to quarrel with success but sought to strengthen their hold by offering music lessons, often at no cost. In 1881 the Executive Committee sought a female missionary who would teach only music; one candidate for the position expected that it would be a full-time job because she had heard that "the Mormons are *very* fond of music, and desire *advantages* in the same, *at home*."⁷³ At least one teacher hoped that the language of music would entice more pupils to Sunday School. From Fillmore, Annie McKean reported that "nine young men—all Mormons—called to hear me sing. . . . Since then I have been more hopeful and am now entertaining the hope that I may be able to form them into a choir to lead the singing in Sab[bath] school."⁷⁴

Other activities enlarged the teachers' influence with their young charges and enhanced their standing in the community. On Sunday nights, Ada Kingsbury held Bible readings for the young women and men. Wednesday evenings were reserved for singing and social entertainment: "We sing for an hour, then I read aloud for an hour, while the girls sew, knit, do fancy work, etc."⁷⁵ Adults

⁷²Hart, quoted in Gatherum, "The Kaysville Presbyterian Church," 4.

⁷³Lottie Leonard, Letter to Mrs. F. E. H. Haines, 13 June 1881, 305-15-45, Presbyterian Church History Department.

⁷⁴Annie McKean, Letter to Mrs. F. E. H. Haines, 9 February 1881, 305-15-51, Presbyterian Church History Department.

⁷⁵Kingsbury, Letter to Mrs. F. E. H. Haines, 11 May 1880.

were welcome at these gatherings, though few came. Most missionary teachers found reaching adults nearly impossible; in Parowan, for example, Grace Canning founded an adult evening school but had few pupils.

Sewing and fancy work also played a significant role in mission schools. In training the girls for their future roles as proper monogamous wives, missionary teachers imparted many of the domestic arts. In Parowan a sewing circle "very pleasantly and profitably" passed its Friday afternoons in needlework and basic sewing. "I think we can reach some of the older ones in this way," Grace Canning explained.⁷⁶ Here, again, such activities reflected the missionaries' strategy of imparting Victorian refinement and notions of true womanhood alongside their religious message. The school was viewed as a means not only toward education, but in some cases, wholesale cultural transformation.⁷⁷

Presbyterian missionary teachers were recruited according to how well they could model this womanly refinement to their young charges. Rev. Duncan McMillan, the Superintendent of Presbyterian Home Missions in Utah and Idaho, complained to the missions board about the deportment of one of the 1880 recruits, Sallie McMullin. She did not measure up to McMillan's ideas of ladylike behavior, being "so uncouth in her manners, untidy in domestic matters, & uncultivated generally as to unfit her for the work." In general, McMillan advised that "in selecting teachers it is well necessary to have an eye to the social & domestic training of these young vagabonds, as well as their intellectual, moral, and spiritual wants."⁷⁸

⁷⁶Canning, Letter to Mrs. F. E. H. Haines, 27 October 1880.

⁷⁷As Jane Hunter, "The Home and the World: The Missionary Message of U.S. Domesticity," *Women's Work for Women: Missionaries and Social Change in Asia*, edited by Leslie A. Flemming (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1989), 160, has observed, "The women's missionary enterprise celebrated Christian domesticity as the solution for the benighted existence of women around the world."

⁷⁸Rev. Duncan J. McMillan, Letter to Mrs. F. E. H. Haines, 22 November 1880, 305-15-64, Presbyterian Church History Department. Within a year, the young lady in question had left the missionary fold to marry a Mr. Sorensen of Utah. Her fellow teacher Nellie Bartlett of Logan wrote Mrs. Haines, 17 April 1881, "I suppose you have heard the news, over which I am not half done laughing yet, of Miss Sallie McMullin's marriage.

Such comments reveal the class-based expectations of many Protestants, who viewed themselves as arbiters of cultural, not just religious, values. "Vagabond" Mormon children would need instruction in manners and housekeeping, and female teachers were to be experts in providing this guidance.

To achieve this, a few teachers found themselves enmeshed in the particulars of their charges' private lives and occasionally intervened in family affairs. Carrie Farrand, stationed just over the northern Utah border in Malad City, Idaho, told Mrs. Haines that she had taken in a little Mormon girl to live with her, but she did not divulge the specifics.⁷⁹ In Ephraim, Miss Rea likewise reported that a young girl had sought refuge with her, adding that the child's two older siblings visited often to escape their "intemperate" father. "It is a wonderful strain on the nerves," she remarked lightly, "but it is one way of gaining an influence over them."⁸⁰

Residential teaching, through such informal rescues, seemed to point to a larger cause for the Women's Executive Committee, which was recognizing by the 1880s that the gospel would have a more lasting impact if young girls lived in a Christian environment all of the time. A boarding school would expose them to the nuances of Christian domesticity and morality around the clock, presenting them with the best possible environment for conversion.

Moreover, the Mormon schools which were once considered so inferior to the mission schools were beginning to improve markedly. Amid such competition, some children were returning to the Mormon-sponsored schools. The 1882 *Field Is the World* commented that Mormon "schools are improved, the children better treated, all to keep them from the hated Presbyterian influence."⁸¹ To maintain an edge in the market, Presbyterians had to offer something better, which for many girls turned out to be full scholarships to boarding school.

. . . I don't think we have the right to criticize one another, but I must say she was the queerest most amusing and most untidy woman I ever saw."
305-15-19, Presbyterian Church History Department.

⁷⁹Carrie Farrand, Letter to Mrs. F. E. H. Haines, 16 July 1881, 305-15-36, Presbyterian Church History Department.

⁸⁰Rea, Letter to Haines, 12 October 1881.

⁸¹*The Field Is the World: Twelfth Annual Report of the Ladies' Board of Missions* (New York: Ladies' Board of Missions, 1882), 13.

In 1880 plans were underway for the expansion of the Presbyterian-sponsored Salt Lake Collegiate Institute, which had too many pupils for its small space. In conjunction with these efforts, the Women's Executive Committee also appealed for additional funding for "a boarding department for girls on the plan of Mt. Holyoke Seminary," noting the "great need of such a school where girls may be trained in Christian family life."⁸² Coyner, who called the boarding school a "Home," envisioned it as a haven for girls of indigent circumstances to "be trained in all those things that are necessary to make a happy home."⁸³ In Presbyterian parlance, the term "home missions" thus acquired a double meaning. Presbyterian women would redeem the fallen in their lands, and they would bring off this deliverance through domestic ideology.

By 1883 the institute had spaces for thirty boarding scholars and was considered a great success.⁸⁴ With the institute as an example, the Women's Executive Committee also established a boarding school for girls at Mount Pleasant "to give some of the more promising Mormon girls a place of refuge from the sad influences of their homes, and so be trained for teachers on the spot."⁸⁵ The committee labored diligently throughout 1882 to raise funds for the enterprise and to procure tangible items like blankets. By March, it had established several Mount Pleasant scholarships at \$75 per year, and the school accepted four or five boarding pupils that spring. By 1883 Mount Pleasant was a thriving boarding institution with four teachers.⁸⁶

In 1887, missions activist Mrs. William B. Ferry looked for the day when the Salt Lake Institute would be self-supporting, no longer dependent upon the annual pledges of women's missionary societies. She compared its founding to Mary Lyon's determination in

⁸²*The Field Is the World: Tenth Annual Report of the Ladies' Board of Missions* (New York: Ladies' Board of Missions, 1880), 11.

⁸³Coyner, "Letters on Mormonism," 10.

⁸⁴*The Field Is the World: Thirteenth Annual Report of the Ladies' Board of Missions* (New York: Ladies' Board of Missions, 1883), 34.

⁸⁵Excerpts of Mrs. F. E. H. Haines's outgoing correspondence, 28 January 1882, 305-15-90, Presbyterian Church History Department.

⁸⁶"Our Mormon Work and Workers," Women's Executive Committee of Home Missions (New York: n.d.): 305-2-61, Presbyterian Church History Department.

establishing Mount Holyoke in New England just fifty years before. "May we not hope for the dawn of such a day upon Utah!" she exclaimed.⁸⁷

Such hopes were only partially realized. Although the initial success of the Salt Lake Institute and the entire mission school movement gave some cause for optimism, the very early goals of the missions—to eradicate polygamy and convert the heathen Mormons—remained elusive. Moreover, the territorial government of Utah in 1887 assumed responsibility for public education by an act of Congress, following other western territories in erecting a common school system.⁸⁸ The desired outcome seems to have been to break the hold of Mormon control, but in strengthening the territorial school system, which was largely under Mormon influence, the legislation had the opposite effect. The enactment thus severely crippled the mission schools, since the government now supervised the education that only the church-sponsored schools had offered a few years before.⁸⁹

The competition presented by the new public schools was not the only reason the mission schools faltered. When Wilford Woodruff issued the 1890 Manifesto which withdrew public support for new plural marriages, much of the urgency went out of Presbyterian missions to Utah. With that zeal gone, the schools declined markedly, along with the missionary churches. The flood of financial assistance from the East dwindled to a slow trickle, as Yankee Protestants no longer considered the Mormons such a dire threat.⁹⁰ The Presbyterian schools tried to persevere; and at their zenith in 1890, there were thirty-eight schools and ninety-five teachers in Mormon-dominated areas.⁹¹ Some remained in operation for many years. The

⁸⁷Ferry, "Speech to the Presbyterian Teachers' Convocation," 26 August 1887.

⁸⁸Susan M. Yohn, *A Contest of Faiths: Missionary Women and Pluralism in the American Southwest* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995), 178, has chronicled a similar "contest" in mission schools in New Mexico in this period and notes that Presbyterian mission schools were supplanted by public education in the 1890s.

⁸⁹Bakeman, *A Home Question*, 16.

⁹⁰Carl Wankier, "History of Presbyterian Schools in Utah" (M.S. thesis, University of Utah, 1968), 35.

⁹¹Banker, *Presbyterian Missions*, 79. These statistics are for

last to close was the Logan school, which endured until 1934. Most Presbyterian mission schools, however, closed around the turn of the century.⁹²

The evaporation of funds for their work depressed missionary morale. Sometimes salaries were long overdue; sometimes they were not paid at all.⁹³ Historian Mark Banker has postulated that Presbyterian missions in the West suffered from missionary inflexibility, inner dissent, and native resistance. Attrition was high among the male missionaries, with the majority serving for less than ten years. Among female missionary teachers, the rate was even greater; only thirteen teachers served more than five years.⁹⁴ Presbyterian schools enjoyed a brief resurgence at the beginning of the twentieth century—a resurgence which, not coincidentally, paralleled the recurrence of anti-Mormonism during the Smoot senatorial hearings. In 1900, 1,478 students in Presbyterian schools attended the “Mormon” mission; in 1905 this number had increased to 1,732.⁹⁵ Yet this renaissance proved temporary. The mission never regained the prominence it had achieved in the 1880s, when the nation’s eyes were fixed upon the “heathen” Mormons in polygamous Utah.

Presbyterian and Mormon women in Utah in the late nineteenth century regarded one another with extreme suspicion, although both groups drew upon the same Victorian discourse of race, gender, and civilization. Presbyterians operated within a Protestant rhetoric of civilization and race that depicted Mormons as culturally inferior. By invoking Eastern religions and Turkish harems when discussing the Mormon blight upon the land, Protestants constructed Utah as a foreign, not a domestic, mission field, and portrayed Mormon women as benighted pitiables who stood in need of Protestant religion and culture. Through their initial overtures to Mormon women and their later, slightly more successful, forays into Utah education, Presbyterian women missionaries held out both Christ and Christendom to Utah’s lost. Numerically, however, their efforts brought few converts to Presbyterianism.

In part, this failure was due to Protestant women’s devaluation

Presbyterian schools in all Mormon areas, including southern Idaho.

⁹²Ibid., 98.

⁹³Ferry, “Speech to the Presbyterian Teachers’ Convocation,” 11-12.

⁹⁴Banker, *Presbyterian Missions*, 110-12.

⁹⁵Ibid., 162.

of the pertinacity of Mormon women, who did not see themselves as victims in need of rescue. Often, Mormons took the Protestant-generated language of Victorian womanhood and turned it on its head, arguing that they were protecting their polygamous homes because it was their divinely ordained responsibility as women to do so. Mormon women did not respond well to Protestant presumption in treating Utah like a foreign mission field. As the *Exponent* mused in 1878 *à propos* the arrival of a Presbyterian woman missionary:

Presuming from the fact that we need women missionaries from abroad, one would suppose they looked upon us as heathen in our views, and uncivilized in our social life. . . . [But] in a country where women have the Suffrage, and organizations of improvement among themselves, where they publish a paper specially devoted to the interests of the women of the Territory . . . it seems as if they would be wholly capable of determining for themselves on matters of religion.⁹⁶

⁹⁶"A Woman Missionary Coming," *Woman's Exponent* 6 (1 May 1878): 179.

SETTING THE RECORD STRAIGHT

Richard Neitzel Holzappel

THE FIRST INSTALLMENT in this series (see *Journal of Mormon History* 25, no. 2 [Fall 1999]: 121-31) outlines the purpose and focus of this new feature: to supply the correct provenance and subject of visual images that have often been misidentified during publication. Except for that first essay, the authors and publishers of articles and books using misidentified visual images will not be specified. The reason is to encourage Mormon historians to use visual images oftener and better, not to embarrass those who may have made a mistake. Furthermore, since many Mormon-related images—particularly well-known ones—are repeatedly published with the same mistaken information, it would be unfair to associate one author or publisher with a particular problem when it has been wrongly published on numerous occasions.

A particularly difficult problem for historians and publishers in providing visual images is tracking down the original photograph. Sometimes, as with holograph material, access to the original is restricted. In other cases, only copies of the original survive. In such cases, an author must rely on copy-prints, even though they may have

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PRESIDENT SMITH AND PARTY,

AT THE OFFICE OF THE BAIN WAGON COMPANY, KENOSHA, WISCONSIN

December 28th, 1905, on their return from dedicating the monument
to the memory of Prophet Joseph Smith, at Sharon, Vermont.

Plate 1. Original Caption: *“The above picture shows a group of general authorities with their wives standing in front of the old Deseret News Building on the corner of South Temple and Main Street, now the location of Hotel Utah.”*

Correct Caption: *“President Smith and Party, 28 December 1905, Kenosha, Wisconsin; Manuscripts Division, J. Willard Marriott Library, University of Utah.” Joseph F. Smith stands in the very center back, wearing a top hat, with Anthon H. Lund on his left, Charles W. Penrose (left of Lund), John Henry Smith (hatless, in front of Lund), and George Albert Smith (in front of and left of John Henry Smith). Francis M. Lyman is in the back, on Joseph F. Smith’s far left. Front left: Joseph Fielding Smith, John Smith (long white beard), unknown, and Levi Edgar Young.*

been cropped or partial versions of the original. Such exceptions aside, however, authors and publishers should definitely attempt to identify the original photograph, as Plate 1 shows.

LDS Church President Joseph F. Smith left Utah on 18 December 1905 to dedicate the recently erected Joseph Smith Monument in Vermont on 23 December, the centennial of the Prophet's birth. His party, consisting of LDS Church leaders, spouses, and Smith family members, also visited other early Mormon historical and family sites after the dedication services. There is a rich photographic record of this tour, including this view of the party visiting the Bain Wagon Company in Kenosha, Wisconsin. Obviously, the author/publisher relied on a cropped copy-print that omitted the name of the company printed on the window above the group or the printed caption that accompanied it and, thus, misidentified the locale.

Another frequent source of error is relying on another author's interpretation of a historic photograph. Ironically, few historians would rely upon another person's interpretation of a holograph document without carefully reading it themselves.

George Francis Train (1829-1904), a native of Boston and an international entrepreneur with business interests in Australia, Great Britain, and the United States, was a national celebrity and one of the few Americans, besides Thomas L. Kane, willing to defend Mormonism publicly. A prime mover in the establishment of the U.S. intercontinental railroad, he declined the presidency of the Australian republic in 1853, was nominated for president of the United States by the Greenback Party in 1869, and was a vocal social critic in the United States. As Davis Bitton notes: "Train saw himself as champion of the underdog Mormons—or at least this is the way he wanted the Mormons to see him."¹

In 1869, Train visited Utah and met Brigham Young. He maintained his contact with Young through letters and telegrams, visited Utah again in July 1870, and apparently sent Young this photograph some time in 1872. (See Plate 2.) The original *carte de visite* is not available for examination, so it is impossible to determine the name and location of the photographer which are usually printed on the back of a photograph. Yet a careful examination of the inscription reveals that it is signed by George Francis Train and therefore is not

¹Davis Bitton, "George Francis Train and Brigham Young," *BYU Studies* 18 (Spring 1978): 426.

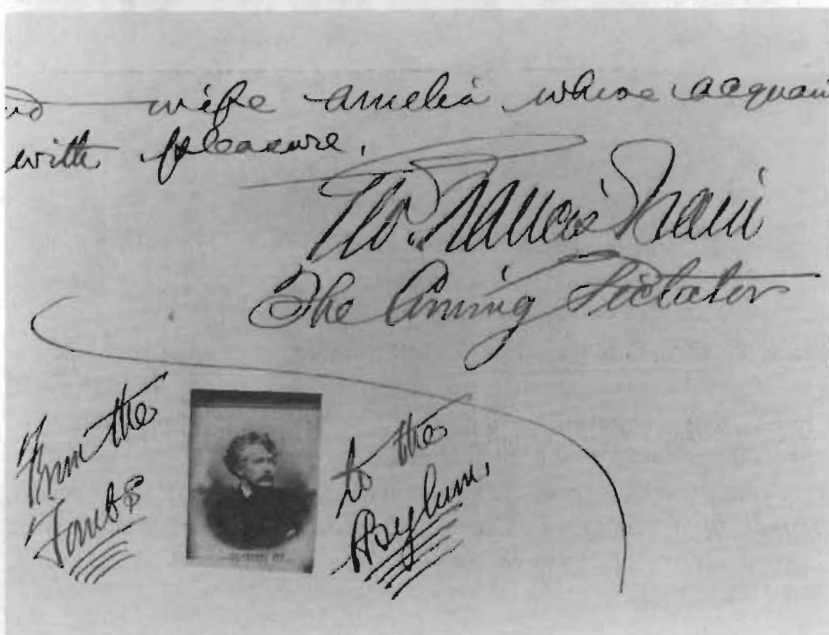


Plate 2. Original Caption: "Mark Twain, who influenced public opinion of Mormons through his humorous accounts in *Roughing It* (1872), sent this postcard, taken in 1870, to Brigham Young in 1872 after Twain's return to New York from the West. Twain presented his kind compliments to 'Prest. Young' and inscribed across the lower border, 'Hands off of Brigham!'" **Correct Caption:** "George Francis Train, 7 April 1870; copy-print in the possession of Nelson W. Wadsworth, Salt Lake City."



Plate 3. George Francis Train, ca. 1872, William Shew; original carte de visite in possession of Annetta Sharper Mower, Salt Lake City, Utah.

Plate 4. George Francis Train, in this letter to “Dear President Young,” New York, 26 May 1873, has signed the last page with his elaborate signature and affixed a miniature of the same carte de visite portrait as that mistakenly identified as Mark Twain. He has jocosely inscribed it: “From the Tombs to the Asylum.”



a photograph of Mark Twain. Train inscribed the *carte de visite* "To Prest. Young. With kind Compt. of Geo. Francis Train. N.Y. Apl 7.70. 1872. 'Hands off of Brigham!'"

Several similar photographs of Train are found in private and public repositories in Utah, taken in San Francisco by William Shew. Not only do these images provide the photographic information necessary to compare the subjects of the photograph, thus allowing us to identify the individual, but all of these images include the same formulaic inscription, thus identifying the subject of the image itself beyond reasonable doubt. (See Plate 3.)

A comparison of the misidentified "Mark Twain" photograph with Plate 3 shows the similarities. Annetta Sharper Mower, a descendant of Charles R. Savage, has a Savage family photograph album containing this image. Train inscribed the *carte de visite* to Charles R. Savage and George M. Ottinger: "Messes. Savage & Ottinger. With kind Compts. of Geo. Francis Train. Salt Lake City Sept. 1. 1869. 1872." Even more important in establishing provenance is a letter from Train to Young, dated 26 May 1873. (See Plate 4.) The last page concludes with a flourish-filled signature and a miniature photograph of Train—the identical image, but lacking an inscription, as that misidentified as "Mark Twain."

In short, photographs are primary sources to help us understand the past, but only if they are used properly. As this discussion highlights, historians and publishers should take the time to find original photographs for their work instead of relying on copy-prints, easily accessible at various institutions and in other publications.

However, when copy-prints are the only source available for the historian, special care should be taken to investigate as fully as possible other primary source material for possible insights on provenance and subject.

REVIEWS

A READER'S GUIDE TO PUBLISHERS OF MORMON WORKS

The names and addresses of presses whose books reviewed in this issue are provided as a service to readers.

Aspen Publishing
6208 S. Stratler
Murray, UT 84118
Phone: (801) 268-1199

Arthur H. Clark Company
P.O. Box 14707
Spokane, WA 99214
<clarkbks@soar.com>
www.ahclark.com

BYU Press
No separate marketing division.
Contact BYU Studies

BYU Religious Studies Center
P.O. Box 25688
Brigham Young University
Provo, UT 84602-5688
(801) 378-3364

BYU Studies
P.O. Box 24098
Provo, UT 84602-4098
801-378-6691
Fax 801-378-5386

Cambridge University Press
www.cup.cam.ac.uk

Covenant Communications
P.O. Box 416
American Fork, UT 84003-1016
1-800-662-9545

(801) 756-9966

Deseret Book/Bookcraft
P.O. Box 30178
Salt Lake City UT 84130
1-800-453-4532
Fax (wholesale): 801-517-3338
Fax (publishing): 801-517-3125
www.deseretbook.com
dbol@deseretbook.com

Freethinker Press
1716 S. Wright Court
Salt Lake City, UT 84105
(801) 280-6979
Fax: (801) 280-6979

Herald House
P.O. Box 1770
Independence, MO 64055-0770
1-800-767-8181
Fax: (816) 252-3976
hhmark@heraldhouse.org
www.heraldhouse.org

Historical Views
252 North 2475 West
Provo, UT 84601-2235

Horizon Publishers and Distributors,
Inc.
50 S. 500 West
Bountiful, UT 84010

Oxford University Press
www.oup-usa.org

Signature Books, Inc.
564 West 400 North
Salt Lake City, UT 84116-3411
1-800-356-5687
fax: 801-531-1488
signature@thegulf.com
www.signaturebooksinc.com

University of Idaho Press
16 Brink Hall
Moscow, ID 83843

University of Illinois Press
1325 South Oak Street
Champaign, IL 61820
Phone: 217-244-4689
Fax: 217-244-8082
www.press.uillinois.edu

University of Utah Press
101 University Service Building
Salt Lake City 84112
Phone: (801) 585-9786

Utah State Historical Society
300 Rio Grande
Salt Lake City 84101-1182
(801) 533-3535

Utah State University Press
871 East 900 North
Logan, UT 84322-7800
1-800-239-9974
Fax: 801-797-0313
www.usu.edu/~usupress

Whitehorse Books
PMB #425, 3267 E. 3300 S.
Salt Lake City, UT 84109

New Mormon Studies CD-ROM: A Comprehensive Resource Library. Smith Research Associates, 1998. Distributed by Signature Books. \$200. ISBN 1-56085-110-4

Reviewed by Marjorie Newton

Imagine being a child again, at a Christmas party where Santa Claus appears with a sackful of gifts which he proceeds to distribute to the assembled children. You scarcely know which intriguing parcel to hope for—a doll, a book, a game, roller skates—all are equally desirable. Acquiring a copy of the *New Mormon Studies* CD-ROM is to be given Santa's whole sack of toys, not just one gift. It is taking home whole shelves of books from the library with no return date. For anyone who likes reading about Mormonism, it is years of enjoyment. For an unfunded Mormon historian far from Utah and its Mormon history resources, it is heaven. As a fairly typical Australian, I seldom display the degree of lyric enthusiasm to which friends and family have been subjected since I received a review copy of *New Mormon Studies* CD-ROM. Just imagine having every issue of *Sunstone*, every issue of *Dialogue* through 1996, every title in Signature Books's nonfiction catalogue plus every Mormon work

from the University of Illinois Press, plus standard reference works like the earliest editions of LDS scriptures, the *Journal of Discourses*, and early LDS periodicals, all on one compact disk. It is the work of moments to locate specific works and references within them, and quotations can easily be highlighted, printed, or exported to one's own document. Having experienced no little difficulty navigating another infobase collection, I was delighted to find the New Mormon Studies product reasonably user-friendly. Not only are its contents wide-ranging and desirable, they are packaged so well that even this computer dummy was able to install the program and access its contents within minutes. It took longer to learn to use other functions, but I will return to this point later.

Nevertheless, I found writing this review unexpectedly difficult. I was assigned to report on the usefulness of this CD-ROM and its features—not to review the various books and journal issues contained on it. This task took more will power than I possess. Every session with the *New Mormon Studies CD-ROM* began with good intentions of exploring, testing, and noting its features; but within seconds of retrieving an article or book to use as a test case, I was captured. I repeatedly found myself reluctant to get on with the task in hand, instead simply browsing with great enjoyment in books I had longed to own and articles I had missed in the dull years before I met *Dialogue* and *Sunstone*. For the first time ever, I found myself eating dinner in front of the computer screen as I read.

For anyone interested in reading or writing Mormon history, this CD-ROM is invaluable. Particularly is this so for those like me who cannot easily access the LDS Church archives, have no local libraries with good collections of Mormon material, and have no institutional funding or research assistance. But even for Salt Lake City residents, the sheer convenience of having all this research material available at home or in one's own office must make the *New Mormon Studies CD-ROM* a top research tool for the Mormon historian or history buff. Chances are that if you read this journal, you would enjoy owning this collection. The *New Mormon Studies CD-ROM* is not cheap. At \$200 (or a little less through *Sunstone*), the would-be purchaser might think twice, but some elementary mathematics make it clear that it is superb value at this price. For the price of about six hardback books, the purchaser acquires over 960 discrete works ranging from standard reference material like the *Journal of Discourses* to contemporary works by authors such as D. Michael Quinn, Eugene England, and Jan Shippo. As one who, on infrequent and very expensive visits to Utah, agonises over the choice of four or five books to take home, the *New Mormon Studies CD-ROM* is bliss indeed.

Of course, any computer program has limitations. Nothing will ever quite replace the feel and smell of a well-bound book, or the delight of

reading in bed or being able to slip a book into one's pocket or handbag to read on trains and buses or before and after (and, dare I admit it, during) meetings. But the sheer joy of having instant access to such a library more than compensates for this; and I have already printed out special articles from early issues of *Dialogue* and *Sunstone* for bedtime reading.

The categories include LDS Scriptures and Scriptural Studies, Periodicals, History, Biography, Autobiography, Diaries, Journals, Doctrine and Theology, and Contemporary Issues. Such a list is hard to fault. There is only one addition that would make the CD even more valuable—the inclusion of all previous issues of the *Journal of Mormon History*. Perhaps a future upgrade will fulfil this wish.

Unfortunately, technological limitations mean that occasional typos (which unfortunately print out) occur. At first I couldn't find how to print the title and author of an article or quotation, but it is really fairly logical (by following the menu commands: File, then Page Setup, then Header). The Windows-style commands make it relatively easy for anyone familiar with Windows to find their way around the database intuitively. However, I had to be shown how to use some features by a more computer-literate friend, and I think the average computer user might need some assistance to access the full functionality of the program. This difference is not necessarily a criticism of the program; my friends assure me that most office workers require assistance in learning to use any Windows application. It is somewhat surprising that the Help Menu is not in the standard Windows format. This makes it more difficult to access and use, but it appears to be thorough and the glossary of terms is very helpful to computer simpletons like me. Obviously all features could be mastered by studying these tools; but a little help, if available, makes it easier.

