

Journal of Mormon History

Volume 24 | Issue 1

Article 1

1998

Journal of Mormon History Vol. 24, No. 1, 1998

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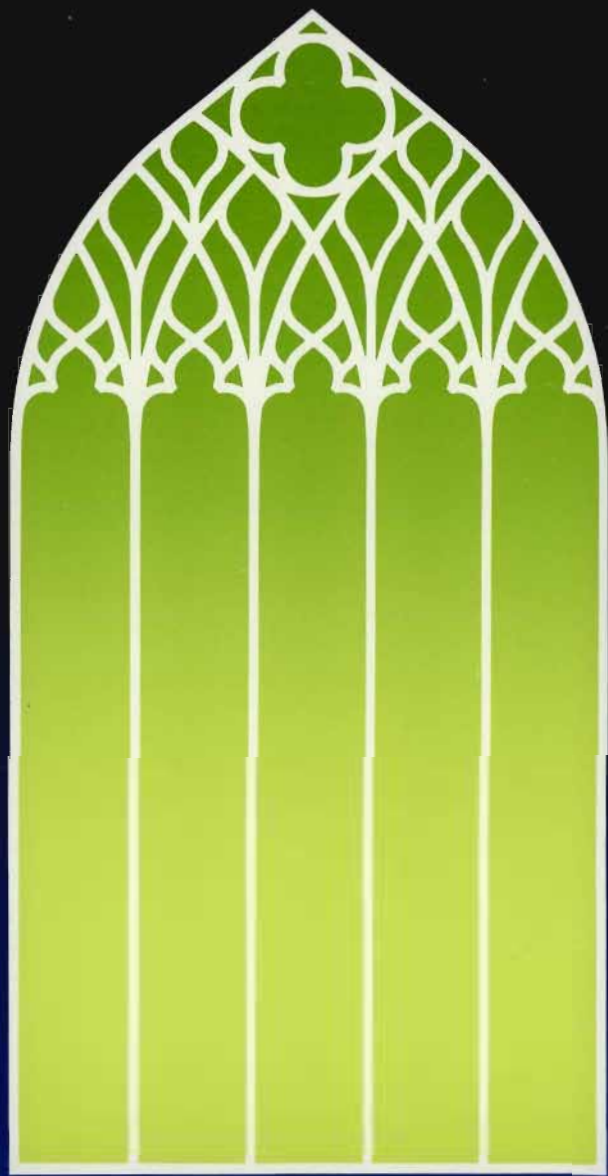
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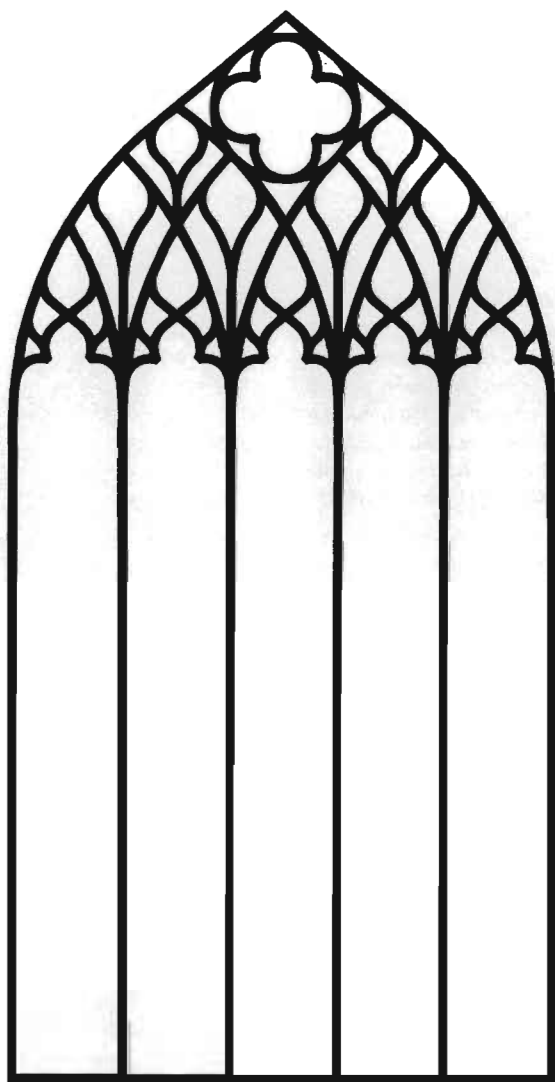
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JOURNAL OF MORMON HISTORY



SPRING 1998

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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.

Papers for consideration must be submitted in triplicate, typed and double-spaced throughout, including all quotations. Authors should follow the *Chicago Manual of Style*, 14th edition (see a recent edition of the *Journal*) and be prepared to submit accepted manuscripts in IBM-DOS format, WordPerfect or ASCII. Send manuscripts to the *Journal of Mormon History*, P.O. Box 581068, Salt Lake City, UT 84158-1068.

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

Articles appearing in this journal are abstracted and indexed in *Historical Abstracts and America: History and Life*, published by ABC-CLIO, and in *Religion Index One: Periodicals*, published by the American Theological Library Association.

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ISS 0094-7342

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EDITORIAL

Lavina Fielding Anderson

IT IS NOT THE CUSTOM of the *Journal of Mormon History* to publish editorials except for brief introductory notes or occasional comments. I am departing from that custom now and, further, departing from the usual custom of unsigned editorials because the material that follows documents a difficult situation affecting the practice of Mormon history and because this editorial is also a personal statement.

As background: The *Journal* published a lengthy review essay by Wilfried Decoo of Antwerp, Belgium, in its spring 1997 issue, examining Bruce Van Orden's *Building Zion: The Latter-day Saints in Europe* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1996).¹ Decoo praised several features of *Building Zion* but raised a number of concerns about the work which he felt were symptomatic of broader historiographical and methodological problems. Van Orden responded in the fall 1997 issue; but because of deadline constraints, the *Journal* was unable to invite Decoo's comments for the same issue, our usual procedure. He, however, agreed to respond and an announcement to that effect appeared with Van Orden's letter. That response is in this issue (pp. xix-xxxvi), along with a letter of response from Van Orden (pp. il-lv).

In the time that elapsed during this process, Decoo became aware, through Marjorie Newton of Sydney, Australia, that some material from her *Southern Cross Saints: The Mormons in Australia* (Laie, Hawaii: Institute for Polynesian Studies, 1991) had been copied without quotation marks and/or adequate citations in Van Orden's *The International Church*, a typescript text for his class by the same name at Brigham Young University. Decoo conducted a brief investigation of his own with readily available sources and found material in *Building Zion* that had also been misappropriated and/or inadequately cited. The situation was further complicated because, in addition to publication in *The International Church*, some of the same material had also been published on three Internet sites. (See "Chronology," pp. xii-xix, for these details.)

¹Although this review essay was identified as the *Journal's* first (Fall 1997, iv), the first review essay was actually Stephen J. Stein's detailed review of Leonard J. Arrington's *Brigham Young: American Moses* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1985), published in 12 (1985): 107-12 under the editorship of Dean L. May.

Decoo consulted with Richard L. Jensen, the *Journal's* book review editor, who had initially invited him to write the review essay and who was, coincidentally, one of the authors whose work had been misappropriated. Both then consulted me, as did Newton, and I brought the matter to the executive committee of the *Journal* at our regularly scheduled meeting on 23 November 1997.

We made no attempt to pursue the investigation beyond examining and independently verifying the evidence of copied or inadequately cited material from eleven authors writing in eight different books or articles with publication dates ranging from 1987 to 1994. (See "Appendices," pp. xxxvi-il.) We agreed that the evidence was conclusive that plagiarism had occurred. The committee made a majority, though not unanimous, decision that the *Journal* had a duty to the larger community to make the facts known, to deal with them straightforwardly, and to encourage Van Orden to respond.

This task was made much easier by the fact that those who knew Bruce Van Orden personally felt unanimously that he was not a dishonest person. Deliberate plagiarism simply did not square with the profile of his personal and professional life. He had served a mission in Germany, taught seminary for three years and institute for six, wrote CES curriculum at Church headquarters for seven years, has been on the BYU faculty for twelve years, has served twice as a bishop, and has served on four different high councils (his current position). It was comparatively easy for us to differentiate between his motives, which we accepted as innocent, and his scholarly methods in these instances, which we deplored.

Jensen, also a faculty member at BYU, had already opened a dialogue at the department level and also with Van Orden; with the authorization of the executive committee to represent both himself and the *Journal*, he continued that relationship. On 20 November he contacted Raymond S. Wright, chair of the Department of Church History and Doctrine at BYU, in which Van Orden teaches, and gave him the compilation of parallels (now Appendix A). Wright gave these materials to Van Orden and met with Van Orden and Jensen jointly in a follow-up meeting on 21 November. Wright also authorized an internal investigation by a researcher not on the Religious Education faculty. Van Orden took full responsibility for his lapses from accepted scholarly practice and initiated action to rectify his errors, apologize to the affected authors, and institute procedures to safeguard against recurrences. (See his response, pp. il-lv.) Jensen continued to meet with Van Orden informally, as both a friend and a colleague, throughout this episode. Although some questions no doubt remain, to the extent that the *Journal* is involved, we consider this episode to have been resolved in a satisfactory, even exemplary, way.

However, this occurrence raises larger and troubling questions about professional practices in our field. Plagiarism is an unpleasant word and an even uglier action. According to the American History Association's "Statement on Standards of Professional Conduct," "Both plagiarism and the misuse of the findings and interpretations of other scholars take many forms. The clearest abuse is the use of another's language without quotation marks and citation. More subtle abuses include the appropriation of concepts, data, or notes all disguised in newly crafted sentences, or reference to a borrowed work in an early note and then extensive further use without attribution. All such tactics reflect an unworthy disregard for the contributions of others."² Elizabeth W. Watkins, then of BYU's Scholarly Publications Division points out that, although plagiarism is usually discussed as a "legal and ethical" problem, such discussions miss the main point: "If plagiarism is not seen and discussed in a moral light, it cannot be adequately understood, because it is essentially a moral problem."³

The Mormon history community, during its thirty-year history, has been characterized by informality, friendliness, and an easy and generous sharing of information. Materials have been willingly shared among colleagues, and have cycled in and out of official Church magazines and manuals. More than one historian has been surprised to see his or her insights, research materials, and scholarly analyses appear in other locales without correct attribution; but malicious intent has seldom been present, and these authors have nearly always "let it go." This charitable forbearance for the sake of continued good relations and the greater cause of making more Mormon historical topics more broadly available is, on one level, commendable. However, the simple fact of the matter is that plagiarism is illegal and unethical. A plagiarized author may be unwilling to confront breaches of professionalism, or not feel it necessary to do so, but he or she literally cannot make it "all right" for such misuse to occur; no one can authorize another to break the law or violate an ethical standard. Van

²American History Association, "Statement on Standards of Professional Conduct," Section title: Statement on Plagiarism and Related Misuses of the Work of Other Authors, adopted May 1986; amended May 1990, May 1993, and May 1995; <http://chnm.gmu.edu/aha/pubs/index.html>

³Elizabeth W. Watkins, "Plagiarism" (Provo, Utah: Scholarly Publication, Brigham Young University, 1991, rev. 1994), 25-35, is an excellent summary of recent cases, evaluation of the dilemmas, and recommendations for avoiding inadvertent plagiarism. A typescript document distributed to BYU faculty members about four years ago, it is copyright by BYU. For copies and/or information about reproduction, contact Elizabeth W. Watkins, 119 HRCB, BYU, Provo, UT 846602; e-mail Elizabeth_Watkins@byu.edu.

Orden mentions (p. lv) that he has seen his own work exploited improperly but has chosen not to pursue the issue. While such tolerance may be personally admirable, it is a disservice to the community as a whole and especially to the individuals who may be engaged in improper behavior through ignorance.

Consequently, I consider that this event is something of a test of the community's maturity and also of its twin goals: first-rate historical scholarship coupled with an underlying commitment to high ethical behavior. The *Journal* is committed to both.

The individuals involved and the executive committee members have worked hard to articulate not only the "right thing" to do but also the "right way" to do it. We have chosen to treat the topic at length, providing space for a chronology of events, Decoo's letter, documentation of plagiarism, Van Orden's response, and a concluding response from Richard L. Jensen as review editor. Although this level of detail will not be welcomed by every reader, we feel it important to provide a comprehensive and comprehensible discussion on the record. Certainly it is incomplete, and certainly the different individuals involved will have different interpretations of what happened. Still, it is a good-faith effort.

Our goals are: (1) to correct the historical record, (2) to affirm the canons and standards of scholarly discourse, and (3) to reaffirm the intangible feelings of good will, shared commitment to common goals, personal generosity, and professional trust that keep our community collegial and healthy.

History will write the ultimate verdict about whether these goals have been successfully met. However, as this issue goes to press, I can express my sense of peace that those involved, including Van Orden and those to whom he is responsible at BYU, have tried to the best of their ability—in some cases, transcending normal limits in remarkable ways—to be both fair and forgiving, both professional and compassionate.

The first two goals, correcting the historical record and affirming professional standards, are met by our publication of the materials themselves. This record makes possible the reconstruction of correct attributions for the body of knowledge currently being produced about the international Church, and affirms that open dialogue and publicly available corrections are the right way to deal with such problems.

The *Journal* can and does encourage the third goal—that of reaffirming the values of our community. Ultimately, however, its achievement depends on members of the Mormon History Association as discriminating readers, and as fair- and friendly-minded people. Two passages of scriptures seem relevant in processing both the violation of scholarly standards in our community and also the restitution that has been made.

The first is the realistic observation and sobering injunction of Hebrews 12:11-13:

Now no chastening for the present seemeth to be joyous, but grievous: nevertheless afterward it yieldeth the peaceable fruit of righteousness unto them which are exercised thereby.

Wherefore lift up the hands which hang down, and the feeble knees; And make straight paths for your feet.

I believe that it is only with the utmost caution that such “chastening” should be undertaken. The recognition of plagiarism, an unjust act, naturally brings anger, as all injustice does. I believe that anger has value in helping us recognize injustice and in providing initial energy to act. However, beyond that point, it is a drastically treacherous guide. I do not believe that chastening undertaken in anger has much value; and I have been inspired by the genuine wish of those involved in this episode to “lift up the hands which hang down” and “make straight paths.” I have seen those involved make earnest and sincere efforts to carry out the provisions in the next two verses to “follow peace with all, . . . lest any root of bitterness springing up trouble you” (14-15). It is not customary for scholars discussing professional work to acknowledge that they have struggled in prayer as they have worked through difficult intellectual issues, but I know that such prayers have been offered in this case; and, I feel, they have been answered.

The second passage is Paul’s famous injunction to the Ephesians about “speaking the truth in love” (4:15). The context is a description of congregational life centered on Christ; and while I do not suggest that the Mormon history community is a congregation or should be, verse 16 describes how “the whole body fitly joined together and compacted by that which every joint supplieth, according to the effectual working in the measure of every part, maketh increase of the body unto the edifying of itself in love.” This description of the role of difference and diversity in making “increase” and betterment possible seems particularly appropriate to this situation. If the end is love, it becomes more apparent why the means must also be loving.

History is about speaking the truth, even when that truth is various, multiple, subject to widely differing interpretations, and constantly evolving. While historians are fairly forthright about articulating their passion for truth (or a truth), we are usually shyer when it comes to talking about our love. Yet very few of us would be engaged in this enterprise were it not for love—a love of the Mormon pasts, Mormon landscapes, Mormon individuals, and Mormon stories. From the shared commitment to understanding and articulating those pasts has not infrequently arisen a love for the comrades who share the same interests, professional engagements,

curiosities, puzzlement, and triumphs of achievement. This mutual bond is one of the greatest strengths of the Mormon history community.

Yet nearly everyone who works with Mormon history has experienced the very real suffering, in some degree or other, of telling part of the Mormon story in a way that hurts or affronts some cherished beliefs of others and of feeling a lessening of love within at least some communities that are important to them. At such times, I believe that even when affection and appreciation among individuals may wane, the love of truthful history itself can be enough motivation to continue "speaking the truth" in and from that love.

This episode has been a test of love: love of truth, love of clear speaking, and love for those involved. One of the reasons I feel such peace is that I feel that the love available has been sufficient to the occasion, even, sometimes, abundant.

Wilfried Decoo and Marjorie Newton both deserve special commendation for the different but essential roles they have played in becoming aware of the initial problem, in struggling with options about how to resolve the problem, and in maintaining standards of the highest professionalism from their own national traditions. It is not easy to be the messenger bearing bad news, particularly in a context when all concerned are active and committed believers in the same religious tradition.

Both Newton and Jensen had to consider the possibility that their motives would be misunderstood. In both cases, they were courageous and responsible in considering the greater good of the historical community and also in taking steps to assure Van Orden that they valued and respected him as an individual.

Decoo's careful and thoughtful response (pp. xix-xxxvi) deals with a number of important issues beyond that of plagiarism, and I trust that they will not be overlooked in future discussions. His response is an invitation to other members of the community to welcome thorough scrutiny, to accept such scrutiny objectively as helpful and important, and to differentiate between personal/ecclesiastical relationships and professional ones.

Considering the fact that Mormon history still presents much the appearance of being a U.S. possession, the courage to enter into dialogue in a situation of perceived insiders and outsiders was not the least of the demands made of Decoo and Newton. Their willingness to engage in that dialogue is a measure of their vital contributions, past, present, and future, to the Mormon history community.

Decoo, who joined the LDS Church in Belgium as a teenager in the mid-sixties has made continued and creative contributions to the Church in Europe. An applied linguist and educator at the University of Antwerp, for many years he chaired its Department of Education, now directs the

Didascalia Research Center at the University of Antwerp (<http://dida-www.uia.ac.be/didascalia>), and leads various international educational projects. In addition to more than two hundred professional books and articles, he has also published in *BYU Studies* and in *Dialogue*. His Church callings have included branch president, district president, and counselor to six mission presidents. He presently serves as counselor in the Netherlands Amsterdam Mission presidency, as ward quorum instructor, and as a member of the Church's Belgian national public relations committee.

Newton entered higher education as a mature-age student and wrote the history of the Church in Australia for her master's degree at the University of Sydney. This work earned First Class Honours in History and a Reese Award,⁴ then was published by the Institute for Polynesian Studies at BYU–Hawaii in 1991 as *Southern Cross Saints: The Mormons in Australia*. As a doctoral project, she undertook the history of the Church in New Zealand, submitted for examination in February 1998. She has also published in *Dialogue*, the *Journal of Mormon History*, *BYU Studies*, the *Ensign*, the *Relief Society Magazine*, and the *Children's Friend*. In the Church she has served as stake Primary president, as Family History Centre director, on a stake Relief Society board, and as a counselor in both Relief Society and Primary ward presidencies.

The outcome of this situation would be very different if Bruce Van Orden had chosen to respond defensively or defiantly. Unquestionably such a situation has been personally very painful. Yet his willingness to engage in the necessary dialogue to understand the dimensions of the problem and his prompt frankness, once that understanding had been reached, in accepting the responsibility for his actions are highly admirable. I hope that I may speak for the larger community in assuring him of our continued esteem, our understanding of how this regrettable situation occurred, and our anticipation of his future contributions.

I also express my thanks to others: to Jean Bickmore White, the *Journal's* letters editor, who willingly shared her experience, gained by many long years in both academic and political trenches and whose personal sense of responsibility has been unfailingly high; to Dave Kenison and David Crockett, listowners of LDS-Gems (see "Chronology") for their assistance in documenting various electronic publications and also in

⁴She received a William G. and Winifred F. Reese Memorial Award, presented at the Mormon History Association annual meeting in 1987. At the time, this prize was given to the author of the best doctoral dissertation, master's thesis, or first professional article in the field of Mormon history; it is now limited to best dissertation or thesis.

affirming high scholarly standards for their own publications; to Richard Jensen, who took upon himself several difficult tasks and whose thoroughgoing professionalism, unpretentious integrity, and consistent collegiality eased the tasks of others; and to MHA President Armand L. Mauss and President-elect Jill Mulvey Derr, who have been supportive throughout the process, equally concerned about both the welfare of the individuals involved and about maintaining professional standards. I am also grateful that Van Orden's department chair encouraged him to use the *Journal* as a vehicle for his response to this painful and difficult situation, thus aiding both disclosure of the facts and the emotional closure of resolution.

This situation did not occur at a convenient time. Most of the work was done in November and December of 1997 and in early January of 1998, when Newton was finishing her doctoral thesis on New Zealand for submission to the University of Sydney, when Decoo was facing publishers' deadlines and chairing/hosting an international symposium, when semesters were ending and beginning, when the holidays of Thanksgiving, Christmas, and New Year's brought their own demands and interruptions, and when a death occurred in Richard Jensen's extended family. Families have borne extra burdens. We thank them for their patience, their support of their loved one, and their supportiveness of the ethical principles at stake.

In looking to the future, I suggest that we first increase our awareness of our problem areas and our knowledge base about them. It is crucial that those who occupy teaching, mentoring, and gatekeeping positions not assume that the less-experienced individuals with whom they work have been taught the basics of how to take notes, how to write, and how to create citations but rather make the standards explicit, invite questions, and actively pursue gray areas.

"If you use someone's words, quote them. If you use someone's thought, cite it." This rule of thumb, articulated by Ray Wright, has long served historians well; it must become second nature in our professional work. The current trend toward undocumented contemporary histories and less-documented popular histories is one I personally deplore; but obviously all readers and writers would benefit from vigorous discussions of how to accommodate different reading publics and implement correct practices.

Second, as Decoo, Van Orden, and Jensen eloquently urge, this episode should invite all historians to examine both their consciences and their methodologies. It is critical that we be able to trust each other's work, and this can happen only if the scrutiny of our peers is preceded by self-scrutiny.

Third, we need to find new ways of "speaking the truth in love" that will create a tradition of criticism as healthy and as varied as the various traditions of writing history in our community. I commend, as the founda-

tion for continued discussions, not only the already cited AHA "Statement on Plagiarism" and Watkins's, "Plagiarism," but also BYU's "Academic Honesty Policy," 13 May 1996.

Almost certainly there will be challenges in the future to both the professionalism of Mormon history and the unity of the Mormon history community. I have a deeper confidence than ever that we can rise to such challenges.

CHRONOLOGY

Lavina Fielding Anderson

Although the chronology below is quite complicated and detailed, the *Journal* wishes to establish the narrative of the relevant events—putting the facts on the record, and thus helping readers understand the actions and motives of those involved. Moreover, the events were triggered by a new, dynamic, and important development in publication, namely the Internet, which requires additional explanation.

As Bruce Van Orden explains (pp. l-li), inadequate notetaking procedures and time pressures in preparing lectures for his BYU religion classes on international Mormonism resulted in copyings from a number of sources without recognizing the offense.¹ Various parts of these lectures were then published as described in this chronology: *The International Church: Supplemental Text* (a typescript text used in his religion classes), *Building Zion: The Latter-day Saints in Europe*, published by Deseret Book May 1996, and in three sites on the Internet.

The two stories of conventional print publication and electronic publication are intertwined, adding to the complexity. The sequence of the print story includes, as its major points, (1) the publication of *Building Zion: The Latter-day Saints in Europe*, in May 1996; (2) Bruce Van Orden's typescript publication of *The International Church: Supplemental Text*, used in his BYU Church history class by the same name, given an ISBN number,

¹Appendices A and B document fifty-nine misappropriations of material and/or inadequate citations from eleven authors writing in eight publications.

copyrighted by Van Orden, and sold in the BYU Bookstore since at least the fall of 1996; (3) the publication of Wilfried Decoo's review essay of *Building Zion* in the spring 1997 issue of the *Journal of Mormon History*, which raised historiographical and methodological questions, (4) Van Orden's response in the letters section of the fall 1997 issue of the *Journal*, (5) Decoo's own response in this issue (pp. xix-xxxvi) which brings forward, among other issues, the problem of plagiarism, and (6) Van Orden's response and apology, also in this issue (pp. il-iv), with, as contextual material, this chronology and two editorials, one by Lavina Fielding Anderson and the other by Richard L. Jensen, editor and review editor respectively of the *Journal*.

The second story, much faster, more fluid, and more informal, involved both e-mail communications and also electronic publishing. It led directly to the recognition of the problem.

The Internet is a new and important publishing medium. Documents may be either e-mailed to subscribers or archived on websites so that anyone can consult and download them. Though less formal than print media, electronic publishing does, in the opinion of the *Journal of Mormon History*, constitute publication and hence requires the scrupulous attention of writers and readers to the usual conventions regarding intellectual property.

LDS-Gems is a read-only (non-discussion) listserver owned by David Kenison and Dave Crockett and founded in February 1996. Immediately very popular, by December 1997 it had more than 11,000 subscribers receiving daily e-mailings. By 16 January 1998, 36,879 people had also visited the LDS-Gems site, which allows access to its archives and a wide variety of items on many subjects. (LDS-Gems, General Info).

In May 1996 Bruce Van Orden provided two excerpts from *The International Church: Supplemental Text*, to LDS-Gems: "The Beginnings of the Church in Nigeria" (4 May) and "Building Zion: Puerto Rico" (18 May). On 14 June, a third excerpt followed: "Building Zion: The Dominican Republic." Dave Crockett wrote the titles and also wrote the following note to accompany the first mailing: "Bruce Van Orden . . . associate professor of Church History and Doctrine at BYU, has written and compiled a wonderful history of the international Church which will be published very soon. As one of our subscribers on LDS-Gems, he has given permission [to] post this interesting excerpt. This, as well as many of the LDS-Gems distributions, is copyrighted. To learn more about the progress of the gospel going to all nations, you can find currently fourteen chapters of this impressive work on the WWW on the Mormon History Resources page." The Mormon History Resources page, owned by Dave Crockett, included the chapters corresponding to Chapters 5, 8, and 10 in *Building Zion* that

were put on-line in late spring 1996. It is currently indexed on LDS-Gems as the "List Archives."

Van Orden also allowed at least one other website to carry parts of his material on the international Church. In 1995 Sam Brown at Harvard carried an early version of Chapter 11 on Central and Eastern Europe from *Building Zion* "with permission" on his page, including the jocular notice: "This is a chapter from a book to be published by Prof. Bruce van Orden, of BYU's religion dep't. It is NOT in the Public domain. It is copyright [by] Bruce van Orden, 1995. Unauthorized duplication, distribution, or a combination thereof of this text is prohibited by law. Violators will be dipped in a vat of hot acid. Seriously, it's illegal." Brown removed the Van Orden material from his site in November 1997.

Because many LDS websites carry direct links to other LDS sites, it is easy for someone searching the Internet for Mormon materials to be led in rapid succession to the same material from a variety of points. There is, however, no way of estimating the number of browsers or subscribers who were specifically interested in the Van Orden items, since many other items also are carried on LDS-Gems and Mormon History Resources.

The wide electronic distribution of Van Orden's material resulted in the early identification of problems with misused and inadequately cited material. Extracts from *The International Church* dealing with Mormonism in Australia were e-mailed 5 January 1997 to several thousand LDS-Gems subscribers and archived on LDS-Gems and on the Mormon History Resources page. The listowners introduced the e-mailing: "This is a portion of an article he [Van Orden] wrote for students of his Religion 344 class at BYU." They also included a formal copyright notice to discourage improper use of the posted material for monetary gain. (An unethical subscriber on another list had recently downloaded a comprehensive collection of temple dedication prayers, painstakingly compiled over many years by a dedicated researcher, had published them, and was selling this book through an innocent Salt Lake City book dealer until the matter was made known. Crockett and Kenison were anxious to prevent a similar occurrence with the material they were e-mailing and archiving.)

An LDS-Gems subscriber forwarded the Australian article to another list, Sister-Share, knowing that some Australian women were on the list and would be interested. In Sydney, Australia, Marjorie Newton, author of *Southern Cross Saints* and a subscriber to Sister-Share, read the forwarded article and recognized most of it as her own. Wilfried Decoo in Antwerp, Belgium, a subscriber to LDS-Gems, had just finished his review essay of *Building Zion*, which was typeset that month. Newton was an e-mail correspondent of his, and he asked whether she had seen the Australian article. Newton responded that she had but also informed Decoo that parts of the

material were actually her own without quotation marks. (See Appendix B, p. xli-xlv.)

Wilfried Decoo e-mailed a note to Crockett on 7 January 1997, calling his attention to the possible copyright violation of Newton's writings. Newton e-mailed Crockett and Kenison a message: "Some fifteen sentences, clauses and phrases have, presumably inadvertently, been quoted, but without quotation marks and citations, from Chapter 2 [of *Southern Cross Saints*]. In between these direct quotes, my text is closely paraphrased, which also, in scholarly practice, requires a citation." Newton also discussed the situation in private correspondence with Decoo.

On 9 January, the listowners, who were fully cooperative at all points, e-mailed a correction and Newton's letter to the list. Crockett removed Van Orden's three Pacific chapters (each of which contained a section on Australia) from his Mormon History Resources page; and he and Kenison also removed the Pacific chapters from the LDS-Gems website. (The titles of the chapters continued to be visible on the contents page, but the material itself could not be called up.)

Crockett and Kenison also forwarded Newton's letter to Van Orden who was then at the BYU Jerusalem Center with the Semester Abroad program. Van Orden wrote to Newton on 9 January explaining that the formatting requirements precluded the inclusion of endnotes as generated automatically by his word-processing program, that his material as written and published in *The International Church* contained endnotes, that Newton's work was "in all cases . . . appropriately acknowledged and cited in the Endnotes. No plagiarism in any case I can assure you," and that the material posted on LDS-Gems normally included an invitation for interested readers to contact him directly for more information about the citations. He did not comment on the material copied without quotation marks or the close paraphrases.

Van Orden offered to e-mail Newton the three chapters on Mormonism in the Pacific and, at her request, did so. Newton, still troubled by the lack of explanation for the missing quotation marks around copied material and for the close paraphrases, was not satisfied with his explanation dealing only with missing endnotes; but a research trip to New Zealand and health problems of family members delayed her follow-up. Van Orden, without information to the contrary, assumed that his apology about the "misunderstanding" had been satisfactory.

At Crockett's request, Van Orden sent him the WordPerfect files of all of the international material so that Crockett could include the endnotes in the html. These good intentions for dealing with the endnote situation ran into two problems. First, Crockett, busy with other matters, was not able to do the work immediately. When he was ready to begin in the summer of

1997, he could not find the WordPerfect files and, after searching again in the fall, concluded that he had accidentally erased them. Again, plagued by time problems, he did not ask Van Orden to resend the files; Van Orden meanwhile assumed that the endnotes had been added to the files and did not learn differently until December 1997. No effort was made to correct the material copied without quotation marks or close paraphrases.

Van Orden's Semester Abroad duties included considerable traveling during the spring of 1997; he then spent approximately a month traveling in Europe on his way back to Utah where he finished preparing his response to Decoo's review essay in June. The response was published in the fall 1997 issue of the *Journal*.

In September 1997 when Crockett and Kenison started a new series, Worldwide Saints, a pointer to the Australian article reappeared unintentionally on the page of the LDS-Gems website that indexed material available in the archive.² When Decoo tried unsuccessfully to access that article on the Mormon History Resources page in late October, Crockett sent a note in response to his query explaining, "This article has been removed because it lacked some important footnotes giving credit to another author. I haven't had the time to add the footnotes, so it remains disabled." The pointer and article were both deleted.

The Mormon History Resources site at this point (September 1997) had seventeen articles by Van Orden: the three disabled Pacific chapters, and fourteen reachable articles.³ The European and "Gathering" chapters contained material that also appeared in *Building Zion* and therefore replicated the sentences (see Appendix A) copied without quotation marks and close paraphrases, and/or inadequate citations.

Meanwhile, Decoo had investigated a few sources about European history readily available to him that had been cited in *Building Zion* and independently discovered a pattern of misused and inadequately cited

²The new Worldwide Saints series included some articles from Van Orden's *The International Church* about the Church in South America. They bore this notice from the list-owners: "Copyright Bruce Van Orden 1996. All rights reserved. This article may not be copied or posted to another location on the internet. These articles were written for students of a BYU Religion 344 class which deals with the history of the LDS Church internationally. The numerous footnotes are not included with this HTML version, but if you have any questions, you may contact the author at . . ."

³Ranging in size from 40K to 134K, these articles dealt with Europe, the Pacific, "Administering the International Church," "Gathering to Zion," Africa, Mexico, and Central America, the Middle East, Asia, Canada, South America, and the Caribbean.

material that had been taken from five authors who had written essays 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 (Solihull, West Midlands, Great Britain: Corporation of the President of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1987). These five authors are Malcolm R. Thorp, James R. Moss, Richard L. Jensen, Louis B. Cardon, and Anne S. Perry; similarly, other matter originally written and published elsewhere by Kahlile Mehr and William G. Hartley had also been misused. (See Appendix A, pp. xxxvi-xli.)

Newton investigated further in sources readily available to her about the Church in Hawaii and Australia and discovered that the work of three other authors (S. George Ellsworth, Kathleen Perrin, and R. Lanier Britsch) had also been misappropriated in sections of *The International Church* dealing with Mormonism in the Pacific. (See Appendix B, pp. xli-il.)

Decoo and Newton consulted with Richard L. Jensen, the *Journal's* book review editor, and Lavina Fielding Anderson, the editor. Decoo decided to include documentation of this pattern in his response, with the understanding that Van Orden would be made aware of this material beforehand and that he would be invited to respond in the same issue of the *Journal*.

In late November 1997, Richard Jensen, acting in his dual capacity as one of the authors whose work had been misappropriated and as Van Orden's colleague at BYU, presented evidence of plagiarism to Raymond S. Wright, chair of BYU's Church History Department where Van Orden teaches, then met with both in a follow-up meeting. Wright authorized a comprehensive internal investigation and worked actively with Van Orden in determining measures of restitution. Jensen continued his cordial relationship with both, remaining in touch with Wright by telephone and meeting with Van Orden from time to time. He also represented the *Journal* as its book review editor during the ensuing weeks as Decoo completed his response and it was made available to Van Orden in mid-December.

Van Orden cooperated fully with the investigation at BYU and with the efforts of the *Journal* to represent the interests of the scholarly community as a whole. When quotation and attribution problems were called to his attention in these meetings, Van Orden withdrew *The International Church* from sale at the BYU Bookstore, requested Crockett and Kenison to remove all of his materials from their Internet sites (which they did), and began the process of apologizing to the authors whose work he had misappropriated and to others affected in other ways (see pp. liii-liv). Unfortunately, James R. Moss had been killed in an auto accident several years earlier, and S. George Ellsworth had died of a lingering illness on 22

December 1997. Those authors whom Van Orden reached prior to the *Journal's* deadline (including Jensen, Newton, and Britsch) have warmly accepted his apology and look forward to Van Orden's continued contributions to Mormon history.

Meanwhile, the *Journal* welcomes the lively interest in Mormon history fostered by such lists as LDS-Gems and looks forward to the time when its own articles will also be available to an electronic audience.⁴ In the meantime, the ease and fluidity of creating and transmitting records should make us all more scrupulous, not less, about properly introducing our friends to each other, giving credit where it is due, and sharing the work as well as its benefits.

RESPONSE TO BRUCE VAN ORDEN

Wilfried Decoo

In the Fall 1997 issue of the *Journal of Mormon History* (iv-xvi), Bruce Van Orden responded to my review essay, published in the spring 1997 issue of the *Journal* (139-76), about his book *Building Zion: The Latter-day Saints in Europe* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1996). His response contains three parts, "Scope," in which he defends the popular survey approach, "Sources and Methods," in which he explains and defends the methodology he used, and "Interpretation," in which he discusses more subjective matters. I will follow the same partition.

I acknowledge the friendly tone in Van Orden's response and his

⁴LDS-Gems requests inspirational, historical, and international material from subscribers and contributors, and currently includes this specific information about citations, which may well be a model for others involved in this medium: "Please honor copyrights. Identify the author (including yourself). If something is taken from a published source, a complete bibliographical listing must be included: author, title, publisher, year and/or month of publication, volume numbers if applicable, [and] page numbers."

sensitive and graceful style. These very felicities, however, make writing this reply more difficult and distressing.

In my response, I will try to follow the techniques of punctilious analysis, which are part of my philological training. This approach requires extensive quotations from Van Orden's response and a thorough explanation of how I interpret what he says. It may seem tedious to some readers, but I ask the patience of those who wish to follow the line of argument and interpretation.

1. SCOPE

Van Orden begins his response with a lengthy defense of the genre of popular survey history writing. My review did not critique the appropriateness of that genre for *Building Zion*. On the contrary, I expressed sincere appreciation for a book "very pleasantly written, aimed at a broad LDS audience, with a balanced and welcome variety of general trends and concrete details . . . [to] be read as an engaging, faith-promoting, inspiring book" (141-42). As a writer of widely used textbooks myself,¹ I certainly would not criticize anyone who chooses the option of writing for a broad public.

I also wholeheartedly agree with Van Orden's "invitation for others to join in writing about European Mormon history" (v), his desire to be "a bridge-builder between the historical community and the general Church public," his determination "to tell the truth and to be accurate," and his eagerness to serve his European friends at large (vi). These items are all beyond reproach. The criticism in my essay was geared at specific qualitative aspects of Van Orden's book within the genre.

Van Orden defends the scope of his book as if I had asked for a different scope. He finds it "unfair" that I would ask him to treat "a host of socio-economic factors" because *Building Zion* "was not intended to go into depth on social scientific issues" (v). I did not criticize *Building Zion* for failing to treat a host of scientific factors in depth. Rather I expressed regret that some fascinating questions about the first generations of European Latter-day Saints were not treated at all—for example: "What was it like to be a European Mormon in the nineteenth century or first half of the twentieth century? What were the social, educational, political, and religious backgrounds of these people? What did conversion entail? . . . How were Mormon units organized . . . ? How were meetings conducted?" (144). In a book subtitled "The Latter-day Saints in Europe," I feel strongly that

¹Decoo's fifteen textbooks for language learning are widely used in various countries; more than 3 million copies had been sold in Belgium alone by 1997.

Van Orden should have written at least a few pages about these subjects. I did not expect statistics, surveys, economic profiles, or demographic arrays. A description in the same warmly popular style that characterizes Van Orden's book would have given the reader a feeling for the daily life and challenges of the first LDS converts.

2. SOURCES AND METHODS

This part deals with four subjects: the use of sources and subsequent methodology, the focus on Americans, the problem of accuracy in Church material, and the use of stereotypes and generalizations. Let me first acknowledge that I find two subjects well answered. Van Orden recognizes the need to focus less on American Latter-day Saints in books dealing with foreign countries. I appreciate his expressed willingness to redress that imbalance in future publications (ix). His discussion of stereotypes and generalizations also adds excellent nuances and reassures me of his desire "to look at the international Church in personal detail, rather than in generalities" (xiii). He recommended reading his *Pioneers in Every Land* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1997), edited with D. Brent Smith and Everett Smith, Jr., which focuses on personal stories of Latter-day Saints from all over the world. I anticipate doing so.

On the subject of accuracy in stories published by the *Church News* and Church magazines, Van Orden answered my concerns (145-46) by explaining why he feels "comfortable" with the stories he used. I feel reassured that, in the scholarly (hence, better researched) articles, the requirements of accuracy are met, but I am still convinced that tighter control is required for the journalistic renderings of current events. In Part 3, "Interpretation," I will return to the problem of accuracy but as part of Van Orden's own writings.

On the subject of the use of sources and Van Orden's chosen methodology, I have serious reservations. In my essay I had written that Van Orden "only compiles from easily available secondary sources" (142) and that "not quoting precise sources for each element gives the impression that the author conducted much original research himself and became an expert through his own merits, while those who did the actual work are often not or not sufficiently recognized" (146).

Van Orden defends his use of secondary sources as "imposed by the genre" (x) and defines his methodology as "essentially to use already published secondary sources or student papers" (x). He explains: "I purposely concentrated on distilling the scholarly work of others, citing them appropriately in the chapter endnotes and in the bibliography" (xi). In my opinion, and I say this with the utmost regret, Van Orden's "use" and "distilling" of other works and his citations to those works fail to meet

scholarly standards, as I discovered upon further study of *Building Zion*. When simple historical facts are retold in a neutral way (for example, "Heber C. Kimball arrived in Preston in 1837"), it is obvious that the same matter will be rendered in identical or comparable words. But when a scholar has produced his or her own balanced summary and narration of more complex events, it is obvious that his or her sentences cannot be copied by another author without quotation marks around the identical material nor closely paraphrased without proper references for both.

The presentation of representative examples and accompanying discussion, including related problems beyond *Building Zion* (see Appendices A and B) is made in consultation with Bruce Van Orden, who has agreed to that format and whose response follows.

I did not attempt to be comprehensive or systematic in examining all of Van Orden's material. I compared his text with only three sources that came readily to hand: *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 (Solihull, West Midlands, Great Britain: Corporation of the President of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1987); William B. Hartley, "War and Peace and Dutch Potatoes," *Ensign*, July 1978, 18-23; and Kahlile Mehr, "Enduring Believers: Czechoslovakia and the LDS Church, 1884-1990," *Journal of Mormon History* 18, no. 2 (Fall 1992): 111-54.

But even that limited comparison revealed a distressing pattern involving sentences used verbatim or with slight modifications from various authors without proper references. And there remain other questions: What if the sources are not all listed? Van Orden mentions in his preface to *Building Zion*: "I owe a special debt to my hundreds of students, whose term papers have often been valuable in my teaching and in my writing this and other volumes" (xii). What about the use of these papers, where the extent of the usage cannot be identified by outsiders?

This letter is not the place for a thorough review of the scholarly conventions of use and attribution of material. However, I feel that at least the following point needs to be made: Scholarly authors who spend their professional lives patiently sifting primary sources and composing readable history from these raw data may publish relatively little and usually for a limited audience. It is unfair for their work to be used without attribution by others under any circumstances, whether these others profit from it or not.

But there are usually definite material advantages for an academician who follows this deplorable course. He or she receives academic credit for more publications, becomes better known, acquires a reputation as an expert, and may benefit financially from larger royalties. When a situation

like this occurs among the Saints, LDS authors of the original work are faced with an unpleasant choice. Either they can criticize a brother or sister in the Church, possibly embarrassing the Church and risking breaches of harmony, or they can suffer in silence. Either choice is difficult.

I fully understand the difficulty, as Van Orden himself pointed out, of “producing a history that covers 160 years and more than forty countries” (vii). Such requirements, especially if deadline pressures are not realistic, may lead to errors in judgement and an improper use of the work of others. In such a case, would it not be better to ask specialists in every area to contribute to a collection of essays for which Van Orden, as editor, would provide guidance and help to create a coherent ensemble? Not the least advantage is that most Mormon scholars are also skilled at writing nonspecialist history for the *Ensign*, *Church News*, manuals, and other popular outlets.

3. INTERPRETATION

In this section Van Orden takes a more personal approach to my “biting” (his word) review. I deeply regret the sting that a negative review inevitably inflicts and understand the human desire to defend oneself. However, Van Orden, in constructing a personal defense, has shifted from a focus on the issues to more personal grounds. He begins by ascribing to me a “rather strident bias” toward things American that “largely discredits [my] arguments” (xi). Van Orden thus shifts the grounds from the merits of my arguments and observations to the worthiness (or unworthiness) of my motives and/or perspective.

Normally I would disregard what one writes about me personally. However, I believe I must respond here. The tactic of undermining credibility (in this case, of a non-American) by the use of anti-American stereotyping is a dangerous precedent for discourse within the international church. There are four instances where Van Orden attempts this stereotyping.

1. According to Van Orden I have a “negative stereotype of American missionaries, American sentimentality, and American culture” (xi). He gives no evidence. My reply requires that I talk briefly about myself. As with most converts, my openness to things American was part of the reason I was immediately drawn to the missionaries. My love and appreciation for these unusual young men and women have been part of my life for more than thirty years, reinforced by my twelve years (still on-going) of service in mission presidencies. When I spoke about missionary work in my essay, I analyzed some problems of approach and made constructive suggestions to improve its effectiveness and productivity, precisely to help our “valiant, spiritual, and obedient” missionaries (169).

Also like most converts, I adopted, without any reservation, that part of the restored gospel that orients us positively to the United States: e.g., the recognition of America as a chosen nation and as the center place for Zion, and the U.S. Constitution as an inspired instrument. Moreover, I can willingly testify that American Latter-day Saints teach us Europeans much in terms of sociability, friendliness, gospel maturity, constructive attitudes, leadership experience, and more. Church life itself includes many American-based features and customs which members naturally embrace—from our hymns to the artwork in Church publications, from pioneer celebrations to roadshows, from square dances to CTR rings.

On an even more individual level, I lived and worked for four years in Utah, I hold a Ph.D. from BYU, I married in Utah (my wife, also a BYU graduate, is Belgian), and we consider Utah our second home. Every morning I browse through the Salt Lake papers (Internet edition). Our satellite receiver is geared to American broadcasts. We would probably live in the United States except that our aging parents need us and we feel a duty to help build the Church in Belgium. Otherwise we would have gladly accepted the several offers we have had over the years to work in the United States, including at BYU.

Even my professional work illustrates my positive attitude toward things American. In 1997 I published a book with Dominique Markey and Jozef Colpaert entitled *L'américanisation de la communication professionnelle* (Lier, Belgium: Van In, 1997), in which we present arguments for generalizing American quality norms in French business communication. These views are also being implemented in our Russian textbooks as part of one of the international educational projects I direct.

My review critically mentioned a few so-called "American" traits, namely cheap sentimental exploitation of physical heroism, and paternalism towards foreigners (153), but many of my American friends also share these dislikes. Indeed, such traits are not determined by nationality but rather by local traditions within a section of the population. Cultural norms and traits form multi-layered, complex conglomerates. One should not oversimplify and misuse them in labeling a person.

2. Van Orden further states: "He [Decoo] is among a growing number of LDS European intellectuals whom I know or know about who are weary of what they perceive as prolonged American influence in determining Church cultural norms" (xi). He does not elaborate on this statement, but I can think of no one whom this description fits among my circle of acquaintances.

In any case, Van Orden is in personal possession of information directly from me that I do not subscribe to such a view. On 20 January 1997, I e-mailed Van Orden a short note to let him know beforehand that my

review of his book would not be favorable and to express my sincere concern for the disappointment it would cause him. He responded immediately with a friendly note and a second transmission on 23 January, including the statement: "I feel strongly that we must adapt our message and some of our non-high-celestial standards [and] practices to the various European settings rather than requiring our European brothers and sisters and potential converts to adapt to American styles of doing things." He probably felt that I would agree with him. On the contrary, I answered on 24 January 1997, stressing the cultural European-American convergence of the past decades, the fact that the differences between European countries themselves are sometimes greater than between them and the United States, and finally that the American-style approach "guarantees more unity in the Church against the gravitational forces of dissension and schism in other countries." I believe this statement of my position is very clear, so I was surprised to find Van Orden attributing his own opinion to me in his response.

For the record, in my analysis of aspects of European LDS membership in the spring 1996 issue of *Dialogue* (vol. 29, no. 1, 114-15), I had already taken a stand against the trend toward "LDS cultural adaptation and diversification" in foreign countries and had spoken out in favor of Church correlation as carefully monitored standardization, precisely to help preserve the vital unity of the Church in the world. Van Orden was also acquainted with this essay, as he confirmed to me in his e-mail of 20 January 1997.

It is a frequent tactic in character polarization to connect the opponent with a larger group, particularly one whose influence is said to be increasing. The result of such a tactic is to create alarm in the minds of the readers, who feel that their cherished institution, belief, or group is under attack. If such a "growing number" of LDS European intellectuals could be proven to exist, then questions could properly be raised about their purposes and influence. Failing such evidence, I believe that the discussion should instead concentrate on relevant issues and proven data.

3. Van Orden also "sensed" that I was annoyed that "an English-speaking American Latter-day Saint would write a history about Europe" (xiv). Again, he provides no evidence. In fact, in the introduction of my essay I expressed the sincere hope that my contribution would help American authors when they write books dealing with the Church in foreign countries (140). At numerous points in my essay I made suggestions towards that goal. They may have sounded presumptuous, but they were sincerely meant. Under "Constructive Suggestions" at the end of my essay I even pleaded for more involvement of LDS academic specialists in the United

States with academic departments in various countries, not only in LDS history, but also in other scientific areas of interest to Mormonism (175).

Van Orden's criticism also contradicts my own involvement. As editor of *Horizon*, I personally collaborated with Douglas F. Tobler, a historian of Europe at BYU, to research and publish the history of the Church in the Netherlands and Belgium (reference in my essay, p. 144 note 4). It is obvious that Americans must write most LDS international history as most LDS sources are in Utah, and as there are very few LDS professional historians yet in other countries. No doubt this situation will become more diverse as time passes, but I would never argue to exclude the input of American scholars.

A promising development already occurring is that local non-LDS historians are taking an interest in local LDS history. In 1997 a graduate student from the University of Ghent (Belgium) decided to pursue that course and sought my help. I immediately referred her to the LDS Historical Department in Salt Lake City and to the Archive of the Mormon Experience at BYU. I coached her so she would be able to conduct the major part of her contextual studies in Utah under the direction of American specialists.

That American professors can do an exceptional job in discovering, analyzing, and publishing European history was again brilliantly proven by Craig Harline in his *The Burdens of Sister Margaret: Private Lives in a Seventeenth-Century Convent* (New York: Doubleday, 1994). The pride and pleasure are more intense when one knows that Harline, now a BYU historian, served as a missionary in Flanders, specialized in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century European religious history, and is able to combine thoroughly researched history with a fascinating presentation for a broader public. His absorbing book was also published in Dutch in 1997 and was on the top ten nonfiction list in Belgium. His interviews on national radio and television, in fluent Dutch, added to his reputation. I hope many more American LDS historians will follow this outstanding example.

4. Van Orden pinpoints my expression "the U.S. Church's various movements in Ohio" (140) and apparently interprets it as a revelation of separatist sentiment on my part: "Decoo may not have been trying to identify a specific subspecies of the Church by saying 'the U.S. Church,' but given his negative approach to American contributions, I cannot be sure" (xi). The phrase "given his negative approach" is a previously unproven detraction, which is now presented as a fact. Van Orden, though apparently giving me the benefit of the doubt, actually casts me in contrast to his own emphatic position: "I want to go on record as stating that we Latter-day Saints should not look at ourselves segmentally as a U.S. Church, an African Church, or a French Church. In my opinion, the whole of Mormon history belongs to all of us in the kingdom of God" (xi).

Although Van Orden could not know this, my original text said “the Church in the U.S.,” a statement shortened by the editor. Second, the shortened expression “U.S. Church” seems a meager foundation on which to build an implication of separatist sentiment. Third, as I explain above, Van Orden knows that I take a position in favor of world-wide correlation and unity and against the development of ethnic subspecialties within the Church.

I prefer to carry the discussion of this personal stereotyping no further. I hope I have made my point that being forced to defend one’s motives from character polarization is both painful and ludicrous. The details are important in placing the facts on the record, no doubt, but they are of little or no interest to the reader and do virtually nothing to advance the debate. I chose, however, to respond, because I think such tactics of subtle defamation do a great disservice to the level of professional discourse we should expect and use within our community.

I now come to a few specific items which Van Orden handles in the second part of his Interpretation.

On Errors and Inaccuracies

Van Orden claims that many of my corrections of his factual errors “are really extensive clarifications” (xii) for which he had no place in his book, or “difference[s] of opinion and interpretation” (xii). I disagree: of the eighteen errors and inaccuracies I had identified in three and a half pages, sixteen are plain factual errors, that neither clarification nor interpretation can justify. In his response Van Orden touches upon four of the eighteen. The first deals with the relation between Flemings and Walloons and is indeed a matter of interpretation. But in his attempt at rectification Van Orden errs in mixing two realms—the Belgian people as such and Belgian Mormons. His view of a “divisive rivalry” should not be opposed to my view of “the best of feelings and mutual understanding” (xii) because the first case deals with the Flemish and Walloons as national groups and the second with Flemish and Walloon Mormons.

Van Orden reduces the second item (Louis Bertrand’s apologist writings and subsequent review) to a problem of interpretation: “Decoo would have *Journal* readers believe that Bertrand’s writings were widely distributed” (xiii). My remark had nothing to do with the extent of distribution but pointed to the fact that Van Orden confused Bertrand’s articles and Bertrand’s book as the object of the review and that he identified the review as “favorabl[e]” in “a prestigious literary magazine” (*Building* 61), while Bertrand’s writings were actually labeled as “credulity and imposture” in a weekly journal (Decoo 149). Such an error in evaluation is not a matter of different interpretations. Finally, on two other factual errors (Curtis Bol-

ton's imprisonment in Paris and the forbidding of Mormon meetings in France), Van Orden recognizes his mistake but adds, "Decoo would have the readers believe, however, that all my errors were major faux pas" (xiii).

I did not make such a suggestion. The general lines of Van Orden's history are correct. But do not the details contribute just as much to the overall design? One cannot say that Napoleon III proclaimed himself emperor, if he was duly elected; nor that the government considered all public meetings a threat, if even Mormons could meet freely; nor that Curtis Bolton was imprisoned in Paris in the early 1850s, if this is not so; nor that Louis Bertrand was a former propagandist for the Communist Party, if that party did not come into existence until seventy years after his baptism; nor that a mission was created in Brussels in 1974, when it had actually existed since 1964; nor that Elder Didier is a linguist by profession, while he is not.

I agree with Van Orden that "historians make their own errors in reporting events" (x), but the types of errors I have identified here must be classified as carelessness, not as errors caused by conflicting or missing sources, disagreements in interpretation, or the unavailability of material. Van Orden also stated: "I routinely checked these accounts with other credible sources and with known experts about a particular country, region, or historical period. If problems with inaccuracy remain, it is because of inadequacies in that vetting process, not because of intention or laziness" (ix). I certainly do not suspect the latter, but then the inadequacies remain quite serious.

However, I admit that my extrapolation from the eighteen identified errors in three and a half pages to an estimated 1,500 for the whole book probably is "overplayed and unfair," as Van Orden pointed out (xii). He did not, however, answer my specific question (147 note 6) to whom this research on France, including the accumulation of errors, should be attributed. The same question applies to my second example—the material on present-day Belgium—which also labored under a fair number of errors. Assuming that the sources were inferior for both the French and the Belgian material, it is easy to see that these sections may have ended up more unreliable than others.

On Triumphalism

Van Orden wrote: "Decoo sees my work [as] promoting 'constant triumphalism' for the Church in Europe" (xiii). To protest my presumed criticism, he even quotes President Hinckley who "has encouraged optimism rather than 'pickle-sucking' about the work of the Lord" (xiv). This technique again is one of subtle defamation; Van Orden aligns himself with the prophet; therefore, what is the position of the critical reviewer?

But Van Orden is defending a perspective that I never criticized. My

review expressed appreciation for a book “Mormons will enjoy reading. They will find pride in the obvious progression of the kingdom of God, will be impressed by the gigantic efforts of their leaders and fellow Saints, and will feel their souls stirred. . . . And indeed, a stirring story it is, from the beginnings in Preston, England, to the present temples and stakes in many places on the Continent” (142). Later I wrote: “The very title, *Building Zion*, illustrates the perspective that the progress of the Church is continual and glorious. The writing communicates that perspective with enthusiastic phrases. . . . I, too, find such excitement invigorating and encouraging” (163). I also believe that the “Constructive Suggestions” I offer at the end of my essay (170-76) are another proof of my own optimism and desire to help build the kingdom. My own Church talks and my dozens of promotional LDS publications, including my book *Het Mormonisme* about the LDS Church, published by a Catholic press (Antwerp: De Nederlandsche Boekhandel, 1979) are likewise filled with my enthusiasm for our great cause.

Van Orden concentrates instead on another quotation. To introduce my analysis of the problems of the Church in Europe, I remarked: “I, too, find such excitement invigorating and encouraging; but constant triumphalism is not, in my opinion, a helpful perspective when objective assessment is required. It creates a false context that blurs our perception of reality and impedes a sober and beneficial analysis of our actual accomplishments upon which serious plans to improve the future must be based” (163). Van Orden excerpts “constant triumphalism” from this restrictive context.

The problem I tackled in this restrictive context is Van Orden’s analysis of the reasons for missionary success or failure, in which he looks only at reasons that are external to the Church. In contrast, I looked for reasons within the Church, which indeed requires us to set aside for a moment our constant triumphalism. But my total analysis did not lead to pessimism. On the contrary, I eagerly offered documentation for believing why Europe now “offers major opportunities for LDS conversions,” how “there remains a profound hunger for answers to eternal questions” among the population at large, and how “the Mormon message is so unique and powerful that it must reach the hearts of millions” (168, 170). I could argue that my vision counters Van Orden’s own very pessimistic description of a totally immoral Europe, taken over by “materialism, . . . hedonism, [and] secularism” (*Building* 317). Our respective positions were thus quite different than Van Orden’s description of them.

On Central and Eastern Europe

In his response to my analysis of the situation in Central and Eastern Europe, Van Orden is very brief. He is “amazed” that I would claim: “Van

Orden devotes not one word to the deeper feelings and the complex challenges of those millions undergoing massive changes" (155) and quotes two sentences from *Building Zion*: "Russia certainly lacked the political stability many citizens longed for, crime became rampant, and many unscrupulous foreigners and the so-called Russian Mafia plundered the country's economic resources," and "Early euphoria was replaced by widespread disillusionment, skepticism, and, in some cases, considerable bloodshed" (xiv-xv).

All these problems are serious, but Van Orden is describing later developments while my comments were focused on the earlier years when international communism was collapsing. Furthermore, my main point was not the social and economic disruption in the country but my extensive (155-158) discussion of "the deeper feelings and the complex challenges"—namely, the passionate cultural-religious traditions and affiliations of the population as the collapse of communism made religious and national resurgence possible. In my essay I drew extensively on Russian colleagues and writers who have explained to me how those passionate feelings lead them to view foreign sects as vultures who "plunge into our disarray, adding to the spiritual chaos" (156). I analyzed why an Alexander Lebed would call the Mormons "scum" and "mold" and what the experience could teach us about our skills at intercultural communication and about more successful approaches. In his response Van Orden signals no awareness of these matters.

Meanwhile what I wrote at the end of 1996 for my essay has been corroborated by developments in 1997. I warned that "in some of these countries legislation against foreign cults can easily be passed" (157). On 25 September 1997, Yeltsin signed the restrictive religion law that the Duma had approved by a vote of 358-6 six days earlier. Political commentators in the West denounced it as "the first systematic rollback of fundamental freedoms" in Russia (*Washington Post*, 2 November 1997, C-1). As far as I know, no commentator has tried to understand that the unperceptive, abrupt, discourteous ways in which many foreign sects entered Russia was the first cause of the deep displeasure that led to the restrictive law. I am sure we Mormons entered those post-communist fields legally and in the open; but we may not have understood, as I said in my essay, that in the historical-cultural framework of these countries, the new "freedom of religion" is not yet the same as "freedom to detach someone from his or her national religion" (157).

Furthermore, in seeking official recognition and safety for the Church in these newly independent states, we confide in shifting political powers that are often interested only in their own benefits and in unstable legal regulations that offer few guarantees. We like to believe and to quote the

personal "reassurances" of "high officials." But in doing so, we seem to accept too quickly that our Western norms and stability are applicable over there.

I realize that it could seem arrogant of me to discuss what we could have done and could still do; but since 1991 I have worked intensively with post-communist authorities and their composite, ambivalent structures. It has taught me a few things. For the Church, the first friends we should try to make are the religious authorities, who usually represent a stable hierarchy and have direct political say in the matters that are important to us. I had commented that the Church would have made itself distinctive among Western religions if, instead of immediately sending in eager preachers, we had first offered assistance to the crushed and needy national religions: funds to help restore buildings, scholarships to student priests, books and equipment to seminaries (158).

A recent voice from the inside confirms my thesis: On 24 October 1997 Orthodox Patriarch Bartholomew, while visiting the United States, told a meeting of the National Council of Churches in New York: "Missionaries from the West whose voices were not heard during the decades of oppression have come not to lend support but to convert Orthodox believers. Orthodox who had suffered for generations had expected the prayers, the support and the encouragement of ecumenical partners. . . . We ask for your love and understanding as we seek to rebuild the house that was shattered by active governmental persecution" (*Salt Lake Tribune*, 25 October 1997, Internet edition). Would it not have been exciting and fulfilling if Patriarch Bartholomew had been able to mention the Mormons as exemplary in their approach to Central and Eastern Europe?

In the long run, these types of recognition would probably provide a much safer and stronger LDS base in those countries. Simultaneously less offensive but still effective proselytizing methods need to be developed. I do respect the immense efforts of the Church in Central and Eastern Europe, I rejoice in the results obtained, and I have the greatest admiration for the first pioneering members. However, I suspect that our excitement and impatience to enter former Communist ground made us somewhat blind to socio-cultural factors that require longer strategic planning to result in being perceived and welcomed as a mature and dignified religion.

On Racial Intolerance

In my essay I strongly objected to Van Orden's generalizations about racial intolerance in European LDS congregations. I am pleased that he took a more nuanced position in agreeing that "hosts of European leaders and members dedicate themselves wholeheartedly to integrating *allochtones*

into their congregations." At the same time, he holds to his "original assertion that many Saints in Europe struggle with intolerance and milder forms of racism." He explains that in visiting Europe in the summer of 1997, he found "additional examples of difficult adjustment for foreign members." Local leaders he interviewed "acknowledged that they are repeatedly challenged by confronting people of other races" (xv).

I am sure Van Orden perceived what he perceived. It may well be that we are working from different data bases, as he also suggests. But I am uneasy on two points. First, I think that he may be using "racism" and "intolerance" to cover a broad range of interactions, not all of which are racist or intolerant. Second, I think the way in which he collected his information may have been inadequate.

On the first point, Van Orden uses a variety of terms: "intolerance," "milder forms of racism," "difficult adjustment," or "challenged by confronting people of other races" (xv). I think we must differentiate more clearly among various attitudes. I, with him, deplore any form of intolerance, which I define as explicit, persistent aversion. But I would not define some reservedness in the beginning stages of a relationship as intolerance. Indeed, depending on local social variables, hearty joviality and pressing affection shown immediately to a newcomer may even be understood as superficial or ill-mannered. Worse, it can be misinterpreted as "sectarian netting" or "love luring"—a deceptive technique denounced by the recent Parliamentary Sect Investigation in Belgium. (The Mormons are Sect No. 52 on the official list of cults.) Friendliness must welcome the newcomer while allowing him time and tranquility to adapt to the new environment and make his own choices about response. Fellowship must not infringe on privacy.

I likewise would not define as intolerance forms of caution that may extend to wariness and some distrust, even though such attitudes are inherently negative. In my essay I explained the practical political, legal, and social problems arising in connection with refugees, asylum seekers, Muslims, and Israelis that have resulted in official instructions of caution to local units. Furthermore, in my review, I pointed out how the perception and welcome of new investigators, whether local or foreign, who have serious personal problems, must be understood in the broader context of struggling units and exhausted leaders. And finally I remarked Van Orden's tendency in several places to identify with pride educated converts with prestigious professions, while not a single migrant worker, refugee, or asylum seeker appears (161-62). Van Orden does not discuss any of these attitudes, all of which, I would argue, stop short of what I would define as intolerance.

I raise the second point about data collection, not in accusation, but

in recognition that I am asking questions that neither Van Orden nor I can answer at this point. In his response, he catalogs how he appraised the existence of intolerance. He interviewed European ward, branch, and stake leaders, many returned missionaries, and students from Europe attending BYU. All of them apparently corroborated the existence of racial intolerance in local European units. Questions like these came to my mind: How distinctive or limited were the perspectives of the local leaders and the missionaries who were interviewed? Were those who may have caused as well as those who may have experienced discrimination included to relate their views? Were the key concepts well defined? How exactly were the questions phrased? How were the answers analyzed and evaluated?

In a matter so complex and delicate, I believe that the situation calls for research by competent sociologists. In so saying, I acknowledge that I do not have more valid criteria by these standards with which to challenge Van Orden's data. In praising our members for their unselfish and loving attitude towards foreigners, I may have considerably broader and longer experience than Van Orden, but it is still my personal experience. Clearly, this subject requires further attention. In the meantime, although I find Van Orden's discussion unsatisfactory, I certainly share his conclusion: Together we agree "that even one indication of racial intolerance is one too many for Saints seeking a Zion society" (xv).

CONCLUSION

When I accepted the invitation of Richard L. Jensen, the *Journal's* review editor, to review *Building Zion* in May 1996, I soon realized that the review would be a difficult one to write. In the introduction to my essay, I stated: "I realize that much of what follows must inevitably be personally painful to this book's author. I am sincerely reluctant to inflict such distress, and I seriously considered declining this review because of this personal dimension" (139). But at the same time, I felt that my background and expertise obliged me to share my views and try to contribute "to an on-going dialogue about issues of concern for all to whom Mormon history and Mormon internationalization are important" (176).

