

Journal of Mormon History

Volume 40
Issue 2 *Journal of Mormon History, volume 40,*
issue 2 (spring 2014)

Article 1

4-1-2014

Journal of Mormon History, volume 40, issue 2 (2014)

Follow this and additional works at: <https://digitalcommons.usu.edu/mormonhistory>

Recommended Citation

CONTENTS

ARTICLES

--[PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS] Seeking an Inheritance: Mormon Mobility, Urbanity, and Community, *Glen M. Leonard*, 1

--[TANNER LECTURE] Mormons, Freethinkers, and the Limits of Toleration, *Leigh Eric Schmidt*, 59

--Succession by Seniority: The Development of Procedural Precedents in the LDS Church, *Edward Leo Lyman*, 92

--The Bullion, Beck, and Champion Mining Company and the Redemption of Zion, *R. Jean Addams*, 159

Indian Placement Program Host Families: A Mission to the Lamanites, *Jessie L. Embry*, 235

REVIEW

Matthew Kester. *Remembering Iosepa: History, Place, and Religion in the American West*, *Brian Q. Cannon*, 277

BOOK NOTICE

Francis M. Gibbons. *John Taylor: Mormon Philosopher: Prophet of God*, 280

This Full Issue is brought to you for free and open access by the Journals at DigitalCommons@USU. It has been accepted for inclusion in Journal of Mormon History by an authorized administrator of DigitalCommons@USU. For more information, please contact digitalcommons@usu.edu.



Journal of Mormon History, volume 40, issue 2 (2014)

Table of Contents

CONTENTS

ARTICLES

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

--Seeking an Inheritance: Mormon Mobility, Urbanity, and Community, Glen M. Leonard, 1

TANNER LECTURE

--Mormons, Freethinkers, and the Limits of Toleration, Leigh Eric Schmidt, 59

Succession by Seniority: The Development of Procedural Precedents in the LDS Church, *Edward Leo Lyman*, 92

The Bullion, Beck, and Champion Mining

Company and the Redemption of Zion

R. Jean Addams

159

Indian Placement Program Host Families:

A Mission to the Lamanites

Jessie L. Embry

235

REVIEW

Matthew Kester.

Remembering Iosepa: History,

Place, and Religion in the American West Brian Q. Cannon

277

BOOK NOTICE

Francis M. Gibbons.

John Taylor: Mormon

Philosopher: Prophet of God

280

JOURNAL OF MORMON HISTORY

Spring 2014 | Volume 40 | No. 2



Cover illustration: Design by Thayne Whiting based on his photograph (2012) of the Bullion, Beck, and Champion Mining Company headframe or “gallows,” constructed 1890, in Eureka, Utah, now on the National Register of Historic Sites. See discussion in R. Jean Addams, “The Bullion, Beck, and Champion Mining Company and the Redemption of Zion,” 161–236.

Back cover illustration: Maughan’s Fort, by Reid W. Parkinson (1914–2004), oil on canvas, 1981, LDS Church History Museum. © By Intellectual Reserve, Inc. In a Regionalist style reminiscent of American muralist Thomas Hart Benton (1889–1975), Parkinson depicts everyday life at Maughan’s Fort (renamed Wellsville by Brigham Young in 1859), in northern Utah’s Cache County. Inside the fort, log homes face each other across future Center Street, and log dugouts form a half-circle along Little Bear River. A lifelong Wellsville resident and dairy farmer, Parkinson studied art at Utah State University with figurative muralist Everett Thorpe (1904–1983). See the “Presidential Address,” Glen M. Leonard, “Seeking an Inheritance: Mormon Mobility, Urbanity, and Community,” 1–58.

The Mormon History Association

The Mormon History Association {www.mormonhistoryassociation.org} is an independent nonprofit 501(c)3 organization devoted to all aspects of the Mormon past. It strives to be the preeminent catalyst and forum worldwide for encouraging the scholarly study of Mormon history. It pursues its mission by sponsoring annual conferences; encouraging the highest quality research and publication; and awarding book, article, and other prizes. Its official periodical, the *Journal of Mormon History*, fosters the publication of independent, scholarly research. Membership in the association is open to all.

© Copyright 2014 Mormon History Association. Printed in the United States of America.

ISSN 0194-7342.

Copies of articles may be used for teaching and for research purposes free of charge and without securing permission, as permitted by Sections 107 and 108 of the U.S. Copyright Law. For other uses, permission must be obtained from the author(s).

All statements of opinion are the authors' own and not necessarily those of the Mormon History Association, its officers, directors, editors, and/or members. Authors alone are responsible for the factual accuracy of their articles, including quotations, citations, and all other uses of source materials.

Articles are abstracted and indexed in *Historical Abstracts* and *America: History and Life*, published by ABC-CLIO. This periodical is indexed in the *ATLA Religion Database*® (*ATLA RDB*®) and is also included in the full-text *ATLA Serials*® (*ATLAS*®) collection. Both are products of the American Theological Library Association, 300 S. Wacker Dr., Suite 2100, Chicago, IL 60606; email: atla@atla.com; <http://www.atla.com>. The entire back run of the *Journal of Mormon History* is available online through JSTOR, the not-for-profit digital archive. For availability and more information see www.jstor.org.

The *Journal of Mormon History* is published by the Mormon History Association and is distributed to association members. Annual dues are: regular, \$60; spouse/partner, \$70; student, \$30; digital only (U.S. and international), \$25; institution, \$80; sustaining, \$125; patron, \$250; and donor, \$500. For subscriptions outside the United States, DVDs of back issues, individual back issues, and all questions, see www.mormonhistoryassociation.org or contact (801) 521-6565. Digital copies of back issues are available at EBSCO and Utah State University Digital Commons: <http://digitalcommons.usu.edu/mormonhistory>.

Members are asked to notify the association immediately if they change their membership mailing address, including their email address.

The Journal of Mormon History

Publisher: Mormon History Association (founded 1965)

President: Richard E. Bennett

President-Elect: Laurel Thatcher Ulrich

Past President: Glen M. Leonard

Executive Director: Ronald O. Barney

Executive Director/Business Manager: Marilyn S. Barney

Directors: Polly Aird (2014)

Gary James Bergera (2014)

Barbara Jones Brown (2015)

Kenneth L. Cannon II (2015)

Patrick Q. Mason (2016)

Jonathan A. Stapley (2016)

Amanda Hendrix-Komoto (2016)

Digital Commons: Noel A. Carmack

Electronic Initiatives Coordinator: Connie Lamb

Executive Staff

Editor: Martha Taysom

Board of Editors:

Ronald O. Barney

Gary James Bergera

Matthew Bowman

Scott C. Esplin

Sarah Barringer Gordon

David Hall

Benjamin E. Park

Michael Harold Paulos

D. Michael Quinn

Andrea Radke-Moss

George D. Smith

Gary Topping

Production Staff

Copy Editor: Lavina Fielding Anderson

Production Manager: Brent Corcoran

Art Director: Thayne Whiting

Book Review Editor: Boyd Jay Petersen

Advertising Manager: Steve Eccles

Editorial Staff:

Elizabeth Ann Anderson

Ryan S. Bingham

Laura Compton

Linda Wilcox DeSimone

Samuel Alonzo Dodge

Sherman Feher

Laura Hales

Christian Larsen

Linda Lindstrom

H. Michael Marquardt

Rene Romig

Jerilyn Wakefield

Manuscripts dealing with any aspect of the Mormon past are welcome. Primary consideration is given to manuscripts that make a strong contribution to the knowledge of Mormon history through new interpretations and/or new information. Acceptance is based on originality, literary quality, accuracy, and relevance. Reprints and simultaneous submissions are not accepted.

Submissions should be sent to mormonjournal.taysom1@gmail.com in Word. The author's name and contact information should be located on a page separate from the manuscript. All illustrative materials, including maps, charts, tables, and graphs, should be attached in a separate file and not embedded in the electronic document. All illustrative materials must be supplied by the author.

The *Journal's* style guide, based on the *Chicago Manual of Style* and the *LDS Style Guide*, including specifications for illustrative materials, is available at www.mormonhistoryassociation.org. The peer-reviewed evaluation process usually takes three to six months.

CONTENTS

ARTICLES

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

- Seeking an Inheritance: Mormon Mobility,
Urbanity, and Community *Glen M. Leonard* 1

TANNER LECTURE

- Mormons, Freethinkers, and the Limits
of Toleration *Leigh Eric Schmidt* 59

- Succession by Seniority: The Development of
Procedural Precedents in the LDS Church
Edward Leo Lyman 92

- The Bullion, Beck, and Champion Mining
Company and the Redemption of Zion *R. Jean Addams* 159

- Indian Placement Program Host Families:
A Mission to the Lamanites *Jessie L. Embry* 235

REVIEW

- Matthew Kester. *Remembering Iosepa: History,
Place, and Religion in the American West* *Brian Q. Cannon* 277

BOOK NOTICE

- Francis M. Gibbons. *John Taylor: Mormon
Philosopher: Prophet of God* 280



Glen M. Leonard

SEEKING AN INHERITANCE: MORMON MOBILITY, URBANITY, AND COMMUNITY

Glen M. Leonard

A PHRASE INSCRIBED ON THE NORTHEAST CORNER of the National Archives Building in Washington, D.C., declares: “What is past is prologue.” The most common meaning attached to this metaphor is “that history influences and sets the context for the present.” Shakespeare coined the phrase in his play *The Tempest*, where Antonio suggested that existing circumstances destined Sebastian to kill his sleeping father. At the same time, Antonio admitted that their situation did not deny their freedom to choose. He said:

We all were sea-swallow'd, though some cast again,
And by that destiny to perform an act
Whereof what's past is prologue, what to come
In yours and my discharge.¹

Indeed, the past serves only as a selective memory. It sets the

GLEN M. LEONARD {gml6@sisna.com} is the former director of the LDS Church History Museum, Salt Lake City. Five published books and numerous articles reflect his interests in the history of Utah, the Mormons, and the West. He presented an early version of this presidential address on June 9, 2013, at the Mormon History Association's forty-eighth conference in Layton, Utah, the first MHA conference held in northern Utah's historic Davis County. A life-long resident of the county, the author lives on Leonard Lane, named for an 1850 ancestral settler.

¹*The Tempest*, II.1.251–54, in Tucker Brooke, John William Cunliffe,

stage upon which choices can be made and acted out.² For the historian nothing is inevitable; nor do events happen by chance. Among the multiplicity of causes that help explain the ongoing story of human life and events are the choices people make.³

Brigham Young faced many options as he orchestrated the Mormon settlement of the Great Basin. Just as the fictional Antonio and Sebastian reflected on the meaning of previous experiences before deciding how to move forward, Young's past was prologue to an amazing thirty years during which an estimated four hundred communities sprouted in the region's mountain valleys. His accomplishments in gathering people into sacred cities and villages took place in the context of his times. In other words, he built upon his own past experiences and those of others. For Young, "what is past was prologue."⁴

CITIES OF ZION

Joseph Smith's teachings on the gathering of a modern Israel and his actions as city planner left a definite impression in the mind and soul of his close associate Brigham Young.⁵ Smith's invitation to members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints to unite in an urban temple city motivated many hundreds to relocate in designated places. Mobility was an expectation of faithful Latter-day

and Henry Noble MacCracken, eds., *Shakespeare's Principal Plays* (1914; rpr., New York: Century Co., 1924), 935.

²Elizabeth Maurer, "Symbolism of the National Archives and Records Administration Building," posted July 25, 2010, <http://www.examiner.com/article/symbolism-of-the-national-archives-and-records-administration-building>; "What's past is prologue," http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/What%27s_past_is_prologue (accessed October 6, 2013).

³Edward Hallett Carr, *What Is History?* (1961; New York: Vintage Books edition, 1967), 113–21.

⁴Dale F. Beecher, "Colonizer of the West," in *Lion of the Lord: Essays on the Life and Service of Brigham Young*, edited by Susan Easton Black and Larry C. Porter (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1995), 172.

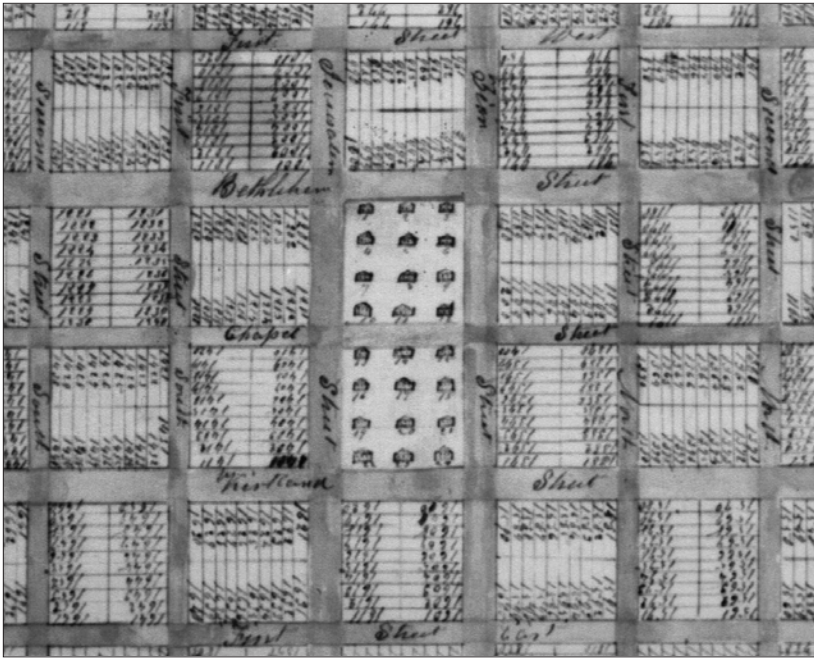
⁵For an overview of their close relationship, see Ronald K. Esplin, "Discipleship: Brigham Young and Joseph Smith," in *Joseph Smith: The Prophet, The Man*, edited by Susan Easton Black and Charles D. Tate Jr. (Provo, Utah: BYU Religious Studies Center, 1993), 241–69.

Saints. Those who accepted the invitation to leave their homes and farms hoped not only to better themselves economically—a common practice in early America—but to find salvation in a religious community. Young was one of many who observed, participated in, and learned from Smith's efforts to create a Zion people ("the pure in heart") in clustered communities.

The first Mormon prophet's plan for an ideal City of Zion in Jackson County, Missouri, set the standard for other gathering places. Like most other city planners of his times, Smith designed a grand urban center with streets that intersected at right angles. He set aside squares (or blocks) for public use. For his other planned cities, known as stakes, Smith adjusted the details. They differed from the parent city in the size of blocks, width of streets, and arrangement of building lots. The intent for each "stake to Zion" or "stake of Zion" was to expand settlement options. "For Zion must increase in beauty, and in holiness," an 1832 revelation declared; "her borders must be enlarged; her stakes must be strengthened" (D&C 82:14). Smith drew from his own knowledge and that of others for his Zion cities; and he sought heaven's guidance. His city plans were a mix of ideas. As geographer Richard Jackson noted, all of the Mormon plats contained elements "found in communities in the trans-Appalachian west." New England townspeople worked together to build meetinghouses in their centrally located town squares. So did the Latter-day Saints; but Smith called them temples, the House of the Lord. External factors limited his success. Temples in only two stakes—Kirtland, Ohio, and Nauvoo, Illinois—were completed. Kirtland's temple functioned as a meetinghouse, a school house, a Church office building, and more. The spiritual "endowment from on high" introduced in Kirtland was the beginning of an expanded sacred ritual fully realized in Nauvoo. Smith selected three other temple sites: in Independence, Far West, and Adam-ondi-Ahman, all of them in Missouri. Zion cities were places sacred to the Latter-day Saints.⁶

The Mormon prophet planned his Zion cities for everyone. He wanted farmers and their families to live inside the city alongside me-

⁶John W. Reps, *Cities of the American West: A History of Frontier Urban Planning* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1979), 3; Richard H. Jackson, "The Mormon Village: Genesis and Antecedents of the City of Zion Plan," *BYU Studies* 17, no. 2 (Winter 1977): 222–28. For the last of these temple sites, see Alexander L. Baugh, "Adam-ondi-Ahman," *Doctrine and*



On the revised version of Joseph Smith's Plat of the City of Zion, mapmaker Frederick G. Williams included street names to honor four cities sacred to Latter-day Saints: Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Zion, and Kirtland. MS 2567 2 (detail). Courtesy LDS Church History Library.

chanics and those with other occupations. Everyone would build houses on city lots along with vegetable gardens, fruit trees, and sheds. Farm fields would be kept outside city boundaries, close enough to visit daily. Barns and livestock were there as well. The meetinghouse/temple, the central symbol of the city, would offer spiritual and social nurturing. It would encourage cooperative efforts and unity. It would promise inner peace.⁷

Smith's yearning for a close social and religious fellowship with family and friends within an urban environment echoed the model of

Covenants Reference Companion, edited by Dennis L. Largey, Larry E. Dahl, Susan Easton Black, Scott C. Esplin, Craig J. Ostler, Charles D. Tate, and Robert J. Woodford (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2012), 9.

⁷Joseph Smith, Plat of the City of Zion, June 1833, text and drawing by

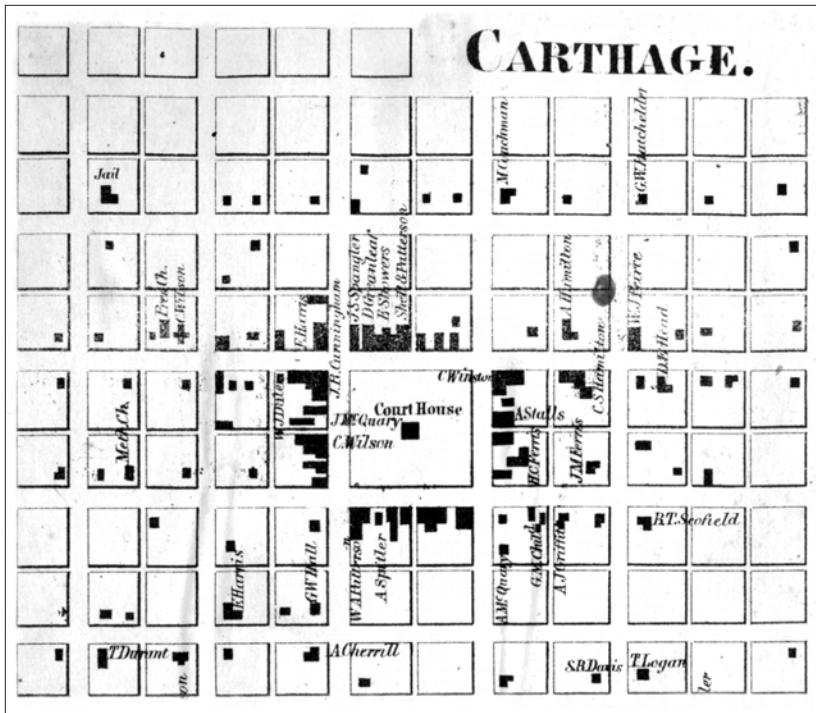
New England's earliest migrants. Latter-day Saint missionaries were sent out to invite the world to abandon Babylon (both spiritually through repentance and physically through migration) and gather to the land of Zion (D&C 133:1–20). The North Atlantic colonists were clustering in their own places of refuge in response to a period of social turmoil in the urban England that they had left behind. According to Sylvia Doughty Fries, a historian of the urban idea in the American colonies, the settlers saw the city as an instrument for reconstructing a society turned bad. They sought for a life defined by harmony and stability. For them the countryside was “a place where traditional social structures and moral control could be best maintained.” They designed their cities “to preserve values and a way of life ultimately rural in character.” In contrast, Fries said, for a rising gentry class in Tidewater Virginia “urban living was particularly a cultural and social style. Their ‘urbanity’ was cultivated on the plantation . . . and only then manifest at Williamsburg.” Meanwhile, “the New England township . . . was designed as an agricultural settlement containing homelots centered in the nucleated village and surrounded by apportionments in arable and meadow lands, and common fields.” The town was configured as a square with a meetinghouse at the center.⁸

In many respects, Joseph Smith's plan for Mormon cities was a greatly enlarged version of New England's rural towns. Zion offered a sense of urban belonging as it reinforced agrarian values. Richard Bushman described Smith's grand design as “an expandable network of urban places, with Zion first among many.” “Joseph thought of the Church as an assemblage of cities, rather than a scattering of parishes and congregations.”⁹ The Zion cities would rise on what one of Smith's revelations termed “holy and consecrated land.” When the center place was filled, Smith anticipated the creation of other Zion

Frederick G. Williams, MS 2568, fd. 1, LDS Church History Library; see also D&C 59:1–4, 23. All D&C quotations are from the 1981 LDS edition.

⁸Sylvia Doughty Fries, *The Urban Idea in Colonial America* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1977), xvi–xvii, 48–49. By the early decades of the 1800s, the string-town model, where “churches, stores, and taverns were often strung along the roads,” prevailed over New England's “compact agricultural villages of the seventeenth-century.” See Jack Larkin, *The Reshaping of Everyday Life, 1790–1840* (1988; New York: Harper Perennial Library edition, 1989), 7.

⁹Richard Lyman Bushman, *Joseph Smith: Rough Stone Rolling* (New



Many New England villages built a church in the central square, but other towns used the block for a park or civic building. Carthage, Illinois, for example, placed the county courthouse in the square and surrounded it with businesses. J. W. Holmes and E. G. Arnold, *Map of Hancock County* ([Chicago]: Holmes & Arnold, 1859), (detail). 972.7343 M297h 1859. Courtesy LDS Church History Library.

cities, or stakes (D&C 65:5–6; 101:21–22; 109:39), until the earth was filled with righteous people qualified to welcome the millennial king-

York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2005), 219–22. The most useful analyses are Richard Lyman Bushman, “Making Space for the Mormons,” in Bushman, *Believing History: Latter-day Saint Essays*, edited by Reid L. Neilson and Jed Woodworth (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004), 173–98; and Benjamin E. Park, “To Fill Up the World: Joseph Smith as Urban Planner,” *Mormon Historical Studies* 14, no. 1 (Spring 2013): 1–27.

dom of heaven.¹⁰

The City of Zion remained an unrealized potential during the Prophet's lifetime. In the Nauvoo years, Smith created several stakes, or large-scale ecclesiastical units, but abandoned most of them to emphasize migration to Nauvoo. He defined the new headquarters city as "a cornerstone of Zion" (D&C 124:2). Nauvoo came closest to achieving his goal of spiritual urbanity. The "City Beautiful" blossomed as a headquarters hub to surrounding villages where congregations known as branches nurtured members. Dozens of other branches existed throughout the United States and in the British Isles.¹¹ These scattered villages were nascent stakes; but with the emphasis on Nauvoo, none of them achieved their potential during Smith's lifetime. Brigham Young adopted the settlement model of the hub and spokes as his own. It became his model for Mormonism in the American West. Young also carried west Smith's biblical vision of a promised land consecrated to the Lord's purposes. The City of Zion—the New Jerusalem—and its stakes were to be places of peace, places of spiritual and temporal refuge from the worldly cities of Babylon.¹²

In April 1844, only weeks before his death, Smith announced

¹⁰Park, "To Fill Up the World," 14 and 25 note 23. Far West as "a holy and consecrated land" is noted in D&C 115:5–8. Righteousness is set as a qualification for dwelling in promised lands and Zion cities in 1 Chron. 28:8; Ps. 37:29; Isa. 57:13; Matt. 5:5, 19:29; Acts 26:18; Rom. 4:13; 1 Ne. 17:38; 2 Ne. 10:7–8; 3 Ne. 21:22–23; D&C 25:2, 45:64–67, 63:20.

¹¹Donald Q. Cannon, "Mormon Satellite Settlements in Hancock County, Illinois, and Lee County, Iowa," in *The Iowa Mormon Trail*, edited by Susan Easton Black and William G. Hartley (Orem, Utah: Helix Publishing, 1997), 21–34; Park, "To Fill Up the World," 6; see also Ps. 48:2.

¹²See D&C 45:64–67, and the Tenth Article of Faith. For the spiritual and temporal aspects of the gathering, see Park, "To Fill Up the World," esp. 19–23. Milton R. Hunter recognized the uses of hub cities and the role of farm-village systems in his 1940s textbook discussion of methods of land settlement and city planning in early Utah. See Hunter, *Utah: The Story of Her People, 1540–1947: A Centennial History of Utah*, 4th ed. (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1946), 338–39, 345–49. The primal study on the Mormon farm-village is Lowry Nelson, *The Mormon Village: A Pattern and Technique of Land Settlement* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1952). Nelson defined three basic patterns of land settlement (the isolated farmstead, the farm village, and the line village) and then examined three villages in

an expanded urban plan to the assembled conference. First, he enlarged the playing field: “The whole of North and South America is Zion,” he declared, and “the mountain of the Lord[']s House is in the Centre of North & South America.” When the Nauvoo Temple was finished, he said, the elders would receive ordinances for themselves and, as proxies, for their dead. Afterwards they would “go forth & accomplish the work & build up stakes in all North and South America.” Under this revised plan for Zion, Nauvoo would remain the center place for redeeming the dead. Empowered missionaries would go forth to canvass the nation, seek converts, create branches in the smaller towns in the United States, and organize stakes in the large cities.¹³

According to Thomas Bullock, Smith’s message to the elders was made in response to extensive conversations, including disagreements, about Zion’s location. Moreover, William Clayton said that the proclamation was “another rev[elation] in rel[ation] to economy in the Church,” that is, a revelation on Church administration.¹⁴ The Prophet’s new geography of the gathering kept two goals in balance. First, he needed a steady flow of converts moving into Nauvoo to provide a workforce to build the temple. Second, he would wait until the House of the Lord was realizing its ultimate purpose before allowing consecrated missionaries to respond to their sacred charge of filling the New World with stakes of Zion.¹⁵

The concept of a Zion that encompassed what we now call North America, South America, and a connecting third region, Central America, surfaced early in Mormon thought. According to

central Utah and three others in western Canada.