The program requires a 386 (preferably better) processor, Windows 3.1 or Windows 95, and a minimum of 4 MB RAM (though 8 MB is recommended), 10 MB hard disk space, a CD-ROM drive and VGA monitor with 256 color capable video card (or corresponding Macintosh facilities).

MARJORIE NEWTON <mnewton@tig.com.au>, of Bass Hill, New South Wales, Australia, is the author of *Southern Cross Saints: The Mormons in Australia* (Laie, Hawaii: The Institute for Polynesian Studies, 1991) and "Mormonism in New Zealand: A Historical Appraisal" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Sydney, 1998). Both her Ph.D. work and the master's thesis upon which *Southern Cross Saints* is based received the Reese Award from the Mormon History Association.

Reviewed by Richard E. Bennett and John P. Livingstone

This enlarged and revised edition of Bookcraft's *Infobase Library* is a remarkable tool for quick gospel topic reference and initial research. Its strength is in its dizzying comprehensiveness: 300+ titles, including the standard works and the Joseph Smith Translation, organized in four groupings: (1) gospel doctrine, (2) Church history, (3) interpretive commentary, and (4) a general category that also includes literary classics. Its key-word search capability into any or all titles, depending on the breadth of the researcher's scope, provides a veritable library in a single electronic format, either on disk or on line. Infobases also updates from the Internet for a subscription fee. People can go to LDSWorld.com and access Infobase Library without buying it.

Of particular interest to readers of the *Journal of Mormon History* is *Infobase's* resources for probing Mormon history. *Infobase* is strongest in its range of doctrinal titles, a boon to researchers interested in tracing the evolution and development of particular concepts over time. Drawn from the current and historical publishing lists of Bookcraft, Deseret Book, BYU Press, and Covenant Communications, resources include a wide selection of gospel classics from James E. Talmage, Joseph F. Smith, Joseph Fielding Smith, John Taylor, Boyd K. Packer, Bruce R. McConkie and scores of other Church leaders. We were pleasantly surprised to find such indispensable works as the *Messages of the First Presidency* (6 vols.), edited by James R. Clark (1965-1975), Parley P. Pratt's *Key to the Science of Theology*, George Q. Cannon's *Gospel Truth*, J. Reuben Clark's *On the Way to Immortality and Eternal Life* (1970), and the very contemporary *The Teachings of Gordon B. Hinckley* (1997).

Less numerous but still impressive are offerings in Church history, including *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (7 vols.), B. H. Roberts's *Comprehensive History of the Church* (6 vols., 1930), Andrew Jensen's *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia* (4 vols., 1901-35), Milton Backman's landmark history of Kirtland, *The Heavens Resound* (1983), and several biographies of Church leaders. Of particular benefit to serious students of Church history are full-text inclusions of *The Evening and Morning Star* (Independence, 1832-34), *The Messenger and Advocate* (Kirtland, 1834-37), *The Elders' Journal* (Kirtland, 1837-38) and the *Times and Seasons* (Nauvoo, 1842-45). This section also includes a few published journals such as Elden J. Watson's edition of the *Orson Pratt Journals* (1975) and *William Clayton's Journal: A Daily Record of the Journey of the Original Company of "Mormon" Pioneers . . .*, [edited by Lawrence Clayton] (Salt Lake City: Clayton Family Association/Deseret News, 1921).

Mormon history researchers will also find essential works in the category of interpretive commentary, especially the four-volume *Encyclopedia of*

Mormonism (Macmillan, 1992), and various scriptural commentaries by George Reynolds, Sidney B. Sperry, Janne M. Sjodahl, and Hyrum M. Smith.

Not to be overlooked are special runs: *Journal of Discourses* (26 vols. 1855-86), *BYU Studies* (1959-67), *BYU Speeches of the Year* (1960-66), *FARMS Journal of Book of Mormon Studies* (1992-), the *Church News* (1988-98), and *Conference Reports* (1880, 1897-1970). Missing, however, is the *Ensign* magazine (although text search is available for several years), and other Church magazines. *Infobase* also includes a very helpful section of maps, photographs and some sound recordings.

Probably of less utility is the "World Classics" section, a very miscellaneous category indeed, which, unlike the other three groupings, lacks a bibliography or title list. Its offerings range from Shakespeare's *Hamlet* to Franklin D. Roosevelt's several inaugural addresses, from Jules Verne's science fiction novel *From the Earth to the Moon* to John McCrae's World War I poem "In Flanders Fields."

While the contents of *Infobase Library* are indeed impressive in their comprehensiveness, any user will inevitably have questions about the arbitrary selectivity of what went into *Infobase* and why. There is no hint of explanation or rationale included anywhere. Why are only six years of *BYU Speeches of the Year* included, and only from the 1960s? Why is Talmage's *Jesus the Christ* included but not his equally important *Articles of Faith*? Why Spencer W. Kimball's *Miracle of Forgiveness* but not his *Faith Precedes the Miracle* or Joseph Fielding Smith's *Doctrines of Salvation* and not his more debatable *Man, His Origin and Destiny*? Why the *Times and Seasons* and not the far longer-lived and more important *Millennial Star*? Each researcher will almost certainly encounter disappointing omissions from a personal list of favorites. *Infobase Library* is very much a product, a new technology, under construction. And while one might assume that copyright prohibitions, turf wars among publishers, or other selection criteria play a part, *Infobase* itself offers no explanation. Future editions would do well to explain themselves and also identify those who make the decisions. An editor puts his or her name on the product, thus taking responsibility for its contents; but the creators of *Infobase Library* are completely anonymous.

If the content is the product's greatest strength, its fundamental weakness lies in its usability. While novices may find the new graphical interface easy to use and somewhat intuitive at the outset, seasoned users of the earlier version of this software (*LDS Collector's Library* 97) will find that their shadow files (i.e., highlighted text and "sticky" notes) are nontransferable to the new *Infobase Library*. Furthermore, former shortcut commands (like Alt-L-S for looking up a specific scripture reference) are nonexistent. It is infuriating when researchers have spent hundreds of hours not only

learning and using a program, but in creating a comprehensive, personalized shadow file only to find that new search engines invalidate all the former effort. For those dedicated to using electronic scriptures and teaching from the computer in the classroom, the earlier *Infobase* capability of finding a specific reference in seconds (in front of a lecture hall full of students) is lost, and one finds himself or herself mousing through a lengthy sequence of pretty graphics. Many experienced users who have invested precious money and time in mastering preceding versions of this product have simply abandoned this new release and somewhat bitterly returned to *LDS Collector's Library*.

While the new *Infobase Library* "readme" file suggests that those preferring the old interface can simply follow alternate installation instructions, the "Lookup" commands familiar from earlier editions are gone. Calls to the number provided for technical support result in apologies, but acknowledgment that the useful commands are gone and shadow files must be rebuilt. Such "improvements" may cost Infobase dearly in computer-savvy teaching customers whose constituencies include large numbers of students, many of whom are asking about electronic scripture availability.

The fact is that *Infobase* was held hostage to an upgrade in Folio (the early powerful search engine software for large databases), that resulted in losing the "backward compatibility" between the third and fourth versions. *GospelLink*, the other large-file LDS electronic library (Deseret Book), was introduced in 1998 using the fourth version of Folio and has no previous versions. One can only hope that Deseret Book's recent purchase of Bookcraft will also result in the merging of these two databases, ideally producing a mega-electronic library with strong, varied search capacity and enough clout to encourage necessary backward compatibility in future versions.

Regardless of how handsome-looking this product appears, we found it difficult to use, nonintuitive, and relatively slow and clumsy, despite the various side-bars of helps and tools. Its search program was particularly cumbersome and difficult to master, and we found ourselves starting all over again much too often. Nor was the help command all that helpful. It should be made much easier to use and faster in its responsiveness. The product would do well to build in the pop-up user guides from earlier editions. It fails to anticipate the researcher's frustrations at key junctions along the way.

Our final point steps beyond both content and form to methodology and meaning. Despite our observations of arbitrary selection and awkward utilities, *Infobase Library* is an excellent tool, quick and ready-made for the person who wants to expand his or her Church library quickly and relatively

inexpensively and who wants access to information without necessarily reading deeply or studying seriously. But such a tool is still just a means to an end, not the end in and of itself. Students are particularly vulnerable to the belief that a key word search is the ultimate in research—a sort of artificial intelligence (really just an electronic concordance)—but it can also afflict mature researchers.

Research focused on key word searches through a mountain of information refocuses attention on the word or phrase, not the idea. Knowledge requires thinking, reasoning, long study, rich contexting, and analytical reading that is both broad and deep. One may gain more information and still be knowledge-deficient. Quantitative thinking (the number of hits) may replace qualitative thinking (the number of fits). Computerized database searches constitute a subtle but profound change in the way researchers research, and it is not always an improvement.

These pitfalls are particularly prevalent with historical research. While we applaud the increasing numbers of historical publications being included in databases such as the *Infobase Library*, the digitization of primary sources is in its infancy. As more archives find their way onto such tools, the careful scholar must question the editing process, the authenticity and reliability of the document scanned, while remaining alert to the technical accuracy of the scanning. Context and critical thinking will become even more important. These new technologies represent wonderful new resources, especially for researchers far from the original sources. However, they have inherent limitations.

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Utah History Suite. 2d. ed. CD-ROM. Provo, Utah: Historical Views, 1999. \$39.95. ISBN 0-9665779-0-6

Reviewed by Patricia Lyn Scott

Utah historians and other researchers have long sought the ability to search the monumental *Utah Historical Quarterly* (UHQ). First published in 1928, the UHQ contains some of the most important scholarly and popular articles on the history of Utah and its people plus important Utah diaries and other documentary materials. Although the line between Utah history and Mormon history is a sometimes fuzzy one, no one doing serious research in Mormon-

ism after 1847 can afford to overlook the published resources of this quarterly. The Utah State Historical Society envisioned the creation of such a CD-ROM as a Utah Centennial Project (1996). After much work and many production delays, the *Utah Centennial History Suite* was made available in 1998.

The *Utah Centennial History Suite* is a comprehensive collection of Utah history. It contains twenty-eight volumes of the *Utah Historical Quarterly* (volumes 1-18, 40-48, and 64); all back issues of the *Beehive History* (the annual high school history magazine) and the *History Blazer*, (an annual collection of episodes in Utah history), and eleven county histories (Cache, Carbon, Emery, Grand, Rich, Salt Lake, San Juan, Uintah, Washington, and Weber). As an official Utah Centennial Project, the Utah State Legislature authorized the writing of histories of all twenty-nine counties and their editing and publication by the Utah State Historical Society.

Utah History Suite, its second edition, was just made available in 1999, after major production delays including the bankruptcy of Timeless Software, the publisher of the *Utah Centennial History Suite*. The *Utah History Suite* adds all twenty-nine county histories, nine additional volumes (volumes 1-23 [1928-51], 40-50 [1968-78], and 63-66 [1991-94]) of the *Utah Historical Quarterly*; and complete sets of the *History Blazer* and *Beehive History*. It is really unnecessary to retain both CD-ROMs. While the documentation accompanying the second edition claims that the installation of the *Utah History Suite* will automatically delete duplicated records from the *Utah Centennial History Suite*, I did not find this to be the case and so I simply uninstalled it.

Max Evans, Utah State Historical Society director, proclaimed on the cover of the *Utah Centennial History Suite* his belief that the "*Utah Centennial History Suite* and the editions that follow will be one of the most important contributions the Utah State Historical Society can make to understanding our past." He also promises, in the introduction of the *Utah Centennial History Suite*, that future additions would make available all of the remaining volumes of the UHQ and "other important sources in Utah History." Future releases will eventually include the complete run of the *Utah Historical Quarterly*.

These CD-ROMs are a remarkable resource for teachers, students, historians, and genealogists, and anyone else interested in Utah history and its people. Installation is a simple task. The program requires a PC that is 386 or higher CPU; Windows 3.1 or higher, or Macintosh 68020 or higher; System 7 or higher. It operates with the search engine, Folio, as a full-text searchable infobase. While a User's Guide is included in the software, anyone familiar with Folio will require no additional instruction. I printed the guide but determined it to be fairly technical and, therefore, probably

not terribly useful. I have already used the *Utah History Centennial Suite* extensively and have found it simple and straightforward. The "Toolbelt," a collection of buttons located on the left side of the screen provides quick access to many of the suite's functions. My only complaint is the printing of articles. Most other infobases I have used automatically print the complete citation, including individual page numbers. The *Utah History Suite* will only do it only with a specific printing set up. Though I am very comfortable with this CD-ROM I remain unwilling to dispose of any of my UHQs. It remains difficult to cuddle up with a CD-ROM.

I strongly recommend the *Utah History Suite* to anyone interested in Utah history. It should quickly become an essential tool for researchers, librarians, teachers, local historians, and genealogists.

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Harvard S. Heath, ed. *In the World: The Diaries of Reed Smoot*. Salt Lake City: Signature Books in Association with Smith Research Associates, 1997. xxxiv + 794 pp. Illustration, notes, index. \$100. ISBN 1-56085-051-5.

Reviewed by Richard D. Ouellette

Reed Smoot is a completed puzzle waiting to be disassembled. We tend to assume that we understand this man. At least I did. He seems more fathomable than other Mormon Church leaders—and less interesting. As an apostle, he was not as spiritual as Wilford Woodruff, nor as enigmatic as Joseph F. Smith. As a politician, he was not as controversial as Ezra Taft Benson, nor as complicated as George Q. Cannon. Perhaps this is why few scholars have seriously studied Smoot. If so, the publication of his diaries should help remedy the situation, for they reveal a more candid, complex, and interesting individual than we've known.

Smoot's historical importance is indisputable. He served forty-one years as an apostle (1900-41) and thirty years as a U.S. senator (1903-33). For a time, he ranked first in senatorial experience and third in the apostolic chain of authority. As a member of the Senate Finance Committee and Public Lands Committee, he wielded great influence over the nation's economy and environment. As the most visible Mormon of his time, he transformed the LDS image from that of a polygamous theocrat to that of a monogamous, business-minded, conservative. In the process, as Jan Shipps has argued, Smoot became the modern embodiment of "the quint-

essential Mormon.”¹ He was, as Harvard Heath suggests, essentially “the first modern Mormon” (xiv).

Given his importance, Smoot has not received sufficient scholarly attention. The only biography is Milton R. Merrill’s 1950 dissertation, which was published in 1990, essentially without revision, as *Reed Smoot: Apostle in Politics* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1990.) It still holds up well, but it focuses almost exclusively on politics and incorporates no information from Smoot’s diaries, which became available only in 1967. A handful of insightful articles on Smoot appeared in the 1970s; but aside from an occasional book chapter, he has been all but ignored during the past two decades. By contrast, three separate volumes have been devoted to J. Reuben Clark, another conservative politician and LDS authority. Perhaps the publication of the Smoot diaries, which Shipps rightly characterizes as a “monumental document,” will encourage further study of this pivotal figure.

The diaries begin in February 1909 and end abruptly in August 1932. Unabridged, they total an estimated 3,500 published pages (xxv). Heath therefore includes only what he considers to be the most important entries, along with a smattering of lesser entries to provide a flavor of Smoot’s day-to-day life. The result is roughly an entry every few days or so, with each year occupying a separate chapter. The diaries unfortunately do not cover such fascinating events as the Smoot Senate hearings (1904-07), the Senator’s stunning November 1932 defeat, nor his years outside the Senate, when he served exclusively as an apostle (1900-02, 1932-41). He apparently kept diaries during at least parts of these periods, but their whereabouts (or survival) is not known.

Smoot is a lucid diarist—unadorned but forthright. His writings chronicle the remarkably close relationships he maintained with five Republican presidents from Theodore Roosevelt to Herbert Hoover. They disclose the immense clout he exercised as a Republican power-broker. They demonstrate the weighty influence he wielded as the Senate’s tariff guru, his crowning achievement being the Smoot-Hawley Tariff of 1930. They tell of his conservation efforts, the most notable being the establishment of the National Park Service. They describe his campaign to augment and beautify the nation’s capitol with federal buildings and an art gallery. They also reveal the operations and eventual dissolution of “the Federal Bunch,” Smoot’s Republican political machine in Utah. They document the federal benefits he brought to the state, such as protective tariffs, national parks, and water projects. They also display the friendships he enjoyed with First

¹Jan Shipps, “The Public Image of Sen. Reed Smoot, 1902-32,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 45 (Fall 1977), 389.

Presidency members Joseph F. Smith, Charles W. Nibley, and (after a long-standing feud had subsided) Heber J. Grant. They also uncover the disputes among LDS authorities over political issues like Prohibition.

The unpublished diaries have been available for some time now, so it is not news to scholars that Smoot was not a conservative ideologue, but rather a moderate conservative who supported many progressive reforms. We already know that he rejected extreme tariff proposals, despite his ardent protectionism. We already know that despite unwise business dealings with a culprit in the Teapot Dome scandal, Smoot committed no wrong. We already know that he, more than anyone else, was responsible for the suppression of post-Manifesto polygamy, that the Church secretly subsidized Smoot's political newspaper, and that he divided Church leaders by supporting Prohibition only when it did not threaten Republican success. We further know that he opposed the League of Nations, despite the contrary opinion of most Utahns and LDS authorities. But even though scholars have already mined the unpublished diaries for such valuable information, Heath's publication is useful in making much of the evidence behind this earlier research readily available.

Heath's edition also provides a plethora of untapped information. The book's entries suggest, for example, that the moderate quality of Smoot's conservatism extended beyond tariffs and progressive reforms. He was skeptical of jingoistic calls for American military action, despite his ardent nationalism and promilitarism. He voted against the American occupation in Veracruz, Mexico, preferred restraint rather than retaliation for the sinking of the *Lusitania*, believed that the English and French exaggerated wartime conditions to draw in American forces, and even opposed military intervention to protect Mormon colonists in Mexico. He voted for William Jennings Bryan's pacifistic peace treaties (skeptically) and for the Kellogg-Briand Pact outlawing war (enthusiastically). He even rejected a scheme to profit from war: "John W. Young . . . told me of the great contracts he had secured for furnishing the Allies with munitions of war. . . . It was to be kept quiet and I was to receive one hundred thousand dollars as my share of the profits. I told him I wanted nothing to do with it and would not accept one cent" (297).

Smoot also seemed to evince less racism and xenophobia than many of his contemporaries. He plotted strategies to attract black voters to the Republican Party, condemned the 1917 East St. Louis race riot, took up a collection to pay the tuition and expenses of a black college student and her mother, recommended the appointment of a Jew as ambassador to Germany, and voted against the 1920 Americanization bill. Some of Smoot's sensitivities come out in his description of a visit with the Queen of Hawaii, whom Americans had recently deposed in their colonialist quest:

"I could not help but feel a little sad and watched her dignified appearance and surroundings. It was the last remnant of Hawaiian royalty" (274). Smoot was no racial and ethnic egalitarian, to be sure (few at the time were), but neither was he a conservative stereotype.

The diaries also reveal Smoot's warm but sorrowful family life. Illness plagued his wife. One daughter struggled with mental illness. Another married and divorced a man with a drinking problem. One son had a drinking problem of his own. Another son was "a stock gambler" (594) who went \$350,000 in debt—a sum which the horrified but indulgent father paid. The third son also fell into debt:

I received a blow in the evening that nearly ended me. Ernest reported to me his financial situation. He is owing over a quarter of a million dollars with my Securities as collateral. I must pay same if I can. I was sick at heart. It came as a thunder bolt. I expected he was owing \$100,000.00 Dollars. It will take most I own to meet. It is so unfair to the other children. It is nearly as bad as Harold's failure. (741)

Smoot enjoyed astonishing success in his public endeavors—politics, religion, business—yet his private grief ate away at him.

Military restraint, racial moderation, family turmoil—these varied insights indicate the breadth of diary entries Heath has selected in this fine abridgment. Topics unfold over time in a balanced, apparently comprehensive, fashion, making for surprisingly absorbing reading. Only one subject seems underrepresented: Smoot's land conservation efforts. Heath includes few of the references that Thomas G. Alexander cites.² But such thoroughgoing omissions are rare. (At least this is my impression, not having read the unpublished diaries.) For readers wanting to know more about the Senator and his times, this book is a wonderful resource.

The serious Smoot scholar, of course, will still need to consult the original diaries. Like all abridgments, information is left out that some readers would have retained. For example, the 7 June 1920 entry recording Smoot's resignation from the Republican National Committee is not included (440-41). I would have enjoyed the complete entries pertaining to this occasion (the 1920 Republican Convention), and such pivotal episodes as the Teapot Dome hearings. But abridgments are inherently subjective; my nitpicking does not diminish Heath's contribution.

To help readers along, Heath includes footnotes, a historiographical overview and biographical sketch of Smoot, explanations of the abridgment, and a description of the diaries' provenance. Unfortunately, foot-

²Thomas G. Alexander, "Senator Reed Smoot and Western Land Policy, 1905-1920," *Arizona and the West* 13 (Autumn 1971): 245-64.

notes are uneven. Some are very informative; others merely raise more questions. For example, on 30 January 1915, Smoot spoke in the Senate all night. A footnote on the next page implies that he spoke about the Ship Purchase bill, but it does not explain either the bill nor why it provoked such passion (260-61). Sometimes no footnote exists where one is necessary. In the fall of 1909, for instance, Smoot mentions the "citizens ticket," but no footnote explains the reference (36). Such political matters and interests could have potentially been described in the biographical essay, but regrettably, this otherwise strong piece devotes only one paragraph to Smoot's work in the Senate (xxxiv). Perhaps Heath should have summarized the year's events and issues at the beginning of each chapter.

Some additional problems deserve mention. First, the index is inadequate for a text of this complexity and detail. Second, the average chapter length noticeably decreases after Chapter 9. Is there an explanation for this? And finally, the proofreading is lamentable. The introduction alone contains at least six errors, including the bolding of an entire page (xiii). The remaining text is cleaner, but still too messy. Errors include misplaced footnote indicators (44 note 4, 639 note 1), a footnote repeated on succeeding pages (9-10 note 31), a misplaced editorial interpolation (25-26), a misspelled editorial interpolation (394), a factually confusing or inaccurate footnote (35 note 124), footnotes located in the middle of pages (505 and 752), and misspelled words without a corresponding "[sic]" (142, 480, 648, 707, 738). The errors that I've found are located primarily in the editorial comments and footnotes; not having read the unpublished diaries, I'm unable to confidently assess the accuracy of the transcription. The good spelling in that section, however, suggests that the proofreading is more reliable there than elsewhere. I certainly hope so. Thorough proofreading is essential to any publication; but it is indispensable in the reproduction of a primary source.

Flaws aside, *In the World* is a tremendously important publication. For if Jan Shipps and Harvard Heath are correct, and Reed Smoot was as pivotal as they claim, then one of the keys to understanding modern Mormonism is understanding this apostle-senator. But even if Smoot wasn't quite so influential, the diaries are still worth reading, for in them we experience twenty-three years of Utah, Mormon, and American history through one of its most influential participants. And we get to know many different sides of this supposedly one-dimensional man.

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Jessie L. Embry. *"In His Own Language:" Mormon Spanish-Speaking Congregations in the United States*. Provo, Utah: Charles Redd Center for Western Studies at Brigham Young University, 1997. x + 134 pp. Notes, appendices (oral histories coding form and register of interviewees), index. \$14.95. ISBN 1-56085-092-2

Reviewed by Ignacio M. García

This monograph is the first attempt to tell the story of Mormon Spanish-language congregations in the United States. The work is long overdue since Spanish has been the second most common language in the Church and Spanish speakers have been the largest non-American group of Saints since the early part of the twentieth century. But the story is long overdue, not only because of the numbers but also (and more importantly) because it may well provide Latter-day Saints with a clue about what a *universal* church really means compared to simply an *international* church.

Jesse L. Embry whose interest in the universal Church has been a passion for years, has undertaken to give us the first monograph-length work on the Hispanic experience in the Church in the United States. Her premise is to "examine the various approaches the LDS Church has tried in dealing with Latino Americans and analyze its successes and failures" (4). A secondary purpose is to see how Latinos fit into American society, particularly American churches. As with *Black Saints in a White Church: Contemporary African American Mormons* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1995), Embry, takes an oral historian's approach, choosing to let the "facts" speak for themselves with only limited editorializing.

Embry provides us with the kind of information that has been missing from the historical record and which opens a tremendous avenue for more work on the Latino American Saint. She begins her story with the commencement of missionary work in Mexico, an early history characterized by that nation's political instability, the missionary effort's repeated starts and stops, and a growing interest in proselyting among Mexican citizens who made their home in the United States. As was the case in Mexico, it was Rey L. Pratt who played an influential role in bringing the gospel to Mexicans in the United States. A man of tremendous love, particularly for the Mexican Saints, he believed that all could "come unto Christ" and that all should learn in their own language. In this work he was followed by a

number of other men who committed themselves to bringing the gospel to the Mexicans. They all shared, with few exceptions, the thought that Mexican Saints would quickly become an important part of the Church. In fact, they may have been more optimistic about these Saints' ability to be part of the Church than many of the more contemporary leaders.

The "official" effort among Spanish speakers in the United States began in 1918 with the establishment of the Mexican Mission, which served Arizona, Texas, New Mexico, Colorado, California, and the whole of Mexico, which in the early part of the twentieth century was too unstable for much serious work. Within fifteen years, the mission had over four thousand Latino American members and thirty-eight Spanish language branches. In 1936, the Mexican Mission was divided and the Spanish American Mission was established (14-20). I became part of that mission in the late 1950s.

According to Embry, the first mission president, Harold I. Bowman, and those who followed him understood that there was a "race complex" among Mexican Americans and reluctance by mainstream leaders to "welcome" them. Language was an issue and so was culture. Most mainstream leaders wondered if these new members could be integrated into the Church and whether unity of the faith could accommodate separate language units. This attitude may have been a reason why there was reluctance to let Mexican Americans preside over their wards and branches, but Embry doesn't tell us. A case in point may be the history of the Lucero Ward in Salt Lake City. The first branch to be established among the Spanish speakers in this country (1919), it would not have its first Mexican American presiding officer for almost fifty years, despite an abundance of returned missionaries, high home teaching averages, outstanding attendance, and members who would eventually be prominent in the Church's history. This same pattern would emerge in many other areas, although the farther from Salt Lake City, the more Mexican American leaders were able to do in their own congregations.

In Embry's chapter, "Shifting Church Policy," she summarizes the debate over whether separate language-missions and local units should be maintained or whether Spanish speakers should be mainstreamed in Anglo wards. She reports divergent views from Spanish-speaking members on this point. In this small chapter, mission presidents and former missionaries disagree, at times vehemently, over this issue. The debate among some of the old-timers still is a live one: Should Latino members be separated from the English-speaking members? Those on the side of separation argue that most Latino members need to learn the gospel in their own language and that they have fewer opportunities to serve in integrated wards. Apostle Spencer W. Kimball represented this view among the General Authorities.

Others might well have agreed with Elder Paul H. Dunn, who said, "Do you think when we get to the other side of the veil the Lord is going to care whether you came from Tonga or New Zealand or Germany or America? . . . No" (35-36).