The review essay was published. Van Orden responded in the next issue. My first reaction was not to engage in further dialogue, in spite of the fact that I had pledged to do so and that my coming response was already announced in the *Journal*. But finally my sense of professional responsibility tipped the balance toward continuing the dialogue. A number of fundamental problems needed to be discussed, such as the infringement of standards for scholarly writing, the tactics of subtle defamation, and the

inadequacies in research. It was important for the discussion to be conducted in an appropriate public forum for two reasons: the author's work was in the public arena, and all of us who work in this field must be serious about applying scholarly standards to our assumptions and methodologies. And so I responded.

What did I myself learn from this experience?

1. It was a sobering experience that helped me mature. Though the reader sees only the final text, though some may think I wrote it quickly and insensitively, I went through a lengthy and intensive process. Criticism fought with compassion; facts clashed with feelings. This confrontation at the intersection of Church and profession, of gospel principles and scientific concerns was excruciating. On this borderline we lack guidelines and models with which to shape our reviews and responses. Though my analysis is severe, I tried to make it sober and dignified to reflect my personal respect for Van Orden and the seriousness that the subject merits. Formulating ideas and choosing the right words in a foreign language was also an arduous task. I hope I have succeeded in conveying my thoughts correctly to the reader.

2. I became more aware of the problem of the relation between end and means in our religious context. The end—building the kingdom—does not justify the means. I had a critical look at our own local tendency of producing LDS promotional material, bulletins, and newsletters with phrases and pictures taken from others. I noticed that we use music and talks in our meetings, “borrowed” without giving any proper credit. We often do not respect copyrights but consider the appropriation of intellectual property to be justified because we are engaged in a good cause. We sometimes repeat exciting rumors as facts. We often embellish stories to the point of serious exaggeration to be more convincing, more touching, more spiritual. Our boasting about Mormon people and events sometimes leads us across the borders of truth. Though the problems I discussed in the preceding pages are specific to one book and one author, I believe that most of us share responsibility in many similar problematic areas. These are my problems too. All of us must look carefully at ourselves and our own working styles.

3. This experience also made me much more aware of the issue of discourse on problematic matters within the Church. Though I am deeply involved in my Church callings on various levels, I am not employed by the Church and I have never been caught up in internal controversies. I wrote my review essay from the professional stance of a critical observer dealing with a text. Van Orden's response and some exchanges with others during the preparation of this response taught me how difficult it is to detach any public discussion from the concern of how we are going to be perceived by

Church authorities and other members—or how we think we are going to be perceived.

That concern weighs heavily on our public exchanges. It took me some time to understand the duality in Van Orden's discourse, on the one hand what he writes or is allowed to write publicly, on the other hand what he personally would like to add or nuance. It was revealing to read in his response statements like "I realize that I should have been more persistent with my editors in retaining an explanation . . ." (v) and "I'm sorry now that I allowed my publisher to persuade me not to include . . ." (v). Particularly telling is his statement: "I enthusiastically endorse Decoo's constructive suggestions for improving missionary work. In my teaching and in privately distributed handouts, I have suggested similar strategies myself" (xvi). But there is not one word about those strategies in his book or his published response.

In making that remark I do not want to be misinterpreted: I understand and accept the limitations imposed by Van Orden's setting. I appreciate the need for restraint on certain issues. I do not feel that everything must be said when there is no constructive justification for it. But it saddened me that this context also led Van Orden, perhaps unconsciously, to resort to character polarization when I, like he, consider that we "are allies in the same work" (xvi). Indeed, an environment that pressures one to maintain a flawless public image, fosters not only the confining of personal opinions to private realms, but also, sometimes, the negative labeling of an individual in order to discredit him. Under these circumstances, a thoughtful public dialogue may become very difficult to sustain.

If I may, I'd like to share a personal experience with Brother Van Orden and others who face the unpleasant challenge of negative reviews. In 1985, I started publishing a series of French textbooks. The first two volumes met immediately with fair success. But too much self-reliance and some weakly defined concepts, combined with strenuous deadlines, produced a third volume in 1988 with some major flaws. A competitor mercilessly critiqued much of my book's content and form. Copies of his scathing review were mailed anonymously to schools and teachers all over the country. Many said I was "finished" as a textbook author. Despite the hurtfulness of the critique and the negative publicity, I could not deny the accuracy of its most important points. Over the next ten months I toiled to rework the volume completely. Since then it has sold more than 300,000 copies. To a great extent, all of the other books I have written since then and the success of each I owe to that one negative review. It taught me invaluable lessons. In the long

run it proved a major blessing. I hope that time will bring the same conclusion to this episode.

APPENDICES

Editor's note: In Appendix A and Appendix B which follow, the *Journal* documents fifty-nine examples of misused and inadequately cited material from eleven authors writing in eight books or articles. We consider these examples to be representative, not comprehensive, and thank those whose research made the compilation possible. The examples in Appendix A, taken from *Building Zion: The Latter-day Saints in Europe*, are extracted from Wilfried Decoo's letter (immediately preceding), with his permission. The examples in Appendix B were provided by Marjorie Newton and identify sentences from Van Orden's *The International Church* copied without quotation marks and/or notes from five other books. We also thank Bruce Van Orden for his cooperation with and facilitation of this particular presentation of the appendices.

APPENDIX A

Truth Will Prevail and Building Zion

Part 1. This part presents parallels between two pieces of writing: (1) One section of "The British Gathering to Zion" by Richard L. Jensen, pp. 170-76, 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 (Solihull, West Midlands, Great Britain: Corporation of the President of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1987), and (2) Bruce Van Orden's *Building Zion: The Latter-day Saints in Europe* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1996), pp. 77-78. There are sometimes minor wording alterations in the Van Orden version; but the concepts, key words, and sentence structure are identical. There are no quotation marks. The narrative text in these pages of *Building Zion* does not mention Jensen by name. None of these sentences from *Building Zion* has an endnote reference. The two pages from *Building Zion* in which these sentences appear are from a chapter that does not cite *Truth Will Prevail* in any endnote. Each chapter of

Truth Will Prevail is listed in the selected bibliography at the end of *Building Zion*, but this reference cannot be considered proper attribution for specific quotations.

Truth Will Prevail

The stated goals of the company were to establish manufacturing enterprises in America (presumably Nauvoo and vicinity) by exporting machinery, and to import foodstuffs from America for the consumption of stockholders and for sale to others. (170-71)

... The company was intended to facilitate emigration.... Complications soon arose, however. (171)

... missionaries preached support of the Joint Stock Company Tentative plans were made to charter a ship with a company of emigrants for Winter Quarters. But the plan never came to fruition the company was dissolved and its remaining assets distributed to the stockholders. (171-72)

... they prepared a petition to Queen Victoria, requesting that the British government assist poor Latter-day Saints to emigrate to Vancouver Island or to the portion of the Oregon Territory that Britain had secured ... (172)

During this period ... the saints in Britain turned their energies to sharing the gospel with their neighbours and relations ... (173)

In February 1848, after word was received that the pioneers had established a settlement in the valley of the Great Salt Lake, mission leaders began to encourage the Saints to emigrate to Council Bluffs, Iowa, by way of New Orleans, and to continue onward to the new Church headquarters as soon as they could arrange the necessary overland transportation. (173)

Building Zion

Stated company goals were to raise capital by selling export machinery to Church headquarters in America and import foodstuffs for British stockholders to use or sell to others. (77)

The company's unstated purpose was to facilitate emigration.... Complications soon arose, however. (77)

... mission leaders preached support of the joint-stock company. They made tentative plans to charter a ship to New Orleans, but the plan never came to fruition.... They dissolved the company and distributed its remaining assets to stockholders. (77)

They prepared a petition to Queen Victoria ... , requesting that the British government assist poor Latter-day Saints to emigrate to Vancouver Island and to the British portion of Oregon. (78)

Meanwhile, they turned their energies to sharing the gospel with neighbors and relations. (78)

In February 1848, Brigham Young sent word of settlement in the valley of the Great Salt Lake. Mission leaders encouraged Saints to emigrate to Council Bluffs, Iowa, by way of New Orleans, and to continue onward to the Valley as soon as they could arrange overland transportation. (78)

The Quorum of the Twelve admonished all who could be called Saints to gather, and to bring seeds, implements and educational materials ... (173, 175)

Elder Orson Pratt ... helped to organize and refine emigration procedures, requiring a more orderly flow of emigrants through Liverpool and clarifying some of the preparations necessary for the voyage. (175)

President Orson Pratt estimated that wealthy British saints assisted nearly two hundred of their poorer brothers and sisters to emigrate in the spring of 1849. (176)

The Quorum of the Twelve admonished all "who could be called Saints" to gather and carry with them seeds, implements, educational materials ... (78)

Elder Pratt brilliantly organized and refined emigration procedures, regularizing the flow of emigrants through Liverpool, and standardizing preparations for the voyage. (78)

He [Orson Pratt] estimated that wealthy British Saints assisted nearly 200 of their poorer brothers and sisters in the spring of 1849 ... (78)

Part 2. Other examples show that the problem is not confined to these two pages. In the examples below, original material written by Malcolm R. Thorp, James R. Moss, Richard L. Jensen (elsewhere in his essay), Louis B. Cardon, and Anne S. Perry in their respective chapters in *Truth Will Prevail*, reappears virtually unchanged and without quotation marks in *Building Zion*.

Truth Will Prevail

Whilst the beginnings of Britain's industrial supremacy can be traced to the eighteenth century, the most impressive developments occurred after 1815, when the advent of the steam engine made sweeping changes in the economy, especially in the cotton industry. (45)

The destination of Elders Russell and Snider was the town of Alston, near the Scottish border, a beautiful little market town set on a hill. Elders Russell and Snider ... within a month had baptized enough converts to organize a branch there. (82)

Elder Willard Richards stayed on in Bedford for the next five months, labouring on his own When he finally left Bedford in March 1838, there were two branches of the Church. (85-86)

Building Zion

Britain's industrial supremacy was due mainly to the Industrial Revolution, which had begun in England in the late eighteenth century. Its most impressive developments occurred after 1815, when the invention of the steam engine transformed the cotton and textile industries. (23)

Elders Isaac Russell and John Snyder began their labors in the beautiful little market town of Alston, set on a hill about forty miles from the Scottish border. Within a month they baptized enough converts to organize a branch there. (29)

Elder Richards stayed on alone in Bedford for the next five months When he finally left Bedford in March 1838, he had established two branches of the Church ... (30)

Truth Will Prevail

President Brigham Young, who had taken a special interest in the handcart project, was dismayed at the tragic turn it had taken. He directed that in future no emigrants should leave the outfitting point so late, and he gave stern directions (182)

President Young kept high hopes for the successful operation of the handcart programme However, tensions between the Church and the United States government soon led to the 'Utah War,' which brought an end to most of these activities. (182)

... the contributions of the British LDS emigrants in Church history can hardly be overstated. (193)

As the war continued and became more horrible, ... many British saints wondered, along with other Christians, how a loving God could permit such slaughter. (336)

The one notable exception was Winifred Graham, who continued her series of anti-Mormon novels and occasionally still made headlines with her sensational accusations she added the charge that the Mormons were behind the German war effort. (340)

Inflammatory newspaper accounts, lurid novels and even anti-Mormon dramas and films were rife for a year or two (343)

... the Millennial Chorus and the LDS sports teams were reconstituted, and proved just as successful as they had been before the war. (391)

From 1969 until 1985 three microfilmmers were working in the British Isles. As more permissions were received, the work expanded ... (433)

Building Zion

President Brigham Young, who had taken special interest in the handcart project, was dismayed at the tragic turn it had taken.... He sternly directed that no future immigrants should leave outfitting stations so late. (85)

Brigham maintained high hopes for the handcart program, but tensions between the United States government and the Church led to the Utah War, which put an end to most emigration. (85)

The contribution of these brethren and thousands of other immigrants cannot be overstated. (90)

As the horrors of the war escalated, many British Saints wondered, as did Christians the world over, how a loving God could permit such slaughter. (123)

One irritant during this time was Winifred Graham, whose lurid anti-Mormon novels again made headlines occasionally with sensational accusations, including the patently false notion that the Mormons were behind the German war effort. (124)

Inflammatory newspaper accounts, lurid novels, and anti-Mormon dramas and films, such as the popular *Trapped by the Mormons*, were still rife through 1924. (128)

The Millennial Chorus and the LDS sports teams were reconstituted and proved as successful as before the war. (163)

From 1969 to 1985, three microfilmmers worked full time; as more permissions were received, the work expanded. (224)

The closeness of the paraphrases and the absence of quotation marks violate scholarly standards that prohibit borrowing the wording of other scholars. Even when a direct quotation is properly cited, contextual mate-

rial has sometimes been taken from the same source but without proper attribution, as in the case below:

Truth Will Prevail

Then, in 1986, the Newry Branch was organized to include members both from Ulster and from the Republic of Ireland. Hence it became the first branch ever to span the border. Some members regarded this as an omen of a bright and more peaceful future for Ireland as a whole.

Building Zion

In 1986 the Newry Branch was organized to include members from both Ulster and the Republic of Ireland—the first branch to span the border. “Some members regarded this as an omen of a bright and more peaceful future for Ireland as a whole.” (226) [The second sentence is correctly footnoted.]

Part 3. Such ambiguity is not found only in comparisons with *Truth Will Prevail*. For example, *Building Zion* summarizes in two paragraphs the compassionate story of how Dutch Saints after World War II grew potatoes and contributed them to Saints in Germany. The closing three sentences of this summary name historian William G. Hartley, quote his conclusion, and include a statement he quoted from President David O. McKay. An endnote correctly cites Hartley’s article: “War and Peace and Dutch Potatoes,” *Ensign*, July 1978, 18-23. But two other sentences are also taken from this article without quotation marks and without citation.

War 19: . . . bitterness ran deep and the Saints were not immune.

Building 158: Bitterness ran deep among the Dutch; even the Saints were not immune.

War 19-20: Since potatoes were one of Holland’s best crops, President Zappey proposed to local priesthood leaders that they start branch or quorum potato projects where they had land. Where they didn’t, they were to start sewing projects.

Building 159: Because potatoes were Holland’s best crop, President Zappey proposed to priesthood leaders that where they had land they start branch or quorum potato projects. Where they didn’t, they were to start sewing projects.

Another example, from a third source, is Kahlile Mehr, “Enduring Believers: Czechoslovakia and the LDS Church, 1884-1990,” *Journal of Mormon History* 18, no. 2 (Fall 1992): 111-54. An endnote to the first paragraph cites this work by Mehr and another one as “good sources.” Neither the sentence below nor the paragraph in which it appears has an endnote.

Mehr 142: . . . Toronto inaugurated a rigorous course of training and study for Czech priesthood holders and prepared priesthood and auxiliary courses of study for the next three and a half years.

Building 207: . . . Toronto inaugurated a rigorous course of training and study for Czech priesthood holders and prepared priesthood and auxiliary courses of study.

Yet another matter of concern is the correctness of the duplication:

Truth 390: In 1949 there were 366 convert baptisms, a higher number than in any year since before the First World War, and in 1950 the number of converts rose still further, to 593.

Building 163: Convert baptism totals shot upward from 36 in 1949 (the highest total since before World War I) to 593 in 1950.

The change from 366 to 36 is probably an uncorrected typographical error, but it seems to have prompted the more vivid “shot upward” as well.

APPENDIX B

Bruce Van Orden also wrote the class packet for Religion 344, *The International Church: Supplemental Text*, for this class which he has taught since 1989. The section of this text about Mormons in Europe contained some of the misappropriated and inadequately cited material later published in *Building Zion*. The same pattern of misused and inadequately cited material is also apparent in the parts of *The International Church: Supplemental Text* which deal with the Church in the Pacific, including Australia.

The International Church for Winter 1998 term is a photoduplicated typescript 257 pages long. A cover sheet supplied by the BYU Bookstore gives the class, section, instructor's name (VanOrden [sic]), policy on packet refunds, the term, ISBN number, bar code and price of \$8.95. It also includes two notices: “This price includes all royalty fees where applicable” and “WARNING: it is illegal to copy the materials in this course packet.” The title page again identifies the author as “Professor Bruce A. Van Orden,” giving his room number and telephone number. The twelve-chapter table of contents carries this notice: “The Copyright for each of these chapters belongs to Bruce A. Van Orden.”

For parts of the narrative, Van Orden provides general attribution in endnotes (“Material from this section is drawn from . . . ,” “Sources for this section are . . . ,” “Information for this and the other paragraph in this section [is] drawn from . . . ,” etc.) and sometimes provides specific attribution where a sentence appears in quotation marks. However, as the examples below show, in *The International Church*, sentences are reproduced verbatim but not enclosed in quotation marks, or are slightly altered, and are not cited at all or are given only a general citation in the endnotes to each chapter. (Van Orden withdrew this work from sale in November 1997.)

Part 1: The representative comparisons below identify copyings from

Marjorie Newton, *Southern Cross Saints: The Mormons in Australia* (Laie, Hawaii: Institute for Polynesian Studies, 1991) in Van Orden's *The International Church*.

Newton

The arid interior of the continent was left largely unpopulated. (21)

Australia in 1840 was not a unified nation but a group of six separate British colonies scattered around the perimeter of the island continent—an island as large as the continental United States. (20)

... some of Gale's many descendants have returned to Australia as missionaries (25)

Meanwhile, the initial contacts made in Hyde Park had led to others. On 3 December, they baptised their first convert (29)

Murdock's health was deteriorating and he left for home after only seven months in the colony, leaving Wandell to carry on as mission president. (29)

Although their success was not spectacular, the missionaries baptised a steady stream of converts.... William Hyde, the most successful of the second group of missionaries, found a fruitful field in the Hunter Valley. (30)

In an effort to overcome the difficulties of communication between the scattered branches and as a means of teaching the new doctrine of plural marriage and of defending the Church against a hostile press, Farnham began publishing a small monthly paper, *Zion's Watchman*, in August 1853. (32)

... the first missionary to be sent to Australia for thirteen years. For a few years he worked tirelessly and travelled incessantly between Sydney, Melbourne and New Zealand. (34)

Van Orden

... the arid interior of the continent was left largely unpopulated. (16)

Australia was not a unified nation but rather a group of six separate British colonies scattered around the perimeter of the island continent, an island virtually as large as present-day continental United States. (16)

... some of Gale's many descendants have returned to Australia as missionaries. (17)

Initial contacts made at Hyde Park led to others. On 3 December they baptized their first convert (17)

Elder Murdock's health deteriorated, and he left for home after only seven months, leaving Wandell to preside. (18)

Although their success was not spectacular, the missionaries baptized a steady stream of converts. William Hyde, the most successful of this second group of missionaries, found a fruitful field in rural Hunter Valley. (18)

President Farnham, in an effort to communicate between the scattered branches and as a means of teaching plural marriage and defending the Church against a hostile press, founded a monthly paper, *Zion's Watchman*, in 1853. (18)

... the first missionary to be sent to Australia in thirteen years. Until 1874 he worked tirelessly and travelled between Sydney, Melbourne, and New Zealand. (37)

Newton

... both were former members of the original Mormon Church and one of them, Charles W. Wandell looked up those of his previous converts who remained in the city. He was well received, particularly by some whom Beauchamp had excommunicated; soon a Sydney Branch of the Reorganized Church was functioning and its missionaries began making some inroads (34-35)

Effective 1 January 1898, Australia and New Zealand became separate missions was overjoyed to have a total of twenty-one missionaries ... a total that was ludicrously small to cover an area of over three million square miles. (36)

Around the turn of the century, the First Presidency in Utah began to encourage the Saints to stay in their homelands and build up the Church overseas ... To aid the process, funds were allocated ... for meetinghouses to be built in the missions ... the Brisbane Branch, by this time the largest and most stable branch in the Australian Mission (36-37)

In an effort to combat ... the "magnificent distances," mission president Clarence H. Tingey began publication of a small monthly journal in 1929. The *Austral Star* helped foster in the Saints a sense of membership in a wider community. When a mission-wide conference was held in Melbourne in April 1930 to celebrate the centenary of the organisation of the Church, some three hundred members ... travelled by train from all over Australia to attend. It was the most Latter-day Saints that the majority of members attending had ever seen in one place. (38)

Van Orden

... both former members of the LDS Church. One of them, Charles W. Wandell looked up some of his previous converts who had remained in Sydney. He was well received, particularly by some who had been excommunicated. Soon a Sydney Branch of the RLDS Church was functioning. Its missionaries made some inroads ... (37)

Effective 1 January 1898, Australia and New Zealand became separate missions was overjoyed to have twenty-one total missionaries.... Yet this sum was actually laughable in order to cover an area of over three million square miles. (38)

Around the turn of the century, the First Presidency encouraged the Saints to stay and build up the Church in their homelands. To aid the process, they allocated funds for meetinghouses in the missions Brisbane ... the largest and most stable branch in Australia (38)

To help combat the amazing distances, President Clarence H. Tingey began publication of the monthly *Austral Star* in 1929. This fostered the sense of membership in a wider community. When a mission-wide conference was held in Melbourne in April 1930 to celebrate the Church's centennial, over three hundred members travelled by train from all over Australia to attend. It was the most Mormons that the majority of members had ever seen in one place. (38)

Newton

The missionaries found travelling in Australia expensive and difficult. Before the first World War, most missionaries travelled interstate by coastal steamer. Later, they travelled by train. Because of the enormous distances involved, mission presidents and their wives took several months to make a circuit of the scattered districts and branches. The Perth Branch was ... lucky to see the mission president once a year. (38)

Membership was nearing two thousand By the end of January 1941, all missionaries had been evacuated As most able-bodied Australian LDS men were serving in the armed forces, staffing the branches became a major problem many of the smaller branches had to close for the duration of the war. Shipping priorities meant that virtually no curriculum material, Church magazines, books or other publications were allowed into Australia. (39)

It took many years for the Australian Mission to recover from the effects of the war shipping difficulties delayed the arrival of the missionaries who began to arrive in 1946 did little proselyting as they concentrated on strengthening the branches and finding members who had lost contact with the Church during the war years. But by 1950 the missionary force was nearly double the pre-war figure and convert baptisms began to rise dramatically. (39)

The traditional Australian apathy to religion—and in particular to organised religion—has been well documented by historians and sociologists. (69)

Van Orden

... missionaries found travelling in Australia expensive and difficult. Before World War I, they travelled interstate by coastal steamer. Later they went by rail. Because of the enormous distances, the mission presidents took several months to make a circuit of the scattered branches. Perth, on the west coast, was lucky to see a mission president once a year. (38)

... membership was nearing 2,000 All missionaries were evacuated by January 1941. All able-bodied Australian LDS men departed to serve in the armed forces. The local branches were left in a terribly disorganized state Many smaller branches had to close for the duration of the war. No curriculum material, Church magazines, books, or other publications were allowed into Australia. (39)

It took many years for the Australian Mission to recover from the effects of the war. Shipping difficulties delayed the arrival of missionaries did little proselytising as they concentrated on strengthening the branches and finding members who had lost contact with the Church during the war years by 1950 the missionary force was nearly double the pre-war figure and the number of convert baptisms began to rise dramatically. (39)

... the traditional Australian apathy to religion, particularly toward organized religion well documented by historians and sociologists. (67)

Newton

Many post-war immigrants from Europe, including Dutch, German, Hungarian, Estonian, Latvian, Finn, Swiss, Polish and Austrian migrants, joined the LDS Church and were assimilated in the branches and wards of the missions and stakes During the 1970s ... prompted the assignment of Italian- and Greek-speaking missionaries ... and an influx of LDS immigrants from South America led to the assignment of Spanish-speaking missionaries to New South Wales, Victoria and South Australia. (108)

McKay ... visited the cramped, inadequate chapels and rented halls in which the Australian LDS congregations were meeting His 1955 visit opened his eyes to the advantages of air travel in such a region As a result of this journey to the six missions of the South Pacific, [Franklin J.] Murdock incorporated a travel agency in 1957 which still handles air travel for Church leaders and missionaries throughout the world. (190)

By the 1970s all Church programs were available in Australia, though it was still necessary to travel to New Zealand to attend the temple. (196)

Van Orden

Many post-war immigrants from the Netherlands, Germany, Hungary, Estonia, Latvia, Finland, Poland, Switzerland, and Austria joined the Church and were assimilated into the missions and stakes. In the 1970s prompted the assignment of Greek and Italian speaking missionaries, and an influx of LDS immigrants from South America led to the assignment of Spanish-speaking missionaries to New South Wales, Victoria, and South Australia. (65)

President McKay ... learned from his visit firsthand the problems of distances and of cramped, inadequate chapels and rented halls in Australia. His visit opened his eyes to the value of air travel, even for missionaries, in such a region. The prophet's 1955 visit to Australia and the other Pacific missions led his travel companion, Franklin J. Murdock, to establish under Church direction a travel agency to handle air travel for Church leaders and missionaries throughout the world. (64)

By the 1970s all Church programs were available in Australia, although it was still necessary to travel to New Zealand to attend the temple. (65)

Part 2. The following fourteen factual errors in *The International Church* appear in material misquoted from *Southern Cross Saints* and R. Lanier Britsch, *Unto the Islands of the Sea* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1986). As this material has been given general attribution in the endnotes to either Newton or Britsch, it may leave the impression that the original errors were theirs. The corrections appear in brackets.

Van Orden 17: . . . Wellington, 115 [225] miles northwest of Sydney.

Van Orden 17: Murdock had joined the Church . . . in 1831 [1830].

Van Orden 38: In 1900 [1901] Australia became an independent nation in the British Empire.

Van Orden 38: The Saints in Brisbane . . . dedicated their first chapel in 1904 [built their first chapel in 1904 and dedicated it in 1906].

Van Orden 38: Because of the “tyranny of distance,” missionaries found travelling in Australia expensive and difficult. [The quoted phrase is attributed in an endnote: “Newton uses this phrase often in her *Southern Cross Saints*.” The phrase is not Newton’s. She quotes it in *Southern Cross Saints* (159), with correct attribution, from Geoffrey Blainey, *The Tyranny of Distance: How Distance Shaped Australia’s History* (Melbourne and London: Macmillan/New York, St. Martin’s Press, 1968; rev. paperback ed., Melbourne: Sun Books, 1983)].

Van Orden 39: All [Most] able-bodied Australian LDS men departed to serve in the armed forces. [Men in essential occupations, police officers, etc., were exempt.]

Van Orden 63: One Australian in four [“more than one in three”] in the 1990s is a product of post-World War II migration. [“More than one in three” means in excess of 33 Australians in every 100, while one four means only 25 in every 100.]

Van Orden 19, 40, 61, 71, 72: . . . Aukland . . . [Auckland, largest city of New Zealand, named for Lord Auckland, a statesman].

Van Orden 19: . . . two native Australian missionaries to [the] North Island . . . [(1) These missionaries were an American, William Cooke, and a New Zealander, Thomas Holder, both baptized in Australia. (2) New Zealand usage and all reference books about New Zealand also include the definite article with the names of the islands: “to the North Island” “on the South Island”]

Van Orden 19: . . . Nelson . . . on [the] North Island . . . [Nelson is on the South Island].

Van Orden 19: . . . around Wellington, the country’s capital. [Wellington was not made the capital until almost ten years after the events described in this paragraph.]

Van Orden 41: Ira N. Hinckley, Jr., an ancestor of Gordon B. Hinckley . . . [Ira Noble Hinckley was the brother of Gordon B. Hinckley’s father, Bryant S. Hinckley, and hence President Hinckley’s uncle. The ‘Jr.’ was used in several sources, apparently to distinguish the New Zealand missionary, Ira Noble Hinckley, from his father, Ira Nathaniel Hinckley. Both were known as Ira N. Hinckley.]

Van Orden 41: Iahai [Ihaia]

Van Orden 43: A campus [for the Maori Agricultural College] . . . was developed on donated [purchased] property . . .

Part 3. The representative comparisons below identify copyings from R. Lanier Britsch, *Moramona: The Mormons in Hawaii* (Laie, Hawaii: Institute for Polynesian Studies, 1989,) and *Unto the Islands of the Sea* that appear in Van Orden’s *The International Church*.

Britsch

Moramona: The future of the Hawaiian people and the Church would be greatly affected by these revelations.... an offshoot branch of Israel through the posterity of Lehi, a Book of Mormon prophet. (15)

Moramona: The first serious confrontation of this kind occurred in the Kula and Keanae districts of Maui. When Cannon returned there in September 1851 he found that the local minister of the Koolau area had stopped all LDS meetings and even threatened the Hawaiians, telling them that if they continued in their new-found beliefs they would be bound and sent out of the area. The local representative of the king backed these threats.... Cannon made a visit to Honolulu to clear up the difficulties With President Lewis he visited the appropriate government ministers, both American and Hawaiian. (22)

Moramona: By the end of the first year missionary work was moving along at a rapid pace. (23)

Islands: ... the people had a reputation for ferocity and cannibalism. (10)

Islands: In New Zealand, as in Hawaii, the first Latter-day Saint missionaries perceived their call to be to the Caucasians of the country. Only after three decades of slow progress among the pakeha (whites) did the elders turn to the local Polynesian people, the Maoris ... (253)

Islands: After preaching in Auckland, in Nelson, on the northern tip of the South Island, and in Wellington at the south end of the North Island, President Farnham ... left Elder Cooke in charge on the New Zealand part of the mission (253)

Islands: William Cooke spent all of the next year and part of 1856 teaching the gospel in and around Wellington. He was only moderately successful. He baptized ten people during early 1855 and organized a branch at Karori, near Wellington, sometime before April 1. Two more converts joined the Saints during the next year. (253)

Van Orden

The future of the Lord's work on these islands was later greatly affected by these revelations.... an offshoot branch through the posterity of Lehi, a Book of Mormon prophet. (12)

The first serious confrontation took place in the Kula and Keanae districts of Maui. When Elder Cannon returned there in September 1851, he found that the local Calvinist minister had stopped all Mormon meetings and threatened new converts with expulsion from the area if they continued in their new-found beliefs. The local representative of the king backed these threats. Elder Cannon decided to go to Honolulu to clear up the difficulties. With President Lewis he visited appropriate American and Hawaiian officials. (13)

By the end of 1851 missionary work was moving along at a rapid pace. (13)

... they also had a reputation for ferociousness and cannibalism. (5)

In New Zealand, as in the Sandwich Islands, the first Mormon missionaries perceived their call to be to the caucasians of the country Only after almost thirty years of slow progress among the pakeha did the elders turn to the Maoris ... (18)

The brethren preached in Aukland [sic], Nelson, and Wellington on North Island [sic] and on the tip of South Island [sic].... Farnham left New Zealand in charge of ... Elder William Cooke. (19)

Cooke spent all of 1855 and part of 1856 teaching the gospel in and around Wellington. He was only moderately successful, baptizing ten people in early 1855 and organizing a branch at Karori, near Wellington, in March. Two more converts joined the Saints during the next year. (19)

Britsch

Islands: Captain James Cook was the first European to chart these islands, during his voyage of 1769. Few other white men visited the islands until the 1790s, when some sailors, traders, and vagabonds began establishing small settlements on the North Island on the Bay of Islands. (258)

Van Orden

Captain James Cook was the first European to chart these islands, which he did during his 1769 voyage Few other white men visited the islands until 1790. Some sailors, traders, and vagabonds began establishing small settlements on North Island. (18)

Part 4. The representative comparisons below identify copyings in Bruce Van Orden's *The International Church: Supplemental Text* from S. George Ellsworth's *Zion in Paradise: Early Mormons in the South Seas*, Twenty-First Faculty Honor Lecture (Logan, Utah: Faculty Association, 1959), which he revised for inclusion in S. George Ellsworth and Kathleen Perrin, *Seasons of Faith and Courage: The Church of Jesus Christ in French Polynesia: A Sesquicentennial History, 1843-1993* (Sandy, Utah: Yves Perrin, 1994).

Ellsworth/Perrin

Seasons: ... Pratt mentioned his time on Oahu and how the Hawaiians reminded him of the American Indians. (3)

Zion/Seasons: Soil is sparse and thin, and it supports little other than the coconut palm. (13/10)

Zion/Seasons: But the shallow lagoons ... harbor multitudes of fish. (13/10)

Zion/Seasons: Even the English missionaries made only rare visits, leaving what Christianization there was in the hands of Tahitian preachers. (14/10)

Zion/Seasons: A resident *orometua* (missionary, teacher), an American Mormon at that, stirred quite an excitement among the people of Anaa, and Grouard's time was fully taken up by visitors to his small room even till late at night, and by his own visits to neighboring villages. His first baptisms came May 25th, three weeks after his first sermon. (15/11)

Zion: After making initial gains in neighboring villages, he took a month's tour of the five major settlements of the island By September 21st he had organized five branches with seventeen officers and 620 members in good standing—all in four months from his first baptism. (15)

Van Orden

... Pratt ... chanced to tell ... how the people there reminded him of the American Indians. (1)

Soil on these coral reef islands is sparse and thin and supports little other than the coconut palm. (5)

The shallow lagoons, however, harbor multitudes of fish. (5)

Even the LMS [London Missionary Society] made only rare visits, leaving what Christianization there was in the hands of Tahitian preachers. (5)

But the American missionary's presence stirred an excitement on the island. His time was fully taken up by visitors to his room till late or night [sic] or by his own visits to neighboring villages. His first baptisms came on 25 May, three weeks after his first sermon. (6)

After initial gains in neighboring villages, Elder Grouard took a month's tour of the five major settlements of the island.... By 21 September he had organized five branches with seventeen officers and 620 members—all within four months of his first baptism. (5)

Ellsworth/Perrin

Zion: ... squally winds led to a wreck on the island of Mehetia.... Grouard begged passage from a French vessel to Tahiti and immediately sent a message to Pratt by a vessel going to Tubuai (15)

Van Orden

Van Orden 6: ... squally winds led to a shipwreck off the island Mehetia. Grouard begged passage from a French vessel to Tahiti and immediately sent a message to Pratt by a vessel going to Tubuai. (6)

RESPONSE

Bruce Van Orden

Well, if nothing else, we can now say that issues pertaining to the history of the LDS Church in Europe and on other continents are receiving more attention in the Mormon history community! I know this is whimsical, but I must retain my sense of humor through all of this!

I respect my colleague Professor Wilfried Decoo for his candor and thoroughness. He is to be commended for dealing with these issues that are of particular concern to him and to history professionals.

My sincere hope, also expressed in my response in the fall 1997 issue of the *Journal of Mormon History*, is that members of the community will come to many of their own conclusions after reading Decoo's review and our respective responses. Our exchanges are meant to inform each other and the public so that all of us will be enriched in our insights and be able to better understand and evaluate the many facets that make up reality. I am grateful for that never-ending learning process.

I apologize to Decoo for stereotyping him with anti-American bias and critical European intellectualism. I am sorry for unintentionally misrepresenting him.

I have no intention of debating further our different points of view on conclusions and interpretations. I acknowledge now, as I did in the fall 1997 issue, that I made some errors of fact. In my future publications, I intend to improve the process that will eliminate such mistakes before publication. My intent in this statement is to deal with the much more important issue of plagiarism discussed in Decoo's letter and in the foregoing appendices.

I feel the need to explain the background for my writings, as far as they

are to this point compiled and distributed, on the international movement of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.¹

Early in 1989 my chair in the Department of Church History and Doctrine at Brigham Young University requested that I teach the course on the international Church (Religion 344). Two faculty members who had earlier taught the course had passed away unexpectedly. My first sections were in fall semester 1989.

By design religion classes are supposed to be at once inspirational and informative. It was simple enough to promote faith and excitement about the international Church. But I soon discovered that existing resource materials for the course were inadequate. Essentially I started from scratch to gather documents, books, articles, and resources for every world region and country as it pertained to LDS Church history in that area. I began establishing extensive files.

Within a year I started writing chapters for a packet of student readings that included multiple chapters each for Church history in Europe, the Pacific, Latin America, and Asia and a separate chapter each for Africa, the Middle East, and Canada. Eventually this compilation bore the title *The International Church: Supplemental Text*. I was clearly trying to distill the main events and trends in history into one collection or textbook. This was necessary because I had only two semester hours in which to cover the world! That project took five years including a stint as director of BYU Vienna Semester Abroad in 1992. I also regularly enlarged, upgraded, and updated these various chapters as the semesters and years went by.

Looking back now on what I did then, I can see that my major mistake was trying to accomplish the task too quickly. In the process of writing and compiling these chapters, I used nearly the same format in many instances to describe certain regions and events as did the authors from whom I was distilling material. It produced too much of a hybrid, a situation which should have been rectified. Any form of copying that I did was certainly wrong. I also should have written an introductory essay explaining that my methodology had been to draw from one author after another in covering the various world regions.

Eventually I consulted with Deseret Book Company about publishing a Church history about Europe and, if that went well, other histories about

¹Editor's Note: Van Orden strongly prefers to give this name as The Church of Jesus Christ . . . , in keeping with the preference of the LDS Church. However, since the *Journal of Mormon History* represents a diverse constituency of several faiths that share a common heritage in the Joseph Smith, Jr., period, rather than only one, our style is to lower-case *the*. We regret that we cannot accommodate this preference.

various other world regions. The finished product *Building Zion: The Latter-day Saints in Europe* came out of those consultations, negotiations, and eventual agreements between me and Deseret Book. This book was published in May 1996.

Along the way, I became acquainted with David Kenison and David Crockett, the two founders and owners of LDS-Gems, an e-mail listserver on the Internet. After I consulted with them, we mutually decided that some of my most recent materials from my Religion 344 student packet could be shared on the LDS-Gems e-mail listserver and that all of it would be available for perusal on the Dave Crockett's site on the World Wide Web (www) called Mormon History Resources. I emphasize that I considered these chapters as contributions to the general knowledge about the international LDS Church. I was not striving for glory or fame in this endeavor. Sharing has always been my major motive ever since I joined the history profession.

When I first sent these chapters to LDS-Gems, their technology and mine did not allow for the easy inclusion of my endnotes and citations of sources (because of the existing html format). Hence my source citations were left off, leaving only the text.

In January 1997, LDS-Gems distributed historical materials that I had compiled and written about the LDS Church in Australia. This was the first time when major concerns about my improperly using others' writings arose. The material under my name was read by Marjorie Newton, well-known scholar and historian of the Mormon movement in Australia. She immediately noted similarity in language to her *Southern Cross Saints: The Mormons in Australia* (Laie, Hawaii: Institute for Polynesian Studies, 1991). She also read some verbatim language from her book. Newton brought this situation to the attention of LDS-Gems, who then consulted with me. Kenison and Crockett then received from me the full text of my work including the endnotes which showed that I had acknowledged Newton's work to a certain extent, although not in many cases. The Australia material was taken off LDS-Gems and off Mormon History Resources. I was a religion classes professor at the BYU Jerusalem Center for Near Eastern Studies at the time, but still I was able to communicate with Newton about the error of having no original citations in the LDS-Gems material and gave her a copy of the full manuscript with my endnotes.

There were communications difficulties between me and Newton, what with my traveling duties in the Middle East, her various scholar's and domestic duties, and the problems of sheer distance between us. As it turns out, we did not resolve the issues of my misuse of her materials at that time, as I had thought was the case. Subsequent research by Newton and other

parties revealed that in several instances I had not appropriately cited Newton in my student course materials and the LDS-Gems-generated items on Australia. My student packet material used her writings often in her general format. Although I had tried in my compilation to give her credit, proper citation on my part would have required an endnote after every quotation or after every paraphrase. In retrospect, I acknowledge my error in not doing so. I had unfortunately given students and Internet readers the impression that I was the author. The mixture was problematic and unethical on my part. But my intention has never been to overlook or downplay the contributions of a major scholar like Newton, whom, in my classes, I have repeatedly praised to my students and acknowledged as the expert in the area.

In November 1997 I received for the first time material compiled by Decoo demonstrating that I used inappropriately other scholars' materials in *Building Zion: The Latter-day Saints in Europe* and in my Religion 344 student packet—material which had also appeared in one or more forms on LDS-Gems. His findings and those of Marjorie Newton now appear in the appendices to Decoo's letter.

I admit that I made serious errors in these matters. I express appreciation to my colleagues Marjorie Newton and Wilfried Decoo for discovering them, for pointing out their significance, and for allowing the Mormon History Association through the *Journal of Mormon History* to be the medium to help resolve these problems.

These errors on my part were not done maliciously. I did not intend to pawn off on the scholarly community, my students, or the readers of LDS-Gems the idea that I had done the original research about Mormonism in all the world's regions. I did fall prey, however, to the zeal to share materials I had distilled from others' research without tenaciously following the principles that I learned in graduate school to avoid all forms of plagiarism. To infer, however, that every page of my student packet is loaded with plagiarism and non-attribution is not correct. For the most part, I quoted sources and attributed authors in many chapters.

I hasten to point out that I have not received any money for the distribution or sale of any of my writings on the LDS International Church. Brigham Young University has a stated policy against professors or instructor realizing any profits from compiled student syllabi. I have totally followed this policy. LDS-Gems definitely does not pay anybody for contributions to its listserver or its www site. As for contracted royalties that I am to receive for *Building Zion*, the first \$3,000.00 of my royalties must go to pay BYU Religious Education for contributing that amount to Deseret Book for the book's publication. Should I receive any royalties, I will

contribute all of them to Humanitarian Services of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

Wilfried Decoo has shown that I used considerable material without quotation marks or attribution from "The British Gathering to Zion," a chapter written by my colleague Richard L. Jensen, that appeared in the 1987 publication *Truth Will Prevail: The Rise of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in the British Isles 1837-1987* (Solihull, West Midlands, Great Britain: Corporation of the President of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1987). As I look back on the circumstances of my compiling and then writing materials for teaching Religion 344, preparing chapters for the student packet, and eventually arranging many of these materials into the Deseret Book publication *Building Zion*, I can honestly say that I forgot that I had obtained considerable portions of Chapter 6 of my book, "Gathering to Zion," from Jensen's writings. I failed to recognize that I had used some of his language and structure in preparing that chapter because, in their original form, they had been prepared as lecture notes. Considerable time elapsed between my research of Jensen's chapter and my preparation of the manuscript for Deseret Book. Decoo also has shown in Appendix A that I used some verbatim language and structure from the writings of others in *Building Zion*.

These are serious errors on my part. It is a form of plagiarism. All BYU faculty members have previously received a copy of an article by Elizabeth W. Watkins, "Plagiarism" (Provo, Utah: Scholarly Publications, Brigham Young University, 1991, revised 1994, 25-35). She wrote, "Morally speaking, committing plagiarism is simply and clearly wrong. It deprives others of something important to them—royalties, the esteem of peers, the sense of unique accomplishment. To deprive others of that which is rightfully theirs through their own labor is theft. And theft deprives others of security, which is an act of violence" (31). She recommends "penitence" when a mistake is made (33). I am striving in my relationship with God and through this letter to express penitence.

I have personally as well as in writing apologized to my friend and esteemed colleague Richard Jensen. We have retained a close friendship and collegiality at Brigham Young University.

I have also apologized to my colleagues Marjorie Newton, R. Lanier Britsch, Louis B. Cardon, and Anne S. Perry for the misuse of their materials. I now use the pages of the *Journal of Mormon History* to apologize to any and all others whom I may have offended for the possible misuse of their materials in my Religion 344 student packet, *The International Church: Supplemental Text*, for posts on LDS-Gems and Mormon History Resources, and in *Building Zion: The Latter-day Saints in Europe*. I apologize to Deseret Book for not being more careful and for bringing embarrassment to it. I

apologize to my past students of Religion 344 for misleading them, however unintentionally. I apologize to any readers of my book or of my student materials whose understanding of the body of scholarship has been clouded by my plagiarism. I apologize to the Institute of Polynesian Studies at BYU-Hawaii for taking improper liberties with Marjorie Newton's *Southern Cross Saints* and with Lanier Britsch's *Moramona*. I apologize to Brigham Young University for giving embarrassment to the institution. I have apologized to my colleagues of BYU Religious Education in a faculty meeting. I apologize to all you, my colleagues and friends, in the Mormon history community for my acts of plagiarism.

Before the findings of Marjorie Newton and Wilfried Decoo discussed here were all brought to my attention, Richard Jensen first discussed them with the chair of the Department of Church History and Doctrine of Brigham Young University, where I am a professor. This matter was handled with the greatest care and discretion. My chair consulted with every appropriate official in my college and the Academic Vice President's Office about the discipline that I should receive from the university. Brigham Young University has disciplined me according to its published procedures for cases of this kind. I applaud BYU for its professional handling of my case.

I desire to bring another point to the fore pertaining to the use of Marjorie Newton's materials in *Southern Cross Saints*. In her Chapter 7 entitled "Distant and Abandoned Australasia" she emphasized "the effects of Australia's internal distances and isolation from Church headquarters" (159). Then she wrote, "In 1966, historian Geoffrey Blainey examined the effects of the phenomenon he called 'the tyranny of distance' on Australia—its discovery, settlement and development." Newton then footnoted Geoffrey Blainey, *The Tyranny of Distance: How Distance Shaped Australia's History* (Melbourne: Sun Books, 1983). Newton continued: "Despite Blainey's warning in his second edition that the phrase was being taken further than he thought it should be, it is so useful a concept that such extensions are unavoidable. Certainly, it can be shown that the 'tyranny of distance' hampered the growth of the Mormon Church in Australia." In my Religion 344 materials I stated that Newton frequently used the phrase "tyranny of distance" in her book, but I did not acknowledge that she had taken the term from Blainey and that she had appropriately cited it. I desire in the public record of the *Journal of Mormon History* to clarify this mistake on my part and to help Newton avoid the problems that my error could have created for her.

I hope that this entire exercise will help everybody in the Mormon history community and at Brigham Young University to look within herself or himself and ask: "Have I been guilty of any form of plagiarism? What can

I do to improve my methods to not make any mistakes in the future?" We should all periodically ask ourselves these questions. As for me, I pledge not to be guilty again in any future publications or writings. I have learned many valuable lessons from this exercise. I recognize that I am somewhat fallible with my previous historical publications. Some BYU colleagues and I have been examining my previous writings. I desire that all my publications, including any possible second editions of previous works or future student packet compilations, will live up to an impeccable standard.

Because I have been willing to share my research and unpublished writings over the past twenty years, a few amateurs and professionals have either plagiarized my material, misused it, or misrepresented me. I know what it means to be victimized. I have not attempted to make a public case out of it. This does not mean that I am angry with the *Journal* for publishing my errors. Indeed, I sincerely believe that this present exercise is an appropriate activity for the Mormon History Association to be involved with. It is now time that we deal with these issues up front. For my part, I have tried to be as mature as possible about the whole episode.

I am grateful for the assurance I have that the following statement is true: "And this is the gospel, the glad tidings, which the voice out of the heavens bore record unto us—That he came into the world, even Jesus, to be crucified for the world, and to bear the sins of the world, and to sanctify the world, and to cleanse it from all unrighteousness" (D&C 76:40-41).

I conclude by saying that many colleagues in the Mormon history community have been most kind to me during this process, which has been a crisis for me. Many have urged me to stay in the community and to continue to make contributions. I hope both will be possible.

REFLECTIONS

Richard L. Jensen
Review Editor, Journal of Mormon History

Our response—or lack of response—to incursions across boundaries plays a more crucial role in how we define ourselves as human beings, scholars, publishers, institutions, and nations than many of us realize. Multitudes shared Rosa Parks's discontent with racial segregation, but her polite

refusal to give up her seat on a bus in Birmingham, Alabama, to a white man changed the boundary. The LDS Church took a stand on behalf of Native Americans' right to use peyote in religious ceremonies, recognizing the need to protect freedoms that help define the domain of religion itself. Sometimes, as in that case, the occasion for taking a firm stand seems almost peripheral. Yet one may hope that such vigilance will protect multitudes who will never be required to fully appreciate why such an effort was made on such an occasion.

For the enterprise of Mormon history to thrive and flourish, thorough, candid, humane peer review is absolutely essential. After much careful examination, Wilfried Decoo found in Bruce Van Orden's book indications of erosion of professional standards concerning the use of other authors' material. There was much about the book that was good. And surely this was not the only work in Mormon history in which plagiarism was a problem.

But what Decoo has done is, I believe, a model for us all. Probably such lengthy discussion of particular works and of the context in which their shortcomings developed will not be necessary in the future—in part because Decoo has more firmly staked out the territory. Now it will be easier for all of us to be vigilant.

The review process for Bruce Van Orden's *Building Zion* has provided a significant growth opportunity for those directly involved. I believe the same is potentially true for our readers. As review editor for *Journal of Mormon History*, I call upon all of us as a community of producers and consumers of Mormon history to recognize anew the key role of peer review before and after publication and to assume personal responsibility for its success.

Within our particular historical community it can be tempting to cultivate the practice of comfortable, reassuring feedback to the exclusion of thorough, balanced evaluation and open communication. An astute observer commented a decade ago: "I think that historical scholars as a whole are not nearly critical enough of their sources, nor, I think, are Mormon historians nearly critical enough of each other. The Mormon History Association is a marvelous love-fest, and I think there could be more criticism of the work that's done."¹

Constructive criticism is a precious commodity. We are all capable of

¹Max J. Evans, Presentation, Church History and Recent Forgeries Symposium, Brigham Young University, 6 August 1987, transcript, Joseph Fielding Smith Institute for Church History, Brigham Young University. Evans is director of the Utah State Historical Society.

improving and should be grateful to those who suggest ways in which we can accomplish this. A book is generally not the final word but rather a contribution to the discussion about a particular topic or group of topics. After a work is published, its author should still be able to learn from further input, and his or her readers deserve reviews that provide frank evaluation. In the years since Max Evans chided us for our lack of critical feedback, the *Journal of Mormon History* began publishing book reviews on a regular basis. I have appreciated the insightful contributions of dozens of reviewers thus far during my tenure as review editor. I believe we have been engaged in an ongoing process of raising our professional standards, a process that I hope we will all help to accelerate in the coming months and years.

As we mature in our approach to the entire process of communication about historical works, we will cultivate and cherish the opportunities for professional interchange. We will reject temptations to attack the messenger, to polarize the community, to interpret criticism as lack of loyalty or faith. We will recognize our own needs to improve and will be fully supportive of those among us who acknowledge errors and strive to overcome them. I am grateful for the positive examples the participants in the current incident have provided in this regard. Now each of us must decide how much we will benefit from those examples.

***Anna Jean Duncan Backus: Response
to Review by W. Paul Reeve***

After I received letters from readers who did not share the views of W. Paul Reeve in his review of my *Mountain Meadows Witness: The Life and Times of Bishop Philip Klingensmith* (Spring 1997), I decided that I should point out a few errors in his review.

Reeve claimed, for example, that "Backus ignores Juanita Brooks's evidence that Hamblin was in Salt Lake City marrying Priscilla Leavitt on 11 September 1857, the day the massacre took place" (Reeve, 210). For all of his apparent

digging, Reeve may have overlooked this lengthy quotation in *Mountain Meadows Witness* from Juanita Brooks's *John Doyle Lee* documenting that Jacob Hamblin was in Salt Lake City with a group of Indians on 1 September:

"Although Jacob Hamblin's name was not mentioned in Brigham Young's journal, his 'arrival at Salt Lake City was given considerable publicity.' On September 1, the local newspaper, *Deseret News*, carried this account: 'Brother Jacob Hamblin arrived in Salt Lake City from Santa Clara Mission with twelve Indian Chiefs who had

come to see president Brigham Young. . . .” (Backus, 128, quoting Corbet, *Jacob Hamblin*, 115)

From the chapter, “Heep Good bishop,” of *Mountain Meadows Witness* (p. 173), Reeve misquoted me by stating: “Backus also says that it is ‘questionable that George A. Smith did not attend the meeting that planned the massacre, but offers no evidence that he was present.’” I made no mention of George A. Smith attending a meeting that planned the massacre. The correct quote is: “[B]ecause he was general commander of Iron County, his involvement with plans for the massacre, before he left Cedar City or Parowan, is questionable.”

Reeve further states (p. 212) that any reference to Juanita Brooks’s *Mountain Meadows Massacre* is “conspicuously missing.” He notes: “Certainly Brooks’s work, especially in regard to Hamblin’s and Smith’s roles, which Backus calls into question, is important to consider.” I apologize to all readers for the fact that—among the many details of preparing a manuscript for publication—I inadvertently left this book out of the bibliography. Juanita Brooks was not overlooked, however. I acknowledged this remarkable historian when I wrote:

Juanita Brooks brought about the original story. Her story of the “Mountain Meadows Massacre” and her biography of John D. Lee brought into focus the

existence of Philip Klingensmith and his part in our Mormon history. After I read her books over twenty-five years ago, my mind had cause to ponder: I set out to do my own research (p. 12).

In addition, sources for notes and text pertaining to Brooks’s work that appear in the bibliography of *Mountain Meadows Witness* are her *Dudley Leavitt: Pioneer to Southern Utah* (1941); *John Doyle Lee: Zealot-Pioneer-Builder-Scapegoat* (1973 reprint); *Journal of the Southern Indian Mission: Diary of Thomas D. Brown* (Brooks, ed., 1972); and *The Diaries of John D. Lee, 1848-1876* (Brooks and Robert Glass Cleland, eds., 1983).

Anna Jean Duncan Backus
Orem, Utah

W. Paul Reeve: Response

When I received my review copy of *Mountain Meadows Witness*, the promotional leaflet tucked inside by the publisher piqued my interest with two specific claims: first, that this book would portray Bishop Philip Klingensmith’s connections with George A. Smith (and links with other contemporary Mormon leaders); and second, that “for the first time the possibility of Jacob Hamblin’s presence at the massacre is supported with new information.” Tantalized, I began reading. By the time I finished, however, I felt the book fell short

in regard to explicating Hamblin's and Smith's part in the tragedy at Mountain Meadows.

As Backus notes in her response to my review, she recounted in *Mountain Meadows Witness* (128) the arrival of Jacob Hamblin at Salt Lake City on 1 September 1857. If she considers this information evidence of Hamblin's whereabouts during the massacre, then why does she speculate 34 pages later "that perhaps [Jacob Hamblin] was there [at the massacre]"? (Backus, 162). Regardless, I fail to see how documenting Hamblin's location on 1 September explains where he was on 11 September. The intervening ten days gave Hamblin plenty of time to reach southern Utah and join the massacre. Backus suggests that he was in southern Utah participating in the massacre, contrary to "Juanita Brooks's evidence that Hamblin was in Salt Lake City marrying Priscilla Leavitt on 11 September 1857, the day the massacre took place" (Reeve, 210).

As for George A. Smith and my misquote of Backus: The original draft of my review had quotation marks only around the word "questionable." Somehow by the

time the review made it to the printer, the second quotation mark had jumped to the end of the sentence. For that I apologize.¹ The deeper issue, however, is Smith's "questionable" "involvement with plans for the massacre." If Smith's involvement did not occur at the meeting that planned the massacre, then where did it? More importantly, what was Smith's "involvement with plans for the massacre" and what evidence is there to support it?

Finally, in relation to my comments concerning Juanita Brooks, I was not calling into question Backus's regard for "this remarkable historian." I clearly noticed Brooks's various books cited throughout *Mountain Meadows Witness* and listed in the bibliography. However, such extensive use of Brooks's research made me wonder even more why Backus failed to utilize Brooks's *Mountain Meadows Massacre*, not just to complete her bibliography, but to answer some of her own questions concerning Hamblin and Smith.

W. Paul Reeve
Salt Lake City

¹Although Reeve's apology is generous, it is obviously the *Journal* which must, and does, apologize.—Editor



Linda King Newell

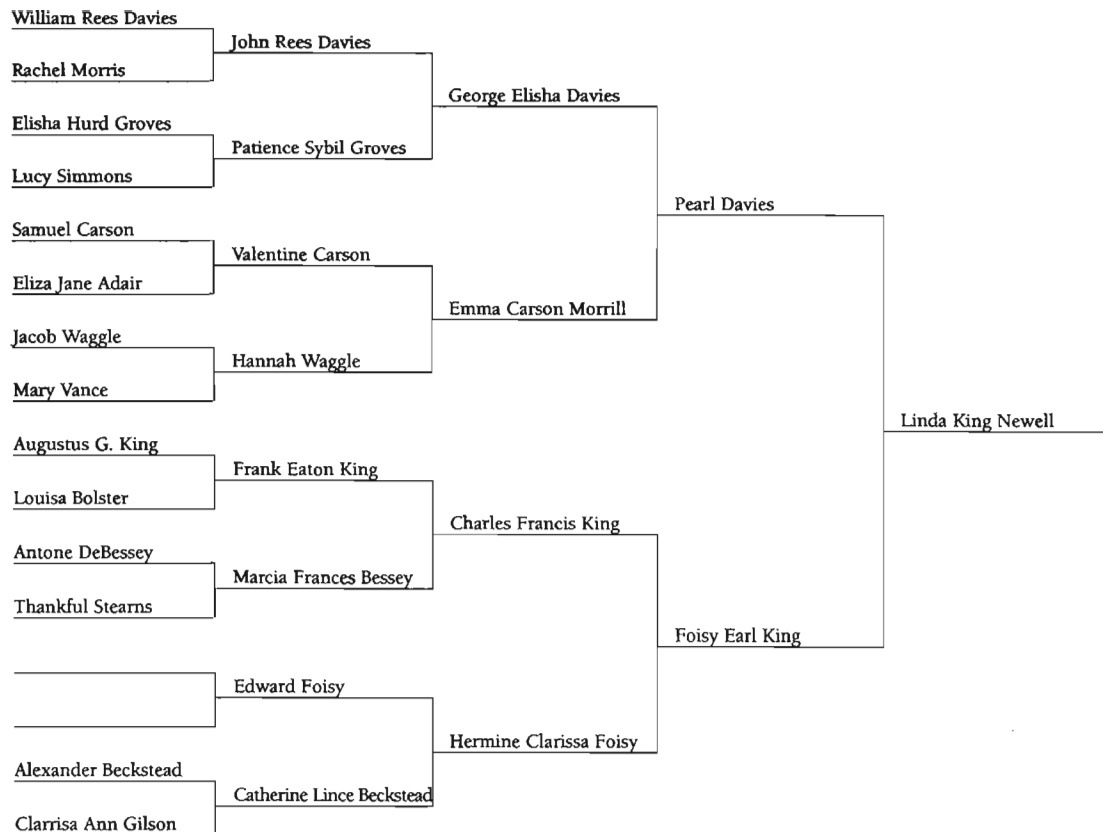
A WEB OF TRAILS: BRINGING HISTORY HOME

Linda King Newell

BETWEEN 1847 AND 1868—the last year of Mormon immigration by overland trail—some 68,000 Latter-day Saints crossed the continent to settle in the Great Basin. Of those, approximately 47,000 came from the British Isles, Scandinavia, and Germany as converts to the new faith. They traveled on foot, in covered wagons, in carriages, or on horseback. Others came who were not of the faith and stayed among the Mormons in Brigham Young's proposed state of Deseret. All eight of my great-grandparents arrived in Utah during this pioneer period; five were Mormon, three were not. Only by default did the latter settle in Utah instead of California, their chosen destination.

These families represent a microcosm of the different motivations, beliefs, hopes, hardships, and failings of westering Mormons and non-Mormons in the middle of the nineteenth century. They came from across the Atlantic, from eastern Canada, from New England, from the deep South and the Midwest to cross the plains.

LINDA KING NEWELL is coauthor with Valeen Tippetts Avery of *Mormon Enigma: Emma Hale Smith* and is authoring or coauthoring three of Utah's centennial county histories (Piute, Garfield, and Millard).



They and their children wove and interwove a web of trails across the continent and through the small towns of southern Utah where I spent my earliest years.

My Mormon heritage dates to September 1831, when my maternal great-great-grandfather, Elisha Hurd Groves, was baptized. He, his wife Sarah Hogue Groves, and their two young daughters belonged to the Presbyterian Church and farmed in Green County, Indiana.¹ When Mormonism's first missionary traveled through the area, Elisha listened to Samuel H. Smith's sermon on the origins of the Book of Mormon and he believed. He was baptized into the new church six months later.²

But Sarah did not believe. "She became so disgusted that she took their two daughters and went to her people," wrote Elisha's granddaughter, Murland R. Packer. "Her brothers told [Elisha] he had . . . disgraced their sister by associating himself with the Mormons [and] if he ever came to see her or the children, they would kill him."³ Elisha said his life was "threatened on every hand. . . . [I] took my valise and went on foot to preach the latter day work." Sarah immediately got a divorce, "sold my land and robbed me of all my property which took place in the year 1833. I then went to Jackson County [Missouri], preaching all the way and baptized some 30 persons."⁴

In the "center place" of Jackson County, Elisha became one of the zealous newcomers who posed a threat to the earlier settlers by separating themselves politically and socially and working collectively. Log homes went up almost overnight. Anti-Mormon feelings magnified quickly and soon turned to violence. By the middle of

¹Elisha Hurd Groves was born 5 November 1797 in Madison County, Kentucky, to John Groves and Mary Hurd. In 1819, at age twenty-two, he moved to Indiana where he married Sarah Hogue in about 1825.

²Calvin Beby baptized Elisha Hurd Groves on 1 March 1832. Peter Dustin confirmed him a member of the Church. A few days later, the same two men ordained him an elder. "Elisha Hurd Groves, Written by Himself," typescript, 1, Daughters of the Utah Pioneers Museum and Archives (hereafter cited as DUP), Salt Lake City, Utah.

³Murland R. Packer, "History of Elisha Hurd Groves," bound photocopy of typescript (N.p., 1994), 10, 11, DUP.

⁴"Elisha Hurd Groves, Written by Himself," 1.

November 1833, mobs drove twelve thousand Saints out of Jackson County—Elisha among them—and destroyed hundreds of homes.

For the remainder of that decade, Elisha Hurd Groves's life paralleled the history of the Church. He sought refuge in Kirtland, returned to Missouri briefly with the ill-fated Zion's Camp, and helped build the Kirtland Temple. In it he experienced spiritual manifestations at its dedication and attended the School of the Prophets in its upper rooms. When Parley P. Pratt became an apostle, Elisha was called to fill the vacancy he left on the "High Council of Zion" in Kirtland.⁵ On 19 January 1836, "by the counsel of Joseph Smith" Elisha married Lucy Simmons. Two months earlier he had turned thirty-eight; Lucy was twenty-eight.⁶ She and her family had converted to Mormonism in Massachusetts and had gathered with the Saints in Kirtland. Both Elisha and Lucy received patriarchal blessings from Joseph Smith, Sr.

By the summer of 1836 the couple moved to Clay County, Missouri, then to Far West where their first child, a daughter, was born, followed by a son who died in infancy. They were driven from Clay County to Adam-ondi-Ahman, then to Caldwell County, and finally in February 1839 doubled back across the Mississippi River to Illinois and safety. On 14 September 1840, Lucy and Elisha welcomed another son, Samuel Elisha.

Elisha eventually bought a lot and built a home in Nauvoo where Lucy gave birth to my great-grandmother, Patience Sibyl Groves, on 18 August 1841. Elisha may have been home for this daughter's birth, which was not often the case: He served nine missions of varying lengths before 1845. On one such mission in 1841, Elisha had been preaching to a group in Dade County, Wisconsin, when

a mob broke into the meeting. They had gathered to kill the missionary Elisha Groves. When [investigator] Charles Shumway saw what they planned to do . . . he immediately stepped in front of Elisha and said, "If

⁵Joseph Smith, Jr., et al., *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, edited by B. H. Roberts (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 6 vols. published 1902-12, Vol. 7 published 1932; reprinted by Deseret Book Company, 1976, paperback issue, 1978): 2:357.

⁶Packer, "History of Elisha Hurd Groves," 18.

you commit this terrible crime, it will be over my dead body." Hindered in their purpose, the members of the mob backed away cursing and threatening, but none of them came forward to carry out the murder they had planned to do. . . . Soon afterward, Charles Shumway and his friend . . . were baptized.⁷

Lucy had an unusually good education for her day, and often supported herself and the children by teaching school. For example, in 1842 with Sibyl barely a year old, Lucy had thirty-six students of varying ages and levels of learning. At the same time she cared for her mother, Leah Simmons. Crippled by severe arthritis, Leah always lived with or close to Lucy until she died of cancer at fifty-seven.

At the death of Joseph and Hyrum Smith on 27 June 1844, Elisha was serving a mission to promote the Prophet's candidacy for President of the United States. He returned in time to hear Sidney Rigdon and Brigham Young each make a claim for leadership of the Church. Elisha and Lucy chose to follow Brother Brigham.

As anti-Mormon sentiment foamed around Nauvoo, wagons began to roll toward the Mississippi River. The first ones crossed by ferry on 4 February 1846. Because Lucy was close to delivering her fifth child, they decided to wait until after the baby came. But ten days later, a mob surrounded their home and ordered them to renounce their faith or be gone from the city in an hour. If they remained, the whole family would be killed. Elisha quickly finished loading their wagon, helped Lucy and the children get in, and drove to the river's edge where a large campfire burned. The refugees gathered on the river side of the fire for warmth, while the mob hemmed them in on the other. One shot Elisha's milk cow and set it on fire, threatening that any Mormon who opened his mouth could expect similar treatment. That night in the wagon bed, Lucy gave birth to Sarah Matilda. This baby died later that year of cholera in Council Bluffs.