¹³Wilford Woodruff Journal, April 8, 1844, quoted in Andrew F. Ehat and Lyndon W. Cook, eds., *The Words of Joseph Smith: The Contemporary Accounts of the Nauvoo Discourses of the Prophet Joseph Smith* (Provo, Utah: BYU Religious Studies Center, 1980), 363–64; William Clayton Report, April 8, 1844, in *ibid.*, 362–63. In contrast, D&C 124:36 (October 27, 1838) anticipates a future with proxy baptisms “in Zion, and in her stakes, and in Jerusalem, those places . . . appointed for refuge.”

¹⁴The word *economy* is used often in nineteenth-century discourse to convey the sense of “mode of operation.” See *Merriam-Webster’s Collegiate Dictionary*, 11th ed., *s.v.* “economy,” 3a.

¹⁵Thomas Bullock Report, April 8, 1844, in Ehat and Cook, *Words of Joseph Smith*, 364; Clayton Report, April 8, 1844, in *ibid.*, 362.

Smith's September 1830 revelation, the City of Zion would be laid out at the far western boundary of the United States near displaced Indian tribes (D&C 28:9). The Saints expected to partner with these American Indians, or Lamanites, in building the millennial capital and its temples in Independence, Missouri (D&C 57:2-3). In 1832 William W. Phelps, who was "planted" in his inheritance in Zion as the Church printer (D&C 57:11), used Book of Mormon terminology to describe the Indian preserve between the Mississippi and the Rockies as the land of Joseph. He said that Independence was the midpoint of the Americas—halfway between the Gulf of St. Lawrence on the east and the Gulf of California on the west—and midway between Baffin Bay in the northern Atlantic and Cape Horn (an island headland between Chile and Antarctica). Writing nine years later, Parley P. Pratt added his own perspective. Pratt had served with the first missionaries sent to the western Indians. He anticipated that converted Gentiles would gather in the land eastward from the New Jerusalem, while the continent's Indians would claim their inheritance in the wilderness to the west and extending through South America. Both the faithful remnant of Joseph and the converted Gentiles, Pratt said, would "resort to the house of God, the Zion of the Holy One of Israel, to learn wisdom and to pay their devotions."¹⁶

It was these and similar comments about the geography of the land of Zion in the Americas that set the stage for Joseph Smith. His June 1844 revelation sacralized the continental Zion. Later presidents of the Church internationalized Zion with an emphasis on an early revelation that gave Zion a third meaning. Zion was not just a city and a place but the people as well: "Therefore, verily, thus saith the Lord, let Zion rejoice, for this is Zion—THE PURE IN HEART" (D&C 97:21).

Brigham Young applauded Smith's continental definition of the land of Zion. Not only did the revelation resolve the debate over Zion's location, but it opened the door to action. With two companions from the Twelve, Young headed toward Chicago. The threesome created a new stake at Ottawa in LaSalle County for a thriving congre-

¹⁶William W. Phelps, "The Far West," *The Evening and the Morning Star* 1 (October 1832): 71; Parley P. Pratt, "Present Condition and Prospects of the American Indians, or Lamanites," *Millennial Star* 2 (July 1841): 41-42. Also see William Smith, "Evidences of the Book of Mormon," *Messenger and Advocate* 3 (January 1837): 434; and Tenth Article of Faith.

gation of Norwegian Saints. Upon his return to Nauvoo, Young told a Seventies quorum to expect “a great many more stakes.” But Joseph Smith’s death at the hands of political and ecclesiastical opponents dampened Young’s immediate enthusiasm for expansion. In October 1844, he advised Apostle Lyman Wight to delay his mission to create a Mormon colony in Texas and chided James Emmett for ignoring counsel and moving forward in his colonizing assignment in western Iowa. Furthermore, Young and the Twelve postponed Joseph Smith’s plan to send high priests to build up stakes in major American cities. Instead, the Twelve reinstated the Prophet’s two-step plan. They applied all human and fiscal resources to the first priority: to complete the temple and administer its ordinances.¹⁷

Ultimately, Mormonism’s distinct geographical setting in the Great Basin gave Young a freer hand in applying Joseph Smith’s plan for city building. Smith worked in an active frontier, competing with other city planners and sometimes ignoring geographical limitations. At times Smith laid down his city plan over existing plats—most notably, in Independence, Missouri, and Kirtland, Ohio. Despite the invitation to cluster, many converts stayed put, their spiritual needs being met in Church-organized branches.¹⁸ In the arid West, Young’s only immediate competition in land ownership—aside from Miles Goodyear’s Fort Buenaventura on the Weber River—was from indigenous peoples. Young authorized the Salt Lake High Council to purchase Goodyear’s fort and an additional Mexican land grant of 210 square miles for \$1,950 in California gold. He responded to Indian claims by ignoring them. Instead, he moved ahead with a theoretically clean slate. It took Young five years to create anchor cities of various sizes in strategic locations from the Rockies to the Pacific. From many of those centrally created hub sites came self-directed homesteaders, but Church leaders moved quickly to organize the inde-

¹⁷Seventies, Records, Fourth Quorum, Minutes, October 30, 1844, LDS Church History Library; and for treatments of Wight and Emmett, see Davis Bitton, “Mormons in Texas,” *Arizona and the West* 2 (Spring 1969): 5–26; and William G. Hartley, *My Best for the Kingdom: History and Autobiography of John Lowe Butler, a Mormon Frontiersman* (Salt Lake City: Aspen Books, 1993), 135–77, 187–208.

¹⁸Park, “To Fill Up the World,” 8–9.

pendent settlers into satellite congregations.¹⁹

A MODERN MOSES

Before Brigham Young could colonize in the Far West, he had to move thousands of willing followers to a new promised land. (It was an effort in fulfillment of Joseph Smith's prophecy, Young would later say.²⁰) Smith had sent out missionaries to find and invite people to gather to his Zion cities. For Young the challenge was to convince existing members to follow him, their new Moses, into the wilderness.²¹ His advantage was that Nauvoo was no longer a viable location. External pressures required its abandonment along with nearby satellite communities and anyone else in scattered branches willing to join in the exodus.

Young approached his task of convincing others to relocate with some first-hand experience. Part of that learning came through the mobility of Young and his family of origin. Young's father, John, left Massachusetts to find better farmland first in New York, later in Vermont, and once again in New York. This last move came at a time when thousands of Vermonters were fleeing from their rocky land. At age sixteen, Brigham left his father's farm to find his own way as a craftsman, living first with nearby relatives in New York. After his marriage, he and Miriam moved north to Oswego, near Lake Ontario, and finally to Mendon, not far from Rochester, where Miriam died. In 1833 Young left Mendon and Methodism to find a new life with hundreds of other believers who joined the physical and spiritual gathering of a covenant people. Not long after relocating his family to Kirtland, Young learned what it was like to organize and move groups

¹⁹Richard C. Roberts and Richard W. Sadler, *A History of Weber County* (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society/Ogden, Utah: Weber County Commission, 1997), 41–43; George D. Smith, ed., *An Intimate Chronicle: The Journals of William Clayton* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, in association with Smith Research Associates, 1995), August 1, 1847, 375.

²⁰Ronald K. Esplin, "A Place Prepared": Joseph, Brigham and the Quest for Promised Refuge in the West," *Journal of Mormon History* 9 (1992): 88–94.

²¹Brigham Young and his associates saw Joseph Smith as their "Moses," that is, their prophet-leader and teacher. Esplin, "Discipleship," 249–52. Historians gave Brigham Young the "Moses" title. See, e.g., Leonard J. Arrington, *Brigham Young: American Moses* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1985).

of people. He joined Joseph Smith in the thousand-mile march of the paramilitary Zion's Camp. The march itself was an aborted effort to reclaim the Saints' property (their "inheritance") in the Zion villages they had planted in western Missouri. For Young and others, it was a time of testing and learning.²²

In Zion's Camp, Young observed how Smith managed a group of more than two hundred people in transit. Young used that system himself later on. He said, "I have travelled with Joseph a thousand miles. . . . I have watched him and observed every thing he said or did. . . . It has done me good . . . and this was the starting point of my knowing how to lead Israel." Smith arranged the militia's volunteers into groups of ten to fifteen men and told them to elect their own captains. Young was one of those captains. Both precedent and prescience were evident in Smith's action. The use of captains was common among America's voluntary militias. Captains of fifty and one hundred were also suggested in a revelation outlining the purposes of the march, a system that echoed ancient Israel's similarly tiered military structure with captains over tens, fifties, hundreds, and thousands.²³

Zion's Camp failed to reestablish the Mormons in their Jackson County location, and the refugees crossed the county line to the north, where they began an energetic program of community building, under Joseph Smith's personal direction beginning in early 1838. But by the fall of that same year, Missouri's governor ordered the Mormons to leave his state or face extermination. Young joined with others to form a removal committee chaired by fellow apostle John Taylor. Its purpose was to help economically stranded Latter-day Saints find refuge in Illinois. To provide resources for this daunting

²²Brigham Young, in Salt Lake High Council Record, 1869–72, quoted in Esplin, "Discipleship," 250; John G. Turner, *Brigham Young: Pioneer Prophet* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belnap Press of Harvard University Press, 2012), 7–10, 13, 19, 34–40.

²³Milton V. Backman Jr., *The Heavens Resound: A History of the Latter-day Saints in Ohio, 1830–1838* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1983): 175–82; D&C 103:21–40; and Deut. 1:15. Also compare Alma 2:13: "And there were appointed captains, and higher captains, and chief captains, according to their numbers" with D&C 136:3 (1847): "Let the companies be organized with captains of hundreds, captains of fifties, and captains of tens, with a president and his two counselors at their head, under the direction of the Twelve Apostles."

task, Young proposed that the Saints “covenant to stand by and assist one another” by making their surplus property available to the committee. He then went about collecting signatures. Young’s involvement demonstrated his commitment to the Christian value of bearing the burdens of others (Mosiah 18:8–10). This passion directly influenced his approach to subsequent migrations. Indeed, Young’s concern in caring for the needy was a central mission of the Church. The basic principle had been laid out almost a decade earlier in an 1831 revelation known as “the law of the Church,” which called upon members to consecrate their properties to sustain full-time leaders and to support the poor (D&C 42:30–39).²⁴

Young’s experiences during his first years in the Church stood as the preamble to his subsequent years of service. He was prepared to accept the responsibility of leadership when the mantle of authority fell upon his shoulders. “The Prophet Joseph has lade the foundation for a great work,” he told the mournful Saints in Nauvoo, “and we will build upon it.” Brigham’s way was not to act alone. He listened to the counsel of others and sought consensus in the deliberative process. During their mission to Great Britain in 1839–41, the Council of the Twelve Apostles had learned to work together.²⁵

It was only months after Joseph Smith’s death that Young launched discussions with the Twelve about the anticipated evacuation of Nauvoo. His first step was to lead his associates in examining options for a final destination. When opponents in Hancock County signaled their impatience, the Twelve set guidelines for organizing and provisioning emigrant companies. They selected leaders for each group and told them to recruit families for their wagon companies. The original plan for a spring 1846 departure from Nauvoo was a work

²⁴Far West Committee, Minutes, January 26, 29, February 1, 1839, LDS Church History Library; Joseph Smith et al., *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, edited by B. H. Roberts, 7 vols., 2d ed. rev. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1974 printing), 3:254; William G. Hartley, “Missouri’s 1838 Extermination Order and the Mormons’ Forced Removal to Illinois,” *Mormon Historical Studies* 2, no. 1 (2001): 5–27.

²⁵Young’s comments, in Scott G. Kenney, ed., *Wilford Woodruff’s Journal*, 9 vols. (Midvale, Utah: Signature Books, 1983–85), August 8, 1844, 2:436–37; James B. Allen, Ronald K. Esplin, and David J. Whittaker, *Men with a Mission, 1837–1841: The Quorum of the Twelve Apostles in the British Isles* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1992), 309–22, esp. 209–10, 318.



Dee Jay Bawden's sculpture Eyes Westward, located on the banks of the Mississippi River at Nauvoo (and with a duplicate at Heritage Park in Salt Lake City), celebrates Brigham Young's desire to fulfill Joseph Smith's program with Smith pointing the way west as Young holds a map labeled "Great Basin and Route to the Rockies." Photo by Glen M. Leonard.

in progress. When unanticipated events disrupted the intended orderly exodus, Young made necessary adjustments. Not wanting to be left behind when the Twelve planned an early departure, hundreds asked to join their company. Spokesman Heber C. Kimball, Young's relative and close associate on missions and in apostolic action, explained that, instead of multiple companies, there would be but one,

the Camp of Israel. Everyone would belong to one of several divisions of the camp. Some of the Saints ignored the planned spring departure and pushed into soggy Iowa. But most of the prepared wagon companies waited for the less exhausting period between March and June. They left behind nearly a thousand of Nauvoo's Latter-day Saints who lacked the means to outfit themselves. Even before invading vigilantes pushed these poverty-stricken Saints out of the shrinking city and across the Mississippi in September 1846, Young had enlisted a rescue party with wagons. They found the refugees, known as the "Poor Camp," stranded at Sugar Creek.²⁶

In January 1847, at Council Bluffs in western Iowa, Brigham Young's accumulated knowledge and experience once again informed his plan as he laid out "what is to come." Speaking in the language of scripture, the presiding apostle detailed governing principles—both sacred and profane—in his revelatory "The Word and Will of the Lord concerning the Camp of Israel in their journeyings to the West" (D&C 136:1). This revelation functioned as a modern Liahona,²⁷ a "compass" created to guide thousands from their launching sites on the Missouri River "to the place where the Lord shall locate a stake of Zion" (D&C 136:10).

Before the Twelve left Winter Quarters in the Pioneer Company in April 1847 after a grueling winter, they discussed possible routes and organized other emigrant companies to follow that year. They also activated the Nauvoo Covenant, a pledge made in the Nauvoo Temple that obligated the Saints to share their surplus resources to help widows and the poor move west.²⁸

A related arrangement addressed the needs of the wives and children of Mormon Battalion volunteers. When the battalion left in 1847

²⁶Glen M. Leonard, *Nauvoo: A Place of Peace, A People of Promise* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book/Provo, Utah: BYU Press, 2002), 34–35, 552–86, 672 note 46; Richard E. Bennett, *We'll Find the Place: The Mormon Exodus, 1846–1848* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1997), 45–47.

²⁷The Liahona is described as a compass that also provided daily written instructions to show the Book of Mormon prophet Lehi and his family "the course they should travel in the wilderness" (Alma 37:38) while en route to their promised land; it operated only when the migrating company obeyed the Lord's rules. See 1 Nephi 16:10, 26–27, 29; 18:28–29; and Alma 37:38–47.

²⁸Richard E. Bennett, *Mormons at the Missouri, 1846–1862*: "And

for California, all but a few of their wives stayed behind at Council Bluffs. Young assigned eighty-nine bishops to look after the needs of the women and their families. In addition, each bishop was to organize his ward as an emigrant company and include the battalion's families and the poor. The Twelve moved on, confident that their preparations would work. Soon afterward, large numbers of people requested early departures. Ad hoc organizers followed Nauvoo's solution and created a single Emigration Camp that included everyone able to leave. Young's original plan called for companies of about one hundred wagons. The consolidated Emigration Camp encompassed an estimated six hundred wagons and more than fifteen hundred people. For day-to-day management the camp was divided into four groups, or "hundreds," each one containing two "fifties," with captains over each subdivision. The use of hundreds and fifties, at least, fulfilled that part of the guidelines set forth in Young's "Word and Will of the Lord."²⁹

Brigham Young's success in moving thousands of people of many backgrounds, varied experience, and disparate fiscal standings from Illinois to Iowa and from there to the Salt Lake Valley deserves credit as an extraordinary feat. Richard Bennett's analysis of the situation led him to conclude that the migration succeeded because individuals were willing to work "together in a remarkably cohesive manner." Their cooperative spirit, he wrote, reflected both the necessity of group effort because of the regional wilderness through which they were passing and, especially, "the standards and practices of their new faith. . . . Quite simply," Bennett concluded, "no one reached the Missouri, or later the Great Basin, without the support and consent of the rest."³⁰

In succeeding years, the guidelines outlined in Young's migration missive proved useful when he sent colonizing companies to hand-picked locations outside the Salt Lake Valley. Both the plains-crossing immigrant companies and the western colonizing missions were organized under the direction of Church leaders. These orga-

Should We Die. . ." (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987), 14, 230–32.

²⁹Bennett, *We'll Find the Place*, 31–94, 252–53, 336–37; Eugene H. Perkins and Waldo C. Perkins, "A Room of Round Logs with a Dirt Roof: Ute Perkins' Stewardship to Look after Mormon Battalion Families," *Mormon Historical Studies* 1, no. 1 (Spring 2000): 61–72. (The eighty-nine bishops are listed in the appendix.)

³⁰Bennett, *Mormons at the Missouri*, 230.

nized groups were headed by apostles or other trusted leaders as captains of hundreds. Assistants helped as captains of tens and fifties. However, these companies differed in one important respect from subsequent colonizing enterprises. Like the shiploads of Saints sailing from Liverpool under the sponsorship of the Perpetual Emigrating Fund, most of the plains-crossing wagon companies after 1848 were made up of a random selection of participants. In contrast, Young's western colonizing companies were organized around men (with their families) who were experienced in the trades required to create a self-sustaining community.³¹

The need for a balance of skills in new Mormon settlements was recognized as early as 1832. After a long discussion on the topic, a conference in Jackson County sent a request to Joseph Smith asking "the Churches in the east to send to this land a blacksmith, two shoemakers, a carpenter one joiner and mason one wagon and plow maker one tanner and currier one millwright one hatter one chair & cabinet maker, one silver Smith and one wheelwright." These were the community's greatest needs. However, the letter acknowledged, "We do not expect that all the mechanics will be found & sent."³² In the 1840s, Young appraised the common needs of companies leaving from Winter Quarters. He instructed each fifty to recruit its own blacksmith and wagon-maker/repairer who would shoe horses and repair wagons on Saturday afternoons, a time devoted also to washing and baking. The company leaders Young sent out from Salt Lake City greatly expanded that list to meet the needs of entire new communities. For example, the 1861 Cotton Mission recruited a broader range of specialists than most. Historian Juanita Brooks compiled a list of missionaries representing forty-eight different talents and skills. Colonizing companies did not just seek diversity but targeted needs, the fruit of learning from the unprepared emigrant companies. Planning included careful enu-

³¹See D&C 136:12–16; and Leonard J. Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom: An Economic History of the Latter-day Saints, 1830–1900* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1958), 84–90.

³²Minutes, General Conference, Kaw Township, Jackson County, Mo., January 23, 1832, copied into Oliver Cowdery (Independence, Mo.), Letter to Joseph Smith, January 28, 1832, in *Far West Record: Minutes of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1830–1844*, edited by Donald Q. Cannon and Lyndon W. Cook (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1983), 233, 237–38, original in Joseph Smith Collection, LDS Church History Library.

merations of wagons, livestock, provisions, seed grain, tools, implements, and arms needed for survival in isolated frontiers where almost all of the skills they would need must come with them.³³

AN INHERITANCE IN ZION

Brigham Young's accomplishments were not limited to organizing migrants and colonists and moving them from point to point. He came to also know the means his predecessor used to satisfy the promise of an inheritance in designated Zion cities. Joseph Smith's initial method, outlined in the law of consecration and stewardship revealed in February 1831 in Kirtland set the precedent for distributing land in western Missouri in the 1830s. Missouri's bishop Edward Partridge managed real estate sales in Jackson County, "the land of Zion." Partridge's approach was consistent with Smith's half-dozen revelations, correcting their misreading by some converts who thought that the Lord had *given* them their promised land. The revelations reminded them, instead, that inheritances in Zion were to be *purchased*. Settlers who bought their own land and signed a consecration deed, donating it all to the Church, received in return property sufficient to support their families. In some instances, they leased the parcel from the bishop through a stewardship agreement, also known as a lease of inheritance. From the surpluses that Partridge retained and other land purchased with consecrated funds, he had considerable land that he made available for sale. In turn, the gathering Saints were encouraged to buy their landed inheritance in Zion's center place from him.³⁴

After Missourians forced the Mormons from Jackson County in 1831 and from northwestern Missouri in the winter of 1838–39, Jo-

³³George A. Smith, *The Rise, Progress and Travels of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Being a Series of Answers to Questions. . .*, 2d ed. (Salt Lake City: Printed at the Deseret News Office, 1872), 18, <http://archive.org/stream/riseprogressstrav00smit#page/n9/mode/2up> (accessed March 17, 2013); Brooks, quoted in Richard D. Poll, Thomas G. Alexander, Eugene E. Campbell, and David E. Miller, eds., *Utah's History* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1978), 135. For the 1850 George A. Smith company's enumeration of needs, see Levi Edgar Young, *The Founding of Utah* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1923), 180–81.

³⁴The law was introduced and explained in D&C 42:30–39, 70–73; 51:2–19; 58:35–37. Purchasing directives are in D&C 45:64–67; 48:4–6;

seph Smith set aside the program of stewardship. In western Illinois, he and selected Church officers purchased property from early settlers and absentee speculators which he offered for sale to incoming settlers. But the pace of sales failed to meet the needs for mortgage payments. Many prospective buyers found more attractive parcels in plats opened by enterprising neighbors—early settlers who began subdividing their own land. The mortgage debt and the land business itself weighed heavily on the Prophet. In 1841, once Young and other apostles returned from their mission to the British Isles, Joseph shifted the responsibility for selling land to them. The trust they had built with English converts was a strong motive that encouraged these hopeful Saints to quickly buy Church property and establish homes. One consequence was a British neighborhood in Nauvoo's northern lots. In 1846 with forced evacuation looming, Nauvoo's homeowners sold their improved property, almost invariably at a loss, and followed the Twelve toward a new gathering place. For many it was their second financial setback and their second, third, or even fourth relocation as Latter-day Saints.³⁵

Young faced a different environment when he launched the process of building Zion cities in a foreign country. In 1847 the Great Basin was part of independent Mexico's department of Upper California. There were no Spanish missions among the Great Basin Indians, but a Spanish exploring expedition from Santa Fe had considered the option after Fray Francisco Atanasio Dominguez and his party visited the site of future Provo, Utah, in September 1776. The party's record keeper, Fray Francisco Silvestre Vélez de Escalante, a priest serving among the Zuni of the Southwest, sought an opportunity to Christianize the "Yuta" residents. While meeting with the tribe's chief leaders, the two padres offered to return, teach them about Christianity, and also train them in farming and raising livestock. According to this

57:4–7; 58:49; 63:29; 101:70; 105:27–30. For an example of a lease, see Edward Partridge, Deed of stewardship executed October 12, 1832, between Partridge and Joseph Knight Jr., MS 55681s 1986, LDS Church History Library. Thomas Bullock, clerk at the Historian's Office, made a copy in 1862 (MS 286, fd. 4).

³⁵David E. Miller and Della S. Miller, *Nauvoo: The City of Joseph* (Salt Lake City: Peregrine Smith, 1974), 29–33; Robert Bruce Flanders, *Nauvoo: Kingdom on the Mississippi* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1965), 119–23.

account, the Indian leaders invited the missionaries to return and “offered all their land to the Spaniards for them to build their homes wherever they pleased.” The padres returned to Monterey, the projected return preempted by subsequent commitments.³⁶

When Brigham Young arrived in the Valley of the Great Salt Lake, he told the 1847 pioneers that, unlike Church leaders in Missouri and Illinois, he had no land to buy, no land to sell—and neither did they. The Shoshones who visited from the north told William Clayton that they would sell their claim to the valley, but Young demurred: “If we were to buy it of them the Utahs would want pay for it too.” He acknowledged that Utes occupied the country around Utah Lake but dismissed as transient the tribally intermarried bands in the Salt Lake Valley. His position was: “The land belongs to our Father in heaven and we calculate to plow and plant it.” Implementing City of Zion concepts, Young’s surveyors laid out city lots and adjacent farm sites. In time, Young distributed the land by lot to the settlers—the Mosaic way of doing it, he said—with no exchange of goods or money (Num. 33:54).³⁷

Like the Great Basin, Israel’s Promised Land was occupied by others. To secure the place that Jehovah promised Abraham and his descendants, Moses placed captains of thousands and captains of hundreds over the Israelites commissioned to destroy the Midianites (Num. 31:1–6, 14, 48, 54.) Brigham Young chose to feed the Great Basin’s Lamanite remnant, and—like the Spanish fathers—sought opportunities to enhance their agrarian skills and convert them to Christianity. Jim Bridger advised Young to avoid the Indians in future Utah County; but Young’s decision to ignore Indian claims to Utah Valley

³⁶Ted J. Warner, ed., *The Dominguez-Escalante Journal: Their Expedition through Colorado, Utah, Arizona, and New Mexico in 1776*, translated by Fray Angelico Chavez (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1995), September 23–24, 1776, vii–viii, 66–67.