This debate, according to Embry, has led to an ambivalence that reveals itself in seemingly contradictory policies. While Spanish-language stakes are being formed in some parts of California and Texas, Spanish-language wards and branches are being eliminated in other parts of California and the rest of the nation. Embry quotes the wife of a branch president in Buhl, Idaho, who wrote in 1997, "The grapevine tells us that non-English speaking branches and wards are being phased out" (65). In my own research, I have identified two and possibly three different attempts to eliminate most Spanish-language units during the last three decades. Yet this effort is usually followed by another intense effort to develop more Spanish-language units. A common characteristic in these repeated shifts in Church policy is that Latino leaders are rarely consulted, no matter what decision is made.

In His Own Language also has chapters on "Branch Histories," "Advantages of Ethnic Wards and Branches . . .," "Some Perceived Problems with U.S. Spanish-Speaking Branches/Wards," "Views of Integrated Wards," and finally "Some Personal Thoughts." In this last chapter, Embry discusses some of the difficult aspects of maintaining language-specific wards and branches, with consequences for both the Latino and Anglo American members. Because she sees both sides as having very compelling reasons for their point of view, she remains ambivalent about the future of separate wards and branches: "I am no longer the integrationist I was when I started out, but I am not convinced that always having separate congregations is the best answer" (122).

This ambivalence is one of the most constant features of Embry's work. Because of it, Embry provides us a glimpse of what can be done in this area but ends up leaving us with many questions and few conclusions or interpretations. Although her work is to document the experience of Spanish-speaking Mormons in the United States, not to recommend policy to Church leaders, this book promises much, yet leaves the reader waiting for much from future scholars. Her work on the Latino branches provides information nowhere else available; but beyond a few names and a few occurrences, we are left completely in the dark about the history of the first wards and branches beyond their initial founding. The discussion of the missions among Spanish speakers gives us the first narrative of which I am aware about these early proselyting efforts, but we learn very little about the challenges of being a Latino Mormon in an often hostile Catholic community. The discussion is mostly about Anglo American mission

presidents. The rather short chapter on shifting Church policy provides no analysis of why the Brethren do what they do and what the consequences have been of this shifting, sometimes contradictory, policy. It also does not tell us why, despite these problems, the work among the Latino community continues to grow so rapidly and why Latino members have remained faithful and tolerant of such institutional discontinuities.

The fact that we learn so little about the Latino members themselves may unconsciously reflect the view held by some in the Church that the international membership is only a complement to the core membership in the United States, especially in Utah. In this view, international growth results from preaching the "truth" and from the "sacrifices" of those who received it first, but it does not necessarily signal a new stage in the life of the Church with profound implications for its future. Yet the work among the Latino population is extremely significant. With the Church membership predicted to be predominantly Latino (including all of Latin America) by 2025,¹ the changes will be great. Surely one implication is that more Latino Americans will be called to leadership positions on all levels because they know both languages, have been trained closer to the core, and can relate to the majority of the membership. It will also mean, as President Kimball told the publisher of *Hispanic Business* in the late 1970s, that the language of the Church (unofficially) will be Spanish sometime in the twenty-first century.

There are, I believe, two major reasons for the limitations of *"In His Own Language."* The first is built into the nature of Embry's methodology; she took interviews conducted by others and analyzed them for themes and commonalities. As a consequence, she misses nuances and fails to ask the questions that would be obvious to those who understood Latino Mormons and Latinos in general. The second reason is a problem of the data itself. Embry's interpretation of the Latino side of the story is limited to information gathered from interviews of BYU Latino students and a few members in Southern California. Of the ninety-four interviewees, fifty-two were from Provo, and thirty-four were students. Embry also failed to provide information about how these interviewees broke down by class, education, race, or time in the United States. As she admits, this sampling is quite unrepresentative.

This limitation was unnecessary since there are more than seventeen Latino wards and branches within a hundred-mile radius of Provo, some of whose members have been in the Church and the United States for over

¹*Out of Obscurity: Public Affairs and the Worldwide Church* (Provo, Utah: David M. Kennedy Center for International Studies, 1997).

fifty years. Their perspectives would be important since much of the history of the Latino in the Church is really a twentieth-century history. *"In His Own Tongue"* likewise provides no interviews with Latino leaders who have attempted to educate Church leadership to be more responsive to the Latino Mormon community. As a further criticism, the interviews fail to provide any real sense of who these Latino Mormons are. We know little of their worship services or their congregational activities. What about the Mormon gospel attracts them? What kind of cultural and social environment have they constructed since they had to give up much of their Catholic cultural and social activities? Since the audience for this book will be primarily English-speaking Mormons, more aid in interpreting the Latino Mormon audience to the Anglo American Mormons would have been helpful.

Some major tasks awaiting the next researcher are to expand the base to provide a thorough history. Case studies or biographical sketches of some of the more prominent Latino Mormon leaders who currently live in the United States are important. The historic contributions of individuals like Eduardo Balderas, long-time Church translator; Margarito Batista, Third Conventionist and author of a popular reconciliation of Mexican history and the Book of Mormon; Arturo Martínez, one of the early Latino Regional Representatives; Orlando Rivera, first bishop of Lucero Ward; and the Rivera sisters, long-time Church workers in Salt Lake City, will add depth and interest to a future analysis of the Latino American Mormon. Another area awaiting historical exploration is the enormous faith and sacrifice required of any individual in a Mexican community of the American Southwest (hence, a Catholic culture and society) who converted to Mormonism in the early twentieth century. What were the experiences and heritage of these converts?

Another important area for research and analysis would be a study of how the Mormon institution has adapted to its new members. Why is there so much ambivalence? Why do Church leaders typically delay so long in calling Latino leaders for Latino American units? Even today, to my personal knowledge, Anglo Americans preside over many Spanish-language wards.

Of crucial importance is analyzing the constantly shifting policy between supporting separate language units and insisting on mainstreaming Latino American members. Why does the Church close and open wards and branches without consulting Latino leaders? Embry tellingly cites several examples of missions with large active congregations (El Paso Ward in the 1970s had over a thousand members) being closed for "lack of faith" (59-65). This official "reason" thereby raises the question of how Church leaders evaluate faith among Latino American Mormons. Closely related is the

inconsistent application of whichever policy is in vogue. Houston, Texas, received official permission to organize a Spanish-language stake in 1994 that is still functioning; but only two years later, nine Latino bishops in Salt Lake City were told by one of the Seventy that there would “never, never be a Spanish-language stake in Salt Lake City.”

Although departing from history into sociology, a very important task would be examining the current health of Latino wards and branches. Embry documents Latino American wards and branches that had nearly 80 percent home teaching and sacrament meeting attendance, and high rates of tithing payment (26). Yet my own interviews and my service in four bishoprics and on two high councils confirm that low home teaching percentages, poor attendance, few tithing payers, and untrained leadership plague many Latino wards today. Where are the second, third, and fourth generations of Latino priesthood holders who should have come out of these wards Embry describes to enter stake and regional leadership ranks and provide a solid basis for ward leadership? Similarly, where are the young women who should be temple-married leaders and teachers of auxiliaries? Where is the next generation of children being raised in the Church? What has caused the periodic decimation of the next generation of youth? Are these woeful dilemmas caused by individual faithlessness, by institutional unresponsiveness, or by a combination of both?

These questions probably cannot be answered in any one work, but that fact simply underscores their importance. According to Church statisticians, the future of the Church does not lie in Europe, Canada, or the United States but rather in Latin America, Asia, Africa, and among the ethnic groups in this country. To know learn more about the largest non-European group is urgent in deciphering the future of the Church. Embry provides a valuable beginning.

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David L. Bigler. *Forgotten Kingdom: The Mormon Theocracy in the American West, 1847-1896*. 411 pp. Photographs, notes, bibliography, index. Cloth by Spokane, Wash.: Arthur H. Clark, 1998, ISBN 0-87062-282-x. Paper by Utah State University: \$21.95. ISBN 0-87421-245-6

Reviewed by Edward Leo Lyman

Many if not most non-Mormon newcomers to Utah find themselves in a society and culture unlike any they have known before—"strangers in a strange land." More than a few wish to know more about how the situation got that way and where—if anywhere—they belong. Almost none are aware that they are inheritors of a worthy tradition of other "Gentiles" who came to Utah to help make the area more like the rest of the nation. The purpose of David L. Bigler's book is to fill this need while also seeking to restore a little-known and presumably vanishing half-century of Utah's early history.

Bigler's reasonable thesis is that Brigham Young and his associates among the Mormon hierarchy attempted to establish an American theocracy in the Great Basin. Organizing what Bigler terms "the most singular form of government ever to exist in North America," Church leaders aimed to ultimately envelop all other systems of belief and government into what was variously called the Kingdom of God, the State of Deseret, and finally, with perhaps less optimism, the Territory of Utah. In this kingdom, priesthood leaders would rule in preparation for Jesus Christ's millennial reign. Such goals and accompanying practices ushered in a half-century struggle for sovereignty with the U.S. government, which, according to Bigler, "never quite knew how to take the challenge" (15-16). Utah's federal officials, charged with exercising national authority in Mormondom, he aptly terms the "picket lines of civilization" (17-18). *Forgotten Kingdom* traces the inevitable conflicts arising from the opposing goals of the two disparate entities and handles very well the efforts of Governor Alfred Cumming, General Albert Sidney Johnston, and particularly Judge John Cradlebaugh to assert the authority of the federal government.

The book treats a truly vast array of important subjects. It begins with the pioneering companies, their origins, purpose, and destination. Next comes the founding of the Kingdom, including law, government, and land ownership. The next chapter deals with early Indian wars and mutual grievances, along with missions to Native Americans and Indian farms. Chapter 4 surveys the handcart disasters, the Mormon Reformation (1857-58), the Utah Rebellion (better known as the Utah War of 1857), and the Mountain Meadows Massacre (1858). Attempts at statehood and self-rule through Deseret's ghost government come next, including dealings with federal officials and the military. Bigler then recounts mounting Mormon resistance to outsiders through cooperation, the creation of their own political party, further instances of violence, and the resultant judicial-political onslaught by non-Mormons, including repeated rejections of statehood and intensified anti-polygamy actions. The last chapter, "Americanization of the Kingdom," summarizes the momentous decade prior to statehood in 1896, including continued Indian relations, church-government court and legislative conflicts, the Woodruff Manifesto of 1890, and political reorganization.

The title is far from inaccurate. Kingdom-building was indeed one of Brigham Young's main motivations. This aspect has sometimes been forgotten in the heavy emphasis of several readily available books on Utah and Mormon history that focus on the heroic pioneer. Such discussions are often fraught with extreme biases, either for or against the Mormons. Bigler deserves praise for his honest and generally even-handed treatment of the events of those early years. Almost entirely chronological, over half his work focuses on the period between 1847 and 1858, which he sees as the most significant decade (16) of the pre-statehood era.

One of the book's greatest contributions is drawing attention to the little-used U.S. public documents with their wealth of important information and insights about Utah and the Mormons of that day. They include the reports of the "runaway" officials of 1852; indeed, I feel that *Forgotten Kingdom* might have been improved by incorporating more of this material, including some discussed in the footnotes, within the text itself. Another footnote that needs much more emphasis to overcome Brigham Young's intentionally spawned myth is the fact established a quarter century ago by Ray Luce that recruitment of the Mormon Battalion was a favor to Church leaders, not an act of oppression. Bigler's stress on the millennial mindset of Mormon leaders is another important theme that he treats well. And he was among the first historians to recognize the significant role played by William Smith, Joseph Smith's brother, in thwarting the first significant attempt to gain statehood in 1849-50.

Bigler's discussion of the Mormon Reformation is similarly good, including focus on internal opposition to it. His use of British convert Hannah Tapfield King's personal writings is particularly interesting. (121-30).

Another of the book's significant contributions is Bigler's discussion of Brigham Young's interest in the colonizing potential of the region between the Salmon River in Idaho and the Bitterroot Valley of southwestern Montana. Besides the Church explorers and missionaries dispatched there, Young personally led a little-known expedition to the area in the spring of 1857. Quoting Wilford Woodruff's diary, Bigler argues that, as the U.S. Army approached Utah later that year, the General Authorities initially considered possible evacuation in that direction. However, Indian resistance forced Mormon authorities to order the evacuation southward into an area quite unsuited for such a large population, though fortunately the refugees remained but a short time.

Bigler is strong in his handling of the dramatic events in the late 1850s: the Utah War, the escape from the Spanish Fork Indian farm to the army units in Wyoming of Indian Agent Garland Hurt, and the Mountain Meadows Massacre. His assertion that no one has ever attempted to ascertain how many lapsed Mormons were among the victims of the

massacre (172) raises an interesting question, since Mormons who wanted to "escape" to California were traveling the same route with Gentile emigrant companies at least as early as 1853.¹ Furthermore, there were similar individuals in at least four groups traveling through the southern Utah area immediately after the massacre. But I believe that the presence of disaffected Mormons in the Baker-Fancher train would not still be a secret.

The brutal suppression of the Morrisite dissenters by the Mormon hierarchy and their military agents is as good a treatment as has been offered to the general reading public (208-13). Similarly, the arrival of the California Volunteers during the Civil War, their relations with Brigham Young and his associates, and the so-called "Battle of Bear River," which Bigler terms "the bloodiest in the history of America's Indian wars in the far West" (231) are also detailed perhaps better than ever before in an easily available source. The murder of Dr. John K. Robinson in October 1866 by three unknown assailants who summoned his services in the night has been adequately dealt with previously and perhaps the six pages Bigler devotes to the subject is somewhat lopsided considering that he spends only three pages on the entire Black Hawk War. Granted, public land disputes are also involved (237-40, 248-53).

However, having praised these many strong points with genuine admiration, I must say that I was not universally pleased. The index is incomplete. Frequently footnotes appear a page later than the text citation. Quite a number of books and articles cited in footnotes are not included in the bibliography. Bigler's analysis of Brigham Young's reinstatement of the law of consecration in 1854 would have benefitted from a careful reading of Leonard Arrington's *Great Basin Kingdom* (145-47), which concludes that the effort, despite much talk, ended without any actual transfer of property.

Bigler's treatment of the inconsistencies of Mormon-Indian relations partly reflects the good scholarship of Howard Christy (cited in a footnote but not mentioned in the bibliography); however, his understanding of the Indian situation in southern Utah is generally weak. He is incorrect in asserting that Walkara's known oppression of Virgin and Santa Clara River Paiutes drove them to the verge of extinction (66), since they were known to number perhaps as many as five hundred in each band plus the smaller Shivwits band.² And he apparently fails to understand that the seeming

¹See Alexander Kier Jr., "Reminiscences," Beatty Collection, Huntington Library; "Thomas Flint Diary," *Annual Publications, Historical Society of Southern California*, 1923, 108-9.

²Winona Holmes et al., *Nuwuvi: A Southern Paiute History* (Salt Lake City:

complaisance in Fillmore and Cedar City during the Walker War came because the Mormons perceived that local Native Americans were little or no threat. William Hatton, shot at Fillmore in 1853, may have been killed by a passing Walkara warrior or more probably by a Mormon who opposed his plan to leave for California but almost certainly he was not killed by a member of the Pahvant band as Bigler asserts (80).³ There is also no evidence whatever that Chief Kanosh was involved in the Gunnison massacre and much that he was not,⁴ though Bigler states that Kanosh was a likely participant (90).

Further, while *Forgotten Kingdom* does document that there was a serious famine in Utah in 1855, a truly definitive history, if it is ever written, would treat this subject at length, including Brigham Young's attempts to suppress information about it and its continuation through the following year. The lack of sufficient food among the Mormons had much to do with the failure of the Indian missions being attempted at the time. The "starving time" was also a major cause of disillusionment among the significant number of Utah settlers who abandoned the region during the 1850s, another subject that has been insufficiently studied.

Forgotten Kingdom has one of the most even-handed treatments ever of the Mormon handcart expeditions and tragedies, and Bigler is to be complimented for quoting Brigham Young's threat to curse with destruction anyone who should presume to blame him or Heber C. Kimball for any part in the horrible sufferings (119). Still, the argument that the First Presidency did indeed bear some responsibility in the matter merits further examination.

If the book concluded with the end of the Civil War, it could be acclaimed as perhaps the best yet on Utah during its first two decades in the United States. Unfortunately, as the subtitle promises, over thirty years of history remain to be covered in less than a third of the pages; and virtually no subject after 1864 in *Forgotten Kingdom* has not found better discussion in some other already existing work. The source materials, while different, are

Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada, 1976), 5-15; Jules Remy, *A Journey to Great Salt Lake City* (reprint; New York: AMS Press, 1972), 387-89; Juanita Brooks, ed., *Journal of the Southern Indian Mission* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1972), 67-69.

³Edward Leo Lyman and Linda King Newell, *A History of Millard County* (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society and Millard County Commission, 1999), 66-67, 77 note 76.

⁴Solomon N. Carvalho, *Incidents of Travel and Adventure in the Far West* (New York: Derby & Jackson, 1857), 264, notes that when Kanosh confronted the Gunnison massacre perpetrators to retrieve equipment, the Pahvants "were exasperated at his interference, and several arrows were aimed at him to kill him."

adequately available, and the continuing conflicts with the federal government are equally significant. The 1864-96 period should have been given at least another hundred pages.

Even a quick look at the source works consulted reveals some glaring omissions of indispensable and highly professional scholarship: (1) Howard R. Lamar, *The Far Southwest, 1846-1912: A Territorial History* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1970). This work draws from the Congressional sources Bigler used so well for the 1850s; (2) Richard D. Poll, "The Twin Relic: A Study of Mormon Polygamy and the Campaign by the Government of the United States for Its Abolition, 1852-1890" (M.A. thesis, Texas Christian University, 1939); (3) Mark W. Cannon, "The Mormon Issue in Congress, 1872-1882: Drawing on the Experience of Territorial Delegate George Q. Cannon" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1960). Bigler overlooks Cannon's insight into the amazing ability of George Q. Cannon and his associates to repeatedly tone down legislation that might be threatening to the Mormons; (4) Gustive O. Larson, *Outline History of Utah and the Mormons* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1958). This work is particularly good on the legislation actually passed and Mormon reactions to it, including insights not in his better-known *Americanization of Utah for Statehood* (San Marino, Calif.: Huntington Library, 1968) which Bigler does use. And while Bigler consulted several good studies of Orderville and Brigham City, further study of the United Order would have prevented him from stating that Orderville was "typical of most, except that it lasted longer" (266). It was certainly the most extreme of the experiments attempted.

I am not criticizing Bigler for not writing a book he did not choose to write; rather, I am pointing out that his title promises more than he delivers. Will Bagley, who wrote the laudatory preface and is general editor of the Arthur H. Clark Company's hardback series of which *Forgotten Kingdom* is Volume 2, characterizes the 1847-96 period as the "most significant conflict between politics and religion in American history" (12). I heartily agree. Unfortunately, the definitive study promised has yet to be written for the period's last thirty years.

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History of the Mormon War in Illinois. Logan: Utah State University, 1995. x, 368 pp. Map, introductory notes to documents, bibliographic note, index. \$37.95. ISBN 0-87421-1867-7

Governor Thomas Ford. *A History of Illinois: From Its Commencement as a State in 1818 to 1947.* Annotated and introduced by Rodney O. Davis. Chicago: S.C. Griggs, 1854, reprinted by Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1995. xxxiv, 343 pp. Notes, introduction to the 1995 edition by General James Shields and Robney O. Davis, bibliographic note by Terence A. Tanner, index. \$39.95. ISBN 0-252002140-1

John E. Hallwas and Roger D. Launius. *Kingdom on the Mississippi Revisited: Nauvoo in Mormon History.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1996. ix, 282 pp. Notes, bibliographic notes, index. Cloth \$36.50; paper: \$16.95, ISBN 0-252-06494-1

Reviewed by Donald D. Godfrey

Hallwas and Launius call *Cultures in Conflict* "the most extensive and thorough account yet of the struggle between Mormons and non-Mormons in frontier Illinois" (dust jacket). It is not, however, "an account of the struggle." Rather, it is a collection of historical documents reflecting different points of view in what was most certainly a clash of cultures.

After an introduction, the book is chronologically organized into six parts, each with its own shorter introduction: "The Coming of the Mormons," "The Origins of the Conflict," "The Trouble in Nauvoo," "The Murders in Carthage," "The Trial and the Violence," and "The Exodus and the Battle of Nauvoo." Unfortunately, the introductions are too abbreviated; the longest, for Part 4, is only four pages. Altogether, these introductions, excluding extensive footnotes, collectively total only fifteen pages. It would have been helpful to expand these essays. Hallwas and Launius criticize other authors for the failure to set Mormon history within its proper national historical context (3), yet they also fail to provide much additional context. Their introductory essays are too brief and localized; their expectation that the reader will already know a great deal about the figures involved may limit the audience for the documents assembled here.

Following each section introduction is a key paragraph or two that describes the numerically listed documents, gives something of their context, and identifies their source. This information is very helpful; but I think a better organization would have been to combine these paragraphs with the section introductions while placing the source citations with the docu-

ments themselves so that the reader doesn't have to continually look back to locate the source.

Hallway's and Launius's overall introduction to the volume makes several noteworthy historical points. For example, they declare that "each side blamed the other, but unfortunately, neither side understood the other very well" (1). They then state that Mormon history is best understood "as a complex episode which we can understand only through sensitive comprehension of both Mormon and non-Mormon ideals, values, and motives. This documentary history suggests that the conflict was essentially an ideological struggle between cultures . . . that is, groups with differing social visions" (2). The editors further suggest that understanding the Jacksonian social environment and the national context for the Mormon war in Illinois will provide a clear and balanced picture.

This introduction is appealing, and the authors note the importance of placing history within its context. Unfortunately, after explaining the advantages of understanding the Jacksonian social environment and national religious movement of the times, they provide too little information in the section introductions.

The editors reproduce almost thirty newspaper excerpts, but also fail to establish the historical context for the press. It would have been helpful for many readers, I believe, if they had explained that the early 1840s were the days of the frontier press, "penny press," and "yellow journalism"—often sensational, trivial, and sometimes vulgar. Much of the mid-nineteenth-century newspaper content was colored by individual perceptions. The credibility of each paper depended on the personal standards and skills of the editor/owner. The functions of a newspaper have changed over time. The scholarly historian using newspaper sources can accept them as information sources but must look for corroborative evidence before accepting their content—even "eyewitness" accounts—as factual. Similar rules of evidence apply to lyceum lecturers and Chautauqua speakers, excerpts from whom also appear in the book.

The documents themselves come from a variety of archival sources: frontier newspapers, Illinois Archives, Western Illinois University Archives, the Illinois State Library, Brigham Young University, and the Historical Department Archives of the LDS Church archives and others. Source citations following the introduction to each part are exclusive and invaluable for future researchers. A few documents were created at a considerable time after the event and therefore need to be treated with caution; however, most are relevant and insightful.

The value of this publication lies in its collection of documents, now readily available. The documents themselves are colorful, interesting, and thought-provoking. While their "facts" may require substantiation, they do

present more facets of the multi-dimensional cultures in conflict that ended in tragedy in Illinois.

The second book, Thomas Ford's history of Illinois, like most of the material in *Cultures in Conflict*, provides a view of Mormon Nauvoo from someone who was there. As governor when Joseph and Hyrum Smith were murdered at Carthage, Ford wrote a book that should be in the library of anyone interested in Mormon history. This new edition was published with the support of the Illinois State Historical Society as part of the 175th anniversary of statehood.

Those not already familiar with this history will be surprised to see how extensively Ford has written about the Mormons. His discussion of the "Mormon problem" begins about halfway through the book with Chapter 8 and is interwoven through to the end—approximately 180 pages out of 343. As Davis points out in his introduction: "There can be no doubt that Ford disliked the Mormons"; nevertheless, he provides "a better opportunity than most to reflect on the early history of the state" (xvii-xviii). Davis warns the reader that Ford's

account of the affairs in Hancock Country is undoubtedly self serving. . . . It maximized his personal roles in the Mormon controversy and also in [other] political crises. . . . We should not be surprised that a man so controversial . . . would produce a comparably controversial book. Readers must certainly make allowances for the author's position, his intentions, or even his authority to discourse on certain subjects. Ford's History must be read as any primary historical source is read—with care. (xvii-xxv, xxx)

The book is organized into fourteen chapters, roughly chronological in order from 1818 to 1846. Even readers primarily interested in Mormon topics will find interesting discussions about issues (slavery, taxes, government, education and farming), politicians (Stephen A. Douglas, Abraham Lincoln, Lilburn W. Boggs, Henry Clay, Andrew Jackson, and many others), and events that shed contextual light on the frontier environment within which Mormonism grew.

The third book, *The Kingdom on the Mississippi Revisited: Nauvoo in Mormon History*, is a collection of previously published essays on Mormon Nauvoo. According to the editors, they are among "the more insightful and significant historical work[s]," neither "loosely organized" nor a "pot-pourri," but rather focused on "several essential questions about Mormon identity: Who were the Nauvoo Mormons? Were they essentially Jacksonian Americans or did they embody some other *weltanschauung*? Why did Nauvoo become such a protracted battleground for the Saints and the non-Mormons in the region? And, finally, what is the larger meaning of the Nauvoo experience for the various inheritors of the legacy of Joseph Smith Jr.?" (10-11)

The fourteen essays are, for the most part, by recognized historians. Four beginning essays provide an overview and analysis: Ronald K. Esplin's "The Significance of Nauvoo for Latter-day Saints," James L. Kimball Jr.'s "The Nauvoo Charter: A Reinterpretation," Hamilton Gardner's "The Nauvoo Legion, 1840-45: A Unique Military Organization," and Klaus J. Hansen's "The Political Kingdom of God as a Cause of Mormon-Gentile Conflict."

The next four essays focus on life in Nauvoo: Kenneth W. Godfrey's "The Nauvoo Neighborhood: A Little Philadelphia or a Unique City Set upon a Hill?", Terence A. Tanner's "The Mormon Press in Nauvoo, 1839-46," Marvin Hill's "Religion in Nauvoo: Some Reflections," and Kathryn M. Daynes's "Mormon Polygamy: Belief and Practice in Nauvoo."

Two articles address the Mormon/non-Mormon conflict: Robert Bruce Flanders's "The Kingdom of God in Illinois: Politics in Utopia" and John E. Hallwas's "Mormon Nauvoo from a Non-Mormon Perspective."

Davis Bitton's "The Martyrdom of Joseph Smith in Early Mormon Writings" and Marshall Hamilton's "From Assassination to Expulsion: Two Years of Distrust, Hostility, and Violence" deal with the martyrdom of Joseph Smith Jr. The impact of the Nauvoo experience on Brigham Young and Joseph Smith III respectively are dealt with in Valeen Tippitts Avery's and Linda King Newell's "The Lion and the Lady: Brigham Young and Emma Smith," and Roger D. Launius's "The Awesome Responsibility: Joseph Smith III and the Nauvoo Experience."

The book concludes with a bibliographical essay referencing the "more significant secondary" literature published on Mormonism in Illinois during the 1840s (25).

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Thomas E. Toone. *Mahonri Young: His Life and Art*. Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1997. vii + 206 pp. Illustrations, photographs, notes, chronology, bibliography, index. \$75: Cloth, ISBN 1-56085-055-8.