The Groves family spent the winter of 1847-48 at Winter Quarters where Elisha was bedfast with lung fever and scurvy. Brigham

⁷Story told by Richard Franklin Shumway, son of Charles Shumway, in Eleh T. Shumway, "Charles Shumway Joins the Mormon Church," unpublished family history, as quoted here from Packer, "History of Elisha Hurd Groves," 27-28.

Young had returned from the Salt Lake Valley on 31 October 1847 and was preparing to lead a second wagon train west in the spring. On 7 May 1848, Lucy gave birth to their sixth child, Lucy Maria. Ten days later the Groves family pulled their wagon into line with the "Big Company" of 1,229.

Eighteen days out, Lucy, who had been ill since the birth, insisted on walking to lighten the load for the team. Over Elisha's protests, she did. After a short distance, she started to climb back in the wagon, but something spooked the team; they shied and jerked the wagon, throwing Lucy beneath the front wheel. It ran over her chest and a back wheel crossed her leg. She suffered three broken ribs and a compound fracture of her leg. The bone protruded two inches through her stocking.

A doctor in the company set her leg but bandaged it so tightly that it shut off the circulation. Lucy could not endure the pain. Afraid that gangrene had set in, the doctor told her he would have to amputate. Lucy said she would rather die and refused to give consent for the operation. Elisha sent a messenger to the front of the wagon train for Brigham Young. He came, "loosened the bandage and administered to her. In his prayer he promised her, in the name of the Lord, that she would live and . . . rear her family."⁸

Seven-year-old Sibyl had vivid memories of her mother's ordeal. She remembered that Lucy's pain became so severe from the constant lurching of the wagon that Elisha finally reined his team to the side of the trail and halted the wagon to give her relief.

President Young stopped the train and rode back to see what the trouble was. [Lucy] begged him to go on, as she could stand the pain no longer. He said, "Sister, do you think for one moment, that I would consider doing such a thing and leave you here to the mercy of the Indians or whatever might happen to you? No, . . . we will camp right here until we can get you fixed up comfortably." President Young then made a sort of hammock of rope [suspended from] the wagon bowes. This took most of the jar from the wagon. When the pain got too severe, he would ride by her side and administer to her.⁹

⁸Ibid., 42.

⁹As told by Sibyl Groves to her daughter, Sibyl Harris Mendenhall, in "History of Elisha Hurd Groves Family," 2-3, typescript, DUP. See also Packer, "History of Elisha Hurd Groves," 43.

As they continued across the rolling prairie, little Sibyl, who walked the entire way, gathered buffalo chips with the other children for fuel at night. She remembered the day a herd of buffalo crossed their trail. The bull in the lead attacked the wagon ahead of the Grove's, killing one ox and maiming another.

By mid-August the train arrived at Devil's Gate, eight hundred miles west of Winter Quarters. Many of the trailworn travelers were sick with mountain fever. The road was "almost lined with dead cattle" who had given out "from lack of adequate feed, drinking alkaline water and eating poisonous weeds. Some of the stock had been bitten by rattle snakes and died."¹⁰

Wind, snow and rain greeted the wagon train in early September as they crossed the continental divide. The party entered the Salt Lake Valley on 22 September 1848. Lucy survived the journey; and although she walked with a crutch for the rest of her life, she outlived Elisha by thirteen years, dying at seventy-six.

After each immigrant party settled, plowed and planted the dry earth, dug their irrigation ditches, and built their homes, they turned their efforts to helping those still in the east gather to Zion. Church leaders established the Perpetual Emigration Fund and collected money to help outfit others for the trek. When those thus financed were settled, they were expected to pay back to the fund what they had used from it to ensure that others could follow.

This fund brought my maternal great-great grandparents, William Rees Davies and Rachel Morris Davies, from Wales with their three children: my great-grandfather John Rees, James George, and Elizabeth. Baptized in 1843, they were the first Mormon converts in Wales.¹¹

The Davies family probably immigrated from Carmarthen-shire County in South Wales early in 1851. They landed in New Orleans, came up the Mississippi River to St. Louis by riverboat, continued

¹⁰Packer, "History of Elisha Hurd Groves," 43.

¹¹Author unknown, "History of John Rees Davies," 16, filed by Lela Davies Lund, DUP. On 19 February 1843, the parents and fifteen-year-old John were baptized; Elizabeth was baptized in May 1843; James George was baptized in January 1845 at age thirteen.

on the Missouri River to Kanesville (now Council Bluffs), Iowa, and reached the Salt Lake Valley that fall.

Valentine Carson, also a maternal great-grandfather, arrived in the Salt Lake Valley the same year. The oldest of three children born to Samuel Carson and Eliza Jane Adair Carson, Valentine was born in Pickens County, Alabama, in 1831. Samuel died when Valentine was six. When he was eight, his mother married Noah Pearson, and they had one daughter, Jane. Pearson was killed soon after Jane's birth when he was thrown from a mule. Eliza remained a widow for four more years before she married John Price, and the family moved to Mississippi where they farmed west of the Tombigbee River.¹² There they met two Mormon elders from Nauvoo in the fall of 1843 and converted to Mormonism. Valentine later wrote of this time:

My mother and stepfather together with most of our kindred embraced the [gospel] with full purpose of heart. The same fall the people of the neighborhood became excited and raised in mobs, and compelled us to leave our homes. We crossed back to the east side of the river where there was a small branch of the Church. Here we remained till the fall of 1845.¹³

In November 1845, fourteen-year-old Valentine left with his family—which consisted of his mother, stepfather, sister Elizabeth, brother William, and two half-sisters, Jane Pearson and Rebecca Ann Price—for Nauvoo. They stopped at times to find work along the road, so the journey took four months. They arrived at Nauvoo in March 1846 to find it a combination of a ghost town and an armed camp. Church leaders had already left; in Winter Quarters, the pioneer company was preparing to leave for the Great Salt Lake. John Price, with Valentine's help, would move Eliza Jane and the children a day or two down the trail, go back and move other families, then repeat the process. They stopped twenty-five miles

¹²Rebecca Ann Carson Miller, "Sketch of the Life of My Father Valentine Carson," n.d., 1, typescript, DUP. Miller calls the Tombigbee River the "Tom Bagley River," which is probably how it sounded to her when Valentine said it. Rebecca Ann is the sister of my grandmother, Rachel Emma Carson Davies.

¹³Valentine Carson, "Valentine Carson: Pioneer of 1851, Written by Himself," 1, n.d., typescript, DUP. For some reason, Valentine was not baptized at the same time as his mother and stepfather. This short history gives the baptismal date as 1845, while genealogical records in my possession specify a date of 15 May 1845.

west of the Mississippi River to put in crops and raise money. After harvesting their summer's work, they moved on to Kanesville near Winter Quarters where they remained for six years.

Valentine wrote: "After helping my stepfather to fit out for the valley I hired myself out and drove an ox team across the plains" for \$10 a month plus board. "We started for the Valleys in the spring of 1851." The family settled for a short time in Provo. In 1853 John and Eliza Jane moved to Salt Lake Valley to start a lumber business in Millcreek Canyon. Valentine worked a rented farm in Provo until 1855, then moved to Millcreek to work for his stepfather. Later Brigham Young employed him to cut logs for lumber "for very little pay when he [Brigham] was building the Lion House."¹⁴

In 1855, Valentine married his first cousin, Mary Ann Adair in Payson. (Mary Ann's father, Thomas Jefferson Adair, Jr., was a brother to Valentine's mother, Eliza Jane.) Two years later, Valentine and Mary Ann were called to the Cotton Mission in Southern Utah in a company that included John and Eliza Jane and a number of other Southern converts, chosen because they knew how to grow cotton. They first went to Fort Johnson (later Enoch, six miles north of the present site of Cedar City), then went on to St. George. Eliza Jane, a midwife, gave medical assistance and delivered babies throughout Dixie and as far west as Pioche, Nevada.

By the time Valentine and Mary Ann settled in Washington in 1860, they had two children: Samuel Valentine and Mary Francis. In April 1861 Mary Ann died in childbirth. The premature baby did not survive. Two-year-old Mary Francis also died that spring, leaving Valentine and Samuel to go it alone.

In 1862 Valentine married Mary Ann's stepsister—my great-grandmother—twenty-year-old Hannah Waggle, whose family had settled in Washington the previous year.¹⁵

¹⁴Miller, "Sketch of . . . Valentine Carson," 1, 2; see also "Valentine Carson: Pioneer of 1851," 1,2.

¹⁵Valentine Carson's "Sketch of My Life" 3, photocopy of typescript, DUP, says they were married in 1856 and that Hannah was eighteen. An unidentified granddaughter of Hannah's wrote "Sketch of My Grandmother—Hannah Wiggle (Waggle or Wagle) Carson," DUP, while Hannah was still living and often quotes her directly. I have followed the granddaughter's account. Hannah Waggle was born 10 December 1842 in Hancock County, Illinois, to Mary Vance Waggle and Jacob

When Hannah was nine, her stepfather, mother, and mother's parents crossed the plains with ox teams. Hannah walked almost the entire distance except for the few weeks she suffered from cholera. She was lucky to have survived; several in their wagon train were not so fortunate. Her own memory of the trek was that they were "blessed to have plenty to eat," including dried fruit and the luxury of white bread, thanks to her Grandmother Vance who baked large quantities of salt-rising bread over an open fire en route. Grandfather Vance and Thomas Adair each had a cow, so they were plentifully supplied with milk and butter.¹⁶

Hannah's family first settled in the Salt Creek area (now Payson) and lived in a one-room dugout. The walls were lined with split logs and a roof made of split logs and willows covered with dirt.¹⁷ They made the tops for their shoes from a brown and blue heavy duck cloth they wove themselves. A shoemaker finished them with leather soles and toe caps. The men often wore buckskin clothes from deer hides they tanned themselves.

Valentine and Hannah traveled to Nephi to be married in 1863. The Black Hawk War made it unsafe to return to Washington immediately. Valentine took his turn standing guard at night. Their return to Washington was further interrupted when Brigham Young sent Valentine and others to take wagons and ox teams back to the Missouri River to "gather up the Saints who were not able to come by themselves." They went "without much pay, only enough to live on" while making the seven-month, 2,700 mile journey. Valentine drove four yoke of oxen "and didn't lose one on the trip."¹⁸ Hannah stayed in Nephi until his return, then they returned to Washington where Valentine farmed.

Hannah recalled that Valentine "would work hard all day in the water up to his waist and have to guard [against] Indians all night.

Waggle, who died when she was two. Two years later her mother married Thomas Jefferson Adair, Jr., a brother to Eliza Jane Adair.

¹⁶Rebecca Ann Carson Miller, "Sketch of the Life of Hannah Carson," n.d. [filed at the DUP in February 1952], 2, holograph, DUP.

¹⁷Hannah's grandmother Vance died soon after they arrived and was buried on the Provo bench. No author, "Sketch of My Grandmother," 2.

¹⁸Miller, "Sketch of the Life of Hannah Carson," 2, DUP.

One night he was so worn out and sleepy he mistook one of his favorite horses for an Indian and shot it. The horses were lying down and [one] raised his head, he thought it was a Indian creeping up to the house like they would. Many sad things and losses happened to them on account of the Indians being so hostile.”¹⁹

The Carsons lost their first two babies at birth, both girls, then Valentine’s mother, Eliza Jane, arranged for them to adopt the baby daughter of her nephew, George Washington Adair, whose wife had died in giving birth to her. They named her Ann Adair.²⁰ Hannah gave birth to seven more girls and two boys. With Samuel, Valentine’s surviving son by his first marriage, and adopted Ann, they had a family of eleven. The last of these children, a daughter, died at five months. In 1869, Valentine and Hannah took Ann and their own two daughters to Salt Lake City where they were all, including their two dead daughters, sealed in the Endowment House.

Valentine had learned stone masonry and helped build the cotton mill in Washington and the old St. George meeting house. When construction of the St. George Temple began in November 1871, he worked on it by first hauling lumber, then doing masonry work with “very little pay. When [they] did receive a sack of flour or corn meal or a piece of bacon or a dollar or a quart or two of molasses,” they divided it with neighbors who also had little. They all “shared pretty much alike.”²¹ Hannah helped cook for the men who worked on the temple.

After seventeen years in Washington, Valentine “became afflicted with rheumatism and fever and chills.”²² He had spent those years building dams and digging irrigation ditches, farming, then watching the dams break, the ditches flood, and the farms parch for lack of water. When a doctor advised him to leave Dixie, he moved

¹⁹As quoted in “Sketch of My Grandmother,” 2.

²⁰Miller, “Sketch of . . . Valentine Carson,” 2. According to genealogy records in my possession, George’s first wife was Ann Catherine Chestnut Adair, and the baby was named Jemima Ann. Valentine and Hannah shortened the name to Ann.

²¹Miller, “Sketch of . . . Valentine Carson,” 3. Washington is less than five miles north of St. George. The family probably lived at the farm while Valentine worked on the temple.

²²“Sketch Written by Valentine Carson,” n.d., handcopied by Rebecca Ann Carson Miller, 6, DUP.

his family to a rented farm in Kanarra. Emma Carson, my grandmother, was born there on 11 December 1877.

Valentine's health continued to decline. When he lost the use of his right arm, a brother-in-law persuaded him to move to Parowan in 1879. There he tried herding the Parowan United Order sheep, but the exposure to the weather further weakened him, especially since he had also developed severe asthma. With the help of their children, he and Hannah homesteaded 160 acres of land. Hannah said he was virtually an "invalid for twenty years."²³

After the completion of the St. George Temple in 1877, Hannah and Valentine spent a winter there doing temple work "for my father and for Christopher 'Kit' Carson [also a relative] and as many of our kindred as I could in the St George Temple," Valentine wrote.²⁴ As a final blow, Valentine then developed cancer on his lip, lingered for two more years and died in Parowan on 25 September 1889.

Hannah Waggle Carson remained a widow for thirty years, living with one child then another "always with a spirit of love and appreciation and peace and good will, until she died on 1 April 1929 at age 86."²⁵ My mother, Pearl Davies King, was one of her sixty-one grandchildren.

Meanwhile, in October 1852, Brigham Young called 50 families to move 270 miles south of Salt Lake City to strengthen the settlements in Iron County. They were to build a community and serve as missionaries to the Indians. Some of this group left that fall; others joined them the next spring. George A. Smith wrote an account published in the *Deseret News* in December of that first year: "John D. Lee and Elisha H. Groves and company are building a fort on Ash Creek, called Harmony. . . . The point is well selected for military purposes and commands the Springs and about 160 acres of farm land on the Creek. It is about 20 miles north of the Rio Virgin."²⁶ Harmony was the farthest Mormon outpost at that time.

²³"Sketch of My Grandmother," 2.

²⁴"Sketch Written by Valentine Carson," 10.

²⁵Miller, "Sketch of the Life of Hannah Carson," 11.

²⁶George A. Smith, Letter to *Deseret News*, dated 8 December 1852, in Journal

My great-grandfather, John Davies, arrived at John D. Lee's camp with his parents and brother James the next May and joined the twelve to fifteen families already there. John and his father were both tailors. Soon afterward, Brigham Young arrived with Heber C. Kimball and others and instructed the settlers to move about four miles north and "build a substantial fort as a protection against the Indians and make a canal to take out water for irrigation."²⁷ Using adobe bricks, which they made themselves, the pioneers enclosed an area three hundred feet square, with walls two feet thick that rose ten feet high on the east side. They built one-story dwellings along the inside. On the west side, they erected two-story houses along a sixteen-foot-high wall of the same thickness. A hundred-foot well in the center supplied culinary water.²⁸

Before the Church leaders left, Heber C. Kimball prophesied that if they helped the Indians, peace would accompany them and "in time, a wagon road would be built over the Black Ridge and a temple would be built in that vicinity. . . . The Missionaries worked diligently. . . . They taught [the native people], prayed with them and told them about the book they had that was about their forefathers. They administered to their sick and the sick were healed." They baptized some, telling them "Now you are Mormons, you must not steal and fight but be good." The settlers "went up Ash Creek and helped the Indians put in a nice crop."²⁹

My great-great-grandfather, William Rees Davies, became the town's presiding elder. Later with the organization of the Fort Harmony Ward, which included the outlying communities of Toquerville, Washington, and Pine Valley, the congregation sustained him as their bishop. William, practicing a bit of nepotism, chose his son John as one of his counselors.³⁰

Less than twenty-five miles due west from Fort Harmony lay the

History, 7 December 1852; the letter was actually published on 11 December 1852.

²⁷Ibid.

²⁸Kate B. Carter, comp., *Our Pioneer Heritage*, 56 vols. (Salt Lake City: Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, 1966), 9:144.

²⁹Journal History, 7 December 1852.

³⁰Lela Davies Lund, "History of John Rees Davies," n.d., 2, typescript, DUP.

lush green spot of Mountain Meadows. Others whose destiny would be shaped by that place were waiting to weave their part of the web of trails westward.

My great-grandparents, twenty-four-year-old Francis (Frank) Eaton King and his nineteen-year-old wife, Marcia Frances Bessey,³¹ had been married a little less than two years when they left their families in Reading, Massachusetts, for a new life in California. It was the spring of 1857 and their daughter Louisa was nearly a year old.³² Marcia's brother Anthony Wayne Bessey had already left for California and would meet them in the Great Salt Lake Valley. From there they planned to continue on to California together.

Apparently Frank and Marcia traveled alone most of the way; but by late July, near Pacific Springs in central Wyoming, they caught up with a slow-moving wagon train from Arkansas headed by Alexander Fancher. Believing they would be safer from Indians with a larger group, the Kings joined with them.

During the next two weeks, the Fancher train covered the 250 miles to Salt Lake City. The Kings found the company congenial. Frank remembered, "From the time that we overtook them [at Pacific Springs] they were not boisterous or in anyway uncivil. You would hardly ever hear an oath from anyone."³³ Obviously the Kings made friends, for in 1910 Frank could still recall many individuals he and Marcia had met in the train. In addition to Alexander Fancher he specifically remembered Rachel and Ruth Dunlap, then sixteen and eighteen. He also remembered a Methodist minister. In all there were "about sixty men, forty women and

³¹Francis Eaton King was born in South Paris, Oxford County, Maine, on 22 December 1833 to Augustus G. King and Louisa Bolster King. Marcia Frances Bessey was born 1 August 1838 in Bethel, Oxford County, Maine, to Antone DeBessey Anthony and Thankful Stearns DeBessey (or Bessey). Between the 1830 and 1840 census, Marcia's father anglicized his name to Anthony Bessey. Frank and Marcia were married 27 September 1855. Ancestral File No. 3631-TBLDS, LDS Family History Library, Salt Lake City.

³²Louisa was born 22 June 1856 in Reading, Massachusetts.

³³Josiah F. Gibbs, Untitled manuscript about the Mountain Meadows Massacre, n.d., 2, Charles Kelly Papers, Ms 100, box 12, fd. 15, Special Collections, Marriott Library, University of Utah, Salt Lake City.

nearly fifty children” traveling in forty wagons or carriages, accompanied by twelve men on horseback.³⁴

When they entered Emigration Canyon, Marcia had mountain fever. For some reason the Fancher party decided to camp at the top of the canyon for a time. Frank took Marcia into the Salt Lake Valley to find her brother, Anthony Wayne Bessey, and to allow her to rest until her health permitted them to travel again. They planned to catch up with the Fancher party before it started across the desert. But Wayne had become acquainted with a pretty Mormon girl named Susan Matilda Lane and was not inclined to go further.³⁵ While Marcia recovered, Frank made three trips up Emigration Canyon to visit friends before the wagon train moved on toward southern California without them.³⁶

Meanwhile, on 11 April 1857, Daniel H. Wells, Lieutenant General of the Nauvoo Legion, had organized thirteen military districts to prepare for the coming of the U.S. Government troops. District Eight, the Parowan District, included Fort Harmony and Johnson's Fort.³⁷

Laban Drury Morrill's history paralleled that of my great-great-grandfather, Elisha Hurd Groves, from Kirtland to the Salt Lake Valley. The two were near the same age and knew each other well. Laban and his family lived first at Cedar Fort (now Cedar City) then moved to Johnson's Fort. Laban, a forty-two-year-old farmer, chronicled the events of 1857:

³⁴Frank King as quoted in Josiah F. Gibbs, *The Mountain Meadows Massacre* (Salt Lake City: Salt Lake Tribune Publishing Co., 1910), 12-13.

³⁵In an unpublished interview Charles Kelly had with Josiah Gibbs in 1931, Gibbs said, "King who was a member of the party who were murdered at the Meadows, was married to a woman whose sister was a Mormon. They left the main party and stayed with the sister in Salt Lake for a few weeks, thus escaping the massacre." Typescript, Kelly Papers, box 12, fd. 5. Genealogy records in my possession show that it was not a sister but a brother, Anthony Wayne Bessey, who married a Mormon wife, Susan Matilda Lane. Wayne and Susan moved to Manti in the spring of 1858 and later settled in Washington, Utah.

³⁶Frank King, Testimony, "First Trial of John D. Lee," transcript, 116-17, Jacob Smith Boreman Collection, Mss. 16903-16910, Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

³⁷Carter, comp., *Our Pioneer Heritage*, 14:151-57.

[It was] during my sojourn in this part of the country . . . that happened the most horrible affair . . . in the annals of our history, when the blackest of crimes known as the Mountain Meadows Massacre was perpetrated. . . . I knew when the horrifying deed was being discussed . . . and did everything in my power to prevent it. . . . My opponents claimed that there were, among the emigrants, men who had assisted in crimes of murdering and driving from their homes our people in Missouri, and that one of them had openly boasted that he had helped to kill our prophet (Joseph Smith) . . . and they had proclaimed they would kill every damn Mormon off the earth.³⁸

Laban Morrill, arguably the lone hero in the Mountain Meadows incident, asserted that Church leaders would not condone what the men were planning and insisted they immediately dispatch a message to Brigham Young to ask for instructions.

As researchers Larry Coates, Ken and Audrey Godfrey, and others have found, the Fancher wagon train that passed Fort Harmony on Monday, 7 September 1857, originated in Arkansas—not Missouri. By now it was minus Frank and Marcia King.

That evening a group of men met in the small log cabin of Byron Warner, who had recently moved from Fillmore to Fort Harmony with his nineteen-year-old wife, Sybil Frink Warner. Sybil overheard the men discussing a plan to wipe out the wagon train and blame it on the Indians. She understood that Indians would be involved but that they would stay out of sight until the killing began, then come in and finish up. Sybil, fearing for her own life, did not let on to Byron or anyone what she had heard.³⁹

Another woman living at the fort, Annie Elizabeth Hoag, remembered that her husband came home that night and told her that Lee had called “a meeting of the Saints” the next morning “in regard to some emigrants.” Annie attended the meeting and heard

³⁸Laban D. Morrill, Journal, as quoted in Laren D. Morrill, *My Heritage* (n.p., 1991), 56-57.

³⁹The basic information about Sybil Frink Warner Scottern comes from undated oral histories conducted by Patsy Carter Iverson with Sybil's son, John E. Scottern, and three of Sybil's granddaughters: Myrtle Scottern Hatton, Ruth Scottern and Virginia May (“Gyppe”) Scottern Lowry. These interviews are in Iverson's possession in Fillmore, Utah. See Patsy Carter Iverson and Linda King Newell, “Other Roads Taken: Sybil and the Saga of Mountain Meadows,” paper given at MHA annual meeting, May 1992, St. George, Utah.

Lee explain that “he called the meeting in consequence of an emigrant company of Gentiles going through. He said that they had considerable trouble with Gentiles in Nauvoo.” Lee told of two or three families in particular that were driven out of Nauvoo by Gentiles and across the river where they starved. He then said:

Mr. Haight and Mr. Dame from Parowan was going over there and a number of men were to go in the morning . . . to stop them from getting into the mountains. . . . They was to meet together in the morning somewhere outside of the Fort. . . . President Haight thought it was best to put them out of the way before they did any harm, so did Bishop Dame . . . and [Lee] wished to know if the saints were willing—for them to lift up their hands in regard to the matter, that it should be carried out. . . . They knew that his word was law, so of course—they lifted up their hands. John D. Lee asked if there was any to the contrary. I lifted my hand up; but I was so guilty of conscience that I could not keep it up. . . . There were three to the contrary.⁴⁰

Lee concluded by saying that he, the men from the fort, and the Indians should start the next morning. Annie said, “I believe the men pretty near all went excepting Mr. Shirts and one of his sons.”⁴¹ My ancestors, Elisha Hurd Groves, William Rees Davies and his two sons, John and James, were most likely among the group of fourteen that gathered at the Warner house the next morning. They all belonged to the militia, no family tradition places them elsewhere at that time, and no historical evidence suggests that they did not participate in the massacre. Sybil, rapt with fear, watched as they darkened their faces, dressed as Indians, then rode west toward Mountain Meadows. Annie could not recall how long the men were gone—three to five days—but said the “women were very anxious to know if they was coming back.”⁴²

⁴⁰Annie Elizabeth Hoag, Testimony, Second Trial of John D. Lee, 14-20 September 1876, carbon of original, 25-27, Beaver County Court House, Beaver, Utah.

⁴¹*Ibid.*, 26.

⁴²Byron Warner's name is not included on the various lists of known participants in the massacre, but he and Sybil had recently moved from Millard County and lived in Harmony between the time of the 1856 Church census and the 1860 U.S. census. None of their children were born or died there, so there are no entries on the Church records. He was not a member of the Iron Military District, whose muster role is usually considered a fairly accurate list of the participants. But

Finally word came that the men would be arriving at about two o'clock. The women of Fort Harmony gathered at the meeting house to wait. Soon John D. Lee rode up at the head of a band of Indians. "The Indians all gathered about us there," Annie said. "He was giving them a treat with melons, squashes, pumpkins and pies. They had blankets, shoes and one thing and another." Soon Lee came into the meeting house and spoke to them. "He said he had the men back alright and he thanked God that nothing had happened; that he had a very narrow escape for [the emigrants were] so entrenched."⁴³

The meeting broke up when the express from Brigham Young arrived. Annie testified that she saw the paper, but did not read it. Laban Morrill, who had refused to go to Mountain Meadows, later wrote:

The answers came in haste commanding them to desist and allow the emigrants to pass unharmed, but before the word arrived . . . the dastardly deed was done. God forbid the pages of my journal should be stained with the recital of a crime so foul. But I want my children's children to know that sin like this, is in direct opposition to the teachings of our father.⁴⁴

One wonders how the lives of any of the participants could ever return to any sense of normalcy. Nevertheless, five months after the massacre, my great-grandparents, thirty-two-year-old John Rees Davies and seventeen-year-old Patience Sibyl Groves were married at Fort Harmony. A town record described the wedding: "The tables were set the whole length of the meeting house, and when all things were ready, about 5 p.m. the ceremony was performed . . . by Prest. Isaac C. Haight. . . . Then all sat down to the table to the good things, after which all joined in the dance."⁴⁵

In the next several years, many of the men who had been involved in the massacre moved their families elsewhere and the

as a member of the Parowan Military District, who happened to be living at Fort Harmony at the time, he would have been included in the plans and their execution.

⁴³Hoag, *Testimony*, 27. Her account of Lee's speech continues through pages 27-29.

⁴⁴In Morrill, *My Heritage*, 55-57.

⁴⁵Church Meeting Records kept by Rachel Woolsey Lee, 22 February 1858, as quoted in Packer, "History of Elisha Hurd Groves," 56. Family group sheets which give the date as 15 March 1857 are in error.

population of the region declined significantly. John and Sibyl Davies and both their extended families left Fort Harmony to build yet another new community named Kanarra (also Kanarrah) in Beaver County. In the bed of a wagon with only a quilt to shield her from the summer sun, Sibyl Groves Davies gave birth to a second son, George Elisha Davies—the first child born in Kanarra. He was my maternal grandfather.

In the fall of 1862 John Davies harvested a good crop of wheat; but with no gristmill nearby, he had to haul the grain some three days distance to have it ground into a winter's supply of flour for his family. The weather turned nasty and it rained on John and his team of horses all six days. He returned home chilled to the bone and with a severe cold, which soon turned into pneumonia. He died a few days later. Six months after John's death, Sybil gave birth to their daughter, Mary Ann.

About that same time, Laban Morrill left Johnson's Fort, first for the town of Summit, and eventually to Junction in Piute County. His son John ("Jack") married my maternal grandmother, Emma Carson, Hannah and Valentine's daughter. Jack became the first game warden in southern Utah and froze to death at Blue Springs in 1916 leaving Emma a widow with six small children. In 1919 my maternal grandfather, George Davies, son of Sybil and John Davies, married the widowed Emma Carson Morrill in Junction.

Meanwhile, Frank and Marcia King had remained in the Salt Lake Valley three months, until early December 1857. They knew about the demise of the Fancher train at Mountain Meadows, and Frank had been baptized in November, believing Church membership would remove any taint of their association with the ill-fated Fanchers and secure them safe passage to southern California.⁴⁶ When they arrived in Beaver, 210 miles south, the bishop of the ward, Phylo T. Farnsworth, advised Frank to stay there for the winter "as the Indians, after the massacre, were more than usually hostile." Apparently the bishop understood that the Indians were not the only ones who were hostile, for "notwithstanding [his] friendliness" or Frank's newly acquired Church membership, the

⁴⁶Frances Eaton King's baptism date is found in Ancestral File No. 3631-T8, Family History Library.

Kings were “twice ordered to move on” by some of the more fanatical Mormons in the community.⁴⁷

The first occurrence came when the Kings were already en route to California. They left Beaver on 15 May 1858, reaching Cedar City on the 17th. “I had not unhitched my team,” Frank later wrote to a friend, “when John M. Higbee, and Elias Morris, second counselor to Isaac C. Haight, ordered me to leave before the sun rose the next morning.” Frank “regarded the order as ominous,”⁴⁸ but Marcia was expecting their second child. In January, Marcia’s brother, Wayne and Susan, had married and settled in Manti, Sanpete County. The Kings decided to join them there. Marcia was baptized that summer, two-year-old Louisa died in September, and in October, Marcia gave birth to their first son.⁴⁹ It is not clear why Frank and Marcia chose not to continue to California. In some ways, their baptisms were opportunistic although they seem to have lived as Mormons and been accepted as such by their neighbors; still, it is clear that they felt themselves different from their neighbors and not wholly safe.

By the time of the 1860 census, Frank and Marcia had moved seven miles north to Ephraim where Frank was a shoemaker. Marcia was pregnant with the third of ten more children, four of whom died in childhood. My paternal grandfather, Charles Francis King, was their tenth child.

In 1864 eight families from Sanpete County, including Marcia and Frank King, moved eighty miles south of Manti to settle Marysvale in Piute County. By the next year, sixteen families lived in the area, spread out across the valley. They homesteaded the land, planted fields and began building permanent homes. When the fledgling community was only two years old, the Black Hawk War swept the Utah Territory. The townspeople hurriedly built a fort enclosing eight acres about half a mile above the confluence of Pine Creek (also known as Bullion Creek) and the Sevier River. The Indians raided the settlement on 22 April 1866, killing two men and wounding several others. They ran off nearly all the horses, cattle,

⁴⁷Gibbs, *The Mountain Meadows Massacre*, 13.

⁴⁸*Ibid.*

⁴⁹Ancestral File No. 45W8-RB, Family History Library.

and sheep. At the end of June, Marysville's inhabitants abandoned their new town and took refuge a few miles south in Circleville. Soon afterward, General Daniel H. Wells brought a military force and moved all the settlers north. The King family went to Monroe.

The little valley remained unoccupied until early 1869 when Frank King returned and purchased "squatters rights and improvements of the first colony," adding substantially to his original homestead. He farmed and raised sheep, becoming "unusually prosperous for those days."⁵⁰ The Kings were the only inhabitants of Marysville when Lieutenant Jacob Hess, veteran of the Civil War and resident of Manti, and Ebenezer Hanks arrived in search of gold. Hess had passed through Piute County on a reconnaissance mission sometime during the Black Hawk War of 1865-67 and had found traces of placer gold on the bench to the south of Marysville. Now he came with Hanks to investigate further. They rode up Pine Creek west of Marysville; and beneath a huge jagged wall of white quartz, they found gold and what would become the Webster Mine. Word of this discovery soon spread and prospectors came to find the source of Jacob Hess's gold.⁵¹

While riding in Pine Canyon looking for stray cattle, Frank King stopped to drink from the creek. As he lay on his stomach with his face to the water he looked right at a rock about the size of his head which, tellers of the story say, was "gold bearing rock rather than rock bearing gold."⁵² He staked a claim and, over the next two decades, owned interests in several mines including the Webster, Yankee Blade, and the Morning Star. He also bought a farm on the south bench of Marysville where he built a house for Marcia and their growing family.⁵³ By the end of 1869, some two hundred miners from Idaho, Montana, and other places were in the Marysville area. Among these was another of my great-grandfathers, non-Mormon Edward Foisy.

⁵⁰Josiah Gibbs, *Marysville Red Book* (Marysville, Utah: n.pub., 1916), 4.

⁵¹*Ibid.*, 4.

⁵²Irene Elder, "106 Years of Mining, Marysville Area," photocopy of unpublished manuscript (n.d.), 5, Piute County Court House, Junction, Utah.

⁵³Land records located at the Piute County Court House, Junction, Utah, Books 2 and 3.

The Foisy family had lived in St. Mathias, Quebec, Canada, for three generations; Edward's grandfather was born there in 1776. Edward married Louise Gauchet when both were in their teens. There is no record of what happened to Louise. Perhaps she died soon after their marriage. At any rate, by age seventeen the young French Canadian had left home and family to seek his fortune in California. He had no money but had acquired the trade of blacksmith and signed on with the Pacific Telegraph Company to help build the transcontinental telegraph line to Salt Lake City from Omaha, Nebraska. At the same time, the Overland Telegraph Company would construct the line from Carson City, Nevada, to Salt Lake City. The two companies raced to see who could finish first, with a rich reward promised to the winner.⁵⁴

Both routes were virtually treeless. Under an arrangement between Brigham Young and an Overland Telegraph agent, Brigham's son, John W. Young, contracted to supply poles for 750 miles of the eastern line. The Mormon firm of Little and Decker of Salt Lake City supplied poles for 250 miles of the western line from Ruby Valley to Salt Lake. Construction began in July 1861 at both ends of the transcontinental line, and also in both directions from Salt Lake City.⁵⁵

Edward Foisy's job was to keep the horses properly shod, repair broken wagon wheels—or build new ones—and keep the tools in good repair. One group of workers dug the holes, another set the poles in place, and a third party leaned tall ladders against the poles and strung the wires. In this fashion they could complete an average of ten miles a day at a cost of about \$250 a mile. As the young blacksmith watched the process, it seemed to him that lugging the huge ladders from pole to pole required excessive time and energy. There must be a better way.

Working out of his blacksmith wagon, Edward fashioned a pair of sharp spikes that could be strapped onto a worker's feet with a leather stirrup-type arrangement and a long sturdy leather belt to

⁵⁴Kate B. Carter, comp., *The Story of the Telegraph* (Salt Lake City: Daughters of Utah Pioneers, Utah Printing Co., 1961), 1.

⁵⁵Leonard J. Arrington, "Brigham Young and the Transcontinental Telegraph Line," *Improvement Era* 54 (July 1951): 510-11.

fasten around both man and pole for security. With these “contraptions,” the worker could jam the spikes attached to his feet into the wood and virtually walk up the pole, fasten the wire, and walk back down. These linemen’s spikes, still used today, enabled the eastern line to reach Salt Lake City on 17 October 1861—a full week ahead of the western line. Brigham Young sent the first message east to J. H. Wade, president of the Pacific Telegraph Company. After issuing hearty congratulations, Brigham’s message read “Utah has not seceded, but is firm for the Constitution and laws of our once happy country, and is warmly interested in such useful enterprises as the one so far completed.”⁵⁶

At Salt Lake City, Edward Foisy left Pacific Telegraph to try his hand at mining in Park City. After some success there, he was lured south by the reports of gold in Marysvale. In addition to his mining venture, he also bought a farm on the bench south of Marysvale. In January 1877, at age thirty-three he married seventeen-year-old Catherine Lince Beckstead.

Catherine’s father Alexander Beckstead was born in Williamsburg, Ontario, Canada, in 1802 and married Catherine Lince there in 1823. The Becksteads joined the Church around 1836-37 and moved with a group of Canadian converts, including Alexander’s parents and at least some of his siblings, to Caldwell County, Missouri, in 1838. That December Catherine gave birth to their ninth child at Far West. Three more were born in Hancock County, Illinois, between 1849 and 1845, and twins in Kanesville, Iowa, in August of 1848. The Becksteads arrived in the Salt Lake Valley 15 September 1849 and helped settle West Jordan. The places of birth for these babies mark the movements of the Becksteads within the larger Mormon migration west. Catherine gave birth five more times in or near West Jordan, a total of nineteen children in all. She was one month shy of her fifty-fourth birthday when her last child was born—unusual, but not unprecedented.

In 1854 Alexander married two more wives, Keziah Petty (they had ten children, seven boys and three girls); and Clarissa Ann

⁵⁶In Carter, *The Story of the Telegraph*, 17. My father’s uncle (Hermine’s younger brother), Ivan Foisy, told me the story of Edward Foisy’s invention about 1980. Tape recorded interview in my possession.

Gilson (with whom he had seven children, a boy and six girls).⁵⁷ Clarissa Ann's story is somewhat confusing—if not clouded—but the family lore bears telling. Her parents, John Gilson and Susanna Conklin Gilson, were apparently from Pennsylvania. There is no information about when or where the family became Mormon; but according to a grandson, John died in the vicinity of Nauvoo. Clarissa, her sister Sarah, and their mother started for the Salt Lake Valley around 1848. Susanna died on the trek. The Becksteads are believed to have taken eleven-year-old Clarissa Ann, and perhaps thirteen-year-old Sarah on to the valley and into their family. Clarissa Ann married Alexander at age seventeen; he was fifty-two.⁵⁸

That Clarissa had a close relationship with her husband's first wife is indicated by the fact that she named her second child Catherine Lince. This daughter, born in February 1859, is the Catherine Lince Beckstead who married Edward Foisy. Edward never joined the Mormon Church, but seemed content to have their four children raised in the faith.⁵⁹

Their eldest child, Hermine Clarissa Foisy, married Charles Francis King, son of Marcia and Frank King, on 27 June 1900. She was twenty-two.

Fourteen years later, the childless couple adopted a young sister and sister: Mary Conally, born in February 1910 and Peter Conally, nine months younger, was born in November 1910. Conally had abandoned his family and his wife was too ill to care for them. LDS Church social workers asked the Kings if they would take the children. Intent on making them their "own," Hermine and Charles changed their names and had them sealed to them in the Manti Temple. Peter became Foisy Earl King and Mary became Donna King. Foisy, my father, kept

⁵⁷Andrew Jenson, *LDS Biographical Encyclopedia*, 4 vols. (1914; reprint, Salt Lake City: Western Epics, 1971) 2:745-46.

⁵⁸Ivan Foisy, interview.

⁵⁹Catherine and Edward had six children in all: Hermine Clarissa, 13 October 1878; Eliza Celesta, 1 July 1880; Edward Alexander, 25 June 1883 (died 30 December 1888); Inez Arminta, 18 June 1888 (died 24 January 1889); Catherine Effie, 7 October 1891; and Ivan Foisy, 8 December 1896. Two of these children died a month apart: Edward Alexander on 30 December 1888 at age five, and Inez on 24 January 1889 at seven months.

his adoption secret from me until long after I had married. His adoptive mother, Hermine Clarissa, died on Christmas Eve in 1915 when my father, Foisy Earl King, was fifteen.

The year previous to Edward and Clarissa's marriage another Marysville resident, Frank King, was summoned to testify for the prosecution at the trial of John D. Lee in Beaver. During the eighteen years between the Mountain Meadows Massacre and the beginning of the trial, Frank and Marcia kept still about their previous association with the Fancher train—not even their closest neighbors knew. His testimony at the trial reveals a cautious, and no doubt, nervous witness for the prosecution.⁶⁰

Few people in Marysville even knew of Frank's participation in the trial until former journalist Josiah Gibbs published his 1909 *Light and Shadows of Mormonism*, which included a chapter on Mountain Meadows.

An excommunicated Mormon, Josiah Gibbs had a personal interest in Mountain Meadows. He had been born in Nauvoo in 1845 where his father had been a carpenter for the Nauvoo Temple. They crossed the plains in the fatal year of 1857, arriving in Salt Lake Valley in September, the very month that the Fancher train was also camping in Emigration Canyon. Josiah was fourteen when Jacob Forney, Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Territory of Utah, brought sixteen surviving children of the massacre to Salt Lake City in the spring of 1859. While arrangements were being made to return the children to Arkansas, Josiah played marbles with young Charlie Fancher who told Josiah what happened to his family. He added, "Some of the Indians went to the little creek and after washing their faces were white men."⁶¹ This was how Gibbs first heard of the Mountain Meadows Massacre. It marked the beginning of his life-long obsession with the event. In 1862 the Gibbs family settled in Fillmore, Millard County, while Josiah was serving a mission. One writer described the young man as "a Jack of all trades and master of many," including journalism. He first edited the *Millard County Blade* in Deseret, was excommunicated for his anti-

⁶⁰First Trial of John D. Lee, 117-18, transcript, Huntington Library-Archives, San Marino, California.

⁶¹Josiah Gibbs, interviewed by Charles Kelly, Kelly Papers, box 12, fd. 15.

Mormon editorial stance, then published the *Blade* in Nephi for several years. Eventually he settled in Marysvale and became a mining engineer.⁶²

In 1910, thirty-three-year-old Charles King read Gibbs's *Lights and Shadows of Mormonism* and he told Josiah that his parents had entered Utah with the Fancher train. Although Gibbs had known Frank for twenty-five years, he had never heard him so much as mention the massacre. Frank and Marcia had moved temporarily to Grants Pass, Oregon, to be near a daughter and her family. Frank responded when Gibbs wrote to him, asking him a number of questions about the train.⁶³ Gibbs used the King material in his book *The Mountain Meadow Massacre*, which he published later in 1910. On 31 October 1930, he referred to additional correspondence in a letter to an old friend Frank Beckwith of Delta:

Because of the loss of many manuscripts and scrapbooks from my desk, I placed the King affidavit . . . in the custody of my son, now in Los Angeles. Some day it will be published. An affidavit in support of Mr. King's reputation for truth, honor and good citizenship, was attested by the then postmaster, justice of the peace and another prominent resident. As a certain means of parrying any question of authenticity, I insisted that the notary sign his name at the bottom of each page. The Affidavit contains much more of the tragic history of those days.⁶⁴

Neither Josiah Gibbs nor his son ever published Frank's affidavit, nor has it come to light since then. Perhaps it still lies in one of *his* descendant's attics. Marcia and Francis King eventually moved back to Marysvale, where she died in 1914, he in 1919. Both are buried in the cemetery on the windy knoll east of town.

In 1936 one of Josiah's sons, Manton Gibbs, married my mother, sixteen-year-old Pearl Davies, granddaughter of John and Sybil Davies and Valentine and Hannah Carson. The childless marriage ended in divorce in less than a year. Two years later, Pearl married my father, Foisy Earl King—adopted son of Hermine

⁶²Biographical information from the Utah State Press Association, "The Utah Newspaper Hall of Fame," pamphlet (n.p., ca. 1970), not paginated, copy at Utah State Historical Society.

⁶³Gibbs, *The Mountain Meadows Massacre*, 12-13.

⁶⁴Josiah F. Gibbs, Letter to Frank Beckwith, 31 October 1930, typescript, Kelly Papers, box 12, fd. 5.

Clarissa Foisy and Charles Francis King and grandson of Frank and Marcia King and Edward and Catherine Foisy.

The web of trails that began in such diverse places as South Wales, Quebec, Ontario, Massachusetts, Alabama, and Indiana brought my eight great-grandparents, John and Sybil Davies, Valentine and Hannah Carson, Frank and Marcia King, and Edward and Catherine Foisy across the plains and into the Salt Lake Valley. Eventually their extended families all connected in tiny Piute County, bringing the colorful history—of Utah, of Mormonism, and of my family—home to my own childhood doorstep.



Glenda Riley

SESQUICENTENNIAL REFLECTIONS:
A COMPARATIVE VIEW OF MORMON
AND GENTILE WOMEN ON THE
WESTWARD TRAIL

Glenda Riley

THE MID-1840S PROVED TO BE heart-wrenching and life-altering for women who turned their faces toward the American West. During the 1840s, as well as the succeeding decade, thousands of women undertook westward migration, some with certainty, others with misgiving. Whether hopeful or hesitant, illiterate or educated, single or married, native-born or from Canada or a European nation, women experienced many comparable—as well as some vastly diverse—circumstances on the westward trek.

The similarities and differences between early Mormon and Gentile trail women will be explored here, including how Mormon women on the trail coped with their additional burdens. The essay

GLEND A RILEY is the Alexander M. Bracken Professor of History at Ball State University and 1997 president of the Western History Association. She is the author of numerous articles and books about women in the American West including *Building and Breaking Families in the American West* (1997) and *Women and Nature: Saving the "Wild" West* (forthcoming).

maintains that these two groups of women experienced the westward migration in strikingly dissimilar ways.

SIMILARITIES ON THE TRAIL

Mormon and Gentile women's trail diaries and other accounts, which constitute an important genre of historical documents, reveal many similarities.¹ For instance virtually all women, except the most hardened, yearned for a better life ahead. A variety of media had done its job well. From rumors to newspaper accounts, from touring lecturers to guidebooks, from letters "back home" to railroad company and other "boomer" literature came the image of the American West as a promised land.

Myriad illustrations exist. As early as 1837, for example, the Dubuque *Iowa News* declared, "It is seldom that a person who has resided for some years here, can ever content himself to return and live in the east." Less than two decades later the *Eddyville Free Press*, also in Iowa, promised rewards that exceeded even the most hopeful fantasies of potential migrants. People had only to bring "strong minds and willing hands to work" to be "abundantly blessed and rewarded."²

Not surprisingly then, women often traveled on hope and dreams. In 1846, Eliza Roxcy Snow, a plural wife of both Joseph Smith and his successor Brigham Young, who emigrated to the Salt Lake Valley, lauded in verse the opportunities the West offered:

Let us go—let us go to a country whose soil
Can be made to produce wine, milk, honey & oil—
Where beneath our own vines we may sit & enjoy
The rich fruit of our labors with none to annoy.³

¹Mormon women's diaries as a genre are discussed in Maureen Ursenbach Beecher, "'Tried and Purified as Gold': Mormon Women's 'Lives,'" Alice Louise Reynolds Lecture presented at Brigham Young University, 17 March 1994. See also Judy Nolte Lensink, "Expanding the Boundaries of Criticism: The Diary as Female Autobiography," *Women's Studies* 14 (1987): 39-54.

²*Iowa News* (Dubuque), 5 August 1837, and *Eddyville (Iowa) Free Press*, 16 April 1855.

³Quoted in "Elizabeth Roxcy Snow," in *Women's Voices: An Untold History of the Latter-day Saints, 1830-1900*, edited by Kenneth W. Godfrey, Audrey M. Godfrey,

In 1853, Hannah Tapfield King, another Mormon woman similarly looked forward to entering "that renowned place, 'The Valley'" of the Great Salt Lake.⁴

In addition Latter-day Saint wives often shared their husbands' visions. According to Mary Ann Hafen, a young handcart pioneer in 1860, her mother survived the trip by concentrating on her husband's assurances that Zion lay ahead, "that the Lord would take care of us, and that better times were coming."⁵

Gentile women also perceived the West as a paradise of sorts. In 1849, Catherine Haun, an Iowa woman married for just four months, undertook a demanding journey across the Great Plains in pursuit of improved health in California. Other women hoped to leave behind worn-out land, high taxes, the system of black slavery, or various kinds of prejudice in favor of richer soil and a more open society. And like Hafen's mother, some sustained themselves by listening to their spouses' promises. In 1860, Lavinia Porter of Hannibal, Missouri, turned her back on her family and followed her husband toward what he described as the "land of golden promise."⁶

Women of color also looked to the West as a haven from discrimination and the opportunity for a fresh start. Shortly after the Civil War, African American Jenny Proctor recalled how she, her husband, and their son climbed aboard their covered wagon with their "little mules hitched to it" and left Alabama for what they hoped would be a better life in Texas.⁷

and Jill Mulvay Derr, (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1982), 160. See also Maureen Ursenbach Beecher, "The Eliza Enigma: The Life and Legend of Eliza R. Snow," in *Essays on the American West*, edited by Thomas G. Alexander (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1976), 29-46.

⁴Hannah Tapfield King, "My Journal," in *Covered Wagon Women: Diaries and Letters from the Western Trails, 1840-1890*, edited by Kenneth L. Holmes, 11 vols. (Glendale, Calif.: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1986), 6:198.

⁵Mary Ann Hafen, *Recollections of a Handcart Pioneer of 1860: A Woman's Life on the Mormon Frontier* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983), 23-24.

⁶Catherine Margaret Haun, "A Woman's Trip Across the Plains," 25 April to 4 November 1849, Huntington Library, San Marino, Calif.; and Lavinia Honeyman Porter, *By Ox Team to California: A Narrative of Crossing the Plains in 1860* (Oakland, Calif.: Oakland Enquirer Publishing Co., 1910), 6.

Trail work constituted yet another similarity between Mormon and Gentile women. With a few exceptions of all-male parties, women routinely participated in westward migrations and made a crucial contribution to a party's well-being and even survival. Among Mormons, women even took part in the 1846-47 march of the famed Mormon Battalion. One of these young women was on a honeymoon journey. Other women crossed the Plains without the assistance of husbands and sons who served in the battalion or who had undertaken religious missions.⁸ On the trail women provided such essential services as cooking regular, substantial meals whenever possible. Although men occasionally took over culinary tasks, it was not the norm. Gentile Francis Sawyer noted in 1852 that "the men do all the cooking in bad weather," but that she cooked otherwise.⁹

Even though food may sound commonplace, it played a critical role. Food sustained migrants as they crossed the trail, not only by giving them physical nourishment, but frequently by supplying emotional sustenance as well. After a chilling dousing during a river crossing, for example, Mormon Patience Loader's mother gave her daughters tiny pieces of carefully hoarded bread and molasses. According to Patience, "This was a great treat to us. . . . It seemed to give us new strength to travle [sic] on."¹⁰

Through other dismaying times, food also provided tender memories of former homes and maintained "proper ways" despite wagon and tent living. The ritual of taking tea seemed nearly universal. In 1853, a Mormon migrant from England wrote: "Set the

⁷Interview, Jenny Proctor, in George P. Rawick, ed., *The American Slave*, 17 vols. (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1972), 7:209.

⁸Carl V. Larson and Shirley N. Mayne, eds., *Women of the Mormon Battalion* (Providence, Vt.: Watkins Printing, 1995); Norma B. Ricketts, *Melissa's Journey with the Mormon Battalion: The Western Odyssey of Melissa Burton Coray, 1846-1848* (Salt Lake City: Utah Printing Co., 1994); "Drusilla Dorris Hendricks: 'Mother's Little Christian,'" in Leonard J. Arrington and Susan Arrington Madsen, *Sunbonnet Sisters: True Stories of Mormon Women and Frontier Life* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1984); and no author, Mr. and Mrs. James Casto, no date, WPA Manuscripts Collection, Wyoming State Archives and Historical Department, Cheyenne.

⁹"Francis Sawyer," in Holmes, *Covered Wagon Women*, 5:88-89. Also helpful is N. Jill Howard and Glenda Riley, "'Thus You See I Have Not Much Rest': Food on the Oregon Trail," *Idaho Yesterdays* 37 (Fall 1993): 27-25.

¹⁰"Patience Loader," in Godfrey, Godfrey, and Derr, *Women's Voices*, 225.

wagon & tent—washed & had tea,” and again, “I went to tea.” Other women, both Mormon and Gentile, also found comfort in drinking tea. American-born Gentile Celina Hines frequently referred to “taking” tea while on the trail, a ceremony that helped her and other family members maintain a sense of continuity with their past. Similarly, Sarah J. Cummins and a friend used boiling water from a hot spring to prepare tea, which they sipped as they reminisced about former friends and happy occasions.¹¹

Women also provided child care and medical treatment, and acted as apothecaries. All three services, often in combination, were much in demand on the trail. In Winter Quarters, midwife Patty Sessions not only delivered babies but regularly doctored the sick, including many children. Among non-Mormon travelers, illness was also rampant, especially attacking children. In 1853, Clarissa Taylor began her journey with a feverish baby, while Amelia Knight’s two children came down with mumps. In that same year, Charlotte Pengra treated her daughter for a swollen ear, fever, and dysentery.¹²

A different type of women’s trail work fell into the psychological and spiritual realms. More specifically, women served as transitional forces on the westward journey. The trip provided a time for people to adjust from the known to the new, to learn fresh skills, and to develop ways of managing unexpected circumstances.¹³

In addition, many trail women bolstered other migrants

¹¹King, “My Journal,” in Holmes, *Covered Wagon Women*, 6:200-01; Celinda A. Hines, “Diary of Celinda E. Hines,” in *Transactions of the Forty-Sixth Annual Reunion of the Oregon Pioneer Association* (1918): 100; and Sarah J. Cummins, *Autobiography and Reminiscences of Sarah J. Cummins*, 1845, Oregon Historical Society, Portland.

¹²“Patty Bartlett Sessions,” in Godfrey, Godfrey, and Derr, *Women’s Voices*, 184-97; Elizabeth Willis, “Voice in the Wilderness: The Diaries of Patty Sessions,” *Journal of American Folklore* 101 (January-March, 1988): 37-47; Clarissa E. Taylor, “Clarissa E. Taylor, July 6, 1853, Letter from Fort Laramie in ‘Oregon Bound,’” *Oregon Historical Quarterly* (1922): 136; Amelia Stewart Knight, “Diary of Mrs. Amelia Stewart Knight,” (1853) in *Transactions of the Fifty-Sixth Annual Reunion of the Oregon Pioneer Association* (1928): 40; and Charlotte Stearns Pengra, *Diary of Mrs. Byron J. Pengra*, 1853, Lane County Historical Society, Portland, Oregon.

¹³“The Frontier in Process: Iowa’s Trail Women as a Paradigm,” *The Annals of Iowa* 46, no. 3 (Winter 1982): 167-97; reprinted in Marvin Bergman, ed., *Iowa History Reader* (Ames, Iowa: State Historical Society with Iowa State University Press, 1996), 37-60.

through hard times by force of resilient personalities. Even several female Saints who had nothing to eat but "bone soup" were able to sing for their brethren and "enjoy" themselves for a few hours one evening in 1856. When they rose to breakfast on broth and one biscuit among them, they ate "with thankful hearts."¹⁴ Other women could glory in a sunrise, laugh at a mishap, and appreciate the beauties of the landscape. For instance, along the Platte River, Gentile Tamsen Donner wrote, "the prairie between the Blue and Platte rivers is beautiful beyond description. . . . Everything is new and pleasing." Teenager Elizabeth Keegan, who found the overland journey to Sacramento in 1852 "tedious in the extreme," waxed lyrical about "rolling praries [sic] . . . covered with verdure."¹⁵

Generally trail women drew upon the tenets of women's culture to direct them in this time of upheaval. Women's customary roles and domestic ideologies gave them guidelines to follow in chaotic circumstances. As wives and mothers, trail women especially played a crucial role by providing moral guidance in a situation that often involved drinking, swearing, loose sexual practices, a state of near undress on the part of some natives, and omitted Sabbath observances. As Mormon Hannah Tapfield King complained, "I have no Sunday feelings while traveling on Sunday."¹⁶

Women especially worried about "civilizing" their children despite crude trail conditions. On an 1846 journey, one young Mormon woman recalled that her mother tried to further her social education by allowing her to attend dances but forbidding her to swim. Similarly in 1852 Gentile Mary Ellen Todd insisted that her daughters remain ladylike by avoiding running, jumping, and climbing, while the following year Amelia Knight spent a good deal of time "washing and scrubbing" each of her offspring.¹⁷

¹⁴"Patience Loader," in Godfrey, Godfrey, and Derr, *Women's Voices*, 237-38. See also Levi Edgar Young, "Pioneer-Day Musicians," in Beatrice B. Malouf, *Daughters of Utah Pioneers*, Lesson for March (Salt Lake City: Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1993), 282-84.

¹⁵Tamsen Donner, "Journal," in Holmes, *Covered Wagon Women*, 1:71; and Elizabeth Keegan, "Letters," *ibid.*, 3:23-24.

¹⁶King, "My Journal," in Holmes, *Covered Wagon Women*, 6:208.

¹⁷Rachel Emma Woolley Simmons, "Journal of Rachel Emma Woolley Simmons," in *Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, Heart Throbs of the West*, 12 vols. (Salt Lake

Another part of nineteenth-century women's culture involved the formation of reciprocal relationships with other women. Encouraged by the women's guidebooks of the day to practice cooperation, trail women often joined with their counterparts to get a job done, whether it be laundry, cooking, or child care. West of the Des Moines River, Eliza R. Snow and two other women went to "the Creek about a half mile distant to wash, while Sis. Y. & Catherine stayed to attend to the cooking department."¹⁸

Childbirth provided yet another opportunity for women to help one another. When women were "confined" or "in a poor fix to travel," midwives or other women usually delivered babies and even cared for mother and child afterwards. During an 1848 trek led by Brigham Young, Mary Wickersham Wooley bore a robust baby with the help of her twelve-year-old daughter Rachel and a midwife. In another case, when non-Mormon Arvazona Cooper's breastmilk stopped flowing, a female traveler even served as a wet nurse so the infant could survive to see the West.¹⁹

Of course, women's efforts to cope with the hazards of the Overland Trail demanded great physical energy, stamina, and fortitude. Traversing the trail to California was a twenty-four-hour, every-day-of-the-week undertaking often fraught with danger. Consequently Mormon and Gentile trail women also experienced corresponding tragedies and disappointments. Such notations as that by a Mormon woman on her way to Salt Lake City in 1853, "baby died" and "Sister How's baby died," were common. Moreover, members of the Willie and Martin handcart companies fell victim to intense cold and lack of provisions. During an 1856 crossing, both parents of the Holiton family died from overexposure, leaving behind four or five children. An eleven-year-old girl's father and mother died of hunger and she later had to have her frostbitten feet

City: Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, 1950), 11:159-63; Adrietta Adamson Hixon, *On to Oregon: A True Story of a Young Girl's Journey in the West* (Weiser, Ida.: Signal Printers, 1947), 2; and Knight, "Diary," 39.

¹⁸"Elizabeth Roxcy Snow," in Godfrey, Godfrey, and Derr, *Women's Voices*, 162.

¹⁹"Rachel Emma Woolley Simmons: Twelve-Year-Old Teamster Who Crossed the Plains," in Arrington and Madsen, *Sunbonnet Sisters*, 43; and Arvazona Cooper, "Our Journey," 1863, Oregon Historical Society, Portland.

amputated above the ankle. Mary Goble Pay's description of her family's arrival in Salt Lake City, also in 1856, is even more upsetting: "Three out of four that were living were frozen. My mother was dead in the wagon."²⁰

traded on trail
 Gentile women also confronted threats of varying natures. In 1852, Iowan Lucy Cooke crossed the plains to California with her husband, a new baby, and her in-laws. Along the way, she confronted outbreaks of cholera, her mother-in-law's unceasing lamentations, her husband's depression, and her baby's illness. Like Cooke, Eliza Ann McAuley Egbert journeyed to California in 1852. She recorded accidents, death, "impudent" Indians, and loss of stock.²¹

For many women, however, the worst menace was that posed by Indians, widely reported as "hostile" and "ferocious." Still, even though many women expressed fear of Indians, reports of attacks were relatively rare. Mormon handcart women, for example, reported a cow killed by Indians or an offer of marriage and ponies, but few recorded any serious trouble.²²

Frequently, women gradually rejected the stories they had heard about Indians before leaving home and began to trade with them. Trail women bartered needles, thread, calico and flannel shirts, children's rag dolls, flour, and bread in return for potatoes, corn, pumpkins, melons, strawberries, blackberries, meat, fresh fish, dried salmon, baskets, moccasins, and tanned hides. On one occasion, Gentile Lucia Williams, traveling to Oregon in 1851, traded two pancakes for a salmon and on another, gave a native woman an apron, a needle, and some thread for enough salmon to

²⁰King, "My Journal," in Holmes, *Covered Wagon Women*, 6:194-95; "Patience Loader," in Godfrey, Godfrey, and Derr, *Women's Voices*, 233-34; and Mary Goble Pay, quoted in Richard H. Cracroft and Neal E. Lambert, eds., *A Believing People: Literature of the Latter-day Saints* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1974), 145.

²¹Lucy Rutledge Cooke, *Covered Wagon Days: Crossing the Plains in 1852* (Modesto, Calif.: Privately published, 1923); and Eliza Ann McAuley Egbert, *Diary, 1852*, California Historical Society, San Francisco.

²²Rebecca Bartholomew, *Audacious Women: Early British Mormon Immigrants* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1995), 184-85.

provide several meals. Williams remarked that she had "never tasted any fowl or fish half so delicious."²³

Moreover, trail women also began to visit with Indian women. A young Gentile woman who migrated to Salem, Oregon, in 1851 recalled that "if there were Indians we would go visiting their lodges and go around among them." Some years later, Gentile Arvazona Cooper commented that when a Cherokee woman invited her for a visit, she found that Indian woman "well fixed with household affairs and very kind and sociable."²⁴

Interchanges between female travelers and native women often led to warm feelings. Gentile Lucia Williams noted that her daughter and an Indian woman started to "jabber" and "laugh" so that "they got into quite a spree." Such friendly episodes not only eased female migrants' minds regarding Indians, but often led to an exchange of important information. Especially during the 1840s and 1850s, before trails become overcrowded and mistrust between groups ran high, trail women showed native women how to use needles and bake yeast bread, while native women demonstrated how to prepare and preserve foods, find and use roots, brew herbal medicines, and create a baby-jumper suspended between two bed-posts.²⁵

Clearly, crossing the overland trail acted as a great leveler, bringing women of many social classes and national backgrounds into contact over such basic concerns as nutrition, health, and physical safety. Yet differences existed as well. This pattern proved especially true for Mormon women, whose religious beliefs and practices often set them apart from other westbound women.

²³Lucia Williams, "Diary," in Holmes, *Covered Wagon Women*, 3:142-43. See also Sarah J. Cummins, *Autobiography and Reminiscences*; Catherine A. Washburn, "Journal, 1853, From Iowa to Oregon Territory," Huntington Library, San Marino, California; and Glenda Riley, *Women and Indians on the Frontier, 1825-1915* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1984), 165-72.

²⁴Mrs. H. T. Clarke, "A Young Woman's Sights on the Emigrant's Trail," 1878, Bancroft Library, Berkeley, California; and Cooper, "Our Journey Across the Plains."

²⁵Lucia Williams, "Diary," in Holmes, *Covered Wagon Women*, 3:132; and Cooper, "Our Journey Across the Plains."

DIFFERENCES ON THE TRAIL

The dissimilarities between Mormons and Gentiles proved crucial, especially to LDS women. For one thing emotional trauma regularly characterized their departures. For another the growing avoidance of Mormons and Gentiles along the trail isolated the Saints from the main body of westward migrants. This separation marginalized Mormon women and put them outside an easy reach of information, companionship, and assistance from other parties, trains, and even settlements along the way. Moreover, poverty was rife among the Saints. Although the 1847 Donner Party tragedy topped the list of overland trail disasters, Mormon women of this era routinely confronted hardship and hunger.

For Mormon women, special problems occurred before they even set foot on the trail. Although both Mormon and Gentile women wrestled with grief over leaving their homes, relatives, friends, and neighbors behind, many Mormon women bore the additional shock of split families caused by members who opposed conversion, migration, or both. Patience Loader was only one of many who left a split family behind. Patience's sister Eliza was so bitter about Patience's conversion to Mormonism that she refused even to bid her sister goodbye.²⁶

In addition, unlike non-Mormons, violence and riots often propelled Saints westward, whether they desired to move or not. Although Church leaders had prophesied the exodus and believed they must eventually lead their people to the West, the average Saint knew little of the forecast or plans for its implementation.²⁷

Women especially became convinced of the move's necessity when their children and other family members suffered from bigotry against which they were powerless to protect them. As a case in point, Sarah Studevant Leavitt, who lived near Kirtland, Ohio, during the early 1840s, remembered that her children would come "from school with their nose bleeding and crying, saying that they had been pounded most unmercifully." Although Sarah visited her children's teacher and extracted a promise to stop such abuse,

²⁶Arrington and Madsen, *Sunbonnet Sisters*, 21-22, 33-34, 54-55.