³⁷Ronald O. Barney, *The Mormon Vanguard Brigade of 1847: The Journal of Norton Jacobs* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 2005), July 28, 1847, 227; George D. Smith, *An Intimate Chronicle*, August 1, 1847, 375; Brigham Young, Letter to Orson Hyde, George A. Smith, and Ezra T. Benson, and the Saints Scattered Abroad, in Pottawatamie [sic] County, and Neighborhoods, October 9, 1848, in James R. Clark, comp., *Messages of the First Presidency of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 6 vols. (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1965–75), 1:343.

eventually created tensions that delayed the Mormon settlement process. The same difficulties arose when he dispatched colonizing parties to other valleys heavily populated by Ute, Shoshone, and Paiute tribes. In some areas the intrusion led to armed confrontations.³⁸

BRIGHAM YOUNG THE COLONIZER

Mormonism's cautious southern outreach began in March 1849, when the First Presidency (Young, Kimball, and Willard Richards) dispatched around thirty men to the Utah Valley to fish and farm. That same fall, scouts selected a site in Sanpitch (now San Pete) Valley. By late November, fifty pioneer families reached what became Manti. Parley P. Pratt's southern exploring expedition during the winter of 1849–50 identified a third settlement site in the Little Salt Lake Valley. In 1850 George A. Smith led the Iron Mission colonists to that area where they founded Parowan.³⁹

Young's colonizing program continued in other areas within and beyond the initial corridor. According to one account, "By 1855, some twenty-seven separate communities had been founded along the Inner Cordon route." These gathering places reached from Salt Lake City to San Diego. The number of organized—and self-directed—settlements in all parts of Mormon country had reached nearly a hundred a decade after Mormon arrival. This record led historians to crown Young as "The Colonizer." Most of the scholars lauded his accomplishments in the context of western American history. A few compared Young to a broader list of America colonizers. Some found in Puritan polity a past that was prologue to Mormonism's cooperative community life.⁴⁰

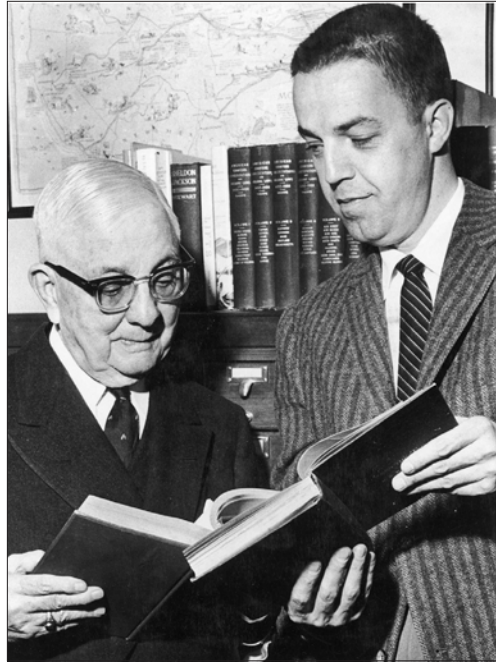
Unfortunately this interpretive framework led some to overstate

³⁸Bridger, quoted in Will Bagley, ed., *Pioneer Camp of the Saints: The 1846 and 1847 Mormon Trail Journals of Thomas Bullock* (Spokane, Wash., Arthur R. Clark, 1997), June 28, 1847, 210, 210 note 17, 212, and 212 note 30; and George D. Smith, *An Intimate Chronicle*, 352.

³⁹Andrew Love Neff, *History of Utah, 1847 to 1869* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1940), 149–51, 155–59; Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom*, 42–43, 84–85.

⁴⁰Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom*, 84–88; compare Milton R. Hunter, *Brigham Young the Colonizer* (Salt Lake City: Salt Lake City, 1940), 361–66; and Hunter, *Utah: The Story of Her People*, 222–29. Also see Herbert E.

Mormon historian Levi Edgar Young (left), author of an influential Utah history textbook, examines donated books with librarian John James Jr. at the Utah State Historical Society in 1959. Photo #1487. Used by permission, Utah State Historical Society. All rights reserved.



Young's role as colonizer. The overuse of superlatives painted a picture that ignored the complexity of the colonizing effort. Such enthusiastic praise for Utah's colonizer was not unique. Other American historians and biographers also made heroes of their subjects. These authors had adopted a controversial perspective promoted by historian Thomas Carlyle. For Carlyle, history's essence was to be found in the story of individuals, especially of great men—heroes.⁴¹

The heroic treatment of Young appeared in Utah histories as early as 1883 in a periodical issued in Salt Lake City by British convert Edward W. Tullidge. He declared: "That magnificent system of Mormon colonization which Brigham Young so wonderfully represented in his life and character [was molded by him]; for he was perhaps the greatest colonizer that the world has ever seen." This celebratory approach was not evident in western historian Hubert Howe Bancroft's

Bolton, "The Mormons in the Opening of the Great West," *Utah Genealogical and Historical Magazine* 44 (July 1926): 64.

⁴¹Allen Nevins, *The Gateway to History* (1938; rev. ed., New York: Anchor Books, Doubleday & Company, 1962), 39, 50–51, 323.



Western American historian Herbert E. Bolton, chair of the History Department at the University of California, Berkeley, and his student Mormon historian Milton R. Hunter ranked Brigham Young high on the list of American colonizers. Drawing by Peter Van Vallienburgh, 1927. Photo #11720. Used by permission, Utah State Historical Society. All rights reserved.

History of Utah published in 1889. It was later historians of Utah and the West who adopted Tullidge's approach as part of their settlement stories.⁴²

In the 1920s authors uniformly celebrated Young's contribution as colonizer. The common approach was to frame their history by crediting Young for every detail. Levi Edgar Young, a professor in the University of Utah's History Department, emphasized Young's centrally organized colonizing program in 1923: "Almost every valley of what is now Utah was settled by families picked by Brigham Young for that task. . . . Little was left to chance. . . . Probably no less rigorous policy would have succeeded." Herbert E. Bolton, a historian of the American West, shared this view. He compared Brigham Young with

⁴²Tullidge's *Quarterly Magazine* (Salt Lake City: Star Printing Co., 1883), 3:233; Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of Utah, 1540-1886* (San Francisco: The History Company, 1889); and see Ronald W. Walker, "The Challenge of Mormon Biography," in Walker, David J. Whittaker, and James B. Allen, eds., *Mormon History* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2001), 112-13, 119.

four other city planners and concluded in 1926, "Few if any other examples in Anglo-American history can be found of a man who so thoroughly dominated a great colonization movement as Brigham Young dominated the founding of Utah."⁴³

This "great man" approach created the impression that Young centrally governed all colonizing efforts in Utah with the parallel inference that independent efforts were either negligible or nonexistent. Ephraim E. Ericksen, a professor of philosophy at the University of Utah, was an early proponent of that interpretive conclusion. In his 1922 evaluation of Mormon group life, Ericksen wrote, "The country was settled by colonizing communities rather than by individuals going out by themselves."⁴⁴

The emphasis on centrally directed Mormon colonizing continued in mid-twentieth century accounts. Mormon historian Milton R. Hunter popularized the heroic theme in two widely distributed books yet maintained a realistic assessment of the process. In *Brigham Young the Colonizer*, a product of his doctoral dissertation, Hunter endorsed Tullidge's comments. He fashioned his own assessment after Bolton's, perhaps because of suggestions offered by the professor himself as chair of Hunter's dissertation committee. Hunter concluded, "A careful study and comparison of the colonizing activities of various races and peoples throughout history reveals the fact that Brigham Young as a colonizer has no superior." Even though Hunter introduced the "Great American Colonizer" as one involved in every detail of the colonizing enterprise, his grass-roots stories about the settlements portray a Young more randomly involved. At times, Hunter acknowledged, Young selected the colonists personally; at other times he delegated the task to company leaders. Hunter's public school

⁴³Levi Edgar Young, *The Founding of Utah*, 176; Bolton, "The Mormons," 64, quoted in Hunter, *Brigham Young the Colonizer*, 8. Bolton compared Brigham Young with George Calvert (Newfoundland), William Penn (Pennsylvania), James Oglethorpe (Georgia), and Stephen F. Austin (Texas). Also see LeRoy R. Hafen, W. Eugene Hollon, and Carl Coke Rister, *Western America: The Exploration, Settlement, and Development of the Region beyond the Mississippi*, 3rd ed. (1941; Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1970), 254.

⁴⁴Ephraim Edward Ericksen, *The Psychological and Ethical Aspects of Mormon Group Life* (1922; rpt., Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1975), 41–42; emphasis mine.

text, *Utah in Her Western Setting*, clearly differentiates between Salt Lake City as the hub Zion City laid out by Young and the more casually developed “hub colonies.” Additionally, Hunter demonstrated awareness of New England patterns when he lauded the Mormon farm-village system as one “in which not only the religious needs were taken care of but the social and economic problems were discussed as well.”⁴⁵

Western historian Ray Allen Billington used Hunter’s book *Brigham Young the Colonizer* as a source when he assessed Young’s influence in settling the frontier. Billington also noted the work of sociologist Nels Anderson, whose classic study *Deseret Saints: The Mormon Frontier in Utah* offered a balanced narrative of Utah’s history up to the early 1940s. Like Anderson, Billington reflected the geographically focused approach of many chroniclers of the American West. He also accepted the model of central control. The settlement technique adopted by the Mormons, Billington noted, was “suitable to their unique situation. . . . [A] hostile desert environment could be conquered only by cooperative effort, rather than by the unplanned individual enterprise usual in pioneer communities.” Land was divided to meet individual needs, he added, irrigation ditches “were dug by joint labor,” and the religious community found happiness within a “benevolent theocracy” “without thought for personal gain.”⁴⁶

Billington and economic historian Leonard J. Arrington were contemporaries. Both served terms as president of the Western His-

⁴⁵Milton R. Hunter, *Brigham Young the Colonizer*, 3rd ed. (1940; Independence: Zion’s Printing and Publishing, 1945) 8, 16 (Young had “no superior” at 16); Milton R. Hunter, *Utah in Her Western Setting*, 4th ed. rev. (1943; Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1946), 343–65 (“farm-village system,” at 349). In a bibliographic note in a 1978 college-level Utah history textbook, Eugene E. Campbell described Hunter’s *Brigham Young the Colonizer* as “still the fundamental monograph on the subject” of colonization. See Campbell, “Early Colonization Patterns,” in Poll, Alexander, Campbell, and Miller, *Utah’s History*, 151. Campbell adopted Hunter’s approach, as did S. George Ellsworth, who outlined the directed settlement pattern in his text for junior high school students, *Utah’s Heritage* (Salt Lake City: Peregrine Smith, 1972), 179–81; cf. Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom*, 88–93.

⁴⁶Ray Allen Billington, *Westward Movement in the United States* (Princeton, N.J.: D. Van Nostrand, 1959), 17; sources listed at 187; Nels Anderson,

tory Association and shared a perspective on Mormon settlement that emphasized its cooperative nature. Like Ericksen before them, they differentiated between Utah's settlement process and that of other western pioneers by excluding spontaneous actions. Arrington's perspective introduced another concept into the mix, that of stewardship. First-generation Latter-day Saints understood this concept. They knew both New Testament and Book of Mormon parables of a master's relationship with his stewards. Joseph Smith's revelations used the term "stewardship" freely. For Smith, stewardship and the consecrated life were foundational concepts in the restoration movement. Arrington's conclusion was that creating Mormon colonies in the West under the "principles of group stewardship most clearly differentiated the Mormons from other frontiersmen." In contrast, he said, other contemporary settlements in the Far West were most commonly "the result of the spontaneous and independent movement of individuals."⁴⁷

The Mormons were not the first to rely upon religious values to overcome environmental challenges. Historian James Taylor's description of life in the early towns and villages along the Atlantic seaboard might just as well describe Brigham Young's Great Basin Kingdom. On the role of religion, Taylor wrote, "Puritan values helped the colonists prosper in a demanding land. In the process, they developed a culture that was both the most entrepreneurial and the most vociferously pious in Anglo-America."⁴⁸

The acquisition of land in seventeenth-century New England differed somewhat from the nineteenth-century American West, but

Desert Saints: The Mormon Frontier in Utah (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1942); Hunter, *Brigham Young the Colonizer*. Billington's summary of early New England life also reflected a traditional interpretation of Puritan life: a focus on faith rather than pecuniary profits, a community working together for common goals, and a focus on village life. Billington, *Westward Movement*, 16–17.

⁴⁷Leonard J. Arrington, "Early Mormon Communitarianism: The Law of Consecration and Stewardship," *Western Humanities Review* 7 (Autumn 1953): 341–69; Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom*, 88–89; see also 90–95. For stewardship in Smith's revelations, see D&C 42:32, 82:17; 104:13.

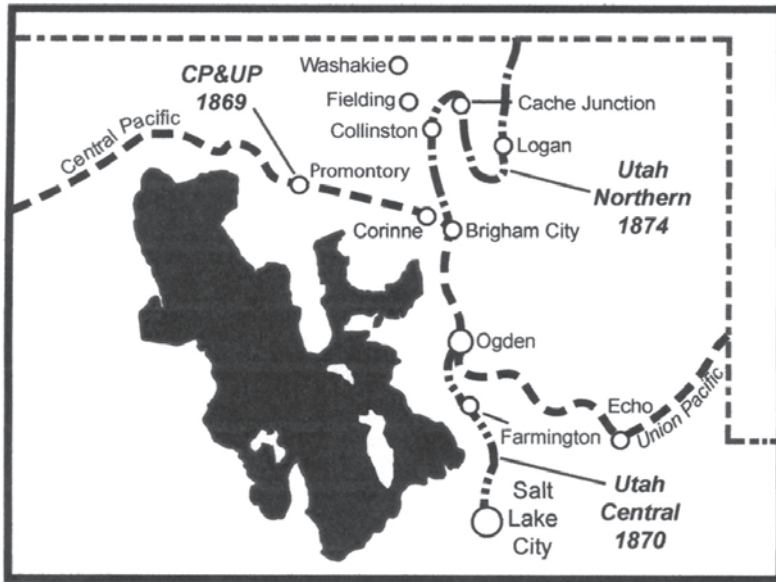
⁴⁸James Taylor, *American Colonies: The Settling of North America* (New York: Viking Penguin, 2001), 159.

the colonizing process reflected similarities. Like Utah's historians, Taylor discovered two contrasting settlement patterns. His comparison set the communal North against the individualist South. In the southern Chesapeake colonies, Taylor found that large tracts were granted to individuals. The grants, which naturally favored the wealthy, resulted in dispersed settlement. In contrast, "New English leaders favored relatively compact settlement in towns to concentrate people sufficiently for defense, to support public schools, to promote mutual supervision of morality, and, above all, to sustain a convenient and well-attended local church." The allotment of land in New England was handled by the corporate town government. Initially, each household received only ten to fifty acres. In other words, both Puritans and Mormons chose to colonize as communities and to live a self-sufficient life while others of their times sought wealth through independent effort and profitable cash crops.⁴⁹

Even so, spontaneity also claimed a place in Brigham Young's Deseret. The Great Basin was not settled exclusively through centrally directed colonizing projects. Numerous independent migrants pioneered in outlying areas without specific instructions about where to go and how to get there. Most of these self-directed efforts were spin-offs from established communities—spontaneous and independent efforts that led to scattered homes and, as a result, a first step toward the creation of spokes to the central hub. Typically, a family joined with extended kin or neighbors to seek out new locations on the fringes of an established settlement. "Acting independently" also describes the way many newly arrived Mormon immigrants found land. Some were met by relatives already in the Salt Lake Valley. Others asked friends or Church leaders for suggestions before selecting a dwelling place. Whether relocating to a better situation or finding a first inheritance, most self-directed families claimed land with the primary intention, not of platting a town, but of housing and feeding the family. Defining neighboring farmers as a community and creating governments to provide services came later.

In the four counties north of Salt Lake City where early settlements were launched, only Ogden, Brigham City, and Logan, emerged in Utah's historical narrative as products of directed settlement. Yet the creation of these three cities differed in subtle ways from the general pattern of the southern colonizing missions. Young sent ex-

⁴⁹Taylor, *American Colonies*, 169–71.



The first settlers moving north from Salt Lake City followed Indian trails until the Deseret Assembly and county governments designated roads in the early 1850s. Completion of the transcontinental railway in 1869 and connecting railway routes north from Salt Lake to Cache Valley in the 1870s greatly aided the movement of goods and people. Map by Donald J. Riding.

plorers south of Salt Lake to locate suitable town sites in generally less desirable environments and then dispatched a sizeable party to create a town.⁵⁰ Mormon scouts traveled as far north as Cache Valley in August 1847, but Young waited to dispatch colonizing companies in this region until after individual families had already paved the way.

In Weber County, casual homesteaders along the Weber River laid the foundation for what later became Ogden City. At Brigham Young's request, the Salt Lake Stake High Council oversaw the purchase of frontier trader Miles Goodyear's Fort Buenaventura along the Weber River. The acquisition also included more than two hundred square miles of surrounding land. The Mormons paid with Spanish doubloons—minted gold coins that were part of the pay for

⁵⁰Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom*, 42–43, 84–85.

the Mormon Battalion's sick detachment brought from California by James Brown in November 1847. Brown moved his family into Good-year's fort in March and renamed it Brown's Fort, or Brownsville. Before long, another ten families built homes along the Weber River to the north and south. Brown was named bishop over the Weber River Ward in 1849.⁵¹

In 1850 Church leaders located a site for a city plat on higher ground between the Weber and Ogden rivers, where settlers could draw irrigation water from both rivers. Young named this newly surveyed city "Ogden" after the Hudson Bay fur trader Peter Skene Ogden, who in 1828–29 visited the Great Salt Lake and explored the Weber River drainage system. Young delegated the task of governing to Lorin Farr, who provided ecclesiastical leadership as stake president, and, after the city's 1851 incorporation, as its first mayor.⁵²

A similar pattern unfolded in Box Elder County. The first three Mormon families to camp on Box Elder Creek, the later site of Brigham City, did so in 1850 and 1851. Within two years, the number of residents had risen to twenty-four. Answering Brigham Young's call in late 1853, Lorenzo Snow invited fifty families to join him in creating a self-sustaining community. Snow's stated mission was to reinforce and expand the independent settlement, which he renamed Brigham City. To meet his goal Snow selected skilled tradesmen, many of them Danish. A town plat was surveyed in 1855 after all of Snow's invited colonizers had arrived. A decade later, Snow launched what would become one of the most successful Mormon economic cooperative systems. Incorporation as a city followed in 1867.⁵³

Young sent herders to Cache Valley in the summer of 1855 to set up Elkhorn Ranch for Church and private cattle. Briant Stringham was called to lead the group, which included the three Garr brothers. They had tended Church livestock on Church Island (later Antelope Island) in the Great Salt Lake. However, heavy snows in the winter of

⁵¹Roberts and Sadler, *History of Weber County*, 38–42, 52, 55.

⁵²Ibid., 55–62; Bancroft, *History of Utah*, 307–8, 449–50, 608.

⁵³Kathleen Bradford, "Brigham City," in *Utah History Encyclopedia*, edited by Allan Kent Powell (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1994), 52; and a more detailed history in Frederick M. Huchel, *A History of Box Elder County* (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society/Brigham City: Box Elder County Commission, 1999), chap. 12.

1855–56 killed hundreds of cattle and marked the end of the ranch. But out of that failed attempt came independent settlers and the beginnings of the towns of Providence, Mendon, and Wellsville. Not until 1859 did Young sponsor the platting of Logan in Cache Valley and create a ward organization. Would-be residents employed the Mormon-Mosaic pattern and drew lots for land parcels. Incorporation as a city followed in 1866. Historian F. Ross Peterson concluded: “Cache County essentially grew because settlers wanted to go there; people did not have to be called and sent.”⁵⁴

That same independent initiative explains the historic beginnings of other towns and cities in Davis, Weber, Box Elder, and Cache counties—and in Morgan County, which, until 1862, was a part of Weber County.⁵⁵ Geographer Wayne L. Wahlquist’s extensive research led him to the conclusion that nondirected settlements founded by individuals “have not received as much attention by historians as directed settlements”—meaning those planned and supervised by Mormon Church officials—“but they were far more numerous. With few exceptions, for example, communities along the Wasatch Front were nondirected.”⁵⁶

A closer look at the self-directed settlement process on Utah’s northern frontier reveals a common pattern. From the perspective of a Mormon farmer, the goal was to find a place that offered good soil, ample water to irrigate crops, meadows for grazing, grass for winter hay, and building materials—a place that would allow them to feed and house their families. Sometimes the men personally explored for such sites, often with friends or relatives. Sometimes they heard about opportunities from others.

As one settler after another staked off a parcel of his own, the

⁵⁴F. Ross Peterson, *A History of Cache County* (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society/Logan, Utah: Cache County Council, 1997), 26–37.

⁵⁵Box Elder County was created in 1856 from northern Weber County. See “Brigham City History,” Box Elder County web page, <http://www.boxeldercounty.org/brigham-city-history.htm> (accessed January 14, 2013).

⁵⁶Wayne L. Wahlquist, “Mormon Expansion,” in *Atlas of Utah*, edited by Deon C. Greer, Klaus D. Gurgel, Wayne L. Wahlquist, and Howard A. Christy; photography by Gary P. Petersen (Ogden, Utah: Weber State College/Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1981), 92.

number of adjacent claims expanded. Surveyors created descriptions of the land that had been claimed for farming. Neighbors became acquainted with each other; and before long, the multiplying individual farmsteads were circumscribed to define an emerging sense of community. Each named settlement moved through several steps, from independent families to formalized communities and from there to incorporated towns or cities. Utah's pioneer generation followed this process to find and occupy their inheritance and to form towns and cities. It was repeated by their sons and daughters as young married couples sought a landed inheritance of their own—often near their hometown but more frequently elsewhere.

The cities and towns founded by Utah's first Mormon settlers served the same religious purposes proposed for Joseph Smith's City of Zion and its stakes. Yet their physical layout did not closely follow the Zion plat. Salt Lake City borrowed some ideas from Zion but other details from Nauvoo. The width of streets in Salt Lake City, Ogden, and Provo came close to Zion's; all other places chose more traditional widths. The sizes of blocks and lots in Utah towns varied, and barns and livestock were allowed on the urban lots. The greatest distinction that geographer Richard Jackson found between Mormon and non-Mormon towns in the West was that Mormon towns had wider streets, larger blocks, and larger lots. In addition, the side streets were generally of the same width as the main streets. "The combination of these factors," Jackson concluded, "made the original Mormon settlements distinctive in the West."⁵⁷

PRINCIPLES AND PRIORITIES

Brigham Young and the seven other apostles who arrived in the Salt Lake Valley with the Pioneer Company of 1847 defined the settlement process and the distribution of landed inheritances in an official proclamation. Over time, with the basic concepts in place, a two-pronged colonizing effort unfolded. One was centrally organized; the other, self-directed. The first gave Brigham Young a place in western American history as the entrepreneur who met his economic and political goals by sending out organized colonizers to create towns and cities in strategic locations. In the self-directed settlement process, town sites and governments came into being over a period of

⁵⁷Jackson, "The Mormon Village," 235–40.

a few years. Individuals and their families who made spontaneous and independent decisions on where to claim their landed inheritance focused first on personal needs—housing and feeding their families. Young and his associates adopted the same priorities for everyone who arrived in the valley that first year. Formal settlement waited.⁵⁸

In September 1847, the four wagon companies (the four “hundreds”) that made up that year’s massive emigrant company arrived at their new place of refuge, joining the Pioneer Company who had arrived in July. They found Young’s plan for distributing the land imbedded in a lengthy “Epistle of the Council of the Twelve Apostles, to the Saints in the Great Salt Lake City, Great Basin, North America,” that laid out rules about how, when, and where they would receive their inheritance, both city lots and nearby farmland. Young and his fellow apostles had shared essential portions of the plan verbally with Uncle John Smith and the high council, then, with Willard Richards as scribe, reduced it to writing in late August 1847. They carried the draft with them when they left the valley to return to Winter Quarters.⁵⁹

Twenty miles east of South Pass, the seven apostles returning with Brigham Young met John Taylor and Parley P. Pratt, who had been overseeing affairs at the Missouri and were leading the first components of the huge emigrant company. Pratt and Taylor had formed the composite company to replace separate groups put together by Young and his council before they headed west. Irritated by this independent action, Young chastised Pratt and Taylor for varying from the authorized pattern and organization. “When one or more of the quorum interfere with the work of the majority of the quorum,”

⁵⁸Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom*, 88–89; see also 90–95. The eight apostles in the Pioneer Company were Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, Willard Richards, Orson Pratt, Wilford Woodruff, George A. Smith, Amasa Lyman, and Ezra T. Benson. See Bagley, *Journals of Thomas Bullock*, April 11, 1847, 119.

⁵⁹Brigham Young, in behalf of the Council, “An Epistle of the Council of the Twelve Apostles . . .,” Brigham Young Office Files, September 9, 1847, Box 46, fd. 20, microfilm of holograph, CR 1234 1, reel 60 (draft copy, frames 78–96; fair copy, frames 97–102), LDS Church History Library. An explanation near the end of the manuscript suggests that the letter was written on or around August 22.

Young explained, “they burn their fingers & do wrong.”⁶⁰

Suitably rebuked, Taylor and Pratt joined in council on the trail with their fellow apostles on September 6 to select candidates for a high council in the infant city. Willard Richards had left space in the draft manuscript for the names. After the council confirmed “Uncle John” Smith as president and twelve men as council members, Thomas Bullock copied the completed manuscript. Two more readings and an addendum by Richards completed the epistle. Brigham Young signed the letter on September 9 and sent it back to Utah with the westward-bound companies.⁶¹

The epistle defined both a temporary theocratic government and a settlement policy for the Salt Lake Valley. It asked the high council to read the missive weekly in Sunday services, the repetition to substitute for the absent, living oracles—the Council of the Twelve. This will be “your guide until you see us or hear from us again,” it said. This weekly reminder would instruct those in the Pratt-Taylor companies how to understand their role in this new western Zion.⁶²

The Twelve’s instructions set two priorities for those workmen who had arrived in July and for everyone else who followed them west that year. A main concern was to provide housing for the immigrants. Although a four-square city plat had been surveyed in early August following Nauvoo’s plan, the plots would remain empty for a full year. Everyone was expected to live in temporary log or adobe shelters inside a protective enclosure. The construction of small, sloped-roof houses along all four sides of a ten-acre block began almost immediately. Workmen tripled the fort’s size before winter arrived with two ten-acre additions (one to the north, another to the south). A fourth extension (to the east) was nearing completion in the fall of 1848. Even then, some of the migrants spent their first winter in the valley

⁶⁰Susan Staker, ed., *Waiting for World’s End: The Diaries of Wilford Woodruff* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1993), September 4, 1847, 133.