Norma S. Davis. *A Song of Joys: The Biography of Mahonri Mackintosh Young, Sculptor, Painter, Etcher*. Provo: Brigham Young University Museum of Art, 1999. 305 pp. Illustrations, photographs, bibliography, index. \$90 limited hand-bound cloth edition; \$65 cloth: ISBN 0-8425-2453-3

Reviewed by Frank McEntire

“Art in all its branches is a hard career and I should never recommend it to anyone who can refrain from doing it,” commented Mahonri Young (145). But Young was one who could not refrain, and Utah is the richer for his work. Until recently, however, he stood among the gifted Utah artists whose works are regularly exhibited in museums, galleries, and alternative spaces from Logan to St. George but who are academically slighted by the scanty list of published critical reviews and monographs dealing with them. Thus, it is gratifying to have two biographies about Mahonri Mackintosh Young (1877-1957), appear within two years of each other.

The first, published in 1997, was written by Utah State University art history professor Thomas E. Toone, a commendable contribution which was honored by receipt of the prestigious Evans Prize for Biography.

When Mahonri Mackintosh Young, grandson of Brigham Young, died in 1957 at age eighty, he left monumental tributes to his pioneer heritage in the nation’s Capitol Building (*Brigham Young* in Statuary Hall), in the gardens of Temple Square (life-size bronzes of Joseph and Hyrum Smith and the *Seagull Monument*), and on a prominent hillside in Emigration Canyon (*This Is the Place Monument*). These public works depict Utah themes, as does half of *Mahonri Young: His Life and Art* (five of ten chapters, more than 70 of 140 text pages; and almost 70 of 140 photographs). The richest detail is about Young’s life and public commissions in Utah, making the book of particular value to readers interested in Mormon subjects and Utah art.

Toone’s account of Young’s earliest years succinctly portrays the formation of an artist’s sensibility in a conservative, post-frontier environment. He vividly describes Young’s childhood years at the Deseret Woolen Mills near Parley’s Canyon, the death of his father when he was seven, the family’s subsequent move to the Avenues neighborhood in Salt Lake City, his education at the Twentieth Ward School, and the lifetime friendships he forged with future artists John Held Jr., Lee Greene Richards, Jack Sears, Alma B. Wright, and others.

Toone takes the reader from Young’s earliest days, when, “at every opportunity he spent time outside, often with a sketchbook” (20), to his move to New York City as a young adult, and through his marriages to Cecelia Sharp (who died of cancer after the births of a son and daughter) and Dorothy Weir (daughter of J. Alden Weir, the famous American Impressionist); she also died of cancer when Young was seventy. Young weathered the Great Depression, then achieved stability and a growing reputation during a prolific career in Europe and America with sculpture at its core (5). *Mahonri Young: His Life and Art* is a worthwhile introduction

to Young, to an important era of Utah and American art history, and to the representational art that paralleled the development of Modernism. The layout of the book is effective and the photographs document the breadth of Young's sculptural work. A general reader would find little to criticize and, as the first comprehensive biography of Young, the connoisseur would find it invaluable, even at the steep price of \$75.

However, for a book based on a 1982 Pennsylvania State University dissertation, that maintains a scholarly structure, and was released by a publisher known for discriminating intellectual standards, some technical matters are disappointing. The first three chapters could have been combined, reduced, and integrated to eliminate redundancy, as could have the last two. The near absence of references to Utah studies and related art history scholarship published during the years since Toone's dissertation is noticeable.

Presentation errors are few but should be mentioned: The photograph of the *Seagull Monument* relief is reversed on the cover, though correctly shown on p. 100. The central group photograph (174) is not aligned in its image box. Birth and death dates are not consistently given. Typographical errors include "Brachville" (xii; should be "Branchville"); "receive[d]" (148), "le-gality" in the middle of a line (173); "Young's turned seventy," (174; should be "Young"), and "obser[v]ed" (190). Numbering the illustrations and supplying a dedicated index to them would have helped guide the reader.

Of particular interest to the *Journal's* readers is the question of Young's Mormonness. Early in the book, Toone divulges that Young "never considered himself a practicing, or 'active,' member of the Church" (24-25), citing his "antipathy for plural marriage," a disdain Young developed as a teenager observing polygamist families in his Avenues neighborhood. Toone intimates that Young's "liberal views" about the Word of Wisdom were also a factor. Young's recollections of these experiences from the perspective of "fifty years later," however, are presented without corroboration; while they give clues to his "disaffection," they beg for more exploration.

The biography's subtitle, *His Life and Art*, is mostly true. The biggest problems with the book are omissions. With the exceptions of Lee Greene Richards and Jack Sears, the influence Young had on his Utah art circle and others could have been given better treatment. The same could be said of Young's two children, Agnes and Mahonri S. (Bill). Bill is the more visible of the two but primarily as an authoritative commentator on his father's work—not on their personal relationship or shared experiences.

Young lived during the same times and in the same places and showed work in the same exhibitions as many of the major artists of the first half

of the twentieth century, including the pioneers of Modernism. Yet Toone, whether from a lack of documentation or other reasons, chose not to explore these associations in any depth. Gertrude Stein, for instance, is simply mentioned as “the innovative American writer” (42) despite Young’s association with her and especially her brother, Leo, in France.

Young “helped organize and participated in the famous [1913] Armory Show” (6) where he exhibited with Impressionists and Post-Impressionists and “new European modernists . . . Picasso, Braque, Matisse, Brancusi, Duchamp, Kandinsky, Picabia, and Léger” (104). With little explanation and no citations, Toone asserts that “throughout [Young’s] life he expressed only disdain for modern art. Intellectually and emotionally tied to the pioneers of modernism, Young could have been in on the ground level of the avant-garde, but his own avenue of expression remained realism” (45).

How could Young have “disdain” for these modern artists yet be so “intellectually and emotionally” associated with them, particularly Leo Stein and Alfred H. Maurer? Where is the justification for Toone’s statement: “Although he never was influenced by the modern art movement, his works played a key role in the development of modern sculpture” (7)? How is it possible for Young “never” to be influenced by his modernist contemporaries, yet be credited with playing a “key role” in the development of one of the most dramatic paradigm shifts in the history of Western visual art, including sculpture? Toone’s references to Young’s account of the Armory Show’s finances (106) and the break-up of the organizing committee (Robert Henri, George Bellows, others) are valuable, though undeveloped, insights.

Toone’s writing lacks critical assessment of Young’s work. It exaggerates the influences attributed to him and is riddled with adjectives like “greatest,” “best,” and “finest”: “Young considered Jean-Antoine Injalbert his greatest teacher” (46), or was it James T. Harwood, “whom he considered to be his ‘best teacher’” (31), or were art museums “his greatest teachers” (36)? The only criticism of Young’s work in the book was directed toward two temporary sculptures for the 1939 New York World’s Fair: “These statues lack the dynamic qualities of energy and form as well as the subtle surface modeling of the artist’s smaller works” (152). Yet Toone lauds Young’s plaster model for his 1926 Oklahoma *Pioneer Woman Monument* proposal, with its absurd scale and bulky form (photo, p. 128), as “strong and monumental—a figure of substance combined with classical restraint . . . creating a Madonna of the plains . . . a presence and stately elegance reminiscent of a Piero della Francesca,” a testament to “classical monumentality” (127-28).

Toone often compares Young’s work with those of other artists. Unfor-

tunately, their works are not reproduced, except for Avard Fairbanks's proposal for *This Is the Place Monument* (166). And Toone's comparisons unintentionally give the impression that Young's works, at times, verged on plagiarism. "Young's sculpture of Cecelia . . . reminds one of the work of Desiderio da Settignano" (74). "The pose for *The Rigger* is almost identical to George Grey Barnard's standing nude figure" (90). Young's *Stevedore* "is most like, and seems to be inspired by, a [Constantin] Meunier sculpture of the same subject" (56). Young was neither a plagiarist nor the innovator Toone promotes. He was a synthesizer who consciously drew from outside sources to make commendable works marked by his time who deserves the biographical and curatorial attention now awarded him.

The second volume, *A Song of Joys: The Biography of Mahonri Mackintosh Young, Sculptor, Painter, Etcher*, by Norma S. Davis was released to coincide with the retrospective exhibition, "Mahonri: A Song of Joys," which opened in October 1999 at BYU's Museum of Art (through 9 September 2000). Davis, an associate professor of humanities emeritus at BYU, co-curated the exhibit with the museum's Dawn Pheseay.

There are 16,223 artifacts in the Museum of Art's Young collection. Of those, 9,789 came through the Young estate and 7,048 of those are works by Young. This does not include an additional 5,500 works on paper in the Harold B. Lee Library (Pheseay, 30 November 1999 interview). Most of these works were obtained in 1959 through a "combination purchase and gift" (3) negotiated two years after the artist's death. The collection included "a library of some five thousand books, correspondence, clippings, art 'morgue,' financial records, boxes of photographs and a lifetime of sculptures, paintings, prints, and drawings" (3).

The exhibition and the biography highlight BYU's collection, even though Young's works are found in "major museums [British, Brooklyn, Armand Hammer, Metropolitan, Peabody, Whitney]" (3). Although more works borrowed from these sources might have given the exhibit a greater art world presence, at this time BYU's museum is more obliged to the Young family and the family of Young's second wife, Dorothy Weir, than to greater outside interests. (Young inherited from Dorothy many paintings by his father-in-law, J. Alden Weir, and other works of art.) We may hope for more exhibitions and publications gleaned from the Young collection, including thematic selections from his etchings, drawings, and sculpture.

Davis refers to Toone's work only in her preface: "Thomas E. Toone's recently published book . . . is valuable for its fine art reproductions and Toone's insight into Young's work. However, some of the research is based on [Wayne B.] Hinton's dissertation and continues many of his errors" (3). Her corrections of these errors, however many there might have been, are not articulated.

Unlike writings about Young by Hinton, Toone, Daniel S. Hodgson, and others, *A Song of Joys* benefits from the “abundant materials” now professionally cataloged at BYU’s Harold B. Lee Library and “fourteen boxes of new materials” found in the attic of the artist’s son in 1997. The discovery “made possible a more thorough documentation of the last three decades of the artist’s life” (3).

One of Davis’s objectives in writing *A Song of Joys* was to “provide a biography that can serve as a reliable resource for the future” (4). The author helped ensure its fulfillment by establishing the Norma S. Davis Research Collection on Mahonri M. Young in the Lee Library. It “contains photocopies of pertinent information from the private collections of Mahonri M. Young II, Ippy Patterson, and Charles M. Lay. It also contains transcripts of interviews by Norma S. Davis, M. Lewis Dittmore Jr., Paul H. Mattingly, and Doug Seemans” (293).

Davis’s text is animated by Young’s voice. Based largely on Young’s unfinished autobiography written in his last years and letters, *A Song of Joys* skillfully places the reader in Young’s studio, being regaled with story after story about the busy artist’s unfolding life and opinions on twentieth-century art. Davis’s ability to use her subject almost as a narrator distinguishes her book from Toone’s, and the generous quotations add copious details of the artist’s daily life, relationships with family and colleagues, artistic aspirations, and aesthetic insights. From his youth, Young doggedly made his own way through sacrifice and hard work. In the late 1890s, he and Salt Lake arts peer, Jack Sears, decided to “attend the Art Students League in New York City” (36). To save enough money, Young worked on a newspaper. “I gave up going to parties, refused to buy any new clothes, and saved about \$5.75 out of my weekly \$6” (37). Upon his eventual arrival, “Young knew that his time in New York was directly tied to his savings, and they were dwindling fast. He worked very hard in class and out of class to take advantage of every opportunity” (47). When Young’s money was gone, he did not complain or borrow money to stay longer. He returned home and began saving for an extended trip to study in Paris with another childhood friend, Lee Greene Richards.

A Song of Joys is smartly designed by Adrian Pulfer and Matt Scherer and follows what seems to be a trend for Young art books by reversing the cover image—“Laborer in Paris” (correctly shown on p. 87). With a title like *A Song of Joys*, however, a more upbeat drawing than this exhausted, ill-clad workman viewed from behind is warranted. There are generous illustrations throughout; but like Toone’s biography, they lack plate numbers and a dedicated index. A chronology would have strengthened the biographical material as well.

The book’s greatest strength, in addition to its art direction, is also its

most obvious weakness—its chattiness. Fussy particulars are included in the main body of the text instead of in notes or minimized through summary. This approach is a burden on readers less interested in minutia which diminishes Davis's ability to fulfill her stated goal to "truly instruct and delight" (4). The following example, may be refreshing for some people used to reading scholarly treatises on the importance of the French café in the development of Modern art, but I found it an overdose on detail:

The streets around Montparnasse were lined with cafés and small restaurants known as *crémeries*, where, during the noon hour and evenings, artists, students, and models gathered. Certain *crémeries* were favored by women students, others by men. Some became the meeting place for particular nationalities or for students who had mutual artistic interests. Young and [Lee Greene] Richards went to la *crémérie* du St. Bruneau on rue Delambre, near the juncture of boulevard Raspail and boulevard Montparnasse. The *crémérie* was run by a family from Auvergne—mother, father, and two daughters. Mahonri remembered them as short, stocky people, who made their student clientele feel welcome and at ease. "Papa" sat behind a counter which ran along the left side. "Maman" was generally seen moving back and forth between the kitchen and the rooms, joking and laughing as she supervised the work. The oldest daughter, Jeanne, an attractive and popular woman of about twenty, was the waitress. Young claimed that all the students were in love with Jeanne. The other daughter was too young to attract the men's attention. The scullery maid, Kiki, was less attractive—somewhat "slatternly" in Mahonri's opinion. (56-57)

Unlike Toone's tendency to interject into his text extensive information about other artists, such as Cyrus E. Dallin (Toone, 26-28), and redundant and rudimentary narratives about Mormon pioneer heritage, Davis focuses steadfastly on Young. After seven paragraphs of similar environmental descriptions of these Parisian watering holes, Davis tied it all back to her subject: "Young cultivated a considerable circle of acquaintances and some very close friends" (58). Her point is that Young, whether an extrovert or opportunist, relished joining groups, associations, and clubs of artists and socialites:

The pleasure he found in the company of his friends was a part of his profession. Many of his closest friendships in New York were formed through the various organizations to which he belonged—the National Academy of Design, the American Academy of Arts and Letters . . . the faculty of the Art Students League, and the Century Association. He also belonged to the Society of American Etchers, the Sculpture Society of New York, the American Watercolor Society, and the Utah Arts Association. His best friends tended to be members of all or most of these organizations. (275-76).

Young's membership in the Association of American Painters and Sculptors gave him entrée to the famous Armory Show of 1913 (128-32), a pivotal point in western art history. As Davis makes clear, Young genuinely enjoyed

people but also tenaciously groomed his social life as a way of pursuing public art commissions and sales.

Like Toone, Davis casts harsh judgments on Modernism, mostly through attribution without quotations from Young. She also clarifies why Toone did not describe in detail Young's relationship with one of Modernism's grande dames, Gertrude Stein, a "dictator of art," according to avant-garde artist Man Ray (167). "Mahonri did not allow Gertrude nor any one else to dictate his art. On one occasion she put some Picasso drawings on the table before him and said, with great admiration, that Picasso had done them without using a model. 'Obviously,' was Young's reply. He was never again invited to the famous apartment" (167). (Davis's reference to this incident, like most others, shows the source material but no event date, making it difficult to track chronology.) "Young's convictions . . . caused him to approach the rise of the Modernist movement first with amusement, then with suspicion and disdain, and finally with anger. Because it seemed to him that advocates of that movement scorned all he considered essential to art, he battled publicly against it" (287). Substantiation about Young's "anger" about Modernism from his own pen would be valuable and instructive, but are largely absent.

The terms *abstract*, *avant-garde*, and *Modernism* do not appear in Davis's index even though several disparaging references are made about Modernist art. Davis claims that Young "regretted the turn Maurer had taken in his life—both his isolation and his conversion to Modernism" (168), even blaming "his friend's emotional instability" and suicide on the crossover. According to Young, Maurer's "personality never suited the Modernist movement" (211). In a 1926 article in the *New York Herald Tribune*, Davis quotes Young "in what appears to be a direct address to American art students absorbed in abstraction . . . 'You can't understand Cézanne unless you know the Louvre. You can understand Matisse; but Matisse is now buying Courbets'" (168). Quoting from an essay by Frank Jewett Mather Jr., Davis again, through attribution to Young by others, takes issue with Modernism: "Mather stated that Young 'regards Modernism, which he has sympathetically studied, rather as a flurry to be avoided than as a revolution to be joined. Being no prophet, I am ready to bet that the future may justify what may seem an eccentricity today'" (227). Davis also notes that at age seventy-five, Young was "still wrestling with the concepts of Modernism" by quoting from a letter to his son Bill: "I'd like to know more of the basis of modern art writing" (275). Just above this reference Davis quotes Young about his meeting as a board member with the Guggenheim Foundation in 1955 where he claimed that Modernist "Henry Moore was more than pleased" to greet him. No other names of the prominent jury were mentioned. Quotations directly attributed to Young indicate that he did not

disparage Modernism as much as these two biographers intimate. Davis correctly states that "abstract art could hardly serve Mahonri Young's purposes" and that "his was an informed, conscious choice made after listening to, discussing, arguing with, and studying the Modernist movement from its inception" (132). Young's art was wedded to traditional narrative style and intent on romanticizing labor, Native Americans, and boxing.

With less detail than Toone, Davis also refers briefly to Young's departure from Mormonism except for his unrelenting pursuit of commissions from the LDS Church. Young stopped attending services as a youth, never served a mission, and was not endowed ("only a brother, not an Elder," he once told boxer Jack Dempsey [184]). However, Young never concealed his Utah and Mormon roots, routinely introduced himself as Brigham Young's grandson, and sought out the company of other Utahns abroad (including Heber J. Grant when he visited Europe). Both Davis and Toone point out that Young was distressed, because of pending commissions, when an article in *Life Magazine* said he had "disassociated himself from his ancestral religion" (228). Why did Young say so little about his spiritual orientation and relationship to the LDS Church? There are occasional glimpses: "Remember your own work and have charity" (175). Davis does not provide an answer, leaving the reader wondering if Young's autobiographical writings may have contained more information than she quoted.

An issue that Davis deals with too obliquely is Young's long-term relationship with his student, Mary Lightfoot Tarleton. Davis hints at romance but leaves the reader confused about whether they were actually lovers, although a few passages discreetly introduce the possibility: "In time, the two began to take a more personal interest in one another. She met the children and was sometimes a guest at the Leonia home" (157); "In the absence of Young's children, his relationship with Mary Tarleton intensified" (171); "Young spent the last two weeks of February [1927] with Mary Tarleton in southern France" (174); "As Mary later recalled, 'I told him I wanted to be free to go my own way and would not continue our relationship as before'" (182); "After thirteen years without his wife [and without mentioning that over half of those years were associated with Tarleton], he now knew that Dorothy Weir could fill the void caused by Cecelia's death" (188); "Hon was kind but seemed detached and indeed was, as before too long he told me he was going to marry the daughter of Alden Weir" (188). Since the notes make it plain that Davis had access to a diary in which Tarleton journaled about the relationship for her psychiatrist, such reticence would be amusing if Davis's sugar-coating was not such a serious flaw in a scholarly biography.

A Song of Joys has few editorial errors. A minor oversight, though, is the

first word in the Acknowledgments. “The” is used instead of “This biography” (1). Davis’s use of titles instead of names early in the text is awkward: “the father,” “the boy,” “When he was five, the child Mahonri . . .” (13). True, both father and son were named Mahonri; but they had different middle names, and even as a child, the artist went by “Hon.”

The general absence of psychological analysis of the artist and criticism of his work are shortcomings that future writers and curators should remedy. Other catalogs and exhibitions need to explore Young’s energetic drawings (over 10,000 by some estimates) and etchings (close to 300). Whether Davis’s biography, alone or in company with Toone’s, establishes a stronger position for Young among his more famous turn-of-the-century peers remains to be seen. His name is fairly well known in Salt Lake City where his major public works are located, but not in the East. References to him do not appear in the many overviews of twentieth-century art on sale for the last Christmas of the century. Still, the book is a compliment to Utah’s native son and to BYU’s Museum of Art that published it.

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Peter Crawley. *A Descriptive Bibliography of the Mormon Church, Vol. 1, 1830-1847*. Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Religious Studies Center, 1998. 477 pp. Annotations, illustrations, indices. \$55.95

Reviewed by Richard Saunders

Western cultures rely heavily upon the printed word to legitimate and perpetuate themselves. The tremendous social and intellectual fallout in the wake of the sixteenth-century invention of printing revolutionized European culture. Those familiar with the works of Natalie Z. Davis and Elizabeth Eizenstein will recognize the cultural weight that having their own words in print carried for emerging Mormon tradition. Born of an era when handbills and street corner sermons constituted mass media, Mormonism used pamphleteering—much of it *ad hoc*—as an efficient method of broadcasting their message and refuting detractors. Diaries and letters may provide windows into events of the past, but studying the contemporary press provides a direct tangible link to the public ideas of a specific time and place.

Despite its title, readers should be aware (and relieved) that Crawley’s book is actually *not* a descriptive bibliography. The word “bibliography” is bandied about freely these days, without respect to how it is used as an

identifying term. Traditional bibliographic conventions are codified to near opacity. The American classic on the subject, Fredson Bowers's *Principles of Bibliographic Description* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1949), dictates a strict descriptive regimen. The results confront scholars with dense tangles of data describing a printed work's physical minutiae. While that sort of detail is suitable for other bibliographers, rare book librarians, printing historians, and the most rabid of book collectors, it is less useful for general scholarship.

But if Crawley's work is then not a descriptive bibliography it is also not a proper bibliography (i.e., a list of works on a particular subject, like Douglas Alder's "Writing Southern Utah History: An Appraisal and a Bibliography," *Journal of Mormon History* 20 [Fall 1994]) nor is it a bibliographic checklist (i.e., a library listing arranged alphabetically, like Chad Flake's *A Mormon Bibliography 1830-1930* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1978)). Crawley has produced a work more akin to an annotated exhibition catalogue, structurally indebted to the one he and David J. Whittaker presented in *Mormon Imprints in Great Britain and the Empire, 1836-1857* (Provo, Utah: Friends of the BYU Library, 1987). In a descriptive work of this type, specific items are provided with summary descriptions while their histories and significance are explored in some detail. Mine may seem to be a semantic wrangle over what the book is not; but since the author has produced something of more general interest and more useful scope than the daunting title suggests, it is a worthy point.

Crawley's volume encompasses Latter-day Saint printed matter from the original impression of the Book of Mormon in 1830, to a small hymnal issued by Lyman Wight in Texas shortly before his excommunication at the end of 1847. Its 345 entries include not only books and pamphlets, but also posters, handbills, serials (newspapers), and more than a few placeholder entries for known but as-yet-unlocated works. Succeeding volumes will carry listings and descriptions through 1857. Following a simplified catalogue-entry format, Crawley has listed author(s), title and imprint, and pagination. He selectively includes summations of identifying physical characteristics, but this is not a consideration of "points" between collectible editions. A census of extant copies available in institutional hands is included.

The majority of works are already listed in the Flake checklist. In fact, readers will be surprised how few new discoveries in Mormon bibliography have been made in the twenty years since the release of Flake's monumental checklist, suggesting that the sequential numbering Crawley assigns each item will likely remain uninterrupted by many additional discoveries.

Crawley's major contribution consists of painstakingly researched notes and general assessments of a work's significance in the larger world of Mormon culture. The book as a whole has a perceptible weakness in its

general organization. This sort of scholarship naturally compartmentalizes history by examining works individually as discrete entities. Any arrangement rationale is artificial, and author/title arrangement is traditional for a work of this type. Here, entries are grouped chronologically by year then arranged alphabetically by author or title entry (for authorless works). But the focus on providing readers with contextual notes rather than bibliographic details mark this work as history in catalogue form, not as true descriptive bibliography; consequently the arrangement makes it impossible to proceed from entry to entry to encompass a sweep of events. The book would have suffered nothing and been strengthened substantially by grouping the descriptive listings by general location. At the very least there should be a geographical index to rectify the oversight (by state/province, and thereunder by city where merited) to accompany the author/title, biographical, and subject indices. Perhaps such an index for all books will be included in the series' closing volume.

In stepping back to examine the book's contribution to our general field, the entries' specific details dissolve into a broad pattern with its own significance. The author's notes, while focused on specific imprints, together successfully encapsulate the scope of early missionary work and chronicle the spread of Mormonism and social forces within it, without resorting to excessively detailed narrative or disembodied synthetic historicism. Crawley has created a history of Mormon expansion reflected by its print culture. Because it encompasses *everything* done during the period, the work has enough breadth to communicate a sense of how much was going on in Mormonism far from Kirtland and Far West and Nauvoo. Frankly, I don't think this could have been adequately done in any way other than in the medium of a catalogue. Consequently, this work is an important one and its author is to be complimented. I commend the book not only to the librarians to whom it will immediately appeal, but to those who are interested in the demographic, social, and intellectual history of the Church. As a bibliographer I hope this book encourages future studies of non-English-language Mormon imprints, of the output of smaller groups claiming Joseph Smith's legacy, and on the opposite side of Crawley's cultural coin—the anti-Mormon press of the period.

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Maurice L. Draper. *Footnotes: Excerpts from an Appointee's Diary and Elder's Ex-*

pense Reports—Missionary Years. Independence: Herald House, 1996. 239 pp. Preface, notes, no index, illustrations. \$15. ISBN 0-8309-0738-6

Gary Shepherd and Gordon Shepherd. *Mormon Passage: A Missionary Chronicle*. Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1998; 454 pp.; preface, notes, bibliography, index. \$49.95 cloth; \$24.95 paper. ISBN 0-252-02356-0

Reviewed by Madison H. Thomas

These two books represent valuable contributions by illuminating the missionary activities of the two main Mormon churches—LDS and RLDS—and the authors, their associates, and their hierarchies.

The first, a memoir by Maurice L. Draper, focuses on a ten-year period of missionary activity for the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (RLDS) from 1937 to 1947. In it, Draper outlines his genealogy from twelfth-century France through England to the United States, then recounts his early life in southern California. His history is a cleverly interwoven tapestry of personal recollections, diary entries, and excerpts from letters, all against a framework of his financial records. During his first years as a missionary, he was expected to raise all of his own funds from local member contributions. Entries in his Elders' Expense Reports reveal a sharp limitation of resources and restriction of how money was spent. Even considering inflation factors, the frugality he exercised is impressive.

The differences in the methods of RLDS and LDS missionaries in that decade are interesting from the historical point of view. At age fifteen, Draper had an impressive dream, the only one to which he attributes divine inspiration in his record. He found himself among a group of preachers exhorting a multitude, who crossed a valley in a steady stream to take their places in an orchestra:

When I awoke, I was weeping tears of joy. Pleasurable sensations filled my body. . . . I knew the identity of the preachers. They were members of the Council of Twelve Apostles of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Later Day Saints and I was among them! I couldn't believe my own mind, but the conviction persisted. It was to be a persuasive element in life-forming decisions yet before me. (28).

In the 1930s, financial constraints required the release of most of the RLDS Church's full-time ministers with the vacuum being filled by young unmarried men who served without compensation. At eighteen, he received a two-year mission appointment authorized by the Twelve after a probing interview. His first assignment was to the Oregon-Washington area in July 1937, followed by indefinite extensions until he was ordained an

apostle in 1947 at age twenty-nine. His lifetime of service to his Church included twenty years as counselor in the RLDS First Presidency.

Draper began his mission with only \$1.69 in his pocket. His first month's expenses were \$11.28. His December 1938 expenditures were double—\$26.64—but the largest amount was \$8.31 for train and bus fare, with the next highest amount being \$3.00 for a youth conference registration. Seven of the fourteen items were for under a dollar, and meals cost him \$1.70. (He paid slightly more for “recreation”—a whopping \$1.86.) (117)

He often teamed up with local pastors or others to offer a series of evening lectures, after which they visited with interested persons in their homes. A regular activity of local branches was to hold reunions, a summer camp of a week or so. Draper often assisted with arrangements, setting up tents, and administering the activities.