²⁷Reed C. Durham, Jr., "Westward Migration, Planning and Prophecy," *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, 4 vols. (New York: Macmillan, 1991), 4:1563-64.

community censure against the family continued. The Leavitts relocated in Nauvoo, only to discover that they again had to leave a thriving farm, this time with just the things they could hastily load into a wagon.²⁸

Other women of the early 1840s had, spurring them on, memories of mobs who drove women and children from their homes and set fire to the houses behind them, imprisonments, hangings, tar-rings-and-featherings, and outright battles. One young woman left Nauvoo, Illinois, with her mother and siblings after a mob killed her father.²⁹

It was at Nauvoo of course that such traumatic pressures eventually reached a peak and made it imperative that Church leaders activate their migration plan. It was there that Joseph Smith began to practice in secret the revelation commanding plural marriage—meaning that one husband wed several wives—instructing his closest associates in this revival of Old Testament patriarchs. In 1843, for example, Smith was sealed to sisters Eliza and Emily Partridge. Smith also publicly preached about what would eventually be called celestial marriage, but he kept the details of his vision to himself. One woman remembered that, when asked, Smith simply replied, “If I were to tell you, the best friends I have, apparently, would shed my blood.”³⁰

The need to avoid open discussion of plural marriage led to rumors and resistance. Like others Sarah Leavitt first heard about plural marriage when a friend “whispered” in her ear “that the

²⁸“Sarah Studevant Leavitt,” in Ogden Kraut, comp., *Autobiographies of Mormon Pioneer Women, Vol. 1: Sarah Studevant Leavitt, Mary Brown Pulsipher, Mary Adeline Beman Noble, Martha Pane Jones Thomas, Eliza Dana Gibbs* (Salt Lake City: Pioneer Press, 1994), 1:15-38.

²⁹“Martha P. Jones Thomas,” 81, 84, and “Eliza Dana Gibbs,” in Kraut, *Autobiographies of Mormon Pioneer Women*, 1:111; “Emily Partridge Smith Young,” in Ogden Kraut, *Autobiographies of Mormon Pioneer Women, Vol 2: Nancy Alexander Tracy, Eliza Partridge Smith Lyman, Emily Partridge Smith Young, Mary A. Phelps Rich* (Salt Lake City: Pioneer Press, 1994), 2:80; Nancy N. Alexander Tracy, Narrative, 1880, Bancroft Library; and Mrs. Martha Brown, letter to Mr. H. H. Bancroft, 7 August 1880, Bancroft Library.

³⁰Richard Neitzel Holzapfel and Jeni Broberg Holzapfel, *Women of Nauvoo* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1992), 86-103; “Eliza Partridge Smith Lyman,” in Kraut, *Autobiographies*, 2:57; and “Martha P. Jones Thomas,” in *ibid.*, 1:93.

authorities were getting more wives than one," a practice that dated back to at least 1841 and perhaps to the 1830s. Although Sarah at first resisted the idea, she demonstrated the strength of spirit and independence of thought characteristic of many Mormon women by consulting God rather than simply accepting or rejecting the word of the Church hierarchy. Sarah embraced plural marriage when God revealed the truth in a "heavenly vision." Similarly, after "considerable deliberation," including devout meditation, Mary Phelps embraced the principle of plural marriage and became the third wife of Charles C. Rich in January 1845.³¹

Jane Snyder Richards also fought plural marriage but eventually accepted her husband's need to take a second wife for religious reasons. Although the second wife died on the trek to Utah, Jane had discovered that plural marriage "was not such a trial as she had feared, when she was tested." She added that plural marriage proved the least of her troubles in a long lifetime.³²

In subsequent years, many other Mormon women adopted plural marriage because they believed it was the will of God, necessary to their salvation and spiritual growth.³³ Still, plural marriage failed to convince all Mormon women. Sarah Hall Scott wrote in 1844 that "the people of the state will not suffer such things any longer. . . Any one needs a throat like an open sepulchre to *swallow down* all that is taught here."³⁴

As Joseph Smith foresaw, plural marriage also drew enormous enmity from some insiders as well as many outsiders. In 1844, an anti-Mormon mob murdered Joseph Smith and his brother Hyrum in the jail at Carthage, the county seat. After this calamity, thou-

³¹Holzappel and Holzappel, *Women of Nauvoo*, 97; "Sarah Studevant Leavitt," in Kraut, *Autobiographies*, 1:31-32; "Mary A. Phelps Rich," in *ibid.*, 2:119. See also M. Guy Bishop, "Eternal Marriage in Early Mormon Marital Beliefs," *The Historian* 53 (Autumn 1990): 77-88; George D. Smith, "Mormon Plural Marriage," *Free Inquiry* 12 (Summer 1992): 32-37, 60; and Daniel W. Bachman and Ronald K. Esplin, "Plural Marriage," *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, 3:1091-95.

³²Mrs. F. D. (Jane) Richards, *Reminiscences*, 1880, Bancroft Library.

³³See, for example, Phebe W. Woodruff, *Autobiographic [sic] Sketch*, 1880; Mrs. Mary J. Tanner, letter to Mrs. H. H. Bancroft, 29 October 1880; and Mrs. F. D. (Jane) Richards, *Reminiscences*, 1880, all at Bancroft Library.

³⁴Quoted in Holzappel and Holzappel, *Women of Nauvoo*, 103.

sands of Mormons mobilized to their leaders' growing certainty that the Saints would have to abandon Nauvoo and move west once again.³⁵ They trekked to the desert of the Great Salt Lake in Utah, which lay outside the boundaries of the United States.

Under the leadership of Brigham Young, who migrated with his wives from Nauvoo in 1846, Mormons established Salt Lake City in 1847 and the state of Deseret in 1849.³⁶ Although they hoped to live in peace, free from persecution and regulation by laws stipulating that marriages be monogamous, in 1850 the U.S. Congress recognized Deseret as the Territory of Utah, which brought Mormons back within the jurisdiction of the United States.

As Latter-day Saints flocked toward their new promised land, they traveled as outcasts from their homeland. Although they left a prosperous community and their temples behind, they had to develop a "don't-look-back" mentality. As Joseph Smith suggested as early as 1840, their Zion and all it promised lay ahead.³⁷ They fastened their thoughts and hopes on the future and, wary from their recent traumatic experiences, held themselves apart as much as possible.

Yet distress followed the Mormons along the trail. In particular plural marriage, now openly practiced, continued to bedevil untold numbers of Mormon women. The 1840s letters of Mary Haskin Parker Richards disclose one woman's emotional conflicts while in Winter Quarters, where the issue was frequently discussed. Richards herself begged her husband to wait before taking another wife, declaring that "there is no such a thing as happiness known here where a man has more than one [wife]." Near Fort Laramie, Hannah Tapfield King similarly noted that she could not reconcile herself to "this new doctrine coming in such a form." And in 1852, when Iowan Sarah A. Cooke converted to Mormonism, she refused to accept plural marriage for herself or any other member of her family.³⁸

³⁵Plans to leave Nauvoo are mentioned in "Mary A. Phelps Rich," in Kraut, *Autobiographies*, 2:117.

³⁶Described in Mrs. Clara Decker Young, "A Woman's Experiences with the Pioneer Band," 1884, Bancroft Library.

³⁷Durham, "Westward Migration: Planning and Prophecy," 4:1563.

³⁸Maurine Carr Ward, ed., *Winters Quarters: The 1846-1848 Life Writings of*

In addition, the Saints quickly learned that most non-Mormon travelers had absorbed widespread prejudices against them. A storm of anti-Mormon cartoons, caricatures, newspaper articles, novels, sermons, speeches, and tracts had convinced numerous Gentiles that, as the *New York Times* reported, most Latter-day Saints were "intense and zealous religionists" who shared a "delusion."³⁹

Several Gentile women traveling westward included Mormons among their fears, for "the tales told of the Mormons. . . were worse than those of the Indians." Another said she had heard "so many vile things of these Mormons that I expected to see them with cloven feet."⁴⁰ Given such mistrust, members of the two groups often hurled accusations back and forth on the trail. During the 1850s, some Saints claimed that non-Mormon emigrants played "foul tricks," for which they blamed Mormons. In another instance Helena Rosbery, who converted in Sweden and traveled to Utah with a handcart company in 1859, also laid the suffering of the Latter-day Saints on Gentiles: "The gentiles have made laws that come in conflict with the laws of God and when that is so we will obey the laws of the Lord and let that of man go."⁴¹ For their part, Gentiles indicted Mormons, saying they were "vile," immoral, and a source of constant trouble along the trail. Others agreed that the Latter-day Saints either perpetrated heinous deeds or incited Native Americans to do so.⁴²

Mary Haskin Parker Richards (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1996), 30-31; King, "My Journal," in Holmes, *Covered Wagon Women*, 6:213; and Mrs. Sarah A. Cooke, "Theatrical and Social Affairs in Utah," 1884, Bancroft Library.

³⁹*New York Times*, 26 May 1859. For discussions of anti-Mormon images see Karen Lynn, "Sensational Virtue: Nineteenth-Century Mormon Fiction and American Popular Taste," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 14 (Fall 1981): 101-11; and Gary L. Bunker and Davis Bitton, *The Mormon Graphic Images, 1834-1914: Cartoons, Caricatures, and Illustrations* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1983). A typical attack was Mrs. T. B. H. Stenhouse, *A Lady's Life Among the Mormons: A Record of Personal Experience as One of the Wives of a Mormon Elder* (New York: J. C. Derby, 1855).

⁴⁰Pauline Wonderly, *Reminiscences of a Pioneer* (Placerville, Calif.: El Dorado Country Historical Society, 1965), 7; and Helen Carpenter, *Diary*, 1856, California State Library, Sacramento.

⁴¹Tracy, "Narrative"; and Helena Erickson Rosbery, "History of Helena Rosbery," 1883, Huntington Library.

Impressions
@ Mormons

Despite such sentiments, some Gentiles appeared favorable toward Mormons. One woman noted that Mormon merchants at Council Bluffs charged reasonable prices and acted fairly in their dealings with travelers. Another, Margaret Hecox, who migrated to California in 1846, deplored the "abject poverty" suffered by the Saints and judged them not quite "as black as they were painted."⁴³

Still, the two groups generally kept their distance as much as possible, particularly as the numbers of westward parties grew, competition for scarce resources along the trail increased, and Gentile travelers became even more vitriolic in their criticisms of Mormons. The Saints sensibly avoided contact with Gentiles when possible, intensifying the isolation they already imposed on themselves as an exiled religious community.

Clearly, the Saints' practice of plural marriage provided a major reason for Gentile mistrust. During the 1840s and 1850s, many Americans feared plural marriage as a threat to long-held and widely cherished conceptions of monogamous marriage. Actually, about three-quarters of Latter-day Saints were monogamous. Those who practiced plural marriage were in the minority. Moreover, Church leaders hedged the practice around, for the most part, with careful regulations. But after the Latter-day Saints publicly announced plural marriage in 1852, few non-Mormons could be convinced of these facts.⁴⁴

Meanwhile an expanding number of Mormon women defended the idea of plural marriage. Eliza R. Snow maintained that she was learning to "love" the "principle and design of Plural Marriage." Snow deeply resented it when the inhabitants of Des Moines "mani-

⁴²Elisha Brooks, *A Pioneer Mother of California* (San Francisco: Harr Wagner Pub., 1922), 29; Ruth Peterson, "Across the Plains in '57," compiled by Nancy Campbell Lowell, 1931, California State Library; Emily McCowen Horton, *My Scrap-book* (Seattle: n.p. 1927), 27; and Carpenter, *Diary*.

⁴³Wonderly, *Reminiscences of a Pioneer*, 7; and Margaret M. Hecox, *California Caravan: The 1846 Overland Travel Memoir of Margaret M. Hecox* (San Jose, Calif.: Harlan-Young Press, 1966), 21-24.

⁴⁴Bartholomew, *Audacious Women*, 188; Bachman and Esplin, "Plural Marriage," 1094-95; and David J. Whittaker, "The Bone in the Throat: Orson Pratt and the Public Announcement of Plural Marriage," *Western Historical Quarterly* 18 (July 1987): 293-314.

festes as much curiosity as though viewing a menagerie of wild beasts." She concluded that "their levity and apparent heartlessness" demonstrated their "profound ignorance."⁴⁵

Another 1840s migrant accepted plural marriage as a "sacred revelation." She explained that her religious beliefs led her to consent to her husband's second marriage and that the extended family lived in peace and happiness. Like Snow, she expressed hostility against those who held Mormon women "up to scorn" and caused them no end of troubles. Yet another traveler of the 1840s agreed. As one of two wives, she declared that she enjoyed a "poor but happy" life. And, unlike non-Mormon groups, she lived in a community free of "vice and prostitution."⁴⁶

Not unexpectedly, most Americans saw Mormon practices negatively. In 1850, John W. Gunnison, an army officer stationed in Salt Lake City, wrote his wife that "some things happen in this polygamy loving community which would astonish the people in the States." He added that it was easy to see "the influence of polygamy in degrading the female sex."⁴⁷

As Gunnison suggested, plural marriage could be perceived as

⁴⁵Eliza Roxcy Snow, "Sketch of My Life," 1885, Bancroft Library.

⁴⁶Jane Snyder Richards, "Reminiscences," 1880, and Margaret S. Smoot, "Experience of a Mormon Wife," 1880, both at the Bancroft Library.

⁴⁷John Gunnison, Letter to "My Dear Martha," 1 March 1850, Huntington Library. For a fuller discussion of the reaction to Mormon polygamy see Carol Weisbrod and Pamela Sheingorn, "*Reynolds v. United States*: Nineteenth-Century Forms of Marriage and the Status of Women," *Connecticut Law Review* 10 (Summer 1978): 828-58; Charles A. Cannon, "The Awesome Power of Sex: The Polemical Campaign Against Mormon Polygamy," in Thomas L. Altherr, ed., *Procreation or Pleasure?: Sexual Attitudes in American History* (Malabar, Fla.: Robert E. Krieger Publishing Company, 1983) 99-113. An attack on polygamy's effect on women is Jennie Anderson Froiseth, ed., *The Women of Mormonism; or, The Story of Polygamy as Told by the Victims Themselves* (Detroit: n.pub., 1882). More recent scholarly accounts of Mormon women's views of polygamy are Julie Dunfey, "'Living the Principle' of Plural Marriage: Mormon Women, Utopia, and Female Sexuality in the Nineteenth Century," *Feminist Studies* 10 (Fall 1984): 523-36; Joan Iversen, "Feminist Implications of Mormon Polygyny," *Feminist Studies* 10 (Fall 1984): 505-21; Kahlile Mehr, "Women's Response to Plural Marriage," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 18 (Fall 1985): 84-97; and Jessie L. Embry and Martha Sonntag Bradley, "Mothers and Daughters in Polygamy," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 18 (Fall 1985): 99-107.

a special peril to women. This factor may help explain why Gentile trail women reacted with such venom to the idea and to those who practiced it. In 1853, Gentile migrant Harriet Sherrill Ward judged the Saints "a miserable lot of extortioners upon whom the wrath of God will yet be poured out." Later, while crossing the plains in 1860, Mary Fish derided handcart women as "sadly in want of husbands to level themselves to brutes & after all their trouble to obtain one 4th or perhaps one 20th part of a man."⁴⁸

As if the Latter-day Saints traveling westward did not already have enough negative aspects to their image, many Americans, troubled by a rising divorce rate, further condemned the Mormon kingdom as little more than a divorce mill. In 1847, Mormon leaders began granting divorces or cancellations of sealings. Because Church officials lacked the legal power to terminate civil marriages, they limited themselves to divorcing polygamous couples whose marriages fell within the jurisdiction of the Church. They intended that Saints leave conflicted relationships in favor of ones that would foster their Christian qualities. Brigham Young reportedly granted over 1,600 divorces during his presidency of the Church between 1847 and 1877. Although Young theoretically opposed divorce because it contradicted the Mormon belief in eternal marriage, he was willing to terminate contentious and other troubled marriages.⁴⁹

On one day, Brigham Young freed George D. Grant of three wives and a few weeks later, relieved him of a fourth. Apparently, Young personally lacked sympathy for men such as Grant. He stated in 1858: "It is not right for men to divorce their wives the way they do." He had slightly more compassion for women. Although he often counseled a distraught wife to stay with her husband as long "as she could bear with him," he instructed her to seek a divorce if

⁴⁸Ward G. DeWitt and Florence S. DeWitt, *Prairie Schooner Lady: The Journal of Harriet Sherrill Ward, 1853* (Los Angeles: Westernlore Press, 1959), 126; and Mary C. Fish, "Across the Plains in 1860," Bancroft Library.

⁴⁹Eugene E. Campbell and Bruce L. Campbell, "Divorce among Mormon Polygamists: Extent and Explanations," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 46 (1978): 4-23; and Kristen L. Goodman, "Divorce," *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, 1:393-93. See also Kimball Young, *Isn't One Wife Enough?* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1954).

life became "too burdensome." In 1861, Young instructed husbands to release discontented wives.⁵⁰

As news of Mormon divorces reached the Gentile world, public outrage against Mormons flared, at home and on the trail. The situation worsened in 1852 when the first Utah territorial legislature adopted a statute permitting probate courts to grant divorces. The 1852 Utah Territory statute was objectionable because in addition to listing the usual grounds of impotence, adultery, willful desertion for one year, habitual drunkenness, conviction for a felony, and abusive treatment, it included an omnibus clause: judges could grant divorces "when it shall be made to appear to the satisfaction and conviction of the court that the parties cannot live in peace and union together and that their welfare requires a separation." Moreover, contrary to the customary one-year residency requirement, a Utah court need only be satisfied that a petitioner was "a resident of the Territory, or wishes to become one."⁵¹

As a result of the 1852 legislation, civil divorces were so easy to obtain in Utah Territory that a couple could receive a divorce on the same day they applied for it. On February 12, 1856, John and Sarah Wardall petitioned for divorce and requested equal division of their children and property. The judge agreed: John received custody of the two oldest boys and Sarah got custody of their daughter and youngest boy.⁵²

Rumors regarding such "easy" divorces further separated Mormons from Gentile along the trail during the 1850s. Given the expanding animosity toward the Latter-day Saints, it is not surprising that Gentile trail women disparaged Mormon women. Although Mormon women were often of similar ethnic background, race, and social class, as well as sharing a widespread belief in God, Gentile women treated them as a minority group within trail society. One Gentile women, not content with disagreeing with religious practices, dismissed Mormon women as "very plain looking, many of

⁵⁰Quoted in Lawrence Foster, "Polygamy and the Frontier: Mormon Women in Early Utah," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 50 (Summer 1982): 285.

⁵¹*Laws of the Territory of Utah* (Salt Lake City: n.pub., 1852), 82-84.

⁵²Probate Court Records Book, 12 February 1856, Washington County, Utah, Huntington Library.

them absolutely ugly." Another added that Mormon women were "not always inclined to be friendly"—perhaps understandably.⁵³

Numerous Gentile women also reveled in cases of Mormon failure and disappointment. Although relatively few Mormons regretted their commitment to Mormonism and left Salt Lake City, Gentile women discoursed at length regarding parties of Saints heading back to the "States," and assumed that these people had their fill of Mormonism and now fled Zion. In 1857, Helen Carpenter described a contingent of returning Mormons as wearing "rags and tatters." In her view, they constituted "the very worst lot" she had seen, but were only a few of many who "would be glad to leave Salt Lake if they could only get away."⁵⁴

In 1860, Mary Fish concurred. She met two Mormon women "fleeing" Salt Lake because of their antipathy toward their plural marriages. According to Fish, one woman returned to her parents with "four little responsibilities," while her companion had "consoled herself for the loss of a small portion of a man by taking a whole one as she has married a trader."⁵⁵

In addition, more often than not Mormon indigence inspired disgust rather than sympathy among Gentile women. One remarked in 1852 that the Saints were not only "poor," but that their ranks included numerous "foreigners." In a sense, she was correct; poverty was endemic among the Mormons and growing numbers of migrants to Salt Lake did originate in Canada and Europe, including uneducated people from the lower classes.⁵⁶

⁵³Ellen Tompkins Adams, "Diary of Ellen Tompkins Adams, Wife of John Smalley Adams, M.D.," 1863, Bancroft Library; and Haun, "A Woman's Trip."

⁵⁴Carpenter, Diary. For other similar remarks see Ada Millington, Journal kept while Crossing the Plains, 1862, Bancroft Library; Horton, "My Scrap-book," 27; and Agnes Stewart Warner, Diary, 1853, Huntington Library. For a discussion of several disillusioned women who left Salt Lake, see Bartholomew, *Audacious Women*, 188-96.

⁵⁵Fish, "Across the Plains."

⁵⁶Mary Stuart Bailey, Journal, Ohio to California, 1852, Huntington Library. For persecution of Canadian immigrants see Martha Wilcox, "Autobiography of Martha Anna Wilcox Westwood Foy," 1983, copy in my possession. For British immigrants, see Bartholomew, *Audacious Women*. For foreign-born women in general, see Arrington and Madsen, *Sunbonnet Sisters*.

In fact, poverty, which in turn led to a high death rate, was perhaps the worst single feature of the Mormon diaspora. In part because of mob violence, Mormon parties often departed without adequate preparation. Martha Pane Jones Thomas recalled that in 1846 her family of two adults and eight children “started for the Mountains without purse or scrip, wagon or team.” As a result, people were famished. More than one pregnant woman bore a child under the worst of situations, afraid that she and her infant would starve to death. One woman summed up the misery: “hard times and much sickness and suffering prevailed, especially at Winter Quarters.”⁵⁷

Handcart companies, though few in number, probably experienced the worst privation, however; and the suffering of the Willie and Martin companies in the early winter of 1856 has become a symbol for unswerving devotion under unbelievable hardship. Although supply wagons attended these intrepid pioneers, provisions frequently ran short or were insufficient. As a result, handcart pioneer Patience Loader repeatedly noted “deplorable” conditions, death, and physical inability to pull handcarts any longer. She also underwent emotionally scarring events: “When we was in the midle of the river I saw a poor brother carreying his child on his back. He fell down in the water. I never knew if he was drowned or not. I fealt sorrey that we could not hellp him but we had all we could do to save our ownselvs from drowning.” In several places in her journal, Loader characterized the trip as a “hard” or “terrible” journey, which finally ended with her family’s arrival in Salt Lake in November 1856.⁵⁸

SURVIVING THE MORMON TREK

The discussion of the special tribulations of Mormon women is not intended to diminish the courage, inventiveness, and determination of Gentile trail women who likewise confronted and surmounted the hardships of the westward journey. It is meant, how-

⁵⁷“Martha Pane Jones Thomas,” in Kraut, *Autobiographies*, 1:73; and Tracy, “Narrative.” See also Carol Lynn Pearson, “‘Nine Children Were Born’: A Historical Problem from the Sugar Creek Episode,” *BYU Studies* 21 (Fall 1981): 441-44.

⁵⁸“Patience Loader,” in Godfrey, Godfrey, and Derr, *Women’s Voices*, 225, 229, 232.

ever, to raise a question: if Mormon trail women faced such additional burdens as trauma, isolation, and poverty, where did they find the added resources to endure?

In part, many Mormon trail women were able to persist because their entire family or community headed toward Salt Lake. Rather than being splintered as a result of their faith, these fortunate women migrated with relatives, friends, and neighbors who believed as they did. From Nauvoo, for example, people routinely left in parties who traveled together and gave each other support.⁵⁹

Mormon trail companies also found themselves bound in a sacred undertaking. For courage and endurance, Mormon women drew on their loyalty to the Church and its basic unit, the family. Women derived further strength from their religious beliefs, their conviction that a promised land lay ahead, and their faith in the second coming of Christ.⁶⁰

At the same time, Mormon travelers in general bred a sense of unity. As virtual outcasts, Mormon travelers developed a group identity. They generated vigor from the conviction that they participated in a special mission. In her poem "The Camp of Israel: A Song for the Pioneers," Eliza R. Snow especially demonstrated this spirit:

We better live in tents and smoke
Than wear the cursed gentile yoke—
We better from our country fly
Than by mobocracy to die.

Chorus
Tho' we fly from vile aggression
We'll maintain our pure profession—
Seek a peaceable possession
*Far from Gentiles and oppression.*⁶¹

⁵⁹See, for example, Carol Cornwall Madsen, *In Their Own Words: Women and the Story of Nauvoo* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1993).

⁶⁰Kraut, *Autobiographies*, 2:i; and Reed H. Bradford, "Family," *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, 1:486-88.

⁶¹Quoted in "Snow," in Godfrey, Godfrey, and Derr, *Women's Voices*, 152-53. See also Patricia Nelson Limerick, "Peace Initiative: Using the Mormons to Rethink Ethnicity in American Life," *Journal of Mormon History* 21 (Fall 1995): 1-30.

At the same time, as they faced various ordeals, Mormon women constructed an active sisterhood. From the beginning, Church doctrine encouraged women to develop their individual abilities, to exercise their personal wills, and to join together in a variety of endeavors. Church teachings also provided a strong work ethic. Thus, although Victorian precepts advised them against arduous labor, Mormon women realized its necessity and chose to work together, building strength in the face of adversity. Of the handcart companies, for example, one historian has written, "Of particular note is the superb performance of the women."⁶²

Mormon women joined together in other ways as well. An outstanding example was the Relief Society, which enacted Church teachings that "Charity Never Faileth." According to Mormon pioneer Nancy Naomi Alexander Tracy, the purpose of the first Relief Society, organized in Nauvoo in March 1842, was to assist "the poor and for every noble purpose that came within woman's sphere of action." Women's relief activities also gave women a measure of responsibility and authority, even within the formal Church structure.⁶³

In dealing with the vagaries of plural marriage, many Mormon women also gained autonomy and vigor. In their dairies and journals, Mormon women often portrayed husbands as shadowy figures, sometimes not even giving their full names or other identify-

⁶²Holzappel and Holzappel, *Women of Nauvoo*, 170-71; and Howard A Christy, "Handcart Companies," *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, 1:573.

⁶³Tracy, Narrative; and Janath Russell Cannon and Jill Mulvey Derr, "Relief Society," *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, 3:1199-1200. For bonding activities of early Mormon women see Maureen Ursenbach Beecher, "Women's Work on the Mormon Frontier," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 49 (Summer 1981): 276-90; Anne Firor Scott, "Mormon Women, Other Women: Paradoxes and Challenges," *Journal of Mormon History* 13 (1986-87): 2-19; and Karen W. Peterson, "Cottage Industries of LDS Women during the Early Period of the Church, 1836-1890," (M.S. thesis, Utah State University, 1988). Also useful are Marilyn Warenski, *Patriarchs and Politics: The Plight of the Mormon Woman* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1980); and Donald G. Godfrey, "Zina Young Williams Card: 'No Ordinary Frontier Woman,'" Paper presented at the Mormon History Association annual meeting, Park City, Utah, 1994, photocopy in my possession, a revised version of which appeared under the title of "Zina Presendia Young Williams Card: Brigham's Daughter, Cardston's First Lady," *Journal of Mormon History* 23, no. 2 (Fall 1997): 107-27.

ing features. Such spouses failed to appear as forces in daily family life and decision-making. Frequently, however, Mormon women found such a husband's absences freeing. According to Mary Isabella Horne, plural marriage offered her an opportunity "to work out her individual character as separate from her husband."⁶⁴

Women also argued that plural marriage created a work partnership of several women, including plural wives and their daughters. According to one daughter of a plural marriage, "Everyone worked united together and so were able to accomplish much."⁶⁵ Certainly, such organization of chores went far beyond the customary cooperative style practiced by most nineteenth-century women and must have proved a boon on the trail.

Mormon migrants also obtained aid from the Church, which provided strong leaders as well as financial help and supplies. Following the tradition established by Joseph Smith, who sold land and found other ways to help fund migrations of Latter-day Saints to Nauvoo, Church leaders in Utah instituted the Perpetual Emigration Fund. This program allowed Utah settlers to donate money and supplies to aid other Mormons coming to Salt Lake. Emigrants later repaid their debts by working on Church projects or donating produce or cash. By 1870, the Perpetual Emigration Fund had assisted over 13,000 Saints from Scandinavia and Europe, and over 38,000 from Britain.⁶⁶

In addition, through the auspices of the Church, women, acting as informal groups and later as ward Relief Society units, collected

⁶⁴Beecher, "'Tryed and Purified as Gold'," 22; and Mrs. Joseph (Mary Isabella) Horne, "Migration and Settlement of the Latter Day Saints," 1884, Bancroft Library. For an analysis of the effect of husbands' frequent absences see Carol Cornwall Madsen, "'Feme Covert': Journey of a Metaphor," *Journal of Mormon History* 17 (1991): 43-61. Also helpful is Martha Nibley Beck, "Roles of Women," *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, 4:1574-75.

⁶⁵Mary Elizabeth Cox Lee, "An Inspired Principle and a Remarkable Lady," 1949, Huntington Library. Also useful are Embry and Bradley, "Mothers and Daughters in Polygamy"; and Kathryn M. Daynes, "Plural Wives and the Nineteenth-Century Mormon Marriage System: Manti, Utah, 1849-1910" (Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, Bloomington, 1991).

⁶⁶Smith's generosity is described in Tracy, Narrative. For the emigration fund, see Arrington and Madsen, *Sunbonnet Sisters*, 70-71.

food, made clothing, and provided other supplies to assist needy migrants. On numerous occasions, men filled wagons with goods and headed toward the travelers, although sometimes the mounds of supplies proved more than the men and wagons could transport. Women cheerfully opened their homes to immigrants after they arrived in the Salt Lake Valley, providing medical care and provisions when needed.⁶⁷

Mormon travelers also received assistance from outsiders. Because not every Gentile spurned every Mormon, women noted instances of help from Gentile travelers. During an 1853 migration, for example, Mormon Hannah King recorded that in crossing a treacherous stream "the Californians came to our assistance, & we got the Horses landed without a buckle being broken!"⁶⁸

As a result of these factors, Mormon women did not face trail adversities without help. They could, and did, utilize every additional resource available to them, sometimes even turning liabilities into assets.

CONCLUSION

What, then, carried more weight, similarities or differences? Which had the most impact along the overland trails during the 1840s and 1850s? This brief survey indicates that in the case of Mormon and Gentile women, similarities proved incapable of overcoming differences. Women's trail journals increasingly noted that Mormon and Gentile trains simply passed by, or avoided overtaking, each other.⁶⁹ Further, Mormon women confronted factors ranging from mob brutality to plural marriage that never touched their Gentile counterparts.

Consequently, although Mormon and Gentile women often

⁶⁷"Patience Loader," 240, and "Lucy Meserve Smith," 268, in Godfrey, Godfrey, and Derr, *Women's Voices*.

⁶⁸King, "My Journal," in Holmes, *Covered Wagon Women*, 6:204.

⁶⁹Maria J. Norton, *Diary of a Trip Across the Plains in '59*, Bancroft Library; Mary Jane Guill, *Overland Diary, 1860*, California State Library; and Adams, *Diary*. Another scholar suggests that rapprochement did not occur until the 1890s. See Carol Cornwall Madsen, "Decade of Détente: The Mormon-Gentile Female Relationship in Nineteenth-Century Utah," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 63 (Fall 1995): 298-319.

shared such personal characteristics as ethnicity, race, class, and an abiding belief in God, they found few meeting grounds. Instead, they typically experienced the westward trail in parallel yet disparate ways.

MOSES THATCHER IN THE DOCK: HIS TRIALS, THE AFTERMATH, AND HIS LAST DAYS

Kenneth W. Godfrey

"LIKE A HERO HE STOOD in the forefront of battle weak with illness and groaning with pain . . . never flinching, never fainting through it all," a Logan newspaper reporter wrote, as Cache County Democrats met, framed a platform, and discussed Moses Thatcher and the Political Manifesto, which had been presented to the Saints in the April 1896 general conference.¹ The same writer depicted

KENNETH W. GODFREY is retired after having served for thirty-seven years in the LDS Church Educational System. He has served as president of the Mormon History Association and published numerous articles and books related to Mormon history. He writes a weekly column which appears on the religion page of Cache Valley's newspaper *The Herald Journal*. He read an earlier version of this paper at the Mormon History Association meetings held at Snowbird resort, Salt Lake City, in May 1996. Long interested in Moses Thatcher, Godfrey has collected more than two hundred newspaper articles about Thatcher's business activities, his being dropped from the Twelve, and his senatorial campaign of 1896-97.

¹The Platform," the *Tri-Weekly (Logan) Journal*, 4 June 1896, 4. Given the importance of newspapers in re-creating these events, it is well to understand the history of Logan's newspapers and how they dealt with Thatcher, perhaps Logan's most famous native son. The *Northern Light* (1899) was the city's first newspaper; Abinadi Pratt and L. O. Littlefield served as editor and assistant editor. This paper only lasted a few weeks until the *Logan Leader*, sponsored by the Junction Printing

Thatcher as a “gallant leader,” who, his side pierced by an arrow, lies stricken “upon the battlefield” a victim in the war between church and state.² While Utah’s citizens basked in the joy that accompanied their recently achieved statehood, Thatcher faced a crisis of conscience which not only altered his own life but changed Utah politics as well.

Several scholars have written about the decade-long political and economic differences that surfaced from time to time between Thatcher and his brethren of the hierarchy—differences that led to his expulsion from the Twelve in 1896.³ However, his week-long trial before the Salt Lake Stake high council and the important accomplishments of the last ten years of his life have not received similar attention. Speaking at Thatcher’s funeral, his friend and fellow Democrat, Brigham Henry Roberts, declared, “There were very few men of the fine texture of Moses Thatcher. There was iron in his soul as must needs be iron, in every soul that is worth while.” Thatcher’s “iron was tempered to the finest steel,” he continued. Only two men “stood out in his [own] life, John Morgan, and Moses Thatcher.”⁴ Today few Americans believe that their politicians have

Association of Ogden, “gave Pratt \$100 to extinguish the *Northern Light*.” Frank J. Cannon became the editor until B. F. Cummings replaced him in 1880; Cummings and a brother ran the paper until 1 August 1882 when they sold out to Moses Thatcher, George Washington Thatcher, W. B. Preston (brother-in-law to the Thatcher brothers), John T. Caine, Jr., John P. Smith, and E. A. Stratford, the printer. B. F. Cummings stayed on as editor, while Captain E. B. Burnett from Nebraska was appointed manager. Moses Thatcher was the company president. In 1890 the paper became the *Tri-Weekly Journal* under the leadership of R. W. Sloan, an experienced newspaper man. In 1891 it became known as a Democratic political organ and was always friendly in its coverage of Thatcher. See J. Cecil Alter, *Early Utah Journalism* (Salt Lake City: Utah Historical Society, 1938), 99-102.

²Ibid.

³Stanley S. Ivins, *The Moses Thatcher Case* (Salt Lake City: Modern Microfilm Co., n.d.); Edward Leo Lyman, “The Alienation of an Apostle from His Quorum: The Moses Thatcher Case,” *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 18 (Summer 1985): 67-91; Thomas G. Alexander, “‘To Maintain Harmony:’ Adjusting to External and Internal Stress, 1890-1930,” *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 15 (Winter 1982): 44-58.

⁴“Sermon of President Brigham H. Roberts,” *Tri-Weekly Journal*, 2 September 1909, 1, 4. John Morgan, an LDS Church General Authority, was Roberts’s mission president when he served in the Southern States Mission, and Roberts acted for a

souls of iron and some mistrust the words of even religious leaders. Yet the post-Manifesto life of Moses Thatcher confirms Roberts's assessment and illuminates as well a man of character who sacrificed position and power on the altar of the truth he saw. His history is therefore not only one of the most important but one of the most interesting stories in Utah history.

THE POLITICAL MANIFESTO AND MOSES THATCHER

The lengthy document known as the Political Manifesto was written early in the spring of 1896, probably by Charles W. Penrose, and was approved by all General Authorities except Anthon H. Lund who was then serving as European Mission President and Moses Thatcher. Its most important points were its declaration that Church officers did not "desire . . . to do anything looking to a union of Church and State," nor did they want to curtail "the personal liberty of any of the officers or members of the Church." The document required a Church officer to agree:

That before accepting any position, political or otherwise, which would interfere with the proper and complete discharge of his ecclesiastical duties, and before accepting a nomination or entering into engagements to perform new duties, said official should apply to the proper authorities and learn from them whether he could, consistent with obligations already entered into with the church upon assuming his office, take upon himself the added duties and labors and responsibilities of the new position.

Finally, the Manifesto stated:

We do not in the least desire to dictate to them [Church officers] concerning their duties as American citizens, or to interfere with the affairs of the state; neither do we consider that in the remotest degree we are seeking the union of Church and State. We once more here repudiate the insinuation that there is or ever has been an attempt by our leading men to trespass upon the ground occupied by the state, or that there has been or is the wish to curtail in any manner any of its functions.⁵

time as mission president when Morgan returned to Salt Lake City. See Truman G. Madsen, *B. H. Roberts: Defender of the Faith* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1980), 135-36.

⁵"Political Manifesto" is not the official title. It is headed: "TO THE SAINTS: To the officers and members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, in General Conference Assembled." James R. Clark, ed., *Messages of the First Presidency of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 6 vols. (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, Inc.,

Thatcher, the tenth child of Hezekiah Thatcher and Alley Kitchen Thatcher, was born 2 February 1842 in Sangamon County, Illinois. At age five, he crossed the plains in 1847 with his family, walking most of the way, lived until he was fifteen in Northern California where he also served a mission, and then moved to Logan, Utah, being among the first settlers of that community. In the 1860s he served another mission in Great Britain and, on 9 April 1879, was ordained an apostle by John Taylor at age thirty-seven. He was promptly appointed first president of the Mexican Mission where he resided in Mexico City off and on for two years. He helped build the Utah Northern Railway, founded banks, and was considered one of the wealthiest men in the Utah Territory. He later served a mission to the Shoshone Indians and founded Star Valley, Wyoming. He was also one of the territory's most gifted speakers and had been active in politics since the 1880s. Fifty-four years old in 1896, he had been an apostle for seventeen years and was seventh in seniority.⁶

Thatcher, suffering with serious stomach and bowel problems for more than four years, feared that his illnesses might be caused by cancer and was not well enough to engage in formal discussions with other members of the Twelve about the Political Manifesto. However, as a delegate to the 1895 constitutional convention preceding statehood, he had helped wrote the preamble which declared, "There shall be no union of church and state, nor shall any church dominate the state or interfere with its functions."⁷

At the time, Thatcher was living in a new residence located "opposite the northwest corner of temple block" in Salt Lake City.⁸ Confined to his home by his illness, Thatcher did not attend the morning session of the semi-annual general conference on 6 April

1965-75), 3:273-77.

⁶Hezekiah Thatcher Family Organization Newsletter, No. 7, 1975, 1, Utah State Historical Society Library.

⁷"Address by the Authorities," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 20 November 1896.

⁸Franklin D. Richards, Diary, 21 April 1896, LDS Church Archives where I consulted it during the 1970s. This diary and those of other General Authorities are no longer available for research purposes.

1896, At its conclusion, Apostles Lorenzo Snow and Brigham Young, Jr., called on Thatcher, presented the Political Manifesto, and asked that he sign it. He requested more time to consider what he was agreeing to. The two apostles thought his request a reasonable one and left the document with him, saying they would return at 1:30 P.M., just before the afternoon session began. When they did, Thatcher gave them a one-paragraph statement. The core lay in a sentence of refusal: "There is much of its content that I could conscientiously endorse by signing but there are other portions which I cannot endorse without stultification."⁹

When the afternoon session convened at 2:00 P.M., George Q. Cannon, first counselor in the First Presidency, announced the Political Manifesto to the Saints and Apostle Heber J. Grant read it aloud. Salt Lake Stake President Angus M. Cannon moved that it be adopted, and his motion was seconded by his first counselor, Joseph E. Taylor. Cannon then asked if there were any remarks. There were none, and the motion passed unanimously. Cannon then read the names of the General Authorities for the Saints' approval, omitting Thatcher's name. Again the sustaining vote was unanimous.¹⁰

Many of those who noticed the omission assumed that a simple mistake had been made, but by evening word had run through the city: no mistake had been made. The omission was purposeful. Both Mormons and non-Mormons raised a multitude of questions. Church leaders initially remarked that because of Thatcher's illness, he had not signed the document and was being given time to recover. This explanation implied that his absence from the Twelve might be only temporary.¹¹

Several apostles called on the ailing apostle and prayed for his recovery. John Henry Smith on 12 April 1896 spent almost two hours with him. "He talked quite freely to me," Smith wrote, "over the action in his case." Thatcher was experiencing "much pain" as he and Smith talked.¹² Franklin D. Richards visited him for more than an hour on 23 April, and Thatcher "diagnosed his case both

⁹"Thatcher Is Dropped," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 7 April 1896, 1.

¹⁰*Ibid.*

¹¹*Ibid.*

¹²John Henry Smith, Diary, 12 April 1896, LDS Church Archives.

physically and mentally,” telling Richards that he “had got so low about two weeks [ago] he desired only to die.”¹³ Early in May, Doctor W. B. Parkinson told John Henry Smith that Thatcher “is a morphine fiend.”¹⁴ At a 25 June 1896 meeting with the First Presidency, John Henry Smith contended that Thatcher was not responsible for his decision because of his use of narcotics, but Wilford Woodruff and George Q. Cannon and unnamed other apostles argued that he was.¹⁵

President Joseph F. Smith, who not only served as second counselor in the First Presidency but was also first assistant in the superintendency of the Church’s Young Men’s Mutual Improvement Association, traveled to Logan late in May and, at the MIA conference, omitted Thatcher’s name when he read the organization’s officers for the sustaining vote of the conference. (Up to that time Thatcher had served as second assistant.)¹⁶ After Joseph F. Smith’s report to the First Presidency and Council of the Twelve on 28 May, according to John Henry Smith, they decided to “take up a labor with Apostle Moses Thatcher and learn if he is with us or against us.”

The Twelve scheduled a meeting with Thatcher for 4 June 1896, and were told that he would attend. The day before the meeting, however, he “met with a very terrible relapse” and was again “confined to his bed” (4 June 1896). This episode was of relatively short duration, for some unnamed Democratic friends of Thatcher on 4 July 1896 held a Moses Thatcher Memorial “as a testimonial in behalf of Civil and Religious Liberty.”¹⁷ Furthermore, in July the Democratic Party elected Thatcher as a delegate to the national convention, while his friend Brigham Henry Roberts, who certainly knew of the ecclesiastical disapproval, publicly declared that he

¹³Richards, *Diary*, 23 April 1896.

¹⁴John Henry Smith, *Diary*, 4 May 1896. The events of the next few weeks are all recorded in this diary, identified by date in the text.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, 25 June 1896.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, 28 May 1896. The terminology changed from a “superintendent” with “assistants” to the now conventional “president” with “counselors” in 1972.

¹⁷“Moses Thatcher Memorial Presented by His Friends,” (Salt Lake City: n.pub., 4 July 1896.

"stood as the champion of freedom."¹⁸ Perhaps as a result of this publicity, on 9 July, Woodruff told the Twelve that they "had neglected [their] duty in regard to Moses Thatcher."¹⁹ That the sooner he was dealt with and an understanding reached, the better." Apostles Franklin D. Richards and Brigham Young, Jr. were immediately selected to "call on Brother M. Thatcher and ascertain if he has decided whether to accept to the address or not"—and come back with either a yes or a no.

The two apostles made their visit that afternoon and reported at the reconvened evening meeting; Thatcher had, according to John Henry Smith's journal, "undergone no change of sentiment as to the address, both brethren were impressed with his cold, cunning spirit." The Twelve "finally agreed," after a lengthy discussion "to say to Bro. Moses he could meet us on the 22nd to answer to the charge of apostacy" (9 July 1896). They had not yet taken this step (in the meantime Apostle Abraham H. Cannon was operated on and died) when, on 26 July, Moses's brother-in-law, Presiding Bishop William B. Preston, brought John Henry Smith to his [Preston's] office where some of Thatcher's relatives told him that Moses was "addicted to the morphine habit and part of the time insane, and that they must do something for him."

Only a short time later, Thatcher checked himself into the Salt Lake Keeley Institute in an attempt to free himself from his addiction.²⁰ Keeley Institutes, headquartered in Dwight, Illinois, were funded by Doctor Leslie E. Keeley, a veteran of the Civil War. They were designed to help alcoholics recover from their dependency and to aid those addicted to drugs to regain control of their lives.²¹ It was not unusual during this period when opium and its derivatives were prescribed freely for pain for patients to become ad-

¹⁸"Oratorical Gems," *Tri-Weekly Journal*, 4 June 1896, 4. See also "Press Comments," 11 June 1896, 1. The occasion for these articles was the Democratic primaries held in each county. Thatcher was frequently mentioned as not only a delegate to the Democratic National Convention but as a senatorial candidate as well.

¹⁹John Henry Smith, Diary, 9 July 1896.

²⁰Richards, Diary, 21 September 1896.

²¹"The Keeley Institute," *Deseret News Weekly*, 27 February 1892, 332.

dicted. Thus Thatcher was perhaps more typical than rare. Keeley patients were allowed to live at home, but came to the institute four times each day and received hypodermic injections called “the double chloride of Gold treatment.” They also conversed with each other in a sort of group therapy, reinforcing their resolve.²² Thatcher, after sixty days of care, seemed to have conquered his addiction and began gaining weight. Meanwhile, John Henry Smith convinced his fellow apostles and the First Presidency to let Thatcher regain his health before taking further action.

By the third week in September the Twelve appointed a three-man committee composed of John Henry Smith, Brigham Young, Jr., and Francis M. Lyman to visit Thatcher and give him an ultimatum: He must sign the Political Manifesto or be permanently dropped from the Quorum of the Twelve. When Thatcher again refused to attach his signature to the document, Church leaders concluded to “explain Moses Thatcher’s Case” to the membership of the church in the October general conference.²³

Thatcher’s concerns focused on the intent of the one central clause: “We have maintained that in the case of men who hold high positions in the Church, whose duties are well defined, and whose ecclesiastical labors are understood to be continuous and necessary, it would be an improper thing to accept political office or enter into any vocation that would distract or remove them from the religious duties resting upon them, without first consulting and obtaining the approval of their associates and those who preside over them.”²⁴ Because almost all Mormon males held some priesthood office, Thatcher was concerned that this clause could be interpreted to mean that virtually all priesthood officers, including bishops and stake presidents, would have to receive official approval to run for political office; in his mind, such a course seriously curbed their liberty.

Thatcher was not alone in his concerns about how the Mani-

²²Ibid.; see also George A. Barclay, “The Keeley League,” *Illinois State Historical Society Journal* 57 (Winter 1964): 34-65.

²³Melvin Clarence Merrill, ed., *Marriner Wood Merrill and His Family* (n.p., 1937), diary entries of 17 September 1896 and 5 October 1896.

²⁴Clark, *Messages of the First Presidency*, 3:275.

festos might be used by General Authorities. As early as 23 April 1896, John Henry Smith had written in his diary that he felt that "Brother Joseph F's construction of the Manifesto cuts too deep and will cause trouble for our people everywhere." John Henry was not on the same side of the political fence as Thatcher; a devoted Republican he had labored strenuously to organize the party in the state beginning as early as 1891 when the Mormon party (the People's Party) had been disbanded. He had also suffered personally from the dismay that Democratic members of the Twelve had expressed about his political activities.²⁵ However, John Henry Smith had signed the Political Manifesto with the other apostles before it was presented to the Church at the April conference.

Thatcher, in a November 1896 interview by a *Salt Lake Tribune* reporter, said that he objected to the Political Manifesto because it was not definite who had to counsel with the First Presidency before running for political office. "Had it named the First Presidency, the Twelve, other high officials and even included the bishops," he explained, "I should have signed it,"²⁶ even though he felt it annulled other declarations granting perfect "liberty" in political matters to the Saints. For example, on 18 March 1892 the First Presidency had declared, "We have no desire to interfere in these [political] matters, but proclaim that, as far as we are concerned, the members of the Church are entirely and perfectly free in all political matters."²⁷

Thatcher's own commitment to a separation of church and state was deep; because the state constitution had been accepted by

²⁵Abraham H. Cannon, Diary, 7 July 1891, Archive of the Mormon Experience, Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, quoted Moses Thatcher as saying that in a council of the First Presidency and apostles held a short time previously, "we were united in saying John Henry Smith should not actively engage in politics, and yet he has done so, doubtless with the sanction of the Presidency. If he goes into politics I do not know why other apostles should not seek to make converts to their principles. I am opposed to the church using any influence to turn the people to one party or the other, and if we play with these things it will bring ruin to us." Fellow apostle Heber J. Grant, Cannon continued, "joined Thatcher in this contention and expressed his belief that Smith had done wrong."

²⁶"Talk with Thatcher," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 15 November 1896, 8.

²⁷Calvin Reasoner, "Moses Thatcher: A Masterly Vindication," in *The Late Manifesto in Politics* (Salt Lake City: n.pub., 1896), 129.

Congress and by the people of Utah, he considered it the law of the land and worthy of his allegiance. Therefore, he believed "that there should be no interference by it [the Church] in politics, but every member should be left free in the exercise of the right of suffrage." He believed the Political Manifesto violated this principle.²⁸

His views were not a recent development. In a letter to his quorum president, Lorenzo Snow, written 12 December 1896, he stated that he had "held and openly advocated for more than a quarter of a century . . . [the] non-union of Church and State. While the State is bound to protect the church in the fullest possible religious freedom, the church must not attempt directly or indirectly to dominate in civil or political affairs." He also pointed out to Snow that Wilford Woodruff and George Q. Cannon had told a *New York Times* reporter that they knew of no reason "why the members of the Church should not act freely with the National parties at all times." Thatcher believed that he "could not reconcile [the Manifesto] with those [statements] made by my file leaders and ecclesiastical supporters between 1890 and the date of Utah's admission into the Union."²⁹

Judge Calvin Reasoner, a non-Mormon Republican and editor of the Utah-based periodical *Men and Women*, during the summer of 1896 when Thatcher's quorum status was ambiguous, began writing articles favorable to Thatcher and also began working on a small book which he named *The Late Manifesto in Politics*. However, few if any reporters and friends seemed to grasp that the real issue facing Thatcher had little to do with politics. His problems were, the General Authorities believed, religious. Mormon scriptures advocate unity among the General Authorities (D&C 107:27). Obedience to higher authority is a cardinal Mormon virtue. Thatcher, in refusing to attach his signature to the declaration already ratified by his fellow prophets, seers, and revelators, displayed, in their eyes, a glaring mistrust and a lack of faith. Utah Democrats, in contrast, made Thatcher a hero, and leaders said in their summer conventions that it was Thatcher who refuted the idea that one side (Democrats) was muzzled and the other (Republicans) free. Some

²⁸"Talk with Thatcher," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 15 November 1896, 8.

²⁹Reasoner, "Moses Thatcher," 131.

Democrats even made the exaggerated claim that had Thatcher not stood alone statehood could not have been achieved.³⁰

MOSES THATCHER AND HIS QUORUM

The Twelve issued no new ultimatum, and Thatcher did not attend the October 1896 general conference where he became the focus of attention at the last session. Four General Authorities speaking during that session denounced his failure to sign the Political Manifesto. President Wilford Woodruff prayed that Moses Thatcher's "eyes may be opened to see, his ears to hear, and his heart to comprehend his position and duty before God and man." Lorenzo Snow, president of the Quorum of the Twelve, asked that all Church members "pray for Brother Thatcher as soon as his physical abilities will allow, we shall have him before our quorum, and he will be treated by his friends. . . . But there are certain rules and regulations that we as servants of God, must conform to, and we are not responsible for them." Snow clearly meant that Thatcher was not living by the guidelines he had accepted when he became an apostle seventeen years before. Fellow Republican and kinsman (their wives were first cousins), John Henry Smith told his listeners, "I fully understand that within three days after Brother Moses Thatcher declined to sustain his associates he would have been dealt with for his fellowship and standing in the council of the Apostles but for his physical condition. All have felt exceedingly tender, recognizing the fact that he had been suffering for some time under conditions most unpleasant to himself." Democrat Brigham Young, Jr., believed, "The spirit of darkness surrounded Brother Thatcher's heart, and thus it could not be penetrated, and even a blessing by Lorenzo Snow had not altered Moses's views."³¹

For four weeks, apparently, both sides waited. Then the Quorum of the Twelve on 5 November "determined to meet Moses Thatcher at the Historian's office on Thursday next [12 November]."³² Thatcher did not appear. Instead, on Tuesday, 10 Novem-

³⁰"Oratorical Gems," *Tri-Weekly Journal*, 4 June 1896, 4. See also "Press Comments," 11 June 1896, 1.

³¹"General Conference," *Deseret News*, 17 October 1896, 1.

³²John Henry Smith, Diary, 5 November 1896.

ber, Thatcher's fellow Democrats selected him to preside over the Jackson Day celebration in January 1897.³³

When the Quorum of the Twelve met on Thursday, 12 November, Thatcher sent a six-page typewritten missive in which he requested a public hearing. If they would grant him a public hearing, he would permit the Twelve to "go over his entire life in the Church, and if at any time charges were presented he would plead guilty to them," but he reserved the right to reply to false accusations.³⁴

Then three days after this meeting was to have taken place, the *Salt Lake Tribune* on 15 November published an openly political interview that Thatcher had given. He reported that he had gained thirty-five pounds, had spent much of the autumn in Logan Canyon, where the clean air and rest had done wonders for his health, and declared that he would accept the nomination for the Senate if offered to him, did not have cancer as he had feared, was "settled" in his mind and completely at ease.³⁵

Snow, no doubt upset by Thatcher's intransigence, denied his request, writing on 18 November, "The Quorum of the Apostles does not consider your request for a public hearing a proper one for this reason: It is not your standing in the Church that is at issue, but your fellowship with the brethren of your own quorum. This is the business to be settled between yourself and us, and when this is settled satisfactorily there will be no difficulty remaining concerning the document or Church discipline. You have been informed on several occasions that the members of your quorum could not fellowship your spirit and conduct. Several have told you so." Snow issued one final invitation to meet with them, warning that if he did not come action in his case would be taken.³⁶

³³"Want Bryan on Jackson Day," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 10 November 1896, 8; "Thatcher a Candidate," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 11 November 1896, 8. Thatcher invited William Jennings Bryan, who had garnered all Utah's electoral votes in the 1896 election, as keynote speaker.

³⁴Franklin D. Richards, Diary, 12 November 1896. See also "Thatcher Trial Set," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 17 November 1896, 8; "Thatcher, Correspondence on the Apostle's Case," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 22 November 1896, 8.

³⁵"Talk with Thatcher," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 15 November 1896, 8.

³⁶Published in Lorenzo Snow, Letter to Moses Thatcher, 18 November 1896, quoted in [Charles W. Penrose], *The Thatcher Episode: A Concise Statement of the Facts*

George F. Gibbs, private secretary to the First Presidency, confirmed to a *Tribune* reporter that the invitation Snow mentioned had gone out the next day on Friday, 13 November, informing Thatcher that his hearing was set for Thursday, 19 November. Gibbs declared further that he did not know whether Thatcher would appear or not. Thatcher, when contacted by the reporter, would not commit as to his attendance at the hearing. He was fully aware that he might be excommunicated from his church. Thatcher did say that he would not be “so insubordinate as to remain away” but would not commit as to how he would plead. The reporter predicted that the hearing would generate much public “interest” and its outcome would impact significantly the senatorial race. Gibbs thought that Thatcher’s suspension from the Twelve, at present temporary, would be finalized but that nothing more would be done to him.³⁷

During the six months that had lapsed between April 1896, when he had refused to sign the Political Manifesto, and October, Thatcher’s fellow apostles had assembled a plethora of examples showing that Thatcher had either stood in opposition to his quorum or had come perilously close to the edge of unorthodoxy. For example, he was charged with opposing the “ordination of John Taylor as Prophet, Priest and King” in 1879,³⁸ and with opposing the appointment of Marriner W. Merrill as Logan Temple president.³⁹ He had also delivered an inflammatory 1886 talk in Lewiston, Utah, in which he was quoted as saying:

of the Case (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Publishing Co., n.d.), 18. No name appears as author, but Franklin D. Richards recorded in his diary on 10 December 1896 that he and Charles W. Penrose, editor of the *Deseret News* and a Democratic friend of Thatcher’s, had been asked to assemble Lorenzo Snow’s correspondence on the Moses Thatcher case; B. H. Roberts was also to help. Both Roberts and Penrose had previously had their own difficulties with the First Presidency regarding political matters but had made their peace. Penrose would, after the turn of the century, become an apostle himself and later a counselor in the First Presidency to both Joseph F. Smith and Heber J. Grant. Roberts remained in the First Council of Seventy until his death in 1933.

³⁷“Thatcher Trial Set,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, 17 November 1896, 8. See also “Is It to Be Church and State?” *Salt Lake Tribune*, 18 November 1895, 8; and “Church and Thatcher,” 19 November 1896, 8.

³⁸Abraham H. Cannon, Diary, 17 November 1895.

It is my belief that every city, precinct, county and territorial office in this territory will be in the hands of our enemies, that we will be so burdened with taxes that it will be almost more than human nature can endure; that we shall cry to the Lord both by night and by day for deliverance; that when our hearts are sufficiently subdued, that our entire trust will be in the Lord, then shall that man like unto Moses be raised up and lead us out of bondage back to Jackson Country. . . . That man raised up will be no other than the Prophet Joseph Smith in the resurrected body.⁴⁰

Thatcher also differed, according to these compiled charges, with several of his brethren, including President George Q. Cannon, about how the Church spent its income. Thatcher allegedly did not believe that the president of the Church had the right to spend tithing funds on personal matters, but Cannon disagreed.⁴¹ As early as 1893, Lorenzo Snow had said that "all of the twelve were united except Moses Thatcher."⁴² The compilers further charged Thatcher with not having attended quorum meetings, thus neglecting his duties. Here they were on firm ground. Between May 1889 through April 1896, according to Franklin D. Richards's diary, the Quorum of the Twelve held 277 meetings; Thatcher was present at only thirty-three, while Wilford Woodruff, church president, a man in his eighties attended 256. The only apostle to rival Thatcher in absenteeism was Anthon H. Lund, then president of the European Mission.

Thursday, 19 November 1896 came, but Thatcher did not. The hearing was scheduled for 10:00 A.M., and the Twelve waited for some time, hoping he would appear but were disappointed.⁴³ The

³⁹Penrose, *The Thatcher Episode*, 37-38.

⁴⁰*Ibid.*, 38. George Q. Cannon in a private meeting with his son told him that "it has not been shown me that this doctrine is correct and I do not approve of it being taught." Abraham H. Cannon, Diary, 20 August 1886. Thatcher had promptly written to Church President John Taylor denying that he had made the statements attributed to him. Moses Thatcher, Letter to John Taylor, 27 October 1886, LDS Church Archives.

⁴¹Moses Thatcher, Diary, 10 December 1885, Thatcher Papers, Special Collections, Merrill Library, Utah State University, Logan.

⁴²Marriner Wood Merrill, Diary, 11 January 1893; Penrose, *The Thatcher Episode*, 26.

⁴³"Deposed," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 20 November 1896, 1.

ten apostles (no one had been appointed to fill the vacancy created by the death of Abraham H. Cannon) then voted unanimously to drop Thatcher permanently from the Quorum and deprived him "of his apostleship and other offices in the Priesthood."⁴⁴ Snow drafted the letter informing Thatcher of this decision, and it was delivered to him the same afternoon.

The Church-owned *Deseret Evening News*, on the evening of 19 November, published a page 4 notice signed by Lorenzo Snow informing the public that Thatcher had been that day "severed from the council of the twelve apostles, and that he [was] deprived of his apostleship and other offices in the Priesthood."⁴⁵ An unsigned editorial declared, "The leaven has been working for a long, long time and for well nigh half a score of years this same result might have been feared."⁴⁶

The next day, Friday, 20 November, the *Salt Lake Tribune* on its front page featured a large photograph of Thatcher and a one-word headline, "Deposed!" The article said Thatcher reportedly "continued to express his loyalty to the Church and its leaders."⁴⁷

Although Thatcher allegedly gave no interviews, the *Salt Lake Herald* reported that he "feels that his action in the premises has been right and that his conscience does not reproach him in the least." It also reported that he left for Cache Valley on Friday evening, that Charles W. Penrose would take his place in the Quorum of the Twelve, and that B. H. Roberts would replace the deceased Abraham H. Cannon as an apostle. Neither prediction proved accurate.⁴⁸

MOSES THATCHER AND THE U.S. SENATE

In the election of 1896, Democrats in Utah won control of the state senate, the body which at that time elected United States Senators. Thus a number of prominent Utah Democrats, including

⁴⁴"Notice," *Deseret Evening News*, 19 November 1896, 1. See also "Deposed," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 20 November 1896, 1, and "Thatcher Deposed," *Salt Lake Herald*, 20 November 1896, 1. The *Herald* was a Democratic newspaper that supported Thatcher.

⁴⁵"Notice," *Deseret Evening News*, 19 November 1896, 4.

⁴⁶*Ibid.*

⁴⁷"Deposed!" *Salt Lake Tribune*, 1.

⁴⁸"Thatcher Deposed," *Salt Lake Herald*, 1.

Orlando Powers, a former federal judge; Joseph L. Rawlins, who had served as a delegate to Congress before Utah became a state; and later "Gentile" Judge H. P. Henderson, and Moses Thatcher became candidates for the office. Thatcher, as mentioned before, seemed healthy and was eager to have his friends use their influence with Democratic state senators when the legislature met in January to make its selection.

Despite Thatcher's political popularity, obtaining the requisite number of votes would be difficult. The *Tri-Weekly Journal* on 21 November 1896 published an article about Thatcher's senatorial race and accused the Cannon family of opposing his candidacy.⁴⁹ That same day, the *Salt Lake Tribune* ran an article on page 4 also contending that the Church opposed Thatcher's candidacy and citing several unnamed senators as saying, "The party . . . cannot afford to be coerced in the matter of Mr. Thatchers candidacy."⁵⁰ The *Salt Lake Tribune* also accused the *Deseret News* of opposing Thatcher out of a mistaken belief that, if elected, he would "make war on the Mormon Church." The *Deseret News* responded with an editorial stating that "a good deal of the Democratic timber was not all oak" and would probably not prove "sea worthy for a senatorial voyage."⁵¹ Beginning 17 November 1896, the *News* mounted a barrage of editorial attacks on Thatcher.⁵² It declared that his

⁴⁹See *Tri-Weekly Journal* articles: "Both Sides Given," 21 November 1896, 1; "To Supply the Demand," 21 November, 1896, 4; "Opinions of Others," 26 November 1896, 1, 4.

⁵⁰"Virulent Against Thatcher," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 21 November 1896, 7; "Views of Democrats," 22 November 1896, 1; "Thatcher," 22 November 1896, 1.

⁵¹"The Senatorial Race," *Tri-Weekly Journal*, 21 November 1896, 4.

⁵²See "More Senatorial Aspirants," *Deseret News*, 17 November 1896, 4; "Absurd Heroics," 18 November 1896, 4; "The Proposition Is Plain," 19 November 1896, 4; "Action of the Apostles," 20 November 1896, 4; and "A Statement from President Lorenzo Snow," 30 November 1896, 4. *The Argus*, a weekly newspaper published in Salt Lake City, as early as 20 November 1896 began printing articles favorable to Thatcher. See "The Senatorship," 20 November 1896, 8; "The Case of Ex-Apostle Moses Thatcher," 24 November 1896, 1; "Editorial," 28 November 1896, 4; "Editorial," 5 December 1896, 4; "Editorial," 19 December 1896, 4; "The Senatorial Fight," 19 December 1896, 4-9; and "The Argus and Moses Thatcher," 26 December 1896, 4. This pro-Thatcher paper was sometimes called Thatcher's personal organ.

candidacy was “an assault upon the doctrines and organic existence” of the church, and “his election would mean that the Democrats wanted to ‘wound a vital principle of the discipline of the most numerous religious body in this state,’ and thereby flagrantly insult ‘that entire religious society.’”⁵³ In this way Utah voters were informed that Church leaders did not favor Thatcher’s candidacy. Logan’s *Tri-Weekly Journal* commented repeatedly on his chances of being elected and reprinted articles from the *Ogden Standard*, the *Richfield Advocate*, and the *Malad Enterprise* which accused the *Deseret News* of trying to keep Thatcher out of the Senate.⁵⁴

In late November five young men from Nephi wrote to Lorenzo Snow and asked that he explain the action taken against Thatcher. Snow’s reply of 30 November, published in Penrose’s pamphlet, *The Thatcher Episode*, became known as the “Supplementary Charges.” On 12 December 1896 Thatcher published an open letter to Snow attempting to answer the charges compiled by the apostles. *Salt Lake Tribune*, in commenting on this correspondence, said, “It is incomprehensible that a high-spirited man, firm in his conviction of the right of his position, should, under repeated snubs, and under a refusal of his accusers to supply him with any charges upon which they had officially degraded and personally humiliated him, bear all that without his native American manhood being awakened. . . . We cannot comprehend [it].”⁵⁵ The reporter believed Thatcher was much too kind to Snow.

Six days before Christmas 1896, Thatcher addressed the Woman’s Central Democratic Club in Salt Lake City’s Ninth Ward annex. It had been more than two years since he last addressed a political gathering. When he entered the hall “a magnificent ovation greeted him.”⁵⁶ According to his own newspaper, his speech was “a flow of eloquence” in which he made no direct allusion to his difficulty with the Church; however, he appealed “to the manhood

⁵³Ivins, *The Moses Thatcher Case*, 8.