⁶¹Young, “An Epistle of the Council of the Twelve Apostles, to the Saints in the Great Salt Lake City,” September 9, 1847; Bagley, *The Journals of Thomas Bullock*, September 6–7, 1847, 280–82.

⁶²Young, “An Epistle of the Council of the Twelve Apostles, to the Saints in the Great Salt Lake City,” September 9, 1847.

in tents or wagons.⁶³

To address the second major concern, food, the epistle advised able men to use all available time “cultivating the soil and raising an abundance of grain.” The crops would be needed to help sustain the thousands expected to arrive in the coming season. Furthermore, it noted, surplus crops could be sold at a profit to arriving Saints. The Twelve warned against expending energy to fence private city lots, build houses on them, or otherwise improve the property. To do so, it cautioned, would leave no time to “furnish your families with bread and supply the demands of the emigration.” The three connected ten-acre forts would serve as housing for the first year. As noted above, the Twelve had no intention of distributing land generally until their return a year later. Only after the harvest of 1848 would the pioneers of those first two years receive their “inheritance on the farming lands as well as in city lots.”⁶⁴

As with any directive, some ignored it. The only known house built on the city plat belonged to Lorenzo D. Young, Brigham’s brother, who complained to the high council that he could not put up with the close quarters in the fort. He built on one of Brigham’s lots laid out along South Temple Street. Several other families likewise did not wait. Technically, they observed the restrictions on the city plat and adjacent farmland by changing jurisdictions—moving into the rural countryside to build dugouts in future Holladay and to erect a flour mill on Mill Creek.⁶⁵

In Nauvoo the Church had purchased land from absentee owners and local settlers and resold it at prices adjusted to a buyer’s ability

⁶³Ibid.; north and south fort, Hunter, *Utah in Her Western Setting*, 178; wagon boxes and tents, Bancroft, *History of Utah*, 277. The rare mention of a fourth fort (“Three completed and the fourth was in process of building and nearly finished.”) is in Oliver Boardman Huntington, *Journals*, 1842–1900, September 20, 1848, 30–35, typescript, MS A858, Utah History Research Center, Salt Lake City.

⁶⁴Young, “An Epistle of the Council of the Twelve Apostles, to the Saints in the Great Salt Lake City,” September 9, 1847.

⁶⁵Journal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (chronological scrapbook of typed entries and newspaper clippings, 1830–present), October 24–25, 1847; Linda Sillitoe, *A History of Salt Lake County* (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society and Salt Lake County Commission, 1996), 35.

to pay. Circumstances differed in the newest stake of Zion—and in its future colonies. The Twelve said, “We have no land to sell to the Saints in the Great Basin, . . . and no one of you have any land to buy or sell more than ourselves; for the inheritance is of the Lord, and we are his servants, to see that everyone has his portion in due season.” The terms of distribution reflected a principle outlined in Missouri’s law of consecration (D&C 42:33–39). The Twelve’s decision on how to allocate farm land was: “You are entitled to as much as you can till or as you need for your support,” with the added provision that the recipient must “pay the surveyor for his services.” Once a recipient had received an inheritance, it was his responsibility to feed his family by the sweat of his brow. He was free to sell his land and its improvements if and when he wished.⁶⁶

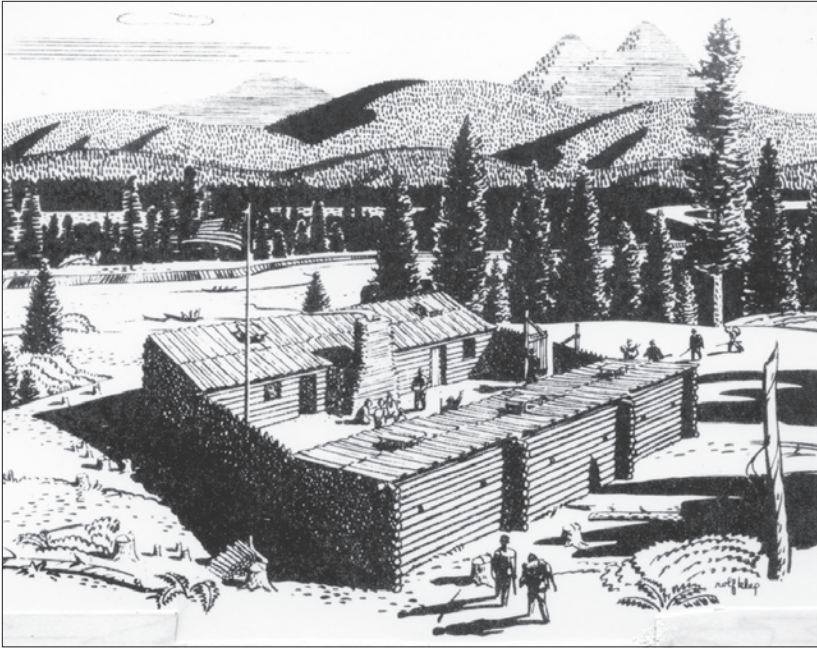
Neither Young nor his predecessor intended to create exclusionist cities. Unlike some religious leaders in early New England, they opened the door to all people of good will. Young and his colleagues made it clear that land would be available to anyone “who loves the principles of peace and good society, and will uphold wholesome laws.” Joseph Smith had promoted a similar standard in Nauvoo. In its conclusion, the apostolic letter reflected, “Your present location is designed . . . for a city of refuge, a place of rest; therefore see that ye pollute not your inheritance.”⁶⁷ The gathered Saints had heard similar promises and cautions in Missouri and again in Nauvoo. Those endeavors had ended in disappointment and loss. Yet, once again, an authoritative statement of purpose invited a renewal of hope.

As a third priority, the apostolic epistle, after designating the fort for shelter and community farms for food, outlined instructions to conserve the grasslands against overgrazing by the hundreds of cattle arriving with the emigrants. Surplus cattle were to be wintered in “contiguous valleys to the southwest and north” of the fort. The grassy pastures close to the fort and west toward the Great Salt Lake would be reserved for the use of fort residents.⁶⁸

⁶⁶Young, “An Epistle of the Council of the Twelve Apostles, to the Saints in the Great Salt Lake City,” September 9, 1847.

⁶⁷Ibid.

⁶⁸Ibid.

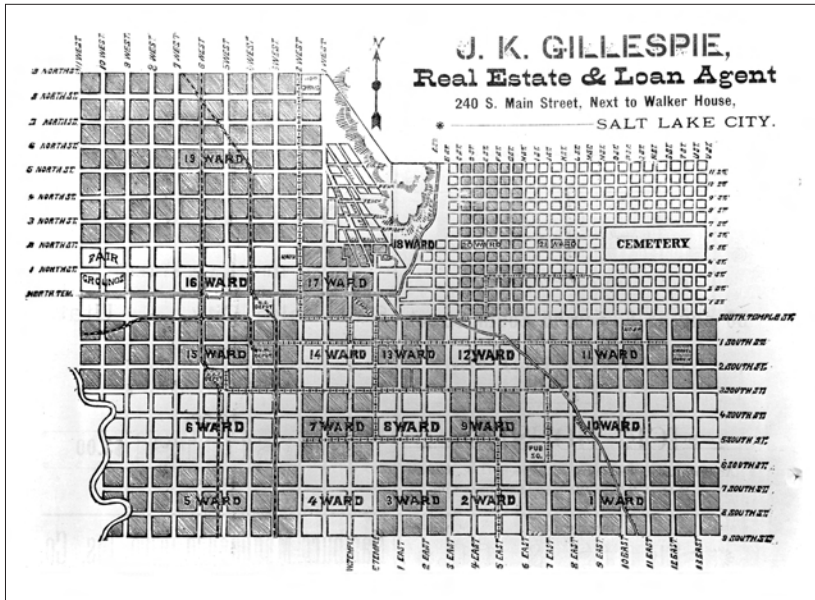


The sloped-roof dwellings seen here in Fort Clatsop, Astoria, built by the Meriwether Lewis and William Clark expedition in 1805, resemble the log and adobe houses whose back walls formed the Salt Lake Fort four decades later. Oregon Historical Society, #646.

THE SETTLEMENT PROCESS

Acting to implement the epistle's conservation program, the Salt Lake High Council authorized several of its own members to winter cattle on the grasslands that soon became defined as Davis County, stretching northward from the hot springs at Salt Lake City's northern border to the Weber River. The designated councilors were Daniel Spencer, Ira Eldredge, Thomas Grover, and Shadrach Roundy.

These were men who knew each other. Except for Grover, the men had crossed the plains together in an immigrant company headed by Spencer, with Eldredge and Perrigrine Sessions as captains of two divisions. Grover had come west with Young's Pioneer Company, stopped for a time to oversee the ferries at the Green River, and then continued his journey west. Roundy declined the assignment; but the three others recruited helpers, among them Hector Caleb Haight, a member of the emigrant division headed by Ses-



Eighteen ecclesiastical wards organized within the Salt Lake City plat in 1849 created a sense of community for Mormon neighborhoods in the urban headquarters city. Sidney W. Darke & Co., Salt Lake City Illustrated (Salt Lake City: [S.W. Darke & Co.,] 1887), unnumbered. 979.22 SA 3D, Salt Lake City Plat Plan P.3. Used by permission, Utah State Historical Society. All rights reserved.

sions. The men made private arrangements with immigrants, who agreed to pay according to the number of their cattle taken to the outlying pastures.⁶⁹

Councilmen Daniel Spencer and Ira Eldredge accompanied Haight in moving the livestock and organizing the arrangements in the Farmington area. Haight's oldest son, Horton, and Haight's brother, Isaac C. Haight, also joined in the effort. After a short time at the mouth of Farmington Canyon, the group relocated three miles to the northwest and set up their winter camp near a flowing spring and

⁶⁹Journal History, August 17, September 9, 22, 24, November 7, 9, 1847; Glen M. Leonard, "A History of Farmington, Utah, to 1890" (M.A. thesis, University of Utah, June 1966), 18–22.

meadows reaching toward the Great Salt Lake. They found temporary shelter in an abandoned dugout built by a fur trapper. When spring sent melted snow down a nearby gully, the men named it Herd Creek (later Haight Creek).⁷⁰

On September 27, Perrigrine Sessions, a thirty-four-year-old farmer from Maine, acting on his own, examined the land just beyond the hot springs on horseback. He selected a grazing site and, with the help of others, moved three hundred head of cattle to the area. Soon afterward, High Councilor Thomas Grover took a smaller herd into the Centerville area. He arrived there early in 1848 with two plural wives but gave up the herding business later that year after a disagreement with other settlers who soon arrived. Grover moved his family northward, camping on what was first known as Grover Creek (later Steed Creek) in central Farmington.⁷¹

The herders traveled back and forth during the winter to look after the needs of their families in the fort. As spring approached, Hector Haight decided to make herding a long-term business. Apparently, so did his brother, Isaac, who built himself a log home at the herd camp. The hard winter of 1848–49 forced them to return the immigrant cattle herd to Salt Lake City. When spring arrived, a discouraged Isaac Haight dismantled his house and moved it into Salt Lake City. Daniel Spencer and Ira Eldredge, the two high councilors who had partnered with the Haights, also left that spring to pursue other ventures. Hector Haight and his sons Horton and William continued wintering cattle in the lakeshore meadow for several more years. They established a farm and created a stopover with a blacksmith and grazing lands to serve emigrants headed for California. Haight had found

⁷⁰Isaac Haight, "Biographical Sketch and Diary," 47–49, 51, Utah State Historical Society; Daniel Spencer Company, in "Pioneer Companies Which Crossed the Plains, 1847–1868," *Deseret News 1976 Church Almanac* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1976), G8; "Brief History of Hector Caleb Haight, Pioneer of 1847," in Margaret Steed Hess, *My Farmington: A History of Farmington, Utah, 1847–1976* (Farmington, Utah: Helen Mar Miller Camp, Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1976), 55.

⁷¹Leslie T. Foy, *The City Bountiful: Utah's Second Settlement, From Pioneers to Present* (Bountiful, Utah: Horizon Publishers, 1975), 8, 9, 11–12, 46, 307, 312.

the place of his inheritance.⁷²

After one winter, Perregrine Sessions found it a nuisance to keep the grazing animals from wandering away. He returned the animals to their owners in the spring, and set about claiming his inheritance in Bountiful, plowing the soil and planting crops. After Sessions erected a log home for his family, he moved them out of the Salt Lake fort.⁷³

Historians and geographers of Utah's past have ranked each town or city in the order of settlement.⁷⁴ These chronological listings do not always agree. Usually, it depends on how the creator defined "settlement." Does the arrival of a few herders with cattle merit recognition as the founding of a settlement/town/city? If not, what does? The residents of each of Davis County's first four communities celebrate the arrival of the first Mormon herder as the founding event of their city. Generally the title of "founding father" goes to the one herder who stayed and established his family in the area. Other pioneers who arrived soon afterward are included in the list of founding families.⁷⁵ Similarly, the first families who arrived and stayed in Weber, Box Elder, and Cache counties to the north are celebrated as founders of the towns that gradually grew to maturity.

A closer look at the settlement stories on Utah's northern frontier reveals the reality that creating a city is not an event, but a process. That process unfolds through six stages. After five steps forward, a settlement is fully established. A sixth, post-settlement event is needed to mark the transition of the settlement from a theocratic government to an incorporated town or city. We will let Davis County's four

⁷²Haight, "Biographical Sketch and Diary," 47-49, 51; advertisement about Haight's "Blooming Grove" emigrant services, *Deseret News*, September 7, 1850, 8; Hess, *My Farmington*, 55.

⁷³Foy, *The City Bountiful*, 47.

⁷⁴The most complete list (1995) is Beecher, "Colonizer of the West," 180-207. For earlier lists, see Greer and others, *Atlas of Utah*, 91; Poll, Alexander, Campbell, and Miller, *Utah's History*, 684-85; and Hunter, *Brigham Young the Colonizer*, 361-67.

⁷⁵Carol Ivins Collett, *Kaysville: Our Town* ([Kaysville, Utah]: Kaysville City, 1976), 5-9; Hess, *My Farmington*, 2, 44, 55; Mary Ellen Smoot and Marilyn Sheriff, *The City In-Between: History of Centerville, Utah. . . .* (Centerville, Utah: Mary Ellen Smoot and Marilyn Sheriff, 1975), 5-6; Foy, *Bountiful*, 45-48. For other counties, see the histories cited in notes 51-54 above.

pioneer settlements illustrate the process: Bountiful, Centerville, Farmington, and Kaysville. Similar patterns apply equally well in other counties on Utah's northern frontier.⁷⁶

The first step in establishing a settlement is to inspect the area's potential. Brigham Young prepared the way by implementing the first step along the northern Wasatch Front. Soon after arrival he sent scouts south into Utah Valley and north as far as Cache Valley. All of them returned with favorable reports.⁷⁷ They found good soil, ample water, and abundant grasslands, but limited timber, which led many homebuilders to use sun-dried adobe bricks. These resources were the standard essentials for successful farming.⁷⁸ The *Deseret News* offered a similar list in 1855. The article listed "accessibility," "favorable climatic conditions" that allowed crops to mature, "fertility of soil," and "the presence of water and wood" as necessary components for settlement. Independent settlers who lacked access to the reports undertook their own exploring. When Joseph Lee Robinson wondered what lay beyond the hot springs north of Salt Lake City he "took a trip north some eight miles to see the country." Perrigrine Sessions also made an independent inspection before he headed north with cattle. Robinson spent the winter in the Bountiful area and then moved on; Sessions became a lifetime settler.⁷⁹

With suitability established, the second step forward occurred when the land was occupied for agricultural use. In northern Utah, the initial use was grazing on the native grasses, which were plentiful in areas where springs and streams tempered the dryness of the climate. Thomas Bullock described the grasses he saw upon entering the valley on afternoon of July 22, 1847: "We descended a gentle sloping table land to a lower level where the Soil & grass improve in ap-

⁷⁶For an expanded discussion of the town-building process in Davis County, see Glen M. Leonard, *A History of Davis County* (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society/Farmington: Davis County Commission, 1999), 15–31. For self-directed settlement reaching out from the 1847 fort complex into Salt Lake County, see Sillitoe, *A History of Salt Lake County*, 34–40.

⁷⁷George D. Smith, *An Intimate Chronicle*, July 24, 1847, 365.

⁷⁸Kenney, *Wilford Woodruff's Journal*, August 14, 1847, 3:256; and see Hunter, *Utah in Her Western Setting*, 129–34.

⁷⁹*Deseret News*, June 17, 1855; Joseph Lee Robinson, *The Journal of Joseph Lee Robinson*, photocopy of typescript (N.p., n.d.), 37, LDS Church History Library; Foy, *Bountiful*, 45–46.

pearance. As we progressed down the Valley, the Wheat Grass grows 6 or 7 feet high. Many different kinds of grass appear, some being 10 or 12 feet high. After wading thro' thick grass for some distance, we found a place bare enough for a camping ground, the grass being only knee deep, but very thick; we camped on the banks of a beautiful little Stream [City Creek] which was surrounded by very tall grass."⁸⁰

For Davis County's four pioneer towns, the settlement process began in the fall of 1847 with the arrival of cattle herders. They came as businessmen hired by others to herd their surplus livestock on the northern grasslands. They were not the only ones who noticed the valley's tall grass. In other northern Utah locations, men used the grasslands as cattle fodder. Later on, ranchers grazed their cattle on nearby dry range land. This, too, was a second, preliminary step. In both instances, some herdsmen saw the area's potential for irrigated agriculture and stayed on, thus playing a part in moving toward the next step.⁸¹

The third requirement was met when Mormons made improvements on the land; that is, they plowed soil, planted seeds, and built houses. As noted above, the apostolic epistle encouraged plowing, planting, and fence-building in Salt Lake County, but banned house building outside the fort for a year. Movement into the Salt Lake City plat to build houses and plant gardens did not begin until Young's return to the valley in September 1848. City plats did not exist at all in the region north of Salt Lake City; but in future Davis County, a few log homes, mostly by the herdsmen, were put up several months before the Twelve arrived. A general flow of settlers to all of these rural Davis settlements-in-embryo began that fall and increased steadily in the two years that followed. During this time many of the Davis area farmlands had been surveyed, but there were no city plats. The rural farms and farm houses existed in a long line of adjacent parcels with tentative names referencing a major creek or early settler. Boundaries came early in this settlement stage as a fourth step in the process.⁸²

Davis County's first community boundaries—a defining step forward—came about because of local interest and headquarters initia-

⁸⁰Bagley, *Journals of Thomas Bullock*, 232.

⁸¹Leonard, *A History of Davis County*, 16–18.

⁸²*Ibid.*, 19–21.

tive. Under Brigham Young's direction, ecclesiastical wards (congregations) were created in 1849 for Sessions Settlement (Bountiful) and North Cottonwood (Farmington), Kays Ward (Kaysville) in 1850, and the Cherry Creek Settlement (Centerville) in 1852. For the settlers, the ward boundaries created an identity that was real. The name given each ecclesiastical unit would continue as a symbol of community and a primary reference of location for another twenty years or more. During this stage, the settlement (and it was often referred to as such) existed only as a defined number of families living on their farms who were more or less willing to respond to the bishop's guidance. As yet, there were no city plats. The ward existed as an unincorporated rural religious community.⁸³

When the Provisional State of Deseret became Utah Territory in 1850, a process was put in motion to create counties with named seats, or headquarters. At first, Salt Lake County reached north to Farmington. Weber County to the north extended south to Kaysville. A few months later in October 1850, Davis County became an entity of its own, ultimately with the smallest land area of any county in the territory.⁸⁴

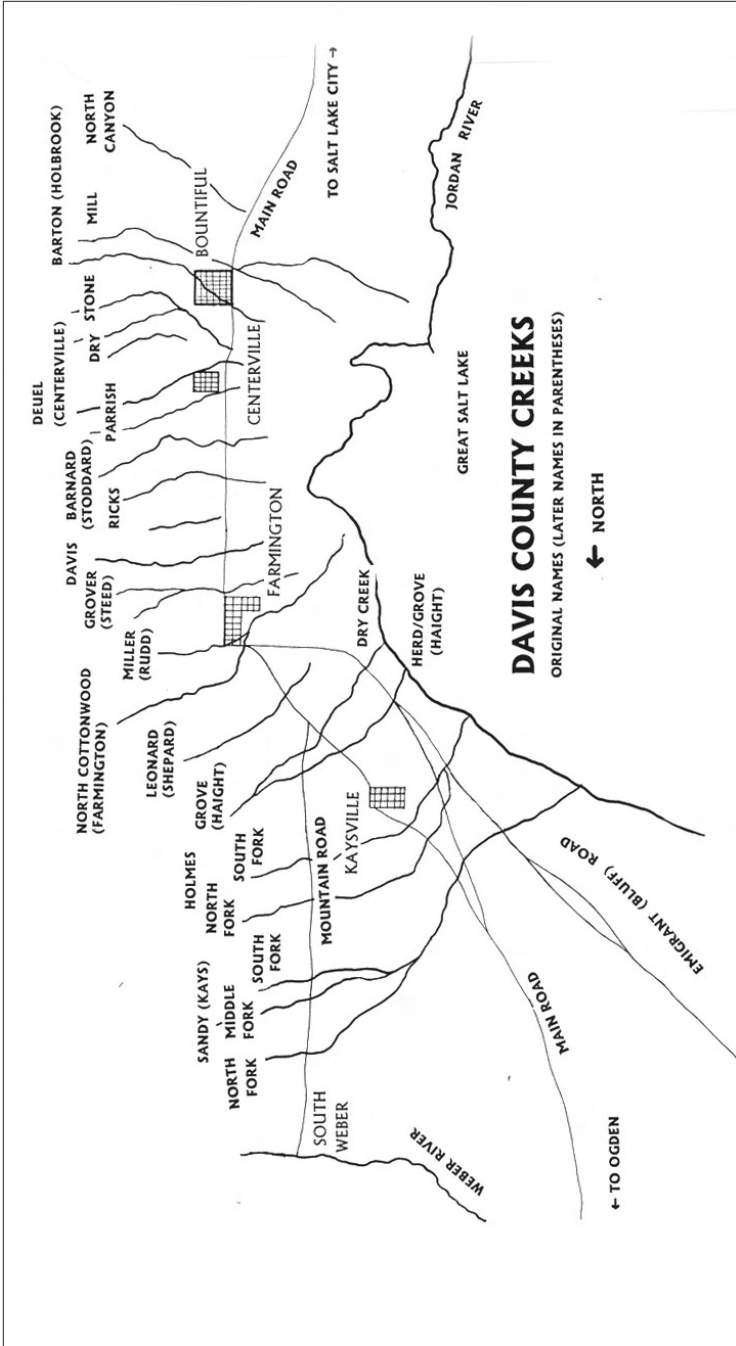
Three of the four wards in Davis County were in place eight months later when E. D. Rich visited the area to collect information for the 1850 census. Rich appropriately ignored existing ecclesiastical boundaries. Because voting precincts would not be defined for another few months, he simply listed 215 "dwelling houses numbered in order of visitation" and their 1,134 occupants, with no specific dividing lines.⁸⁵

Not long after the settlers living east of Antelope Island were given their own county, they elected what we now call county commissioners who, in turn created voting precincts, school districts, irrigation districts, and road districts. Typically, these districts functioned as county sub-units within the ecclesiastical wards. For example, there were two, and later three, school districts within Farmington Ward boundaries. Even though most bishops in Davis County did not serve in civil offices (including as justices of the peace) in the county, they did often become overseers and mediators in district business. After a

⁸³*Ibid.*, 21–24.

⁸⁴*Ibid.*, 42–43.

⁸⁵U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1850, Davis County, Utah, MF #08240 60, item 4.



The residents of Davis County's four wards surveyed town plats in 1853, began encircling them with mud walls, and then moved into the protective forts from their scattered farms along nearby streams. Map by Glen M. Leonard.

very short time, for example, the county delegated to the bishops the selection of watermasters for the streams within ward boundaries. The county service units within each ward provided their designated services but did not define municipalities. Therefore, the ward remained the dominant definer of community.⁸⁶

The settlement process took its most important step forward because of concerns at LDS Church headquarters over the safety of local residents throughout the territory. Confrontations with Ute tribes in Utah and Sanpete valleys and minor skirmishes elsewhere prompted the action that inaugurated a fifth stage in the creation of a defined settlement. In 1853, Brigham Young ordered the construction of fortifications in all Utah communities. Where city plats did not exist, he asked that they be surveyed and surrounded with a wall. Because the city plats did not yet exist in Davis County, each bishop and his ward members selected a place, and a local surveyor laid out a new Mormon town.⁸⁷

With the plat defined, farmers were expected to build houses on lots inside these new walled villages. Theoretically it was for the protection of their families. The long-range effect was the creation of an urban center surrounded by farms—the Zion model. Some families dismantled and relocated their log homes. Others built new homes of wood or adobe and kept the farmhouse as a livestock shelter. Even this major step that brought people together in a formal setting did not create a city. The bishop remained the leader of the village/ward for those living inside the wall and on the farms within ward boundaries. The city plat functioned as a geographic definition of a city-in-the-making. There existed no civil government calling itself a town or city. The dominant defining element for both religious and civic services remained the Mormon ward. Like much of pioneer Utah, the residents of Davis County lived under a theocratic government.