Biennial General Conferences (now World Conferences) allowed Draper to return to Church headquarters, traveling on free or reduced-rate clergy passes. In April 1939, his assignment was changed to the Denver area, where he alternated between preaching in Denver churches, traveling to more remote areas for preaching series, arranging reunions, and doing radio talks.

On the personal side, a source of support was Olive Ruth Willis, Draper's high school sweetheart. They met rarely during his mission and faced uncertainty about their future. This and their later deprivations almost cast the Church hierarchy in the role of their opposition. After rare meetings, Draper was given an extended appointment, with pay, and they were permitted to marry on 28 April 1940. Their housing conditions were often primitive. Their “honeymoon cottage” was a farm feed storage shed shared with an apostle (191). Other housing included one-room apartments with jointly used or outside facilities. But they met these challenges with stoicism and ingenuity.

Woven throughout these mundane details is Draper's constant search for truth that led him to earn two academic degrees against considerable odds and publish several books, including some on the Restoration and on Joseph Smith. There is a spiritual tone from beginning to end. His full-time ministerial career spanned six decades followed by writing and world-wide travels as an evangelist (the office formerly called patriarch). He concludes by comparing human relationships to Beethoven's Fifth Symphony: “The theme is that God is making human beings in the divine image—‘of one blood’ all the nations . . . of the earth. Their variations on the theme may yet produce a unity in diversity, the result[ing] peace being the symphony of the kingdom of God” (239).

The second book, *Mormon Passage: A Missionary Chronicle*, is from the LDS perspective. It is also a personal memoir but more ambitious. Twins

Gary and Gordon Shepherd both served in adjoining Mexican missions (1964-66) and both subsequently became academic sociologists. They define their book's primary purpose as documenting "the process of religious socialization, to which Mormon youths are exposed as missionaries, and the development of their capacity to perform organizationally defined religious roles as they carry out proselyting assignments in behalf of a rapidly expanding international church" (418). They draw on their memories, diaries, letters to each other, and letters to and from other friends, most of whom are identified by pseudonyms.

They introduce and critique their experiences with insightful sociological analysis into the dynamics of these experiences, coupled with solid historical and statistical research and including a socio-managerial critique of how the mission experience could be administered more effectively.

The sections of commentary amount to 114 pages of history, with comparisons to missionary efforts of other churches, beginning in the early nineteenth century. An interesting chart shows an average ratio of converts per LDS missionary over the past thirty years to vary between 5.3 and 7.6, as the number of missionaries rose from 9,000 to over 48,000. In 1996, 20.9 percent of the total members were in South America; Mexican membership was 7.8 percent and growing rapidly (10).

Their record of how missionaries are called, how they are trained, and the uncertainty of the ultimate effect of their experience on their faith is a vivid record of missionary work with a binocular focus on the personal (their own mission experiences in the 1960s) and the professional (their sociological analysis in the 1990s) that will grow only more valuable as a benchmark as time passes. The authors express optimism for the future Church: "The sense of mission in a sacred cause, which each new generation . . . receives is similar to the crusade conception of earlier generations" (420).

In recent years, women have made up approximately 20 percent of the total LDS missionary force, compared to 24 percent of U.S. Air Force recruits, 19 percent for the Army, 17 percent for the Navy, and 5 percent for the Marines (421). Recognizing the ambivalence of Church officials on women's service, the authors make no predictions regarding the future of women as missionaries.

They are more confident about their predictions of the rising influence of indigenous missionaries. During their missions, Mexicans made up between 10 and 20 percent of the country's missionary force, while the current figure is up to 90 percent and expected to rise as the Church in Mexico matures (423).

While this analytical material is interesting and invaluable, I found most absorbing their personal experiences. Although the excerpts are almost

certainly highly selective, the contents are remarkably self-revealing, as the brothers candidly brag about their successes or derelictions, express criticism of leaders, peers, or the system, or renew commitment after slacking off. After being appointed assistant to the president, Gordon soberly wrote Gary about his new responsibilities:

These are all important tasks but the constant, direct work with investigators is missing and in between official duties there's more leisure time and monotony than I'm used to. I can understand why Elder Baron is so anxious to get back into the thick of things in the field. I will need to look for ways to magnify my calling and not waste time. I know I will be looked to as an example so my most important task, I think, will be to maintain high standards of personal conduct, maintain humility, and allow my actions to be guided by the spirit of the Lord. I must guard against becoming cocky or complacent. (375)

The brothers present their early missionary service as three ritual stages. The entry stage consists of the missionary farewell sacrament meeting, a week in the Salt Lake Mission Home, three months at the Language Training Mission (LTM) in Provo, where they found "the rumors were true" that the LTM was, like the Army, "the basic training of the mission field" (68). They generally complied but reacted much as soldiers often do, bending and breaking the rules when they could without immediate consequences. They each met their respective girlfriends (one was Gordon's future wife, Beckie), sneaked into a ballgame, ditched their companions, met their parents, went to a barbeque, and had an overnight guest.

In the second stage, they departed to their respective missions where they dealt with the challenges of mastering the language, recurring diarrhea, amebic dysentery, the hot climate, organized Catholic hostility, poor living quarters, theft, long tracting hours, and companions ranging from the dedicated to the lazy, incompetent, or physically aggressive. They frankly record the inherent rivalry of the male mission experience. They wanted to be well thought of, competed for leadership positions, struggled to meet externally set goals (quotas), and dealt with the fallibilities of some general and local authorities.

In the third stage, both brothers rose to the top of the missionary ladder as assistants to the mission president. Although both brothers were competent and diligent leaders, they were not rigid in following the rules they considered less important. They record body surfing, sneaking out in the mission station wagon, and being jailed for not carrying a passport. Both were involved in auto accidents, probably related to traveling too fast and one of which required lying about who was driving. They jointly planned and neatly executed a rendezvous across mission boundaries so that they could spend an afternoon visiting one another. They expressed no regrets.

However, with deeper experience also came a discernible loss of early

intensity. Their letters and diaries record “worry about a declining sense of . . . religious conviction” (162-63) “some ambivalence” about missionary motives, work ethics, and ambition for status.” Gordon lamented that “there are too many women running around . . . with too little clothing (or underwear for that matter). It’s hard to keep the proper missionary spirit when you allow yourself lustful glances at your investigators” (201-2). They feared a “loss of resolution and spirituality when things get soft” (400), and acknowledge in their introduction that others had commented on “the relative lack of deep religious feeling or spirituality in our writing” (xii).

This splendidly written and richly contexted missionary chronicle will orient many readers to the scope of the LDS missionary program and will stimulate many, both in and out of the Church, to greater understanding and perhaps personal reappraisals. It would be valuable reading for all newly called mission presidents and others involved in missionary preparation and selection.

The Shepherds carefully define “passage” from the anthropological point of view as consisting of “three sequential stages, featuring separation, transition (including hardship, deprivation, self-mortification, esoteric vocabularies, mythologies, changed attitudes, acceptable behaviors, and acceptable levels of skills), and incorporation” (26). They limit the term “rites of passage” to ceremonial occasions symbolized by shifts in the sequence.

However, for most of us, the term “passage” represents “the action, or process of passing from one place, condition or stage to another.” The public rites of passage for young Mormon males begin early: baptism, graduation from Primary, successive ordinations beginning at age twelve, being sustained in leadership positions, Boy Scout Courts of Honor that recognize achievement, recognition for Church athletic competitions, and frequent public speaking. In private come frequent interviews by leaders to check on continuing worthiness, assignments to function as a home teacher, and participation in pre-mission activities. Like young women, some of whose activities parallel those of the boys, the young men are encouraged to link missionary service and temple marriage as the dual major achievements of their future. In this light, the mission is part of a continuum of maturation, not a true “passage” from one condition to another. The Shepherds quote President Hinckley’s comments to new mission presidents in 1990 that missionary work is not a “course in personal development, a rite of passage, a finishing school for young men and women” (31). Many readers will be left with some fascinating questions of interpretation.

Although the Shepherds were generally hard-working and diligent missionaries—successful by external measures—their brief epilogue indicates that, after their missions, they “have become detached over the years from

the religious commitments of our youths" (416). One might ask if that was not their true "passage" from "insider" to "nonparticipant." They speculate on the influence of other factors—the civil rights movement, the Vietnam War, and the intellectual stimulation and critical analysis of college studies. Despite the brevity of this epilogue, I think an expanded treatment would also be of great interest and value to many. We have a plethora of conversion stories but a dearth of insightful deconversion stories.

The footnotes, index, bibliography, and editing are excellent. I noted only one misspelled word (375). A map showing the 1964-66 boundaries of the two missions would have been helpful. The authors made no effort to summarize Mormon theology, but such a discussion would be helpful so that members and nonmembers alike may have a better grasp of the task facing young missionaries and the central role of missionary work in the LDS Church, past and present, at home and abroad.

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Brigham D. Madsen. *Against the Grain: Memoirs of a Western Historian*. Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1998. ix + 414 pp. Photographs, notes, appendix, list of publications, index. \$31.95. ISBN 1-56085-113-9

Reviewed by Max J. Evans

Early in my career I worked as a graduate editorial assistant for the new *Western Historical Quarterly*. Its early volumes featured autobiographical sketches by the great western historians of the time. Ray Allen Billington, Oscar Osburn Winther, and John Francis Bannon were among those whose life sketches appeared. I read these essays and the others that followed with avid interest. That generation is now gone—as is my youth. Yet I read Brigham Madsen's memoirs with the same enthusiasm that I felt nearly thirty years ago.

Madsen's life story is complex and multifaceted. His careers (note the plural) over a fifty-year span brought him in contact with workers and scholars, the great and the ordinary. Born in Magna, Utah, he grew up in Pocatello, Idaho. After a mission to eastern Tennessee and North Carolina, he graduated from the University of Utah, married, then went to Berkeley for graduate work. Military service interrupted his academic career. He

enlisted, qualified for officers' training, then helped instruct other budding officers. Sent to Europe at the end of the war, he worked as an army historian and had the unique experience of attending a day of the war crime trials in Nuremberg.

Returning to Berkeley and completing a Ph.D. in 1948, Madsen then began teaching at Brigham Young University. After six years he left to build homes in a rapidly sprawling postwar Utah. He had learned carpentry and the general contractor business from his father. Madsen had earlier employed those skills in the mission field, where he built LDS chapels, and as a student. This diversion from academia lasted seven years.

A history faculty post at Utah State University followed. There he met officials of Kennedy's Peace Corps and VISTA. After three years in Logan, Madsen went to Washington, D.C., where he was responsible for training recruits. Returning to Utah in 1965, Madsen became dean of continuing education at the University of Utah, then deputy academic vice president, administrative vice president, director of libraries, and chair of the history department before he returned full time to the classroom. During his years as a history professor, Madsen picked up his research and writing. He completed fourteen books and dozens of articles on western history topics. His was an extraordinary career, not typical of most history professors.

Like any good autobiography, *Against the Grain* does more than sketch Madsen's life. He freely expresses his thoughts and feelings, some of which will be of interest to students of Mormon history. Madsen does not consider himself a Mormon *historian*—a historian who studies the history of the Latter-day Saints. He is, of course, a *Mormon* historian—a historian who happens to be a Mormon. Readers of the *Journal of Mormon History* may find insights in his descriptions of contacts with the Church and its members, and of the evolution of his beliefs.

Madsen has considered himself a "cultural Mormon" for many years, but his Mormon roots run deep, and this book was honored by a special citation at the 1999 Mormon History Association annual meeting. Madsen devotes the first three chapters to his convert ancestors from Britain and Scandinavia. They were active members, as was the young Brigham. His missionary experiences, chronicled in two chapters are dear to him. He learned self-reliance and confidence, and had already learned hard work. Madsen tempers his fond recollections of the mission experience by after-the-fact criticism of the church's present missionary program. He believes that we have unduly regimented and burdened missionaries with performance goals (87). He also records that his mission was also the beginning of "doctrinal disillusionment:"

A priest in the Aaronic priesthood . . . asked me to ordain him an elder in the

Melchizedek priesthood, which would qualify him and his wife to fulfill their life-long hope of receiving their endowments in the Salt Lake City temple and being sealed. . . . He had been saving toward this purpose. . . . When I mentioned the request to the branch president, he responded with horror and shock. He told me that the brother in question had an African-American grandparent; although he and his children certainly looked Caucasian and his wife was white, everyone knew of his black parentage. The branch president agreed with me that the man was fully worthy in every way for the ordination; but . . . he and I did not see any way to proceed. The ordination would be invalid, it would scandalize the branch, and the neighboring gentile community would condemn their LDS neighbors. (106-7)

Madsen married Betty McAllister in the Salt Lake Temple, then left for Berkeley. His memoir does not again mention active temple worship but records that the family remained active in the social life of their LDS wards until after all of their four children left home. During many of those years, by his own definition, he was and is an agnostic. While at BYU and after years of doubt, he found the gulf between faith and reason too great. Much to his credit, he could not justify accepting a salary paid by the tithing of the Church once he lost belief in its doctrines. Unlike others who have left the Mormon fold, he does not attack the Church. He continues to believe in many of its values. He attended meetings, paid fast offerings, and encouraged his children to participate in Church-run programs. His book is generally positive about Mormonism. His criticism, with rare exceptions, is gentle and understanding. He even confesses doubts even his agnosticism when he reports a conversion with soulmate Sterling McMurrin.

His sharpest criticism is reserved for BYU. Six years under the heavy-handed administration of BYU president Ernest L. Wilkinson were not entirely happy and may have contributed to his disaffection with the Church. He harshly declares that BYU is not "a true university" since it rejects academic freedom, thus shortchanging its students (225). He does not acknowledge BYU's current stance that, because its faculty can teach spiritual matters, they have more academic freedom than secular schools.

Some of Madsen's work as a historian indirectly touches on Mormon history. His studies of Corrine, the Bear River massacre, Colonel Patrick E. Conner, and the 'forty-niners in Utah treat the contacts between Mormons and Gentiles. The work that most directly confronts Mormon beliefs is his edited version of B. H. Roberts's *Studies of the Book of Mormon* (University of Illinois Press, 1985) and several related articles.

Madsen is a good writer and his memoir makes good reading. However, his editors seem unclear about the book's audience. Many footnotes are explanations of Mormon-related terms or concepts. They, and the short appendix on Mormon history and Church structure, are entirely unnecessary. They seem quite superficial, even for a non-Mormon audience.

I recommend this work. Like the Alvin Gittins's portrait on the dust jacket, it paints an engaging picture of a full and productive life, presented honestly, with candor and forthrightness. I cannot complain, as a reviewer, if I do not always agree with his point of view. An autobiographer will have his own voice and speak from his own experiences. This memoir does that.

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Stan Larson, ed. *A Ministry of Meetings: The Apostolic Diaries of Rudger Clawson*. Salt Lake City: Signature Books in Association with Smith Research Associates, 1993. xviii + 803 pp. Chronology, genealogy chart, map, General Authorities 1898-1904, notes, index. \$95. ISBN 0-941212-92-3

Reviewed by Brian H. Stuy

Few decades brought more change for the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints than the last ten years of the nineteenth century. Beginning with the announcement of the Manifesto in 1890, the Church made significant and substantial changes in both doctrine and policy, which effectively brought it from a small, geographically concentrated organization to the worldwide religion that it is today.

Many of these changes were made during the time that Rudger Clawson served as a junior apostle in the Church's hierarchy. Called to the apostleship in 1898, he kept an extensive record of the goings-on in the many leadership meetings that he attended. It is obvious from the onset that Clawson prides himself on detail, and the journal extracts contained in this volume attest to his propensity to record the minutia of the daily dealings of the First Presidency and Quorum of the Twelve, as well as his own life experiences.

Stan Larson acknowledges at the outset that *A Ministry of Meetings* is not Clawson's complete journal; rather Larson has selected entries from Clawson's 3,665 pages of diaries concentrating on the first six years of Clawson's tenure as apostle, beginning with Clawson's call to the apostleship on 8 October 1898, and ending with his 5 October 1904 letter to Heber J. Grant confirming Clawson's intentions to abide by the First Presidency request that the brethren no longer record meeting details in their private journals (xvi-xvii). This volume thus focuses on those first six years; they contain Clawson's record of nearly every meeting of the Quorum of the Twelve he attended then as well as many other leadership meetings.

As the Church approached the twentieth century, it struggled to assimilate itself into the larger landscape of American society. Clawson's journal is an invaluable source of information documenting this struggle. One area of continuing difficulty that flows through Clawson's entire record concerns the ongoing practice of plural marriage. Clawson details instructions from the First Presidency clearly instructing the Twelve that new polygamous sealings must cease (235, 249, 300-301, 425, 442). Yet, interestingly, discussions among the Twelve in meetings without the First Presidency directly contradicted those instructions. Many members of the quorum openly advocated the continued practice of plural marriage, and Clawson convinces us that nearly all of the apostles shared this view. (130, 342, 379, 487, 567, 638). Obviously Clawson did; in late 1904, he took a plural wife (x).

Clawson's journal is a virtual gold mine of interesting doctrinal and historical nuggets. The quorum struggled with questions of whether beer is against the Word of Wisdom (298-99), whether there are daughters of perdition (560), whether performing temple work was appropriate for those destined for the telestial kingdom (476), or whether chess and checkers should be discouraged along with card playing (641). I was intrigued by Franklin D. Richards's teaching that, when the Holy Ghost is "conferred upon a man, in his opinion, it is a righteous spirit, or in other words, a Holy Ghost under the direction of *the* Holy Ghost" (21). Clawson records George Q. Cannon declaration in a solemn assembly that "there are those in this audience who are descendants of the old 12 Apostles and, shall I say it, yes, descendants of the Savior himself" (72).

Also of great interest are discussions about potential stake and other local leaders. For example, President Joseph F. Smith contended, and George Q. Cannon agreed, that Joseph R. Murdock, prospective president of Wasatch Stake, lacked "backbone" and was unsuitable to hold the office (48-49). I felt sorry for Abraham Zundel, when President Lorenzo Snow asked him privately following a general leadership meeting, to resign as bishop of Willard Ward (Brigham City Stake). When Zundel asked the reason, Clawson, following President Lorenzo Snow's instructions, recited a litany of failings and leadership inadequacies (106-7). Similar appraisals of other leaders enrich our understanding about how callings and releases were extended.

My list of complaints contains only two items. I wanted more historical context provided for events that Clawson only alludes to. One example is the accusations of adultery leveled against Heber J. Grant (83). Second, Larson silently standardized Clawson's spelling and grammar, in an effort to make the material more readable (xv-xvii); but I find that spelling and

grammatical abilities are important windows into the writer's personality, lending flavor to the reader's experience.

But these are minor issues. Clawson's journal contains a wealth of detail about the growth and evolution of Church doctrine and policy at the turn of the century. Stan Larson is to be commended for doing a fine job of editing Clawson's journals, and Signature Books has made an invaluable contribution in bringing this fascinating journal to general readership.

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Ronald W. Walker. *Wayward Saints: The Godbeites and Brigham Young*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1998. xix + 399 pp. Photographs, biographical references, index. \$25. ISBN 0-252-02378-1

Reviewed by Richard Neitzel Holzapfel

After Roger D. Launius and Linda Thatcher's fine *Differing Visions: Dissenters in Mormon History* (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1994), one may wonder if another book on dissent and dissenters within Mormonism is necessary. Ronald W. Walker provides several interrelated justifications in his *Wayward Saints*, which was winner of the Mormon History Association's 1998 Best Book Award. This study creates a group biography of several British Mormon intellectuals, known as the Godbeites after a principal leader William S. Godbe, and the challenge they posed to Brigham Young's leadership—more particularly, to his vision of a Zion society in the Great Basin in the 1870s.

First, Walker points out that the story of the Godbeites is a rather dramatic one. Second, he argues that their story raises important questions about the nature of religious authority. Third, he describes it as an exercise in the difficult art of collective biography—telling the interrelated lives of several individuals. Fourth, he challenges former interpreters' claims that the story is about reform and asserts that it is, instead, about a revolution. Fifth, he maintains that the story shows the convergence of British Mormonism and Utah Mormonism on the western frontier. This convergence reveals the tensions, concerns, conflicts, practices, and values of a religious community at a specific moment—that critical period of Utah history just as the railroad arrived in the territory and as the national government, particularly the Republican Party, turned its eyes to Utah again following the successful conclusion of the Civil War.

This last point, highlighted in Chapter 5, "Two Rival Visions of Society," provides the conceptual framework for Walker's basic argument: nineteenth-century Mormonism was actually composed of several kinds of varieties of belief, two of which the Godbeites brought into compelling dialogue: Utah Mormonism and British Mormonism.

Wayward Saints is a tightly crafted narrative, the result of years of research, thoughtful reflection, and careful writing on various and related aspects of the broader story of dissent and dissenters. Walker was attracted to this topic during graduate school at the University of Utah and, in 1977, completed his dissertation, "The Godbeite Protest in the Making of Modern Utah." Both before and after finishing his graduate studies, Walker published articles on the subject, all of which are the basis of various chapters.¹ In short, Walker has been in the process of writing this book for nearly twenty-six years; and it is something of a surprise to realize that it is the first book from this seasoned scholar. Because of Walker's substantial publication record on the subject since 1974, the reader might expect much of *Wayward Saints* to be familiar, even old; but in actuality, it contains many fresh insights. The historic facts of the story remain basically the same, but the nuances of interpretation are profoundly different in many instances; and in other places, he gives us much more detail than he had provided on previous occasions.

Walker admits that his initial plan was "to put the project on a short leash—no more than two or three months of work," letting his previous

¹They include "The Commencement of the Godbeite Protest: Another View," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 42 (Summer 1974): 216-44; "The Keep-A-Pitchinin—Or the Mormon Pioneer Was Human," *BYU Studies* 14 (Spring 1974): 331-44; "The Stenhouses and the Making of a Mormon Image," *Journal of Mormon History* 1 (1974): 51-72; "Edward W. Tullidge: Historian of the Mormon Commonwealth," *Journal of Mormon History* 3 (1976): 55-72; "The Liberal Institute: A Case Study in National Assimilation," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 10 (Autumn 1977): 74-85; "Growing Up in Early Utah: The Wasatch Literary Association, 1874-1878," *Sunstone* 6 (November-December 1981): 44-51; "When the Spirits Did Abound: Nineteenth-Century Utah's Encounter with Free Thought Radicalism," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 50 (Fall 1982): 304-24; "Cradling Mormonism: The Rise of the Gospel in Early Victorian England," *BYU Studies* 27 (Winter 1987): 25-36; "Brigham Young on the Social Order," *BYU Studies* 28 (Summer 1988): 37-52; "Godbeites," *Utah History Encyclopedia*, edited by Allan Kent Powell (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1994), 224-26; "William S. Godbe (1833-1902) and Elias Lacy Thomas Harrison (1830-1900)," *Dictionary of Heresy Trials in American Christianity*, edited by George H. Shriver (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1997), 150-59; and "The Keep-A-Pitchinin," *Pioneer* (Summer 1998): 16-21.

essays stand as published for a book on the subject (xviii). He soon discovered that this strategy would not work. Stan Larson called to inform him that the University of Utah had recently acquired some papers of William S. Godbe, giving new and important source material. More importantly, "My changed ideas, interests, and approach to the New Movement required new thinking and new research," he records. We can be grateful for this because the result is a "larger and more ambitious book" than he originally intended (xviii).

Chapter 1, "Rebellion in Zion," provides important context and background for the rest of the book, but it is no abstract excursus. It recreates the explosive public confrontation between E. L. T. Harrison, the movement's intellectual and spiritual force, and Brigham Young, at the Salt Lake School of the Prophets in October 1869. This episode is so engaging that it may be difficult for anyone to put the book down. Walker's ability to capture the spirit of a historical incident clearly, precisely, and passionately, makes this book compelling from its first pages.

The chapters that follow contain the detailed and complex story of the revolution, known as the New Movement: Chapter 2, "British Origins and Youthful Beginnings," Chapter 3, "Godbe's Rising Star," Chapter 4, "Intellectuals in Zion," Chapter 5, "Two Rival Visions of Society," Chapter 6, "Merchant Wars and Declining Faith," Chapter 7, "New York Epiphany," Chapter 8, "Interval before Rebellion," Chapter 9, "Before the Bar," Chapter 10, "First Months of Revolt," Chapter 11, "Church of Zion," Chapter 12, "Politics," Chapter 13, "Newspaper War," Chapter 14, "When the Spirits Did Abound," Chapter 15, "The Liberal Institute," Chapter 16, "The Spoken and Written Word," Chapter 17, "Godbe's Last Years," Chapter 18, "Requiem," and "Epilogue."

Thoroughly rooted in the broad fabric of post-Civil War American religious history, Walker plows new ground in several ways in each chapter. He not only places the Godbeite schism within the context of ideas permeating post-Civil War America but also locates them in the British world in which many of the principal participants flourished before their conversions.

One of the consequential reasons why this book is an important addition to the literature on dissent and this period of Mormon history is Walker's attempt to focus on "ideas," instead of focusing on "contention and personalities—finding heroes and villains" in the narrative (xiv). Yet the individual voices are still present in the story since Walker allows these literate and intelligent men and women to "speak for themselves" to a considerable extent (xix). They include E. L. T. Harrison, Eli B. Kelsey, Henry W. Lawrence, Fanny W. Stenhouse, T. B. H. Stenhouse, Edward W. Tullidge, and Godbe himself.

Certainly, the “narrative centers on the question of dissent”; nevertheless, Walker is much more interested in methodology (xiv). Like Grant Underwood’s *The Millenarian World of Early Mormonism* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993), Walker uses biblical studies to shape part of his discussion. Relying upon the methodological approach of John G. Gager’s *Kingdom and Community: The Social World of Early Christianity* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1975) as a starting point, Walker uses “dissent as a historical tool” to tell “a larger story than Godbeitism” (xv).

In the Epilogue, Walker shows how Utah changed from the point before the storm of the New Movement blew in and blew out a few years later by one usually forgotten historical incident—a baseball game. Nearly one-sixth of the total population of Salt Lake County, five thousand fans, watched the “Deserets” defeat the Cheyenne “Red Stockings” in the summer of 1877, demonstrating in a real way that “Utah in the 1870s was becoming Americanized” (362). Without minimizing the Godbeites’ interest and importance, he shows that larger national forces were changing Mormonism more drastically and more dramatically. Simultaneously, the Godbeites’ hunger for theologically demanding and spiritually intense experiences led them in a direction that diverged too sharply for more than a handful of Mormons to follow them even briefly. The instability and disarray that afflicted the private lives of several were a further reason for the thoughtful to avoid their path.

One of the unintended fruits of Walker’s work is to refocus our attention on Brigham Young, not as a stereotype, but as a real person. Walker’s study demonstrates how Young tried to minimize the effects of his policies once he realized that they were generating schism: “Brigham Young’s equanimity before the nonconformist *Peep O’ Day* and later the *Utah Magazine*, his wish to avoid the confrontation that the Godbeite leaders, especially Harrison, thrust upon him, his temporary grant of the Thirteenth Ward Assembly rooms for the New Movement’s use, his continuing work with Henry Lawrence despite the latter’s continued intransigence, and his counsel to fellow church members not to abuse or infringe on the rights of the dissenters” (367). Walker marshals an array of evidence to support his claim that “conditions [in Utah] were never as repressive as some critics made them out to be” (xvi).