⁵⁴“Opinions of Others,” *Tri-Weekly Journal*, 10 December 1896, 4.

⁵⁵“The Snow-Thatcher Letters,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, 23 November 1896, 8.

⁵⁶“Thatcher and King,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, 17 December 1896, 8; “King and Thatcher,” *Salt Lake Herald*, 17 December 1896, 8; “Thatcher and King,” *Tri-Weekly Journal*, 19 December 1896, 1.

and womanhood of Utah to stand by the covenants under which statehood was secured.”⁵⁷ His point was not lost on the assembled Democrats, nor on Republicans and Church leaders. According to the *Tri-Weekly Journal*, Joseph F. Smith, second counselor in the First Presidency and an ardent Republican, spoke to a Salt Lake ward sacrament meeting on 7 January 1897, during which he “denounced and abused Moses Thatcher, causing a part of the congregation to leave the chapel.”⁵⁸

Thatcher’s candidacy received a boost when Powers withdrew from the race early in January 1897 because he believed he did not have the votes to win. Powers, the former Democratic Party chair, urged his supporters to vote for Thatcher, and Democratic newspapers, including the *Salt Lake Herald*, argued that Thatcher should not be denied the senatorship because of his difficulties with the Mormon hierarchy.⁵⁹

Early in January 1897, former delegate to Congress Joseph L. Rawlins announced that he was back in the race, though he had assured Thatcher he would not run.⁶⁰ Then as a further obstacle, on 8 January 1897, Thatcher’s friend and fellow Democrat B. H. Roberts publicly opposed his candidacy. Roberts took nearly 7,000 words to explain his position and closed with the declaration that the election of Thatcher to the Senate “would be a gross insult” to all Mormons.⁶¹ General Authorities were thus united to a man in opposing Thatcher’s candidacy. Still, they did not feel like supporting Rawlins whom they regarded as an apostate, so they threw their support to a Gentile, Judge H. P. Henderson.

When the legislature met the third week in January, it received ten petitions asking for the election of Thatcher. One from Utah County had 684 signatures. Three hundred and five Salt Lake County Democrats also asked for his election. After much politick-

⁵⁷Ibid., *Tri-Weekly Journal*, 1.

⁵⁸“Judge Powers Resigns,” *Tri-Weekly Journal*, 7 January 1897, 1.

⁵⁹Ibid. For more about Powers’s political activities, see Edward Leo Lyman, *Political Deliverance: The Mormon Quest for Utah Statehood* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986), 197-98, 223-24, 271.

⁶⁰On Rawlins, see Lyman, *Political Deliverance*, 201-11, 223-27, 229.

⁶¹Ivins, *The Moses Thatcher Case*, 8.

ing behind the scenes and the failure of Henderson's candidacy, the General Authorities grudgingly supported Rawlins. Early in February, on the fifty-third ballot, Rawlins received the necessary thirty-two votes and was elected.⁶² Thatcher received an impressive twenty-nine votes; in spite of Church opposition, he had nearly won the election. It seems clear that had Church leaders supported him he would have been elected. Even his defeat displayed his popularity with Utah Democrats. The day following the final vote, Thatcher, invited to address the legislature, told the state's lawmakers that the time had come in Utah when a man holding a higher allegiance than that to the state, must not be a lawmaker. Charles Penrose, editor of the *Deseret News*, scoffed that such a rule would mean that only atheists could be lawmakers.⁶³

Returning to Logan on 11 February 1897, Thatcher was greeted by a twelve-piece orchestra and a large, enthusiastic crowd. He seemed almost overcome with emotion. In a brief speech he said, "Remember . . . as in another great conflict, Gettysburg follows Bull Run." His audience understood the Civil War allusion: He was down but not out. Thatcher continued gracefully, "My friends, could such a reception and ovation as you have given me today be tendered the defeated on all occasions, I should hope never to be victorious."⁶⁴ Though he had lost, he seems to have taken it in stride and probably, at that point, did not see his defeat as permanent.

The near-win had obviously made the General Authorities nervous. In the April 1897 general conference, George Q. Cannon told believers that unless Thatcher's supporters "repent in the name of the Lord Jesus, God will withdraw His Spirit from them and they will go down into darkness."⁶⁵ This near-curse did not, however, curtail Thatcher. He spoke even more boldly against Church involvement in purely political matters. Only a week after his grand reception in Logan, he introduced Lorin Foster, a prominent Democrat and Bryan supporter, to an audience gathered in Logan's Thatcher Opera House and explicitly called for churches to stay out

⁶²Ibid., 9.

⁶³Quoted in Ivins, *The Moses Thatcher Case*, 9.

⁶⁴"Great Thatcher Ovation," *Tri-Weekly Journal*, 11 February 1897, 1.

⁶⁵Quoted in Ivins, *The Moses Thatcher Case*, 9.

of politics. In his first public reference to being dropped from the quorum, he declared, "We [the citizens of America] are entirely free and untrammelled as to our political words." He had been dropped for conducting his political affairs as conscience directed. He believed that as an American citizen he should be unrestrained in how he conducted his political life.⁶⁶

During the second week of March, the twenty-nine senators who had voted for Thatcher came to Logan and surprised their candidate by presenting to him a framed group portrait of themselves and expressing vows of unending friendship.⁶⁷ In responding to this outpouring of affection, Thatcher made a second public statement about his dismissal from the Quorum of the Twelve. "It was made to appear that the head and front of my offering was not the failure to sign the manifesto but something else. But brought to the surface is the fact that was my offense. I am willing to abide by the consequences. I simply assert my rights as an American citizen."⁶⁸ The First Presidency and Quorum of the Twelve would later interpret these remarks as defiance of their authority.⁶⁹

Not all Democrats supported Thatcher. Nels L. Nelson, a professor of English at Brigham Young University, a personal friend of Joseph F. Smith, and a Democrat, published an open letter to Thatcher calling his "popularity . . . a case of noise, not number." Nelson believed that many Democrats had watched Thatcher's movements "first with anxiety and then with amazement, and at last with disgust." Nelson concluded, "Alas, alas, I could sob for anguish when I think of your course."⁷⁰

Thatcher consistently phrased his position positively—he was defending his liberty as an American citizen—but the General Authorities and many members construed such affirmations as attacks on Church leaders. Thus, by the summer of 1897, his

⁶⁶"Thatcher's Speech," *Tri-Weekly Journal*, 23 February 1897, 4.

⁶⁷"Thatcher's Surprise," *Tri-Weekly Journal*, 13 March 1897, 1.

⁶⁸*Ibid.*

⁶⁹"Editorial," *Tri-Weekly Journal*, 16 August 1897, 4.

⁷⁰"Answer to Nelson," *Tri-Weekly Journal*, 20 March 1897, 5. The *Journal* published Nelson's letter with an answer.

membership was in jeopardy. On 30 July 1897, Apostles Brigham Young, Jr., Francis M. Lyman, and Heber J. Grant, all Democrats, sent a letter to the Salt Lake Stake presidency and high council preferring a charge against Moses Thatcher "of apostasy and un-Christian like conduct, exhibited in public speeches, private conversations, in interviews through newspapers, and in other ways, showing a departure from the spirit of the Gospel and the doctrine and discipline of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints."⁷¹ At this point, the former apostle, stripped of office, fell under the jurisdiction of his stake of residence. The Salt Lake Stake presidency consisted of Angus M. Cannon, Joseph E. Taylor, and Charles W. Penrose. Cannon and Taylor, Republicans, had been serving for more than two decades in office, and Penrose, a Democrat, had served for almost a decade.

Now on trial for his membership, Thatcher appeared in the sessions. The court commenced on Friday, 6 August 1897, and continued with daily sessions (except Sunday) until August 13. Though complete minutes of this trial are confidential, some of what went on was published in the newspapers in articles prepared by the stake presidency and high council with Thatcher's permission. Thatcher agreed that the trial was conducted under the ordinary rules of the high council,⁷² except that greater latitude than common was allowed in the introduction of evidence and in statements on either side; and adjournments were taken from time to time in consideration of Thatcher's "still-feeble health."⁷³ As the date of the trial approached, he suffered a relapse, which probably

⁷¹The letter is published in toto in *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* (hereafter cited as *Smoot Hearings*), 4 vols. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1906), 1:563.

⁷²Doctrine and Covenants 102 outlines general procedures for conducting church courts (since 1989 called disciplinary councils). The high councilors drew numbers, one through twelve. Those with even numbers spoke in defense of the accused; those with odd numbers brought evidence against him. At the conclusion of the trial, the stake president ruled on the defendant's guilt or innocence, seeking the support of his counselors and the high council.

⁷³Smoot Hearings, 565.

indicates that at least some of his health problems were stress related.

THE HIGH COUNCIL COURT

The court opened with prayer, then Angus Cannon read thirteen charges against Thatcher in his presence:

1. In his interview published in the *Salt Lake Tribune* on 15 November 1896, which he admitted was reported accurately, he there “virtually charges the authorities of the Church with bad faith, in declaring, first, that they would not interfere in politics, and next that they intended to and would interfere, and this practically annulled their former declaration.” He had declared he was ready “to champion the cause [imperilled] by the latest declaration of church authorities.”

2. He had given “to the public private correspondence between himself and President Lorenzo Snow which related only to church and Quorum matters,” he had broken his pledge of confidentiality.

3. He had stated “using language as follows in his reply to President Snow, Although the judges before whom I am to be arraigned have nearly all expressed an opinion as to the merits of my case; although my accusers are to sit in judgment over me although a verdict has already been delivered against me, and without a hearing . . . that I have absolutely nothing to hope for in any other than a public hearing as I now request.”

4. He had failed to meet with the Twelve for a hearing called at his own request. (This charge referred to the meeting on 12 November 1896 which he had not attended.)

5. He had “resort[ed] to the quibble that he was not invited to the meeting one week later when he was notified that his case would be considered, and in stating, ‘since judgment in these matters has been already passed.’”

6. He had charged President Snow with publicizing matters to “gratify the curiosity of five young men.”

7. He had “endeavor[ed] to make it appear that the authorities of the church, in publishing the declaration of principles, has contradicted what they previously announced in the *Deseret News* and in an interview with the *Salt Lake Times*; as to the political liberty of the members of the Church he used [this] language, ‘there was no limitation to its [the declaration’s] application and in view of the

fact that nearly every male member of the church holds some office, and, as there has as yet been no public decision announced as to the officers to be controlled. . . the danger being that it could be applied to restrain the liberties of the people. . . when the manifesto was presented it appeared to my mind as a command of all to recognize the right of the Church authorities to control political concerns.”

8. “While protesting against the mingling of religion and politics, he repeatedly thrust his differences with the Church into political speeches, as for instance in the legislature at the close of the senatorial contest, and at a reception given to him in Logan, February 12, 1897” declaring, “He who votes for the union of the two [church and state] or of the overruling of the Church by the state, has no friend in Utah.”

9. He had told the legislators, “No legislator can keep his oath of office inviolate, if he or she allows the officials of an ecclesiastical organization to control his actions within the province of the state.”

10. He had said that “if the state is to be controlled by the declarations of the church its sovereignty is lost and its independence is a myth and iridescent dream. . . . It is only in this spirit [of Jefferson and Jackson] that Utah will continue redeemed from thralldom as obnoxious as that of African slavery or Russian serfdom.”

11. He had repeated some statements in introducing Foster in Logan on 17 February 1897.

12. “No matter what were his intentions, the effect of his utterances carried on the public mind was that he was fighting the church on a vital question, namely the political liberties of the members of the church. That he was the champion of freedom as against the chains which the Church was forging to bind them. . . . Brother Thatcher . . . fostered the idea that his brethren of the twelve, or some of them at least, were his enemies and that they deemed to do him injury.”⁷⁴

Thatcher then was given unlimited time to explain his position and feelings, after which the high councilors expressed their views. The high council took the position that the Political Manifesto did

⁷⁴“The Thatcher Case,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, 14 August 1897, 1; see also “The Thatcher Case,” *Tri-Weekly Journal*, 16 August 1895, 1, 5.

not refer to every priesthood holder but only to the highest of church officers—the General Authorities. Thatcher, at the end of the trial, pled that he “sustained the church authorities so strongly that he would have gone to the middle of Africa if they had whispered to him that this was their wish.” Some unnamed members of the court asked that if that was his faith why then “would he not conform to the simple rule which they submitted to him for his signature?” He stated that as the rule was now explained he had “seen the light.” They responded: “We are glad that you can see that you were in error when you set up your individual judgment against that of all the leading authorities of the Church.” Thatcher expressed his willingness and desire to make right all the wrongs he had done to any of his brethren and also to comply with the decision of the council, whatever that might be. He admitted his errors and said he believed he had been in the dark; but for the past week, he had been seeking light and believed it had come during the trial.⁷⁵

Prior to making their final decision, the high council engaged in a rather long and spirited discussion on what to do with the priesthood Thatcher held. Finally, they agreed that he must not exercise it. Subsequent events proved that Thatcher did not always abide by this rule. For example, in 1902 he dedicated the grave of his brother, George Washington Thatcher.⁷⁶

The court’s decision, as published in the *Salt Lake Tribune*, was:

The charges against Brother Moses Thatcher have been sustained. In order to retain his standing and fellowship in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, the court decided he must publish a statement to the satisfaction and approval of the Presidency of the stake of Zion fully covering the following points: “One, that he now sees that there is no conflict between the declaration and the former utterances in reference to political affairs, that he was mistaken in conveying the idea that the church authorities desired and intended to unite church and state, or to exercise undue influence in political affairs, that wherein the public

⁷⁵Ibid.

⁷⁶Conversation, 19 March 1996, with an employee of the LDS Church Historical department who, with the permission of his managing director, a General Authority, read the minutes of Thatcher’s trial and told me of the discussion regarding use of priesthood. That Thatcher subsequently sometimes used his authority is found in newspaper accounts of his later activities.

has been led to believe through his utterances that the leaders of the church were forging chains to bind the members of the church, an impression was created which he did not intend and does not wish to prevail.

Two, that he admit that wherein he has placed the authorities of the church in a false position, however unintentionally, he has done them an injustice, and is ready to make such amends as lie in his power.

Three, that he acknowledges the First Presidency, and Council of the Apostles as God's servants, as prophets, seers, and revelators, and their authority is supreme in the Church. That when one man is out of harmony with them in the acquisition and in the enunciation of a rule for the guidance of the Church, he must submit to the rule or be regarded as not in full fellowship.

Four, that no member of the church has the right to oppose and bring into contempt any rule of the church which has been formulated by proper authority, especially when it has been adopted by the church as a body.

Five, that he was in error in stating in his published letter to President Lorenzo Snow, "During all these weary months while friends in [high] positions believed I was on the verge of the grave, I was administered to only once by members of our quorum, although day after day engagements made for that purpose were, for reasons unknown to me, not kept."⁷⁷

Six, that he knows of no higher allegiance or more solemn and binding obligations, than those of a religious character between a man and his God.

Seven, that in speaking of change, impressions, curtailment of liberty, malice, anger, spite, and revenge, he did not intend to reflect upon the authorities of the church in any way and is grieved that his language has been so construed.

Eight, that in failing to attend the meeting of the Twelve Apostles on November 12, and again on November 19, he made a grave mistake, which he now regrets, though he did not see it then in that light, that he believes his brethren of the apostles have been actuated by desires for his salvation and not his destruction, and that though their rebukes have been sharp, they were intended to bring him to a sense of his true position, that wherein he has wronged any of his brethren by word, deed,

⁷⁷See accounts of visits and administrations in John Henry Smith, *Diary*, 12 April 1896, 4 May 1896, 25 June 1896, 9 July 1896, 26 July 1896, 27 July 1896, and Franklin D. Richards, *Diary*, 23 April 1896, 21 May 1896, 17 July 1896, and 17 September 1896. Heber J. Grant and Brigham Young, Jr., were also involved in these visits. Perhaps Thatcher's memory was muddled by morphine.

or improper understanding of their spirit and intent, he now asks their forgiveness.

Finally, admit that he has obtained light wherein he was in the dark and can sustain in his faith and feelings the authorities of the church, its doctrines, rules, and regulations, and desires the fellowship of the church, and he'll humbly ask forgiveness for all his faults.⁷⁸

The stake presidency and high council gave Thatcher thirty days to respond, but he sent a short letter to Cannon, Taylor, and Penrose only twenty-four hours later on 13 August, accepting the high council's decision completely and expressing his willingness to comply completely: "Having repeatedly affirmed willingness to make amends where I have wronged my brethren in public utterances or otherwise while under misapprehensions as to the true situation and as you have informed me that I do this by accepting your decision, and as the course would prevent arguments and disputes as to whether I have complied in full with all requirements, I make the decision, just as you rendered . . . and I authorize you to make it public in any manner you may here deem proper."⁷⁹

When the stake presidency received Thatcher's letter they issued a statement declaring that it was satisfactory and that he could retain his church membership and priesthood but not use it. For his part, Thatcher said he was politically free and could accept the Declaration of Principle, as he called it, without "stultifying" himself.⁸⁰

The day following the court's decision, a *Tribune* reporter had short interview with Thatcher. Thatcher told the reporter he had been visited by several unnamed General Authorities and was preparing to depart for Logan. "I am glad," he said, "it is all over. . . . I am as free as ever and have not violated any of the party pledges which I have made in the past, as to my soliciting the forgiveness of my Brethren I have always said that I would make amends if it could be shown that I had wronged them."⁸¹

⁷⁸"The Thatcher Case," *Tri-Weekly Journal*, 17 August 1897, 1, 5; also "The Thatcher Case," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 14 August 1897, 1.

⁷⁹"That Thatcher Case," *Tri-Weekly Journal*, 17 August 1897, 7.

⁸⁰"The Thatcher Case," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 14 August 1897, 1.

⁸¹"He Obeys," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 15 August 1897, 1.

What factors had caused Thatcher's change of heart? Why did he capitulate in August of 1897, when he had refused the importunings of his colleagues in the spring of 1896 and had continued that refusal through two more conferences? Perhaps part of the answer lies in the fact that, with the political contest over, Thatcher had both the time and the motive to reflect deeply and broadly about his faith and politics. Second, he had had a year and a half to experience the reality of ostracism caused by being out of harmony with his brethren. Third, by the fall of 1897, he was in relatively good health. Addiction to morphine not infrequently brings with it feelings of paranoia, depression, and mistrust of associates.⁸² Thatcher, now free from his addiction for a year, was better capable of thinking clearly. Moreover, he had been assured by Church leaders that the Political Manifesto required only General Authorities to receive First Presidency permission to run for elective office, not Latter-day Saints in general. Thatcher assured the reporter that, had that clarification been part of the original document, he would have signed in April 1896.⁸³ Finally, B. H. Roberts and other friends and admirers appealed to Thatcher's religious convictions—to faith that transcended political values.⁸⁴

In short, when faced with being severed completely from Mormonism, a movement for which he had sacrificed so much, Thatcher finally chose church over state.

THE FINAL YEARS

With his Church membership secure, the fifty-seven-year-old Thatcher continued to reside in Salt Lake City and Logan, devoting himself to a variety of business activities. He remained interested in politics but confined his political interest to supporting Democratic candidates for public office, speaking in Democratic conventions, serving as a delegate at county and state conventions, and consult-

⁸²Lester Bush, M.D., Letter to Kenneth W. Godfrey, 4 August 1979, and conversation with Raymond Malouf, M.D., 22 September 1979.

⁸³"Judgment," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 14 August 1897, 8, and "He Obeys," 1. The *Tribune* announced on 14 August 1897 that Thatcher would remain in the Church and that he now endorsed the Manifesto.

⁸⁴See B. H. Roberts, Letter to Moses Thatcher, 6 November 1896, found by E. Leo Lyman who shared a copy me.

ing frequently about politics with Utah Democrats. In 1902, state Democratic party chair Frank J. Cannon asked Thatcher to address the Weber County Democratic convention, but Thatcher declined, citing the press of business.⁸⁵ Thatcher also declined a similar request to speak to Salt Lake County Democrats by S. A. King, the county chairman.⁸⁶

This restraint was remarkable, considering his popularity. In February 1899, thirty-three members of the state legislature sent Thatcher a letter asking that he permit them to nominate him for the U.S. Senate.⁸⁷ Since only thirty-two votes were required for election, this show of support was tantamount to election; further, because the Democrats were in control, Thatcher would almost certainly have won. Thatcher declined, arguing insightfully that electing a polygamist to the Senate would almost certainly intensify public hostility toward Mormons.⁸⁸ B. H. Roberts had already been denied a seat in the U.S. House of Representatives because he was a polygamist.

On 3 May 1902 Thatcher sent a confidential letter to the Utah County Democratic chairman W. M. Roylance of Springville, arguing that Utah really needed just one political party and could not afford to continue to sponsor two. The Church fostered so much unity among its membership that most Mormons tended to vote for the same candidates. In Illinois in 1900, John Alexander Dowe had organized the Theocratic Party and Thatcher thought that even though Utahns could not openly use the same name, there was no reason for either Republicans or Democrats to complain about

⁸⁵Moses Thatcher, Letter to Frank J. Cannon, 28 October 1902, Thatcher Papers. Frank Cannon for many years was an active member of the Republican Party, which elected him in 1896 one of Utah's two first senators. Late in 1898, he left the Republican Party and became a Democrat. By 1902 he was the state's chief Democrat.

⁸⁶Moses Thatcher, Letter to S. A. King, 28 October 1902, Thatcher Papers.

⁸⁷"Thatcher Declines," *Tri-Weekly Journal*, 16 February 1899, 1.

⁸⁸Thatcher, the husband of three wives, all of whom he had married before 1890, believed that the 1890 Manifesto meant exactly what it said—that no new marriages should be contracted. Other General Authorities held other positions, leading to some subterfuge, confusion, and embarrassment until Joseph F. Smith issued a Second Manifesto in 1904. When Thatcher's daughter, Ida, became a plural wife, Thatcher wrote her out of his will. See Thatcher Papers.

ecclesiastical influence in politics because they both sought the support of Church leaders for their candidates. Thatcher continued, "While I am not prepared to endorse 'Theocracy' in all things . . . for more than a quarter of a century I have advocated as an ideal government pending His [the Savior's] coming a Theo-Democratic form as being the purest and best form of government."⁸⁹ It is unclear what role he might have seen for himself in this single party nor why, after devoting himself so ardently to two-party politics for at least two decades, he was abandoning that democratic institution at this point. Ironically, Thatcher's views have, as a matter of practical politics, prevailed. Almost a century after his recommendation, Utah has become, in essence, a one-party state.

His business interests were broad and varied. He served as vice president of Thatcher Brothers Bank which had been established in 1899, on the Utah Farmers Loan Association, on the board of directors of the Thatcher Milling and Elevator Company, as president of the Oneida Mercantile Union, and as president of a similar institution in the Mormon colonies in Mexico. He also owned a 55,000 acre ranch in Mexico, and held stock in mining companies, in the Logan Sugar Beet Company, and in the *Tri-Weekly Journal*. He also served on the board of Logan's Brigham Young College.

One of Cache Valley's wealthiest citizens, he took an interesting political and economic position in the fall of 1900 when he delivered a lecture at Brigham Young College favoring socialism. "Socialism, as with Mormonism, has been associated as a more or less odium in the public mind and therefore many have rejected the tenets before investigating them." However, Thatcher believed the world was improving and socialism would only accelerate humankind's improvement. He was tendered an impressive ovation as he concluded his lecture. His audience accepted his words with a "profound impression," and he was "heartily congratulated" by many.⁹⁰

Though without a Church position, he spoke in religious meetings, including gatherings of the Mutual Improvement Associations

⁸⁹Moses Thatcher, Letter to W. M. Roylance, 3 May 1902, Moses Thatcher letter book, Thatcher Papers.

⁹⁰"Moses Thatcher on Socialism," *Tri-Weekly Journal*, 30 October 1900, 2.

on both a ward level and at their general conferences in Salt Lake City. Perhaps no Cache Valley resident exceeded him in the number of funeral sermons delivered.⁹¹ He also delivered lectures at Church-sponsored firesides about his experiences in Mexico as a mission president and as president of the Mormon colonies' co-operative.

Early in the fall of 1901, Thatcher drove out alone from his Salt Lake City home with a team of young thoroughbreds. Almost immediately, the inexperienced horses spooked, then bolted. Thatcher, seeing that the buggy was going to collide with some steps, attempted to jump free but was dragged fifty feet before disentangling himself. He suffered a number of contusions but recovered, apparently completely.⁹²

In July 1902, Isaac Smith, president of the Cache Valley Stake, delivered a funeral sermon. George Washington Thatcher, Moses' brother, former Logan mayor, and prominent Utah businessman, believed that Smith had made some disparaging remarks against Moses in the sermon, and he expressed his resentment to Smith outside the tabernacle. Smith's answer, lost in the noise of the crowd, denied that he intended any reflections on the ex-apostle. George, learning of Smith's disclaimers, stopped him the next day on Logan's main street to apologize. They talked too long. An argument ensued, followed by a scuffle. Thatcher boxed Smith's ears. The following day, Smith charged George with battery. George pleaded guilty, was fined five dollars, and was reconciled to Smith.⁹³

During the fall and winter of 1902, George became ill with dropsy. Moses suffered as he cared for his brother. One night he had an "extremely gratifying dream." He saw his brother "without a wrinkle in his face and a body strong and active, having ridges of muscles standing out all over him, like those of an athlete. . . . In a

⁹¹To cite only a few examples, the *Tri-Weekly Journal* reports funeral sermons on 17 July 1906, 5 September 1905, 14 November 1905, and 16 February 1906. On at least one occasion, 17 July 1906, he spoke on the plan of salvation, bearing a strong testimony of "the truth of the great Latter-day work." On another occasion he shared the pulpit with Charles W. Penrose who then spent the night in the Thatcher home. (It would be interesting to know what these two Democrats talked about.)

⁹²No title, *Tri-Weekly Journal*, 1 October 1901, 8.

⁹³No headline, *Tri-Weekly Journal*, 4 July 1902.

word, I saw him the picture of his youthful manhood, active, graceful, strong and happy. God can so order it! Let us have faith that he will."⁹⁴ Late in December 1902, George Washington Thatcher died and Moses mourned.

Late in February 1904, United States Marshall B. B. Hayward served a subpoena summoning him with more than three dozen Mormons to testify at the Reed Smoot hearings, which had begun 16 January. Thatcher, however, was ill with the flu which prevented him from traveling to Washington, D.C., until April 1904. Before Thatcher's appearance, Joseph F. Smith, Angus M. Cannon, Francis M. Lyman, and others testified. Still other Mormon luminaries that would appear included Richard W. Young, Charles W. Penrose, James E. Talmage, John M. Whittaker, George Reynolds, and Reed Smoot himself.

Thatcher testified 25-27 April 1904. He spent most of the first day answering questions about his life in the Church and reviewing his "friction" with leading Church authorities. Reasoner's pamphlet, *Church and State*, was entered into the record, as well as other documents recounting Thatcher's dispute with General Authorities over the Political Manifesto. He told the senators that he would not have made peace with church leaders had he not been informed he "was absolutely free as an American citizen to exercise his rights as such, and [that] the manifesto only applied to high church authorities. Had it been interpreted that way in April of 1896, he would have signed with his other brethren."⁹⁵

Thatcher also testified that he did not believe that the Church endorsed or opposed political candidates outright.⁹⁶ Earlier witnesses had spent considerable time trying to establish that the temple endowment imposed an oath of vengeance for Joseph Smith's death that overrode the oath a senator must take to uphold the constitution. Thatcher denied that anything in Mormon temple rites was antithetical to the American political system. Then, closing

⁹⁴Moses Thatcher, Letter to H. E. Hatch, 21 November 1902, Thatcher Papers.

⁹⁵Smoot Hearings, 1:1050.

⁹⁶*Ibid.*, 1:1039.

his testimony, he asserted, "I have never experienced a moment in my life since I reached mature years when I did not feel that if I was not free I would go where I could be free; for, while my allegiance to God is very high, I hold that a man must give his allegiance, as well, to country. That has been my position."⁹⁷

After his three days of testimony, Thatcher conducted business in Philadelphia and New York, attended the St. Louis Exposition, and returned to Logan after an absence of a little more than a month, already anticipating the fall presidential election. He told a reporter that Alton B. Parker would probably be the Democratic nominee for that office and that though he probably had problems with name recognition he "will be elected if nominated." (Parker did secure the nomination but suffered defeat from Republican Theodore Roosevelt.) Thatcher also astutely observed that the Church, not Smoot, was on trial, and that no one could predict "the course of the committee." Smoot, as it turned out, was allowed to retain his Senate seat.

When Cache County Democrats convened in their county convention in June 1904, Thatcher gave a long and strong speech extolling a fair wage for all workers, castigating the Republican Party, and proclaiming that "Utahns are free and if they do not use their agency at the polls they should not complain."⁹⁸

As election day drew closer, Thatcher spoke at political rallies in most of Cache County's communities. In one talk delivered at Hyrum, Utah, he read to the audience an article from the *Logan Republican*⁹⁹ which said that "Democrats first tried to land an apostle in the Senate," and that the "Smoot and Thatcher cases were similar." Thatcher strongly denied it:

The instances had no parallel. I never saw a moment in my life when I did not maintain that it was wrong for a member of the Quorum of the Apostles to leave his high and holy work to engage in political or other such affairs. And why did you do it, you will ask? I did not! I was

⁹⁷Ibid., 1:1050.

⁹⁸"Rally to Colors," *Tri-Weekly Journal*, 7 June 1904, 1.

⁹⁹To offset the influence of the Democrat *Tri-Weekly Journal*, Herschel Bullen and Charles W. Nibley established the *Logan Republican* in 1896. Alter, *Early Utah Journalism*, 106.

not present at the Democratic Convention in Ogden in 1895 that recommended that if the next legislature be Democratic that Moses Thatcher, not Mr. Rawlins be sent to the senate. Mr. Moses Thatcher was unfrocked after the 19th day of October 1896 and the legislature before which he was a candidate did not convene until January 1897. When Moses Thatcher was a candidate for the Senate, he was simply a lay member of the Mormon church.¹⁰⁰

Just prior to the election, Thatcher gave a long talk in favor of peace and democracy. He believed that Roosevelt glorified fighting and would lead the nation into war and that the Republicans were the party of taxation and excessive spending.¹⁰¹

It seems clear that 1904 had been a year of high achievement and personal recognition for Moses Thatcher, thanks to his successful testimony at the Smoot hearings and his spirited, though unsuccessful, campaign for Democratic candidates in the fall. For the next five years, he gave more attention to his business responsibilities, attempted unsuccessfully to introduce sugar beets in Mexico, and tried unsuccessfully to sell his large ranch there.¹⁰² He sought repose at increasingly frequent intervals and spent the winter of 1908-09 in Los Angeles with his wife Lettie and a niece, hoping the sea and sun would restore his strength.¹⁰³ He returned to Logan in the spring of 1909, still ailing, and spent another summer of forced inactivity in Logan Canyon.

Thatcher died on 24 August 1909, and newspapers across the nation carried reports and tributes, their number and variety illustrative of his nationwide fame. His long-time friend Democrat B. H. Roberts and his relative and Republican friend Apostle John Henry Smith eulogized him in the Logan Tabernacle he had helped to build.¹⁰⁴ The building could not hold the throngs who came to pay

¹⁰⁰"James Moyle's Big Ovation at Hyrum," *Tri-Weekly Journal*, 6 October 1904, 8. In fact, the 1897 legislature, dominated by Republicans, sent Frank J. Cannon to the Senate. Later Cannon turned on the Republican Party over the silver issue and became prominent in Democratic politics before helping found the anti-Mormon American Party in 1907.

¹⁰¹"Moses Thatcher's Speech," *Tri-Weekly Journal*, 8 November 1896, 1.

¹⁰²See Moses Thatcher letter book, 1902-09, Thatcher Papers.

¹⁰³Moses Thatcher, Letter to Moses Thatcher, Jr., 26 March 1909, Thatcher Papers.

their last respects to the maverick former apostle. His body rests in the Logan City Cemetery.

CONCLUSION

What did Moses Thatcher accomplish? Almost certainly his refusal to sign the Political Manifesto made Church leaders more cautious about political matters. Diaries and eyewitness accounts provide ample evidence that, during Utah's territorial period, Church officials were not hesitant to involve themselves in politics. Thatcher's stand and his lost apostleship dramatized that Caesar does have a realm separate from Christ's. Thatcher made such a distinction clearer than it had been before. But even he must have realized that a mingling of church and state must at times take place. Politics too often involves moral issues and churches, including his own, feel obligated to oppose all legislation they deem immoral.

At the same time, dropping Thatcher from the Quorum of the Twelve signaled the hierarchy's determination that internal harmony must prevail above all other considerations, a message not lost on Thatcher's fellows, especially after it was underscored by requiring the resignations of John W. Taylor and Matthias Cowley as part of the Smoot strategy. By becoming an apostle, he had freely made a commitment and was therefore no longer completely free. He was especially not free to break the rules of that circle of brothers, and Thatcher should have realized this fact earlier. His fellow apostles only acted in accordance with their own rules when they expelled him.

But Thatcher's dismissal may have been partly the result of bad timing for his intransigence. I see suggestions that, had his health been better, he would have approached his differences with the other apostles more flexibly and perhaps found ways to resolve them, allowing him to retain his standing in the Quorum of the Twelve. His mental problems, perhaps caused but certainly exacerbated by his morphine addiction and recovery, prevented reconciliation. Individual apostles frequently visited Thatcher and gave him

¹⁰⁴Members of the Thatcher family asked fellow Democrat and Apostle Orson F. Whitney to speak at the funeral but he was in Canada on Church business, and Apostle Charles W. Penrose was presiding over the European Mission.

every opportunity to make peace, as their diaries testify. They worked with him in patience and concern; they inflicted discipline only reluctantly. Even the high council gave him a fair hearing, suffered long in their labors with him, and seemed glad when he agreed to abide by their decision. Looking back it seems that the gulf separating him from his fellow apostles was neither wide nor deep enough to have caused such irreparable damage.

Had Thatcher remained silent, refusing newspaper interviews and invitations to speak until the differences were reconciled, it is almost certain that he could have reclaimed his apostleship. Yet compelled by his pride and his conscience, he moved toward what can be seen as an unnecessary martyrdom on an issue that today may seem trivial. One of Utah's most popular politicians, he was not governed by practical considerations at this crucial point in his life. Ironically, had he been more politically and less religiously motivated, more self-serving and less spiritually committed to the highest ideals of personal integrity, he would not have chosen this collision course with Mormon religious and political history.

SINGLE MEN IN A POLYGAMOUS SOCIETY: MALE MARRIAGE PATTERNS IN MANTI, UTAH

Kathryn M. Daynes

WITH CHARACTERISTIC overstatement, Brigham Young in 1868 told his audience that Joseph Smith, the Prophet, had informed him:

you will have to take more than one wife, and this order [plural marriage] has to spread and increase until the inhabitants of the earth repent of their evils and men will do what is right towards the females. . . . Do men do that which is right now? No. You see travelers—young, middle-aged, or old—roaming over the world, and ask them where their families are, and the answer will generally be, “I have none.” You go to the city of New York, and among the merchants there I doubt whether there is one man in three who has a wife.

He further declared that England and other nations should “pass a law to make men do as they should in honoring the daughters of Eve and making wives of and providing for them. . . . I would be willing to give up half or two-thirds of my wives, or to let the whole of them go, if it was necessary, if those who should take them

KATHRYN M. DAYNES is assistant professor of history at Brigham Young University where she teaches American family and social history. Her research has focused on Mormon polygamy and marriage patterns in the United States.

would lead them to eternal salvation.”¹ Plural marriage was necessary, according to Brigham Young (at least on this occasion), because too few men were willing to marry and to provide for women.

Although Young’s comments were couched within the framework of the whole world, they were in fact addressed to those within the territory, the overwhelming majority of whom were quite willing to marry if they could. As George Q. Cannon indicated in 1882, however, males outnumbered females in the territory.² Such an imbalance in the sex ratio would clearly put men at a disadvantage in the marriage market. This disadvantage was exacerbated by the practice of plural marriage because married men remained active competitors for single women. Despite the disadvantages of males in the Utah marriage market, an in-depth study of marriage patterns in Manti, Utah, shows that only a small percentage of men failed eventually to marry and that they married at younger ages than men generally in the United States during the second half of the nineteenth century.

With one exception, every census report from 1850 through 1890, the year the Manifesto curtailed new plural marriages, confirms that men outnumbered women in Utah. For every 100 females in 1850, there were 113 males; but in 1860 and 1870, the sex ratio—the number of males per 100 females—had declined to almost an equal number of men and women, 101 and 99 respectively. By 1880 the sex ratio had climbed slightly to 107, however, and by 1890 the ratio at 112 had almost reached its 1850 level again.³

¹ Brigham Young, 9 August 1868, *Journal of Discourses* 26 vols. (London and Liverpool: LDS Booksellers Depot, 1855-86), 12:261-62.

² George Q. Cannon, 25 June 1882, *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (London and Liverpool: LDS Booksellers Depot, 1855-86), 24:46.

³ *The Seventh Census of the United States, 1850* (Washington, D.C.: Robert Armstrong, Public Printer, 1853), 988-93; *Population of the United States in 1860: Compiled from the Original Returns of the Eighth Census* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1864), 574; *Ninth Census. Vol. 2: The Vital Statistics of the United States* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1872), 608-18; *Compendium of the Tenth Census (June 1, 1880)* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1883), 618, 624, 630, 636, 642, 648; *Compendium of the Eleventh Census: 1890. Part 3* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1897), 244.

The overall sex ratio does not tell the whole story, however. If men fifteen to twenty-nine years old greatly outnumber the women their same ages, those men will feel the shortage of women, no matter how many single women over sixty lived in their society. In short, the most important sex ratios in this context are not overall ratios but rather those for people in the prime marrying ages. In 1850 the sex ratio for those fifteen to twenty-nine was quite high. There were 124 males for every 100 females, not an unusual ratio for a frontier area in its earliest stages of settlement. Rapid immigration into Utah during the 1850s both greatly expanded and changed the population. By 1860 the sex ratio for those in the prime marrying ages dropped to 93; within a decade the shortage of women had turned into a surplus. By 1870 the numbers of men and women of prime marrying age were almost equal, by 1880 men again outnumbered women slightly (sex ratio of 105), and by 1890 the sex ratio had climbed to 116 for those fifteen to twenty-nine. These sex ratios indicate that men of this age group significantly outnumbered women of similar age only in 1850 and 1890; in the intervening decades either there was a shortage of young men or they were only slightly more numerous than young women. Thus the marriage market was not as disadvantageous for young men as the sex ratio for the entire Utah population would suggest.

It is unclear, though, how many non-Mormon men, such as soldiers, merchants, and miners, were included in each census. Dean May has calculated that non-Mormons accounted for 12 percent of Utah's population in 1860 and 21 percent in 1880.⁴ Because non-Mormon men undoubtedly outnumbered non-Mormon women in nineteenth-century Utah, the preponderance of men, as shown in the census, is unlikely to reflect the sex ratio within the Mormon population.

In any case, Mormon women concerned about their exaltation would choose not only a Mormon husband but also one considered

⁴Dean L. May, "A Demographic Portrait of the Mormons, 1830-1980," in *After 150 Years: The Latter-day Saints in Sesquicentennial Perspective*, edited by Thomas G. Alexander and Jessie L. Embry, Charles Redd Monographs in Western History No. 13 (Midvale, Utah: Signature Books for Charles Redd Center for Western Studies), 51, 67.

worthy to receive his endowments and be sealed to a wife—or wives. Those not considered worthy could neither receive their endowments nor be sealed for eternity. During the 1850s not every one sealed had previously received his or her endowments; but after that time it appears well established that the ritual of the endowment preceded the marriage-cum-sealing ceremony. To be worthy to participate in either, a person had to be a member in good standing in the Church. A woman who wanted to be married for eternity had to choose a man worthy to be endowed.

In every year sampled from the Endowment House records listing endowments of the living, however, women who received their endowments outnumbered men who did so. During the year preceding 5 May 1856, only 82 men were endowed for every 100 women. Four years later—during the year from 20 August 1859 to 15 August 1860—the number of men endowed for every 100 women dropped to 76.⁵ Ten years later (7 June 1869 to 30 May 1870), it had dropped even further to 73. A decade later, by the year ending 3 June 1880, it had risen to 83 but fell again to the nadir of 73 in the last full year endowments were given in the Endowment House, 15 October 1883 to 16 October 1884.⁶

From the 1850s to the 1880s, then, the number of women receiving their temple blessings exceeded the number of men who did. Thus, in the marriage market containing only those desiring temple ordinances, men were at a decided advantage—or they would have been so in a monogamous system. Under a such system, women who wished to be sealed to a mate would have experienced a marriage squeeze; that is, they would have encountered a scarcity of endowed males. In short, a Mormon woman who wished to be married in the temple would have had reduced chances of such a marriage under a monogamous system. The marriage squeeze against endowed women eased slightly in the 1870s, but there still would have been a conspicuous shortage of men.

⁵The ordinance of the endowment was suspended from 18 March 1858, to 20 August 1859, during the Utah War.

⁶Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, "Endowments of the Living, 1855-1884," Vols. B-J (5 May 1855-16 Oct 1884), microfilm of MS, Film Nos. 183404-1183409, Family History Library, Salt Lake City, Utah.

Similarly, in the Mormon town of Manti, which had few non-Mormon residents in the nineteenth century, women would have experienced a marriage squeeze had plural marriage not been allowed. Because information to reconstruct marital histories had to be gathered from a variety of sources, it was necessary to select a small population to analyze intensively. Manti, a town about one hundred miles south of Salt Lake City, was chosen because it was among the first Mormon settlements outside Salt Lake Valley and remained small enough to permit intensive study, but it was also significant enough to be selected as the site for the Mormon temple in central Utah.

Moreover, the marriage patterns of Manti residents are near the average of those for Utah as a whole. Of those listed on the 1880 Manti manuscript census, 25.2 percent of men, women, and children were living in polygamous families. In comparison, Lowell "Ben" Bennion found that 21.8 percent of Latter-day Saints in Davis Stake and 33.0 percent in St. George Stake lived in plural families in 1880, averaging 27.6 percent. Also, Dean May's study revealed that 24 percent of Kanab residents in 1874 were members of polygamous families.⁷ Thus, the percentage of Manti residents living in plural families appears to be near average levels elsewhere. In addition, 44 percent of women eighteen years old or older listed on the 1860 were currently involved in polygamous marriages, the same percentage as in three 1860 wards studied by Marie Cornwall, Camela Courtright, and Laga Van Beek.⁸ And finally, mean age at marriage for Manti women was similar to that of other Mormons. Manti women born before 1852 married either monogamously or polygamously in Utah for the first time at the mean age of 20.28, while those born between 1852 and 1870 or who immigrated between 1870 and 1887 married on average at age 21.07. These mean ages are near the mean age of 20.86 for monogamous Mormon women

⁷Lowell "Ben" Bennion, "Incidence of Mormon Polygamy in 1880: 'Dixie' versus Davis Stake," *Journal of Mormon History* 11 (1984): 27-42; Dean L. May, "People on the Mormon Frontier: Kanab's Families of 1874," *Journal of Family History* 1 (1976): 179.

⁸Marie Cornwall, Camela Courtright, and Laga Van Beek, "How Common the Principle? Women as Plural Wives in 1860," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 26 (Summer 1993): 148.

born between 1800 and 1869 calculated by Geraldine Mineau, Lee Bean, and Mark Skolnick using the large database collected in the Mormon Historical Demographic Project.⁹ Thus Manti appears to lie within the mainstream of Mormon marital experience.

The sex ratios for Manti's fifteen-to-twenty-nine-year-old population supports the idea that the number of non-Mormon men raised the proportion of men in Utah's population. Manti's sex ratios were always at lower levels than Utah's, although roughly following Utah's pattern. Whereas Utah generally had 124 men of prime marrying age for every 100 females in 1850, Manti had only 107. By 1860 Utah's sex ratio had dropped precipitously to 93; Manti's also dropped considerably, to 84. The difference of 9 between the sex ratios, when Utah's sex ratio was at its nadir in 1860, is the least difference between the territory's and Manti's figures. In 1870 Utah's sex ratio climbed to 99, but Manti's continued to drop, reaching its nadir at 81. By 1880 both Utah's and Manti's sex ratio for those of prime marrying age was rising: Utah had 105 men for every 100 females, while in Manti men were still in short supply, only 89 for every 100 females.¹⁰ In the Mormon community of Manti, then, men fifteen to twenty-nine years old were considerably outnumbered by women those same ages from 1860 through 1880.¹¹

Without plural marriage, women would have been at a disadvantage in the marriage market because of the scarcity of men near their ages. Plural marriage was, however, an important feature of nineteenth-century Mormon marriage patterns, and one of its con-

⁹G. P. Mineau, Lee L. Bean, and Mark Skolnick, "Mormon Demographic History II: The Family Life Cycle and Natural Fertility," *Population Studies* 33 (1979): 437.

¹⁰No comparison is available for 1890 because the 1890 U.S. manuscript census was destroyed in a fire; aggregate studies of the 1890 census do not include a breakdown by sex of Manti's population.

¹¹Similarly, Dean May's calculations for Cache County in 1880 show more women than men at ages fifteen to nineteen and twenty-five to forty-four, while the sex ratio was even for those aged twenty to twenty-four. The sex ratio in 1860 for men aged twenty to twenty-nine and thirty-five to thirty-nine ranged from 158 to 103. May, "A Demographic Portrait," 61, 63. The greater proportion of men at those ages in 1860 was not atypical for areas undergoing initial settlement.

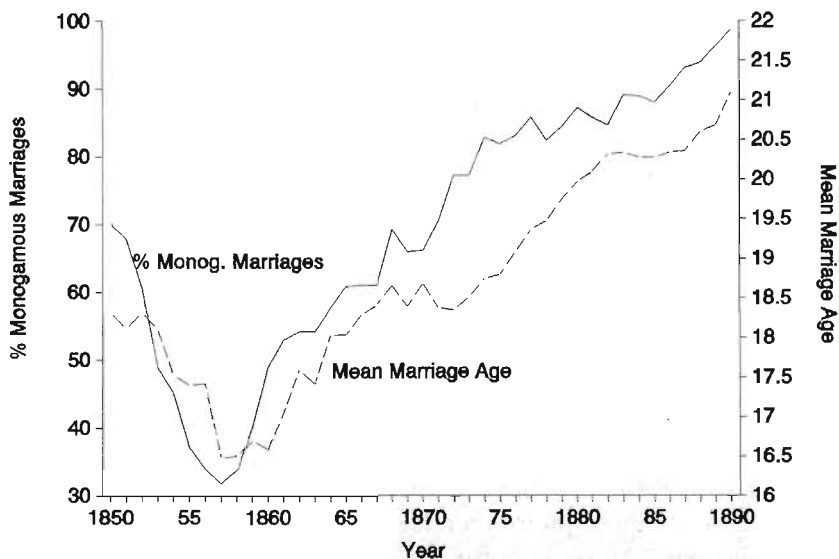


FIGURE 1. A comparison of the percentage of monogamous marriages among all first marriages for Manti women with the mean marriage age for monogamous women, 1850-90.

Source: Manti data set.

Note: These ages are calculated with five-year moving averages—the mean of the target year and the two previous and two subsequent years. Using five-year moving averages helps make trends more discernable.

sequences was to reverse the marriage squeeze so that it was against men rather than against women. In every census year from 1850 to 1880, the numbers of unmarried young men fifteen to twenty-nine were significantly greater than of single young women. In 1850 there were twice as many unmarried men as unmarried women—whether never married, widowed, or divorced—at the prime marrying ages. By 1860 that ratio had increased to almost three unmarried young men for every single young woman. Fortunately for Manti's young men, the sex ratio of singles dropped precipitously from its 1860 level of 280 to 136 in 1870 and fell even further to 116 in 1880. Thus, in each census year the sex ratio of those unmarried aged fifteen to twenty-nine indicates a signifi-

cant marriage squeeze against males, although in 1870 and 1880 the ratio was much less adverse than it had been in the two previous census years.

Besides decreasing considerably the numbers of single women, polygamy also affected the marriage market by the influence it had on the age at which women married. Figure 1,¹² which compares the mean marriage age for monogamous wives with the percentage of monogamous marriages among all first marriages, shows the impact plural marriage had on marriage age for monogamous women. The two lines move together, both dropping rapidly to their lowest point about the time of the Mormon Reformation in 1857 and then slowly rising until 1890. During the reformation, when the number of plural marriages was at its height, the mean marriage age for all women was suppressed; and it was suppressed to the greatest degree when the highest percentage of first marriages were plural ones. The high percentage of plural marriages in the late 1850s also explains why the marriage squeeze for men was greatest in 1860, the census year closest to the Mormon Reformation.

The marriage squeeze against men had a direct effect on individuals, as illustrated by the plight of Azariah Smith in Manti. Born in upstate New York on 1 August 1828 to a family who joined the Mormons in 1839, Azariah moved with his family to Nauvoo in the 1840s. Along with his father, he became a member of the Mormon Battalion. Staying to work in California after the battalion was mustered out, Azariah was with James Marshall at Sutter's Mill when he discovered gold in 1848.¹³ Azariah took some gold nuggets with

¹²This figure, as well as subsequent figures, is calculated from data gathered on the marital histories of Manti residents. I included all Manti residents whose names appeared on manuscript censuses from 1850 to 1910, Latter-day Saints Church membership records, the Manti cemetery record, and tax assessment rolls. I then traced their marital histories over their lifetimes using family group sheets filed in the Family History Library in Salt Lake City, Sanpete County marriage license records, probate and district court records, Mormon immigration indexes, the Endowment House Record, the International Genealogical Index, manuscript journals, and published genealogies. For a list and assessment of sources, see Kathryn M. Daynes, "Plural Wives and the Nineteenth-Century Mormon Marriage System: Manti, Utah, 1849-1910" (Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, 1991), 312-28.

¹³See David L. Bigler, ed., *The Gold Discovery Journal of Azariah Smith* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1990).

him when he rejoined his family in Manti; but his health was compromised. He had been thrown from a horse in the army, and the head injuries had triggered *grand mal* seizures. He married within a year of reaching Utah, but his health problems put such strain on the marriage that he was divorced in 1855. By the late 1860s, the seizures had diminished in frequency and severity to the point when he could consider marrying again. At age forty-one, he confided to his journal in 1869: "I wish I had a wife and a home of my own." The following spring, he complained, "I attended Sun School and metings," he wrote. "I would get me a wife if there was any to be had, but there is a poor chance." The next month brought no better prospects. "I attended S. School and meting, and again in the evening," he wrote on April 3, 1870. "I have looked after the women some, but they are looked after so much that there is a poor chance for me."¹⁴ The next year, during a trip to Salt Lake City, he met a Danish widow eleven years his senior. After a short courtship, they married. He wrote: "We enjoy life verry well together, as I love her, and she loves me," but he lamented, "It is somewhat disagreeable to not understand each others language better."¹⁵ At least in part because his choices for a wife were so few, Smith married a recent immigrant considerably older than himself whose language he did not understand and whose childbearing years had passed. And this was in 1870, when the proportion of single women was substantially greater than it had been in 1860.

Smith's situation depicts the marriage squeeze against men; it is also typical because he did eventually marry. Figure 2 compares the average percentage of men and women who were married at selected ages. Included in the chart are two Utah cohorts. Those in the first cohort were born before 1852, courted and married during the first years of settlement, and were nearly all married by 1870—the years of greatest isolation before the completion of the transcontinental railroad. Those in the second, younger cohort were born between January 1852 and December 1869 or immigrated to Utah between 1870 and 1887. Most of the women in this cohort had

¹⁴Azariah Smith, Journal, 6 June 1869, 6 March and 3 April 1870, Archives and Manuscripts, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah,

¹⁵Ibid., December 1871.

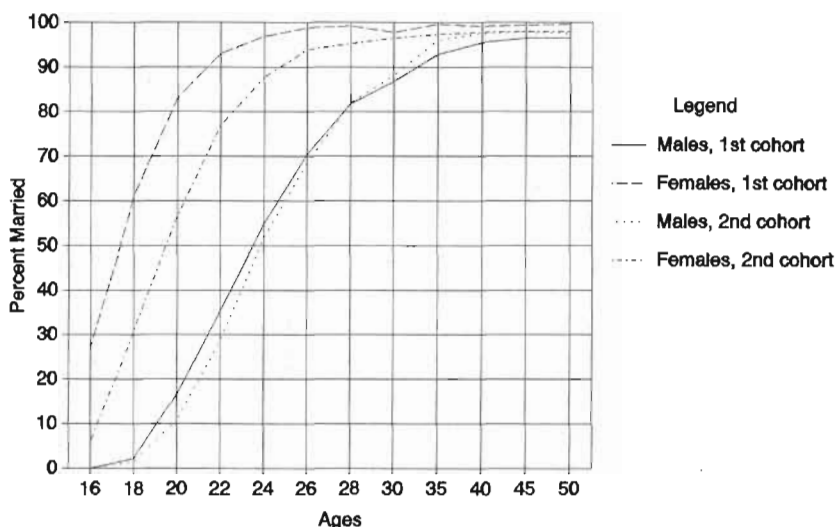


FIGURE 2. Percentage of never-married men and women in Manti, Utah, at selected ages, comparing a first cohort born in 1852 with a second cohort born in 1852-69.

Source: Manti data set.

Note: The first cohort includes 256 males and 269 females; the second 384 males and 395 females.

married by 1890, when the Manifesto sharply curtailed the number of plural marriages. The second cohort, then, was courting and marrying when the proportion of plural marriages was decreasing in relation to all marriages. Moreover, Utah's economy was maturing and increasingly tied to the national economy.

Included in both cohorts are all married men and women who lived in Manti and whose first marriages took place anywhere in Utah. Also included are all single men and women over age nineteen who appeared on any of the four census between 1850 and 1880. Less than 1 percent of individuals were excluded from this figure because of insufficient information. Individual Utahns are included in the calculations only for those years they were single and in Utah. For example, a man immigrating to Utah at age eighteen is not

included in the calculations for men aged sixteen and seventeen. Similarly, a man who died unmarried at age twenty-five was not included in the figures for those twenty-six and older; nevertheless, such individuals were included in the percentages of those who never married.

Figure 2 shows that the percentages of men married at each age in both the first and second cohorts were unexpectedly similar, despite the considerably higher percentage of women in the first cohort married at early ages. Slightly over 50 percent of men in both cohorts were married at age twenty-four, even though women in the first cohort had reached that threshold at age eighteen and women in the second cohort did not reach it until age twenty. Surprisingly, men born before 1852—those who married when the percentage of women entering plural marriage was at its greatest—married in slightly higher proportions than did Utahns born after 1852, at least until they reached age twenty-eight. At age twenty, 17 percent of men in the first cohort were married, compared to 11 percent of the second cohort; at age twenty-two, 35 percent of men in the first cohort were wed, whereas only 29 percent of the latter cohort had taken marriage vows. Thus, although the percentages of married men in the two cohorts are similar, those in the first cohort married slightly earlier.

In short, the higher percentage of plural marriages among the first Utah cohort did not prevent men from marrying at relatively young ages. They were, in fact, younger than the latter Utah cohort and younger than men elsewhere in the United States during the second half of the nineteenth century.¹⁶ Men who were in Utah by their eighteenth birthdays married on average at age twenty-four years three months if they were born before 1852, while those in the latter cohort married on average when they were twenty-four years ten months—seven months older than the previous generation. Both cohorts were, however, slightly younger at marriage than their contemporaries elsewhere in the United States, who typically mar-

¹⁶Carl Degler, *At Odds: Women and the Family in America from the Revolution to the Present* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980), 457; Larry M. Logue, *A Sermon in the Desert: Belief and Behavior in Early St. George, Utah* (Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1988), 46.

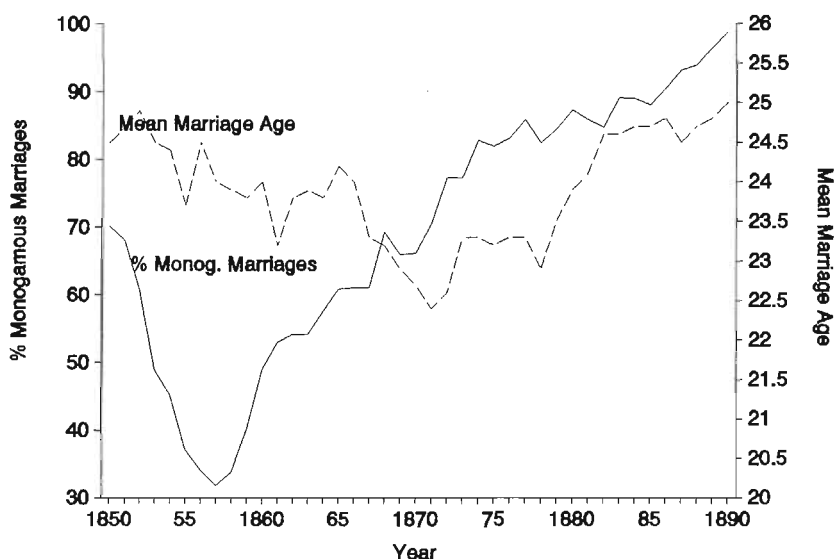


FIGURE 3. Comparison of the percentage of monogamous marriages among all first marriages for Manti women with the mean marriage age for men, 1850-1890, five-year moving averages.

Source: Manti data set.

ried between their twenty-fifth and twenty-seventh birthdays.¹⁷ Competition in the marriage market from married men clearly was not a significant deterrent to the marriage—or even early marriage—of the large majority of single men.

It is reasonable to expect the marriage age of men to rise as the percentage of monogamous marriages decreased among young women and as the ratio of single men to single women rose dramatically, thus making unmarried young women relatively scarce. Instead, as Figure 3 illustrates, from 1850 to 1870, when monogamous

¹⁷Ibid. Data on marriage age and incidence are fragmentary for the nineteenth century before 1880. Calculations from the censuses provide a singular mean age at marriage of 26.8 for males in 1880 and 27.57 in 1890. Corresponding mean ages for white males are 27 in 1880 and 27.77 in 1890. Michael R. Haines, "Long-term Marriage Patterns in the United States From Colonial Times to the Present," *History of the Family* 1 (1996): 22-23.

marriages among young women were at the lowest, the trend for the marriage age among men marrying for the first time was somewhat erratic but generally downward until 1872. A comparison of Figure 1 with Figure 3 shows clearly that the percentage of women marrying polygamously had much less influence on the mean marriage age for men than that for women; nevertheless, men's mean marriage age was, surprisingly, declining in the first twenty years, when the percentages of polygamous marriages for women were higher, and was increasing when the percentages of women marrying polygamously were declining.

It would appear that young men, perceiving that young women their ages married earlier, scrambled at younger ages to find wives before they were all taken. Or young women, pressured to enter plural marriages, may have done all in their limited power to entice single young men into monogamous marriages. Or perhaps both happened. Fred Cox's story suggests both factors may have been at work.

In the spring of 1857, twenty-year-old Fred Cox was an eligible young bachelor. Although considerably younger than most American men of his day contemplating marriage, Fred's problem was less *whether* he should marry than which of several willing young women he *would* marry. The Mormon Reformation was at its height; and with young women being strongly urged to enter plural marriage, Fred found himself the object of several women's serious attention. At length he decided to marry thirteen-year-old Mary Ellen Tuttle. Despite her age, she was already the object of the bishop's attentions as a prospective plural wife. Her father, unwilling to let his daughter enter plural marriage, had refused the bishop's request and quickly approved her marriage with the young bachelor seven years her senior. Fred was then faced with the delicate task of informing his other girlfriends that he was engaged. Telling sixteen-year-old Lucy Allen was the most difficult. During a church dance, Fred invited Lucy outside for a walk so that he could break the news to her privately; but uncertain how to begin, he still had not broached the topic when they encountered the bishop. Assuming that the two were lovers, the bishop offered to marry the two on the spot and went through the entire ceremony. (It is not known whether either Fred, Lucy, or both were speechless with amazement or shyness or whether they jokingly went along with what they thought was the

bishop's humor. It is also not clear whether Fred managed to tell Lucy, after this interruption, that another woman held first place in his affections.) In any case, neither Fred nor Lucy thought that the impromptu ceremony, without preparations or witnesses, was binding. Lucy went to Provo to work while Fred continued with his plans to marry Mary Ellen. His plans came to an abrupt halt, however, when he and Mary Ellen went to the bishop for a recommend so they could be sealed in the Endowment House. The bishop informed Fred that he was already married and held firm, despite their protests. Their appeal in person to Brigham Young, whose inclinations were to favor any marriage, including clandestine ones, brought a decision supporting the bishop's view. Mary Ellen, unwilling to become a plural wife, broke off the relationship and later married monogamously. Fred, who stopped in Provo on his way back to Manti to take the willing Lucy home as his bride, later married a plural wife.¹⁸

The interesting point of this experience for this study is that, despite intense competition for young brides by already married men, Cox's problem was not a lack of eligible and interested women. Although some young women favored the security of marrying an established married man who had proven his faithfulness to the Church, many others undoubtedly preferred the romantic ideal of monogamy. Intense competition may have induced bachelors to enter marriage sooner than they would have otherwise, but it did not necessarily put them at a real disadvantage in the marriage market. Indeed, the possibility that young women could enter plural marriage may well have enhanced a bachelor's appeal.

A greater influence on the age at which men married was undoubtedly the economic opportunities provided by living on the frontier. Unlike men in more settled areas, men in Utah in the 1850s and 1860s did not have to wait to inherit land or until they had otherwise acquired the economic means to provide for a family. The public domain in Utah was not surveyed and sold by the federal government until 1869, so land holding was determined by the Church. Its policy was to provide small holdings that were intensively farmed. A young man could apply to the bishop for a small plot of

¹⁸Norma S. Wanless, "So Be It," *Saga of the Sanpitch* 8 (1976): 26-31.

available land. The only cost was payment for surveying the land and recording its ownership.¹⁹ With easy access to land, young men were able to marry at earlier ages. After 1872, shortly after the federal government took over land distribution, the age at which Manti men married began to rise, as Figure 3 shows. After twenty years of settlement, much of the open land was already taken, and young men increasingly had to be satisfied with smaller plots, to seek mining and freighting jobs that took them away from Manti, or to move to areas that were just being settled. Hence, the marriage ages of young men, whether declining in the first twenty years or increasing in the second, were undoubtedly influenced more by the economic opportunities available than by the percentages of women entering plural marriages.

Nevertheless, the percentage of women entering plural marriage, by raising the ratio of single men to single women, undoubtedly increased slightly the age at which men married. Figure 4 compares the percentages married at various ages between Manti males and females born between 1852 and 1869 and males and females on the 1960 census.²⁰ Comparable marriage rates for the nineteenth-century United States are not available because adequate and accessible records for migration and marriage in general do not exist for that period. In 1960 the percentage of Americans single at ages twenty to twenty-four was at the lowest point for the century, the proportion ever marrying was near its peak, and the average age at marriage fell to its nadir.²¹ The United States in the 1950s, like Utah in the nineteenth century, had more women than men in the

¹⁹Leonard J. Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom: Economic History of the Latter-day Saints, 1830-1900* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1958), 51-52, 90-93.

²⁰Because figures for the 1960 census represent those wed at each age at a single point during the year, and thus represent an average of those married at that age rather than the percentage of those married on their birthdays, I have calculated the percentages for the Utah cohorts so that they represent those married at the midpoint between birthdays. Thus, the percentages in the figure are comparable.

²¹U.S. Bureau of the Census, *People of the United States in the 20th Century*, by Irene B. Taeuber and Conrad Taeuber, a *Census Monograph* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1971), 286, 298, 313; Degler, *At Odds*, 457; Steven Mintz and Susan Kellogg, *Domestic Revolutions: A Social History of American Family Life* (New York: Free Press, 1988), 178-80; Haines, "Long-Term Marriage Patterns," 23-28.

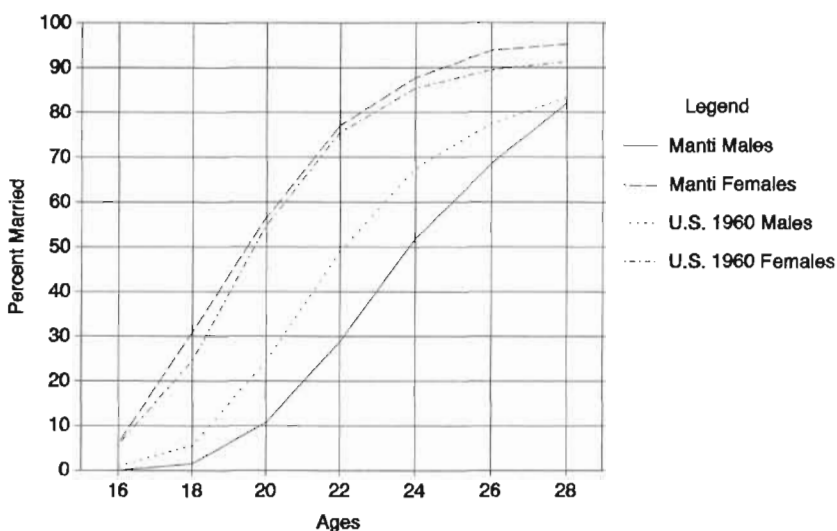


FIGURE 4. Percentage of single males and females at selected ages, comparing a Manti, Utah, cohort born 1852-69 with those listed on the United States 1960 census.