A sixth and final transition from platted towns to incorporated cities took another fifteen years for Kaysville and much longer for the other pioneer towns. In 1856, after Bishop William Kay left on a settlement mission, some members of Kay's Ward proposed a name change for their ward. They chose the name "Freedom." When Brigham Young learned of the proposal, so the story goes, he responded, "When did Kay's ward get its freedom?" The citizens backed down. Twelve years later, in 1868, they secured a territorial charter using the

⁸⁶Leonard, *A History of Davis County*, 42–47.

⁸⁷*Ibid.*, 24–31.

name Kaysville.⁸⁸

Elsewhere in Davis County, Bountiful and Farmington incorporated as cities in 1892. Centerville waited until 1915; it became a town under county authority. Residents in the Layton area gradually separated themselves from Kaysville. After a long legal battle, the Layton community gained a civil separation in 1902 as an unincorporated area. When the population reached 500, they were incorporated in 1920 as a third-class town. Layton is now the county's most populous city.⁸⁹

It seems reasonable to say that Kaysville's progressive action in 1868 marked the beginning of the end of the settlement period in Utah. Similar transitions were beginning to take place elsewhere on Utah's northern frontier. In Cache Valley, for example, the settlement process began with herding grounds in the mid-1850s and the creation of a half-dozen forts and a similar number of wards in 1859. The incorporation of Logan and Wellsville in 1866 launched the final transition to a municipal form of government, with Richmond and Mendon following suit soon afterward.⁹⁰

Serious settling in Box Elder County was just beginning in the 1860s and expanded in the 1870s to create what has been called the first tier of settlement, the agrarian towns, including Brigham City, which was incorporated in 1867. The irrigation dams and canals that appeared after 1890 opened the land to irrigated agriculture. But many of the small towns chose incorporation only when city water systems or other public services were needed. The same was true of the small agrarian villages in Weber County, where Ogden, which became a city in 1851, was the only incorporated community for many years.⁹¹

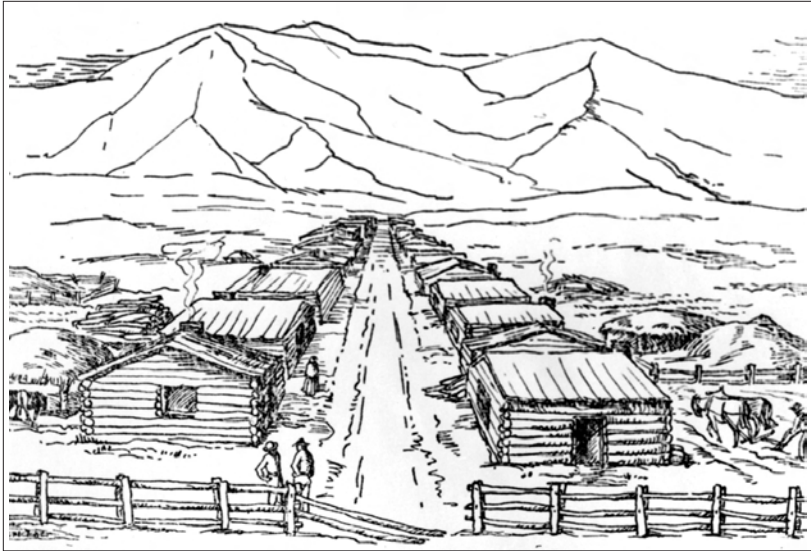
A major factor in the changes taking place was the completion

⁸⁸Collett, *Kaysville*, 64.

⁸⁹Leonard, *A History of Davis County*, 178–81; Janice P. Dawson, "Layton," in *Utah History Encyclopedia*, 317.

⁹⁰Peterson, *A History of Cache County*, 25–51; Linda Thatcher, "Cache Valley," in Powell, *Utah History Encyclopedia*, 66.

⁹¹See the following entries in *Utah History Encyclopedia*, edited by Allan Kent Powell: Brian Taylor, "Farr West City," 185; Erma H. Wilson and Stanley F. Wangsgaard, "Huntsville," 266–67; Audrey M. Godfrey, "Logan," 336–37; Doran J. Baker, "Mendon," 359–60; Richard Roberts, "Ogden," 399–400; Doran J. Baker, "Providence," 446–47; Linda Thatcher, "Rich-



The first settlers at Hyrum, in Cache Valley, built facing log houses in 1860 as a partial fortification; but elsewhere in the valley, settlers surrounded the facing homes with a log fort. "The Fort. View from East End." Courtesy Special Collections, Merrill Library, Utah State University.

of the Union Pacific Railroad through Weber County. The line curved around the north end of the Great Salt Lake to its connection with the Central Pacific at Promontory Point. This notable achievement changed commercial patterns in Utah Territory and simplified long-range travel. Brigham Young sponsored the Utah Central Railroad through Davis County in 1870 to link Salt Lake City with the Union Pacific in Ogden. Soon afterward, a second Mormon-built line, the Utah Northern, extended north from the Union Pacific station in Brigham City to northern Cache Valley. All of the communities in the affected counties felt the difference. Davis County began to experi-

mond," 467–68; Emma Russell and Beverly Wiberg, "Roy City," 474–75; Linda Thatcher, "Smithfield," 506–7; Lynne Singleton, "South Ogden City," 514–15; Murray M. Moler, "Weber County," 624–25; and LaRayne B. Christensen, Wilma J. Hall, and Ruth H. Maughan, "Wellsville," 628–29. See also Huchel, *A History of Box Elder*, 305–428; Roberts and Sadler, *A History of Weber County*, 51–106; and Bancroft, *History of Utah*, 307–8.

ence an increased infusion of people not cut out of Mormon cloth. Railroad maintenance workers and station agents were the noteworthy newcomers. In the end, the cultural shift transitioned a new generation away from the ideals of patriarchal marriage, the People's Party, and cooperative enterprise. In their place, most second-generation Saints willingly engaged in monogamy, democracy, and capitalism. A new age and a new way to see the world brought Davis County's pioneer towns into the twentieth century. Even so, these mostly Mormon communities retained their close-knit, small-town homogeneous society for another half century—and beyond.

MOBILITY AND THE SECOND GENERATION

The transition from a theocracy to a democratic form of government did not end the opening of new lands to settlement in northern Utah and beyond. A desire to increase holdings for growing families continued to motivate mobility. Overpopulation and the limited availability of irrigated crop land and water along the northern Wasatch Front sent young prospective farmers looking for new options.

Leonard Arrington said of this period, "The prime economic problem of Mormon Country in the late 1870's and early 1880's was overpopulation. In every valley there were signs that the continued flow of immigration, and the natural increase in population, had filled up the land. Young married couples were not able to find farms; older people found themselves underemployed." New irrigation projects, some Church-sponsored and others funded privately, opened new valleys to settlement in Utah, two states to the north, and two to the south. "All told," Arrington wrote, "at least a hundred new Mormon settlements were founded outside of Utah during the four-year period 1876 to 1879. In addition, at least a score or more of important new colonies were founded within Utah. . . . With the exception of the initial colonization of Utah in 1847–1851," he said, "it was the greatest single colonization movements in Mormon history."⁹²

Arrington centered his analysis on organized, Church-sponsored colonizing projects. Wayne Wahlquist, now a professor emeritus at Weber State University in Ogden, focused on independent efforts

⁹²Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom*, 314. For details on this settlement period, see Richard Sherlock, "Mormon Migration and Settlement after 1875," *Journal of Mormon History* 2 (1975): 53–68.

within the Mormon core area. Wahlquist's analysis revealed two distinctive realities: first, the constant turnover in communities along the Wasatch Front; and second, the predominance in that area of self-directed settlement. The settlers themselves had chosen the farm sites, he noted, "and their major concern was level land that could be irrigated."⁹³

In the early agricultural censuses, Wahlquist found that "more than two-thirds of the farmers in each community were no longer farming in that community 10 years later." Tallies in subsequent decades revealed a slower turnover. In those reports slightly more than half "of the farmers were newcomers to each community each decade." The farmers who stayed ten years were more likely to remain permanently. Wahlquist agreed with Arrington on the dominant factors explaining this high degree of mobility. They were, he said, "the shortage of irrigation water and overcrowding on the better agricultural lands." Many second-generation farmers who could find no satisfactory farmland in their hometown looked elsewhere for their landed inheritance. Some were attracted to newly opened land in Utah outside the core area or in neighboring territories. Others found land closer to home. A few sons of the pioneering settlers did not leave home. Their names showed up in the census records farming alongside their fathers but on separate land. That first-generation pioneer had provided a landed inheritance for his son.⁹⁴

The migration of farmers seeking fertile soils is a phenomenon as old as America.⁹⁵ German farmers in early Pennsylvania rotated crops and fertilized the soil. They stayed put. Most everyone else in Colonial America planted the nitrogen-seeking Indian corn and

⁹³Wayne L. Wahlquist, "Settlement Processes in the Mormon Core Area, 1847-1890" (Ph.D. diss., University of Nebraska, 1974), 293. Besides a general analysis, Wahlquist conducted case studies of Springville in Utah County, Kaysville in Davis County, and Brigham City in Box Elder County.

⁹⁴Wahlquist, "Settlement Processes," 299, 307-8.

⁹⁵While this essay focuses on the search for better land as the motivating factor, other reasons influenced many early migrants, such as a desire to "escape from the discipline and restraints" of religious settlements or "an opportunity to make a fresh start in life. . . [or] to have new experiences." Stevenson Whitcomb Fletcher, *Pennsylvania Agriculture and Country Life, 1640-1840* (1950; Harrisburgh: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1971 printing), 59.

other crops in the same plot year after year until the soil was depleted. Then they moved on to develop another farm. English observers, accustomed to improving and cultivating the soil, called the mobile farmers lazy. The farmers chose to put their efforts into clearing new land instead of managing and improving the soil on their old farms. This meant that the colonists along the Atlantic front moved gradually westward. As resistance from Indian tribes eased, they eventually passed over the Appalachian Range (until the late nineteenth century more popularly known as the Allegheny Mountains) into the fertile Allegheny and Cumberland plateaus and later on to the Ohio Valley and other Midwestern regions.⁹⁶

Many Mormon converts from New England, the Middle Atlantic, and the “Old Northwest” knew about migrating. They or their parents or grandparents had been part of the movement inland from coastal villages. They knew what it meant to roam, and they knew how to sell out and move on. When these Latter-day Saints reached the Salt Lake Valley in the 1850s and 1860s, most of them did not stay long at their first location. The reasons behind that choice often replicated their ancestors’ motivations—to find better farmland.

Mobility in nineteenth-century Utah was a common experience among the area’s early settlers. Wayne Wahlquist’s in-depth research confirms the extent of that experience. In one of his case studies, Wahlquist examined the level of persistence of farmers in Kaysville, one of Davis County’s early settlements. Of fifty-one heads of household listed in the bishop’s census for 1852–53, only thirteen (25.49 percent) were still farming in 1880. Thus, “if a farmer stuck it out for the first ten years he was pretty apt to stay on indefinitely.” Similarly, with the 1860 Kaysville census as the base line, Wahlquist found that of eighty-six farmers listed that year only nineteen—fewer than a fourth (22.09 percent)—were still there twenty years later. In other words, “about two-thirds of the Kaysville farmers did not remain for as much as one decade and three-fourths did not remain for two decades. A few of these, no doubt, died and some may have . . . taken up

⁹⁶John C. Miller, *The First Frontier: Life in Colonial America*, Laurel Edition (1966; New York: Dell Publishing, 1975), 122, 163–65; Daniel J. Boorstin, *The Americans: The Colonial Experience* (1958; rpt. New York: Vintage Books, Caravelle edition, 1966), 259–65; “Appalachian Mountains,” especially the section titled “Influence on history,” http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Appalachian_Mountains (accessed August 15, 2013).

other occupations, but there seems little doubt that the bulk of them moved away." Some farmers may have found larger farms or better access to irrigation water in nearby, less-developed valleys. Others may have been recruited or encouraged to help develop new areas. Wahlquist found similar rates of turnover in two other towns he studied at length, Springville in Utah County, and Brigham City in Box Elder County.⁹⁷

To find out why families moved, Wahlquist studied a 10 percent sampling of three hundred diaries that contained information about settlement. His intent was to determine the extent of Church influence in the places people went and how often they moved. The study identified those who moved out from the core settlement area to lightly settled areas and those who moved from one community to another within the frontier. His study "did not distinguish between the first settlers and those coming afterwards." Ninety percent of the diarists settled first in the core area, more than half of them in Salt Lake City. Most of them (89 percent) chose the core area themselves. None of them remained there permanently. Eighty-four percent moved to the frontier, one third of them because of Church calls, and two-thirds by personal choice. Because 55 percent of the diarists studied were polygamists, Wahlquist concluded that they would be more likely to be called by Church leaders to relocate than monogamists. Therefore, he suggested that "the percentage (61%) of people moving to the frontier as a result of personal choice . . . was much higher." Because most settlers relocated to improve their economic and social status, Wahlquist concluded, "it can be established, contrary to popular myth, that individualism was a potent force on the Mormon frontier."⁹⁸

This pattern of spontaneous mobility dominated second-generation relocation as well. As noted above, overpopulation and the limited availability of irrigated crop land along the northern Wasatch Front were the principal factors influencing the sons and daughters of the first settlers to leave home. A monogamous family with multi-

⁹⁷Wahlquist, "Settlement Processes," 261-62, 307-8, 310-11.

⁹⁸Wasatch Front Regional Council, *Historical Settlement and Population Patterns along the Wasatch Front* (a report based on information compiled for the council by Wayne Wahlquist and Craig Rainey of Weber State College) (Bountiful, Utah: Wasatch Front Regional Council, January 1976), 25-27. The report includes a table from Wahlquist, "Settlement Processes," 94.

ple sons would likely hand over the family farm to the oldest—a common practice for generations. If that first-generation Utah farmer acquired enough land for two sons, both might remain in their hometown. The ability to provide a landed inheritance for all of a family's children, male and female, might be possible by dividing large holdings equally.

Ezra T. Clark, a farmer and rancher in Farmington, was one of those independent men whose financial savvy allowed him to provide a plentiful inheritance for fourteen surviving children. His biographer said, “The controlling motives of Ezra T. Clark’s life were to increase his possessions, serve his church, and look diligently after the interests of his family.” Perhaps it was this motivation that allowed Clark to accumulate surplus resources. He built a flour mill, a molasses mill, helped organize a mercantile business, and filled five preaching missions. When asked to colonize Idaho’s Bear Lake area in 1870, he established a ranch in Georgetown.⁹⁹

Even before Clark joined with others to organize the Davis County Bank in Farmington, he was acting as a banker. More precisely, because most of his transactions were not loans, we might say he was operating an agricultural pawn shop. When local residents lacked the funds to pay their taxes, for instance, Clark provided the cash in exchange for property, often livestock or small parcels of land. After Farmington resident William Henry Bigler accepted a call to serve in the St. George Temple, he needed a buyer for his property. Clark offered “one hundred dollars cash and two hundred bushels of wheat.” Bigler felt the land was worth an additional \$150. But facing the option of abandoning the farm, he accepted Clark’s offer. Bigler had no other options. Clark was the willing buyer.¹⁰⁰

When the United Order movement was launched in 1874, Church leaders in Davis County decided to move the communal cattle herd from that part of northwestern Davis County known as the Sand Hill to Blue Creek in northern Box Elder County. Clark sought Brigham Young’s permission to operate independently. He was pleased when Young said, “You have a place for your stock in Idaho on your

⁹⁹Annie Clark Tanner, *A Biography of Ezra Thompson Clark* (Salt Lake City: Tanner Trust Fund, University of Utah Library, 1975), 20–21, 32–34.

¹⁰⁰*Ibid.*, 35, 48, 50–53; M. Guy Bishop, *Henry William Bigler: Soldier, Gold Miner, Missionary, Chronicler, 1815–1900* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1998), 140.

ranch.” He promptly organized a family United Order. The Clarks drove the family’s sheep, horses, and cattle northward to the existing family ranch in Georgetown. When Clark died in 1901, he owned seven hundred acres of land in locations from Farmington to Cache Valley. At the last family reunion, he invited his two surviving wives and each of his sons and daughters to draw from his hat a slip of paper describing a section of the communally held property. This was their landed inheritance, shared equally among all. Not only did Clark bless his posterity with land, but his investments in the Farmington Commercial and Manufacturing Institution (the FCMI) and the Davis County Bank provided financial income for the family and positions for some of his sons.¹⁰¹

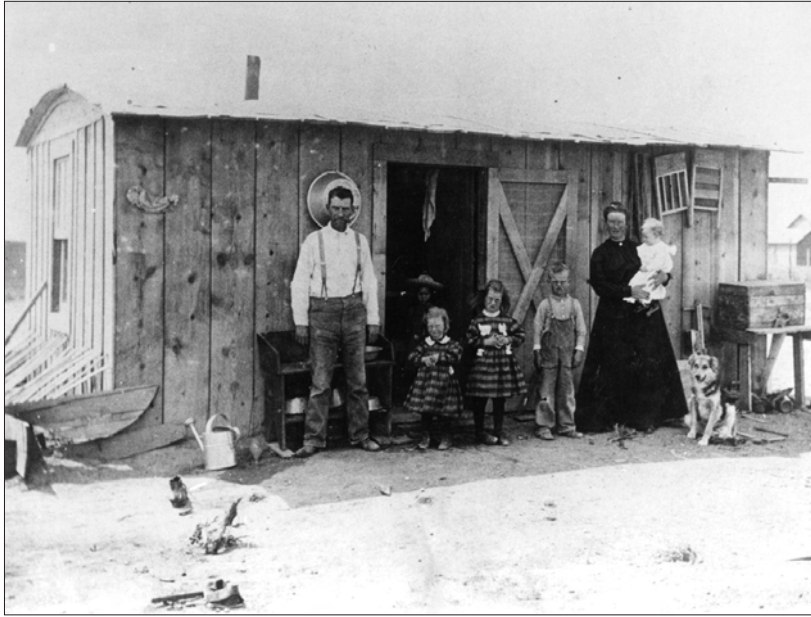
Even though Clark opted out of the cooperative herding program, he and other prosperous farmers saw the opportunity for personal improvement. Beginning in the 1870s, they partnered with older sons in ranching ventures north of Brigham City. Among these farmer-ranchers were Bishop John W. Hess, the husband of five wives, and Franklin D. Richards, who had three wives in Farmington and others elsewhere. When commercial investors built canals to carry river water to the range lands, the Hess and Richards sons were among marriageable and newly married young men who hastened to establish homesteads on government or railroad lands. In time and with hard work, they succeeded as pioneer farmers on Utah’s northern frontier.¹⁰²

The movement of the second generation northward to new frontiers repeated once again the migratory process that had begun in the Clark, Hess, and Richards families generations earlier with the arrival of German and English ancestors on America’s Atlantic Coast. Indeed, the frontiersmen of territorial Utah’s last decade before statehood continued the tradition launched with the arrival of French colonists in Florida and the Mississippi Valley, Spanish ranchers in Texas, New Mexico, and Upper California, and British colonists on the Atlantic Coast. What was in America’s past became the prologue to a new life.

A short biographical sketch of Myron J. Richards, one of the first settlers on the Box Elder County range land, describes the process of second-generation pioneering. The account explains why

¹⁰¹Tanner, *Biography of Ezra Thompson Clark*, 45, 52, 61–62, 66.

¹⁰²Leonard, “A History of Farmington,” 117–18, 120–21.



An unidentified homesteading family stands by their house in Blue Creek, Box Elder County, a tiny community near the Idaho border served by the Utah Northern Railway. Blue Creek, Utah P. 2 (1911). Used by permission, Utah State Historical Society. All rights reserved.

and how a group of young adult males from two prominent families in Farmington worked together to establish themselves on virgin land. Myron was the son of Apostle Franklin D. Richards and his plural wife Mary Thomson Richards.¹⁰³ He was born in Provo during the Move South and grew up in Farmington. Myron left home at eighteen, spent three years in Wyoming, and then moved to Box Elder County. The following overview of his early life, written by his son Myron Jr. as an integral part of his own autobiography, identifies the steps taken by small groups to open new lands to agriculture.

¹⁰³Franklin D. Richards married four widows of his uncle Willard Richards. In the 1860s, he built new homes for Mary Thomson and two others in Farmington on lots where they had lived in log homes while married to Willard.

Repeating the settlement process followed by their parents, the Richards and Hess boys accepted the responsibility of claiming a landed inheritance of their own. Their long-range goal was to marry after establishing a place to house and feed their families. Ultimately their self-motivated efforts led to the creation of a new Mormon town. Myron Richards Jr. wrote:

My father was born in a covered wagon 2 May 1858 at Provo Utah at a time when the Saints picked up and moved south from S.L.C. as Johnsons Army was moving in expecting to anilate [sic] the Mormans. After the scare was over the people moved back home again. In 1860 the Richards family moved to Farmington Davis Co. By the year 1877 the boys of Farmington had grown to manhood and the land near Farmington was all taken up by the early settlers. There was no work for the boys so they were obliged to move out and get land of their own. Pres. John W. Hess had several wives as did Franklin D. Richards so Pres[.] Hess with six or eight boys and my father Myron J. Richards headed a group of Richards boys [who] came to the Bear River Valley in Apr. 1877 and began hom[e]steading land that was only used for cattle grazing. Some of the land was R.R. land that could be bought for about \$2.60 per acre and could be bought on time payments. These boys had but very little equipment and it meant a long hard deal to live and get started in this new country. They worked together as a group helping each other so they managed to raise enough grain for seed flour for a year, but very little to sell. . . . Our first home was a one room log house with a dirt roof and dirt floor. . . . We never went hungry but there was times when we didn't have much of a variety of food. We lived miles from a store and father would buy a large slab of salt bacon and mother would freshen the salt out of it and fry for our meat and then make water gravy out of the grease. Some times it would be milk gravy when the cow was giving milk[.] Father would b[u]y a 20 gal. barrel of molasses in the fall and that would last a year. We had some dried fruit part of the time.¹⁰⁴

This reminiscent account was written sometime in the early 1960s. It is clear evidence that pioneering did not end with the first generation. Myron John Richards Sr. faced the same challenges and had the same needs as most first-generation pioneers.

¹⁰⁴Myron John Richards (1882–1971), “Biography,” written in Brigham City, Utah, about 1961, holograph, 1–2, MS 11661, LDS Church History Library.

The Hess and Richards boys were not the only second-generation Davis County pioneers on the Box Elder flats. Other Farmington, Bountiful, and Centerville residents were among the first arrivals in the Fielding area in the late 1870s and early 1880s.¹⁰⁵ Like the Hess and Richards sons, they came as ranchers or dry farmers and built scattered homes. Eventually, after eastern investors built a canal system to bring Bear River water to the arid range land, they added irrigated farming to their portfolio. The sellers of the land included the canal company, the Central Pacific Railroad, and the federal government through provisions of the Homestead Act. As had been done for other scattered farm and ranch families, Latter-day Saint leaders in Box Elder County's Hessville (East Plymouth) invited the independent settlers to gather in a central place and create a Mormon village (a ward). It took much discussion, disagreement, and many delays before three landowners finally agreed that the surveyor could create a city plat on their land. One by one, the scattered families moved into Fielding—named to honor Mary Fielding Smith, LDS president Joseph Fielding Smith's mother—and the village grew.¹⁰⁶

The Box Elder sons and daughters of the pioneers did not forget their families in Davis County. The Utah Central and Utah Northern passenger trains made visits back and forth more convenient. For many years, the weekly *Davis County Clipper* published family news from both counties, including these visits, marriages, illnesses, and deaths. The paper began publication in Bountiful in 1892, the same year that Hessville/East Plymouth residents in Box Elder County surveyed the plat that became Fielding and the same year that Bountiful

¹⁰⁵In similar fashion, twelve Bountiful families were recruited by Chester Call in 1879–80 to join him in a colonizing project in Idaho's Portneuf River Valley. Within two years, all of them had established farms. As was true in other spontaneous settlements, they platted the city of Chesterfield only after LDS Church leaders directed them to do so in 1883. Kim Burningham, "Chester Call: A Man of Two Homesteads, Part 2: The Idaho Years," *Davis County Clipper*, December 29, 2004; see also Lavina Fielding Andersen, ed., *Chesterfield: A Picture from the Past* (Bancroft, Idaho: Chesterfield Foundation, 1993).

¹⁰⁶"Fielding History," <http://www.boxeldercounty.org/fielding-history.htm> (accessed January 14, 2013); John W. Van Cott, comp., *Utah Place Names: A Comprehensive Guide to the Origins of Geographic Names* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1990), s.v. "Fielding."

and Farmington were incorporated as cities. Within months, the *Clipper* was soliciting correspondence from former county residents. When coverage warranted it, the editor inserted a notice on an inside page reminding subscribers that the paper existed to serve the residents of Davis County and “colonies formed by former residents of the county.”¹⁰⁷ The notice survived for decades, even after the paper discontinued the newsy social columns. Like Joseph of old (Gen. 50:22–26; Exod. 13:19; Josh. 24:32), a number of those second-generation pioneers were carried home in their coffins to Farmington for burial. Similarly, in recent generations, some Box Elder County natives who had lived elsewhere for years were returned to their ancestral promised land.¹⁰⁸

In 1920, Fielding’s hometown poet Aerial Hansen outlined the history of his hometown in verse. His recitation is yet another tale recounting the way independent seekers for a landed inheritance gave in to their spiritual leader’s call for unity and by doing so created a new Mormon town. The willingness of the farmers and ranchers to relocate from their farms to the village fulfilled Joseph Smith’s dream for his followers. With a meetinghouse at its center and farm fields surrounding it, Fielding became a miniature Zion city. The town brought into the lives of its residents the temporal and spiritual benefits of urban life as a close-knit Mormon community. Hansen wrote:

Fielding is a quaint old town,
laid out on the square,
Its streets are intertwined with sloughs,
and many trees are there.