In the end, Walker is right: The story of the Godbeites is a rather dramatic one; it raises important questions about the nature of religious authority; it is a collective biography, telling us much about a cadre of individuals; the book reveals in startling ways that New Movement was more a revolution than a reform; and the book dramatically shows the convergence of British Mormonism and Utah Mormonism. I would add two more justifications for this book. First, Walker’s tireless efforts yield a well-re-

searched and eloquently written book; the arguments are cogent, and his new information provides a different tint and perspective on the subject, even for those who have diligently read everything Walker has written on this story since 1974. Second, and more important, the same issues, arguments, and scriptural justifications are used in the continuing debate regarding the limits of dissent within modern Mormonism as those raised during the Godbeite protest and revolution. In that respect, this book is a mirror for our times.

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Richard D. Poll. *Working the Divine Miracle: the Life of Apostle Henry D. Moyle*. Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1999. xx, 240 pp. Prefatory tributes, editor's preface, epilogue, appendix, photographs, bibliographical note, index. \$29.95 cloth. ISBN 0-56085-129-5

Reviewed by C. Brooklyn Derr

During his forty-six years as a professional historian, Richard Poll made a significant contribution to Mormon history. His final book, *Working the Divine Miracle: The Life of Apostle Henry D. Moyle*, is a telling biography, not least because, though written in 1983, it was not brought to press for another fifteen years, well after his death. It is an important book that both the Moyle family and more traditional distributors would not publish earlier, now completed by Stan Larson, archivist at the University of Utah's Marriott Library where Poll's research notes, oral history interviews, and chapter drafts are housed and available without restriction. Among the book's contributions are an interesting epilogue and, in an appendix, Poll's 1992 Sunstone presentation, "Problems of Writing Mormon Biography," both of which are instructive to honest biographers of LDS Church leaders.

While candid and even willing to portray Henry D. Moyle as the hard-driving wheeler-dealer he was, Poll is quick to balance his portrait. He seems to genuinely like and respect Moyle, valuing his generosity and basic decency more than his frailties. Moyle, says Poll, "may sometimes have pushed too aggressively, but he pushed mainly in the right direction" (224).

Larson's preface summarizes the volume's organization:

Poll's biography of Henry Dinwoodey Moyle (1889-1963) is not a simple

listing of chronological events. Moyle was too diversified in his experiences for that kind of treatment. Instead, Poll divided the book into sixteen broad subject chapters . . . : The Pioneer Moyles; Son and Brother; Missionary; Student, Lawyers, Soldier; Alberta and Henry; Parents and Children; Lawyer and Lecturer; Stake President; Welfare Worker; Oil Entrepreneur; Democratic Politician; Ranch Developer; Missionary Apostle; Man of Action; Family and Friends; and Counselor in the First Presidency.

Poll decided to write a fluent narrative, devoid of extensive documentation. However, he included a short bibliographical essay at the end in which he discussed the manuscript, printed, and oral history sources he used.

Henry Moyle married Alberta Wright; they were the parents of four daughters and two sons. Moyle was a caring and involved husband, father, grandfather, brother, and son. As president of the Cottonwood Stake (1927-37), chair of the General Church Welfare Committee (1938-63), and counselor in the First Presidency (1959-63), Moyle articulated and pushed some of the most significant changes in the twentieth-century church. Moyle, Harold B. Lee, and Marion G. Romney, with the approval of J. Reuben Clark, then a counselor in Heber J. Grant's First Presidency, designed the Church Welfare Program. Aided by Gordon B. Hinckley, Alvin R. Dyer, Marion G. Romney, and Marion D. Hanks, Moyle designed the modern-day missionary program. With the help of Wendell Mendenhall and the powerful Church Building Committee, Moyle oversaw the acquisition of much real estate and the construction of many buildings, a process that continues to this day. He worked with Ernest L. Wilkinson to shape the Church Educational System (CES), the Missionary Training Center (MTC), and student stakes. The twenty-six-story Church Office Building on North Temple Street and the Church's Finance Department with its extensive investment program are Moyle's brain children (88, 91, 197, 212, 224).

These important programs and department innovations paved the way for the Church's tremendous growth from the mid-1960s on. Many Mormons accept them as part of our organizational architecture, yet the pace Moyle set is as stunning as the permanence of his programs. Ordained an apostle in 1947, he was a counselor in the First Presidency twelve years later. He initiated many of these fundamental changes before his death only four years later.

Yet when he died on 18 September 1963, it was as a broken and diminished man. He told one close associate in early 1963, "I have been relieved of every responsibility except my title" (216), and to another he complained that he couldn't even get an appointment with President McKay. David O. McKay, the president who called him into the First Presidency, passed the missionary program on to Joseph Fielding Smith,

Harold B. Lee, and Lee's Correlation Committee, while N. Eldon Tanner got the responsibility for handling the Church's money. What happened?

First, Moyle violated some of the cultural parameters within which one can exercise initiative and not be guilty of "inappropriate" behavior. Most men learn these rules, norms, values, and taboos—the collection of cultural wisdom that President Boyd K. Packer called the "unwritten rules"—by observation and experience, from their missions on. While some are spelled out in LDS scripture (D&C 107, 121) and the *Church Handbook of Instructions*, most limits on authority are informal. Proper protocol and deference to authority are more normative than prescriptive, for example.

Moyle in 1956 was only a junior member of the Twelve but chaired the powerful Welfare Committee; in that position, he angered some of the senior apostles. A report commissioned by the First Presidency cautioned, "There is too much of a feeling among the general authorities that only President Clark and Elders Moyle, Lee and Romney are the welfare Program leaders" (94). Poll documents the "gradual disenchantment" of other apostles when Moyle "began exercising *de facto* leadership with the tacit support of President McKay and Clark." His personality, says Poll, made him "restless with time spent in inconclusive committee deliberations and with rules that got in the way of action." He used his position—to which, Poll stresses, he had been properly called and sustained—to "mov[e] dramatically forward" in ways that other apostles saw as evidence that Moyle "was not impervious to the occupational hazard of prophets—confidence that *he* knew what was best for the church and the world" (212).

A second reason for Moyle's removal from power centered on authority. As sociologist Max Weber pointed out in about 1913, in a formal hierarchical organization such as the LDS church, it is imperative to have legitimate authority. Such legitimacy comes from (1) the emotional attachment or personal loyalty of others, (2) having conferred upon one the office's formal powers, (3) the concept that obedience to the office holder is a religious duty, and (4) a tradition of accepting the authority of a person in their position.¹ Although all of these dynamics are at play in the LDS hierarchy, apparently Moyle lacked full legitimacy as he exercised the powers of his office. Moyle, though an apostle, was not sufficiently deferential to the senior apostle and sometimes misused McKay's tacit approbation to get things done (214-15). Counselors in the First Presidency, as many before and after Moyle have learned, do not have the president's legitimacy. When McKay became ill, power shifted back to the Twelve who, in turn, influenced

¹Talcott Parsons, *Max Weber: The Theory of Social and Economic Organization* (New York: Free Press, 1947), 126-30.

McKay to put the missionary program under the direction of the Twelve and Correlation. According to Poll, however, McKay, on his own, came to see Moyle as a “loose cannon” who was using his authority illegitimately (212).

A third reason for Moyle’s fall from power was a dramatic personality mismatch: he was an entrepreneur in a bureaucracy. Weber’s classic description of a bureaucracy fits all religious organizations well, including the LDS Church. Action is based on formal rules, strong norms, legitimate authority, and seniority. Changes are incremental and come slowly. Coordination and control are important. Power is collective, checked, and balanced.

Organizational behavioralists have identified some of the behavioral and psychological differences between bureaucrats and entrepreneurs according to their motives (what people really enjoy doing at work), and values (what they prize most highly). Bureaucrats like ongoing tasks, collective action, achieving short-term objectives, planning/coordination systems, rules, stability, and rewards based on following procedures. In contrast, entrepreneurs are motivated by excitement, challenge, creativity, and unconventional approaches. They thrive on autonomy, focus on the big picture and achieving long-term objectives, prefer new start-ups to tending established projects, and like rewards based on results.

When it comes to values, bureaucrats rank highest a sense of belonging, loyalty, respect/appreciation, stability, job security/longevity, following the rules, hard work (long hours), and teamwork while entrepreneurs prize work that gives them autonomy, projects that they can “win” at, exercising control through personal leadership/ownership rather than rules, and taking calculated risks. They also work hard but it is results oriented (“smart” work) rather than long work.

Predictably, these two work styles also show a different profile of talents. Bureaucrats are tenacious, work effectively within the system, know the organization’s history, are good at maintaining pleasant interpersonal relations, and amass impressive databanks specific to the organization. In contrast, entrepreneurs are innovative and visionary individuals who push changes, like making things happen, and enjoy championing pet causes. Both profiles have obvious advantages, but both also have a downside. Bureaucrats may move too slowly, focus excessively on protocol and procedures rather than results, engage in too little feedback, try to please their superiors more than thinking analytically about the needs of the organization, and often feel threatened by change. In contrast, entrepreneurs move too fast, concentrate power in the hands of a few rather than spreading it throughout the system, seem (and sometimes are) uncon-

trolled, and consequently may cause spectacular failures, upset the established power structure, breed conflict, and hurt individuals.²

General Authorities are called to their positions, often at significant career and financial sacrifices, from all walks of life. They have diverse personalities, cultural backgrounds, education, training, and work experiences. It would be inaccurate to label them "bureaucrats," especially given the pejorative meaning of the term in today's fast-moving entrepreneurial business organizations. But in the first half of the twentieth century, a bureaucrat or "functionary" was the highest-order civil servant who, in the Japanese sense, was the best educated, the brightest, and the noblest—putting the interests of the organization above self-interests. Those attracted to full-time employment with the LDS Church or who rise carefully through the ranks may have more bureaucratic characteristics. The way the Church works is a comfortable setting for them. In contrast, someone who thrives in a small, fast-paced, high-risk organization would probably chafe in the setting of Church headquarters.

Poll's biography, though not using this organizational behavioral framework, strikingly documents how much Moyle differed from the dominant leadership style, psychological profile, and modus operandi of his church colleagues. Using the terms in their Weberian descriptive sense, without attached value judgments, I would say that Poll has presented a picture of a classic entrepreneur trying to work in a classic bureaucracy.

For example, Poll shows that Moyle had a passion for adventure and excitement, whether at work or play (162-63). He was known in business and legal circles as a "wildcatter" (risk-taker) with a win-at-all-costs personality (97, 104, 165-67). Money was a success symbol, a way of keeping score, but had little intrinsic value (97, 165), an attitude that allowed him to be incredibly generous and a bit careless with the purse strings. Poll says that President Clark was perturbed by the new directions of Church spending and investment (212).³ In his legal, business, and church work, Moyle was

²See C. Brooklyn Derr, "Entrepreneurs: A Careers Perspective," paper presented at the Academy of Management Meetings, Boston, Mass., 1984; Derr, *Managing the New Careerists: The Diverse Career Success Orientations of Today's Workers* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1986); Derr, "Ken Garff: Small Business Entrepreneur," in *Strategic Management and Policy: A Case Book*, edited by H. C. Bartlett (Fort Worth: Dryden Press, 1986), 188-98; A. Shapero and L. Sokal, "The Social Dimensions of Entrepreneurship" in *Encyclopedia of Entrepreneurship*, edited by C. A. Kent (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1982), 72-90.

³He does not present any detail on the Moyle-authorized pattern of spending on new construction that created a cash-flow crisis for the Church in the early 1960s. See D. Michael Quinn, *The Mormon Hierarchy: Extensions of Power* (Salt Lake City:

innovative, a bit of a maverick (67, 74, 91). As the discussion of these two profiles shows, this personality was both a strength and a weakness. Moyle had vision and could usually see how to make things happen in ways that others could not.

As a Latter-day Saint and as a practical businessman, Moyle submitted to authority (79-103, 148, 200). But as an administrator he trusted few, moved fast, maintained tight control over all of the major projects in which he was involved, believed that the end usually justified the means, felt free to use unconventional methods, and had too little regard for the feelings of others. In fact, while he could at times be loving, caring, tender, and generous, he often distrusted and even disdained bureaucrats, traditionalists, incompetents, zealots, and intellectuals—in brief, any who got in his way (76, 90-91, 94, 103-4, 106, 133, 147, 169, 191, 197).

Poll's honest record and thoughtful analysis of these traits make for fascinating reading of an impressive individual who was markedly out-of-synchronization with many in the LDS Church hierarchy. Some might say that in this case the bureaucrats won. The story from a sociological/political/organizational perspective is about culture, acculturation, innovation, change agency, and conflict. Because of Moyle, the renewed emphasis on leadership, socialization, and control make it difficult to see how another Moyle could rise to power. The First Presidency counselors since his time who have also accomplished much—such as N. Eldon Tanner and Gordon B. Hinckley—have done so while conforming scrupulously to the church's organizational culture. Yet sociology and organizational behavior never have the last word in a religion whose members believe that God can and does intervene in history, and that He may be doing it through them, as Moyle believed. Was Henry D. Moyle God's change agent in the mid-twentieth century?

Poll, as a historian, does not attempt to answer this question. But he invites the reader to consider it. Although Moyle was not, in some respects, a sympathetic person, Poll's portrait is sympathetic of his situation and respectful, even amazed, by Moyle's meteoric achievements and general goodness:

Moyle had more impact upon the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in the current century than any other man who did not hold the office of president. Certainly he belongs to that small group of counselors in the First Presidency who have been responsible for important change. What has transpired in the church in the years since his death suggests that President Moyle

may sometimes have pushed too aggressively, but he pushed mainly in the right direction. (224)

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Phyllis Barber. *Parting the Veil: Stories from a Mormon Imagination*. Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1999. 129 pp. Preface and acknowledgements, epilogue. \$16.95. ISBN 1-56085-120-2

Reviewed by Eric A. Eliason

Phyllis Barber's literary sensitivity to Mormon and Western history has already been demonstrated in *How I Got Cultured: A Nevada Memoir* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1992), for which she won the Associated Writing Programs's creative nonfiction prize awarded by American university creative writing faculty. Barber followed this success with *And the Desert Shall Blossom: A Novel* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1993) about a Mormon family involved in constructing Hoover Dam. In *Parting the Veil: Stories from a Mormon Imagination*, Barber develops a literary interest in Mormon folklore to produce what may be her most important fiction yet.

Although all dozen stories have a strong Mormon folk component, this review focuses on those with a historical setting. Barber's epilogue intriguingly describes the origin of each short story, sometimes a personal experience, a family story reported to her by another, or a published item. In four cases, her stories are based on tales recorded in the Fife Folklore Archive at Utah State University. The process seems very Mormon; if writing is a creative process, it is not accomplished *ex nihilo* but by molding matter unorganized or reshaping material once organized for a different purpose.

Barber's most ambitious story "A Brief History of Seagulls: A Trilogy with Notes," is really three stories about the famous miracle of the gulls in the lives of an 1848 pioneer woman, a modern separated couple, and the hazard gulls pose to planes from Hill Air Force Base. In a wrenching scene in the first vignette, a young Mormon wife sacrifices her one treasured luxury—a set of delicate curtains—to be used in beating back the crickets. For her the miracle is bittersweet.

"Those curtains were everything to me." She looked white and pale and small in the emptiness of the backlit desert, unaware that the sky behind her was filling with brilliant light. "I thought God loved me." (93)

The best story in this collection also touches on the historical theme of the trek to Utah. In "The Whip," Hilma becomes distressed when her husband evinces an embarrassingly boyish enthusiasm and passion for precision violence when he finds an abandoned whip. After long enduring Karl's targeting small animals and showing off to other travelers, she prays: "Dear God. The whip. It is not good. All of thy little creatures are unsafe. I promise I'll never complain about flies again if thou will aid me in a solution. Karl is forgetting about thee. His mind must be single to thy glory. Amen" (3). Her inspired solution is to dice the whip and boil it into a tasty soup that Karl eats with relish, assuring him when he looks for the whip later, "I'm sure you have it with you, Karl" (4). Solving the problem without challenging Karl's ego and position as head of the house, this story raises evocative questions about gender relationships within LDS marriages.

Perhaps the biggest contribution of the collection overall is hinted at by the title *Parting the Veil*. In her preface Barber claims, "When I was a child, it was as common to think of an angel appearing by my bed as it was to drink orange juice for breakfast" (ix). While this statement may be hyperbole, Barber captures an essential facet of Mormon epistemology: The foundations of the Restoration were laid by people who concretely witnessed heavenly beings acting among men. There is no workable way to "spiritualize" or "metaphorize" these events that makes any sense in literary or historical writing. Barber thus breaks new ground away from such distinguished literary Mormon forebears as Maurine Whipple, Vardis Fisher, and Virginia Sorensen. These "Lost Generation" authors won critical acclaim nationally but also sold out their essential Mormonness, often writing about the bold spiritual truths permeating Mormon folklore as if they were only nostalgic survivals or psychological anomalies from a more fired-up but gullible age.¹

In contrast, most of Barber's stories that are not fantastic on their face at least leave the reader wondering at the reality of strange visions and touched by their haunting presence. Barber often takes her reader from the mundane world to the world of visions and spirits so quickly and seamlessly that a reader can be caught off guard. That these two worlds are one in the classic Mormon mind is, of course, her very point.

Barber occasionally confuses parting the veil with embracing the wacky. She may lose the pulse of her people in "Devil Horse," where Joseph Smith baptizes a horse possessed by the devil when a prospective convert turns away from Nauvoo and in "The Boy and the Hand" about a floating hand

¹Edward A. Geary, "Mormondom's Lost Generation: The Novelists of the 1940s," *BYU Studies* 18 (Fall 1977): 89-98.

showing up at a family dinner. Of course one person's wacky is another's spiritual manifestation, but in these two instances Barber seems to leave the familiar forms of the faith-promoting too far behind.

In perhaps the most challenging story in the collection, "Dust to Dust," Barber forcefully poses a religious dilemma. Most Christians would agree that one's duty is difficult but clear when one is poverty-stricken and a poor stranger asks for food and money. However, in this story, narrated in an ethereal stream of consciousness style, a lonely pioneer woman who yearns for refinement is visited by a handsome stranger in an ornate carriage who asks for money. "Dust to Dust" is set in pioneer times with a curiously contemporary sensibility that makes for a haunting and effective mix.

Barber's stories tack back and forth between the concerns of the past and the concerns of the present. The chapters span from the first decade of the Restoration to yesterday. In this setting of the past in the context of the present, her work is not unlike that of a historian. It is a common misconception that folklore is the opposite of history. Most scholars understand that historians' agendas, theories, and assumptions make history writing anything but a straightforward unmediated representation of prior events; but they may not realize that folklore is more than stories about the past that conflict with documents. As ethno-historians have shown, oral traditions often preserve accurate information about past events for which documents have been lost or never existed. Also, since folklore is a mirror for the values, concerns, fears, hopes, prejudices, and aspirations of any group of people at any given time, studying folklore should be an essential part of the work of any social historian.²

Historians of literature have long recognized that literature of group identity often springs from turning to folklore. We need look no further than Washington Irving and Mark Twain for proof of this thesis. Barber follows these examples in working the Mormon folklore tradition into the development of an increasingly noteworthy Mormon literary tradition.

While the Mormon studies community has become more sophisticated in our understanding of historiography, we have not yet fully incorporated an understanding of folkloristics into our enterprise. Phyllis Barber's book, in a small way, may help us see wider vistas.

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²See Jan Vansina, *Oral Tradition as History* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985); Robert Darnton, *The Great Cat Massacre: And Other Episodes in French Cultural History* (New York: Random House, 1985).

Jester for the Kingdom: J. Golden Kimball in Mormon Folklore as well as an edited collection, *Mormons and Mormonism: An Introduction to an American World Religion*, are both forthcoming from the University of Illinois Press.

Elwin C. Robison, *The First Mormon Temple: Design, Construction, and Historic Context of the Kirtland Temple*. Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1997. 216 pp. Illustrations, appendices, glossary, notes, bibliography, index; \$21.95. ISBN 0-8425-2333-2

Reviewed by Allen D. Roberts

As we cross the threshold of time into the twenty-first century, one question still being debated among historians and history lovers is: What constitutes good history writing? On one side of the discussion are pedigreed, academic historians who employ traditional historiographic and literary methods, decrying new approaches (such as psychobiography, made-for-TV documentaries, and other forms of "popular" history) as compromised by commercial appeal at the expense of scholarly rigor. In an opposite camp are the likes of Allen Nevins, a Columbia University historian with journalistic training but no Ph.D. Nevins helped found the Society of American Historians and *American Heritage* magazine, to make accurate but incisive and engaging history available to general readers.

I think the best history writing of the last half century—whether by popular American historians such as Richard Hofstadter, C. Vann Woodward, or a host of new Mormon historians, led by Leonard Arrington, has been characterized both by impeccable scholarship and reader-friendly narrative prose. Whether expanding upon a existing base of knowledge or offering new insights through revisionist history, many historians now succeed in achieving Princeton historian Lawrence Stone's goal: "to make their findings accessible once more to an intelligent but not expert reading public, which is eager to learn . . . but cannot stomach indigestible statistical tables, dry analytical argument and jargon-ridden prose." The aim of bringing history to a wider audience, then, seems to be essentially one of telling significant stories about how the world has developed, in a manner that brings the subject to life not only for other historians but also for the interested reading public. Ideally, this approach also applies to specialized types of history (analytical, comparative, quantitative, among others), and various subfields such as art history and architectural history.

But how does a historian enliven understanding when writing the history of an inanimate object such as a building, in this instance, the Kirtland

Temple? Author Elwin C. Robison's answer is to focus on the people and the times that produced the building and to document the building's role in the spiritual lives of its early Mormon builders and worshippers. Robison dedicates the book "to all who labored and sacrificed to build, conserve and maintain the Kirtland Temple." He opines in the introduction that "The building fabric of the Kirtland Temple is a record of . . . [Mormon] belief." I concur with this method of analyzing a building as a reflection of the value system of its builders, an idea that works as well with today's Saints and their architecture. This reflective—if not actually symbiotic—relationship between a building and its people has been summarized by Winston Churchill who said, "First we shape our buildings and then our buildings shape us."

Bringing the perspective of an architectural historian (Ph.D. from Cornell University) to the task, Robison succeeds in telling the Kirtland Temple story more comprehensively and insightfully than in any of the earlier general histories of Mormon temples. Even though there are detailed technical descriptions of the building's construction methods and materials, the narrative does not get bogged down in jargon, but rather supplies support for the larger, quite fascinating story of the many struggles of a fledgling group of under-resourced believers to erect their first House of the Lord. After a brief overview of the religious context and revelatory origin of the temple, the author shows how early Church leaders, especially Frederick G. Williams, labored without the services of an architect to reduce the building to a few crude drawings they said they had seen in vision while communicating to builders how to construct the edifice. The inadequacies of the plans were later made manifest in design and construction irregularities yet were somewhat ameliorated by the skill of the leading craftsmen who managed the construction process.

The temple's eclectic exterior appearance, an unusual synthesis of elements derived from the Federal, Georgian, and Gothic Revival decorative vocabularies in vogue at the time, has been well documented previously. Even more unique—and a specific response to the programmatic needs of Mormon liturgy—was the temple's interior design. Unlike other denominational churches and meetinghouses of the era, the temple featured two stacked congregational spaces, multiple pulpits associated with varying ranks of priesthoods, and ingeniously devised curtains to flexibly divide large spaces into smaller ones. These novelties are still apparent today as the many post-Latter-day Saint owners and uses have fortunately not resulted in major character-altering changes.

I found intriguing many of the subplots and stories of individuals involved in the project. It is remarkable (as it was a decade later with the Nauvoo Temple), that such a small group (only 150 at the start), constantly

in debt, often without sufficient leadership or craftsmen (so often on the move due to the exigencies of Zion's Camp, missionary work, and colonization—all in an environment of persecution) could design and complete such a major structure in the volatile years of 1832-36. As a result of these chaotic conditions, the foundation, problematic beam spacing, structural connections, and some basement-level superstructure components were of poor structural quality. But thanks to the timely arrival of builders Artemus Millett, Jacob Bump and others, the quality improved thereafter. By the time the lower and upper courts (floor levels) were ready for finishing in 1835-36, Bump and later Truman Angell used their American carpenter's and builder's guidebooks to design and masterfully construct the temple's elegant, classically refined interiors.

As Robison explains:

The abrupt change in style in the lower-court interior occurred because of Bump's "open rebellion" against Joseph Smith in August 1835. It must have been yet another serious setback for Joseph Smith and the building committee to have one of their chief carpenters leave the group, especially since Bump's absence coincided with the period of greatest building activity on the temple. Since skilled workers were few in the Mormon community, the fall 1835 arrival of Angell, who had been a carpenter's apprentice and joiner in Providence, Rhode Island, was likely viewed as providential. (67-68)

Yet the much simpler design of Angell's upper court may have resulted as much from his relative inexperience, as from economic privation or the rush to complete the temple.

Robison explains the various architectural elements in terms of the conditions and influences that created them. The reasons given for the fancier Bump-designed interior in the lower court and Truman Angell's much simpler upper court are compelling, as they are for the other exterior and interior features and anomalies.

Much to the author's credit is his continuing to tell the temple's history after its disposition by the Latter-day Saints after leaving Kirtland. Foremost among the later owners is the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (RLDS) which has owned, repaired, and reverentially maintained the temple to the present. Many of the attempts to renovate and restore the edifice were not enlightened by sound preservation theory and practice. It may prove useful to a future, hopefully research-based, conservation-oriented restoration that the author has documented the many "improvements" made over the decades. The inclusion of blessings and the dedicatory services (all available elsewhere) could have been omitted. Among the virtues of the book are its 95 drawings and photos, seventeen-page chronology of events, and glossary of architectural terms.

The final chapter outlines the Kirtland Temple's influence on later

temples but fails to mention the influence of Freemasonry on both temple designs and rituals, beginning in Nauvoo. Likewise, the treatment of Mormon religious history, including the stories of pentecostal experiences during the dedication, relies only on apologetic sources. This occasional lack of balance and scholarly objectivity, and a few minor factual errors in the discussion of the early Utah temples, however, does not diminish the overall utility and informativeness of the book. *The First Mormon Temple* goes well beyond merely describing the first significant piece of Mormon architecture. It is a readable, skillful, and far-reaching telling of an important building and the devoted people who built and used it, and revere it still.

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Ronald W. Walker and Doris R. Dant, eds. *Nearly Everything Imaginable: The Everyday Life of Utah's Mormon Pioneers*. Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1999. xv, 511 pp. Photographs + 16 pages in color, notes, index. \$27.95 cloth. ISBN 0-8425-2397-9

Reviewed by Linda Thatcher

The title of this book *Nearly Everything Imaginable* is taken from Jill Mulvay Derr's essay on pioneer food and diet, and alludes to the fact that this book covers a variety of subjects dealing with everyday life in early pioneer Utah, and drawn from a variety of sources. Besides reconstructing life in the nineteenth century, the editors also hoped to produce a book that provided examples "of the various approaches by which such a study can be undertaken. In a modest way, this book is intended as a methods handbook" (x).