Source: Manti data set; U.S. Bureau of the Census, *People of the United States in the 20th Century*, by Irene B. Taeuber and Conrad Taeuber, a Census Monograph (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1971), 307.

prime marrying ages but a surplus of *single* men at those ages. Thus, the United States experienced a marriage squeeze against men just as Utah had during the previous century.²² Figure 4 shows that the percentages of married women in both the second Manti cohort and the United States in 1960 are strikingly similar. On the other hand, a larger percentage of males in 1960 married at earlier ages than Manti males; indeed, the average marriage age in 1960 was almost

²²David M. Heer and Amyra Grossbard-Shechtman, "The Impact of the Female Marriage Squeeze and the Contraceptive Revolution on Sex Roles and the Women's Liberation Movement in the United States, 1960 to 1975," *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 43 (1981): 52-53.

a year and a half younger than that for the Manti males.²³ In 1960, however, the ratio of single men to single women was not as high as it was in Manti in 1870 and 1880, making it easier for 1960 males to find brides and thus marry at earlier ages than Manti males.²⁴ Had the ratio of single males to single females in Manti been as low, males there too may have married at earlier ages. It appears, then, that competition with married men for brides influenced the age at which single men married, though probably not as much as economic opportunities; in any case, Manti men married at relatively young ages.

Significantly, the percentages of men married by age twenty-eight differed little among the three groups: 81.8 percent of the first cohort of Manti men were married by that age, as were 82 percent of the second Manti cohort, and 83.3 percent of U.S. males in 1960. In other words, however different male marriage patterns may have been in their early twenties, by age twenty-eight the percentage of those married was remarkably similar. Moreover, Figure 2 shows that by age fifty most Manti men had married. Of the second cohort, only 2.4 percent of men had never married; and of the first cohort only a slightly higher percentage, 3.6, had never married, even though young women in their generation experienced the highest percentage of plural marriages.

On the other hand, a larger proportion of men than women in both cohorts never married. This was especially true of those born before 1852. Less than .5 percent of women never married compared to 6 percent of men. (These percentages are larger than the percentage of those remaining single at age fifty because they include those listed on the censuses age twenty or over but who died unmarried before age fifty.) Only one woman from this first Manti cohort, a Dane who immigrated at age twenty-seven, never married, while several men, like Ole Petersen, Marcus Troelsen, and Hans

²³The singulate mean age at marriage in 1960 was 23.38. Haines, "Long-Term Marriage Patterns," 23. The mean marriage age for Manti males was 24.8.

²⁴The sex ratio of unmarried males ages twenty to twenty-nine to unmarried females ages eighteen to twenty-nine in 1960 was 111.5. Heer and Grossbard-Shechtman, "Impact of the Female Marriage Squeeze," 52. The sex ratio of single males to single females fifteen to twenty-nine in Manti was 136 in 1870 and 116 in 1880.

Ottosen, remained in Manti for over twenty years and never married.²⁵ In addition, five men included in the calculations for this cohort died unmarried before age fifty. Because of women's young age at marriage, no women included in this first cohort died unwed.

Men in the second cohort may have married at slightly older ages than those in the previous generation, but a higher proportion of them (97.1 percent vs. 94 percent) eventually married. Moreover, the gap between the proportion of men and women who never married (2.9 percent and 2.3 percent respectively) became insignificant in the younger cohort. In any case, the proportions of men and women who married was extremely high in comparison to their contemporaries. Over 8 percent of American men and women born between 1835 and 1864 remained unmarried, while in northwestern Europe, the former home of many Utahns, about 20 percent remained single.²⁶ When Brigham Young lectured Mormon men about marrying, he was obviously speaking to a converted audience—or perhaps Mormons obeyed this instructions more universally than others. In any case, promoting plural marriages clearly did not prevent most young men from marrying.

When there were more single men than women because of plural marriage in nineteenth-century Manti, how did such a high proportion marry and marry at relatively young ages? Single men found wives by seeking them among women whose ages differed considerably from their own. This was particularly true for the earlier Utah cohort when polygamy created the greatest marriage squeeze against men, as Figure 5 reveals. The preferred age interval between husbands and wives, as indicated by the marriage patterns

²⁵All three emigrated from Denmark in the 1850s and, according to the federal censuses, lived alone and acquired land in Manti. Petersen, born about 1824, and Ottosen, born 12 October 1834, appeared on the 1860, 1870, and 1880 censuses in Manti, while Troelsen, born about 1835, was listed on the 1870 and 1880 censuses. According to the Manti sexton's records, Ottosen died 2 November 1884, Petersen 26 March 1898, and Troelsen 26 March 1896. "Cemetery Record: Manti, Sanpete County, Utah," typescript, Genealogical Society of Utah, 1936, 107, 116, 146.

²⁶U.S. Bureau of Census, *People of the United States*, 301; John Hajnal, "European Marriage Patterns in Perspective," in *Population in History: Essays in Historical Demography*, edited by D. V. Glass and D. E. C. Eversley (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1965), 101-43.

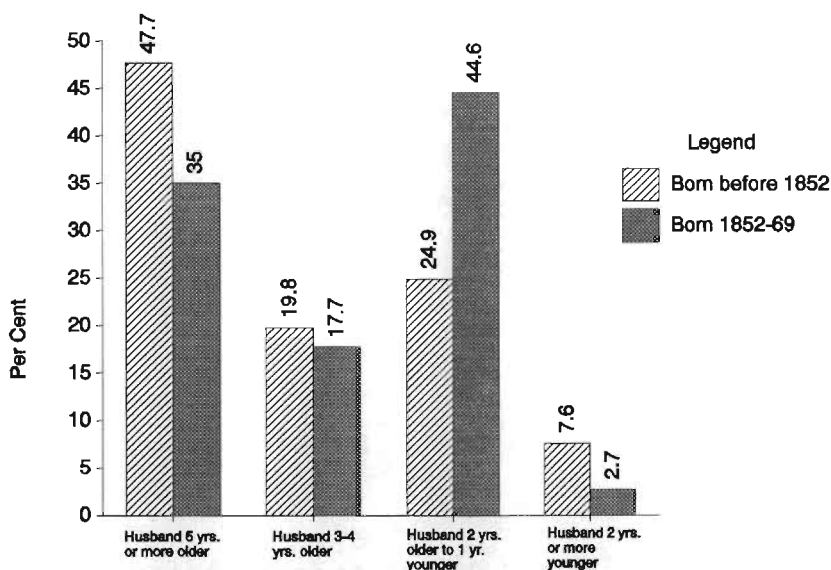


FIGURE 5. Differences between the ages of husbands and wives for men's first marriages, comparing two cohorts of men in Manti, Utah.

Source: Manti data set.

of men born after 1852 was a narrow one. About 45 percent of Utah men born after 1852 married wives one or two years younger. Other studies also confirm that Americans tend to marry spouses near their own ages. Forty-one percent of men in the 1960 census married women two years younger to one year older than themselves, and calculations for populations outside of Utah in the nineteenth-century show that most men selected brides about two and a half years younger than themselves, except in Western rural areas where there was an actual shortage of women.²⁷ Only about one-quarter of Utah men born before 1852, however, married women near their own ages.

Indeed, men in the earlier Manti cohort were much more likely

²⁷U.S. Bureau of Census, *People of the United States*, 305; Logue, *Sermon in the Desert*, 46.

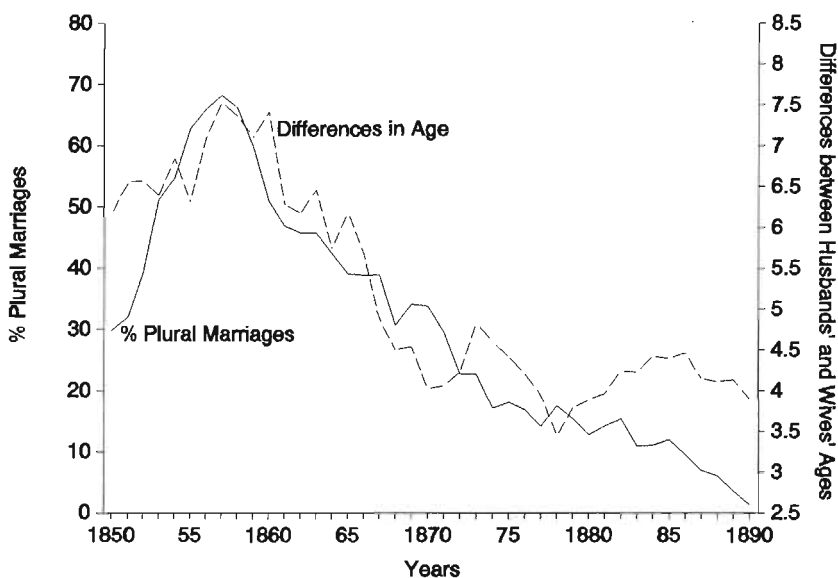


FIGURE 6. Comparison of the percentage of plural marriages among all first marriages for Manti women with the intervals between husbands' and wives' ages for Manti husbands' first marriages, 1850-90, five-year moving averages.

Source: Manti data set.

than the next generation to marry women either considerably younger or somewhat older than themselves. Almost half married wives more than five years younger than themselves, compared to slightly more than a third of men in the second cohort who did so. In addition, a greater percentage of the earlier cohort than the later one (7.6 percent vs. 2.7 percent), married women two or more years older than themselves. Clearly men marrying in the first years of Utah settlement, relative to the next generation, found wives by marrying women whose ages differed considerably from their own.

Indeed, the presence of plural marriage in nineteenth-century Mormon society had a greater impact on the differences between husbands' and wives' ages than it had on the proportion of men who married or the age at which they married. Figure 6 compares the percentage of plural marriages among all first marriages for Manti women with the intervals of husbands' and wives' ages for Manti husbands' first marriages. Both the percentage of plural marriages

and the differences in spouses' ages begin fairly high in 1850, and both reach their peaks in 1857, during the height of the Mormon Reformation when average marriage age for women fell to its nadir. From that peak until the early 1870s, the trend is for both generally to decrease, although each does so somewhat erratically. From 1870 to 1890 the lines diverge, indicating that the percentage of plural marriages had less influence on the differences in spouses' ages during the second twenty years of the study; nevertheless, the levels for both are considerably lower than they were during the first twenty years of settlement.

It appears, then, that a high percentage of plural marriages increases the intervals between spouses' ages. It does so mainly because a high proportion of plural marriages is related to young marriage age for women. Lower percentages of plural marriages, particularly when they are 30 percent or less of women's first marriages, correlate less directly to the number of years between spouses' ages but are related to generally lower intervals in ages.

In short, large age intervals between husbands and wives reflect the marriage squeeze against men created by plural marriage. They also suggest a source of wives. With fertility high in Utah, each successive age group would have been larger than older age categories. Men willing to marry women five or more years younger than themselves would thus be seeking wives among an age group with larger numbers of women than in their own age group. For example, among Manti's small population in 1860 were seven twenty-year-old males but fourteen fifteen-year-old females. Although three of these women were already married, there were still more single fifteen-year-old women than single twenty-year-old men. In a small population, not all five-year intervals produced such a favorable ratio for men, but overall the larger population of younger women allowed single men to marry despite the presence of plural marriage in Utah.

In addition, a few men found wives among those women who had been either widowed or divorced. Six percent of men marrying for the first time whose wives' previous marital status is known wed previously married women. This is a small proportion but nevertheless helpful in easing the marriage squeeze against men.

Yet, the large majority of single men preferred marrying single women younger than themselves. While married men also sought

wives among young, single women, they were almost as likely to find plural wives among those who were older than average Utah brides or who had been previously married. A majority of previously married women in the Manti data set, 54 percent, became plural wives—that is, second or subsequent wives in polygamous marriages.²⁸ Almost 30 percent of all plural marriages in the Manti data set involved previously married women. An additional 16 percent of plural wives were women who married after their twentieth-fifth birthdays, women who were somewhat older than average Utah brides. Women from these two categories accounted for 45 percent of plural wives.²⁹ Thus, because married men found almost half of their plural wives among the previously married or slightly older women, single men had less competition for young, single women than would at first appear to have been the case.

Nevertheless, plural marriage dramatically altered the nature of the marriage market in nineteenth-century Utah. It turned what would have been a slight marriage squeeze against women into a significant marriage squeeze against men. Nevertheless, a high proportion of men married relatively young and nearly all married eventually. The greatest impact plural marriage had on single men was to encourage marriage to women whose ages differed considerably from their own.

Although the marriage squeeze against men did not ultimately prevent most men from marrying, it did have a significant impact upon nineteenth-century Mormon society. Because more men, both single and married, sought wives than there were women available, marriage for women of child-bearing age, even those who might otherwise have been at a disadvantage in the marriage market, was almost universal. Moreover, the scarcity of women improved their bargaining advantage in relation to men. Women in unsatisfactory marriages could expect opportunities for remarriage if they divorced their husbands, and thus they would not necessarily feel trapped in unhappy unions by economic pressure. Hence, opportu-

²⁸Daynes, "Plural Wives," 262.

²⁹If the seven plural wives whose ages and marital status are unknown are included—and it is likely that they were either previously married or over age twenty-five at marriage—the percentage rises to 47, almost half.

nities for remarriage, even though those opportunities were in plural marriages, potentially increased women's bargaining power in their relationship with their husbands.

Like many traditional societies with a high sex ratio, Mormons fostered a protective morality towards women, and women were most valued as wives and mothers.³⁰ Mormon leaders' insistence on patriarchal authority thus becomes more explicable. On the one hand, it showed a protectiveness toward women. On the other, the emphasis on patriarchy reflected a desire to maintain authority over women because high demand for them increased their value and hence potentially enhanced their power. Plural marriage thus not only affected marriage choices for everyone who lived in Utah but also altered the relationships between the sexes.

³⁰Marcia Guttentag and Paul F. Secord, *Too Many Women? The Sex Ratio Question* (Beverly Hills, Calif.: Sage Publications, 1983), 19-20, 150.



The impact of the collision literally ripped the school bus apart, wrapped the front third around the engine, and pushed it seventy-five feet down the track. Twenty-four died as a result of this catastrophe.

THE 1938 TRAIN-SCHOOL BUS DISASTER: MORMON COMMUNAL RESPONSE TO CATASTROPHIC DEATH

Melvin L. Bashore

ON 1 DECEMBER 1938, a horrifying train-bus accident claimed the lives of twenty-four Mormon high school students who lived in farm communities in the south end of Salt Lake Valley. Utah newspapers covering the catastrophe designated it the worst traffic tragedy in the state's history. It was reported internationally and was front-page news nationally.¹ The *New York Times* labeled it "one of the worst crossing disasters in the nation's history."² The only comparable train-school bus accident in the nation's history had occurred three years previously when fourteen were killed in a collision in Maryland.³ Several pictures and a brief report of the accident also

MELVIN L. BASHORE is a librarian in Salt Lake City. He is co-author of *Riverton: The Story of a Utah Country Town*. He has compiled the listings of Mormon history periodical articles for the *MHA Newsletter* since that feature was started in 1979.

¹"Train Kills 26 Children," *The Times*, 2 December 1938, 13.

²"23 Killed in School Bus Hit by Train in Utah in Storm," *New York Times*, 2 December 1938, 1, 18.

³"Midvale Bus Crash Worst Since Bingham Snowslide," *Ogden Standard Examiner*, 2 December 1938, 1.

appeared in *Life* magazine.⁴ After some research into the record of such disasters, it was found to have been the worst train-bus accident in the history of the United States to that time.⁵

This disastrous accident confronted Mormon communities with the necessity of responding to and coping with catastrophic death. Interviews were conducted with the survivors of the accident, siblings of those who were killed, and other members of the impacted communities. News reports and other records detailed the story and the reaction of the Mormon community to the tragedy.⁶ It offers a glimpse into Mormon group values in the twentieth century at a time of crisis.

Weather conditions clearly played a role in this shocking tragedy. It had been one of the coldest Novembers on record in 1938 in the Salt Lake Valley. Those who arose early on 1 December in communities in the south part of the valley to do their chores or to get ready to go to work or school were disappointed to find that rain was falling. The rain, which had begun at 4 A.M., turned into a hard-driving snow storm before sunrise.

The Denver & Rio Grande Western railroad's fastest freight train, dubbed the "Flying Ute," had left Denver on Wednesday at 6:30 A.M. The entire train crew was from Salt Lake, behind schedule, and in a hurry to get home. They were due in Salt Lake City at 7 A.M. and they were almost two hours late by the time they entered the Salt Lake Valley. The northbound freight train, which was about a half mile long, was traveling at speeds variously estimated at between fifty and seventy miles an hour.

A Jordan District school bus had picked up high school students on its route through the towns of Riverton, South Jordan, Crescent

⁴"22 Children Are Killed in Utah As Train Hits Bus in Snowstorm," *Life*, 12 December 1938, 22.

⁵"Disaster Tops U.S. Bus-Train Crashes," *Salt Lake Telegram*, 2 December 1938, 8.

⁶I wrote a straightforward account of this accident for a chapter in a local history book: Chapter 7, "It Was the Awfullest Thing I Ever Saw': The 1938 School Bus Disaster," in Melvin L. Bashore and Scott Crump, *Riverton: The Story of a Utah Country Town* (Riverton, Utah: Riverton Historical Society, 1994). This article draws upon this chapter for the account of the accident, but I also conducted additional interviews and research to focus on the Mormon response to the accident.

and Bluffdale. The bus, which had carried almost fifty students the previous day, was carrying thirty-eight students as it neared the last of its stops on its way to Jordan High School. One of the students who boarded the bus recalled the weather that morning: "It was snowing real heavy when I went out to catch the bus. They were big flakes and they were wet. There was no wind. They were coming straight down. I ran and got on the bus and when I got there I was wet from the storm."⁷ Due to the storm, visibility was very poor, limiting the vision of those who might have been able to alter the fate of this bus and its destiny with destruction. The road along which the bus was traveling paralleled the railroad tracks for several hundred feet until it reached the part of the road locally referred to as Schulsen's Crossing. At this point, the road made a right-angle turn east, crossed the tracks, and then swerved north again.⁸ The bus followed this route, stopping before the railroad crossing which was marked with a cross-bar signal bearing the words "RR Crossing—Look Out for the Cars."

The fireman of the "Flying Ute," Alfred Elton, had about a half mile of visibility. He saw the bus stop at the crossing. The engineer, E. L. Rehmer, a veteran of thirty-one years driving locomotives, was blowing the whistle for the crossing at the time. When the fireman, who had the view of the bus on his side of the train, saw the bus start across the tracks, they were only an engine and two car lengths away. He frantically yelled, "Big hole 'er!" That cry, ringing through the cab of the "Flying Ute," was a top-priority call for an emergency stop. The engineer immediately applied the brakes. He said: "I was blowing the whistle for the crossing at the time. I had to let go of

⁷Doug Brown, "1938 Bus-Train Accident," 1; panel discussion at meeting of the Riverton Historical Society, Riverton, Utah, 20 October 1988; hereafter cited as "Accident Program." Unless otherwise noted, all documents are in the collection of the Riverton Historical Society, Riverton, Utah.

⁸The rail crossing was also called "Lampton Crossing." It is located in South Jordan at approximately 10200 South 300 West. Despite the history of accidents at this location, the rail crossing is still not equipped with a safety crossing gate. In 1996, following the deaths of three teenagers at this crossing, the city of South Jordan barricaded the crossing as a temporary solution while studying the dangerous situation. "Frontage Road Is Closed at Deadly Rail Crossing," *Deseret News*, 22 February 1996, B1.

the whistle to apply the brakes. I couldn't see anything in front of me, because I was on the opposite side from the bus. When I heard the cry of my fireman I didn't stop to do anything but apply those brakes."⁹

The roar of the engine and screeching of the brakes could not mask the tortuous sound of the inevitable crash and human screams as the train rammed into the bus. Fireman Elton sadly noted: "The locomotive struck the bus in the center. It was terrible. We did everything we could to prevent it." Engineer Rehmer relived the nightmarish scene: "When we hit, things began to fly pretty fast. I saw the hood of the [bus] on the engine."¹⁰

One of the students on the bus, Marjorie Groves of South Jordan, described the crash to a reporter while she was being treated for injuries in Salt Lake General Hospital:

I was riding on the right side of the bus. The bus stopped for the crossing and then started across the track. Someone yelled, "Train!" I looked up and saw a blur. It must have been the train. There was a terrific crash and all the students yelled. Then everything went black. When I came to I was lying beside the track in the snow. My side and back hurt me very badly. I was numb with cold. One of the other girls came over to me. She apparently was not hurt. She helped me to stand and just then a man came and told us to get into the caboose of the train. It was warmer in there. Then they brought us to the hospital.¹¹

David Witter, a hobo riding the fast freight, described the frightful accident and carnage:

It was snowing pretty hard. I was riding a reefer (fruit car) when all of a sudden I felt a terrific bump. I was hurled to the floor. Finally the train pulled to a stop. When I looked out I thought the train had hit a herd of cattle, there was so much flesh and bone scattered around. I got off. It was the awfulest thing I ever saw. I saw a little girl sitting alongside the tracks. She was terribly mangled, but alive. She was screaming horribly, holding for dear life to a little pocketbook. I rushed over, but she died before I could reach her. None of them seemed to die right away. One

⁹"Trainmen Tell Story of Crash," *Salt Lake Telegram*, 2 December 1938, 8.

¹⁰"'First Mishap of Career,' Says Engineer," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 2 December 1938, 11.

¹¹"Victim Saw Disaster Nearing," *Salt Lake Telegram*, 1 December 1938, 7.

by one they would stop screaming. One boy had virtually all of his clothes stripped off.¹²

Sixteen-year-old June Wynn was waiting at her home north of the crossing for the bus to pick her up. She was an eye-witness of the tragedy. She told a reporter:

I was standing in the doorway of our home, about 300 yards from the crossing, when the terrible accident occurred. I guess I was about the only eyewitness. Both the bus and the train were coming and I wondered whether the bus was going to stop. It did stop, and had just pulled onto the track directly in front of the train. I heard the crash, then screams. When the front of the train got opposite me, I could see the frame of the [bus] still on the engine. The train started slowing down immediately. I and father, who came from the house, rushed to the track, and trainmen told us to go back and call ambulances and doctors. It was foggy and snowing quietly at the time.¹³

Many of the surviving students were in shock, and some were unconscious. Doug Brown was one of those who were knocked unconscious. He recalled:

I was knocked unconscious and when I came to, I was in the bottom of the bus and something heavy was on me. I remember trying to raise up and as I raised up I blacked out again. I don't remember anything till I got out into the air and LaRaine Freeman was sitting over on the right-of-way fence and it had hit him so hard, it had knocked his shoes off. He said, "Doug, go get me some shoes. My feet's freezing."¹⁴

Brown went back into the bus and found a pair of shoes to put on LaRaine's cold feet. Mary Freeman recalled that one of her brother's shoes, which was later found and returned to him, "was just literally twisted to pieces. The doctor said that he was really lucky because if that shoe had stayed on his foot, it would have probably torn his leg right off." The sight of scattered shoes is one of the vivid images that has remained with Glen Kump: "The thing

¹²This is an amalgamation of two different accounts of the transient Witter's comments: "24 Killed in Bus Crash," *Salt Lake Telegram*, 1 December 1938, 1, 7, and "23 Killed in School Bus Hit by Train in Utah in Storm," *New York Times*, 2 December 1938, 1, 18.

¹³"Girl Standing at Home Door Sees Accident," *Deseret News*, 1 December 1938, 1.

¹⁴"Accident Program," 2.

that got me more than anything else was to see so many shoes." Brown and LaRaine Freeman had been sitting together in the same seat about a third of the way from the front of the bus. Youngsters sitting in seats on every side of them were killed, but Brown and Freeman were spared and Kump was only "bruised up a little bit."¹⁵

As soon as the accident report came in, every available ambulance in the city and county rushed to the scene. Glen Kump was amazed at how quickly help arrived: "Within minutes, really. You can't believe how fast people came."¹⁶ Wilby Durham, a staff writer and cameraman for the *Deseret News*, hastened to the crossing and wrote a vivid description of the sight:

On our way to the accident we passed the first two ambulance loads of injured, dead and dying. It was snowing, the road was icy and one ambulance narrowly missed hitting us as it skidded at 70 miles an hour. The freight train had been uncoupled at the point where the accident occurred. The upper shell of the crumpled yellow school bus lay 75 feet up the tracks where it had been hurled by the terrific impact. The train had rolled nearly two blocks after the fatal crash. All around us were hysterical parents, sheriffs, officers, police, doctors and milling spectators. Bodies were strewn for two blocks along the railroad tracks. Men were loading them into trucks, ambulances, anything. Those lying on the ground were crudely covered with whatever was at hand. School books, brief cases, band instruments, shoes—some with feet still in them, were scattered around the point of impact like chaff. I watched deputy sheriffs as they loaded 14 bodies into a truck, a make-shift ambulance. Grief stricken parents looked into each bundle as it was placed on the truck. Most of them turned away with numbed, horror-stricken looks. Identification for the most part was an impossible task.¹⁷

In the confusion of trying to hastily separate the survivors from those who were dead on the scene, Marjorie Beckstead was mistakenly placed with the dead students. Bernice Beckstead gives an account of this grisly mistake:

There was a lot of chaos that morning. I recall that they had piled bodies up. They was all trying to get anybody that was alive out. They had piled

¹⁵Ibid., 4.

¹⁶Ibid., 8.

¹⁷"Scribe Gives Crash Views," *Deseret News*, 1 December 1938, 6.



Twisted band instruments bore mute testimony to the force of the impact.

these bodies up and my sister-in-law, Marjie Beckstead, was in a pile of [dead] bodies. A nurse walked along the track . . . and heard a groan and took her out of that pile of bodies and rushed her to the hospital.¹⁸

Carter Grant, the seminary principal at Jordan High School, was one of those who hurried to the crossing when word of the tragedy reached the school. He assisted with the injured and the dead. After doing all he could, he returned home grief-stricken. He slumped down on a kitchen chair with his head cradled in his hands and “just sobbed.”¹⁹

Both the dead and injured were taken to the Salt Lake County General Hospital. A temporary morgue was established in the

¹⁸“Accident Program,” 3.

¹⁹Bernice Grant Casper, conversation with Melvin L. Bashore, Salt Lake City, Utah, 9 December 1988.



A worker patiently sorts through the debris in the twisted rear part of the bus, trying to salvage the youngsters' belongings.

psychopathic ward, and county and city school nurses assisted in the identification of the bodies.²⁰ It was ghastly work as some of the bodies were terribly mangled. In one case, they were able to identify only a small segment of a boy's torso by his pocket. Twenty-two students and the driver, Farrold H. Silcox, had been killed, with another student dying a few days later for a total of twenty-four.

At the hospital, the surviving victims were placed in the emergency ward and a second twelve-bed ward, where teams of doctors and nurses worked in shifts and around the clock, setting bones, suturing cuts, and trying to ease the pain. Doug Brown recalled the confusion at the hospital:

²⁰"Doctors, Nurses Praised for Aiding Injured in Bus Crash," *Deseret News*, 2 December 1938, 7.



Elnora Brown comforts Mrs. Roy Glazier. Elnora's son Doug was one of the survivors.

When my mother and dad came in to the hospital, I was listed as dead and they took them in and showed them Neal Densley. They said that was me. So I know that there was confusion and a lot of chaos at the hospital. My mother, when she come and looked and saw Neal Densley dead, she said, "Well, that's not my boy." Then they started looking and they found me.²¹

The lives of other parents were shattered by bad news given to them in the halls of the hospital. One father, dressed in his farm clothes, was overwhelmed. Standing alone in the corridors of the hospital, he was overheard saying to no one: "I lost one boy five years ago. This one was all I had left."²² LaRaine Freeman was the

²¹"Accident Program," 3.

²²"Grim, Shocking Tragedy Invades Homes in Utah," *Idaho Daily Statesman*, 2 December 1938, 1, 6.

only one who reportedly “escaped without injury.”²³ He was just bruised and shaken. When he found his mother in the hospital hall, he sobbingly cried out, “I’m the luckiest boy ever!”²⁴ However, according to his sister Mary, fifteen-year-old LaRaine was so traumatized by the accident that he would not sleep alone; for a year following the accident, he slept in the same bed with his mother and father.²⁵ Glen Kump was another who suffered with residual fears. He confided in 1988 that he still doesn’t cross a railroad crossing without hearing that train whistle and envision that train bearing down on him.²⁶

Shortly after news reached Jordan High School about the crash, school officials dismissed the classes. The high school remained closed until all of the funeral services had been held. At the elementary and junior high school, brothers and sisters of students on the bus were sent home.²⁷ Neighbors and friends congregated at these homes to await word. Noel Page described the long wait to find out about his brother: “I don’t know how many hours it was we sit around in the house. . . . Then my mother and father drove in the driveway and my mother was really sobbing. So I knew that something was bad. That was when I learned that my brother had been killed.”²⁸

People in communities throughout the intermountain region found it difficult to obtain information about the accident. Fifty miles north in Ogden, newspaper and radio station switchboards were swamped with hundreds of calls from people wondering if a relative or friend might have been numbered with the victims.²⁹ Not knowing created terrible anxiety; but knowing brought crushing

²³“Official List of Victims,” *Ute Sentinel*, 2 December 1938, 1.

²⁴“Sorrow Stalks Hospital Halls,” *Salt Lake Telegram*, 1 December 1938, 9.

²⁵Mary Freeman, conversation with Melvin L. Bashore, Riverton, Utah, 20 October 1988.

²⁶“Accident Program,” 11.

²⁷Lola Larson Moon, interviewed by Melvin L. Bashore, Bluffdale, Utah, 15 January 1996.

²⁸Noel James Page, interviewed by Melvin L. Bashore, Riverton, Utah, 15 January 1996.

²⁹“Grief Stricken Citizens Swamp Paper’s Phones,” *Ogden Standard Examiner*, 1 December 1938, 1.

shock and grief. As the surviving brother of one accident victim stated: "This was a catastrophe! It wasn't some little situation!"³⁰ Another who lost a sister in the accident was numb with shock: "I couldn't imagine anything like that happening!"³¹ It was a tragic disaster of major proportions that deeply impacted not only the families of the victims, but their relatives, neighbors, and friends and acquaintances.

From interviews conducted with surviving family members, it is apparent that family, neighbors, and friends were the first to visit and provide succor and comfort to grieving families. These were close-knit towns and people's hearts quickly turned to those who were suffering. As one man said, "These were Mormon communities and whenever people has a catastrophe, everybody flocks to their home to see what they can do to help."³² The initial heartfelt response of friends and neighbors obviated the need for the institutional Church to step in to make sure that compassionate service was being provided.³³ In a way, the Depression had served as a training ground for helping people to respond in a meaningful way. People had helped each other survive during hard times by banding and bonding together. So when disaster struck, people just came and did what needed doing. Gale Winward described the general attitude of the people: "Nobody would say, 'Well, is there anything I can do for you?' Nobody said, 'Hey, can I help?' Nobody even said that. They just come and done it."³⁴ In an outpouring of charitable feeling, neighbors brought food, cooked meals, cleaned houses, milked the cows, fed the animals, and did the other outdoor chores.

The day following the accident, various funeral plans were

³⁰Gale Winward, interviewed by Melvin L. Bashore, Salt Lake City, Utah, 20 January 1996.

³¹LaRoyce Beckstead Fisher, interviewed by Melvin L. Bashore, South Jordan, Utah, 10 February 1996.

³²Calvin Webb, interviewed by Melvin L. Bashore, Bluffdale, Utah, 27 January 1996.

³³In surveying LDS Church records of the Bluffdale, Riverton, and South Jordan wards, I found no mention of compassionate service visits or assignments being made to provide relief such as one might expect to take place in a Mormon ward in the 1990s.

³⁴Gale Winward, interview.



Mourners gathered at a mass funeral for nine of the victims at Riverton Junior High School on 5 December 1938.

considered. Presiding Bishop LeGrand Richards offered the use of the Salt Lake Tabernacle and the services of the Tabernacle Choir for a mass funeral.³⁵ This offer was declined in favor of holding funerals in the communities. Mass funeral services were held in the Riverton Junior High School auditorium on Sunday morning for the six students from Bluffdale and that afternoon for four South Jordan children. Two separate mass funeral services were held on Monday morning and afternoon for the victims from Riverton. Funerals for other victims were held in wards in Salt Lake, Crescent, and a week later for one in South Jordan. Overflow crowds attended each of the group services. In one instance, the Relief Society donated needed clothing to one victim's family to wear at the

³⁵"Aid Is Offered Grief-Stricken Jordan Families," *Provo Evening Herald*, 2 December 1938, 1.

funeral.³⁶ Sympathetic civic and Church dignitaries who attended the funerals included Governor Henry H. Blood, Apostle Joseph Fielding Smith, Samuel O. Bennion of the First Council of the Seventy, and the assistant state attorney general, Grover A. Giles.³⁷

These rites were shaped by the religious faith of the Mormon participants and offered the theological consolations that speakers hoped would be comforting. In the Monday afternoon funeral for six students from Riverton, Joseph Fielding Smith offered a tribute. He attested that the young accident victims were not grieving but were happy and that there was no need to mourn for them. He said that "the Lord frequently takes people away in their early youth and in their infancy to save them, because He says they are too pure and too good to stay in this mundane sphere."³⁸ In one of the other mass funeral sessions, a General Authority promised that "if there were any of them that survived among those that were seriously injured that they would be able to live normal lives . . . and have complete use of their limbs."³⁹ While reassuring to most, this prophetic pronouncement punctured what little hope one family had that their daughter could survive her massive injuries. When the physicians finally were able to examine and treat her leg injuries, they found that gangrene had set in. They couldn't save her leg and had to amputate it, despite the protestations of the girl's mother. She said, "You can not take her leg off." They explained to her that the law required it. So she made them promise that if they amputated her leg, they would freeze it so that it could be buried with her if she died. The parents of this high school sophomore had been in constant attendance at the hospital bed of their daughter while the mass funerals were being held. After the funeral, a relative telephoned them at the hospital and told them what the General Authority had promised—that "anyone

³⁶"Inquiry Begun in Bus Tragedy," *Ogden Standard Examiner*, 4 December 1938, 1-2.

³⁷"23 Jordan Crash Victims Eulogized at Mass Rites," *Deseret News*, 5 December 1938, 3.

³⁸Funeral services, Riverton Junior High School, 5 December 1938, 2:00 P.M. session, original transcript in possession of Noel J. Page, copy in my possession.

³⁹LaRoyce Beckstead Fisher, interview.

that survived would have full use of their limbs.” He told the parents that their daughter “will not make it.” Their daughter, with a leg amputated and therefore unable to enjoy “full use” of her limbs, was prophetically destined not to be one of the survivors. The father was a bishop; and the couple believed literally in the utterances of Church leaders. Their daughter died at about the time the other crash victims were being buried—the twenty-fourth victim of this horrible accident.⁴⁰ Although unable to attend any of the funerals, David O. McKay, then second counselor in the First Presidency, delivered a memorial address at a special Christmas service conducted several weeks later in the West Jordan Stake.⁴¹ He spoke on the life of Christ and the resurrection and explained “how the body might be reassembled and reunited with the spirit in the resurrection through the power and promise of God.”⁴² The LDS Church First Presidency issued a statement of consolation and prayed that God would grant peace to the sorrowing families in this “appalling loss.”⁴³ Nine hundred students attended a special service in the auditorium of Jordan High School to honor the memory of their classmates.⁴⁴ The tragedy touched many people and imprinted a sorrowful recollection in the memory of many that is vivid more than fifty years later.

Students who normally rode the school bus, undoubtedly pondered the blessing of being alive and the turns of fate during these memorial services. At least seven Riverton students had failed to make connections with the bus at their bus-stop.⁴⁵ Eldred Hamilton was a school bus driver who picked up students from a secondary route on “the flats” west of Riverton. “I’d pick up kids out on the flat and bring them down here [to Riverton] and I’d have to meet

⁴⁰Ibid.

⁴¹“David O. McKay to Speak at Riverton,” *Ute Sentinel*, 16 December 1938, 1.

⁴²Sacrament Meeting Minutes, 25 December 1938, p. 318, Riverton First Ward, West Jordan Stake, Historical Department Archives Division, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City (hereafter LDS Church Archives).

⁴³“Church Heads Issue Statement on Crash,” *Deseret News*, 2 December 1938, 1.

⁴⁴“Solemn Throng Hears Memorial Talk,” *Deseret News*, 6 December 1938, 1, 3.

⁴⁵“7 Miss Bus; Lives Spared,” *Deseret News*, 1 December 1938, 5.

the bus down here. I was late that day and had to wait for some of the kids and I was late catching the bus. Several of them [riding his bus] missed it [the fatal bus]."⁴⁶

One student, Dexter Page, sluffed school that day and went in to Salt Lake City. After he heard about the accident, knowing that his parents would be heartsick with anxiety and grief, he telephoned his mother to relieve their worry about his fate.⁴⁷ Bruce Peterson was going to get on the bus with his brother Ken, but on impulse, decided to wait for a friend and take a later bus.⁴⁸ Violet Page Hamilton's brother slept in and also had to catch a later bus.⁴⁹ Robert Turner's son normally rode the ill-fated bus, but that morning "he rode the bus to Riverton and then got off there."⁵⁰ Lowe Seal was initially upset when he missed the bus because he thought his perfect school attendance record would be spoiled. He said, "I had been helping my father in the grocery store and was just changing my clothes when the bus went by. I ran after the bus to try to hail it, but it went on without me."⁵¹ For a time, three students who weren't even on the bus were listed as dead. Two students who missed the bus caught a later bus. Their mother, not knowing they had missed the first bus, lived through an agonizing hour until she learned that they were safe.⁵² Mabel Smith, one of the student riders from Riverton, echoed the feelings of these fortunate students and expressed gratitude that the bus "wasn't as crowded" on the day of the accident as it had been the previous day.⁵³

⁴⁶Eldred Hamilton, interviewed by Melvin L. Bashore, Riverton, Utah, 29 January 1986.

⁴⁷Donald B. Petersen, interviewed by Melvin L. Bashore, Riverton, Utah, 12 April 1987.

⁴⁸"History of Louis W. Peterson and E. Grace Vawdrey Peterson."

⁴⁹Violet Page Hamilton, interviewed by Melvin L. Bashore, Riverton, Utah, 29 January 1986.

⁵⁰Robert W. Turner, interviewed by Melvin L. Bashore, Bluffdale, Utah, 30 April 1985.

⁵¹"Student Spoils Perfect Record—He Misses Bus," *Ogden Standard Examiner*, 2 December 1938, 1.

⁵²"Joy and Gloom Mingle for Crash Survivors," *Ogden Standard Examiner*, 2 December 1938, 1-2.

⁵³"Sorrow Stalks Hospital Halls," *Salt Lake Telegram*, 1 December 1938, 9.



The faces of some whose young lives were snuffed out in the catastrophe.

One of the students who rode the fateful bus, seventeen-year-old Naomi Lewis from Bluffdale, penned a poem the night before she died in the fatal accident. Entitled "Earth's Angels," it reflected on heaven's interest in the lives of people on earth. In the poem, earth's angels, whose presence was manifest by the wind in the trees, each chose a "mortal" to watch over and guide.⁵⁴ The poem reflected her belief in guardian angels and epitomized the spiritual nature, according to funeral speakers, of many of the victims.

Manny Osborne was one of the students who survived the fateful crash. Upon entering the bus, he took his usual seat in the front of the bus; when a friend called for him to come sit in the rear of the bus, he moved back. The train struck the front of the bus and killed most of the young people seated there, while most of those who survived were seated in the rear of the vehicle. Manny recalled that when the train hit the bus, it "just cracked it open like an egg." He was thrown through the roof and when he regained his senses, he discovered that he was hanging on a barbed wire fence. Manny had an amazing forewarning of the accident. When he got up that morning, his mother asked him why he was hollering in his sleep. He recalled: "I told my mother that I dreamt that the bus wrecked that night. That was the morning of the bus wreck. That was before I got on the bus. I told her it went down and hit the river bridge. I was dreaming and I could see all these bodies floating down the river."⁵⁵ Although the accident didn't occur in that manner, it was a portent of the tragic event—and Manny retained a lifelong conviction of the prophetic power of dreams.

A public fund-raising campaign was undertaken throughout the county to help defray funeral expenses and aid in the rehabilitation of the survivors. Administered under the direction of the Red Cross, the committee was composed of church, civic, business, veterans groups, media, and school officials. Charity motion picture shows were held in movie theaters in Draper, Midvale, Sandy, and River-

⁵⁴"Girl Victim's Poem Read at Services," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 5 December 1938, 5.

⁵⁵Manfred Osborne, interviewed by Norm Jessee, South Salt Lake, Utah, 29 April 1992.

ton. The LDS Church and Salt Lake County made sizeable contributions.⁵⁶

Soon after the accident, investigations were launched by various agencies to try to determine the cause of the crash. These included the Interstate Commerce Commission, the Denver and Rio Grande Western Railroad, Utah Public Service Commission, and other public bodies. Each agency conducted its investigations thoroughly and carefully, assessing responsibility and issuing several observations and recommendations. The results were, however, far from unanimous. A railroad official blamed the accident on the dangerous railroad crossing, while the ICC faulted the bus driver.⁵⁷ A rumor began in the outlying communities of the school district that the bus driver purposely crashed into the train because he wanted to commit suicide. His sister said that this rumor deeply hurt their family and was very upsetting to the people in the communities directly affected by the accident.⁵⁸ In February 1939, parents of some of the victims filed lawsuits seeking aggregate damages of \$365,500 from the Denver and Rio Grande Western Railroad and the train engineer and fireman.⁵⁹ An out-of-court settlement was reached, and the railroad tendered \$80,000 to the families.⁶⁰

The emotional costs to the victims' families and, in fact, to all the impacted communities were tremendous. Margaret Ballard described the situation: "It was a very difficult time in the town because there were so many. There was hardly a family that wasn't involved some way or another in this accident. It was either a son or a daughter or a cousin or a neighbor. It just upset the whole

⁵⁶"Public Asked to Contribute in Mercy Drive," *Ute Sentinel*, 9 December 1938, 1; "10,000 Will Be Raised to Bury Victims," *Deseret News*, 2 December 1938, 7; and "Bus Fund Drive Swelled by Big Contributions," *Ute Sentinel*, 23 December 1938, 1.

⁵⁷"Six Agencies Launch Probe," *Salt Lake Telegram*, 1 December 1938, 1, 7; and "I.C.C. Urges Tightening of Bus Rules," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 12 February 1939, B1.

⁵⁸Margaret Silcox Ballard, interviewed by Melvin L. Bashore, Draper, Utah, 30 December 1995.

⁵⁹"Damage Suits for \$365,500 Filed by Bus Victims' Parents," *Ute Sentinel*, 24 February 1939, 1.

⁶⁰"Bus-Train Accident Victims Get Damages," *Bingham Bulletin*, 28 April 1939.

community. It took a long time for it to get back to normal."⁶¹ Therapeutic counseling and ways for handling grief were not yet institutionalized. In fact, a few of those I interviewed had not talked about the accident in fifty years. Trying to suppress the memory of a personal tragedy by not talking about it was not an uncommon way for dealing with emotional stress among earlier generations. Yet, as we would expect, such responses multiplied the number of accident victims. "My dad never shed a tear," said one boy, thirteen at the time his brother was killed. "He held it all back in for my mother's sake." However, the father suffered a "nervous breakdown" and became unable to work. The thirteen-year-old son had to take over the farm, in addition to dealing with his own grief. "I was the oldest [surviving son] and I had to raise a family It just changed my whole life I just had a lot of responsibilities and I grew up faster than I should."⁶² Age seems to have been a factor in people's ability to cope with the situation. Of two brothers who had lost an older brother in the accident, life returned to normal quicker for the younger brother. Going back to school helped; at home, the adults "ignored" him while at school his friends just played with him.⁶³ For his older brother in junior high, getting back to normal took longer. He recalled, "It seems like nobody could settle down to go to school, to actually get back into the routine of your schedule and your school work."⁶⁴ For most of the parents of the victims, restoring their lives to something close to normal was extremely difficult and took months.

The accident victims were all members of Mormon families. They included families headed by a ward bishop to families that infrequently participated in church activities. For some, the empty void occasioned by the loss of friends and family was assuaged by the gospel's promise that someday they would be reunited in the hereafter. Others found succor in personal faith and prayer. One person recalled that his family received a stream of visitors for

⁶¹Margaret Silcox Ballard, interview.

⁶²Calvin Webb, Interview.

⁶³Donald ("Jack") Winward, interviewed by Melvin L. Bashore, Riverton, Utah, 18 January 1996.

⁶⁴Gale Winward, interview.

several months from people who offered advice and counsel to “try to take the shock away.”⁶⁵ Several recalled that the most comforting and helpful visitor was a man by the name of Graham who shared his near-death experience in cottage meetings in various homes.⁶⁶ He apparently was visiting some relatives in Riverton and met on different occasions with the families of the accident victims in different homes. He told them that their children were “in a better place than it was here.” It was a “gorgeous, pretty place [with] trees and everybody was so happy. They were out of their misery and they weren’t suffering.”⁶⁷ A boy who was twelve years old at the time distinctly remembered these cottage meetings. He recalled:

He come and talked to all the parents right down there in their house. There must have been three or four families that attended that meeting. . . . He told about how he had died and come back to life. He said, “I know you’ll see your children again.” . . . He was talking about how he could see his body laying there and he could see all these [people] standing crying around his body. Then the spirit says, “But you’re not through yet. You’ve got more to accomplish on this earth.” Then his spirit come back in his body.⁶⁸ So it just kind of let the families know that there was life after death.

This man’s personal experiences with death and the afterlife brought comfort to hurting families.

The violent death of young people seems especially tragic because they are robbed of many of life’s experiences. In addition to

⁶⁵Calvin Webb, interview.

⁶⁶It is likely that this individual was Archie J. Graham, a farmer and former bishop of the Byron Ward in Wyoming. While seriously ill during the flu epidemic in 1918, he attested that his spirit left his body to accompany a white-clad messenger on a five-hour tour of paradise. In his written record of this experience beyond the veil, he described in detail glorious buildings and lush vegetation. Archie J. Graham, “A Visit Beyond the Veil,” microfilm of typescript, LDS Church Archives. Archie Graham’s son said that the family moved from Wyoming to Salt Lake City after his father became incapacitated from an illness in the early 1930s. While unable to positively confirm whether his father was the Mr. Graham who visited these grieving families, he agreed that it was likely because his father spoke about his spiritual experience with individuals and groups on occasion. A. Lloyd Graham, telephone conversation with Melvin L. Bashore, 22 January 1997.

⁶⁷Lola Larson Moon, interview.

⁶⁸Noel James Page, interview.

accepting the loss of the loved ones, families and friends must grieve for the lost opportunities—that their brother will not have the sweet experience in mortality of falling in love and marrying, that their sister will not have children of her own in this life. For loved ones left behind, such deprivation seems inordinately unfair. Mormons are often consoled by their belief that people are “appointed unto death,” that there is a divinely appointed time to die.⁶⁹ However in this instance of catastrophic death, almost no one believed that God had a hand in the deaths of so many young people. A careful reading of the transcript of tributes offered at one of the mass funerals revealed that only Joseph Fielding Smith came even close to suggesting that all of these children were divinely appointed to die. The reason he offered for their early and untimely deaths was that God may have brought about their deaths to save them from further trials and tribulations in mortality. He intimated that they might have been “too pure and too good” to remain any longer on earth. In contrast, rather than suggesting a reason for the cause of so many deaths, J. Edgar Aylett, the custodian of Riverton School, said in his tribute: “Just why they have been called home in a group is something that I wouldn’t attempt to explain.”⁷⁰

In the interviews I conducted with accident survivors, victim’s family members, friends, and neighbors, none of those interviewed, nor any close associates, ever attributed this tragic accident to divine destiny. This is not to imply that this community of people tacitly rejected the Mormon doctrine that the length of people’s lives is divinely determined, as Joseph Fielding Smith intimated; but in this instance of catastrophic death, such a teaching did not seem to be valid or bring comfort. In this instance, grief was neither assuaged nor the cause of death explained by saying that death occurred because “it was their time.” A bishop’s daughter, devastated by the void left by her sister’s death, said, “It was one of the hard things of life. . . . I don’t remember anybody asking why it happened. . . . We knew it was an accident. . . . It was just circumstances.”⁷¹ I asked

⁶⁹And again, it shall come to pass that he that hath faith in me to be healed, and is not appointed unto death, shall be healed” (D&C 42:48).

⁷⁰Funeral services, transcript.

⁷¹LaRoyce Beckstead Fisher, interview.

another man who had an older brother die in the accident if he had an explanation about why some lived and some didn't. He replied: "Oh, you mean like it's their time to go? No. At least as far as our family was concerned, we just put it into unforeseen circumstances that befall all men. That was one of those circumstances that took some and left some We knew what the situation was and we accepted it."⁷² For him, an essential factor in restoring life to normal was accepting that "these unforeseen things were going to happen." He reiterated that no one he knew believed that God's hand was in this terrible tragedy. He said, "As far as the predestination that these things happen because they're predestined, there wasn't any of that."⁷³ Even the crash survivors simply accepted the tragedy as an accident doomed by fate. Although deeply saddened at the lives of their classmates that were lost, they harbored no ill will or desire to blame or fault anyone.⁷⁴

This tragic train-bus accident, in some ways, parallels some nineteenth-century Mormon catastrophes: the 1856 handcart disasters, the wreck of the *Julia Ann*, and the explosion of the *Saluda* steamboat on the Missouri River. One of the ways it differs is that those disasters occurred in places distant from any Mormon community. There was a time gap between the occurrence of the disaster and knowledge about it. In the case of the 1938 train-school bus accident, the communal response to tragedy happened within minutes and lasted for months in a neighborly outpouring of love to sorrowful families.

⁷²Gale Winward, interview.

⁷³*Ibid.*

⁷⁴"Accident Program," 1-2, 4.

THE HISTORY OF LDS TEMPLE ADMISSION STANDARDS

Edward L. Kimball

THE TEMPLE IS a major focus of Latter-day Saint religious practice.¹ When the Church was a few months old with only a handful of members, Joseph Smith laid the cornerstone for a temple in Independence, Missouri (D&C 28:9; 36:8; 42:35-36; 57:1-4). When mobs in 1833 prevented the building of that temple, the Saints erected

EDWARD L. KIMBALL is professor of law emeritus at Brigham Young University and coauthor of the biographies *Spencer W. Kimball* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1977) and *Camilla* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1980), as well as other writings on law and on LDS history. He currently is writing a personal and administrative history of the presidency of Spencer W. Kimball.

¹For the significance to the Latter-day Saints of temple ordinances and their development, see Gordon B. Hinckley, "Keeping the Temple Holy," *Ensign*, May 1990, 49-52; Boyd K. Packer, *The Holy Temple* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1980); David John Buerger, *The Mysteries of Godliness: A History of Mormon Temple Worship* (San Francisco: Smith Research Associates, 1994); and Gregory A. Prince, *Power from On High: The Development of Mormon Priesthood* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1995). See also *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, 4 vols. (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., 1992): Alma P. Burton, "Endowment," 2:454-56; Immo Luschin, "Temples," 4:1447-50; and Allen Claire Rozsa, "Temple Ordinances," 4:1444-45. The temple rite of endowment is today normally a precursor to missionary service, to the sealing of marrying couples in a union that transcends death, to the sealing of already married couples and their children in the retroactive formation of eternal families, and (where feasible) to service in positions of significant leadership in the church.

one in Kirtland, Ohio. There, revelation promised, elders called as missionaries would be “endowed with power from on high.”² Later in Nauvoo, the Saints built another temple at great sacrifice; approximately 5,200 were endowed and more than 2,000 couples were sealed in two months, December 1845 to February 1846, even after the exodus toward the West had begun.³ One of Brigham Young’s earliest acts in Utah was to designate the place for the Salt Lake Temple. As of October 1997, the LDS Church maintained fifty operating temples, with eighteen more under construction or announced, plus the prospect of a whole new class of small temples.

Each LDS temple has been seen as a sacred space for making covenants with God, under clearly defined priesthood authority, fostering the eternal welfare of the living and the dead.⁴ To maintain the temples’ purity, only those who satisfy standards of worthiness may enter.⁵

²D&C 105:11; Prince, *Power from On High*, 16-17, 31. The Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints maintains the Kirtland Temple as a historic site. It has also constructed a temple in Independence, not for ordinances, but as a structure dedicated to a ministry of peace.

³Joseph Smith et al., *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, edited by B. H. Roberts, 7 vols., 2nd ed. rev. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1971 printing), 7:570, 580; Buerger, *Mysteries of Godliness*, 71-72, 90.

⁴See Joseph Fielding Smith, *Doctrines of Salvation*, 3 vols. (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1954-1956), 2:241-42, 255-56. The Kirtland “endowment” was principally for missionaries. Prince, *Power from On High*, 117-22. The Nauvoo endowment, instituted in 1842 by Joseph Smith, was a complex and more cosmic ritual, administered first to his closest followers, men and women, by invitation. Before his death in 1844, perhaps seventy were endowed. Buerger, *Mysteries of Godliness*, 36, 64-65. While baptism for the dead had been introduced in 1840, vicarious endowments for the dead, though taught in 1843, were first performed in 1877. Prince, *Power from On High*, 145-46.

⁵The RLDS temples are open to all. The Kirtland Temple during the time of Joseph Smith was also open to all. Current LDS temples draw on a tradition of exclusivity that can be traced to ancient practices. Herod’s temple in Jerusalem had a series of enclosures, each requiring a more strenuous level of ritual purity. Richard N. Holzapfel and David R. Seely, *My Father’s House: Temple Worship and Symbolism in the New Testament* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1994), 56-57, 64-66. The daily reading of the Ten Commandments after the morning sacrifice was a reminder of their covenant obligations, analogous to the requirements for a temple recommend. *Ibid.*, 67. See also, for the practice in pagan temples, Moshe Weinfeld, “The Decalogue in

At one time worthiness was largely ascertained through personal acquaintance and observation by Church leaders, based on very general criteria. But temple worthiness today for Latter-day Saints is determined by two interviews, the first with a member of one's bishopric, the second with a member of one's stake presidency.⁶ The interviews consist primarily of a set of uniform questions. However, in the past before there were specific questions, and today in explanation and augmentation of the questions, the interviewer has recourse to the latest *General Handbook of Instructions* (GHI) issued by the Church for guidance of local leaders, called here simply "the handbook." (See Appendix for a bibliography of the successive handbooks.) And in addition to the handbook, bishops and stake presidents sometimes receive circular or individual letters of instruction and read or hear public pronouncements from General Authorities. All of these sources of instruction operate simultaneously, guiding local leaders in their determination of worthiness for a temple recommend.⁷

Israel's Tradition," in *Religion and Law: Biblical-Judaic and Islamic Perspectives*, edited by Edwin B. Firmage et al. (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1990), 35; John M. Lundquist, "What Is a Temple," in *Temples of the Ancient World*, edited by Donald W. Pary (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1994), 110.

⁶Apparently in the 1940s, only a bishop's interview was required unless there was doubt about worthiness. GHI (1944), 64. But by GHI (1960), 65, a member of the stake presidency had to interview all applicants. According to the *Bulletin*, 1991-1, a bishop's counselor can sign renewals. In 1919, members in missions were issued recommends only by the Church president when requested by the mission president. James R. Clark, *Messages of the First Presidency*, 6 vols. (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1965-1975), 5:163. Now mission presidents can issue recommends.

⁷I comment on the first or last time a subject is mentioned in the handbook; however, the appearance or disappearance of a reference may signal, not a change in the policy, but the wording preferences of those who worked on a new draft. Further, a "new" policy in the handbook may have already been communicated earlier by First Presidency letter. "Recommend," rather than "recommendation," as a noun is Mormon usage. Possession of such a certificate is not, of course a guarantee of virtue, since people can lie during interviews and since interviews do not fully examine all aspects of character. Richard G. Moore, "Temple Recommends: Certificates of Worthiness," 1979 unpublished student paper, BYU Archives and Manuscripts, Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, wrote the earliest exploration of the history of recommends of which I am aware. The role of temple recommends in Mormon culture deserves examination, although this essay is not

Worthiness involves broad notions of loyalty, righteousness, and obedience. The criteria set by these several sources identify what are considered significant indicators of those qualities. These indicators have evolved over time, reflecting shifts in concerns and emphasis. This paper describes the nineteenth-century historical context, then documents some of those changes of emphasis that have brought us to the present standards for admission to the temple.

TEMPLE RECOMMENDS IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY UTAH

For the Nauvoo Temple, endowments no criteria were detailed, but Brigham Young commented in December 1845, "There is no law to prevent any man from obtaining all the blessings of the priesthood if he will walk according to the commandments, pay his tithes and seek after salvation."⁸

Although the Saints began construction of the Salt Lake Temple promptly, the dedication took place only in 1893. The St. George Temple was completed first, in 1877. Before the temples were available, endowments and sealings took place in other authorized locations: on Ensign Peak above Salt Lake City, on the upper floor of the Council House (1851-55), and most often in the Endowment House on Temple Square in Salt Lake City from 1855 until Wilford Woodruff had it razed in 1889 to quell rumors that plural marriages were being performed there.⁹

the place.

⁸*History of the Church* 7:546.

⁹Addison Pratt and possibly others were endowed on Ensign Peak in 1849. Ronald W. Walker, "'A Banner is Unfurled': Mormonism's Ensign Peak," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 24 (Winter 1993): 83, citing Franklin D. Richards, Diary, 21 July 1849, Historical Department Archives, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City (hereafter cited as LDS Church Archives); LaMar C. Barrett, "Endowment Houses," *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, 2:456. Apostle Orson Hyde, also president of Sanpete Stake, reportedly directed endowments at an "endowment house" in Spring City, identified in contemporary records as a schoolhouse. Allen Roberts, "The 'Other' Endowment House," *Sunstone* 3, no. 5 (July/August 1978): 10; Cindy Rice, "Spring City: A Look at a Nineteenth-Century Mormon Village," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 43 (Summer 1975): 266. On 3 October 1901, the General Authorities discussed building of an endowment house in Arizona and Mexico but decided against it; the temple in Mesa, Arizona, was completed in 1927. Stan Larson, ed., *A Ministry of Meetings: The Apostolic Diaries of Rudger Clawson* (Salt Lake City:

During the nineteenth century, apostles and some stake presidents had authority to perform sealings for Saints, usually in distant locales.¹⁰

Although normally the endowment came by invitation of Church leaders, members sometimes took the initiative of requesting the endowment. When John A. West of Parowan requested "the privilege of yourself and wife receiving your endowments and also taking another wife," Brigham Young granted both requests.¹¹ Local leaders, relying only on broad criteria of worthiness, recommended members for endowment to the Church president, who issued his approval. There were no standard interviews. In March 1856, a year after the Endowment House opened, the First Presidency instructed local leaders in Iron and Washington Counties that candidates for the endowment

must be those who pray, who pay their tithing from year to year; who live the lives of saints from day to day; setting good examples before their neighbors. Men and women, boys and girls over 16 years of age who are living the lives of saints, believe in the plurality [plural marriage], and do not speak evil of the authorities of the Church, and possess true integrity towards their friends.¹²

Signature Books, 1993), 322. For the Endowment House, see Richard S. Van Wagoner, *Mormon Polygamy: A History*, 2nd ed. (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1989), 152 note 1; D&C Official Declaration 1.

¹⁰For the living, only endowed persons are sealed today. Beginning in the 1970s, the First Presidency set a policy of not requiring a particular order for the vicarious ordinances. James B. Allen, Jessie L. Embry, and Kahlile B. Mehr, *Hearts Turned to the Fathers* (Provo, Utah: BYU Studies, 1995), 304-5. In the early nineteenth century, however, anomalies were not unusual. Heber C. Kimball was sealed to his first wife, then married polygamously, and later endowed. Stanley B. Kimball, *Heber C. Kimball: Mormon Patriarch and Pioneer* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1981), 93, 95, 86. See also Lynne W. Jorgensen, "John Hyde, Jr., Mormon Renegade," *Journal of Mormon History* 17 (1991): 128; Larson, *Ministry of Meetings*, 126, 411; and Joseph F. Smith, Letter to stake president Andrew Kimball, 21 July 1902., in Clark, *Messages of the First Presidency*, 4:45: "Where children are born to parents who have been sealed by an Apostle outside of the temple before receiving their endowments, all such children should be sealed to their parents over the altar whenever the opportunity presents itself."

¹¹Quoted in Kimball, *Heber C. Kimball*, 201. And see Buerger, *Mysteries of Godliness*, 122 note 64.

¹²Parowan Historical Record, 13, 16 March 1856, quoted in Buerger, *Mysteries*

Two months later, Heber C. Kimball, counselor in the First Presidency responsible for endowments, instructed bishops that they should recommend for endowment candidates who

pay their tithing from year to year; . . . pray in their families, and do not speak against the authorities of the Church and kingdom of God; nor steal; nor lie; nor interfere with their neighbors' things; nor their neighbors' wives or husbands; . . . attend strictly to meetings and prayer meetings, . . . pay due respect to their presiding officers, and . . . do not swear.

We shall expect you to pick up the old and infirm, the lame halt and blind and the righteous poor, but not the devil's poor.

We would like to see many . . . sprightly young persons, who are strict to obey their parents.

He also required that they bathe before coming to the temple.¹³

In December 1866, Brigham Young elaborated cleanliness by advising women not to come for endowment for a week after beginning to menstruate, and by counseling couples to avoid intercourse for "several days."¹⁴ However, these were matters of preparation and not of moral worthiness.

Instructions recorded on 14 June 1881 in Ephraim, Utah, specify: "Please accompany your recommends to the House of the Lord with a note giving the following particulars. Is the Brother ordained an elder? Is he a tithing payer in full? Is he a temple donor? Has he been rebaptized? Is he living in full faith and fellowship with the saints of the ward? Whatever of the above applies to the sisters should be stated when giving sisters recommends."¹⁵

of Godliness, 99-100. Rachel Andora Woolsey Lee, Diary, 30 March 1856, BYU Archives and Manuscripts, quotes the same letter, dated 2 March, in almost identical words.

¹³Journal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (chronology of typed entries and newspaper clippings, 1830-present), 19 May 1856, LDS Church Archives.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, 31 January 1868; Scott Kenney, ed., *Wilford Woodruff Journal* (Murray, Utah; Signature Books, 1984), 6:308 (26 Dec. 1866) (10 days after intercourse). Apostle John W. Taylor asserted in 1902, drawing on the Old Testament, that "those who have sexual intercourse with their wives or touch any dead body are unclean until evening, and, therefore, during that day should not enter the temple or officiate in the ordinances of the gospel. Larson, *Ministry of Meetings*, 514.

¹⁵Chester Ward, Sanpete Stake, Donation Record 1875-99, LDS Church

In 1886, the First Presidency, then consisting of John Taylor, George Q. Cannon, and Joseph F. Smith, instructed that candidates

... should live in harmony and peace at home, they should settle all their differences before attempting to enter this holy place . . . pray with their families morning and evening, and not neglect secret prayer; . . . honestly pay their debts . . . tithes and offerings, . . . observe the Word of Wisdom . . . [It is] inconsistent to carry the smell of whiskey and tobacco into the sacred precincts of the Lord's House. . . . [They should] observe to do and keep all God's holy laws and commandments.¹⁶

Letters of recommendation had to be countersigned by the president until November 1891 when Wilford Woodruff, who had signed over three thousand that year, delegated responsibility for determining worthiness to bishops and stake presidents.¹⁷

FORMALIZING CRITERIA IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

As the basis for determining worthiness gradually standardized, the list of criteria for evaluation finally became a set of questions to be asked verbatim, although no list of "satisfactory" answers has ever been specified. With three exceptions—unchastity, dishonesty, or apostasy—the questions do not identify conduct that would call for church discipline. These three issues seem particularly important since they would naturally also be covered by the summary question asking whether there are sins not yet resolved with priesthood leaders that *could* subject the candidate to discipline.

The first recommend book published by the Church, about 1922, included twelve "instructional" items and space on the back of the form for the applicant's answer to seven questions. The 1961 instructions listed eight questions, some with subparts, in 1976, eleven; in 1978, fourteen, and in 1989 fifteen. Another

Archives.

¹⁶Clark, *Messages of the First Presidency*, 3:63.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, 3:220, 228-29; Kenney, *Wilford Woodruff Journal*, entry at the end of 1891. There was no centrally produced form for the recommend, although some bishops had forms printed locally. A photograph of one signed by a bishop and one of his counselors appears in Robert A. Tucker, "Temple Recommend," *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, 4:1446.

item was added in 1996, but there are still fifteen questions because, in 1991, two questions about divorce were consolidated.¹⁸ For the most part, changes did not constitute new matter, but only emphasis.