¹⁰⁷For examples of these notices, see *Davis County Clipper*, July 6, 1892; July 13, 1893, June 4, 1897.

¹⁰⁸These observations on burials are based on obituaries and genealogical records of Fielding, Tremonton, Garland, and Farmington residents. For example, four of nineteen deaths noted in obituaries published in the *Brigham City News Journal* in July 2004 were of people born in Box Elder County or southern Idaho who moved away but were brought back for burial in Brigham City. For a recent reflection on the absence of “rootedness” in twenty-first-century life, see W. V. Smith, “Your Sunday Brunch Special: Theology of Place,” July 14, 2013, <http://bycommonconsent.com/2013/07/14/your-sunday-brunch-special-theology-of-place/#more-45505> (accessed July 17, 2013).

Along about the Eighties
a few from the hills
Decided they would all move down
and this flat they'd fill.
First they moved their cabins,
then their stoves and then their cots,
While Broths Garn, Wood and Wilcox
split their fields all up into lots.
And lest the judgment day should come
and leave them in the lurch,
They organized into a ward
and always went to church.
With James H. Hess as Bishop,
this place was amply filled.
He taught them all the Golden Rule
and all that God had willed.
Another thing, these humble folk,
We find, you couldn't fool,
They built a house upon the square
And sent the kids to school.
Then came the stores and merchants
on Main Street of the Town.
They took the tithing butter,
for they couldn't turn it down.
And then the magic water
was turned upon the sod,
And the desert blossomed as a rose,
as by the will of God.
Then came more people,
with their horses, cattle, fowl and sheep
And suddenly this village blossomed
as though from a profound sleep.
Men came from Dixie, Cache,
and all the country 'round,
And settled on this fertile flat
and peace and plenty found.¹⁰⁹

The "peace and plenty" that the Mormon settlers found in Field-

¹⁰⁹Aerial Hansen, "Fielding Is a Quaint Old Town/1920," quoted in

ing fulfilled Brigham Young's promise of a western Zion where the Saints could find spiritual peace and temporal plenty. The creation of Fielding in rural northern Utah also illustrates the settlement pattern followed by a large majority of the towns and cities that were founded on Mormonism's western frontier. Young is best known for his strategic plan for settlement of a new sacred land. As he had done before, Young built upon the foundation of knowledge and experience he had accumulated and made necessary adaptations to fit current needs. Young's past was prologue to his leadership in the isolated Great Basin, where he sent carefully organized colonizing companies on missions to generate the products needed for a self-reliant region and to claim the area as "first settlers." Young also kept an eye on the spontaneous movement of people from place to place. When independent farmers and ranchers relocated to unorganized rural areas, he saw to it that the people were anchored in a platted Mormon town with a bishop to guide them. While textbook overviews may simplify the story of the "Great American Colonizer," it is important to remember that the colonization history of Utah Territory was more nuanced and complex than Brigham Young reading a list of names from the Tabernacle stand.

"Fielding History," <http://www.boxeldercounty.org/fielding-history.htm> (accessed January 14, 2013). Line length adjusted and arranged as ballad stanzas.

MORMONS, FREETHINKERS, AND THE LIMITS OF TOLERATION

Leigh Eric Schmidt

MORMONS AND FREETHINKERS SEEM at first blush an unlikely pairing. What do Mormons, an avowedly religious people, have to do with freethinkers, a decidedly irreligious cohort? Mormons take their rise in the flurry and bustle of the antebellum religious marketplace amid the heady enticements of millennialism, revivalism, and prophecy; freethinkers emerge in the skeptical currents of the Enlightenment with unsavory associations of atheism, infidelity, and libertinism. Mormons revere divine revelation; freethinkers dismiss the very possibility. Mormons embrace a complex metaphysical cosmology; freethinkers gravitate toward scientific naturalism. Mormons support a male priesthood and an ecclesiastical hierarchy; freethinkers take particular delight in attacking priestly power and authority of all kinds. The list of oppositions could go on, and those differences, not surprisingly, have led time and again to discordant relations between Mormons and freethinkers from Mark

LEIGH ERIC SCHMIDT {leigh.e.schmidt@wustl.edu} is the Edward C. Mallinckrodt Distinguished University Professor in the Humanities at Washington University in St. Louis. He is the author of numerous books, including *Hearing Things: Religion, Illusion, and the American Enlightenment* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2000) and *Restless Souls: The Making of American Spirituality* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012). His current project is about how freethinkers, unbelievers, and atheists have fared historically in American public life.



Leigh Eric Schmidt

Twain to Bill Maher. An odd couple, to be sure, Mormons and freethinkers nonetheless have an intertwined story, especially in the late nineteenth century. They shared an outsider status of particular severity in relation to Protestant America, and that marginalization joined them, in spite of their ample differences, in the supercharged politics surrounding religious and civil liberties.

However abominated Mormons were as a religious minority in the nineteenth century, the reputation of freethinkers, atheists, and unbelievers was equally, if not more, blighted. It remained a commonplace assumption of republican statecraft that a religious identity of some kind was necessary to be a credible participant in civic and political life. No less an architect of religious liberty and toleration than John Locke had drawn a sharp line when it came to nonbelievers: “Those are not at all to be tolerated who deny the being of God. Promises, covenants, and oaths, which are the bonds of human society, can have no hold upon an atheist.”¹ Similarly, one of the most popular eighteenth-century guidebooks to gentlemanly manners, the Earl of Chesterfield’s *Letters*, had offered this straightforward advice: “Depend upon this truth, That every man is the worse looked upon, and the less trusted, for being thought to have no religion; . . . [A] wise Atheist (if such a thing there is) would, for his own interest, and character in this world, pretend to some religion.”² Even as the Enlightenment principle of religious toleration gained traction, the boundaries around civic engagement and social trust were still routinely drawn in such a way as to exclude the irreligious.

That political calculus remained commonplace in the nineteenth century. Alexis de Tocqueville’s *Democracy in America* served as an extended commentary on the privileged role of religious association in American public life. He found it entirely predictable, for example, when a New York judge in 1831 declared a witness incompetent to testify because the man reputedly did not believe in God or immortality. As Tocqueville concluded, “I do not know whether all Americans have a sincere faith in their religion—for who can search the human heart?—but I am certain that they hold it to be indispens-

¹John Locke, *A Letter Concerning Toleration* (1689; Amherst, N.Y.: Prometheus, 1990), 64.

²Philip Dormer Stanhope, Earl of Chesterfield, *Letters*, 4 vols. (New York: Rivington and Gaine, 1775), 1:167.

able to the maintenance of republican institutions.”³ Not surprisingly in a milieu in which Protestant Christianity and republicanism were so intimately connected, being known as the village atheist was an effective way of getting marked as a religious and civic outcast. As one newspaper moralized in 1834 about “a professed atheist” who had supposedly died in a laboratory explosion the very day he had publicly disavowed God, “If men cannot believe, will not believe, let them be silent.”⁴

The status that Mormons and freethinkers shared as religious minorities with the weight of the Christian nation upon them provided a basis for common ground. The legal machinery brought down on the Mormons from the *Reynolds* decision to the Edmunds-Tucker Act to B. H. Roberts’s exclusion from a seat in Congress was clearly more extensive than the mechanisms ensnaring freethinkers in the same era. But there remained some important parallels. The Comstock Act of 1873 gave new life to the prosecution of freethinking editors—not primarily as blasphemers but as purveyors of obscene literature. Ezra Heyward, publisher of *The Word*; D. M. Bennett, founder of the *Truth Seeker*; Moses Harman, custodian of *Lucifer the Light-Bearer*; Charles Chilton Moore, editor of the *Blue-Grass Blade*—all went to jail through the vigilance that Comstock and company exercised against those they saw as licentious liberals. As with Mormons, the religious claims of freethinkers were condemned in a bundle with their heterodox views on marriage and sexuality.

Religious tests were another area of overlap. The Edmunds-Tucker Act demanded of Mormons anti-polygamy oaths in the courtroom as well as for voting and political office. Freethinkers continued to have problems with religious tests throughout the period; several states maintained explicit constitutional bars against nonbelievers

³Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, 2 vols. (New York: Vintage, 1945), 1:316–17.

⁴*New-Hampshire Gazette*, March 25, 1834, 4. On the persisting suspicion that infidels could not be trustworthy citizens, see Christopher Grasso, “The Boundaries of Toleration and Tolerance: Religious Infidelity in the Early American Republic,” in Chris Beneke and Christopher S. Grenda, eds., *The First Prejudice: Religious Tolerance and Intolerance in Early America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), 286–302; Albert Post, *Popular Freethought in America, 1825–1850* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1943), esp. 211–15.

holding offices of public trust. Avowals of belief in God and eternal rewards and punishments were still regularly demanded in American courtrooms for jurors and witnesses; sustained efforts in Massachusetts to render such theological tests impermissible went down to legislative defeat time and again from the 1850s through the 1880s.

While American freethinkers had no celebrated political-seating cases to match those of George Q. Cannon, B. H. Roberts, and Reed Smoot, they watched with rapt attention as one of their most illustrious British counterparts, Charles Bradlaugh, was forcibly prevented from taking his duly elected seat in Parliament in 1880 and 1881. Like Smoot's case, Bradlaugh's went on for several years before it was finally resolved in his favor. American freethinkers did have a number of less heralded cases, though, that had resonances with Bradlaugh's splashier struggle. For example, one J. W. Thorne was expelled from the North Carolina legislature in 1875 on the grounds that he was an atheist, though it turned out he was actually a radical Quaker committed to Reconstruction. Atheism was the chosen tool of political exclusion. In short, the pairing of Mormons and freethinkers is not as peculiar as it first sounds.

In this lecture, I offer an initial mapping of the relationship between Mormons and freethinkers in the critical era of George Edmunds and Anthony Comstock, B. H. Roberts and Robert Ingersoll. From my research in recent years I know much more about freethinkers and sex radicals than I do about Mormons, so of necessity I draw up this exploratory chart with a slanted vision. I have much more to say about how freethinkers viewed Mormons than vice versa. In this regard, I am borrowing a page from J. Spencer Fluhman's new book, *"A Peculiar People": Anti-Mormonism and the Making of Religion in Nineteenth-Century America*. Building on the work of Terryl L. Givens, among others, Fluhman delineates a series of anti-Mormon representations, all of which constituted Mormons as alien and threatening to American religious and political institutions. Much of the action, not surprisingly, took place in the Protestant imagination: that is, how the bounds of American Christianity were drawn to render Mormons beyond the pale of religion itself.

The Enlightenment, though, was never far from view in anti-Mormon discourse. Fluhman justly speaks of a "Protestant/Enlightened explanatory tradition" in which temperate Protestants and deistic rationalists were in essential agreement on how to unmask a false religion. Both could agree on the dangers of priestly imposture, the

prevalence of enthusiast delusion, and the perils of theocratic tyranny. Yet the Protestant/Enlightenment alliances remained awkward and unsettled: The last thing a God-fearing Protestant wanted to be mistaken for was a secular-minded freethinker. Fluhman tellingly observes that among the weapons Protestants stockpiled in their anti-Mormon arsenal was the depiction of Mormonism as tantamount to atheism and unbelief. What better way to express contempt for Joseph Smith than to link him with the radical deist Tom Paine and mark them both down as intolerable atheists? In highlighting this rhetorical slippage between Mormon and atheist, Fluhman's work suggests that the Mormon-freethinker pairing is far from incidental. Among the incubi haunting American Protestantism, Mormons and freethinkers could end up looking eerily comparable as a menace. As one Presbyterian report intoned in 1887, "The spirit of Antichrist is abroad. Mormonism, Secularism, Socialism, Liberalism . . . are threatening civilization. Atheism is gaining ground."⁵

The complexities of the Mormon-freethinker relationship, it seems evident, bear further examination. As a contribution to that inquiry, I dwell in this lecture on three figures—orator Robert Ingersoll, editor D. M. Bennett, and cartoonist Watson Heston—all leading publicists of freethinking secularism who engaged Mormonism in direct and distinct ways.

Robert Ingersoll, without doubt the era's most celebrated freethinker, was no stranger to religious and legal harassment. Vexed by blasphemy accusations, denied speaking venues, and denounced from pulpits, Ingersoll effectively surmounted much of the opposi-

⁵J. Spencer Fluhman, "A Peculiar People": *Anti-Mormonism and the Making of Religion in Nineteenth-Century America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012), 61, 73–75; "Editorial Notes," *Truth Seeker*, June 11, 1887, 377. For an important study of anti-Mormon representations in fiction, see Terryl L. Givens, *The Viper on the Hearth: Mormons, Myths, and the Construction of Heresy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997). For a recent examination of how southerners perceived and responded to Mormons, see Patrick Q. Mason, *The Mormon Menace: Violence and Anti-Mormonism in the Postbellum South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011). For the pairing of Mormons and infidel Free-Lovers, see Sarah Barringer Gordon, *The Mormon Question: Polygamy and Constitutional Conflict in Nineteenth-Century America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002), 35, 37–38, 175–77.

tion through the sheer eloquence and good humor of his oratory. While he could give spellbinding lectures on Shakespeare or Lincoln, his notoriety was based on such offerings as “Some Mistakes of Moses,” “Superstition,” and “Why I Am an Agnostic.” The son of a Presbyterian minister in New York’s Burned-Over-District where Joseph Smith’s Mormonism was also rooted, Ingersoll early abandoned his natal faith and felt only relief in this emancipation. He liked to regale his audiences with stories of the bleak, joyless Sabbaths of his youth and his eventual liberation from them: “When I was a boy Sunday was considered altogether too holy to be happy in,” he related. “Nobody said a pleasant word; nobody laughed; nobody smiled; the child that looked the sickest was regarded as the most pious. . . . Sabbaths used to be prisons. Every Sunday was a Bastille.” Finally, the sun would set, Ingersoll recalled, “off would go our caps, and we would give three cheers for liberty once more.”⁶

Ingersoll spoke the language of liberty so effectively that he often wowed even those who otherwise had little sympathy with his irreligion. At the 1887 trial of freethinking lecturer C. B. Reynolds for blasphemy in Morristown, New Jersey, Ingersoll was at his grandiloquent best in his address to the jury: “I deny the right of any man, of any number of men, of any church, of any State, to put a padlock on the lips—to make the tongue a convict.” A Presbyterian minister, hurrying up to the infidel lawyer afterwards, exclaimed: “I must say that was the noblest speech in defen[s]e of liberty I ever heard! Your hand, sir; your hand.” Ingersoll believed deeply that liberal secularism held the key to sustaining and advancing civil liberties—freedoms of speech and inquiry preeminently. “Secularism,” he remarked by way of definition, “is the religion of humanity”—a this-worldly philosophy that would put an end to “sectarian feuds” and “theological hatreds” by stressing education, science, and benevolence. “Secularism is a religion,” Ingersoll reported optimistically, that is without tyranny and mummery; it has “no persecutions.” Here were civil and religious liberties so pure that they reminded Ingersoll of “the lilies of the field.”⁷

Ingersoll’s liberality possessed a mixture of innocence and contradiction. In a short essay entitled “The Jews,” Ingersoll re-

⁶Robert G. Ingersoll, *The Works of Robert G. Ingersoll*, 12 vols. (New York: Ingersoll League, 1933), 1:377, 380.

⁷*Ibid.*, 11:56, 405–6.

marked: “Personally, I have either no prejudices about religion, or I have equal prejudice against all religions.” Neither portion of that formulation was sustainable upon even cursory examination. Ingersoll had plenty of prejudices about religion—not least, the deistic commonplace that virtuous acts were critically important, while ritual performances were empty shows. Moreover, his prejudices against religion were hardly equal. He may have thought that Jews, like Christians, needed to “outgrow their own superstitions,” but he considered Christianity far more culpable because of its bloody record of persecution, particularly evident in its treatment of the Jewish people. Within Christianity itself, Ingersoll had a hierarchy of prejudices with Roman Catholics and God-in-the-Constitution evangelicals at the bottom and with liberal Protestants slowly edging their way toward the pinnacle of science and reason. Ingersoll’s free-thinking secular principles were hardly neutral and impartial. Religion itself was problematic, but not all religions were equally dangerous. The closer a religion came to conforming to liberal secular norms the better.⁸

Not surprisingly, Mormons provided an especially revealing test of Ingersoll’s principles of toleration and liberty. Ingersoll was well aware of the persecution Mormons had endured in the United States, a history that should logically have lifted them up in his eyes as a religious minority that had suffered at Christian hands. Was theirs not another cause to fight in the long struggle to protect, defend, and expand religious and civil liberties? But, for Ingersoll, the Mormon stand-off never provoked that chain of reasoning. While he decried any resort to violence—“the bayonet plan”—to solve the Mormon problem, he never elevated the question to the level of religious free-

⁸Ibid., 11:459–60. The study of “secularism” is, by now, an academic industry all its own. Much of that literature flows from the premise that the architects of secular statecraft fail to recognize how their own constructions of the religious-secular binary end up proscribing aspects of religion that do not conform to their own liberal secular norms. Ingersoll would fit well within that critique. For salient entry points into that discussion, see Talal Asad, *Formations of the Secular: Christianity, Islam, Modernity* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2003), and Linell E. Cady and Elizabeth Shakman Hurd, eds., *Comparative Secularisms in a Global Age* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).

dom and civil rights.⁹ In many ways, he embodied Fluhman's "Protestant/Enlightened explanatory tradition" in which imposture loomed large as a debunking tool. When, for example, one young woman wrote him in 1887 to suggest that Christianity's initial spread in the face of Roman persecution was a providential sign of its truthfulness, Ingersoll dismissed the thought with an allusion to the growth of Mormonism, which he described as "a horrible religion . . . founded on the grossest and most ignorant superstition, and imposition." Unlike his essay criticizing Christian discrimination against Jews, Ingersoll almost seemed disengaged from the suffering anti-Mormonism had produced, "The Mormons call it persecution" was the phrasing he chose in this letter. "Mormonism," he told an interviewer in Denver in 1884, "must be done away with by the thousand influences of civilization."¹⁰

Ingersoll's anti-Mormonism was, perhaps predictably, built on his understandings of marriage and middle-class family life. While his opponents were sure that he had to be a philanderer—unbelief and libertinism, after all, went hand-in-hand in the Protestant imagination—Ingersoll was scrupulous in his devotion to monogamy. He looked askance at the marriage reformers and sexual anarchists who made up the radical wing among freethinkers and worked hard to disassociate the secularist movement from obscene literature (a category that swept up everything from physiology textbooks to marriage guides to pornography to renegade literary works). "Civilization," he was sure, "rests upon the family. The good family is the unit of good government." For Ingersoll, as much as Protestant moralists, monogamy was "the citadel and fortress of civilization." The social fabric of the nation, though, was only the half of it; Ingersoll was an out-and-out romantic when it came to home, family, and childhood. "The virtues grow about the holy hearth of home—they cluster, bloom, and shed their perfume round the fireside where the one man loves the one woman," Ingersoll rejoiced. "Lover—husband—wife—father—child—home!—without these sacred words, the world is but a lair, and men and women merely beasts. . . . Take from the world the family, the fireside, the children born of wedded love, and there is nothing left." In consecrating domesticity, Ingersoll made the home so "pure

⁹Ingersoll, *Works*, 8:164.

¹⁰Eva Ingersoll Wakefield, ed., *The Letters of Robert G. Ingersoll* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1951), 285–86.

and sacred” that anyone who threatened its sanctity was bound to be abhorred and abominated.¹¹

On the question of polygamy, Ingersoll appeared, at first glance, every bit the ally of the Protestant crusaders who were intent on extirpating it. He wanted plural marriage “exterminated” no less than they did. In his anti-polygamy rhetoric, Ingersoll could hold his own with the most zealous: “All the languages of the world are insufficient to express the filth of polygamy,” Ingersoll railed. “It is the infamy of infamies. . . . It takes us back to the barbarism of animals, and leaves the heart a den in which crawl and hiss the slimy serpents of loathsome lust.” But, for Ingersoll, Protestant Christianity was no answer to this barbarism, for polygamy was without doubt a biblical practice. “Read the 31st chapter of Exodus. Read the 21st chapter of Deuteronomy. Read the life of Abraham, of David, of Solomon, of Jacob, and then tell me the sacred Bible does not teach polygamy,” Ingersoll thundered in a litany worthy of his hero Thomas Paine. “It is by the Bible,” Ingersoll charged, “that Brigham Young justifies the practice of this beastly horror.” To Ingersoll, Mormon polygamy was the ultimate proof of the worthlessness of Protestant scripturalism. “We send our missionaries to Utah, with their Bibles, to convert the Mormons,” he observed. “The Mormons show, by these very Bibles, that God is on their side. Nothing remains now for the missionaries except to get back their Bibles and come home.” Only those who had abandoned scriptural authority, only those who had disavowed the God of the Bible—in short, only freethinkers like himself—could save the “civilized home” from this peril.¹²

Ingersoll’s opinions on Mormonism were formed with only limited acquaintance with Mormons themselves. Lecturing widely across the country, he reached Utah in 1877 as part of a coast-to-coast tour that sealed his oratorical fame. He was apparently refused space for “an Infidel lecture” in Ogden in May of that year, but, in July, on his return trip from the West Coast, he lectured with some fanfare in Salt Lake City at the federal courthouse. He chose from his repertoire, his lecture entitled “The Liberty of Man, Woman, and Child,” which offered his idealized vision for spousal and parent-child relationships. The anti-Mormon *Salt Lake Tribune* thought that the lecture with “its enlightened, moral and broad views of marriage” was a direct indict-

¹¹Ingersoll, *Works*, 2:251–52, 8:164.

¹²*Ibid.*, 1:397, 7:79–80, 8:260.

ment of “the hateful system of polygamy in this Territory.” Much of it, the paper felt, had been “prepared expressly for the ears of Mormon women” with “a desire to lift them out of their degradation.” That was highly unlikely: These were well-rehearsed orations that Ingersoll performed from place to place; he had already given this one in St. Louis, Kansas City, Detroit, Milwaukee, Minneapolis, and Denver, among any number of other venues; nothing would suggest that his appearance in Salt Lake City gave local color to his remarks.¹³

The *Deseret News*, for its part, hardly thought Ingersoll’s lecture was aimed at the Latter-day Saints; it found the lecture essentially unobjectionable and wondered why Protestants considered Ingersoll such a “blasphemous infidel.” His oratorical flights on the complete liberty of thought, the perfect equality of the sexes, and the infamy of corporal punishment of children were reported with equanimity. “It was a fine lecture,” the paper concluded, “and was received with frequent, long-continued and deserved applause.” Ingersoll was a man in motion; and unlike many other visitors among the Mormons, he issued no day-to-day commentary on his Utah sojourn. It may not have registered with him that the “best notice” his Salt Lake lecture received—as one freethinker in Farmington, Utah, later admitted—appeared in the state’s “principal Mormon paper.” Even with this moment of direct encounter, Ingersoll’s views about Mormons sounded as if they had been fashioned entirely from afar.¹⁴

Unlike Ingersoll, freethinker D. M. Bennett proved voluble about his visit to Utah and his reception there. As the founding editor of the *Truth Seeker*, without doubt the most important freethought

¹³“Col. Ingersoll,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, July 14, 1877, Utah Digital Newspapers (accessed June 14, 2013). Ingersoll’s 1877 tour, including his stop in Salt Lake City, is amply documented in his papers. See Scrapbooks, microfilm reels 25–26, Robert G. Ingersoll Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

¹⁴“Ingersoll,” *Deseret News*, July 18, 1877, Utah Digital Newspapers (accessed June 14, 2013); Letter to Editor (Farmington, Utah), *Truth Seeker*, February 21, 1880, 124–25. On the cancelled lecture in Ogden, see “Notes and Clippings,” *Truth Seeker*, May 19, 1877, 153; “Col. Bob Ingersoll,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, June 14, 1877. For another instance of the *Deseret News* taking an affectionate view of Ingersoll, see “Robert G. Ingersoll’s Eloquent Tribute to a Deceased Minister,” *Deseret News*, September 10, 1879.

journal of the period, Bennett had a capacious vision for his paper, which he launched in Paris, Illinois, in the fall of 1873 and soon moved to New York City. The masthead of his fifth issue (the first from Manhattan) announced his purposes: “*The Truth Seeker*. Devoted to Science, Morals, Free Thought, Free Discussion, Liberalism, Sexual Equality, Labor Reform, Progression, Free Education, and What Ever Tends to Emancipate and Elevate the Human Race.”¹⁵ Bennett’s monthly flourished, soon becoming a weekly and establishing itself as a national public forum for liberals, secularists, and freethinkers. The letters of solidarity poured in from cities and small towns, from one coast to the other, as Bennett forged a readership of the religiously disaffected who, while often feeling terribly outnumbered in their particular locale, delighted in the extended company of the likeminded that the *Truth Seeker* created.