The editors divide the book into six sections: "Prologue," "Mormon Village," "Rhythms of Pioneer Life," "Life Cycles," "Pioneer Lives," and "Epilogue." Each section is then further divided into chapters. The "Prologue" section contains Elder Marlin K. Jensen's chapter "Upon These We Bestow More Abundant Honor" in which he discusses those of the "last wagon." Pioneers selected to illustrate "common lives" include: John Bennion, Patty Bartlett Sessions, Charles Lowell Walker, and Warren Marshall Johnson. Next follows Richard Lyman Bushman's "Was Joseph Smith a

Gentleman? The Standard for Refinement in Utah” in which Bushman traces the evolution of Mormon “refinement.” Bush does this by discussing the cultural bequest of Joseph Smith, which he illustrates from individuals’ first-hand impressions of Smith. Bushman concludes that Joseph Smith was more interested in promoting good, hard-working, and honest Mormons than in a refined society. Refinement in Utah, he says, “was the product of spreading middle-class gentility” and not the result of “Mormon teachings” (42).

The second section, “Mormon Village,” is named for Lowry Nelson’s *The Mormon Village* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1952) whose case studies on Mormon town life have defined the Mormon community for five decades. Nelson attempted to describe Mormon communities in detail, particularly from the standpoint of spatial relations. The first chapter in this section, “Golden Memories: Remembering Life in a Mormon Village” by Ronald Walker, goes beyond the spatial and sociological description of the village and concentrates on personal relationships within the communities. Walker used the “Pioneer Personal Histories” at the Utah State Historical Society Library gathered by the WPA during the 1930s and the “Utah Pioneer Biographies” at the LDS Family History Library to illustrate points. “It Takes a Village: Social Character in Rural Settlements” by Dean L. May, draws from his book *Three Frontiers: Family, Land, and Society in the American West, 1850-1900* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994) and discusses social behavior in three communities including Alpine, Utah. He concludes that, in the case of Alpine, the Mormon ideals of community and cooperation led to an orderly and unified society that, for the most part, also achieved harmony. “A Peculiar People: Community and Commitment in Utah Valley” by Richard Neitzel Holzapfel and David A. Allred used the model developed by sociologist Rosabeth Moss Kanter, whose theory states that the establishment of successful utopian communities generally follows a consistent pattern characterized by social “mechanisms.” Using Kanter’s model, this chapter discusses “sacrifice,” “investment,” “renunciation,” “communion,” “mortification,” “transcendence,” and “defensive measures” as applied to Mormon culture. The authors conclude that the Mormon religion and its infusion into everyday life definitively shaped life in Utah Valley.

The third section, “Rhythms of Pioneer Life,” explores day-to-day life in early Utah. “Battle of the Homefront: The Early Pioneer Art of Homemaking” by Andrew H. Hedges focuses on early pioneer home life, discussing efforts to construct adequate housing, and provide food and clothing under less than ideal circumstances. “Oh, What Songs of the Heart: Zion’s Hymns as Sung by the Pioneers” by Richard H. Cracroft discusses LDS hymns and their importance to Mormons as a form of spiritual expression.

He calls hymns "vital in transforming the Latter-day Saints into more than a sect, denomination, or church for hymns provide part of that spiritual and cultural glue which has congealed the Latter-day Saints into a people" (137). He also discusses several Mormon hymns in depth. The next chapter "The Homemade Kingdom: Mormon Regional Furniture" by Richard G. Oman discusses not only the manufacture of furniture but the philosophy and influences behind it. He states that "the Saints were strongly encouraged to be involved in 'home manufacture' of furniture." Nevertheless, "individual style was left to the craftsman" (157). This chapter is well illustrated with pieces of Utah furniture. "Mormon Clothing in Utah, 1847-1900" by Carma de Jong Anderson gives a history of Utah clothing illustrated with photographs of clothing in her personal collection. "Dancing the Buckles off Their Shoes in Pioneer Utah" by Larry V. Shumway discusses the history of dancing in Utah with some interesting insights into the waltz and the furor it caused when it was introduced in Utah. He also discusses the various locations where dances were held. "I Have Eaten Nearly Everything Imaginable': Pioneer Diet" by Jill Mulvay Derr discusses pioneer food and the struggle to produce crops when short growing seasons and lack of water stunted harvests. This essay was one of the strongest in the book.

"Common People: Church Activity during the Brigham Young Era" by William G. Hartley dispels some ideals that today's Mormons have about early church attendance. Not everyone attended early meetings simply because the meeting halls were too crowded, too hot, too cold, or too smoky. Church leaders of pioneer time, like those today, experienced the perpetual problem of people wanting to be entertained at meetings. Besides church activity, Hartley discusses the size of wards, the evolution of the Mormon meeting schedules, and individual participation. "Reports from the Field: The World of the *Woman's Exponent*" by Claudia L. Bushman examines the differences between Mormon expectations and the daily reality using the issues of the *Woman's Exponent* from 1878.

The fourth section, "Life Cycles," discusses life stages as expressed in early Utah. "Growing Up in Pioneer Utah: Agonies and Ecstasies" by Susan Arrington Madsen discusses the mostly overlooked lives of Mormon pioneer children. She gives four reasons for studying their lives: (1) to ignore children in history is to disregard the experiences of one of the largest of all minority groups; (2) to give credit where credit is due, as children often carried a heavy burden; (3) frontier children and adolescence are worth watching; and (4) the enthusiasm and optimism of the children contributed significantly to the well-being of the group. In "'Heigh, Ho! I'm Seventeen': The Diary of a Teenage Girl," Davis Bitton uses the diary of Amelia Cannon, daughter of George Q. Cannon and Martha T. Cannon, to illustrate a

teenager's life in Utah in 1886-87 and draws general insights about pioneer adolescence from this diary.

"Adopted or Indentured, 1850-1870: Native Children in Mormon Households" by Brian Q. Cannon discusses the Mormon practice of purchasing or indenturing Native American children for various reasons, and the problems of the two cultures trying to adapt to each other. Some Native American children became members of the family, but others were simply used as servants. "Everyday Life in Utah's Elementary Schools, 1847-1870" by James B. Allen discusses the evolution of schools in Utah and the different attitudes toward schooling. He also discusses, family schools, teachers, curricula, etc. "The Effect of Pioneer Life on the Longevity of Married Couples" by Lee L. Bean, Geraldine P. Mineau, and Ken R. Smith discusses "longevity at later ages, specifically the longevity of married couples" (387) and attempts "to identify changes in longevity by comparing cohorts, or groups of individuals, who married during a sixty-year interval—from those who married in the relatively early pioneer days of Utah to those who married in the first two decades of the twentieth century" (387-88). "Mormon Cemeteries: History of Stone" by Richard H. Jackson discusses the placement of cemeteries plus types of headstones, symbolism used, Mormon epitaphs, and the use of headstones for genealogy and family history.

The fifth section, "Pioneer Lives," illustrates pioneer experience through individual lives. Harriet Horne Arrington wrote, "Fifty Years Building Utah: Joseph Horne's Pioneering Contributions." John W. Welch, in "John Welch: A Pioneer in Paradise, Utah," identifies ten main subjects in his diary: farming, family, neighbors, weather, church, health, travel, community, holidays, and other topics: entertainment, education and economic. "In Quest of Betterment: The Lee Roy and Priscilla Arrington Family" by Leonard J. Arrington discusses the Arringtons' trek to Mormonism from North Carolina and Tennessee.

Serving as epilogue is "The Folk Speak: Everyday Life in Pioneer Oral Narratives" by William A. Wilson, discussing Mormon and Utah folklore.

This book's main strength, I feel, is that it genuinely conveys a deeper understanding of what it must have been like to live in nineteenth-century Utah. We begin to understand how hard it was to obtain the daily necessities (shelter, food, clothing) even at a subsistence level. Another strength was the attention given to daily interactions and life-styles. Walker's achievement in introducing us to the under-used "Pioneer Personal Histories" may, however, be weakened because he focused almost exclusively on positive responses. Martha C. Browning Middleton wrote in her WPA biography that, when her husband left on a mission, she had two small children and "no door to keep out the cold of winter."¹ Where were her neighbors?

Some chapters I thought were mundane, but others I thought introduced interesting new subjects, especially Richard Bushman's analysis of "refinement," Hartley's chapter on church activity, and Cannon's on Native American adoption and indenturing. I have long wondered why Utah cemeteries were placed outside towns rather in the church yards, and Jackson's "Mormon Cemeteries" answered that question.

In such a range of diverse authors and topics, some are weaker than others. As in any publication of this sort I feel that it also had some weak chapters. The weakest, I thought, was Anderson's; using the photographs of costumes from her own collection lacked the authenticity that using period photographs would have provided. The personal histories in Jensen's essay have, for the most part, already seen much exposure in other publications. Claudia Bushman's chapter on the *Woman's Exponent* required more editing to sound less like an oral presentation, a problem it shared with Andrew H. Hedges, Susan Arrington Madsen, and John W. Welch.

I also believe that the book could have been improved by adding articles on such subjects as agriculture (in particular, obtaining water), merchandising, politics, employment, and money—to name a few. Since the editors meant the book to be a handbook of methodologies "in a modest way," then it would have made the book more useful if they had written brief introductions for each section (or even each chapter) describing the methodology used, how it was applied in the chapter, and its strengths and weaknesses. Overall, though, I feel that this is an excellent book that should be added to anyone's library who is interested in studying nineteenth-century life in Utah.

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Ann Wagner. *Adversaries of Dance: From the Puritans to the Present*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997. ix, 397 pp. Notes, appendices (Bible verses on dance; known European adversaries of dance; lesser-known adversaries mentioned in text). \$27. 0-252-06590-5

Reviewed by Sara Lee Gibb

¹"Life of Martha Browning Middleton," WPA manuscript, Utah History Information Center, Utah State Historical Society, n.d., 3.

Adversaries of Dance: From the Puritans to the Present is a delightful and thoroughly researched treatise detailing the perceived resistance to dance in America. It examines the origin of American opposition to dance, beginning with the European antecedents and contextualizing the lives of the adversaries. It traces the lines of thinking from early religious philosophies including centuries-old polemic about the extent and practice of dance in the present. While the early chapters make no attempt to separate the categories of dance (i.e., cultural, performance, social, etc.), “the dance” is viewed particularly as the target of objection from the prevailing religions of the time. Wagner sees the main opposition as coming from religious movements; dance was seen as unlawful for some Christians because it was perceived to be “mixt, lascivious, and immoral” (4).

Wagner’s thesis is:

The American tradition of dance opposition has emanated from white, male, Protestant clergy and evangelists who argued from a narrow and selective interpretation of biblical passages and who persisted in seeing dancing only within a moral and spiritual frame of reference. The fact that not all professing Christians, or clergy, or evangelists adhered to the anti-dance sentiment [was] demonstrated by interpretations expressed in other writings, including the courtesy literature, etiquette books, and dance manuals. Ultimately, the degree to which American dance opposition existed and flourished has depended upon shifting configurations of the following: (1) the power of conservative, evangelical denominations and dogma in America; (2) the existence of a unified identity and calling of denominational clergy; (3) the pervasiveness of traditional gender roles with their attendant assumptions about women; (4) a sense of the body and sex as taboo subjects; and (5) the popularity of dancing as a leisure and artistic activity. (xiv-xv)

The direct connection between theology and dance is that the clerical distrust of women, who were seen as sources of temptation for even righteous men, spilled over to tarnish dance.

Yet the picture varies widely from denomination to denomination in various time periods. Churches banned dance, but also sponsored and fostered dance, a historical complexity which Wagner documents well. Dance was seldom deemed to be more than a venial sin, yet it was almost always viewed by conservative clergy as—at the least—setting a bad example. Other sources of opposition were European Humanists of the late seventeenth century who wished to abolish court life. Yet dance was simultaneously viewed as acceptable for privileged social elites. In early nineteenth-century America, the prevailing religious fervor fostered an environment of strongly opposing views on dance. Wagner documents that three notable exceptions to the religious rejection of dance were the Shakers, the Oneidans, and the Mormons. “The dance in Shaker worship evolved from an

individualized, spontaneous activity to a formally choreographed choral art," she explains. ". . . In time, perhaps inevitably, the dance became formalized and ritualized by particular leaders. Whether spontaneous or formal, involuntary or voluntary, Shaker dancing served as personal release for individual members. . . . The more specific purposes of dancing were to mortify and to shake off the lusts of the flesh and pride of the spirit" (179).

In contrast to the general social disapproval regarding dance, it was "extremely popular" among the Oneida community. "Beginning in 1855 . . . they made a point of teaching everyone, both old and young, and after that first lesson . . . they danced whenever they could. Everyone enjoyed it. . . . It was urged that dancing be made an ordinance of worship and edification, not a 'mere pleasure-seeking affair.' Dancing was for the earnest and thoughtful as well as the young and giddy. All amusements were good 'so long as the spirit of improvement has place'" (181).

Probably most students of Mormon history will already be familiar with most of the secondary sources Wagner uses on the Mormons, and she does not extend her discussion far into the twentieth century. Wagner correctly indicates that the Mormons took a moderate approach to dancing, choosing to regulate rather than abolish it. She establishes the place of recreational dance in Nauvoo, crossing the plains, and in Salt Lake City to show that Mormons maintained a positive view of dance. By 1850 the bath house at the Warm Springs west of Capitol Hill in Salt Lake City was used primarily for dancing. Citing sociologist Rex Skidmore, Wagner asserts that the Salt Lake Social Hall, built in 1853, was the first such building erected by a church in this country (183). Dancing schools multiplied thereafter. Many buildings served as schools by day and dancing academies by evening (183).

Wagner summarizes: "But regardless of how well conducted their dances were, the Mormons, like the Shakers and Oneidans, proved so radical in the theology that they could not have served as advocates for dance in a manner acceptable to mainstream denominations" (183).

Time has proven otherwise, at least in the case of the Mormons. The influence from dance in the Mormon culture has permeated communities, schools, and performance venues. Dance is a respected discipline in Church-sponsored institutions of higher learning. Cultural events, dance festivals, and social dances are sponsored by the Church for both youth and adults.

A point that Wagner does not deal with directly is the fact that, despite the adversaries arrayed against dance, dance continued to grow and develop, generally unhampered. Although Wagner is meticulous in documenting the activities of individual denominations, it is not clear how strong their influence was when examined as a whole.

Perhaps her most important contribution is her splendid attempt to

address the range of dance expression from recreational to the aesthetic, fairly and without bias. This work makes a very important contribution to the literature of understanding dance in general and is a fascinating journey through time. It is a responsible work and well worth the reading time.

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Will Bagley, ed. *Scoundrel's Tale: The Samuel Brannan Papers*. Spokane, Wash.: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1999. 480 pp.; notes, bibliography, photographs, calendar of letters, and index. Cloth, 39.50, ISBN 0-87062-287-0; paper by Utah State University, \$21.95 0-87421-273-1.

Reviewed by William G. Hartley

Samuel Brannan's life story contains ingredients that a good novelist would kill to invent. Several writers and historians, including me, have been fascinated by Brannan. Who could not be intrigued by this adventurous, enterprising Mormon convert who was an LDS newspaper publisher and leader in New York, led a company of Saints to California in 1846 aboard the *Brooklyn*, tried to convince Brigham Young that California, not Utah, was the right place, led San Francisco's vigilantes, forsook his faith for a mess of enterprises, wealth, and power, became one of California's first millionaires and the richest man in California in the 1850s and 1860s, developed real estate, established the Calistoga Resort in Napa Valley and a shortline railroad to service it, built up a nearby, still-vital wine industry, abused and lost his wife and children, drank and gambled hard, lost his fortune, and died almost penniless?

Despite Brannan's importance to California, western, and LDS history, he has lacked a serious, scholarly biography. Bagley's documentary provides the most responsible biographical segments yet written about this enterprising, mercurial, fascinating, mover-and-shaker.

Scoundrel's Tale is the third volume in Arthur H. Clark's Kingdom in the West series, which will include fifteen-plus volumes of primary source documents, most never before published, and some narratives. Volume 1 is Thomas Bullock's 1846 and 1847 Mormon trail diary, *The Pioneer Camp of the Saints*. Volume 2 is David Bigler's narrative history of Utah's territorial

period, *Forgotten Kingdom: The Mormon Theocracy in the American West, 1847-1896*. Future books will include documents related to the Mountain Meadows Massacre, Mormon Battalion, Great Basin overland narratives, handcart emigration, polygamy, Indian relations, and the Utah War.

Author, editor, and historian, Bagley's forte is editing and publishing documents, including Ephraim Green's 1848 trail journal, Abner Blackburn's life narrative, and Thomas Bullock's 1848 trail diary. The Blackburn and Bullock books earned him the Evans Biography Prize and Mormon History Association's Best Documentary Award respectively. His publications exhibit prodigious research and no hesitancy to challenge established interpretations when necessary.

Scoundrel's Tale is a collection of documents by and about Samuel Brannan, which are valuable source materials about Mormons in California and about early California history. Brannan was more important to early California history than he was to Mormon history. Bagley drew mostly from collections of Brannan-related materials in BYU's Lee Library and the California State Library, supplemented by records in the Huntington, Bancroft, and other libraries. Most of the documents in this book have never been published before.

Each of Bagley's fourteen chapters provides readers with an array of documents, each introduced by generous narrations about segments of Brannan's personal history. These chapters deal with Brannan's life prior to embracing Mormonism, his LDS involvements in the East and in Nauvoo, his intrigues with federal government officials to help the country claim California from Mexico, the *Brooklyn's* voyage, Brannan and the *Brooklyn* Saints in Yerba Buena before the gold rush, Brannan's trip to intercept Brigham Young's famous 1847 pioneer company, Brannan's return to California, his dealings with the Mormon Battalion, the gold rush and how Brannan's opportunism made him rich from merchandising to the miners, his disaffection from LDS authorities, work with San Francisco vigilantes, becoming a millionaire through investments and enterprises, his great losses, his Mexican land investment efforts late in life, his last years, and his death in obscurity. Bagley's historiographical afterword discusses how Paul Bailey, Reva Scott, and others have insufficiently and incorrectly dealt with Brannan.

Bagley is being objective, not unfair, when he labels Brannan a "scoundrel." Brannan's was a rags-to-riches story, which included forays into alcoholism, gambling, and political corruption. He was a vigilante leader (law breaker), dishonest in some of his schemes, and a scandalous womanizer. On the plus side, he founded newspapers, schools, fraternal and political organizations, banks, resorts, ranches, and railroads, and had flares of philanthropy. Brannan personified the young West, Bagley says, fits the

Gilded Age's "Robber Baron" type, and was a man of many contradictions. Contemporaries spoke of him with admiration and approbation (16).

Brannan was a master of self-promotion who recreated his past to fit his needs, so, Bagley warns, "sorting out the facts of Brannan's life from the myths he created would challenge the devil himself" (19). As one example, Brannan liked to say he converted to Mormonism in 1842, when in fact it was 1833. Regarding the three best-known stories/myths about Brannan, Bagley sets the record straight. Did Brannan really say, when the *Brooklyn* approached Yerba Buena and saw ships flying the American flag, "there's that damned flag again"? (166-167) Did Brannan really say he would send Brigham Young the Lord's tithing when he received a receipt for it signed by the Lord? (290-297) And, did Brannan die a pauper and end up in an unmarked grave? (430-431) Read the book for the answers!

Okay, I'll give away one answer here, Brannan died on 5 May 1889. He had few assets, not enough to buy a coffin or cover the mortician's bill. His body was kept in a vault for fifteen months until his nephew paid burial costs. Brannan's grave in Mount Hope Cemetery in San Diego was unmarked until 1926 (430-31).

In narrative sections, Bagley provides several new understandings of LDS history. For example, he gives us the best explanation to date of Brannan's efforts to involve the LDS Church with New York merchant A. G. Benson and former postmaster general Amos Kendall in land schemes in California. Bagley's standards for editing the documents seem professional. In an appendix, he provides a useful "calendar" of Brannan's letters. The bibliography of Brannan sources and secondary literature is a contribution to LDS scholarship all by itself.

Scoundrel's Tale gives us at best perhaps half a biography of Brannan. A full biography will include more about Brannan's wife and family. Brannan married Ann Eliza Corwin, a Mormon convert, in 1844. In California, while Brannan made a fortune and womanized, she longed to live elsewhere. In 1856 Brannan moved her and their four children to Switzerland. In 1870 she sued him for divorce, demanding a settlement in cash, which forced him to sell assets and all but ruined him financially. It will give in-depth explanations about Brannan's San Francisco careers, Calistoga, railroad building, banking ventures, and California real estate. It will draw from documents not suited to this document anthology—censuses, city directories, property tax records, California land transaction deeds, and court records.

Scoundrel's Tale is a solid work of scholarship, well researched, wisely interpreted, and packed with documents, many of which relate to early LDS and early California history. Though it is not nor does it try to be the full biography of Brannan that still needs to be written, it is the best book yet written about Samuel Brannan.

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Carol Cornwall Madsen, ed. *Battle for the Ballot: Essays on Woman Suffrage in Utah, 1870-1896*. Logan: Utah State University Press, 1997; xii, 336 pp. Photographs, notes, chronology of woman suffrage; \$19.95 paper, \$39.95 cloth; ISBN 0-87421-223-5

Reviewed by Cheryl Lynn May

Woman suffrage in Utah has attracted the intense attention of many students of Utah and Mormon history in recent decades—and the reason is not hard to find. The Utah woman suffrage movement presents what author Joan Smith Iversen in her article in this volume called a “perplexing political anomaly.” How was it that women living under the supposed oppression of polygamy could manage to win the right to vote, hold it for seventeen years, and then rewin it as part of the state constitution written in 1895 and ratified the next year after the 1890 Manifesto brought the polygamy prosecutions to an end? The eloquence and organizational skill these women displayed in advocating and defending their political rights surprised and discomfited national leaders eager to discredit them. It may also have surprised some of the Church leaders who had authorized the suffrage campaign. Perhaps it surprised the women themselves.

Many fascinating questions relating to Utah woman suffrage are explored in this collection of sixteen essays and documents adroitly edited by Carol Cornwall Madsen. The articles have been culled from more than three decades of published scholarship on the subject. Gathered together, they tell an important, multi-layered story.

The sixteen essays are bracketed with a foreword and a chronology by Kathryn L. MacKay and an introduction by Carol Cornwall Madsen. In her introductory essay, Madsen lays the groundwork for the collection, explaining that the issue of Utah woman suffrage became linked to polygamy and statehood in an “intricate political triangle” (7). From 1869 until statehood was finally achieved in 1896, any change in the status of one of these issues was sure to affect the other two. Providing a general backdrop for the more specialized studies are two historical essays—Emmeline B. Wells, “The History of Woman Suffrage in Utah, 1870-1900” and Susa Young Gates, “The History of Woman Suffrage in Utah, 1900-1920”—and “The Latter-day

Saints and Women's Rights, 1870-1920: A Brief Survey" by Madsen, Jill Mulvay Derr, and Maureen Ursenbach Beecher, first published in 1979.

Lola Van Wagenen's "In Their Own Behalf: The Politicization of Mormon Women and the 1870 Franchise," notes that it was passage of a new anti-polygamy measure, the Collom Act, that propelled Mormon women into political activism. On 13 January 1870, three thousand women met in the Tabernacle in a "Great Indignation Meeting" protesting the measure. Several speakers at the protest rally also advocated woman suffrage. Reporting on the meeting, the *Ogden Junction* complimented the speakers as "women of thought, force and ability, who are able to make strong resolutions and defend them with boldness and eloquence" (67). It was in the aftermath of this protest meeting that the leading elders saw women as a valuable political resource and urged the territorial legislature to pass an act granting women suffrage.

Several articles point out that the leading brethren were correct in their judgment that Mormon suffrage leaders would do much to counter negative "degraded victim of polygamy" stereotypes. The Mormon women who represented Utah at National Woman Suffrage Association conventions and other national forums impressed even the national press with their articulate presentations and refined demeanor.

Utah women moved quickly to acquire the knowledge and skills needed to give substance to their mandate. Thomas Alexander's "An Experiment in Progressive Legislation: The Granting of Woman Suffrage in Utah in 1870," points out that Sarah M. Kimball began a civic education program for the women of the territory. Clubs formed to study history and political science. Relief Society meetings featured mock trials and symposia on parliamentary law.

Joan Iversen's "The Mormon-Suffrage Relationship: Personal and Political Quandaries" also notes that the National Woman Suffrage Association paid a price for accepting the Utah representatives into its ranks. Antagonism from the leaders of its fiercely anti-polygamist rival, the American Woman Suffrage Association, reached an all-time high, and some supporters of the anti-polygamy crusade switched their support to the rival organization. But Susan B. Anthony, no admirer of polygamy herself, never deserted her Mormon sisters as they won, lost, and rewon their right to vote.

In a particularly revealing article, "A Fresh Perspective: The Woman Suffrage Associations of Beaver and Farmington, Utah," Lisa Bryner Bohman examines minutes of the Bountiful and Beaver chapters of the Utah Woman Suffrage Association and records a multitude of educational activities in which the members engaged. They studied prominent women of the Bible, listened to lectures on the silver question and other political topics, and debated the "just war" concept. Bohman pointed out that both

associations were dominated by the social and economic elites of the town, with several prominent male Church leaders manifesting strong support.

As Jean Bickmore White points out in "Woman's Place Is in the Constitution: The Struggle for Equal Rights in Utah in 1895," women of the nineteen local suffrage associations were quickly and effectively mobilized by their leaders in Salt Lake City to counter B. H. Robert's "oratorical avalanche" opposing the provision, and a flood of "separate submission" petitions asked that woman suffrage be deleted from the constitution and voted on separately.

After the Utah Constitution, complete with the woman suffrage section, was approved, the militant equal rights rhetoric employed by many prominent Mormon women subsided, as did their level of political activity. White's "Gentle Persuaders: Utah's First Woman Legislators," documents that, after electing several women to state and local office in the flush of excitement that followed statehood in 1896, the electorate largely reverted to electing only men. The number of female office holders in Utah built up again very slowly over the next century.

Nevertheless, the sisters had made their point. They rose fully to the challenge of representing their church and cause in the national arena, and proved themselves capable of effective political organization and action in a battle that lasted for a generation. Not for another generation did their sisters across the country gain access to this most basic of political rights.

Other essays in this collection are Jill Mulvay Derr, "Eliza R. Snow and the Woman Question"; Beverly Beeton, "Woman Suffrage in Territorial Utah" and "A Feminist among the Mormons: Charlotte Ives Cobb Godbe Kirby"; Sheralyn Cox Bennion, "*The New Northwest and Woman's Exponent: Early Voices for Suffrage*"; Gary L. Bunker and Carol B. Bunker, "Woman Suffrage, Popular Art, and Utah"; Carol Cornwall Madsen, "Schism in the Sisterhood: Mormon Women and Partisan Politics, 1890-1900"; Linda Thatcher, "I Care Nothing for Politics': Ruth May Fox, Forgotten Suffragist"; and Heber M. Wells, "Woman Suffrage in Utah (1902)."

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Albert Winkler. *Das Massaker am Bärenfluss*. Trans. by Wolfgang Neuhaus. Wyke auf Föhr: Verlag für Amerikanistik, 1997. 80 pp.

Reviewed by Kahlile Mehr

The midwinter 1863 Bear River Massacre was, in numerical terms, a slaughter of Native Americans unequalled in the annals of the West. Government troops under Colonel Patrick E. Connor, by Winkler's calculations, killed nearly 400 Indians, while 63 soldiers were wounded or killed and 79 suffered from frostbite. (According to Brigham D. Madsen, the recognized expert on this topic, the Shoshoni casualties numbered 250.)

Winkler focuses on the persons, actions, and immediate impacts of the event. He is particularly intent in presenting the Indian perspective although, at the time, most whites regarded Indians as savages, with little value as human beings. Sympathetically, he describes the event seventy years later when Shoshoni descendants were ordered to attend the dedication of a marker at the site commemorating the "destruction of their people and the murder of their families."