In 1913 the bishop's handbook of instructions first included information about issuance of recommends and only advised restricting recommends to "those who are worthy" (21). In 1928 it was "the faithful [who are to receive recommends are] . . . encouraged to observe the principle of tithing as well as all other Gospel principles" (11). Each successive handbook became more specific about the subjects to be inquired into. Whereas the questions had previously been included only in the recommend form book, the 1976 handbook itself included the questions to be asked. While interviewers are not limited strictly to the issues or questions listed, the instructions accompanying the interview form now discourage going beyond them.¹⁹

For ease of discussion, I have grouped the criteria into matters of belief and matters of conduct, roughly following the sequence of the 1996 list of temple recommend questions.

MATTERS OF BELIEF

A Testimony of God and the Church

Belief as a criterion has traditionally received less attention than righteous behavior.²⁰ In 1940 (129) and 1944 (77), instructions to

¹⁸Tucker, "Temple Recommend," *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, 4:1446, paraphrases nearly all the topics covered by the questions.

¹⁹Since 1976 the interviewing instructions have told a bishop, "generally, do not deviate" from the specified questions and "acceptable answers to the recommend interview questions ordinarily will establish worthiness to receive a recommend." The bishop should, however, probe where he senses a misunderstanding or lack of candor, but he is not to add new requirements. Some stake presidents have reportedly denied recommends to people who drank caffeinated soft drinks, but such actions apparently exceed their proper sphere. In the 1976 handbook bishops received instruction, not repeated in later editions, that neither men's long hair nor tattoos were grounds for withholding a recommend unless the tattoos were "unbecoming in the house of the Lord" (66).

²⁰See, for example, GHI (1960), 66; (1963), 74; (1968), 91; (1976), 53; Supp. 1 (1976), 2; Supp. 3 (1978), 4. The handbooks will be cited as GHI followed by the year and page. For complete titles and publishing information, see the Appendix.

bishops stated that those who were worthy would be “believing in and living the gospel.”²¹ It was always assumed in a general way that upright conduct and loyalty to the Church are motivated by faith. The 1985 handbook, however, added questions that dealt expressly with belief: The first is a requirement of faith in “God, the Eternal Father, in his Son, Jesus Christ, and in the Holy Ghost.” The 1996 reframing of this inquiry uses even stronger language: “Do you have faith in and a testimony of [the members of the Godhead]?” and asks whether the applicant has a “testimony of the atonement of Christ” and of his role as Savior and Redeemer. These changes reflect a strong emphasis in the Church on Christ, beginning in the early 1980s, perhaps in part responding to criticism that Mormons are not Christian.²² These additions are possibly the most significant changes in the articulation of criteria. A second addition in 1985 requires the candidate to have “a firm testimony of the restored gospel.” The 1996 version omits the adjective *firm*.

Taken together, these changes seem intended to foreclose the possibility that a person might truthfully answer all of the questions relating to conduct yet still lack a testimony of God and of the Church. Undoubtedly a great many endowed persons continued temple attendance only or primarily to please a spouse, parents, to witness a relative’s marriage, for social acceptability in highly Mormon areas, etc.²³

²¹Belief in and commitment to the Gospel were explicit in GHI (1940), 129, and (1944), 77. “[Young people] should not go to the temple until they do have testimony of the truth and a knowledge of the gospel.” Smith, *Doctrines of Salvation*, 2:254-55. Ordination to the Melchizedek Priesthood, required for men before admission to the temple, also requires “sincere faith.” GHI (1968), 78; (1976), 41.

²²Other indicators are the 1995 revision of the Church logo to emphasize the name of Christ, the subtitling of the Book of Mormon as another witness of Christ, a revision of the first missionary discussion to include the role of Christ, and the prominence of pictures and statues of Christ in visitors center. See also Gordon Shepherd and Gary Shepherd, *A Kingdom Transformed: Themes in the Development of Mormonism* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1984), 76, 78, 100-101, 242; and themes 008, 073-02, and 105 in Appendix C.

²³George Q. Cannon, *Gospel Truth* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1974), 1:227-28, noted that requiring the endowment as a prerequisite for sealing meant that some who wished to marry received the endowment even though they were not spiritually prepared, to their condemnation. He suggested dividing the endowment

These new requirements of articulated belief mean that compliant conduct is not enough. Asking about a testimony of the "restoration of the gospel" implies two more areas of now-required faith: that the Church was restored as a peculiar instrument in God's hands to bring salvation to mankind and that Joseph Smith was the instrument of that restoration.

Plural Marriage

Belief in plural marriage as a doctrine occupies an anomalous position among the criteria since belief in both the doctrine and the practice was once required; belief in the doctrine has never been rescinded, but belief in current practice is now grounds for excommunication. (See "Apostate Groups" below.) The 1856 First Presidency letter specifies that candidates must "believe in the plurality [plural marriage]," but I have not found it mentioned later in connection with the endowment, even in the very similar letter by Heber C. Kimball, a counselor in that First Presidency, two months later, cited above. Most Mormon marriages were not polygamous, even though participation was virtually required of male leaders and encouraged for others. For instance, men could not participate in the Salt Lake School of the Prophets in 1883 unless they were polygamous, and Orson Pratt in 1874 insisted that one could not honestly say, "I believe in Mormonism, . . . but I . . . do not believe in polygamy."²⁴ Still, practicing polygamy was not required for receiving a recommend.

After both the Manifesto of 1890 and the unsettled transition period leading to the "Second Manifesto" of 1904, the orthodox position became that plural marriage had been proper in its time,

into two parts, analogous to the Aaronic and Melchizedek priesthoods, so that temple marriage would be possible for those not yet ready to take on the full endowment commitment. Brigham Young and John Taylor also proposed such a division, but no change occurred. Young, 11 June 1864, *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (London and Liverpool: LDS Booksellers Depot, 1855-86), 10:309; Taylor in Merle H. Graffam, *Salt Lake School of the Prophets: Minute Book 1883* (Palm Desert, Calif.: ULC Press, 1981), 7-8.

²⁴Graffam, *Salt Lake School of the Prophets*, 57-59; Richard Van Wagoner, *Mormon Polygamy: A History*, 2d ed. (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1989), 97-98; 7 October 1874, *Journal of Discourses* 17:224.

but that the Lord now commanded cessation of the practice.²⁵ In fact, beginning in 1940, the instructions to bishops spelled out that any Church member "adopting or advocating" plural marriage should not be granted a temple recommend.²⁶

While "apostate groups" covers a wide spectrum of unorthodoxies, the primary focus since 1940 has been on groups that continue to promote and practice plural marriage while also trying to gain access to the temple.²⁷ In 1985 the question was changed from "affiliation with or sympathy for" apostates (which often brought as answer that the applicant sympathized with them as unfortunately deluded) to affiliation with them or sympathy with their "*precepts*." This phrasing thus focuses more sharply on belief. In the 1989 handbook, one kind of apostasy was defined as "continu[ing] to follow the teachings of apostate cults (such as those that

²⁵B. Carmon Hardy, *Solemn Covenant: The Mormon Polygamous Passage* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1992), 338; Bruce R. McConkie, *Mormon Doctrine*, rev. ed. (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1966), 577-79; Martha S. Bradley, "Changed Faces: The Official LDS Position on Polygamy, 1890-1990," *Sunstone* 14 (February 1990): 26.

²⁶GHI (1940), 139; (1944), 125; (1960), 65-66; (1963), 74; (1968), 91. J. Reuben Clark, Jr., a counselor in the First Presidency from 1933 to 1962, strenuously suppressed polygamy. D. Michael Quinn, *J. Reuben Clark: The Church Years* (Provo, Utah: BYU Press, 1983), 179-86. Today there is virtually no official discussion of polygamy as either doctrine or practice, perhaps to avoid having to distinguish for the public between proper and improper practice. Hardy, *Solemn Covenant*, 338-45; Shepherd and Shepherd, *A Kingdom Transformed*, 248. The RLDS Church, historically opposed to polygamy, now accepts existing plural marriages of converts in cultures where such marriage is permissible. Alma R. Blair, "RLDS Views of Polygamy: Some Historiographical Notes," *John Whitmer Historical Association Journal* 5 (1985): 16 note 1; Roger Launius, "Whither Reorganization Historiography," *John Whitmer Historical Association Journal* 10 (1990): 29. The LDS Church has reportedly informally adopted the same position in Africa. Marjorie Newton, "From Tolerance to 'House Cleaning': LDS Leadership Response to Maori Marriage Customs, 1890-1990," *Journal of Mormon History* 22 (Fall 1996): 90 note 53. However, Marjorie W. Folsom, *Golden Harvest in Ghana: Gospel Beginnings in West Africa* (Salt Lake City: Horizon Publishers, 1989), 41, cites a case where one of a polygamist's two wives divorced him so all three could be baptized.

²⁷See Becky Johns, "The Manti Mormons: The Rise of the Latest Mormon Church," *Sunstone* 19 (June 1996): 35. Not all schismatic groups have interest in the temple. Hans A. Baer, *Recreating Utopia in the Desert* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1988), 31-42, discusses the Order of Aaron.

advocate plural marriage) after being corrected by their bishops or higher authority" (10-2). In 1996 the proscription was changed to "support, affiliat[ion] with, or agree[ment] with" apostate teachings or practices.

The implication has always been that bishops should take prompt action to check "apostasy," but the first explicit instructions in the handbook occurred in 1940. And beginning in 1976 special attention was directed to interviews with children of apostates, since they may well have been influenced by their parents although not yet actively involved in their parents' practices.²⁸

These strictures against polygamous apostate groups apply mainly to the Intermountain West, where most such groups are located; but elsewhere in the world, where LDS fundamentalism is unfamiliar, the questions still serve as warnings against organized dissent.

Loyalty to Church Leaders

Schism has been a fact of church life since Joseph Smith's day, and significant conflicts have continued in modern times.²⁹ While the Church sought to build an independent community, cohesion held a great value. Allegiance to Church leaders is also connected directly to the belief that the Church is headed by prophets.³⁰ Consequently, loyalty to leaders has traditionally received a high priority.

²⁸GHI (1960), 65, advised bishops to exclude from youth temple excursions the children of parents affiliated with apostate groups. GHI (1968), 91, permitted exceptions if it was clearly established that the children were "completely free from parental domination in any apostate religious matters." By 1983, adult children of apostate parents could not receive recommends unless they could demonstrate that they "repudiate the doctrinal teachings of their parents that caused their parents' excommunication." Similar language appears in GHI (1985), 6-1, and (1989), 6-1.

²⁹See, for example, Ronald W. Walker, "The Godbeite Protest in the Making of Modern Utah" (Ph.D. diss., University of Utah, 1977); Ken Driggs, "After the Manifesto: Modern Polygamy and Fundamentalist Mormons," *Journal of Church and State* 32 (1990): 367-89; F. Lamond Tullis, *Mormons in Mexico* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1987), 136-46; Baer, *Recreating Utopia in the Desert*, 167-90; and Johns, "The Manti Mormons."

³⁰Paul H. Peterson, "The Mormon Reformation of 1856-57: The Rhetoric and the Reality," *Journal of Mormon History* 15 (1989): 70.

The 1856 letters cited above forbid “speak[ing] against” or “speak[ing] evil of” Church leaders and required “pay[ing] due respect to” leaders. The 1856 Reformation catechism, which was not for temple recommends but which shows leaders’ concerns of the time, asked, “Do you speak against . . . any principle taught us in the Bible, Book of Mormon, Book of Doctrine and Covenants, Revelations given through Joseph Smith the Prophet and the presidency of the Church as now organized?”³¹

Explicit linking of loyalty to obtaining a temple recommend occurred in the 1934 handbook: candidates for recommends “should sustain without reservation the general and local authorities of the church” (10). This language, with slight variations, was used through 1976. A supplement to the 1976 handbook was more specific: Candidates must believe that the Church president is “a Prophet, Seer, and Revelator” and the only “person on the earth . . . authorized to exercise all priesthood keys.”³² The reference to “keys” excludes fundamentalists who would agree that the president is a prophet but believe also that John Taylor as Church president ordained others to continue authorizing plural marriages.³³ This language does not ask for personal homage to the president but rather a willingness to acknowledge the importance of his office and that he occupies it by the will of God.³⁴

Implicit in acknowledging the president as prophet and God’s representative is an obligation to heed him. Consider, for example, George Q. Cannon’s statement, “I am not willing . . . —stating my own personal feelings—for any man to go into these buildings

³¹Peterson, “The Mormon Reformation,” 70.

³²GHI Supp. 1 (1976), 2.

³³Baer, *Recreating Utopia in the Desert*, 33-42; Van Wagoner, *Mormon Polygamy*, 183-84; Hardy, *Solemn Covenant*, 341.

³⁴This focus on the president may represent, perhaps unconsciously, a focus on Mormon uniqueness as a way of resisting assimilation into the larger society. Armand L. Mauss, “The Mormon Struggle with Assimilation and Identity: Trends and Developments since Midcentury,” *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 27 (Spring 1994): 132; Quinn, *The Mormon Hierarchy: Extensions of Power* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1997), 363-66 (sacralizing of the office of president). In 1976 the president was “a prophet”; in 1985 he was “the prophet.” Since in both cases, he held “all” keys, the difference is only one of emphasis.

[temples] who is not willing to hold all he has got subject to the Priesthood of the Son of God, and be willing to do with it as that Priesthood shall dictate.”³⁵ Indeed, covenants made as part of the endowment include a commitment to support and respond to the Church and, by implication, its leaders.³⁶

The 1996 criteria go beyond the earlier language of sustaining “the other General Authorities” to an express acknowledgment that members of the Quorum of the Twelve are “prophets, seers and revelators.” This change harmonizes the language of the questions with the language traditionally used in sustaining the apostles at general conference.³⁷ The orthodox statement is that the Twelve hold the same keys as the president, but in suspension while he lives.³⁸

The theme of “follow the brethren,” sounded from the days of Joseph Smith, has received renewed stress since the mid-1980s with warnings against skeptical or liberal “alternate voices”³⁹ and “so-called scholars and intellectuals,”⁴⁰ who are thought to pose the risk of leading others astray.

MATTERS OF CONDUCT

The Law of Chastity

Since most endowed persons in early Church history were already married, concern for chastity was first expressed as concern for adultery, although the unrepentant fornicator would also surely

³⁵George Q. Cannon, 12 August 1883, *Journal of Discourses* 24:277, quoted in Cannon, *Gospel Truth*, 1:355.

³⁶“When you have been to the temple you are under covenant to support the leaders of the Church.” Packer, *The Holy Temple*, 167-68; see also 162-68: “Unless there is loyalty [to leaders] there will be an absence of harmony.” Hinckley, “Keeping the Temple Holy,” 51.

³⁷See, e.g., *Report of the Annual Conference of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, April 1880 (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, semi-annual), 68 (hereafter cited as *Conference Reports*).

³⁸Edward L. Kimball, ed., *The Teachings of Spencer W. Kimball* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1982), 464.

³⁹Dallin H. Oaks, “Alternate Voices,” *Ensign* 19 (April 1989): 27-29.

⁴⁰“Elder Packer Names Gays/Lesbians, Feminists, and ‘So-Called’ Scholars Three Main Dangers,” *Sunstone* 16 (November 1993): 74.

have been denied a temple recommend.⁴¹ The 1940 handbook included a quotation attributed to Brigham Young that the temple-worthy would not “interfere with . . . their neighbors’ wives or husbands” (129). Later handbooks—1960 (65), 1963 (74), and 1968 (91)—require freedom from “all kinds of immoral practices.”

One 1976 question asks whether the candidate is “morally clean” and another asks if there is any “major transgression” that has not “been confessed and adjusted.” Later in 1976 the question was changed to more specific phrasing—any “transgression relating to the law of chastity” that should have been confessed but was not. In 1978 the Presidency added to the questions a rhetorical statement about the temple: “But if there shall come into it any unclean thing, my glory shall not be there; and my presence shall not come into it” (D&C 94:8-9). The statement further specified that a person who had not repented of “impure, unholy, or unnatural sex acts” could not receive a recommend.⁴² The addition forbidding “unnatural sex acts” precipitated inquiry by many bishops into the specific sexual activities of married couples,⁴³ requiring the First Presidency to send follow-up instructions that bishops “should never inquire into personal, intimate matters involving marital relations between a man and his wife.”⁴⁴ That cautionary language has continued in the interview instructions since then. In 1979 no explicit question was asked about chastity, leaving it to be covered by the general question about any unresolved serious sin. But since 1985 the question has

⁴¹The Reformation catechism asked, “Have you committed adultery, by having any connection with a woman that was not your wife or a man that was not your husband?” Peterson, “The Mormon Reformation,” 70. Fornication, serious as it was, did not involve breach of marriage covenants. On 9 July 1901, Reed Smoot and the Twelve approved a motion that bishops “interrogate young people who go to the temple to get married and ascertain, if possible, whether in any case they have committed themselves [sexually] and in such event to deny them the privilege.” Larson, *Ministry of Meetings*, 294.

⁴²GHI Supp. 3 (1978), 4. This paragraph of exhortation was deleted in 1985.

⁴³Lester E. Bush, Jr., *Health and Medicine among the Latter-day Saints* (New York: Crossroad Publishing, 1993), 159 note 77.

⁴⁴First Presidency letter to stake presidents and bishops, 15 Oct. 1982; Romel W. Mackelprang, “‘And They Shall Be One Flesh’:” Sexuality and Contemporary Mormonism,” *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 25 (Spring 1992): 60-61.

been very direct: "Do you live the law of chastity?" Other questions, dealing with unresolved sin, the cause of a divorce, and general worthiness, would also call for confession of unchaste acts.

The 1989 handbook includes a First Presidency policy statement that "to be morally clean, a person must refrain from adultery and fornication, from homosexual or lesbian relations, and from every other unholy, unnatural, or impure practice."⁴⁵ And the 1989 interview instructions tell the bishop that if an applicant "asks about the propriety of specific sexual conduct," the bishop should "suggest that if the applicant has enough anxiety about the propriety of the conduct to ask about it, the best course would be to discontinue it."⁴⁶

A reasonable inference from the foregoing sequence of events is that mutual acceptance is the primary standard for permissible sexual conduct in marriage. One spouse may not force, demand, or psychologically pressure the other into unwelcome sexual activity. President Hinckley, speaking in general conference in 1990, said that spouse abuse includes "demand [for] offensive intimate relations." Further, the bishop is "not likely to get into these delicate and sensitive and personal things. You must judge within your heart whether you are guilty of any practice that is unholy, impure, or in any way evil before the Lord."⁴⁷

The recommend questions themselves give no definitions, relying on general understandings of what "chastity" and "morality" and "unnatural" mean. Whatever words were used, the intent presumably has always been to exclude any sexual intercourse outside marriage. The extended and overlapping questions relating to chastity reflect great concern on the part of Church leaders about the

⁴⁵GHI (1989), 11-4. Petting, masturbation, pornography, and the like are strongly denounced in conference addresses, local talks, manuals, and ecclesiastical counseling as weaknesses, sins, and causes of unworthiness, but the handbook contains no instructions on how bishops should deal with them. GHI (1976), 40, includes avoiding pornography as one criterion for ordination in the Aaronic Priesthood; see also GHI (1985), 4-1, and (1989), 4-1. Kimball, *The Teachings of Spencer W. Kimball*, 264, 274-285, encourages abandonment of "the habit" of masturbation before going to the temple. See also Bush, *Health and Medicine*, 148-49.

⁴⁶Mackelprang, "And They Shall Be One Flesh," 49-67.

⁴⁷Hinckley, "Keeping the Temple Holy," 52.

growing sexual permissiveness in society at large and in the Church.⁴⁸

Sex-Related Policies

Three policy areas also impinge on sexuality and temple worthiness. The first is a rule, first enunciated in 1983 (52-53), that persons who have had transsexual operations might be baptized if otherwise worthy but could not receive a temple recommend. The policy was reiterated in 1985 (8-2), but omitted in 1989 (10-4), presumably so that bishops could consider individual circumstances, referring questionable cases to the First Presidency.

The second case involves rape. Because some earlier statements could have been misunderstood as expecting women to resist rape to the death,⁴⁹ a First Presidency letter of 7 February 1985 made clear that a rape victim bears no moral guilt and that a bishop may not judge the sufficiency of the victim's resistance, if there was any significant force or credible threat. Further, a child involved in sexual activity by an older person is not blameworthy.⁵⁰

The third area is birth control, also not discussed in connection with temple worthiness. During the nineteenth century and perhaps half of the twentieth, the official attitude was that sexual intercourse, even within marriage, was justified only when conception was desired or at least not interfered with.⁵¹ Since about the 1970s, the position has gradually developed that, while "selfishness" is discour-

⁴⁸Bush, *Health and Medicine*, 145; Armand L. Mauss, *The Angel and the Beehive: The Mormon Struggle with Assimilation* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994), 93-95.

⁴⁹For example, Spencer W. Kimball, *The Miracle of Forgiveness* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1969), 196, said: "It is better to die in defending one's virtue than to live having lost it without a struggle." In context, he meant death is preferable to unchastity, but as the preceding sentence makes clear, "There is no condemnation where there is no voluntary participation."

⁵⁰This letter superseded a similar but less complete letter of 4 June 1984.

⁵¹Hardy, *Solemn Covenant*, 92-93; Bush, *Health and Medicine*, 152-59. Brigham Young, 21 September 1856, *Journal of Discourses* 4:56, instructed the Saints to have as many children as possible. In a 1900 stake conference, Apostle Reed Smoot criticized "unlawful means" of limiting families. Larson, *Ministry of Meetings*, 163. J. Reuben Clark, Jr., 1 October 1949, *Conference Reports*, 194-95, warned that intercourse must be had at the "hazard" of pregnancy.

aged and having families is encouraged, couples who prayerfully and thoughtfully decide they should limit their families may engage in intercourse for pleasure and the means of contraception is inconsequential.⁵² Using contraceptives has never been an explicit bar to receiving a recommend, although a First Presidency statement of 14 August 1969 decried birth control for healthy couples and counseled them to seek "inspiration and wisdom" from the Lord. The 1983 (77), 1985 (11-3), and 1989 (11-4) handbooks similarly encourage having families but admonish couples to "seek inspiration" in making choices. Sterilization to prevent conception "may possibly be justified" by the wife's health (1983, 77; 1985, 11-3). The 1989 handbook says: "Surgical sterilization should only be considered where medical conditions seriously jeopardize life or health, or where . . . a person [is] mentally incompetent."⁵³

Family Relations

A First Presidency epistle to the Church at April Conference 1886 specified that those receiving a temple recommend should, among other things, "live in harmony and peace at home."⁵⁴

Recommend questions first included general family relations, apart from adultery and divorce in 1979. Probably responding to the growing consciousness of the physical, emotional, and sexual abuse often suffered by women and children, a new question asked the applicants to assess whether anything in their conduct within the family is "not in harmony with the teachings of the Church." The 1989 handbook affirms, "Church members who abuse their family members . . . should not . . . receive a temple recommend" (11-4).

⁵²Dr. Homer S. Ellsworth, "I Have a Question," *Ensign* 9 (August 1979): 23-24. Dr. Ellsworth's statement was published with express approval of President Kimball.

⁵³See Lorry E. Rytting, "Sterilization," *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, 3:1417. None of the recommend questions would naturally raise the issue.

⁵⁴Clark, *Messages of the First Presidency*, 3:63. Family harmony was also cited as a reason in the 1938 policy that women married to nonmembers should not be endowed. *Ibid.*, 6:60. However, a 12 February 1986 letter of the First Presidency permits a wife to be endowed with the consent of her nonmember husband. This was already the situation of a woman married to an unendowed Church member. GHI (1968), 92, although there had been a time when she, too, was not eligible for endowment. *Priesthood Bulletin* (August 1970): 5.

Perhaps because emotional abuse of spouse and physical abuse of children are often rationalized as normal disagreement or as appropriate discipline, the applicant may still say "No" when a fair observer might think the answer should be "Yes." President Hinckley, speaking in a 1990 general conference, specified that abuse includes temper, impatience, demeaning another, and "demand [for] offensive intimate relations."⁵⁵

Divorce has never in itself been a basis for denying a temple recommend. Despite scriptural strictures against divorce, a fair number of Mormon marriages have always disintegrated. Utah's divorce statutes were very liberal and Brigham Young, though encouraging reconciliation, sometimes dissolved unhappy marriages by simple fiat.⁵⁶ Divorce became a focus for inquiry in a recommend interview because it frequently signaled abuse, abandonment, or adultery.

The first mention of divorce in the bishop's handbook merely instructed him to be sure that a civil divorce or cancellation of sealing was final before a divorced person was sealed in the temple (1944, 82). The recommend form used in 1957 itself contained as one of eight questions whether the applicant had ever been divorced. Although the 1960 handbook specified that a recommend for a divorced person (even if the divorce occurred prior to baptism) required First Presidency clearance,⁵⁷ that rule became over time less stringent. In 1963 First Presidency clearance was required only for persons who had been divorced more than once or had been sealed (78-79). In 1968 only a sealed person had to be cleared

⁵⁵Hinckley, "Keeping the Temple Holy," 52.

⁵⁶Eugene E. Campbell and Bruce L. Campbell, "Divorce among Mormon Polygamists: Extent and Explanations," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 46 (Winter 1978): 4; Edwin B. Firmage and R. 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), 322-36; Kimball, *Heber C. Kimball*, 95, 230, 310; Richard I. Aaron, "Mormon Divorce and the Statute of 1852," *Journal of Contemporary Law* 8 (1990): 16-19; Rebecca Bartholomew, *Audacious Women: Early British Mormon Immigrants* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1995), 241-42; Carol C. Madsen, "'At Their Peril': Utah Law and the Case of Plural Wives, 1850-1900," *Western Historical Quarterly* 21 (1990): 425-44.

⁵⁷GHI (1960), 67-68.

by the First Presidency, while other divorced persons could obtain a recommend after careful interviews inquiring especially about infidelity (93-95). In 1976 the question about divorce expanded to ask "the real reason for the divorce" and First Presidency clearance was not required in the case of a sealed person whose divorce was caused by the infidelity of the partner (58).⁵⁸ In 1983 First Presidency clearance was no longer required for any divorced person to obtain a recommend, although the stake president was admonished to be especially thorough in the interview (36-37). In 1991 (Bulletin 1991-1) a new question asks whether, in connection with divorce or separation, there were any transgressions not already resolved with priesthood authority. The question is not limited in terms to sexual transgression.

In 1985, another question for the divorced and legally separated was added: "Are you presently fulfilling your obligations for support and maintenance of your family?" In 1991 the question was changed to: "Are you current" with obligations "specified by court order or in other written, binding commitments?" (Bulletin 1991-1) The 1996 revision of questions dropped the legal specifics about support and asked simply, "Are you current in meeting financial and other obligations?" President Hinckley specified in 1990 that failing to provide court-ordered support "becomes an act of contempt contrary to the doctrine and teaching of the Church," a reflection of the greatly increased societal condemnation of "deadbeat dads."⁵⁹

⁵⁸GHI Supp. 1 (1976), 3, added that a man formerly sealed could not be sealed to a new wife if adultery with her had caused his divorce; that rule was omitted in GHI Supp. 2 (1977) but restated in 1989 (6-5). Exceptions require First Presidency approval. Under a 1994 policy a divorced man who has been sealed cannot be sealed to another wife (not the cause of his divorce) without First Presidency clearance. And a divorced woman who has been sealed cannot be sealed to another man without obtaining a cancellation by the First Presidency of the first sealing. The clearance requirement for men was "to reemphasize the significance and sacredness of the temple marriage covenants." "Church Alters Policy for Divorced Men," *Sunstone* 17, no. 1 (June 1994): 76; "New Policy Announced for Divorced LDS Men," *Deseret News*, 21 February 1994.

⁵⁹Hinckley, "Keeping the Temple Holy," 52. The shift in language appears intended to reduce evasion—e.g., one could be making support payments presently and still not be current, or could meet written commitments but not keep oral promises.

Membership in Competing Societies

Membership in secret “oath-bound” organizations was for a long time considered generally inconsistent with temple privileges, primarily because the Church then, as now, claimed the member’s first loyalty. A 1922 report from the Presiding Bishopric indicated that many Mormon miners in the Carbon Stake were indifferent to the Church and “belong to secret orders.”⁶⁰ In 1934, the handbook instructed bishops that applicants for recommends “should not join nor be a member of any secret oath-bound organization” (10). The 1940 handbook explained that when a lodge was functionally equivalent to a religion, full involvement could be incompatible with Church activity (158). The instruction, however, was to discourage rather than forbid. If lodge members “are otherwise faithful . . . and are exemplary in their habits, they may be accorded the privileges of the priesthood and the Temple” (1940, 158-59). The same general advice appears in every subsequent handbook through 1985, coupled sometimes with the observation that those deeply involved in such organizations “will not have time” for Church leadership positions.⁶¹ Organizations raising concern were those (1) antagonistic toward the Church, (2) secret and oath-bound, (3) diverting members from interest in the Church or involving them in activities that violate Church standards, or (4) interfering with members’ performance of their Church duties. No organizations were named and local leaders were left to decide whether to issue recommends in individual cases.⁶² That provision was dropped from the 1989 handbook.

Clearly, the issue was one primarily of competition for Church loyalties. Apostle John W. Taylor in 1902 complained that even “Mother’s clubs were being encouraged to the hurt of the Relief Societies,” Reed Smoot in 1903 denounced the “evil growing out of club life and secret societies,” and Rudger Clawson saw the YMCA as “very little less dangerous to our young people than the secret

⁶⁰Allan K. Powell, “Mormon Influence on the Unionization of Eastern Utah Coal Miners, 1903-33,” *Journal of Mormon History* 4 (1977): 96, citing Presiding Bishopric to Arthur W. Horsley and counselors, 8 June 1922.

⁶¹E.g., GHI (1960), 114; (1963), 124.

⁶²GHI (1940), 158, through (1985), 11-3.

orders" because it would "draw our young men away."⁶³ In contrast, in 1901 President Lorenzo Snow saw some good from cooperating with Elks, and the handbooks in 1940, 1944, and 1963 exempted organizations for "the commercial or general welfare of its members" from the general disapprobation.⁶⁴

In general, the organizations seen as "dangerous" were labor unions, fraternal lodges, and Freemasonry. The Knights of Labor, the first national labor organization active in Utah Territory, promoted its own cooperative movement and had a secret initiation ritual. It fell into disrepute in 1885 for burning the Chinese quarter in Rock Springs, Wyoming Territory, massacring many Chinese there, and boycotting Chinese businesses in Ogden.⁶⁵

Apostle John Taylor, describing the massacre, expressed dismay at "secret societies. . . . Such organizations are generally inimical to law, to good order, and in many instances subversive of the rights of man." He counseled, "We cannot affiliate" with them.⁶⁶ Wilford Woodruff on 9 July 1896 stated that organizations should not "interfere with the rights of fellow citizens in regard to labor."⁶⁷ In a leadership meeting in April 1902, Joseph F. Smith expressed opposition to labor unions and, three months later, warned Mormons against striking.⁶⁸

Church leaders saw unions as selfishly seeking higher wages, to the detriment of developing capital that would let Utah grow economically; the unions, responding partly to the Church's anti-union stance, tended to be anti-Mormon.⁶⁹

⁶³Larson, *Ministry of Meetings*, 379, 163, 561.

⁶⁴*Ibid.*, 316, 323; GHI (1940), 158; (1944), 144; and (1963), 124.

⁶⁵J. Kenneth Davies, *Deseret's Sons of Toil: A History of the Worker Movements of Territorial Utah: 1852-1896* (Salt Lake City: Olympus Publishing, 1977), 118, 122, 138; Daniel Liestman, "Utah's Chinatowns: The Development and Decline of Extinct Ethnic Enclaves," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 64 (Winter 1996): 80-84. In Utah, Chinese could not work in the mines.

⁶⁶Clark, *Messages of the First Presidency*, 3:29-30.

⁶⁷*Ibid.*, 3:278-79.

⁶⁸Larson, *Ministry of Meetings*, 422, 472.

⁶⁹Davies, *Deseret's Sons of Toil*, 88-89, 130-31: a Salt Lake City union adopted a resolution against statehood, excluded anyone who believed in polygamy, and dominated the anti-Mormon political party; 221: the Church opposed closed shops

Later, when unions became common and the choice was no longer between union and nonunion, but between moderate and radical unions, Church antagonism toward moderate unions gradually declined and union membership ceased to be a temple recommend issue.⁷⁰

Although the Church phrased its concern about fraternal lodges in terms of loyalty and “secret oaths,” there were very practical reasons why Mormons found lodges attractive and felt reluctant to resign. The lodges offered insurance benefits to their members; if a member withdrew, he forfeited his investment.⁷¹ In 1896 Wilford Woodruff disapproved of membership in the Ancient Order of United Workmen but concluded that belonging was not itself grounds for denying a recommend.⁷² At October Conference 1899, Joseph F. Smith accused those who paid lodge dues to get insurance benefits, instead of paying tithing and trusting the Church to help their families in time of need, of lacking faith.⁷³ In 1900, the apostles agreed that “those who already belong [to secret societies] should be encouraged to withdraw as soon as they reasonably can,” and

and promoted “right to work” laws. Larson, *Ministry of Meetings*, 668, reports that Church officers, meeting with railroad officials in 1903, asked them to protect Mormons from discriminatory treatment by unions. George Edward Anderson, in Chicago while serving a mission, recorded in his journal on 23 June 1907 telling a non-Mormon that “the people could use their own pleasure about joining a union. But the advice was not to join secret unions or to bind themselves—but be free to act as their judgment suggested was best.” Richard N. Holzapfel, T. Jeffrey Cottle, and Ted D. Stoddard, eds., *Church History in Black and White* (Provo, Utah: BYU Religious Studies Center, 1995), 123. According to Leonard J. Arrington and Heidi S. Swinton, *Salt Lake’s Classy Lady: The Hotel Utah, 1911-1986* (Salt Lake City: Publisher’s Press/Westin Hotel Utah, 1986), 16, labor radicals dynamited the Hotel Utah construction site in 1910. President Heber J. Grant said, “I am perfectly willing that men shall join labor unions . . . for the purpose of protecting their rights, provided that they do not take away the agency of man” by imposing a closed shop. *Conference Reports* (October 1919): 13. The First Presidency on 29 November 1941 issued a statement opposed to a closed shop. Quinn, *The Mormon Hierarchy: Extensions of Power*, 828.

⁷⁰Powell, “Mormon Influence,” 92.

⁷¹Church leaders also criticized fraternal life insurance programs for draining capital from the state. Larson, *Ministry of Meetings*, 122, 155, 613.

⁷²Clark, *Messages of the First Presidency*, 3:278-79.

⁷³*Conference Reports*, 39-40.

Lorenzo Snow said local leaders should instruct members that “those who go into them will be denied admission to the temple.”⁷⁴ In 1901 President Snow asserted that lodges fostered divided loyalties and that lodge members should be given recommends only if they “manifest a desire to receive this advice.”⁷⁵ In 1902 Apostle John W. Taylor noted a Catholic manifesto against secret societies and urged the Church consider a similar statement.⁷⁶ In 1907 Joseph F. Smith instructed that no recommend should be given those who join or stay in a lodge (such as Modern Woodmen of America) after knowing the Church’s policy against such membership.⁷⁷ However, change was coming. Four years later Anthon Lund, speaking for the First Presidency, gave the same basic advice but added that a person already involved could keep nominal affiliation solely for insurance purposes, if withdrawal would be too costly to his family.⁷⁸ The growing availability of commercial insurance resulted in the decline of fraternal insurance schemes, ultimately rendering the issue inconsequential.⁷⁹

⁷⁴Larson, *Ministry of Meetings*, 155.

⁷⁵Clark, *Messages of the First Presidency*, 3:340-41. This message told bishops to advise against joining any outside organization, even those that are charitable and social and to ask members to arrange their affairs so they could withdraw; group insurance was not a valid reason for membership.

⁷⁶Larson, *Ministry of Meetings*, 379.

⁷⁷Clarke, *Messages of the First Presidency*, 4:167. Those already members “should withdraw . . . just as soon as it could be done consistently and honorably,” to avoid the division of loyalties.

⁷⁸*Ibid.*, 4:251.

⁷⁹Although it has not been an issue of temple worthiness, the Church also criticized benevolent and mutual benefit associations whose benefits are forfeit if a deceased member was not current in paying assessments. GHI (1940), 139; (1944), 141; (1960), 111; (1963), 121-22; (1968), 161. As late as 1976, the handbook stated that Latter-day Saints had no need for insurance because the Church welfare system would care for the family upon the breadwinner’s death (104). Ironically, since at least 1962, BYU has had a Remembrance Fund which faculty and administrators join by paying a variable initial fee, then have assessments deducted from their payroll checks for benefits to surviving family members. If the member withdraws from the fund, all benefits are lost, apparently the condition disapproved by the handbooks from 1940 through 1968. Similar funds exist for BYU staff and seminary teachers. Interview with Craig G. Smith, manager of the BYU Remembrance Fund, December 1995.

Many Church leaders and members in Nauvoo had been active Freemasons and felt no conflict, but in Utah Territory they saw little to be gained from further involvement and they made no effort to organize lodges. Consequently, Utah Freemasons were avowedly anti-Mormon.⁸⁰ From 1925 until 1984 the Utah lodges would not admit Mormons to membership; they would not even allow Mormon Masons from non-Utah lodges to visit meetings in Utah.⁸¹ On 31 January 1984, the Utah Masons formally rescinded the anti-Mormon policy. The 1989 handbook omits any reference to secret organizations. Although a shadow may linger from the historical animosity, no handbook prohibition prevents a temple-going Mormon from being a Mason.

Word of Wisdom

An 1833 revelation to Joseph Smith articulated the Word of Wisdom (D&C 89). Despite some early periods when it was treated as a commandment affecting standing in the Church, for nearly a century it was more often taken as important advice—but not absolutely required for temple worthiness.⁸² Although the 1856 letters

⁸⁰Frederick S. Buchanan, "Masons and Mormons: Released-Time Politics in Salt Lake City, 1930-56," *Journal of Mormon History* 19 (Spring 1993): 67. See Larson, *Ministry of Meetings*, 155, 316, 380, for discussions among First Presidency and Quorum of the Twelve in 1900-01 showing mixed acceptance of and misgivings about Freemasonry. On some occasions leaders spoke of "Freemasonry as being a counterfeit of the true masonry of the Latter-day Saints" and urged that "we ought to use our utmost influence against [secret societies]." In Brazil, Elder Helvécio Martins, later a General Authority, voluntarily withdrew from his Masonic lodge when he joined the LDS Church in 1972. Helvécio Martins and Mark Grover, *Autobiography of Helvécio Martins* (Salt Lake City: Aspen Books, 1994), 42, 53.

⁸¹Quinn, *The Mormon Hierarchy: Extensions of Power*, 818; Michael W. Homer, "Similarity of Priesthood in Masonry": The Relationship between Freemasonry and Mormonism," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 27 (Fall 1994): 70-82; Michael W. Homer, "Masonry and Mormonism in Utah, 1847-1984," *Journal of Mormon History* 18 (Fall 1992): 57; Attilio G. Parisi, "Freemasonry in Utah," *Utah History Encyclopedia* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1994), 348-349.

⁸²Lester E. Bush, Jr., "The Word of Wisdom in Early Nineteenth-Century Perspective," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 14 (Autumn 1981): 46; Bush, *Health and Medicine*, 48-59. John Taylor and Wilford Woodruff in 1883 said that those who drink should not be admitted to the temple. Graffam, *Salt Lake School of the Prophets*, 59, 13; but see also 33, 42, 47-48, 53 for reminders that even General

do not list intoxication nor general failure to observe the Word of Wisdom as inconsistent with the endowment, drunkenness was always deplored.⁸³

Alexander says that the first time strict adherence—including abstaining from tea and coffee—was absolutely required for a temple recommend was 1921.⁸⁴

Authorities were sometimes lax in full conformity. A general epistle read at April Conference 1886 asked temple attenders to observe the Word of Wisdom “in the spirit and meaning thereof,” complaining that “it is most inconsistent to carry the smell of whiskey and tobacco in the sacred precincts.” Clark, *Messages of the First Presidency*, 3:63.

Rudger Clawson’s diary of meetings of the Presidency and Twelve between 1899 and 1903 records examples of firm commitment to the ideal combined with considerable tolerance for actual practice. President Joseph F. Smith said it was “binding upon the church as a commandment”; Brigham Young, Jr., said that his father had made it a commandment; Clawson encouraged a bishop’s counselors to observe it; an individual was approved for a stake calling after he promised to keep it; presiding officers “ought not be sustained . . . who fail to observe the word of wisdom”; the calling of an otherwise faithful man as patriarch was deferred when he was reported as somewhat “addicted to liquor and tobacco”; and Joseph F. Smith felt that those who arrive at the temple “under the influence of liquor or tobacco” should be put on probation. Larson, *Ministry of Meetings*, 674, 237, 83, 396, 212, 620. More tolerant notes were struck when President Snow said that “sometimes, the elders were perhaps a little too exacting in regard to the Word of Wisdom” and some “were disposed to be over-righteous.” John Henry Smith, responding to heavy criticism of concessionaires’ selling beer at the Church-owned Saltair resort, “wondered if we were not inclined to take rather an extreme view of the case.” John H. Winder agreed that “tobacco users should not be recommended to the temple, but cases might arise where a little leniency should be shown.” *Ibid.*, 300, 298, 578, 620.

In 1898 Wilford Woodruff felt that strict adherence was not required for recommends. Thomas G. Alexander, “The Word of Wisdom: From Principle to Requirement,” *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 14 (Fall 1981): 78 note 1. In 1902 Joseph F. Smith thought nonflagrant and elderly violators need not be denied recommends, but in a 1915 letter he stated that users of tobacco or intoxicants should not have recommends. *Ibid.*, 79 note 5; 92 note 14. Coffee and tea received somewhat less emphasis.

⁸³The Reformation catechism asked, “Have you been intoxicated with strong drink?” Peterson, “The Mormon Reformation,” 70. See also Richard I. Kimball, “‘Somethin’ to Do’: Mormon Recreation in Kanesville, 1849-1852,” *John Whitmer Historical Association Journal* 15 (1995): 46. George Q. Cannon, 5 October 1884, *Journal of Discourses* 25:327-28, stated that a drunkard should not be admitted to the temple.

The 1940 (129) and 1944 (77) instructions settled for “willingness to undertake” to observe the Word of Wisdom. The 1960 handbook specified that keeping the Word of Wisdom meant abstaining from “tea, coffee, tobacco, and liquor” (66). The 1968 edition referred to “alcoholic beverages” rather than “liquor,” presumably to make sure that even light beer and wine were included (91). Prohibiting illegal drugs or abuse of prescription drugs has become a logical extension of the Word of Wisdom, but caffeinated cola drinks have never been included, even though members are taught generally to avoid habit-forming substances.⁸⁵ Although private letters from the First Presidency have also excluded decaffeinated coffee, that interpretation has not been publicized.⁸⁶ While matters of interpretation have been widely discussed, the recommend question since 1960 has always been simply, “Do you keep the Word of Wisdom?” Over the years, the Word of Wisdom has increasingly served as a boundary marker, identifying to themselves and the world people who are prepared to make broad commitment to the restored gospel.

A related policy matter that has sometimes impinged on temple eligibility is the occupational involvement of Church members with alcohol. The 1940 handbook instructs bishops that those selling or “trafficking [in] liquor” should not be called to stake or ward offices (156). In 1968 that policy was broadened to “alcoholic beverages” (163). And a 1969 First Presidency letter announced that it was not appropriate for those involved first hand with liquor, such as bartenders or cocktail waitresses, to receive temple recommends.⁸⁷

⁸⁴Thomas G. Alexander, “The Word of Wisdom: From Principle to Requirement,” 82; Leonard J. Arrington, “Have the Saints Always Given as Much Emphasis to the Word of Wisdom as They Do Today?,” *Ensign* 7 (April 1977): 32; Paul H. Peterson, “An Historical Analysis of the Word of Wisdom” (M.A. thesis, BYU, 1972); Robert J. McCue, “Did the Word of Wisdom Become a Commandment in 1851?,” *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 14 (Fall 1981): 66. The 1934 handbook instructed bishops that “those who desire to enter the temple . . . should keep the Word of Wisdom” (10-11).

⁸⁵Bush, *Health and Medicine*, 48-59; GHI (1983), 75; (1985), 11-1; (1989), 11-6.

⁸⁶Note inserted in Spencer W. Kimball’s copy of GHI (1968), citing First Presidency Letter, 13 September 1967.

⁸⁷Telephone interview with William H. Stoddard, 21 May 1996; “Wall Street

Thereafter, perhaps because it seemed inappropriate for purposes of temple recommends to draw a distinction between one who worked directly with liquor and one who owned a restaurant where liquor was served, the standard was made more general. The 1976 handbook asked leaders to give "cautious consideration" before calling persons who deal in intoxicants to Church positions (104).⁸⁸ And the 1989 handbook leaves occupational worthiness to the judgment of local leaders, specifying only that a person's occupation, profession, and affiliations should be "in harmony with gospel teachings" (11-3). The issue never was the Word of Wisdom per se, since those dealing in tobacco, coffee, or tea were never under a cloud. But perhaps leaders viewed liquor as especially destructive.

Tithe Paying

Tithing has been listed as an attribute of worthiness in every list from the Nauvoo temple on.⁸⁹ Not only is tithing the Church's chief source of operating funds—particularly for constructing and maintaining temples—but it is an important measure of commitment and devotion. Defining a "full" tithing is not easy. Some have disagreed about whether tithing should be based on gross income or after basic living expenses and taxes are deducted.⁹⁰ However, the Church has

Journal Examines Mormons and Gambling," *Sunstone* (July 1985): 41.

⁸⁸The next handbooks (1983, 75, and 1985, 11-1) say that persons "handling, selling, or serving alcoholic beverages" should not be called to church positions "unless clearly warranted."

⁸⁹In 1844 Joseph Smith said, "Those whose names are found in the Church books [for contributing property for the temple] shall have the first claim to receive their endowments in the temple." *History of the Church* 6:243. N. B. Lundwall, comp., *Temples of the Most High*, 10th ed. (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1956), 57, includes as an illustration a Nauvoo certificate reading: "This may certify that George B. Gardner is entitled to the privilege of the Baptismal Font [in the temple] having paid his tithing in full to Oct. 12, 1845."

⁹⁰See Roy W. Doxey, *Tithing: The Lord's Law* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1976), 16-17; Milton R. Hunter, *Will a Man Rob God?* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1952), 71-77; Howard D. Swainston, "Tithing," *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, 4:1481-82; Robert Bohn, "Historical Reflections and Modern Perceptions of Tithing in the LDS and RLDS Churches," paper delivered at Mormon History Association, 17 May 1996, Snowbird Resort, Utah; D. Michael Quinn, "LDS Church Finances from the 1830s to the 1990s," *Sunstone* 19 (June 1996): 18-20; Quinn, *The Mormon Hierarchy: Extensions of Power*, 199-204.

refused to go officially beyond the scriptural language of “one-tenth of all their interest annually” (D&C 119:4). The definition is thus left to individual conscience.

Paying tithing is difficult for many well-intentioned people, and recommends have sometimes been issued to non-tithepayers who promise to pay tithing from then on.⁹¹ The 1928 handbook said that temple recommend holders should be “encouraged” to observe this principle (11). In the 1934 handbook, the standard was to “observe” the law of tithing (10), but the 1940 handbook more loosely said that the person was to be “an honest tithepayer” or “undertake to become” one (129). This language remained essentially the same through 1963. Since 1964 the question has been simply whether applicants “are” full tithepayers.⁹²

Keeping Temple Covenants

The 1963 handbook instructs the bishop to inquire whether the applicants for renewal of recommends are abiding by all conditions of their temple obligations (74). This language was omitted in the 1968 handbook but was included in the 1979 questions. Temple covenants include chastity, obedience to the commandments generally, and dedication of time and means to building up the kingdom of God.⁹³ In 1990 President Hinckley added that endowed persons

⁹¹In 1881 John Taylor said bishops should not give recommends to non-tithers unless they showed sincere repentance and “made some satisfactory attempt at fulfilling this law.” *Journal of Discourses* 22:13-15; see also 22:208. Larson, *Ministry of Meetings*, reports discussions and/or sermons on the topic between May 1899 and October 1900: Rudger Clawson urged that stake leaders must either tithe or make a commitment to do so (164, 396); Heber J. Grant repeated the principle that leaders should be tithepayers (212), while Church President Lorenzo Snow insisted that those who have not paid an honest tithe are not eligible for the temple (62, 153).

⁹²GHI (1944), 77; (1960), 65-66; (1963), 74. The 1961 recommend form asked whether one was full or part tithe payer; the 1964 form asked only, “Are you a full tithe payer?” President Gordon B. Hinckley was quoted in *Deseret News*, 10 February 1996, A2: “We have a demanding religion. . . . We have great expectations concerning our people. We have standards that we expect them to live by, and that is one of the things that attracts people to this church: It stands as an anchor in a world of shifting values.”

⁹³Packer, *The Holy Temple*, 162.

are under an "absolute obligation to not discuss outside the temple that which occurs within."⁹⁴

No specific minimum age currently exists for endowment eligibility. One school of thought is that early endowment strengthens commitment to the Church; more recently emphasis has been on greater maturity.⁹⁵ The 1989 handbook articulates the expectation that those who receive the endowment have a substantial degree of maturity, so that they can understand and meaningfully make solemn commitments.⁹⁶

⁹⁴Hinckley, "Keeping the Temple Holy," 52. Identifying the line between what may and may not be discussed is sometimes difficult. "Comments on Temple Changes Elicit Church Discipline," *Sunstone* 14 (June 1990): 59. More discussion about what goes on in the temple may better prepare people for that experience. Elder Paul H. Dunn, Provo Utah Oak Hills Stake Conference, 16 June 1990, notes in my possession; Armand L. Mauss, "Culture, Charisma, and Change: Reflections on Mormon Temple Worship," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 20, no. 4 (Winter 1987): 77; Edward L. Kimball, letter, *Sunstone* 14 (October 1990): 2.

⁹⁵Heber C. Kimball strongly endorsed giving endowments to youth as being "like catching a calf while we could catch it." Kimball, *Heber C. Kimball*, 205 note 10, citing letter to David Kimball, 17 July 1865, Heber C. Kimball Papers, LDS Church Archives. According to J. Golden Kimball, Heber's son, when he was thirteen (about 1866), he and his brother Joseph were summoned to the Endowment House: "I do not remember much that transpired, but I was awed, and the impression was burned into my soul of the sacredness of that place, and the sacredness of the covenants which I entered into when almost a child." Claude Richards, *J. Golden Kimball* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1934), 274-75. Joseph F. Smith was endowed and sent on a mission at age fifteen; but his son, Joseph Fielding Smith, commented, "I do not recommend that our sons and daughters go to the temple as young as that, but that they go as soon as they are prepared" by understanding the meaning of the ordinances and having a testimony. Smith, *Doctrines of Salvation*, 2:252-53, 254-55. Age sixteen was suggested in the 1865 instructions (see note 12 above). The 1902 Manti Temple Historical Record, quoted in Buerger, *Mysteries of Godliness*, 130 note 90, says, "If of a naturally ripe and early development, of mind and body, living children may receive endowments at the age of twelve years; but as a rule, fifteen years old is sufficiently early." Instructions to bishops in 1918 also identified age sixteen. Clark, *Messages of the First Presidency*, 5:111.

⁹⁶As a general rule of thumb, marriage and mission calls are considered "sufficient" maturity for endowment. Sufficient maturity has sometimes been tied to establishment in an occupation, although this is not a fixed rule. GHI (1976), 54; (1983), 36. "Maturity" in terms of Church experience is governed by the rule that converts may not be endowed for at least a year. GHI (1983), 35; Hinckley, "Keeping the Temple Holy," 49-50.

Concern whether the previously endowed applicant wears the temple garment was expressed in each handbook from 1940 (129) to 1989 (6-3).⁹⁷ Some exceptions apply (for example, military service, athletics, or medical treatment), but generally the interpretation of that covenant “is between the member and the Lord” (1989, 6-3).⁹⁸ Although the General Authorities have altered the design of temple garments to accommodate somewhat changing clothing styles, individual members are not to make unauthorized changes or wear garments only part of the time.⁹⁹ By 1957 the question asked was whether applicants wore “regulation” (later “approved” or “authorized”) garments; and since 1976, the question asks whether the garment is worn night and day. The 1996 instructions emphasize that wearing the garment night and day is “in accordance with the covenant you made in the temple.”

General Criteria

Over the years, very general criteria have appeared either in the bishop's handbook or in the questions to applicants: Is the candidate in full faith and fellowship,¹⁰⁰ moral, living by the gospel, living in accordance with the accepted rules and doctrines of the Church, or striving to perform his or her duty? The sweep of these questions,

⁹⁷Evelyn T. Marshall, “Garments,” *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, 2:534.

⁹⁸During World War II, the First Presidency allowed nonwearing if the garment would be unavoidably be exposed to scoffing. Clark, *Messages of the First Presidency*, 6:186. During the Korean War, “scoffing” was defined as more than “curiosity and light comment,” but the endowed soldier was allowed to use removable markings or marked two-piece underwear if required by military regulations. Ibid., 6:287; Quinn, *The Mormon Hierarchy: Extensions of Power*, 836. These instructions were repeated in 1964 and 1969, when dyeing garments green was also permitted. Ibid., 858; repeated in *Bulletin No. 2* (October/November 1985).

⁹⁹In 1893, temple-goers were to wear garments that extended to the wrists, ankles, and neck. Clark, *Messages of the First Presidency*, 5:110-12. Joseph F. Smith in 1902 denounced as “covenant-breakers” members who “mar their garments by cutting off the sleeves” and also insisted that garments must be white. Larson, *Ministry of Meetings*, 449, 578. Substantial modification occurred in 1923. Buerger, *Mysteries of Godliness*, 142, 150, 154. The First Presidency by letter of 15 December 1979, authorized two-piece garments.

¹⁰⁰Instructions dated 14 June 1881, Ephraim, Utah, in Chester Ward, Sanpete Stake, Donation Record 1875-99, LDS Church Archives.

however phrased, is often underappreciated. Consequently their generality is supplemented by questions focusing on specific rules, commandments, and duties.

Because attendance requires a major commitment of time, energy, and often money (for travel), it is a good indicator of faithfulness. Beginning in 1940 applicants have been asked whether they attend sacrament, priesthood (for men), and unspecified "other meetings" (129). The 1996 version of the question for the first time omits "other meetings." Over the years percentage of attendance at meetings has risen and, with it, also expectations of attendance.¹⁰¹

An attempt to ascertain whether the candidate is abiding by general Christian principles has taken many different forms. The current one is a question about striving "to keep your life in harmony with the laws and commandments of the gospel," a striving that encompasses the Ten Commandments, the virtues listed in the Beatitudes, commitment to and activity in the Church, and service to Christ by testimony and good works.

On the negative side, the 1963 (74) and 1968 (91) handbooks instructed bishops to inquire about "all kinds of immoral or unchristianlike practices." The question was dropped in the 1976 edition, presumably because it was so vague.

The 1856 letters of the First Presidency and Heber C. Kimball cited earlier list prayer as a recommend criterion; an 1886 First Presidency general epistle specifies that those worthy to enter the temple "should pray with their families morning and evening, and not neglect secret prayer"; and the 1940 handbook refers to the 1856 letters (129). But no handbooks after 1940 expressly include this as a requirement—surely not because prayer is considered unimportant, but presumably because leaders assume that those who live by the other standards will also be prayerful.¹⁰²

¹⁰¹Richard O. Cowan, *The Kingdom Is Rolling Forth: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in the Twentieth Century* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1981), 23, reports sacrament meeting attendance as 18 percent from 1920 to 1940, rising to 38% by 1960 and to 42% in 1975. According to "Survey Lists LDS as Best Church Attenders," *Church News*, 10 February 1985, 3, church-wide attendance for 1984 was 53 percent. I am not aware of more recent attendance data.

¹⁰²Clark, *Messages of the First Presidency*, 3:63. However, Heber C. Kimball complained in 1866 that "out of one company of thirty-five men [receiving endow-

Brigham Young and Heber C. Kimball in the same 1856 letters included prohibitions against profanity, and Wilford Woodruff in 1883 said that a man who "curses and swears" should not be recommended.¹⁰³ The 1934 (10) and 1940 (129) instructions to bishops also forbade profanity, but it was never included in the formal questions and has not been listed separately since 1940.¹⁰⁴

Gambling, though formally disapproved of since at least 1844, has never appeared separately in the recommend questions.¹⁰⁵ The 1968 handbook prohibition against Church-sponsored raffles or games of chance for fund-raising (59) and the opposition to legislation permitting gambling indicate that the Church's general policy against gambling continues. But the question of the worthiness of Church members involved in conducting legal gambling has produced some policy ambiguities. A 1969 First Presidency letter indicated that persons involved first hand in gambling as dealers should not normally receive a temple recommend.¹⁰⁶ In 1989 the handbook

ments] there were only seven that prayed." Heber C. Kimball, Letter to sons Brigham and Isaac Kimball, 7 December 1866, *Millennial Star* 24 (26 January 1867): 59. The 1976 handbook listed prayer as an expectation for ordination to the Aaronic Priesthood (40). Quantifying prayer and specifying quality pose difficulties, but the same can be said of attending meetings and "doing one's duty."

¹⁰³Graffam, *Salt Lake School of the Prophets*, 13.

¹⁰⁴However, the 1976 handbook makes swearing a disqualification for ordination in the Aaronic Priesthood (40), and temple worthiness would be at least as high a standard.

¹⁰⁵*William Clayton's Journal* (Salt Lake City: Clayton Family Association, 1921), 193, quotes Brigham Young's criticism of gambling. See repeated First Presidency statements in Clark, *Messages of the First Presidency*, 1:242 (1844); 4:183, 187 (1908), and Quinn, *The Mormon Hierarchy: Extensions of Power*, 819 (1925).

¹⁰⁶William H. Stoddard, Interview, 21 May 1996, referred to a 1969 letter from the First Presidency indicating that those involved first hand in Nevada gambling as dealers should not normally receive a temple recommend. See also Bob Gottlieb and Peter Wiley, "Zion in Gomorrah: Mormons and Gambling in Las Vegas," *Sunstone Review* 2, no. 7 (July 1982): 11; "LDS and Gambling," *Sunstone* 5:4 (July-August 1980): 9; "Wall Street Journal Examines Mormons and Gambling," *Sunstone* 10:7 (July 1985): 41. And see Spencer W. Kimball Journal, June 12, 1977: "We determined that we would make our letter which went to the Las Vegas people, make it general to apply anywhere we have the same conditions. There would be some restrictions for those who work in the gambling pits where they have gambling dens in France, Belgium and Holland and other places."

referred the determination of worthiness to local leaders under the general standard of whether a person's occupation is "in harmony with gospel teachings" (11-3).¹⁰⁷

Honesty in speech and behavior were obviously included in the requirement to "observe Gospel principles" or "obey the commandments." The First Presidency in 1856 specifically forbade endowment recommendations to individuals who "steal," "lie," or "interfere with their neighbors' things."¹⁰⁸ Theft was a special concern in a pioneer society where poverty pressed hard, property boundaries were loose, and stock might go astray easily. Of the 1856-57 "Mormon Reformation" catechism's twenty-seven questions, fourteen dealt with various forms of dishonesty.¹⁰⁹ The 1940 handbook quotes Brigham Young as saying that honesty was expected of those entering the temple (130-31); but honesty was not made an explicit question until the 1976 handbook: "Are you honest in your dealings with your fellowmen?" Utah had recently received considerable notoriety when the U.S. Attorney for Utah called it "the fraud capital

¹⁰⁷This policy opens the broader issue of whether persons who serve gambling interests less visibly, as lawyers or accountants or landlords, stand in different situations than a person working on the floor of a casino dealing cards for a living.

¹⁰⁸Journal History, 19 May 1856.

¹⁰⁹Peterson, "The Mormon Reformation," 70 (paragraphing omitted): "Have you taken or used property not your own, without the consent of the owner? Have you cut hay where you had no right to or turned your animals into another person's grain or field, without his knowledge and consent? Have you lied about or maliciously misrepresented any person or thing? Have you borrowed anything that you have not returned, or paid for? Have you borne false witness against your neighbor? Have you coveted anything not your own? Have you found lost property and not returned it to the owner, or used all diligence to do so? Have you branded an animal that you did not know to be your own? Have you taken another's horse or mule from the range and rode it without the owner's consent? Have you fulfilled your promises in paying your debts, or run into debt without prospect of paying? Have you taken water to irrigate with, when it belonged to another person at the time you used it? Have you labored diligently and earned faithfully the wages paid you by your employers? Do you oppress the hireling in his wages? Have you taken up and converted any stray animal to your own use, or in any manner appropriated one to your benefit without accounting therefore to the proper authorities?" Catechism questions about adultery, betraying friends, and failing to pay tithing are also related to honesty. The First Presidency's April 1886 general epistle expresses an expectation that temple attenders pay their debts. Clark, *Messages of the First Presidency*, 3:63.

of the nation,” because unscrupulous Church members had, in a number of cases, defrauded others who were impressed by their Church credentials.¹¹⁰ New questions issued in 1976 changed the language to “totally honest.”¹¹¹ And the 1983 handbook added “fraud” to a list of offenses for which a Church court should be considered (51) and warned that “individuals and groups who are promoting business schemes or political or social welfare causes sometimes take advantage of members” (76). The question about honesty disappeared in 1985 but was reinstated in 1989. Bishops’ instructions from 1940 (154) to 1989 (11-1) continuously warn of mixing individual business interests and church, partly because it may result in imposition, because it distracts from a religious focus, and more recently because it might threaten the tax-exempt status of the Church.

President Hinckley said, specifically of tax protesters, “Obedience to law, when . . . constitutional, is incumbent on the Latter-day Saints, and therefore becomes a standard of eligibility to enter the temples of the Church.”¹¹² The 1983 (76), 1985 (11-2), and 1989 (11-2) handbooks instruct bishops that a member who refuses to pay federal or state income taxes “is in direct conflict with the teachings of the Church” and “may be ineligible” for a temple recommend.

Perhaps as a precaution against evasive answers, a yes-or-no question about whether the applicant had ever been denied a recommend was included in the recommend questions from the 1950s through 1976 when a question about unresolved major sin was added. In 1979 the phrasing was: “anything amiss” in the applicant’s life that had not yet been fully resolved with the appropriate priesthood authorities.¹¹³ In 1985, “anything amiss” was replaced by the more specific “sin or misdeed.” Another 1979 question posed the searching query whether applicants considered them-

¹¹⁰Quoted in Robert Gottlieb and Peter Wiley, *America’s Saints: The Rise of Mormon Power* (New York: G. P. Putnam’s Sons, 1984), 121.

¹¹¹GHI Supp. 1 (1976), 2. See Marvin J. Ashton, “This Is No Harm,” *Ensign* 12 (May 1982): 9.

¹¹²Hinckley, “Keeping the Temple Holy,” 51. A more difficult case is that of illegal aliens who are otherwise worthy of a recommend. Practice varies.

¹¹³For conduct a member is expected to confess to the bishop, see Edward L. Kimball, “Confession in LDS Doctrine and Practice,” *BYU Studies* 36 (1996-97): 7.

selves “worthy in every way” to enter the temple. In 1996 “in every way” was dropped, though probably no change in meaning was intended. Even if the applicant had answered the other questions with technical truth but deceptive intent, this question puts ultimate responsibility on the applicant. Thus, it can be either the easiest or hardest question in the interview, depending upon the applicant’s personal standards of assessment and worthiness.¹¹⁴

Because General Authorities have long been concerned that bishops and stake presidents, in misguided leniency, might allow the unworthy to enter the temple, bishops today are instructed to “exercise great care” when interviewing, so that “no unworthy applicant should receive a recommend.”¹¹⁵ Lying to the bishop (who stands as a representative of God) and entering the temple unworthily are themselves considered grievous sins.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁴According to the letter of the commandment, none is entitled to enter the temple and receive these ordinances except those . . . keeping all of the commandments. . . . This strictness is not always followed, and many are privileged to receive some of these ordinances on the promise of faithfulness thereafter.” Joseph Fielding Smith, “The Salt Lake Temple,” *Improvement Era* 56 (April 1953): 294-95; repeated in Smith, *Doctrines of Salvation*, 2:243.

¹¹⁵For talks by Heber C. Kimball, John Taylor, George Q. Cannon, George Teasdale, and Abraham O. Smoot on this topic, see *Journal of Discourses* 3:271, 25:316-17; and Graffam, *Salt Lake School of the Prophets*, 7, 49, 55. Admission was allowed rather freely to the 1893 dedication of the Salt Lake Temple, but the recommends were then returned to the stakes with instructions to call to repentance any who had gone to the dedication unworthily and, if necessary, to “take action against them.” Clark, *Messages of the First Presidency*, 3:245. A First Presidency letter of 23 August 1941 reminded bishops to follow up on those who obtained a recommend by promising to start paying tithing or keeping the Word of Wisdom. *Improvement Era* 44 (October 1941): 616. Interviewing instructions dated April 1989 and May 1996 warn that leaders should conduct a full inquiry into worthiness rather than assuming it from past interviews.