Bennett was bolder than Ingersoll. He took far more risks, for example, in jousting with Anthony Comstock as the two rose to fame and notoriety together in New York City in the 1870s. In clear contradiction to Ingersoll, Bennett happily courted obscenity charges and hurried to defend the civil liberties of marriage reformers and sex radicals. That approach put Bennett in Comstock’s sights, and the vice crusader soon brandished a warrant for the editor’s arrest in late 1877. In his society’s blotter, Comstock charged that Bennett had published the “most horrible & obscene blasphemies” and had also been circulating “indecent tracts that purport to be Scientific.” Bennett, Comstock concluded, was “everything vile in Blasphemy & Infidelity.”¹⁶ In this instance, Bennett’s lawyer managed to get the case dismissed, but the undaunted editor refused to stop flouting Comstock’s moral vision. The next year he took up the cause of the president of New England’s Free-Love Association, Ezra Heywood, whom Comstock had just succeeded in imprisoning. Bennett became the purveyor of one of Heywood’s most infamous tracts on marriage reform and “sexual self-government,” *Cupid’s Yokes*, which, among other things, openly mocked the “lascivious fanaticism” of Comstock’s anti-vice campaign. Bennett was soon arrested again, and this time he was convicted on obscenity charges. He was sent to the state penitentiary

¹⁵Masthead, *Truth Seeker* 1 (January 1874): 1.

¹⁶On Comstock’s charges against Bennett, see Roderick Bradford, *D. M. Bennett: The Truth Seeker* (Amherst, N.Y.: Prometheus, 2006), 117.

at Albany to serve a thirteen-month sentence.¹⁷

Prison did not have the chastening effects on Bennett it was supposed to have. Instead, it focused his mind anew on the wrongs of religion, especially Christianity. At a hurried pace in that harsh prison environment, Bennett produced two volumes on *The Gods and Religions of Ancient and Modern Times*, which were issued in New York in 1880 and ran to 1,792 pages. “The work has been written under some disadvantages,” Bennett explained at the outset, “in prison and the hospital belonging thereto, surrounded by sick and dying men of varied nationalities, colors, and crimes; sometimes twenty of us in a single room . . . I have not had by me many works I would gladly have consulted.” He added for good measure: “My imprisonment is simply a piece of religious persecution, instituted by orthodox enemies in consequence of my heterodox opinions.” Given those punishing circumstances and Bennett’s hasty pace of composition, the volumes were necessarily untidy and jumbled. He ranged from the “Gods of the Hindoos” to the “Gods of the Norsemen” to the “Gods of African Tribes” and beyond, while saving plenty of room (two-hundred-plus pages) for a Paine-like critique of the Bible. Yet, in all that verbiage about religions across time and space, Mormons received only a stray mention from Bennett.¹⁸

That neglect changed when Bennett, once released from prison, launched into his last major endeavor, a global tour, which he chronicled in the pages of the *Truth Seeker* and then collected in a four-volume travelogue entitled *The Truth Seeker around the World* (1882). Given how he viewed primitive superstitions, Bennett was hardly a dispassionate observer of religious variety, but his travel-writing still contained its moments of appreciative encounter. Between his visits to Europe and China, for example, he landed in India, and there he fell in with Madame Blavatsky, Henry Olcott, and their community of Theosophists, spiritualists, and Buddhist catechists. The occult phenomena surrounding Olcott in particular captured Bennett’s curiosity. Long a sympathizer with spiritualism against its most determined materialist opponents, Bennett now went farther out on that limb. “I am ready to believe Hamlet was right,” he concluded, “when he assured his friend Horatio that there was in heaven and earth many

¹⁷E. H. Heywood, *Cupid’s Yokes: Or, The Binding Forces of Conjugal Love* (Princeton, Mass.: Co-Operative Publishing, 1877), 12, 22.

¹⁸D. M. Bennett, *The Gods and Religions of Ancient and Modern Times*, 2 vols. (New York: Scientific and Liberal Publishing House, 1880), 1:ix.

things not dreamed of in his philosophy.” After leaving India and his new-found spiritualist companions, Bennett made his way to China and Japan before sailing for San Francisco to begin his eastward trek back to New York City.¹⁹

On June 23, 1882, Bennett reached Utah, ready to add one more chapter to an already highly colorful travel diary. Salt Lake City immediately charmed him: “Everything about the holy city of the Latter Day Saints is about as beautiful as the mind can imagine.” Darker clouds, however, soon covered that initial impression of fine trees, good sidewalks, and sublime scenery. His tour guide was James Ashman, whom Bennett identified as a Mormon-turned-freethinker and a local agent for the *Truth Seeker*. Ashman’s insider-turned-outsider perspective triggered in Bennett—himself a Methodist by birth, a Shaker by adoption, and a freethinker by choice—a familiar narrative of hard-won emancipation. “It was a great struggle” for Ashman, Bennett remarked, “to get out of the Mormon church, much the same as other thousands have found it a painful experience to get out of the Methodist, the Presbyterian, the Baptist, and more especially the Catholic church.” Bennett had quickly reoriented himself in an Enlightenment storyline in which unbelievers won their freedom through daring escapes from ecclesial prisons.

Bennett headed that evening to Salt Lake City’s Opera House and acquainted himself with its benefactors, the Walker brothers. Once again, he identified them as ex-Mormons who had turned, in their case, into “Liberal Spiritualists.” Bennett now had his narrative trope, and it continued to prove serviceable the next day. After taking a buggy ride to some nearby mineral springs, he met up with a group of freethinking compatriots from Farmington, a town name he instantly recognized from his subscription lists. These folks, too, he reported were “once devoted Mormons” who have “thrown off the shackles that bound them” and become “steadfast Liberals.” As an ex-Shaker who had eloped with another member from that celibate community, Bennett imagined freethinking secularism as a fellowship of liberal refugees, a dispersed company of exiles who served as a beacon to those who had yet to see the light. Almost as a matter of course, he viewed both the Mormons and ex-Mormons he met

¹⁹D. M. Bennett, *The Truth Seeker around the World: A Series of Letters Written while Making a Tour of the Globe*, 4 vols. (New York: D. M. Bennett Liberal Publisher, [1882]), 3:90–91.

through that telltale lens.²⁰

With this particular angle of vision, Bennett was unlikely to produce a flattering travelogue about his time among the Mormons. But he was sufficiently farther along the radical spectrum from Ingersoll to make his entwined views on Mormonism and civil liberties more nuanced. For one thing, he breathed none of Ingersoll's fire against polygamy; indeed, he found most of the evils Christians associated with it to be "imaginary" and overtly defended the Mormon right to practice it. While he had his doubts about plural marriage, he could not see any reason why Mormons should be deprived of "the right to regulate their own social affairs." Mormon women positively testified about polygamy (Bennett was especially attentive to the testimony of plural wives); and Mormon men, from all he could tell, were "model husbands." He did not see how the legion of Protestant reformers, given the prevalence of prostitution and marital infidelity on their home turf, could claim the high ground in suppressing polygamy: "With all that can be said of the Mormon institution," Bennett concluded, "there cannot be a doubt that the men and women of this territory are at least ten times as virtuous—if sexual honesty means virtue—as the Christian men and women who constitute the population of the Eastern states."

With his own pronounced antagonism toward Protestant power, Bennett was particularly sympathetic to George Q. Cannon, who had, just four months earlier, been deprived of his delegate status in Congress on the grounds of his plural marriages. Listening to him speak

²⁰Ibid., 4:579–82, 586. This is not to say that Bennett's narrative was simply a contrivance; there was, indeed, a network of freethinkers in Utah, some of whom had organized themselves into local auxiliaries of the National Liberal League. Many of these folks were ex-Mormons, as is evident from the letters to the editor in the *Truth Seeker* by the following writers: e.g., A. J. Kirby, *Truth Seeker*, July 28, 1877, 556–57; Walter Walker, *Truth Seeker*, February 21, 1880, 124–25; Andrew Larsen, *Truth Seeker*, April 3, 1880, 220; R. M. Taylor, *Truth Seeker*, June 24, 1882, 397; Arthur C. Everett, *Truth Seeker*, April 14, 1883, 236–37; Edward F. Munn, *Truth Seeker*, July 21, 1883, 454, and July 28, 1883, 470–71; Hector W. Haight, *Truth Seeker*, April 18, 1885, 251. Ronald W. Walker has wonderfully explored the liberal and spiritualist ferment among Mormons and ex-Mormons in nineteenth-century Utah, focusing especially on dissenters of the 1860s and 1870s. See his *Wayward Saints: The Godbeites and Brigham Young* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1998).

on Sunday at the Tabernacle, Bennett found Cannon right on target in arguing that “the conscience of a Mormon” should be “as much regarded as that of any other sort of believer.”²¹

Toward the end of his “Review of Mormonism,” Bennett reassured his readers that they should not mistake his favorable comments on plural marriage (or other aspects of Mormon society) as demonstrating a “great partiality” toward the Latter-day Saints. That was not a likely misreading: His account definitely had its affirming qualities, but his overall tone was imperiously critical of Mormonism—just as it was of virtually all religions except spiritualism. Still, Bennett’s self-representation as a martyr for civil and religious liberties made his visit to Utah more resonant than Ingersoll’s. Bennett stood as an embodiment of the persecution that Comstock-supporting Protestants produced when given a chance to police the nation’s morals and its mail. As a lawyer, Ingersoll ably defended the free speech of others, but he was not the prison-garbed victim that Bennett personified. In the lead-up to his visit, the *Truth Seeker* had run a short article entitled “Honor in Utah” in which a report from a Gentile newspaper was placed next to one from a Mormon paper. Both talked up the preparations being made to receive the freethinking editor; the last line in the Mormon notice made the specific import of his visit apparent: “Mr. Bennett is the victim of religious persecution.” Bennett himself underlined those woes in the extemporized speeches he gave during his visit, reportedly remarking at one reception—to especially impressive effect—on “the injuries and wrongs he had to suffer from Christian persecutors.” The vindication of individual rights and the dangers of religious intolerance—those were his calling cards. As the assembled gathering saluted him in Ogden, “Hero opposer of the Christian church in its desecration of the sacred rights of our glorious constitution, we rejoice to meet you.” Bennett’s public appearances in Salt Lake and Ogden caused no visible consternation and occasioned much positive notice: Mormons surely had their own reasons for welcoming this jailbird editor otherwise vilified for his obscenity and blasphemy, not least his standing witness against Protestant suppression of religious and sexual heterodoxies.²²

Bennett’s stop in Utah on his global tour certainly provided an evocative moment of Mormon-freethinker encounter, but the veteran

²¹Bennett, *Around the World*, 4:587, 600–601, 611.

²²“Honor in Utah,” *Truth Seeker*, June 10, 1882, 365; Walker to Editor,

editor's most important contribution always remained the *Truth Seeker* itself and the ongoing forum it offered for secular liberals to think through the Mormon question. Bennett never enforced a party line in his paper; as much as possible, he wanted an open debate on Mormonism as on other contentious issues of the day, and that is very much what he got. Elizur Wright, one-time evangelical abolitionist who had ended up a freethinking atheist, took to the pages of the *Truth Seeker* to address "The Mormon Problem" in 1881. He took a harsh view much like Ingersoll's.

Another writer, Peter Soule, made the contrasting case the same year against what he called "Liberal Bigotry": namely, constructions of religious liberty in secular ranks that stopped short of protecting Mormonism and the practice of plural marriage. Mormonism "has just as good a right to liv[e] and be protected under our Constitution," Soule argued, "as has any other religious sect or order. It is not for us to discriminate between any religious orders, nor is it any of our business how many wives a man has nor how few, or whether he has any at all." Suddenly, though, toward the close of his reflections Soule was caught up short by the Jewish practice of circumcision. That, he thought, was "an infringement upon the infant's rights" and an inflic-

Truth Seeker, August 5, 1882, 493; Bennett, *Around the World*, 4:593. Bennett remarked on the favorable coverage he had received from the *Salt Lake Herald* (a Mormon paper) and regretted not having a copy to quote from for his travelogue (4:594–95). See also *Salt Lake Herald*, June 24, 1882; *Ogden Standard Examiner*, June 23, 1882, Utah Digital Newspapers (accessed June 14, 2013). In his Tanner Lecture, John F. Wilson highlighted the burning commitment within early Mormon circles to the First Amendment's guarantee of the free exercise of religion and the bitter disillusionment over governmental failure to abide by it. Bennett's posture meshed well with that deep-seated Mormon perspective. See John F. Wilson, "Some Comparative Perspectives on the Early Mormon Movement and the Church-State Question, 1830–45," in *The Mormon History Association's Tanner Lectures: The First Twenty Years*, edited by Dean L. May and Reid L. Neilson (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2006), 81–96. For longer historical views of the same issue, see Kenneth David Driggs, "The Mormon Church-State Confrontation in Nineteenth-Century America," *Journal of Church and State* 30, no. 2 (1988): 273–89, and Mauro Properzi, "LDS Understandings of Religious Freedom: Responding to the Shifting Cultural Pendulum," *Journal of Mormon History* 38, no. 3 (Summer 2012): 128–47.

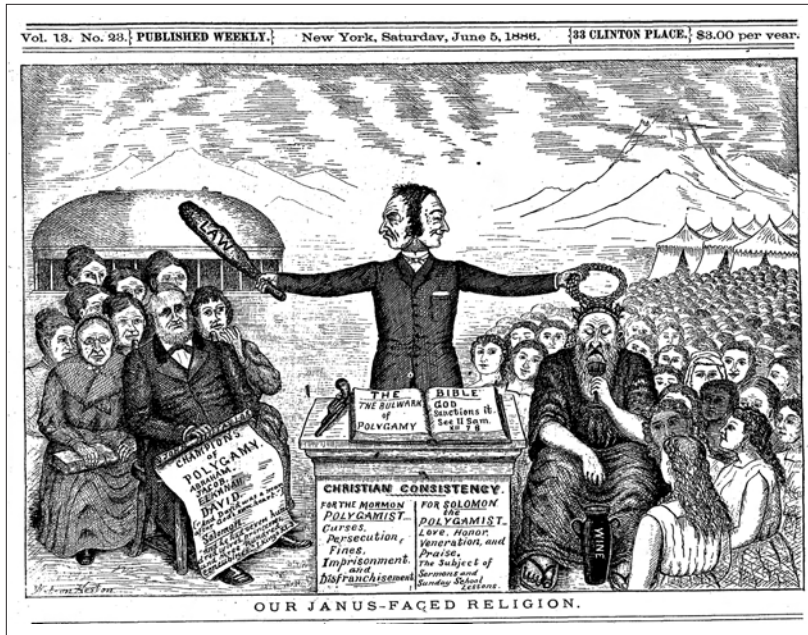
tion of “unnecessary pain”; as such, the ritual (another contributor labeled it “bodily mutilation”) was not protected under the Constitution and should be subject to legal penalty. An articulate critic of liberal intolerance of Mormons, Soule all too quickly discovered the limits to his own liberal principles of religious freedom. Thus the debates rolled on from one year to the next in the pages of Bennett’s *Truth Seeker* as freethinking secularists tried to figure out what a consistent view of religious and civil liberties would look like—in relationship to Mormonism and much else.²³

Bennett died in December 1882 at age sixty-three, a half year after his Utah visit, but the *Truth Seeker* continued to flourish under his editorial successor, E. M. Macdonald. During this second editor’s service, the paper continued its ongoing debate about Mormonism, religious freedom, and toleration. Macdonald himself pursued a strong civil libertarian line, frequently editorializing against the anti-Mormon crusade: “The Constitution is of a straw’s weight with the Christian bigots who see in the rival religion nothing but evil,” he charged in 1886. “The Constitution of our country was framed to protect all alike, and throw the strong arm of the law around all beliefs, allowing everyone to exercise and support his own preferred religion, be it Christianity, Mormonism, or Mohammedanism.”²⁴ At the same time, though, Macdonald preserved plenty of space for views like Ingersoll’s or Elizur Wright’s to be expressed. Suffice it to say, the essential contours of the debate in the pages of the *Truth Seeker* did not change substantially in the transition to new editorial leadership.

What did change dramatically under Macdonald’s editorship was the visual dress of the paper. Bennett had kept the journal’s look spare—a column-by-column wall of text with almost no pictorial adornment. Macdonald transformed the paper’s appeal by turning the front and back pages over to the cartoonist Watson Heston, without doubt the most important artist of the secular movement in the

²³Elizur Wright, “The Mormon Problem,” *Truth Seeker*, March 26, 1881, 197; Peter Soule, “Liberal Bigotry,” *Truth Seeker*, February 26, 1881, 134–35; John G. Hartwig, “Religious Liberty,” *Truth Seeker*, January 8, 1881, 21. For another example of how this debate kept reverberating, see J. H. Burnham, “Religious Toleration,” January 30, 1886, 66; [E. M. Macdonald], “Religious Toleration,” *Truth Seeker*, January 30, 1886, 72.

²⁴[E. M. Macdonald], “Persecuting the Mormons,” *Truth Seeker*, January 16, 1886, 40.



Watson Heston, "Our Janus-Faced Religion," *Truth Seeker*, June 5, 1886, 353. <http://dds.crl.edu/CRLdelivery.asp?tid=16671> (accessed October 6, 2013).

last two decades of the nineteenth century. The *Boston Investigator*, another literary beacon among freethinking reformers, gushed that, since Heston's debut in the *Truth Seeker* in 1885, he had become "the artist-hero of Liberalism." Fan letters poured in from across the country; finally, subscribers rejoiced, freethinkers had the pictures to match Ingersoll's oratory and to vie with illustrated Bibles. One of the freethinkers from Farmington, Utah, whom Bennett had met, gave some local specificity to that excitement when he wrote to Macdonald in December 1886 in praise of the cartoons: They "are excellent and full of meaning; besides, they assist in introducing the paper in this (Mormon) community." Thirteen years later the same man, now the proud owner of two stand-alone volumes of Heston's collected cartoons, wrote to say that he was still happily "entertaining many of my Mormon callers with these convincing pictures." For his freethinking admirers, Heston's art provided the chief means of visualizing a secular nation; his lifework consisted in the prolific provision of emblems—of Enlightenment, anti-Catholicism, women's emancipation,



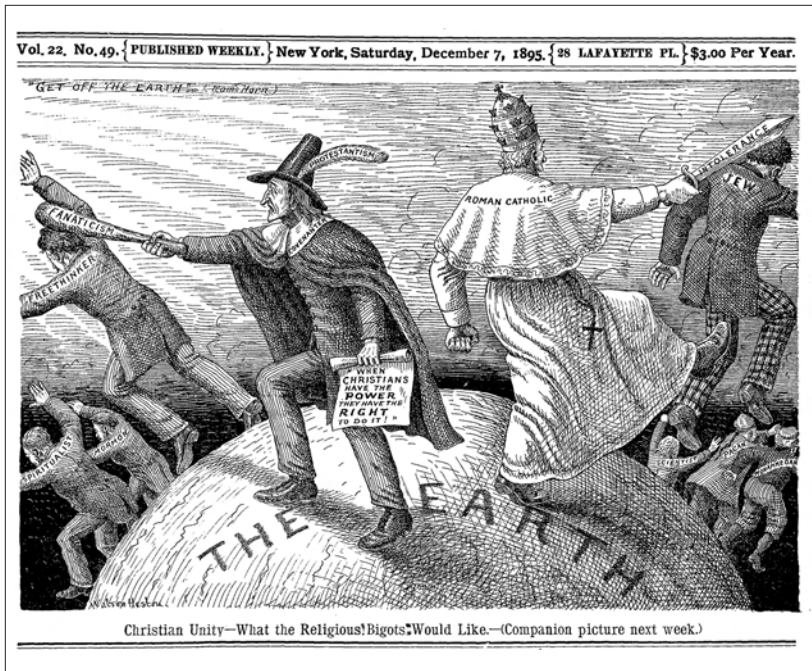
Watson Heston, "More Government Hypocrisy," *Truth Seeker*, November 25, 1899, 737, <http://dds.crl.edu/CRLdelivery.asp?tid=16671> (accessed October 6, 2013).

anti-evangelicalism, scientific progress, intellectual freedom, and strict church-state separation—designed to make liberal secularism tangible.²⁵

The graphic representation of Mormonism was not front and center in Heston's work; but given the recurrent interest that free-thinking liberals displayed in the Mormon question, he necessarily took the subject up at a number of points in his fifteen-year run with the *Truth Seeker*.²⁶ Early in his partnership with Macdonald, in June 1886, Heston produced a cartoon entitled "Our Janus-Faced Reli-

²⁵"Books and Magazines," *Boston Investigator*, September 24, 1890, 6; Hector W. Haight to Editor, *Truth Seeker*, January 8, 1887, 26; Hector W. Haight to Editor, *Truth Seeker*, April 15, 1899, 234.

²⁶For an excellent survey of visual representations of Mormonism in this era, see Gary L. Bunker and Davis Bitton, *The Mormon Graphic Image, 1834–1914: Cartoons, Caricatures, and Illustrations* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1983). Here I provide some freethinking variations on the

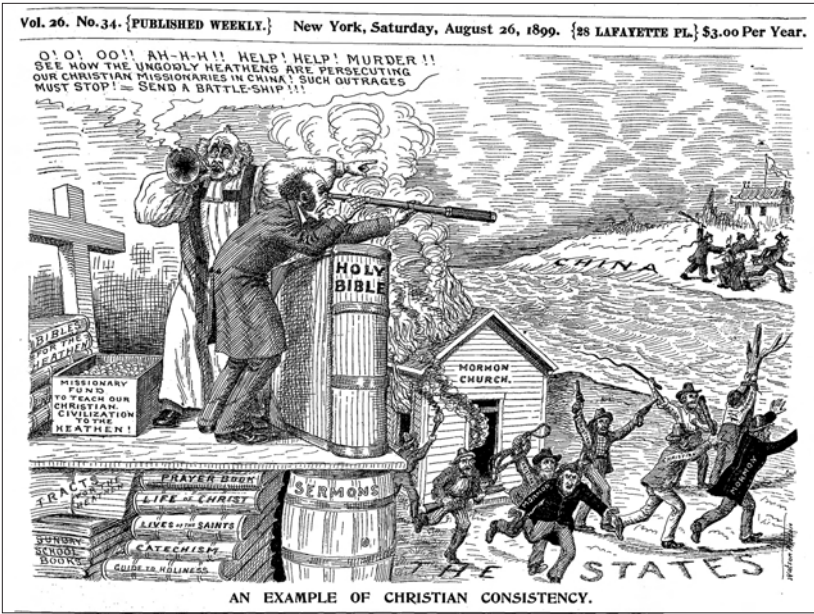


Watson Heston, "Christian Unity—What the Religious Bigots Would Like," *Truth Seeker*, December 7, 1895, 769, <http://dds.crl.edu/CRLdelivery.asp?tid=16671> (accessed October 6, 2013).

gion." At its center is a two-faced Protestant minister, wielding in one hand a club against John Taylor and his multiple wives and offering in the other a laurel wreath for Solomon surrounded by a sea of concubines. On the pulpit, an open Bible underlines scriptural sanction for polygamy, while a signboard mocks "Christian consistency": "FOR THE MORMON POLYGAMIST Curses, Persecution, Fines, Imprisonment, and Disfranchisement. FOR SOLOMON the POLYGAMIST Love, Honor, Veneration, Praise, The Subject of Sermons and Sunday School Lessons."

In addition to laying bare Protestant duplicity, Heston was quite ready to turn his ire on the country's political inconsistency over the Mormon question. In the cartoon "More Government Hypocrisy,"

well-worn, nineteenth-century visual repertory for portraying and pigeonholing Mormons.



Watson Heston, "An Example of Christian Consistency," *Truth Seeker*, August 26, 1899, 529, <http://dds.crl.edu/CRLdelivery.asp?tid=16671> (accessed October 6, 2013).

Uncle Sam holds the club of the law over the head of a Mormon and announces: "REMEMBER, I'LL TOLERATE NO POLYGAMY!!!" Even as Uncle Sam takes that stern line in domestic politics, he overlooks it in international relations, making a pay-off with his other hand to a sultan with a harem.²⁷ Exposing such religious and political inconsistencies was not necessarily an expression of freethinking solidarity with Mormons, but it did suggest that Heston thought that the Latter-day Saints had the better part of this argument.

Heston came closer to outright solidarity when considering the shared status Mormons and freethinkers had as ostracized religious minorities. In one cartoon from 1895, entitled "Christian Unity—What the Religious Bigots Would Like," Heston pictured two malign forms of Christian power: namely, Protestant fanaticism and Roman Catholic intolerance. The two together, in Heston's view, were ready

²⁷"Janus-Faced Creedalists," *Truth Seeker*, June 5, 1886, 353; "More Government Hypocrisy," *Truth Seeker*, November 25, 1899, 737.

to run freethinkers, Mormons, spiritualists, Jews, scientists, pagans, and Muslims off the face of the earth. In this instance, the Mormon and freethinker both flee the Covenanter, whom Heston used to embody the legislative ambitions of the National Reform Association especially.

In a second cartoon, this one from 1899, Heston again attacked Christian hypocrisy, juxtaposing the outrage of ministers over the Chinese persecution of Protestant missionaries with their indifference to Christian persecution of Mormon missionaries in the American South.²⁸ The *Truth Seeker* habitually reported on incidents of violence against Mormons in Southern states; indeed, the week before this cartoon appeared, an article sardonically noted that Southern Methodists and Baptists in Carter County, Kentucky, accustomed to settling their vendettas through lynchings, had turned to threatening Mormon elders with the same fate.