Winkler's book reflects substantial research in a wide variety of primary documents. The book's primary strength is its graphic account of the battle, which is not just a recitation of battle lines and tactics but an extended account of individual encounters between Indian and soldier.

This encounter ended the Shoshone threat to settlements in Northern Utah and Southern Idaho. Accordingly to Winkler, the Mormons settlers "looked upon the movement of Colonel Connor as an intervention of the Almighty" (68), although Connor, who considered Mormons fanatics and traitors, valued this praise little. However, his reputation was enhanced by the event and he was promoted to brigadier general.

The account is well researched and well written. It provides a realistic account of an event that would be rewarding to a German audience intrigued by the history of the American frontier, although the discrepancy in casualty figures suggests that they should be used with caution.

Winkler is also the author of *Mormonen-Trail: Das Desaster der Willie-&Martin-Handkarrenkompanien auf dem Weg nach Utah*, translated by Robby Sven-Axel Fair-Schulz (Wyk auf Föhr, Germany: Verlag für Amerikanistik, 1995), 92 pp.; and *Der Ute-Krieg, 1864-1868*, translated by Robby Sven-Axel Fair-Schulz (Wyk auf Föhr, Germany: Verlag für Amerikanistik, 1994), 74 pp.; photographs, bibliography.

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Utah Press, 1999. xvi, 432 pp. Photographs, maps, notes, bibliography, index. \$59.95 cloth, \$19.95 paper. ISBN 0-87480-508-2

Reviewed by Howard A. Christy

A book-length study on white-Indian difficulties in Utah during the 1850s and 1860s has long been needed; John Alton Peterson, while focusing on the Black Hawk War, contributes importantly to a better understanding of white-Indian relations generally during this period with an impressive array of evidence from many sources; and he advances two intriguing hypotheses.

The first is that the Black Hawk War "erupted and was sustained as the result of an uneasy, dynamic, and oftentimes volatile triangle which formed as Mormons, gentiles, and Indians jockeyed for position" (4). He deals with that uneasy triangle in great depth, through which, in addition to a chronicle of the war itself, he weaves several subtopics over a wide spectrum.

Peterson's battle-by-battle narrative is first-rate; and, although he breaks it up with long discourses on the "uneasy triangle," his writing is skillful, even quite elegant. (See, for example, 114-15, 136-37, 160, 176, 191, 298, 302-04, 372-97.) His literate description of the war's opening skirmish is downright tantalizing (16) and his haunting description of Black Hawk's final burial (396-97) is particularly impressive.

But more valuable is the provocative question Peterson poses about the real effect of Brigham Young's policy of "vigilance and kindness" (346-47; see also 257-58, 315, 319). In the final analysis, did that policy ultimately bless the Indians or destroy them? In a brilliant stroke, Peterson compares the Ute slaughter of the Givens family in Utah's Thistle Valley in May 1865 with the Arapaho/Cheyenne slaughter of the Hungate family in Colorado six months earlier (380-83). In Colorado, the Hungate deaths precipitated a furious response by the white population, press, and political leadership that culminated in the infamous slayings of over 250 innocent Indians at Sand Creek. In contrast, the Givens deaths in Utah drew a much calmer response. Mormon militia responded under orders carefully drafted to leave the door open for conciliation, the press was almost entirely silent, and the politicians, mainly Brigham Young, assiduously carried out a policy of "vigilance and kindness."

The Hungate-Givens comparison is trenchant, sobering, and compelling. After highlighting the contrasts, Peterson then hypothesizes:

It was only Brigham Young's peace policy, and its related strategy of keeping federal soldiers out of the conflict, that ever allowed such a war as Black Hawk's to occur in the first place. In this case it can be argued that Young's policies, though designed to produce the opposite effect, actually helped cause the war and worked to protract it once under way. Representative of more blatant ambiguities that characterized his Indian relations, the killings Brigham Young

directed through the Nauvoo Legion also played significant roles in the war's escalation and continuation. (383)

Despite this possible outcome, Peterson rightly recognizes that Young's "own Indian relations were extraordinary."

Acknowledging from the outset that he was settling Latter-day Saints on Indian lands, Young went to great lengths to see that his people treated the Lamanites kindly. . . . When Latter-day Saint blood was shed in the war's initial raid, he repeatedly sought peaceful solutions. Driven to desperation by continued killings, stock thefts, and major displacement of his own people, at times he took a hard line against the Indians, though throughout the war he held out an undeviating offer to "square off" and unbegrudgingly end the fighting. Despite the fact that the intense challenges he faced sometimes tainted his humane goals and actions with ambiguity, Brigham Young was certainly an anomaly in a nation awash in a sea of Indian bloodletting. (380)

But the book, in addition to these undeniable strengths, also contains problems. Peterson's important arguments are not well supported by the evidence in some instances, and he has tended to overstate arguments and conclusions in others. Here are a few representative examples, which display both underdocumentation and overzealousness.¹

Peterson claims that Antonga Black Hawk was a "brilliant" leader who demonstrated "astute" "political acumen" (1, 3) and, with

remarkable vision and capacity . . . he put together an imposing war machine and masterminded a sophisticated strategy that suggests he had a keen grasp of the economic, political, and geographic contexts within which he operated. Comparable to Cochise, Sitting Bull, and Geronimo, Black Hawk fostered an extraordinary pan-regional movement that enabled him to operate in an enormous section of country and establish a three-front war. Like Tecumseh, although admittedly on a smaller scale, he sought to turn the conflict into a pan-Indian war and succeeded in involving Utes from many bands as well as significant numbers of Navahos, Paiutes, Piedes, Goshutes, Apaches, Hopis, and Shoshonis. (10-11)

In short, "Despite his ultimate failure, it is unquestioned that Black Hawk was an Indian leader of singular importance" (11).

¹Regarding overstatement, Peterson has employed constructions such as "undoubtedly," "there is no question," "clearly," "it is certain," and "the truth is" on at least 100 occasions. Most of them could have been deleted without weakening his arguments. For additional examples, see 13 (Nauvoo Legion effectiveness), 22 (series of stock raids), 27 (inciting Indians to violence), 37 (believing Mormon instigation of violence), 50 (fight on Battle Creek), 58 (valuable lessons), 59 (devastation of the Timpanogos), 60 note 58 (Wakara's brothers), 95 (religion influenced thought), 112-13 (passim), 120 (arguments made good sense), 378 (Young used the Book of Mormon as his handbook), and many more instances in between.

Peterson's evidence amounts to little more than a series of stock raids punctuated by the ugly murders of tiny groups of unprotected and largely innocent settlers. Peterson has not documented a single instance suggesting that Black Hawk had a "sophisticated strategy," that he was an "incredibly important leader amongst his people," or that he "gambled that the Latter-day Saints would not call in the U.S. troops against him, or that, if they did, Connor would refuse to send them" (3). The book is studded with such uncorroborated claims of Black Hawk's political acumen. In fact, in Peterson's battle chronicle and commentary, he even suggests the opposite, sometimes dramatically so.² Black Hawk may have involved "Utes from many bands," but Peterson admits that most of the prominent Ute leaders steadfastly refused to join the fight. A striking particular is that Black Hawk was the only prominent leader who stayed away from the Spanish Fork peace treaty in 1865—the first year of Peterson's war of "almost eight years" (3, 373). Nor does Peterson show that Black Hawk enlisted "significant numbers of Navajos, Paiutes, Piedes, Goshutes, Apaches, Hopis, and Shoshonis." Peterson's battle chronicle shows that Black Hawk seldom if ever had more than a hundred fighting men at any one time. And in no case does Peterson cite reliable evidence to prove that Black Hawk was even aware of the political conflicts between the Mormon leadership and the federal government, let alone astutely exploiting such knowledge.

Peterson argues that Brigham Young, largely for political reasons, attempted to "obscure" the war from the federal government and that his "mobilization and personal direction of the Nauvoo Legion during the Black Hawk War is perhaps the most outright case of church invasion in the issues of state that can be cited in post-Civil War United States history" (14). This assertion is more quibbling than insightful. In frontier America, such "invasions" were the rule rather than the exception; and whether or

²See esp. 89. In a discussion of Black Hawk's importance, Peterson quotes the *Salt Lake Daily Telegraph* that Black Hawk was "the leader of a band . . . long known as a desperate gang of robbers and murderers" (77 note 119; emphasis Peterson's). Peterson says that Black Hawk's capture of 125 cattle in his first raid "transformed him overnight into an incredibly important leader among his people" (92; see also 105-6). Peterson largely undermines his own thesis by quoting Brigham Young: "Brigham Young called Black Hawk and his associates a 'predatory band of outlaws' whose success at "murder and robbery has enabled him to collect a band of renegade Indians, who hope under his leadership, to gratify their murderous and thievish propensities. They are not a tribe, neither is Black Hawk a recognized chief; but they are banded together for purposes of plunder" (199). See also 271 and esp. 328-29 for Black Hawk's lack of generalship. The Glenwood murders, as Peterson describes them, show not brilliant generalship but mindless killing.

not the Nauvoo Legion was legally constituted in the strictest sense, it was generally recognized—even appealed to on more than one occasion—by federal authorities.³ Despite such federal invitations, Peterson argues that “Young had illegally employed the Nauvoo Legion against Black Hawk for over a year” (252). It is a position that seems overly legalistic.

Further, Peterson’s claims that Young “secretly played the role of commander in chief” (13), that he “shrewdly distanced himself from involvement in military affairs” (13), and that he “obscured” his involvement presents an image of Brigham Young as almost skulking around. Again, in the absence of useful explanations, such a characterization is not good history. Few Americans have openly dominated events as much as Young. He openly used his name for the express purpose of giving the fullest weight to whatever was being directed. Peterson presents no clear or direct evidence that Young was directing a secret war, instead offering occasional tidbits strung together with a generous supply of supposition. Furthermore, the argument is moot; federal officials were aware of the war situation from the first clash onward and had been anticipating trouble for at least a year. Again, Peterson himself supplies this evidence.⁴

As another example of Peterson’s advancement of important claims without sufficient supporting evidence,⁵ he states that all studies of the Black Hawk War have fallen short, “until now”:

³Peterson describes the governor’s request to Washington “to deploy the local militia (the Nauvoo Legion) to chastise the Indians.” No action was taken, leaving Young “to deal with the situation on his own” (139). In another example, the Indian agent asked for troops “to chastise the raiders. Major General John Pope’s reply was that ‘there were no troops to be spared for such service’ and that ‘the Supt. of Indian Affairs will have to depend for the present on the militia to compel the Indians to behave at Selina [sic]’” (250).

⁴Peterson comes close to refuting his own “secret war” thesis; see 115-22, 139, 174, 176-77, 250-52, 263.

⁵See, e.g., 29 (prayers answered); 35 (necessary to wean); 39 (recognized the antipathy); 62 (Walker’s tent, and, huge gathering); 64 (kingpins); 112 (Mormon settlement of Sevier Valley); 156 (substantial evidence); 159 (Joseph Smith); 174 (stepped up his efforts); 184 (pan-Indian crusade; Washakie’s people); 188 (Nauvoo Legion musters); 193 (Ute drive; outlaws abounded); 195 (Black Hawk’s incredible wealth); 251 (Pope’s response); 262 (shrewdly); 292 (Young shielded); 296 (greatest flurry of fort building in Utah history); and 301 (exasperated reservation Utes; Tabby’s men finally gave in). Peterson also surmises that Brigham Young took “his cue from Book of Mormon accounts of the people of God *aggressively* going after the Gadianton robbers” in ordering Daniel H. Wells “to launch major Nauvoo Legion expeditions through the mountains, with the goal of breaking up Black

Prior to my work, three graduate studies were written on the subject: Barton, "Black Hawk War"; Spencer, "Black Hawk War"; and Metcalf, "A Reappraisal of Utah's Black Hawk War." As to be expected from master's theses, each is somewhat shallow in research and incomplete in scope and analysis. My own doctoral dissertation was the first in-depth and critical study of the Black Hawk War. (8 note 12, 15, 42)

Peterson here dismisses nearly all other scholarship on the topic but gives no evidence or analysis of inadequacy to support his sweeping generalization. Such a dismissal is an affront to the authors he brushes aside as well as to the scholars who served on their thesis committees. His uncorroborated claims on behalf of himself might better have been left unsaid.

Perhaps Peterson's most questionable strategy is his apparent downgrading of the Walker War to enhance the importance of the Black Hawk War: "Although the Walker War has received much more attention at the hands of historians than has the Black Hawk War, Brigham Young referred to the 1853-54 conflict simply as 'a slight disturbance' in which a handful of whites and about a score of Indians lost their lives" (67). While this quotation is accurate, Brigham Young knew that it was much more important than a "slight disturbance" and acknowledged it in other places and contexts, particularly in his orders to the field and other war-related correspondence.⁶ Young made his "slight disturbance" statement in a letter on 30 September 1853 but would know differently the very next day if he did not already know. About two weeks earlier on 13 September, Indians had killed a guard at Fillmore Fort and citizens at Manti Fort had immediately retaliated by murdering five Utes, at the fort on a peaceful errand. Manti's Major Nelson Higgins made his report to General Wells on the same day as the massacre, 13 September, and to James Ferguson on 29 September. On 1 October, the Utes murdered four settlers, probably in their sleep, at Fountain Green, midway between Manti and Nephi. The mutilated bodies were found on Sunday, 2 October, and brought to Nephi Fort, whose citizens furiously retaliated by murdering eight more Indians who had been brought into the fort to "have a talk." This ugly cycle of vengeance continued for about two more weeks, during which three

Hawk's band once and for all" (310; emphasis his). Such a confident assertion demands proof. See also 159-60.

⁶See, e.g. Howard A. Christy, "Open Hand and Mailed Fist: Mormon-Indian Relations in Utah, 1847-52," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 48 (Summer 1978); his "The Walker War: Defense and Conciliation as Strategy," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 47 (Fall 1979); and his "'What Virtue There Is in Stone' and Other Pungent Talk on the Early Utah Frontier," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 59 (Fall 1979).

more settlers were killed and mutilated. In short, between 1 and 14 October, seven Mormons and at least thirteen Utes were murdered, the bloodiest two weeks of the war. On 16 October Brigham Young besought his people: "Brethren we must have peace. We must cease our hostilities and seek by every possible means to reach the Indians with a peaceful message." The Walker War was no "slight disturbance" and Peterson knows it.⁷

Although Peterson admits that "native strategies used during both conflicts were almost exactly the same" and acknowledges that, during the Walker War, "Brigham Young counseled his people to build forts, guard their stock, obtain arms, and seek to conciliate the Indians by friendly gestures," he overlooks striking parallels and similarities. They include persons (Brigham Young, Daniel Wells, Dimick Huntington, Barney Ward, the Ivies, Sowiette, Kanosh, Sanpitch, and Tabby), places (Manti, Spring City, Fountain Green, Nephi, Fillmore), native strategy (identical), white strategy and policy (identical),⁸ settler opposition to policy,⁹ "passionate rhetoric",¹⁰ brutal acts of vengeance on both sides described above, herding

⁷See Christy, "Walker War," 413, an essay Peterson cites. One could argue that "the evidence shows that the two weeks between 1 and 14 October 1853 were bloodier than any two-week period during the Black Hawk War." Or "the evidence shows that thirteen Mormons died during the first twelve weeks of the Black Hawk War, compared with *nineteen* Mormon deaths during the first twelve weeks of the Walker War." These contrivances, inappropriate as history but nonetheless true as to the facts, are inserted here only to demonstrate how easy it is to manipulate figures to bolster one's particular point of view. Peterson could also have quoted Young's "slight disturbance" out of context. For another possible instance of quoting out of context, see 37. In his discussion on the *Salt Lake Union Vedette*, Peterson seems to be giving as a "salient example" the *Vedette's* contribution to an 1862 reduction of federal Indian appropriations, yet the first issue came out on 30 November 1863. See B. H. Roberts, *Comprehensive History of the Church*, 6 vols. (1930; reprinted., Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University), 5:54.

⁸"Defense and conciliation" and "vigilance and kindness" are the same thing. (Compare Peterson, 256-59, 315, 319, 346-47 with Christy, "Walker War," 403-5.) Peterson observes that "increasingly, Brigham Young came to see that the answer to the Black Hawk dilemma lay not in endless military campaigns against the raiders . . . but, rather, in vigilantly guarding stock around the settlements" (292). True, but Young had learned this lesson in 1850 and 1851 and profited from it in 1853 (346-47; see also Christy, "Open Hand and Mailed Fist," *passim*; and "Walker War," 412-13).

⁹Compare Peterson, 262, 375, with Christy, "Walker War," 407-8, 418-20, and Christy, "What Virtue," 310-15, 318-19.

¹⁰Compare Peterson, 318, (passionate rhetoric vis à vis actual behavior) with,

cattle to protected pastures, “forting up,” massive evacuation, large losses of property, and significant loss of life.¹¹

Peterson’s description of Brigham Young’s extraordinary Indian relations during the Black Hawk War (380, quoted above) also points up the similarities between the two wars. His description would have been as apt for the Walker War as it is for the Black Hawk War. Taking similarities and aptness a little further, Apostle George A. Smith, a major player throughout the 1850s and 1860s, spoke to the same question posed by Peterson about Young’s war policy during the Black Hawk War. And like Peterson he offered a comparison. Referring to past harsh campaigns against Indians, he observed:

As a specimen of that kind of policy, remember the Florida war, to say nothing of numerous others. . . .

Now come home here. What has been done? The settlements have been requested to save all their property, and all their cattle; to gather in their grain, and move into enclosures, and render themselves safe by temporary fortifications; to keep their cattle and their grain out of the hands of the Indians, so that they could not steal it. . . .

And what has been the result of this policy? . . . Had we followed the bloody schemes of some, to butcher them by wholesale, and the orders of our worthy President to gather into forts had been unnoticed—hundreds of men, women and children would have fallen victims to the red man’s rage. . . .

This is a subject that is worthy of investigation.¹²

Smith could have been talking about the Black Hawk War. But he wasn’t. He said those words twenty-five days before negotiations at Chicken Creek ended the Walker War.

e.g., Christy, “What Virtue,” 309, 311-12, 318-19.

¹¹The same kinds of events even occurred at the same places in both wars. Peterson calls the “Circleville Massacre . . . the single greatest tragedy of the Black Hawk War” (247); this incident was matched at the Nephi Fort during the Walker War. Even the same language was used in the reports on both occasions. Peterson states that the Mormon deaths during the Black Hawk War’s first seven weeks were “by far the worst figures up to that time in the Latter-day Saints’ entire experience with the Indians” (144). The “by far” part of this claim cannot withstand a comparison with 14 September-13 October 1853 during the Walker War. Peterson later corrects this claim (190). Peterson, apparently to further increase the significance of Antonga Black Hawk and the Black Hawk War, argues that Black Hawk, but not Wakara, made frontal attacks on villages (58, 67, 68). Black Hawk’s attacks were no more frontal than Wakara’s daylight raid on Allred’s Settlement in 1853.

¹²Smith’s discourse, on 6 April, was published in the *Deseret News* on 11 May 1854, the same day that peace was declared.

Pointing up the many parallels and similarities between the two wars argues for a more evenhanded approach to both—and to Peterson’s otherwise erudite judgments throughout his book. It also suggests that Young’s war policy during the 1850s and 1860s was strikingly consistent in concept and vigor. And as George A. Smith suggests, almost as if he was anticipating Peterson’s possible argument to the contrary, the policy may have largely nipped in the bud wars that could have been far more extended and tragic had other, more sanguinary, policies been attempted.

Still, Peterson’s stunning comparison of the Givens and Hungate massacres and their aftermath looms large. That comparison, and discussion of the questions stemming from it, is troubling, even compelling—and alone is worth the price of the book. Surely, Smith correctly argued that a better understanding of Indian-white conflict in Utah and the real effects of Brigham Young’s war policy are “worthy of investigation.” To that investigation, John Alton Peterson, through the lens of the Black Hawk War, has made a worthy, and at times brilliant, contribution.

HOWARD A. CHRISTY is recently retired senior editor of Scholarly Publications at Brigham Young University. He received the Utah Historical Society’s Dale L. Morgan Award for his 1978 essay (cited in the review) and in 1999 he received the Western History Association’s Arrington-Prucha Prize for his 1997 *BYU Studies* essay about the Willie and Martin handcart companies.

S. George Ellsworth, ed. *The History of Louisa Barnes Pratt: Mormon Missionary Widow and Pioneer*. Logan: Utah State University Press, 1998. xxviii, 420 pp. Notes, illustrations, bibliography, index. \$29.95. ISBN 0-87421-254-5

Reviewed by Will Bagley

While traveling toward the Humboldt River to join her missionary husband in the South Seas in 1850, Louisa Barnes Pratt acquired a “very useful” sheet-iron stove. “One of the Indian boys belonging to the company” of Mormon missionaries returned from hunting and “put a can of powder into my stove. . . . Boy like, he forgot it.” When the party camped, Louisa Pratt built a fire to “put my kettle on.” Providentially, she received an “impression” to “walk out where your cow is,” thus avoiding the detonation that blew her stove “over the top of a covered wagon! It was crushed, as with a sledge hammer” (112).

Louisa Pratt told this charming anecdote not for its humor but as an example of her belief that “a protecting arm was held over me” (112). As

such it is typical of the lively stories that fill Pratt's memoir of her youth in New England, her trials in the Mormon diaspora, her missionary experiences in Polynesia, her life in California in the 1850s, and her old age in Utah Territory.

Louisa Pratt's "simple relation of facts" (xxxvii) is one of astonishing sacrifices for the Mormon kingdom. She endured a separation of almost six years while her husband, Addison Pratt, served a mission to the Society Islands (Tahiti). During his absence, she supported their four daughters while moving from Nauvoo to Winter Quarters and finally to Salt Lake, seeking "ox team salvation" (107) on the advice of Brigham Young. She lived in a cave at Winter Quarters and in the "complete mudhole" that was Salt Lake's Old Fort, surviving cholera, malaria, scurvy, and seasickness while "always traveling about the world without my companion" (123). After enduring years of separation due to Addison Pratt's missionary journeys, she finally lost her husband when he left the Church because of polygamy, which, ironically he abhorred but Louisa supported.

The History of Louisa Barnes Pratt is the third volume in the notable Life Writings of Frontier Women series from Utah State University Press. It is also the last book of one of Utah's most distinguished historians, S. George Ellsworth. As a professor of history for some four decades, Ellsworth was a founding editor of the *Western Historical Quarterly*, a mentor to countless historians (including a young economist named Leonard J. Arrington), and the author of *Utah's Heritage*, long the state's standard secondary-school history text. In many ways this book is the concluding volume of a remarkable trilogy that represents the work of almost half a century and includes *Dear Ellen: Two Mormon Women and Their Letters* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Library, 1974) and *The Journals of Addison Pratt* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1990). The first volume contains the letters of Ellen Pratt McGary and Ellen Spencer Clawson, while the second is Addison Pratt's account of his odyssey as a whaler, missionary, gold miner, and traveler on overland trails. This latest volume, Louisa Pratt's, is remarkable for the insight it gives into the lives of frontier women and their spiritual powers. The trilogy provides a wide stage for an astonishing cast that includes not only Mormon stalwarts but such notorious characters as Ephraim Hanks, Porter Rockwell, Samuel Brannan, and John D. Lee.

One of this epic's most intriguing figures is legendary frontier scout Frank Grouard, son of missionary Benjamin F. Grouard and his Polynesian wife, Nahina, whom Louisa Pratt raised as a son, Ephraim Pratt. She grieved when her family remarked, "There is no prospect of making an honest boy of him" (250). Frank ultimately ran away to the Montana gold fields and spent six years with the Lakota, meeting Crazy Horse and Sitting Bull,

before enlisting in the army as an Indian scout. He was involved in the murder of Crazy Horse, so perhaps the Pratts were right.

Ironically, one of Utah's most eminent historians devoted his life to creating what is in essence an extended family history. (And we have yet to see the lively journals of Caroline Barnes Pratt, Louisa's sister, in print.) It is a remarkable contribution, but unfortunately this documentary record of the Pratts and their kindred shares many of the failings that afflict family histories. Perhaps due to the length of Louisa Pratt's history, the annotation style of this volume is minimal, including only a ten-page introduction, a few cursory introductions, and seventeen pages of endnotes. (Given the brevity of the notes, it's a mystery why the series has abandoned the footnotes used in the two previous volumes for the aggravating inconvenience of endnotes.) A more judicious editing approach might have summarized some of Mrs. Pratt's less inspiring passages, such as the fifty-page narrative of her childhood, in favor of more detailed commentary on significant events. Worse, the notes contain an unfortunate number of factual errors: for example, Isaac Haight did not serve in the Mormon Battalion, which was not discharged in San Diego (397, 97); Parley P. Pratt did not die on 16 May 1857 (395); and Mrs. Sam Brannan's first name was Ann Eliza, not Elizabeth (389). Perplexingly, Ellsworth treats Addison Pratt's ultimate disaffection from Mormonism as a mystery whose solution "lies in the hands of others" (xx). Yet no serious student of California's Mormon past could long avoid learning that it was Addison Pratt's intense dislike of Brigham Young and polygamy that made him, in Walter Gibson's words, "a basely delinquent Mormon."¹

Yet when compared to the crowning achievement *The History of Louisa Barnes Pratt* represents to the life's work of a fine scholar, these are trivial matters. George Ellsworth liked to tell how a woman once complimented him on presenting "an absolutely superfluous" speech. With his typical dry wit the professor responded, "I'm thinking of having it published posthumously." "Good!" she said. "The sooner the better!"

Unfortunately, "the sooner" came to Ellsworth in 1997, a loss to the state and religion he so loved. His death seems to be another mark of the passing of an entire age—some might say the golden age—of Mormon history.

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¹Quoted in Leo Lyman, *San Bernardino* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1996), 421.

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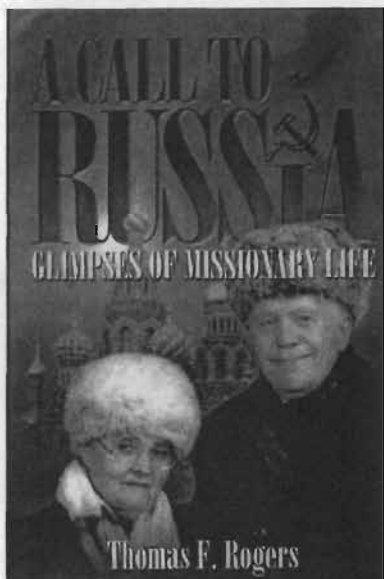
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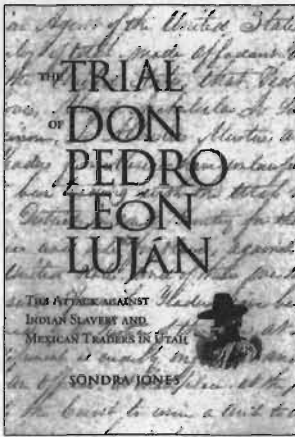
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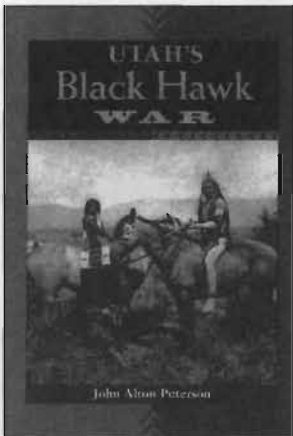
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