¹¹⁶Kimball, *Teachings of Spencer W. Kimball*, 96, warned, “Those who lie to Church leaders forget or ignore . . . that . . . a lie to them is tantamount to a lie to the Lord; a half-truth to his officials is like a half-truth to the Lord; a rebellion against his servants is comparable with a rebellion against the Lord; and any infraction against the Brethren who hold the gospel keys is a thought or an act against the Lord.” See also David B. Haight, “Come to the House of the Lord,” *Ensign* 22 (May 1992): 15. Neal A. Maxwell, “Repentance,” *Ensign* 21 (November 1991): 32, quoted Joseph Smith as saying “We ought to . . . keep nothing back” and stressed, “Partial disclosure to appointed leaders brings full accountability.” Ironically, a liar may

CONCLUSION

Access to a sacred place is often restricted to persons considered worthy to be there. The standards of worthiness to enter LDS temples concern faith and commitment, willingness to live a pure life, and support to the temple and the Church. Some specific activities are used as tests of worthiness, and these can change with circumstances. Some issues (such as membership in a union) decline in significance. Or a new question, such as the 1996 query about faith in the atonement of Christ, may make explicit what was before implied or understood. Slight changes can reflect emphasis or deemphasis on a principle, as whether compliance with the Word of Wisdom had to be already achieved or was a commitment for the future. Changes in technology—for instance, successful transsexual operations—can raise new issues.

Among the discernible changes in emphasis reflected in temple recommend questions and instructions to bishops are requirements that candidates must:

1. Answer specific questions formulated by the General Authorities rather than rely on their local leader's personal acquaintance with them (1920-40).
2. Reject apostate teachings, particularly the continued contracting of plural marriages (1940).
3. Explain the real causes of a divorce (1960).
4. Be fully compliant with the Word of Wisdom (1960) and the law of tithing (1968).
5. Accept the Church president as the holder of all priesthood keys (1976).
6. Assess personally whether there are past or present sins that need to be repented of before going to the temple (1976).
7. Assure that family members are not abused or neglected (1989).
8. Respond to questions—now first on the list—about faith in the

receive a recommend more easily than an honest person. Thefts occasionally occur in the temple. However, vicarious ordinances performed by an unworthy surrogate are nonetheless efficacious because they are ratified by worthy supervisory authority. Joseph Fielding Smith, *Answers to Gospel Questions* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1979 ed.), 3:195.

Godhead and the restoration (1985), and in Christ's atonement (1996).

9. Recognize the status of the Twelve as prophets (1996).

To summarize broadly, the balance of temple worthiness questions has shifted from conduct toward faith; the number and specificity of requirements has increased; the scope of matters into which the interviewer may properly delve has narrowed; and family concerns (including abuse, divorce, and support) have achieved increased recognition.

President Howard W. Hunter taught that, even if a member lived too far from a temple to attend, "It would please the Lord if every adult member would be worthy of—and carry—a current temple recommend. The things we must do and not do to be worthy of a temple recommend are the very things that will ensure we will be happy."¹¹⁷ Thus, a recommend now, more than before, serves as a review of faith and commitment, not just as a ticket of admission.

As the Saints achieve one level of faithfulness, they are introduced to a higher standard to help them achieve moral wholeness. And as the environment changes in which the Church functions, leaders will continue to reshape the recommend questions in pursuit of the constant goal of allowing only the worthy to enter the sacred precincts of the temple.

APPENDIX

GENERAL HANDBOOK OF INSTRUCTIONS: A BIBLIOGRAPHY

Predecessors of the General Handbook of Instructions go back at least to 1890 when a four-page leaflet gave instructions related primarily to tithing settlement. It began as a yearly publication, but later appeared every several years.

From 1890 through 1940, the First Presidency and Presiding Bishopric both signed the instructions. Since 1944, the First Presidency has published the instructions. After 1944, handbooks for many of the programs (Relief Society, priesthood quorums, music, etc.) were published separately. The pages given below are of text only. Indexing began in 1909. I have noted First Presidencies beginning in 1890 and thereafter whenever there has been a change in either a counselor and/or the president.

¹¹⁷Howard W. Hunter, "Exceeding Great and Precious Promises," *Ensign*, November 1994, 7.

The publication has generally grown—both larger in format and in number of pages. The dimensions given are of the page size.

<i>Date and Number (if any)</i>	<i>Title, Number of Pages, Page Size, and First Presidency</i>
10 Dec. 1890	<i>Circular of Instructions, Settlement of Tithes for the Year 1890.</i> 4 pp., 14 x 22 cm. First Presidency: Wilford Woodruff, George Q. Cannon, Joseph F. Smith
1 Dec. 1891	<i>Circular of Instructions, Settlement of Tithes for the Year 1891.</i> 4 pp., 14 x 22 cm.
1892	[no example in Lee Library]
10 Dec. 1893	<i>Circular of Instructions, Settlement of Tithes for the Year 1893.</i> 4 pp., 14 x 22 cm.
1894 and 1895	[no examples in Lee Library]
1 Dec. 1896	<i>Circular of Instructions, Settlement of Tithes for the year 1896.</i> 4 pp., 20 x 25 cm.
20 Dec. 1897	<i>Circular of Instructions, Settlement of Tithes for the year 1897.</i> 3 pp., 20 x 27 cm.
1 Dec. 1898	<i>Circular of Instructions, to the Presidency of Stakes, Bishoprics of Wards and Stake Tithing Clerks in Zion.</i> 3 pp., 20 x 28 cm. First Presidency: Lorenzo Snow, George Q. Cannon, Joseph F. Smith
1899	<i>Instructions to Presidents of Stakes, Bishops of Wards and Stake Tithing Clerks.</i> 14 pp., 10 x 17 cm.
1900	<i>Instructions to Presidents of Stakes, Bishops and Clerks.</i> 23 pp., 10 x 17 cm.
1 Dec. 1901, No. 3	<i>Instructions to Presidents of Stakes and Counselors, Bishops and Counselors and Stake Tithing Clerks.</i> 43 pp., 9 x 15 cm. First Presidency: Joseph F. Smith, John R. Winder
1902, No. 4	<i>Annual Instructions, No. 4, to Presidents of Stakes and Counselors, Presidents of Missions, High Councilors, Bishops and Counselors and Stake Tithing Clerks in Zion.</i> 38 pp., 10 x 17 cm.
1 Dec. 1903, No. 5	<i>Annual Instructions, No. 5, to Presidents of Stakes and Counselors, High Counselors, Bishops and Counselors, and Stake Tithing Clerks in Zion, 1903-1904.</i> 28 pp., 10 x 17 cm.
1 Dec. 1904, No. 6	<i>Annual Instructions, No. 6, to Presidents of Stakes and Counselors, High Councilors, Bishops and Counselors, and Stake Tithing Clerks in Zion.</i> 32 pp., 10 x 17 cm.
1 Dec. 1905, No. 7	<i>Annual Instructions, No. 7, to Presidents of Stakes and Counselors, High Councilors, Bishops and Coun-</i>

- selors, and Stake Tithing Clerks in Zion. 33 pp., 10 x 17 cm.
- 1 Dec. 1906, No. 8 *Annual Instructions, Number Eight, to Presidents of Stakes and Counselors, Bishops and Counselors, Stake Clerks and General Authorities in Zion.* 34 pp., 10 x 17 cm.
- 1 Jan. 1908, No. 9 *Annual Instructions, 1908, Circular No. 9, to Presidents of Stakes and Counselors, Presidents of Missions, Bishops and Counselors, Stake and Ward Clerks and General Authorities in Zion.* 34 pp., 11 x 17 cm.
- 1 Jan. 1909, No. 10 *Annual Instructions, 1909, Circular No. 10, to Presidents of Stakes and Counselors, Presidents of Missions, Bishops and Counselors, Mission and Ward Clerks and All Church Authorities.* 41 pp., 10 x 17 cm.
- 1 Jan. 1910, No. 11 *Annual Instructions, to Presidents of Stakes and Counselors, Presidents of Missions, Bishops and Counselors, Stake, Mission and Ward Clerks and All Church Authorities, Circular No. 11.* 36 pp., 10 x 17 cm.
First Presidency: Joseph F. Smith, John R. Winder, Anthon H. Lund.
- 1913, No. 12 *Circular of Instructions, No. 12, to Presidents of Stakes and Counselors, Presidents of Missions, Bishops and Counselors, Stake, Mission, and Ward Clerks and All Church Authorities.* 52 pp., 10 x 17 cm. First Presidency: Joseph F. Smith, John R. Winder, Charles W. Penrose
- 1921, No. 13 *Instructions to Bishops and Counselors, Stake and Ward Clerks, No. 13.* 63 pp., 10 x 17 cm. First Presidency: Heber J. Grant, Anthon H. Lund/Charles W. Penrose, Anthony W. Ivins
- 1923, No. 13 2d. ed.
- 1928, No. 14 *Handbook of Instructions for Bishops and Counselors, Stake and Ward Clerks of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, No. 14.* 86 pp., 13 x 19 cm.
First Presidency: Heber J. Grant, Anthony W. Ivins, Charles W. Nibley
- 1934, No. 15 *Handbook of Instructions for Stake Presidents, Bishops and Counselors, Stake and Ward Clerks, Number 15.* 111 pp., 13 x 19 cm. First Presidency: Heber J. Grant, Anthony W. Ivins/J. Reuben Clark, Jr., Charles W. Nibley
- 16 Nov. 1940, No. 16 *Handbook of Instructions for Stake Presidents and Counselors, Bishops and Counselors, Stake and Ward Clerks and Other Church Officers.* 159 pp., 13 x 19 cm.
- 1944, No. 17 *Handbook of Instructions for Stake Presidents and*

- Counselors, Bishops and Counselors, Stake and Ward Clerks and Other Church Officers.* 272 pp., 13 x 19 cm.
 1948 reprint, 122 pp., 13 x 19 cm. [omits priesthood and auxiliary program instructions, thereafter published separately]
 1949 reprint, 122 pp., 13 x 19 cm.
 1950 reprint, 122 pp., 13 x 19 cm.
- 1960, No. 18 *The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, General Handbook of Instructions.* 115 pp., 13 x 22 cm.
 First Presidency: David O. McKay, J. Reuben Clark, Jr., Henry D. Moyle
- 1963, No. 19 *The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, General Handbook of Instructions.* 125 pp., 13 x 22 cm.
 First Presidency: David O. McKay, J. Reuben Clark, Jr./Henry D. Moyle, Henry D. Moyle/Hugh B. Brown
- 1968, No. 20 *The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, General Handbook of Instructions.* 188 pp., 13 x 22 cm.
 First Presidency: David O. McKay, Hugh B. Brown, N. Eldon Tanner, and additional counselors Thorpe B. Isaacson, Joseph Fielding Smith, and Alvin R. Dyer
- 1976, No. 21 *General Handbook of Instructions.* 110 pp., 21 x 28 cm. First Presidency: Spencer W. Kimball, N. Eldon Tanner, Marion G. Romney
- 1 July 1976 *General Handbook Supplement, Number 1.* 8 pp., 21 x 28 cm.
 No. 21, Supp. 1
 1 April 1977 *General Handbook Supplement, Number 2.* 7 pp., 21 x 28 cm.
 No. 21, Supp. 2
 1 Mar. 1978 *General Handbook Supplement, Number 3.* 18
 No. 21, Supp. 3 pp., 21 x 28 cm.
 118
 ——— *8. The Church Judicial System.* 11 pp., 21 x 28 cm.
 First Presidency: Spencer W. Kimball, N. Eldon Tanner, Marion G. Romney
- 1983 *General Handbook of Instructions.* 82 pp., 21 x 28 cm.
- 1985 *General Handbook of Instructions.* 79 pp., 21 x 28 cm. First Presidency: Ezra Taft Benson (Nov. 1985), N. Eldon Tanner, Gordon B. Hinckley

¹¹⁸Issued after the third supplement to No. 21 as replacement for section 8 of the General Handbook of Instructions.

- March 1989 *General Handbook of Instructions*. 79 pp., 21 x 28 cm.
- 1991 Supplement *1991 Supplement to the 1989 General Handbook of Instructions*. 10 pp., 21 x 28 cm.

REVIEWS

Edward Leo Lyman, *San Bernardino: The Rise and Fall of a California Community*. Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1996. xiii, 469 pp.; bibliography, index; ISBN 1-56085-067-1.

Reviewed by Dean L. May

Leo Lyman offers the reader a highly informative book that will surely remain the definitive history of Mormon San Bernardino. The story embedded in this text is one of dreams and extravagant hopes thwarted by human frailty and the vagaries of circumstance.

In 1850 the U.S. Congress created Utah Territory as part of the Compromise of 1850 and, in the process, lopped off the southern California salient that had been part of Brigham Young's projected State of Deseret. Church leaders determined nonetheless to make an effort to "hold an influence" in California, partly to provide a base for Mormons who were in the gold fields and partly as the coastal anchor of a chain of settlements that were to extend to the Los Angeles basin and provide all-weather transportation to the Great Basin. Accomplishing this task fell upon Apostles Amasa M. Lyman and Charles Coulson Rich, whose initial scouting efforts in 1848 and 1849 determined that lands in the San Bernardino valley might be purchased for a settlement.

Church leaders issued calls to participate during the summer of 1850. Brigham Young initially felt that perhaps twenty families would be sufficient to accomplish the purposes of the mission and was appalled when 437 eager colonists responded to the call. His dismay was no doubt heightened by the fact that a good deal of jawboning had been necessary to gather 167 to commence the Iron County Mission to southern Utah that same year. After an arduous journey and much consideration of possible settlement sites, the colonists agreed to support purchase of the San Bernardino Rancho from four joint owners for \$77,500, with a down payment of \$7,000 and an initial interest rate of 3 percent per month. They began to build their settlement in early October 1851.

Though some four hundred miles from their Salt Lake City base and

within the civil jurisdiction of the newly created state of California, the Mormon settlers began immediately to implement institutions and practices that clearly identified their society as a colony and appendage of LDS Utah. In an inaugural meeting, the leaders founded the San Bernardino Stake, asking the settlers to pledge their commitment to establishing a "standard of righteousness" for California Mormons. They proposed to stay aloof from civil law by agreeing to settle difficulties in church courts. Using cooperative labor they set about clearing a large tract (some 2,000 acres) for wheat, setting out forty acres of grape cuttings, laying out a fort, enclosing temporary homes, building a council house, founding a school, and otherwise erecting the infrastructure of their colony. All these tasks took precedence over claiming individual lands or building individual homes beyond the fort.

At their spring 1852 conference, the clerk wrote that they enjoyed "a unanimity of feeling such as is only seen among Saints" (p. 70). And that fall they held a multi-ethnic harvest feast in their bowery and council house, the speaker's stand adorned with the words "Holiness to the Lord." Through Jefferson Hunt's influence as one of two elected state assemblymen from Los Angeles County, they succeeded by 1854 in forming San Bernardino County. All the newly chosen officers of the new county were Mormon. Yet, in some ways, the 1852 celebration, in the first year of colony's founding, seems to have been the high point of their enterprise.

Despite all the brave words and sincere intentions about unanimity and holiness, the colony seems to have been born carrying the seeds of its own destruction. Lyman points out that "many gravitating there undoubtedly desired to escape from the isolated confines of the Intermountain West and be closer to the outside world, while remaining to some degree associated with the church" (p. 89). Though clearly a good many were devout and committed to Brigham Young's aims in establishing the colony, a sizable group had a worldlier agenda. Lyman and Rich explained to Brigham Young that while they were not spiritually troubled by the opposition of a Walkara (the Ute chief then leading an uprising against the Mormon presence in Utah), "the foes against whom we have to contend are not shut out by adobe walls, for they come to us in the spirits that those who come here bring with them" (p. 110).

There were, nonetheless, external perils, the most serious being the high level of debt the colony had incurred in purchasing its land. And in 1854, just as the settlers' struggles to keep up their payments were intensifying, the bottom dropped out of the market for farm products and lumber, their two principal cash crops. The leaders managed to negotiate additional loans and repayment schedules sufficient to stave off creditors for a time, but insolvency remained a constant threat. And to make matters worse, their pleas for assistance from Utah were met with an unsympathetic response from Young and other Church leaders, who saw the colony (with some justification) as a magnet for Mormon malcontents.

Despite all these problems, the colony continued to expand, the popu-

lation eventually reaching nearly three thousand. The colonists established public schools, reputed to be the best in California, and the region's only public library. Agricultural growth continued, with cultivated acreage approaching 6,000 acres by 1855 and farm production reportedly exceeding the total of the three neighboring counties of Santa Barbara, Los Angeles, and San Diego. The growth, however, was accompanied by an increasingly evident strain of dissent; and by 1856 the dissidents, some recently arrived from Utah, were sponsoring festivities to compete with the Mormon-led celebration of Independence Day.

Regardless of these internal setbacks, Mormon San Bernardino seemed well established by the mid-1850s and promised to continue as a major economic and political force in southern California. It was then that a chain of events in Utah—the Reformation of 1855-56, the Utah War, and the related Mountain Meadows Massacre—gave legitimacy to the claims and concerns of dissident factions in California. The apostolic leadership of Rich and Lyman had ended in the spring of 1857 when they returned to Utah, leaving William J. Cox and William Crosby to lead the colony. As a tide of anti-Mormon feeling rose in southern California, Brigham Young wrote Cox and Crosby in October, 1857, noting wryly, in connection with the warm climate of the region, “that it may soon become altogether too warm” for the Saints and that “it is my counsel that all in your place and region who desire to live as becometh saints should use all diligence to make their way into Utah” (p. 390).

Taking their leader's counsel as command, about two-thirds of the Mormons began to prepare for evacuation. As had happened in Missouri and Illinois, the sudden placing of dozens of homes and properties on the market dropped prices by nearly half, the improvements resulting from years of communal effort and individual toil going for naught. California newspapers, which had kept up a barrage of anti-Mormon criticism all year, now derided Mormon “fanaticism and religious delusion” (p. 394) in selling property for a pittance of its value and departing from California in midwinter.

San Bernardino had been a Mormon colony in California, its loyalties always extending east and north to Salt Lake City rather than north to Sacramento; and thus the return of its population to Utah would seem a natural and predictable response to the kind of calamity the Utah War seemed to portend. The 1860 census listed only 863 persons of known Mormon background living in San Bernardino County. The new residents distanced themselves from the community's Mormon past, and the settlement soon became indistinguishable from others in the region.

This story, in rough outline, summarizes Lyman's 431 pages of text. Many California readers will be surprised at the extent and significance of the Mormon presence he documents. A good many present-day Mormons whose families intersected San Bernardino's history will find reference to their ancestors here. Lyman offers richly detailed accounts of the establishment of public institutions; of the building of mills and artisanal shops;

of schooling, social life, Church organization, race relations, and of the intricate negotiations attending the efforts to purchase and pay for the land San Bernardino was built on. The sheer magnitude of information that Lyman has collected makes the book an indispensable compendium of information relating to the planting, flowering, and untimely demise of Mormon San Bernardino.

Still, the book is not without its flaws. For example, locating Mormon places on present-day San Bernardino streets is no doubt helpful to those who know San Bernardino. They are meaningless to those who do not. There should have been at least one map to help orient the reader. There are surely historical photographs that could have helped illustrate the book, but none are included.

Lyman offers here and there a summary assessment of the broader meaning of particular experiences that are part of the San Bernardino story, but the book seems to float detached from an overarching conceptual framework that might tie it to the considerable body of literature on settlement and community founding in the American West. It thus seems at times an antiquarian piece, an amassing of fact upon fact, possessing too thin an interpretive framework to offer a meaningful context that might help the reader assimilate and retain the information.

This phenomenon is by no means Lyman's problem alone. It characterizes a good many publications in Mormon history, as if the researchers had an irresistible inner compulsion to make the bulk of their research notes available to the reader—to offer, as it were, a documentary record as much as an interpretive narrative. The problem, as I see it, with this mode of historical publication, is that it diminishes to some degree the role of the historian and makes us mere chroniclers. The historian's task is to unearth the evidence, weigh it, and search therein for meaning; to decide what gems amidst the mountain of research notes most clearly illustrate and document the meaning he or she sees in the data, and then to set these jewels in a narrative that seizes and holds the reader's attention and informs them about how change takes place in the human past. While, in one sense, it is generous of the historian to offer his or her raw data, in another it abdicates the responsibility to offer a story of change in past time with economy and clarity.

In short, as a reader, I would have found the San Bernardino story more compelling and its meaning clearer had the book been subjected to ruthless editing, paring it down to half or, at least, two-thirds its present bulk. Had that been done, this tale of communal heroism, of unflinching determination against tough odds, of erosive selfishness and ambition, and of astonishing sacrifice for the perceived good of the broader kingdom, would have been told more eloquently and memorably. Such economy makes not only good scholarly sense, it diminishes publishing costs, enhances book sales, extends readership, and thus, in general accomplishes better the purposes of the author, the publisher, and the reader. Still, Lyman's study

is enormously informative, a must for those interested in Mormon settlement and early California history.

DEAN L. MAY is a professor of history at the University of Utah. His study, *Three Frontiers: Family, Land, and Society in the American West* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), comparing Mormon and non-Mormon settlements in the West recently appeared in a paperback edition, also from Cambridge University Press.

Maurine Carr Ward, ed. *Winter Quarters: The 1846 - 1848 Life Writings of Mary Haskin Parker Richards*. Logan: Utah State University Press, 1996. lxxv, 336 pp.; photographs, maps, appendices, index; \$29.95. ISBN 0-87421-207-3.

Reviewed by Sharon S. Carver

Winter Quarters: The Life Writings of Mary Haskin Parker Richards, edited by Maurine Carr Ward, is honest and intriguing, a spirited, sensitive, and humorous addition to the history of Mormonism and the West. Though Richards is far from a polished writer, after only a few pages, her prose draws the reader into Richards's rhythms.

Mary Haskin Parker, along with other members of her family, joined the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in 1828, a year after the Mormon missionaries arrived in England. By June 1843, Mary was living with her parents in Nauvoo, Illinois. On 29 January 1846, twenty-two-year-old Mary married the slightly younger Samuel Whitney Richards in the Nauvoo Temple. Samuel and his brother Franklin were both called on missions to Great Britain, so Samuel arranged for Mary to travel with his parents, Phineas Richards and Wealthy Dewey Richards, when they left Nauvoo for Winter Quarters in May 1846.

Mary lived with Samuel's parents for two years while Samuel was on his mission in the British Isles. The letters she wrote to him, along with a journal covering the same time period which includes retrospective coverage of her earlier life, are the life writings edited for this work. Ward has also consulted a few letters to friends and family during this period, surviving letters from Samuel, and Samuel's journal. Apparently, Mary did not write another journal, but some letters written by her from Salt Lake City did survive; and she is mentioned frequently in Samuel's life-long journal.

Mary inherited a physical weakness from her father and was ill much of her adult life; however, her physical limitations did not prevent the young couple from trying to conceive before Samuel left. With disappointment, Mary tells Samuel that her monthly "visitor" is "faithful" (p. 78). After they reached Salt Lake City, Mary, despite steadily deteriorating health, gave

birth to five children, dying at the birth of the sixth on 2 June 1860. In 1855, Samuel married a plural wife, Mary's sixteen-year-old niece Mary Ann Parker, followed eventually by five more wives.

While initially Mary began her journal at Samuel's request and designed it to inform him about her activities, as time went on, it became a more personal comfort as she recounted her trials and affirmed her faith, strength and courage. She also became more confident and articulate as the journals and letters progressed.

Ward has done a splendid job of juxtaposing journal entries with letters allowing the reader to see the differences in Mary's accounts of the same event. The volume also contains an unfinished memorandum that is a retrospective autobiography of Richards's first seventeen years which she also began writing at Samuel's request when she began the first of her journals.

The life writings of Mary Richards provide an impressive first volume to Maureen Ursenbach Beecher's series of the life writings of frontier women. Life writings are documents and fragments of documents created by lives¹ and, as literature, are moving from the dubious status of step-child to full fledged acceptance; and faithful editions of this type are helping the young genre take the final steps. The acceptance of life writings recognizes what a powerful literary and historical format is provided by the accurate reproduction of women's own voices. Life writings allow the focus of history to expand beyond the famous and unusual and to highlight the courage, determination, and faith of ordinary women who faced extraordinary challenges.

This book will almost certainly attract multiple audiences. Mary Haskin Parker Richards's life writings will be important to historians trying to reconstruct the frontier experience because women were a vital part of the process of creating civilization out of wilderness. Seeing events through the eyes of women provides a fuller, more complete picture than that furnished by the mythical, male-dominated western frontier that exists even in Mormon history where scholars should know better. Part of the myth of the frontier places women in the role of onlooker rather than participant.

For example, as Mary's diary makes plain, the women of Winter Quarters were actively involved in an intricate, interwoven process of production. They did not stop at staples and necessities, but as Mary's journals show they also contributed to the general economic health of their families with their labor and the generous sharing of earnings.

Mary's diary is important to American frontier historians as well because she records experiences important both to American life and to Mormon culture. She writes at Winter Quarters, (now Florence, Nebraska), in

¹Marlene Kadar, *Essays on Life Writing: From Genre to Critical Practice* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992).

1846-48. Richards's records show that the leaders in Winter Quarters were attempting to create a real frontier town rather than just a temporary way station. She relates sermons admonishing the inhabitants to remember their duty to the community and do their share of fence building and plowing before they headed to the Salt Lake Valley.

And of course, anyone interested in Mormon history—particularly Winter Quarters, the Mormon Battalion, early Church leadership, polygyny, and the emigration of British Saints—will welcome this journal. Many Church leaders, especially “Uncle Willard” (Richards), seen through Mary’s eyes, take on more natural, human qualities than they have as portrayed in more formal writing.

This fine edition is faithful to Mary-Jo Kline’s *Guide to Documentary Editing* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987), the accepted authority on life writings. In fact, Kline participated with Beecher in establishing the standards for this series. Ward reproduces phonetic spellings and initials, editing the whole with a minimum of punctuation and spelling corrections, thus allowing the reader to experience the full effect of the original diary.

Ward’s introduction gives a valuable overview of Richards’s life that was easy to refer to; however, I found the short introductions to each new journal more interesting. Informational endnotes are provided; but it is always annoying to flip back and forth between notes and text, especially when the notes contain history-enhancing commentary on otherwise mysterious passages in the writing. Ward’s notes are interesting and varied, ranging from how to make braided straw hats and herbal remedies to explaining Mormon ordinances. These insights would have been much easier to assimilate and would have created much less disruption as footnotes.

The bibliography is valuable for those interested in the time period and region as well as specific individuals. Ward has also compiled an index of people mentioned in the volume, even though it has not been possible to identify every person mentioned.

Besides the book’s historical significance, it is absorbing as literature—melancholy, tragically heartbreaking, faith-promoting, funny, and interesting. As in real life, emotional suffering and sadness become mixed up with delight and pleasure in Richards’s writings. She recounts her experiences as loved ones die, but she also tells Samuel the latest gossip and her trials as bedbugs become her only sleeping companions. She danced the old year out and the new year in, she wrote on 31 December 1847, and then spends the rest of the night and the next day, exhausted and sick herself, caring for an ill mother and her dying infant. The irrepressible personality of a young woman emerges as she describes various dances that she attended and names an impressive array of partners including Brother Brigham. She is quick, however, to assure her absent husband that “though there might a smile have dwelt upon my countenance—yet there was a gloom [t]hat overshadowed this heart” because she missed him (p. 78).

A delightful experience that would probably not make its way into a retrospective account, but which provides an insight into what it must be like to be young and living without your husband of less than a year, is how Mary and her sister-in-law, Jane Sydner Richards, send kisses to their missionary husbands by way of a Brother Littlefield who expected to soon see Samuel and his brother, Franklin. She comments that "he seemed pleased to convey [the kisses]. and asked permission to take one for him self. which we permitted him to do" (p. 125).

In both her journal and letters, Mary expresses intense, even passionate, love and concern for Samuel, but she also expresses effusive love for her female friends and relatives. Her diary provides another example of how women's supportive networks fostered sisterhood and arose naturally from the cultural and social environment of the time.² Mary sympathetically recounts the trials faced by many of the women and their physical suffering intensified by the emotional disruption of being uprooted from their homes throughout the cold, wet winter of 1846-47. Mormon women in Winter Quarters visited each other for hours, days, or even weeks at a time, providing physical service, emotional support, and spiritual strength as they met the challenges of their new life on the frontier.

Perhaps most interesting to a contemporary reader is Mary's reaction when Samuel, gone only a month, suggests that he marry a plural wife as soon as he returns. She eases into the topic in her return letter, first describing how other women are "all enjoying them selfs with their Companions." Rather awkwardly she brings up "the request you asked of me concerning Ellen [Wilding Woolley]," whom Samuel had asked Mary to use her influence "to secure" for him (pp. 78, 299 note 20). Tactfully yet candidly, Mary reminds him that they have never lived together alone, a comfort that "has been the greatest desire of my heart." Then in a burst of overflowing emotions, she cries:

Oh! my Husband. yea—more My Lord shall I not after suffering all that I have got to suffer. I now Suffer and have got to Suffer trials wich I must keep with in my own bosome. at last till you return. shall I not oh! my companion merit this boon from you are we not young . . . is there not time enough for us to enjoy ourselfs alittle e'er you have another to share in your affections. me thinks. if you had seen what I have seen. you would not wonder why I thus wrote for there is no such a thing as happiness known here where a man has more than one &C it really seems to me that this is a day in wich Woman is destined to misery. (p. 78)

Mary was living with Samuel's parents, Wealthy and Phineas Richards in Winter Quarters. Phineas had taken another wife several months earlier before leaving Nauvoo without Wealthy's consent, and this marriage re-

²Nancy Cott, *The Bonds of Womanhood: "Woman's Sphere" in New England, 1780-1835* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977).

sulted in great unhappiness and domestic disruption. Nine months later, Mary, perhaps with secret contentment, wrote to Samuel: "Sis Morse . . . is no longer counted as one of our family" (p. 137).

In her general introduction, Ward suggests weaving as a theme for Mary Haskin Richards's life. Perhaps this metaphor was used first and most effectively by Laurel Thatcher Ulrich,³ but it seems particularly apt for Mary. She came from Lancaster, England's center for cotton weaving. She was trained as a weaver, and she seems to put down her pen only to take up other handwork—sewing, quilting, mending, braiding. The Winter Quarters life writings of Mary Haskin Parker Richards do not provide a finished piece of cloth, but they do furnish a vital section, not only of Mary's life, but of Mormon and western history.

SHARON SNOW CARVER, a Ph.D. candidate at Brigham Young University in U.S. history with a minor in English with life-writing emphasis, taught American history at Utah State University, Uintah Basin Branch Campus in Roosevelt, Utah, in 1996-97 and is currently adjunct faculty in the Weber State University's History Department in Ogden, Utah. She has edited Mary Augusta Hawkins Snow's 1851 journal of crossing the plains. She is completing her dissertation, a comparison of the influence of women's organizations on city policies in Boise, Denver, and Salt Lake City between 1893 and 1929, has published in *Utah Historical Quarterly* and *Utah History Encyclopedia*.

Allen Kent Powell, ed. *Utah History Encyclopedia*. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1994. xii, 674 pp.; photographs, map, index; \$50.00. ISBN 0-87480-425-6.

Reviewed by Judith Austin

The centennial of Utah's statehood in 1996 has, like those of the "Northern Tier" states in 1989 and 1990, provided the opportunity to publish an array of surveys and reference tools on the state's history. Surely one of the most challenging of those projects—and a solid, successful one—is the *Utah History Encyclopedia*. Under the aegis of the Utah State Historical Society, 270 authors wrote nearly 500 entries on the history of Utah's politics, people, and land. Too often, the authors of such entries are given very tight instructions on length, sequence of information, and format, to the detriment of any personal style. Not in this case: Powell and his advisory board encouraged personal

³Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, *A Midwife's Tale: The Life of Martha Ballard, Based on Her Diary, 1785-1812* (New York: Vintage Books, 1991).

essays, and the result is a book that can be read for more than individual entries.

An encyclopedia devoted to a single place or people ought to help readers understand what really matters to that population. This volume certainly offers clues. One indication of both the nature of the state and the interests of its residents is the remarkable number of entries on natural features—among them forests, parks, mountains and other geological formations, rivers, plants, and animal life. The various “cultural” entries, on painting, literature, dance, classical music, architecture, theater, museums, and the individuals who have participated in them, are a reminder of how significant these factors have always been in Utahns’ lives. (Prehistoric rock art qualifies as a cultural entry, too.)

The encyclopedia contains some real treasures. If you wish to understand how a small town in the rural West develops, read Vestil Harrison’s entry on Centerville. If you are neither geographer nor geologist but are fascinated by the landforms of Utah, read Roy Webb’s graceful essays and learn much. If Vardis Fisher’s work and personality have puzzled you, read Mick McAllister’s biographical sketch—which, in a nice alphabetical twist, precedes Webb’s entry on Flaming Gorge. There are unexpected, pleasant surprises: the telephone in Utah, for instance, a topic critical in the development of a largely rural state; and (for this devout fan) the Utah Jazz, which is in many ways a summary of the travails of professional sports franchises.

Yet questions arise. Why, in an otherwise exemplary essay on Utah elections, are only the presidential-year contests discussed? Surely the off-year congressional elections tell us something about Utah’s political history and its relationship to national politics. An Idahoan might wonder why the biographical essay on Philo T. Farnsworth reads as if all his early work on television was done in Utah; the high school teacher for whom he did that work was at Rigby, Idaho, not Beaver, Utah. And why, in an essay on Coalville that mentions tensions over land use, is the enormously controversial destruction of the “elegant Summit Stake Tabernacle” not mentioned?

The essay on Coalville is not the only one to tread lightly on controversial matters: for example, the relationship between some of Utah’s citizens and some land-management agencies is not much discussed. On the other hand, some essays convey a wry tone that at least hints at controversy. And many essays that deal with potentially polarizing subjects are admirably even-handed—for example, Lake Powell and Kaiparowits.

Some entries would have benefited from more specific information about their subjects. Biographical sketches ought to begin with some indication—however brief—of the individual’s significance in Utah’s history; not all do, and sometimes the reader has to infer from a dry chronological list of facts why the subject is there at all. Occasionally information so vital as the subject’s birth date is missing (e.g., Jesse Knight). Non-Utahns may have some problems with entries on towns and even counties, for not all

contain information on general location within the state, and the frontispiece map could not possibly include all such entries. Some of the briefer community histories carry a little too much Chamber of Commerce tone.

A variety of general essays interweave Utah's experience with the nation's: railroads, manufacturing, labor, livestock industry, and the like. Other entries, such as those on the Panic of 1893 and on the Vietnam and World Wars, set Utah even more solidly within U.S. history. Equally valuable for their basic information are tables on immigration, population, and U.S. Senators and Representatives as well as entries with brief paragraphs on territorial governors.

Other valuable sets of entries include those on ethnic groups, most written from within the communities; on religious groups other than the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints; on Native Americans in general and on individual tribal groups. All are solid summaries.

While many of the *Utah History Encyclopedia's* entries put the state's history in context, one essay does the same for the encyclopedia itself. S. George Ellsworth's entry on "Utah history" discusses the kinds of history and the kinds of historians that have served Utah. Many of those whom Ellsworth mentions are his fellow authors in the encyclopedia. His overview offers recommendations on where the interested reader might turn to learn more about the state's history in general, and it also points out some of the gaps in the writing of Utah's history that this encyclopedia's entries begin to fill.

JUDITH AUSTIN is coordinator of publications at the Idaho State Historical Society and editor of its quarterly journal, *Idaho Yesterdays*.

James P. Wind and James W. Lewis, eds. *American Congregations. Vol. 1: Portraits of Twelve Religious Communities*, xi, 712 pp; photographs, index. *Vol. 2: New Perspectives in the Study of Congregations*, ix, 292 pp., index. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994.

Reviewed by Melvyn Hammarberg

This important two-volume collection of essays focuses fresh attention on American congregations as historically constructed local cultures within the complex, continually changing, and highly diverse American religious universe. These volumes are the publication component of a three-year project supported by the Lilly Foundation, which also included a seminar series among the writers and support for seventeen dissertation fellows to continue research on congregational life. Both volumes yield important insights and represent a high level of scholarly work, continuing a sociological tradition established in the 1920s by H. Paul Douglass and Edmund deS. Brunner. This

work also complements the more recent Notre Dame Study of Catholic Parish Life by Jim Castelli and Joseph Gremillion, *The Emerging Parish* (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1987).

Volume 1 consists of social histories of twelve congregations while Volume 2 provides cross-congregational analyses of context, tradition, and leadership. Given more than 350,000 congregations in America's religious landscape, twelve is a modest sample, but the diversity in history, location, and religious tradition is impressive. The twelve are Center Church of New Haven (Congregational), beginning in 1638; Mt. Hebron Baptist Church, Leeds, Alabama, beginning in the 1830s; the Jewish congregation K. K. Bene (Rockdale Temple) begun in 1830 in Cincinnati; Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Church, started by free blacks in Baltimore in 1815; the LDS Sugar House Ward, Salt Lake City, beginning in 1854; St. Boniface Parish, planted by German immigrants in Chicago in 1864; St. Peter's Parish, San Francisco, established by Irish Catholics in 1906; Chicago's "gold coast" Fourth Presbyterian Church with origins before the Civil War; the Greek Orthodox Cathedral of the Annunciation established in Baltimore in 1906; a Lebanese Muslim Mosque begun in La Lac Biche, Canada, in the 1950s; the Swaminarayan Hindu Temple of Glen Ellyn, Illinois, established in 1970; and the Evangelical/Pentecostal Calvary Chapel, founded in Costa Mesa, California, during the mid-1960s. Each congregational history is a testimony to the faith of its founders, members, and leaders, to adaptation as local and national/international conditions changed, and to renewals that have nurtured congregational life and sustained religious commitment for succeeding generations.

Naturally, such a list omits equally worthy and diverse candidates, to name just a few: other varieties of Orthodox Christians, Catholics, Methodists, Hispanic Protestants, Buddhists, Black Muslims, Lutherans, the Native American Church, Old Order Amish, Orthodox and Conservative Jews, Mennonites, the Reorganized LDS Church, Jehovah's Witnesses, fundamentalist Mormons, New Age gatherings, and many, many sectarians. The authors of *American Congregations* certainly intend their work as an invitation to other scholars of congregational studies and local cultures.

The study of Sugar House Ward in Salt Lake City by Jan Shipps, Cheryll L. May, and Dean L. May, of particular interest to *Journal* readers, traces the evolution of this ward from its formation in 1854 on the outskirts of Salt Lake City. Its first century receives sustained attention and a rich descriptive context that includes the coming of the railroad, the end of plural marriage, Americanization, and the LDS response to the Great Depression and World War II. During the pioneer period, congregational life was part of an "all-encompassing" community as the Saints sought to build "the literal Kingdom of God" (p. 302) on earth. In 1870, census manuscripts showed 134 households, 28 percent of them plural families. The population was youthful, showed a small surplus of men, was 73 percent foreign born, and worked in a restricted range of skilled trades; 45 of the children attended public school.

Thirty years later, 71 percent of the population were Utah- or U.S.-born, plural marriage was, for all practical purposes, over, most children attended public schools, the neighborhood was solidly middle-class with a hundred different occupations, and only about 50 percent were LDS. In this context, Church "activity" had an institutional rather than a public meaning. LDS social and athletic activities during the 1920s paralleled the rise of similar programs in many denominations during the same period.

The decades since 1950 are summarized more quickly. One of the authors, Dean May, was bishop of a ward in the Sugar House Stake during the 1970s and thus offers an insider's view of events. Neighborhood "decline" led to stake and ward consolidations and redrawn ward boundaries. By the 1960s, the ward population was highly transient, comprised of young marrieds, students, and older persons living in rental apartments; underpopulated and with comparatively fewer resources, Sugar House Ward had increasing difficulty in running standard church programs. Although the authors describe the importance of the consolidated meeting schedule beginning in 1980 and the impact of the correlation program, they do not discuss the tremendous expansion of the missionary program since the 1960s or the 1978 revelation granting priesthood ordination to black men. Perhaps these developments did not resonate in Sugar House Ward.

Shipp, May, and May argue that LDS wards and stakes are "essentially alike," that they show the "cookie cutter effect of program standardization," and that "the history of any single ward becomes . . . the whole story of Mormonism" (pp. 298-99). Yet, because all stakes and wards are "absolute reflections of the local population," the authors also contend that wards "have their own histories and . . . develop their own characters" (p. 339). Sugar House is "almost archetypal," characterized by its "essential typicality" (p. 299). In their dual focus, the authors seem to confuse the typical with the archetypal. I suspect they mean that the cultural pattern of Church social organization—which is highly standardized and hence "archetypal"—is different from the demographic profile, social environment, and particular history of an individual ward. Because of its location, demographics, patterns of leadership, and particular history, Sugar House Ward is not typical of all church wards. No ward is.

Although these two aspects—the cultural pattern of social organization and the individual unit's characteristics—can and should be studied together, they still need to be conceptually differentiated. Mormonism today has about two thousand stakes and more than 20,000 wards and branches. Since February 1996, a majority of members live outside the United States. Rather than assuming a homogeneity which one ward might represent, the Sugar House study actually begins to ask how, and along what dimensions, Mormon congregations differ? What issues and problems do these differences create for the spiritual growth of members and the future of the Church?

The case study of Sugar House Ward makes it clear that wards reflect American residential mobility, social class, race, and ethnicity; on a world

scale, they also reflect the differences in national and subnational cultures. Yet these local reflections do not dominate LDS religious “archetypal” culture. Why is that so?

I would argue that five characteristics of Mormonism’s organizational and religious culture override demographic variations. First, the LDS Church is hierarchically centralized in the office of the First Presidency and most importantly in a living prophet, seer, and revelator. Only the Pope in Roman Catholicism and the living Guru of Swaminarayan Hindus among the other case studies have a similar role. The Mormon chain of command and clearly ranked leadership roles extend through the congregational levels. Shipps, May, and May outline but do not analyze this hierarchical organization or its influence (most of the other congregational studies also by-pass governance issues beyond the congregation) and therefore miss important vertical relationships that modify local responses. This vertical relationship is particularly important since organizational changes originate at the highest levels, while implementation is the responsibility of local leaders. While Mormonism may not have a “professional” clergy, the Church certainly has levels of executives and managers who set the cultural patterns for congregational practice and process reports channeled upward from the local level.

Second, all presiding leadership roles include two counselors, weekly ward leadership meetings, and other built-in consultations both up the line with stake officers and down the line with ward subunits. While congregations in other traditions have experimented with team ministries, the LDS cultural pattern has created leadership team meetings from the ward level to the highest reaches of the church. Susan B. Tabor’s compilation of life histories for the Elkton Maryland Ward in *Mormon Lives: A Year in the Elkton Ward* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993), provides raw data for the study of organizational forms and processes and for their spiritual meanings in the lives of members.

Shipps, May, and May argue that callings and leadership positions do not divide Mormons neatly into clergy and laity as distinct membership categories (p. 297), but these callings and positions do reflect organizational and spiritual authority. Only men possess “keys,” or forms of spiritual authority, but both men and women may “preside” organizationally over others. A Relief Society president “presides” over the sphere of activities undertaken by the Relief Society, just as the elders’ quorum president presides over that quorum’s activities. Thus, a member acts as “clergy” while presiding but as “laity” otherwise; these are “roles” enacted by the same persons on different occasions and are understood as part of the Church’s organizational structure. Spiritual authority, however, is gender-based; only men may exercise priesthood authority with the power of keys, where the scope of this authority is restricted according to particular priesthood callings. Women who preside always do so under the spiritual authority of a priesthood holder. True, this is not a categorical clergy/lay distinction; it is, however, a comparable but more complex one involving gender, the

spiritual authority of “keys,” the organizational authority of “presiding,” and distinctions regarding the spheres and scope of particular callings.

Third, as the Sugar House study makes clear, each ward is nested within a stake. This arrangement is often compared to the Roman Catholic diocese and parish, but the Mormon version is programmatically more elaborate. All of the ward members within a given stake gather as a stake congregation in semi-annual conferences, organize some activities through stake-level calendars, and link local wards through stake-level training, guidance, and supervision. As Shipps, May, and May indicate, the geographical boundaries of both wards and stakes are subject to revision and alteration by the general Membership and Boundaries Committee, with input from ward and stake leaders. Thus, readjustments, sometimes involving thousands of people, serve to maintain face-to-face ward communities of 300 to 600 members and stakes of 2,500 to 5,000 members (estimates mine). The life cycle of a congregation is therefore controlled by the Church’s organizational culture and leaders as demographic changes, suburbanization, urban renewal, immigration, and migration impact neighborhoods, much as franchises are fitted to markets in the secular corporate culture.

Fourth, the local congregation (as ward or stake) usually has resources available from the next higher “stake/regional” level, or has shared resources at the same “stake/ward” level of social organization. An example is the Church’s Welfare Plan of the 1930s, as a response to the Great Depression. Such sharing reduces the individual idiosyncrasies of wards but is obscured when the focus is on the ward/stake in isolation.

Fifth, the Church’s organizational culture as a whole—and certainly the structure and activities of stakes and wards—cannot be fully comprehended without systematic attention to the theological beliefs that nourish and sustain members in their group identities. Few of these congregational studies study such beliefs—their content, how they are acquired and sustained, how they change, and with what other systems of belief they must compete in the lives of members. Hints surface in several of the congregational studies that engage nationality, language, and ethnicity in congregational life. But few, including the Sugar House study, analyze in a direct and scholarly way the congregation’s spiritual dimension.

In short, since wards reflect widely divergent local populations, no ward can be called typical; however, Mormon organizational culture is “archetypal,” or highly patterned, as Shipps, May, and May suggest. Yet to be done is a well-designed, stratified, historical, and systematic study of LDS congregational life in all its demographic variation and response to differing local settings. Such a study is certainly feasible, given the Church’s record-keeping and data collection resources. In such a context, the Sugar House study becomes an important model for directing further research, rather than a study of a typical ward. As such a model, the Sugar House study is a clear, well-delineated, rich, yet compact, exposition of one LDS congregation’s life over the course of a century and a half. It is among the best of the twelve congregational studies in Volume 1.

The second volume is thematically organized to deal with issues raised by the twelve case studies. Surprisingly, the Sugar House study is largely ignored in these essays, in spite of the fundamental role of Mormon organizational culture and even though many of the issues studied in Volume 2 have been addressed by the Latter-day Saints and are embedded in the Sugar House study.

One example is the quest for community. In "Toward a History of American Congregations," E. Brook Holifield employs Toennie's contrast between *Gemeinschaft* (face-to-face community relationships) and *Gesellschaft* (impersonal society-like relationships) as a continuum underlying stages of congregational development, from early comprehensive congregations, through devotional ones, to social congregations and now increasingly to participatory ones. My impression is that LDS wards and stakes have features characteristic of the whole series, in part because the Church combines the hierarchy of a corporation with the intimacy of face-to-face groups.

A second provocative analysis, with only fleeting mention of "early Mormons," is Langdon Gilkey's "The Christian Congregation as a Religious Community." He urges the examination of the particularly religious or spiritual dimensions of congregational life, arguing that mainline protestant congregations have "remained too religious" and also have been "too accommodating, too secular, to meet the new religious needs of a distraught modern society" (p. 109). His essay thus would have benefited from knowing Armand Mauss's study of twentieth-century Mormon assimilation and accommodation, *The Angel and the Beehive* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994). The comparable threat within Mormonism is its strong identification with American business practices and the recent claims of its leaders that they will never lead the Church astray. Certainly this issue raises the question of the role of individual conscience in LDS religious life.

As a third example, Martin Marty traces the study of congregations as "private colonies" removed from public relevance, "mediating structures" between private lives and public concerns, and "meeting places" where public religious life begins. Mormon congregations enter his discussion as an example of "local embodiments" that "are the key to the [Mormon] church's entire political venture" (p. 157). At best, this is a passing reference to LDS ward-building activity without substantive grounding in pronouncements by General Authorities on public issues—the family, pornography, gambling, social welfare—or public ward activities such as home visits, missionary contacts, job placement programs, and disaster preparedness.

Finally, one of the most interesting essays in the second volume, "Congregations and the Bearing of Traditions," by Dorothy C. Bass, examines how religious knowledge and belief are transmitted from generation to generation and sustained as a creative matrix in the experience of individuals through a congregation's practices. Her model is derived from Alasdair MacIntyre's *After Virtue: A Study in Moral Theory*, 2d ed. (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1984). Identity-forming, maintaining and

renewing practices and institutions are pervasive among the Latter-day Saints—from pioneer reenactments to fast and testimony meetings to temple endowments to family history reconstructions and, among Latter-day Saints, suggest some of the many ways that belief is made new and real again and again.

The American competitive free market for religions has allowed congregations to become vehicles for group identity, for boundary creation, and for negotiating a position in the larger society. As Mormonism continues to expand into other cultural settings, it could learn important lessons from ethnic or language parishes such as accepting non-western musical and meditative traditions, dress codes, foodways, and other non-western cultural customs, while also studying how beliefs interact, and how group identities are formed, nourished, and renewed. At the same time, we need to know more about the diversity of American congregations—especially their systems of belief, vertical well as horizontal organizational elements, temporal dynamics of change, and the formation of individual spiritual or group identity. In this undertaking, psychological and anthropological approaches will be needed as we build upon the foundational historical studies offered in *American Congregations*. These two volumes have significantly renewed and advanced the field of congregational studies, with considerable room for more work among the Latter-day Saints.

MELVYN HAMMARBERG is Associate Professor in the Department of Anthropology, University of Pennsylvania. He is currently working on a contemporary ethnography of the Latter-day Saints, tentatively titled *Quest for Glory*.

Marilyn Conover Barker. *The Legacy of Mormon Furniture: The Mormon Material Culture, Undergirded by Faith, Commitment, and Craftsmanship*. Salt Lake City: Gibbs Smith Publisher, 1995. 144 pp.; photographs, index; \$29.95. ISBN 0-87905-632-0.

Reviewed by Nancy R. Clark

Of the many publications following in the wake of the Church's sequence of sesquicentennials, *The Legacy of Mormon Furniture* by Marilyn Conover Barker is certainly among the most handsome. The work appears at a time when social history and material culture, including regional decorative arts, have become eminently legitimate subjects of scholarly study and when the rustic, "country" styles of interior design are more popular than ever. It is a book with great appeal for a wide audience.

Barker begins with a brief definition of Mormon belief and movements from Ohio, Missouri, and Illinois to the Salt Lake Valley. She summarizes the rapid progression of settlement in the West as immigrants and crafts-

men from many countries adapted to a strange environment, relocating often in response to calls to settle new communities, and confronted their ultimate challenge: the flood of cheap, yet fashionable, factory-made furniture brought in by the railroad.

In Chapter 2, she discusses furniture styles and forms and provides biographies and analyses of the work of five influential furniture-makers in Utah: Brigham Young, William Bell, Ralph Ramsey, John Cottam, and Thomas Cottam. Young was a New Englander; the last four were English converts. Chapter 3 continues with a description of furniture-making throughout the territory. Beginning in Salt Lake City, at the Church's Public Works shop and in the shops of individual craftsmen like Henry Dinwoodey, she proceeds, county by county, with biographies of craftsmen and descriptions of their work.

Although Barker focuses on furniture produced in the 1847-69 period in Chapter 4, she describes the co-ops and united orders organized by Church leaders in the 1870s to promote more efficient home manufacture. Nevertheless, the demand for locally made furniture inevitably declined; and craftsmen turned to related occupations, such as furniture merchandising and temple construction, or to farming. Chapter 5, an appendix of sorts by contemporary craftsman Stephen Shepherd, describes the techniques used by pioneer artisans to achieve their fanciful painted and grained finishes.

The pioneer story she tells is a familiar one, although the material legacy—long guarded almost exclusively by the Sons and Daughters of the Utah Pioneers—is less well known. Connie Morningstar's *Early Utah Furniture* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1976), was the first major publication to identify the essential themes and craftsmen. Barker has searched census records from 1850 to 1880 to add over 100 names to Morningstar's list of known furniture-makers but, puzzlingly, omitted a number of others Morningstar found who advertised in the *Deseret News* or were listed in Salt Lake City directories. Hal Cannon's exhibit of Utah folk art in 1980 with its catalog, *Utah Folk Art: A Catalog of Material Culture* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1980), included pioneer furniture as folk art. Jonathan Fairbanks in his *American Furniture, 1620 to the Present* (New York: Richard Marek Publishers, 1981) placed Mormon furniture within the broader context of American decorative arts. More specialized scholarly studies, Elaine Thatcher's "Some Chairs for My Family": Furniture in Nineteenth-Century Cache Valley," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 56, no. 54 Fall 1988): 331-51, and Thomas Carter's *The Traditional Way of Life: Essays in Honor of Warren E. Roberts* (Bloomington; Indiana University Folklore Institute, 1989), focused on the furniture of Cache and Sanpete counties respectively. Barker's ambitious work, essentially economic history with elements of social and art history, goes beyond previous studies of the subject in breadth, but not in depth.

In her introduction, Barker suggests that the reader can better understand the pioneers' "ideas and values," "lifestyle" and "social dynamics"

through the study of their furniture (p. 11). This concept underlies the material culture approach; yet the story of Jacob Bigler trimming the legs of his ladderback chair (Fig. 1.16) and Minerva Stone Shaw's inventory of her Ogden home (p. 102) are not enough alone to "illuminate . . . early Mormon life" (p. 15). The study of material culture requires a methodology, a depth of documentation, and skilled interpretation that Barker does not seriously attempt. While she illustrates a great variety of colorful center tables and rocking chairs, forms replete with cultural significance, she does not explore their use or question their meaning as symbols of cultural refinement. Likewise, left for future consideration is the question of conflicting material and spiritual values: Can a people aspire to stylish furniture and exaltation at the same time?

Barker's greatest contribution lies in the furniture illustrations, superbly photographed by Scott Peterson, which fill the book. The furniture pieces have been sensitively selected from museums and private collections throughout the state to show the variety of pioneer forms and styles. For example, the two-page lineup of Mormon couches or lounges (pp. 118-19) is a visual delight and presents a perfect opportunity for comparisons.

Barker's text, however, does not hold up to the pictures. The glowing color photographs arouse our curiosity and make us eager to know more about the furniture—at the very least, the maker, place, and approximate date of manufacture. But the captions and accompanying text are too often improbable, contradictory, or simply untrue. For example, was the unusual spool-turned seat (Fig. 1.6) really saved from the burning Nauvoo Temple—or from a lodge hall somewhere else? Did Jonathan Browning, renowned rifle maker, also make parlor tables? (p. 44). Such statements demand more thorough documentation than Barker provides. She attributes a sophisticated chess table and chair (Fig. 1.5) to Parley P. Pratt in 1860. This identification is improbable for two reasons: Pratt died in 1857, and the DUP Museum label identifies Orson Pratt as the maker. The primitive chair (Fig. 1.11) Barker describes as the work of Rufus C. Allen from the "original fort at Santa Clara" appears in Morningstar's book as a "reproduction made about 1961 by Willard O. Hamblin" (Morningstar, p. 58).

Although Barker asserts that "we have been able to document a surprising number of . . . tradesmen through credible sourcing of their work" (p. 12), such textual errors as those cited above raise the reader's suspicion that the author has uncritically accepted and/or incorrectly transcribed museum labels or guides' stories. In addition, the text, compromised by small contradictions and inconsistencies throughout, would have benefitted greatly from tighter editing.

Barker's review of the mid-nineteenth century design vocabulary is clear and helpful: the Empire, Fancy Sheraton and Victorian revival styles, as well as Windsor and other traditional chair styles. Pioneer craftsmen from varied backgrounds using the softwoods available in Utah adapted these styles,

resulting in furniture with new proportions, decoration, and finishes. Barker mentions these critical points (p. 38) as the essence of "Mormon style" but does not follow through with the thorough discussion and documentation they merit. For example, she writes of the influences of Scandinavian, Yorkshire, and East Anglian crafts traditions without describing any of their characteristics. The contorted faces on the bedstead carved by master carver Ralph Ramsey (Fig. 2.8) may reflect "difficulties and pioneer sorrows," but more likely reveal Ramsey's familiarity with traditional European carved ornament, including grotesques, animal masks, and vine scrollwork.

Barker casually refers to the influence of "Mississippi culture" on the important Public Works gondola chairs (p. 18, Fig. 1.4), without considering the possible influences of Ohio, upstate New York, or British prototypes, via Englishman Bell, who signed one of the chairs (Fig. 2.9). While she bravely credits Bell with producing "high style" Victorian Gothic furniture in Utah even before it was introduced in eastern cities (pp. 25, 26), she provides no examples or illustrations. She also names various "regional styles" such as the "Brigham City" style and the "Orderville style" (pp. 128, 131) without defining characteristics of either (p. 131).

If there is a "Mormon style" as Barker insists (and I agree), it is characterized by this boldness of turnings, curves, and proportion dictated in large part by the use of softwoods. Its uniqueness can best be seen in the comparison of two similar, but very different, chairs illustrated by Barker. One is a fiddleback Boston rocker (Fig. 1.17) attributed to Matthew Dalton, who came to Ogden from Wisconsin; it has spindly turnings and stiffly shaped splat and crest, more suggestive of the hardwood chairs factory-made in the Midwest (p. 44). The other, the quintessential Utah fiddleback Boston rocker (Fig. 3.43) attributed to the Logan cabinetmaker Charles Olson, displays robust turnings and sweeping curves easily executed in pine and lavishly painted in the spirit of true folk art.

Mormon pioneer furniture—graceful, whimsical, colorful, and superbly photogenic—compares with the best of vernacular country furniture anywhere and deserves to be widely recognized. Thus, as an introduction to Mormon furniture for a new and wider audience, Barker's book succeeds admirably. It will have genuine importance as a visual reference book for collectors and scholars as they continue to define the "Mormon style." It will provide encouragement for the preservation of pioneer artifacts and simple pleasure to many who care about old furniture and its enduring legacy.

NANCY RICHARDS CLARK, a graduate of the Cooperstown Graduate Program and Winterthur Summer Institute, was formerly Curator of Collections at Old Deseret Village, This Is The Place State Park.

BOOK NOTICES

F. Ross Peterson. *A History of Cache County*. Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society and Cache County Council, 1997; 388 pp., preface, introduction, photographs, selected bibliography, index. \$19.96. ISBN 0-913738-10-7

From hunting grounds of Native Americans to a thriving agricultural economy to a center for advanced technology, Cache County's changing economy is the central theme in this volume of the Utah Centennial County History series.

The book largely follows a chronological pattern, beginning with an interesting chapter on settlements before the arrival of Mormon pioneers. The author traces the development of the pioneer settlements and subsequent difficulties for the original settlers: "Mormon pioneers, or any other settlers, no matter how numerous, had to be somewhat aware of the Native Americans whom they displaced. By plowing land, diverting water, building houses, bridges, and roads, as well as killing game, the newcomers altered Native American traditions, habits and lifestyles. Denied their

traditional methods of life support . . . the land's original inhabitants were confronted with options that included fight, steal, beg, or leave" (40-41).

The Mormons were in the valley to stay, and soon their church leaders became government leaders as well, directing the growth of county governmental functions, controlling natural resources, building roads and bridges, and overseeing law enforcement. Subsequent chapters detail the role of the Mormon church in building the railroad and other economic enterprises, as well as the important contributions of the non-Mormons who established churches and schools throughout the county. Separate chapters are devoted to the 1890-1920 period of transition for the county's economy, early educational efforts (both public and denominational schools), the founding of present-day Utah State University as the land-grant Agricultural College and its successful struggle to avoid consolidation with the University of Utah, a cultural survey, the impact of the two world wars, the devastating depression of the 1930s, and the striking changes

in the county's agricultural patterns and industrial development in the post World War II period.

Although the main picture of the county is a positive one, Peterson notes the 1873 lynching of Apostle Ezra T. Benson's son Charlie for murder (95-99), describes the method of obtaining liquor from a local service station during prohibition (281-82), and identifies the backlash created by Mormon leaders, who attempted "to cleanse the church and create conformity" during the 1870s; he concludes that they "helped establish a very strong community of ex-believers" (145).

A final chapter gives food for thought to those who cherish the dream that the green and fertile valley can survive substantial population growth, urbanization, and industrial/residential development. Peterson asks: "Can the county seek increased economic growth and tourism and still maintain the quality of life for which it claims fame?" As a partial answer, he points to efforts of the Cache County Council to address future needs and plan for them as a hopeful sign that some of the county's physical beauty and rural atmosphere can be preserved.

The book's strengths are its emphasis on the county's changing economic patterns, its accurate statistics (at times almost daunting in detail), direction to the more detailed studies of Leonard J. Arrington, Joel Ricks, and A. J. Simmonds (to name a few), and rich local color from city histories and personal journals. He is also scrupulously fair in highlighting the many contributions of county citizens not members of the dominant religion. A selected but

wide-ranging bibliography is a valuable part of this volume.

Jessie L. Embry. *A History of Wasatch County*. Salt Lake City: Utah Historical Society/Wasatch County Commission, 1996; 334 pp., xiv, maps, photographs, notes, selective bibliography, index.

Wasatch County, named for the mountain range in which it is set, began its history as hunting range for Native Americans, then as a series of Mormon villages. Dairy, cattle, and sheep lent themselves to the high alpine climate with short summers, but the real resource in the county was its water and forests.

Parts of the Uinta, Wasatch, and Ashley national forests lie within its boundaries, providing recreation and resources for people who largely live outside the county and grazing rights for cattlemen with federal leases. The state and federal government developed its three reservoirs—Strawberry (1910), Deer Creek (1946), and Jordanelle (1995)—but the water stored there is also used outside of the county. For instance, county residents in the 1960s complained that they could not even drill wells on their own property because the Provo Water Users Association had filed on the county's underground water in 1921. Although the population has grown steadily in the last decades, an increasing fraction of residents combine life in the beautiful valleys with long commutes to work in other communities on the Wasatch front.

The book is divided into chunks

of about twenty to forty years: the settlement period (1858-88), 1888 to World War I, the Roaring Twenties, the Depression, World War II, 1946 to 1975, and 1975 to 1995. The photographs of historic buildings are particularly handsome, and the text is clearly and competently written.

The county is fortunate in that a lively newspaper, the *Wasatch Wave*, has long been a voice for the community, providing many vivid vignettes. During World War I, for instance, it published one good-humored complaint about the complicated rationing and voluntary abstinence systems requested by Herbert Hoover, the national food administrator: "O Hoover, / My Tuesdays are meatless, / My Wednesdays are wheatless, / Am getting more eatless each day; / My bed, it is sheetless; / My coffee is sweetless, / Each day I get poorer and wiser; / My stockings are feetless, / My trousers are seatless, / My God, how I do hate the Kaiser" (118).

Marian Wilkinson Jensen, comp. *Women of Commitment: Elect Ladies of Brigham Young University*. Bountiful, Utah: Horizon Publishers & Distributors, 1997. 224 pp.; portraits of each subject, endnotes, index; ISBN 0-88290-610-0

With an introductory essay about BYU Women, a support organization for faculty wives and other women in

the BYU community, these thirty-two short, anecdotal essays describe women who have made a serious commitment to serving BYU, sometimes for most of their adult lives.

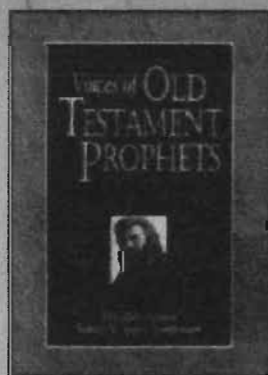
The book is organized in several categories: five presidential wives (Alice Ludlow Wilkinson, who is Marian Wilkinson Jensen's mother), June Dixon Oaks, Patricia Terry Holland, Janet Griffin Lee, and Marilyn Scholes Bateman); administrators and staff (Cheryl Brown, Lillian Clayson Booth, Janet Calder, Maxine Lewis Murdock, Lucile Markham Thorne, and Connie Lamb), academic departments (Kathryn Basset Pardoe, Mary Ann Quinn Wood, Anna Boss Hart, Beverly Romney Cutler, Marie Tuttle, Marion Bennion Stevens, Ruth Elizabeth Brasher, Lucille Nelson Jensen, Maxine Lewis Rowley, Olga Dotson Gardner, Rosalie Rebollo Pratt, Barta Heiner, Martha Moffitt Peacock, Mae Blanch, Susan Elizabeth Howe, June Leifson, and Barbara Day Lockhart), and campus-related programs (Mary Ellen Edmunds of the Missionary Training Center, Mary Bee Jensen of the International Folk Dancers, Jane "Janie" Thompson of the Program Bureau, Young Ambassadors, and Lamanite Generation), and Artemesia Romney Ballif, "friend and supporter."

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