Latter-day Saints themselves took note of these sympathetic stands: Patrick Q. Mason, in his work on anti-Mormonism in the postbellum South, found this particular Heston cartoon reprinted in a LDS missionary magazine, *Southern Star*, in Chattanooga, Tennessee, in 1899.²⁹ It is hard to say what the freethinking cartoonist, had he known about this appropriation, would have made of it, but this much is clear: Heston had a strong sense that religious minorities—freethinkers, Jews, Seventh-day Adventists, and Mormons—needed to stand together against the tyranny of Christian-nation Protestantism and the mobbish intolerance of its enthusiasts.

Like most freethinkers, though, Heston had a hard time holding onto any concord with any religious group for very long, no matter how much political sense such a coalition might make. Jews, Adventists, and Mormons might experience with freethinkers similar kinds of mistreatment and harassment; but when all was said and done, reason stood alone at the top, elevated above all superstitions. This is evident in a trio of Heston's cartoons: In "A Holy Family—Superstition and Some of Her Children," a Protestant child pounds on a Mormon

²⁸"Christian Unity—What the Religious Bigots Would Like," December 7, 1895, 769; "An Example of Christian Consistency," *Truth Seeker*, August 26, 1899, 529.

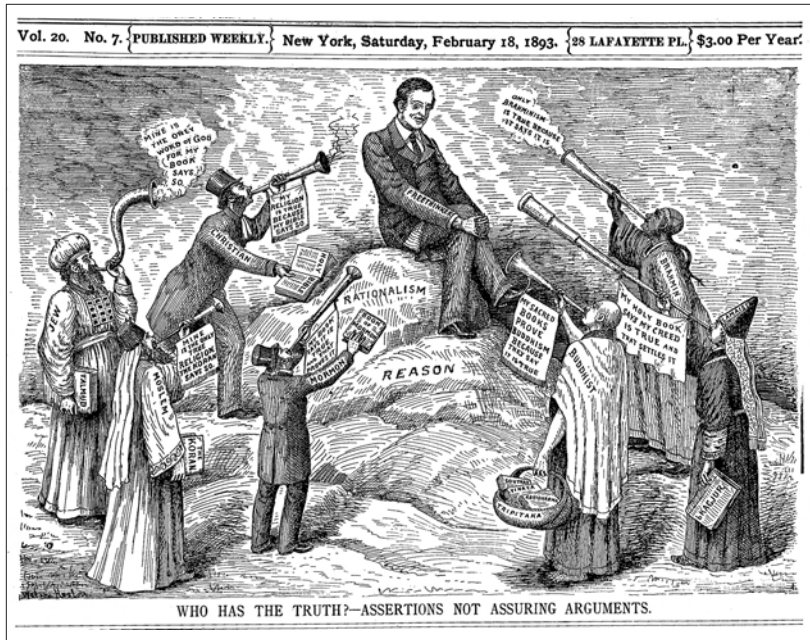
²⁹For the untitled report on the persecution of Mormons in Carter County and Bell County, see *Truth Seeker*, August 19, 1899, 516. For the LDS use of Heston's cartoon, see Mason, *Mormon Menace*, 165–66.



Watson Heston, "A Holy Family—Superstition and Some of Her Children," *Truth Seeker*, February 1, 1890, 65 <http://dds.crl.edu/CRLdelivery.asp?tid=16671> (accessed October 6, 2013).

boy, pictured unsubtly with five girl dolls, while the Catholic priest yanks a Jewish man by the hair. All the religious figures, though, are placed in the same familial lineage of superstition. Likewise, in "Who Has the Truth?—Assertions Not Assuring Arguments," Heston made clear that only the freethinker rose above the multitude; all the religious claimants (including Mormons) were so many sounding trumpets, a cacophony of revelations that left reason unscathed and unmoved. Finally, in "The Rising Tide of Skepticism," Heston suggested that Mormons, as much as Catholics and Protestants, would be sunk in the surging waters of scientific rationality and unbelief.³⁰ Heston's cartoons themselves appeared ambivalent and two-sided, perhaps even Janus-faced: His commitment to the Enlightenment unmasking

³⁰"A Holy Family—Superstition and Some of Her Children," *Truth Seeker*, February 1, 1890, 65; "Who Has the Truth?—Assertions Not Assuring Arguments," *Truth Seeker*, February 18, 1893, 97; "The Rising Tide of Skepticism," *Truth Seeker*, June 27, 1891, 401. More than half of Heston's



Watson Heston, "Who Has the Truth?—Assertions Not Assuring Arguments," *Truth Seeker*, February 18, 1893, 97 <http://dds.crl.edu/CRLdelivery.asp?tid=16671> (accessed October 6, 2013).

of religion undercut his freethinking solidarity with religious minorities over civil liberties.

It was very hard for Heston to have it both ways; and toward the end of his career with the *Truth Seeker*, his confused representations of Mormonism came back to bite him. As the conflict over the seating of B. H. Roberts came to a boil in late 1899, Heston joined the fray with two anti-polygamy cartoons. In "The Situation with Roberts," Heston had a personification of decency and womanhood stare down a prison-garbed Roberts with his three beastly wives and declare him unfit for the halls of Congress. The next week, Heston pictured the same three-headed monster confronting Uncle Sam as representative

front-page cartoons were reprinted in book form, including these three. See Watson Heston, *The Freethinkers' Pictorial Text-Book* (New York: Truth Seeker Co., 1890), 199; Watson Heston, *Part II of The Freethinkers' Pictorial Text-Book* (New York: Truth Seeker Co., 1898), 375, 383.



Watson Heston, "The Rising Tide of Skepticism," *Truth Seeker*, June 17, 1891, 401, <http://dds.crl.edu/CRLdelivery.asp?tid=16671> (accessed October 6, 2013).

Mormons Cannon and Roberts hide, along with a Muslim sultan, in a skull-filled cave in the background. A favorite pictorial subject for Heston had long been the advancement of women, particularly their emancipation from their "servitude" to religious leaders and institutions.³¹ Now belatedly he had decided to take on plural marriage as another religious threat to the progress of American womanhood. Even though the brouhaha over Roberts had reactivated much of the old alarm over polygamy's barbarity, it still made little sense for Heston to throw himself at this point into this crusade. The anti-polygamy campaign had been neither his cause nor Macdonald's.

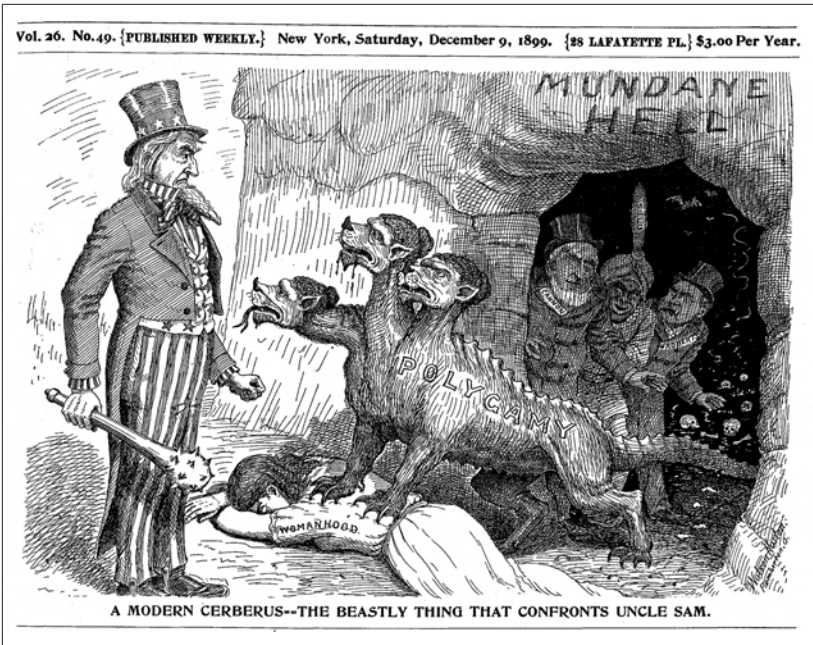
³¹"The Situation with Roberts," *Truth Seeker*, December 2, 1899, 753; "A Modern Cerberus—The Beastly Thing That Confronts Uncle Sam," *Truth Seeker*, December 9, 1899, 769. For one of his characteristic images of women's emancipation from religious authorities, see Heston, *Freethinker's Pictorial Text-book*, 91.



Watson Heston, “The Situation with Roberts,” *Truth Seeker*, December 2, 1899, 753, <http://dds.crl.edu/CRLdelivery.asp?tid=16671> (accessed October 6, 2013).

Heston was clearly used to criticism. His chosen art was designed to provoke controversy, and time and again his caricatures did just that. For a while, the *Truth Seeker* had been banned from sale in Canada in large measure because of the perceived sacrilege of Heston’s cartoons; and when C. B. Reynolds was tried for blasphemy in Morristown, New Jersey, in 1887, it was one of Heston’s images that was seen as the most offensive part of Reynolds’s criminal pamphlet. The last person to be imprisoned in Britain for blasphemy, J. W. Gott, endeared himself to the authorities by (among other things) publishing special issues of his journal devoted to Heston’s cartoons and then turning some of those caricatures into picture postcards.

But it was not only religious and political opponents whom Heston provoked; fellow freethinkers were also ready to pounce when they found his cartoons mistaken or overly coarse. In the case of his anti-Roberts cartoons, the umbrage other secular liberals took was especially intense. Edwin C. Walker, a notoriously outspoken marriage



Watson Heston, "A Modern Cerberus--The Beastly Thing That Confronts Uncle Sam," *Truth Seeker*, December 9, 1899, 769, http://dds.crl.edu/CRL_delivery.asp?tid=16671 (accessed October 6, 2013).

reformer, blasted the *Truth Seeker* and its cartoonist at the Manhattan Liberal Club: "The Anti-Roberts cartoons of Watson Heston in the 'Truth Seeker' are a disgrace to Liberalism, reflecting alike upon its justice and its common sense."³²

Walker was a radical in the marriage and sexuality debates of the era. On principle he and his lover, Lillian Harman, daughter of editor Moses Harman whose paper *Lucifer the Light-Bearer* was at the forefront of freethinking sexual reforms, had designedly chosen to cohabit in an equal partnership rather than participate in what they considered a coercive marital system. For their public witness,

³²"In the Case of Brigham H. Roberts," *Lucifer the Light-Bearer*, December 23, 1899, 394. For another account of "Mr. Walker's wrath" over Heston's cartoons, see "At the Manhattan Liberal Club," *Truth Seeker*, December 23, 1899, 808.

they had been arrested, tried, and found guilty of violating Kansas's marriage laws in 1887; the threat of mob violence had swirled around the couple.³³

Emphasizing individual rights and personal autonomy, Walker (and the Harmans) very much believed in getting the government out of the business of imposing monogamy as a prescriptive social and legal institution. Unsurprisingly then, Walker thought Heston had completely misjudged the Roberts case. It was extremely foolish, he thought, for freethinkers "to assist in trampling down" constitutional guarantees of "civil and religious freedom by joining hands with the aggressive and stronger party in an acrimonious sectarian quarrel." Walker was incensed that Heston would play into the hands of Protestant "majorityism" against Roberts whom Walker considered a wholly reasonable and dignified figure in this festering controversy. As Walker saw the case, much more was at stake than "a battle between two systems of marriage." "Deep down," he said, it was "a conflict between compulsory marriage itself and sexual freedom." Freethinkers should be rallying behind Roberts; the equal rights of minorities, including those of secularists themselves, and the promotion of individual liberties, particularly in the domains of marriage and sexuality, depended on liberals seeing Roberts's cause as their cause too.³⁴

Walker's diatribe against Heston's anti-polygamy cartoons almost seemed reserved compared to some of the blowback Macdonald received. An angry letter from Kansan S. R. Shepherd was a case in point: "Having taken *The Truth Seeker* ever since its birth and always finding it on the side of liberty—even defending the Adventists against the legal invasion of their natural rights—I was surprised to see Heston allowed its use to help the hell-spawned mob of clerical birds and . . . puritan inquisitors who are hurling the missiles of death at that poor devil Roberts." After raking Heston over the coals, Shepherd arrived at his libertarian bottom-line: "Let the people mate and unmate to suit themselves. . . . Everybody mind their own business." The criticism was so strong that Macdonald issued an editorial admis-

³³For a full account of the Edwin Walker-Lillian Harman relationship and the legal battles surrounding the couple, see Hal D. Sears, *The Sex Radicals: Free Love in High Victorian America* (Lawrence: Regents Press of Kansas, 1977), 81–96.

³⁴"In the Case of Brigham H. Roberts," 393–94.

sion that the anti-Roberts cartoons amounted to an “aberration of Mr. Heston’s pencil.” Conceding the debate to those defending Roberts, Macdonald openly distanced himself from Heston. The cartoonist’s long and illustrious career at the *Truth Seeker*, more than coincidentally, fizzled out over the next four months, as Macdonald unceremoniously looked for new artistic talent.³⁵

* * *

No simple lesson can be drawn from the fraught relationship between Mormons and freethinkers in the late nineteenth century. The occasional common ground they found was often little more than one of strategic convenience: They had a common enemy in the Protestant establishment and its cronies in government, and, as the saying goes, the enemy of my enemy is my friend. Expediency, as a rule, does not make for robust and enduring alliances. Still, freethinking liberals and Latter-day Saints often found themselves conjoined—not only in the dark imaginations of their opponents but on the

³⁵“Plural Marriage,” *Truth Seeker*, December 30, 1899, 826. Heston misread (or was at odds with) the preponderant liberal mood in the debate over Roberts. See, for example, the untitled report on Thomas Wentworth Higginson’s opposition to the anti-Roberts crusade in *Truth Seeker*, February 4, 1899, 68; Moncure D. Conway’s letter defending Roberts in George E. Macdonald, *Fifty Years of Freethought*, 2 vols. (New York: Truth Seeker Co., 1931), 2:189–90; and the postmortem of James F. Morton Jr., a rising leader in free-speech circles, “The Real Issue in the Roberts Case,” *Truth Seeker*, March 17, 1900, 169. Heston defended himself from his critics, including Shepherd, in “A Few Remarks on the Cartoons Concerning Polygamy, Etc.,” *Truth Seeker*, January 27, 1900, 58, but the tide was against him. See George B. Wheeler, “The Roberts Cartoons a Mistake,” *Truth Seeker*, February 3, 1900, 74. It should be noted that there were multiple strains in the Heston-Macdonald relationship by December 1899: Macdonald complained about the cost of the cartoons and their lack of refinement, even as he used them repeatedly as money-raisers for his publishing enterprise. The pair’s conflicting views on Roberts played into their preexisting differences. Heston’s cartoons were dropped from the front page in January 1900 and from the paper entirely in April of that year. Heston moved on to other venues, including brief stints with Etta Semple’s *Freethought Ideal* and C. C. Moore’s *Blue-Grass Blade*. The latter provided Heston a forum to air his grievances against Macdonald’s underhanded treatment of him. His career never recovered; he died penurious in 1905.

ground with each other. Such encounters often proved vigorous—unpredictable in the quotidian moments of civility, understanding, and recognition that they produced.

One last story, this one of Samuel Putnam, Congregational minister turned freethinking lecturer, is suggestive of those ties. Styling himself the “Secular Pilgrim,” Putnam roamed the country, an itinerant for liberal enlightenment. He spent a lot of time lecturing in Utah, so much so that he claimed to have become “part and parcel of the very soil . . . thoroughly naturalized from head to foot.” Appearing in small Mormon settlements as well as larger towns, Putnam calculated that he had lectured to about twelve to fifteen thousand people in the territory over a six-week span in 1886 alone. Through these engagements he was in close contact with both Mormons and non-Mormons. In several places, the local LDS bishop introduced him; Putnam found himself warmly entertained even when giving “utterance to my most radical ideas.” Typical was the following report: “The schoolhouse was full at Kanosh, about one hundred being present, the majority Mormons. The lecture on ‘Universal Mental Liberty’ was well received.” At one event in Salt Lake City where he lectured on “The Glory of Infidelity,” Putnam was struck by the ecumenism of the audience, including both Mormons and liberals listening “good-naturedly” to his talk: “All had an opportunity to say their say, and the varied discussion was animated and most cordial.” Putnam, like other freethinkers, had plenty of moments of bristling objection to Mormonism, but he also had many flashes of genuine fellow-feeling. When, for example, he visited the state penitentiary where “about fifty Mormon saints” were being held, he denounced it as “grotesque” and “tragical.” “They are really political prisoners,” he concluded. Years later, on another tour, Putnam took particular delight in a leisurely visit with one local Mormon leader, “hale and hearty at seventy-seven years of age.” They shared, Putnam reported, “a great admiration for Ingersoll.” In the late nineteenth century, neither Mormons nor freethinking secularists found much mainstream acceptance, but every once in a while they discovered, through their shared peculiarity, a bridge across their own differences.³⁶

Any common ground that Mormons and freethinkers found in the late nineteenth century proved very hard to maintain in the next

³⁶Putnam often chronicled his speaking engagements in the pages of the *Truth Seeker*. He presented the 1886 tour of Utah in multiple install-

century. The boundaries separating religious groups—Protestant, Catholic, Jew, and Mormon as well—gradually declined in significance as the fault-line between those who belonged to religious communities and those who belonged to none opened ever wider. The Russian revolution, the fear of anarchism, the cold war, and the culture wars—each would leave its mark. In many ways, what came to define the American religious landscape at the most fundamental level was an alliance of the godly (to which the Latter-day Saints would now very much belong) against the ungodly (of which secular liberals, nonbelievers, communists, humanists, college professors, feminists, and gay-rights activists would all be exemplars). As Franklin Delano Roosevelt commented in a radio address in 1936 under the auspices of the National Conference of Christians and Jews, “The very state of the world is a summons to us to stand together. For as I see it, the chief religious issue is not between our various faiths. It is between belief and unbelief.” Roosevelt called upon devotees of whatever religious tradition to “make common cause” against “irreligion.”³⁷ Truman and Eisenhower—not to mention Eisenhower’s Secretary of Agriculture, Apostle Ezra Taft Benson—would underline that same elemental

ments in the “News and Notes” column: May 1, 1886, 277; May 8, 1886, 293; May 15, 1886, 309; May 22, 1886, 325; May 29, 1886, 341; June 5, 1886, 357; June 12, 1886, 372–73; June 19, 1886, 391; August 7, 1886, 501; August 14, 1886, 517. He then lectured on Mormonism at the Manhattan Liberal Club. “The Liberal Club,” *Truth Seeker*, October 30, 1886, 692. For the later meeting with the elderly Mormon leader, see Putnam, “News and Notes,” *Truth Seeker*, February 16, 1895, 104. For a time he also chronicled his travels in his own newspaper. For an account of another Utah tour in that journal, see Samuel P. Putnam, “News and Notes,” *Freethought*, September 8, 1888, 433–36. Moving through Calvinist orthodoxy and Unitarianism into atheism, Putnam became a major figure among post-Christian liberals. He outlined his religious journey in *My Religious Experience* (New York: Truth Seeker Co., 1891).

³⁷I have borrowed the Roosevelt example from Andrew Preston, *Sword of the Spirit, Shield of Faith: Religion in American War and Diplomacy* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2012), 322. For multiple LDS examples of how the religious freedom issue is redrawn in the twentieth- and twenty-first centuries as a stand for “religion in general” against secularists, nonbelievers, gay-rights activists, and “radical liberals,” see Properzi, “LDS Understandings of Religious Freedom,” esp. 134–35, 141–43, 146–47.

division as would the cultural warriors who came to prominence in the 1980s and 1990s. Yet, even as that God-trusting versus God-neglecting partition became ever more pronounced, residues of the nineteenth-century order remained: Mormons and nonbelievers both continued, as is evident in polling data and social surveys, to face considerable bias against them, particularly as potential political candidates. Neither Latter-day Saints nor secular liberals were likely any longer to find much solidarity in that unhappy distinction; but in the late nineteenth century there was, frequently enough, a mutual recognition that they were bound together in an improbable yet meaningful alliance.

SUCCESSION BY SENIORITY: THE DEVELOPMENT OF PROCEDURAL PRECEDENTS, IN THE LDS CHURCH

Edward Leo Lyman

FOR MORE THAN A CENTURY, featuring the last dozen instances of succession, the process of establishing who would be the new president of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints has been entirely predictable and therefore routine. Thus, most current members of the Church assume that the contemporary tradition has always been so. But that simply was not the case. When the question of succession arose with the deaths of the first Church presidents, it generated a considerable range of disagreements and disputes. This article reviews each of these succession “crises,” particularly the third instance when the organization of Wilford Woodruff’s First Presidency occurred only after a difficult delay and other de-

EDWARD LEO LYMAN {lionman011@gmail.com} is a semi-retired history instructor and writer residing in Silver Reef, Utah, presently serving as an adjunct professor at Dixie State University. His extensive notes, acquired forty years ago from the diaries and journals of members of the LDS hierarchy, have long since convinced him to some day offer his insights on succession to the other good studies previously contributed. Among Lyman’s previous works are *Amasa Mason Lyman, Mormon Apostle and Apostate: A Study in Dedication* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2009) and his edition of *Candid Insights of a Mormon Apostle: The Diaries of Abraham H. Cannon, 1889–1895* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books in association with Smith-Pettit Foundation, 2010). Presently awaiting publication is a history focused primarily on the politics of all seven attempts at Utah statehood. ACKNOWLEDGMENTS: I greatly appreciate the assistance of Steven Heath in writing this paper.

velopments that generated (later) almost-concealed but significant controversies.

After that time, as historians Reed C. Durham Jr. and Steven H. Heath describe in their *Succession in the Church* (1970), the principles governing the law of succession developed without major complications. The steps of the process have been dictated by experience and practice, by the personalities involved, and by the continual “touchings” of the Spirit.¹ In at least one final instance, with Lorenzo Snow, divine revelation was directly brought into play.²

When Joseph Smith was murdered in June 1844, he left behind a number of tangled questions, not the least of which was who would succeed him as president of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and be its chief prophet, seer, and revelator.³ The fact that both Joseph Smith III and James J. Strang, along with probably others, later made persuasive claims that Joseph had, at some point, informed them they were designated to act in that office, tended to perpetuate confusion about the situation.⁴ As a boy, Joseph Smith III received a blessing in December 1836 from his grandfather, Joseph Smith Sr., Church patriarch, which stated that he would some day assume his father’s position as head of the restored Church.⁵ Certainly Joseph Smith III was the focus of most expectations concerning patrilineal

¹Reed C. Durham and Steven H. Heath, *Succession in the Church* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1970), vii–viii, 1–12.

²LeRoi C. Snow, “The Redeemer Appears to President Lorenzo Snow,” *Deseret News*, April 2, 1938, quoted in Nels B. Lundwall, ed., *Temples of the Most High*, 10th ed. (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, [1957?]), 148–50.

³Oliver Cowdery (Elkhorn, Wisconsin), Letter to David Whitmer, July 28, 1847. Whitmer allowed the letter to be published in *Ensign of Liberty* 1, no. 6 (May 1848), which was the monthly periodical published by Whitmer’s Church of Christ from March 1847 through August 1849. See also Durham and Heath, *Succession in the Church*, 4–5. Cowdery’s views, which Whitmer shared, assumed that they still possessed both the authority itself and the keys to utilizing that power, although they admitted that taking such action would require direction from the Lord and neither claimed to have received that authorization.

⁴D. Michael Quinn, “The Mormon Succession Crisis of 1844,” *BYU Studies* 16 (Winter 1976): 187–233.

⁵D. Michael Quinn, *The Mormon Hierarchy: Origins of Power* (Salt Lake

succession to the presidency of one of the several churches stemming from the Restoration. Community of Christ historian Mark A. Scherer has tabulated the four relevant blessings bestowed on Joseph III, one by Joseph Sr. and three by Joseph Jr., the last just before the Prophet's death when Joseph III was eleven. This last blessing was "not of specific appointment to church leadership . . . but of succession by 'right of lineage,' as Joseph III would explain many years later."⁶ Some said the Prophet Joseph left a will to that effect, but no extant documentation supports that assertion.⁷

For several months in 1846, Emma Smith and Joseph III appeared to support James Strang's attempt to form a church built on Joseph Jr.'s earlier alleged statements. But neither Joseph III, who turned thirteen in 1846, nor his mother formed any public alliance with any such successor-claimants during the son's youth.⁸ According to Joseph III's biographer, Roger D. Launius, he initially rejected offers from Samuel Gurley and Jason Briggs "to take the place of his father as head of the church they were seeking to re-establish." However, "the brother of the latter, Edmund C. Briggs arrived in the Nauvoo area at the end of 1856 and commenced to teach the 23 year-old Smith the "correctness" of the Reorganized Church's teachings."⁹ Although Joseph III again partly rejected Briggs's urging, in 1859–60, after Joseph and his wife, Bertha, had suffered from financial difficulties and the death of an infant daughter, he hovered at the

City: Signature Books, 1994), 226–32; Roger D. Launius, *Joseph Smith III: Pragmatic Prophet* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988), 7.

⁶Mark A. Scherer, *The Journey of a People: Vol. 2, The Era of Reorganization, 1844 to 1946* (Independence: Community of Christ Seminary Press, 2013), 53–55; quotation from p. 55.

⁷Quinn, *Origins of Power*, 232–34.

⁸Charles K. Backus, *The King of Beaver Island* (Los Angeles: Westernlore Press, 1955), 20, 29, 37–38; Russell R. Rich, *Those Who Would Be Leaders (Offshoots of Mormonism)* (Provo, Utah: [BYU] Extension Publications, 1958), 19–23. Richard E. Bennett, *Mormons at the Missouri: Winter Quarters, 1846–1852* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987), 202, quotes Bishop George Miller, a member of the Council of Fifty during the Nauvoo period, who cited Wingfield Watson (a Strang lieutenant), in claiming that he (Watson) represented many who believed "young Joseph Smith was appointed by his father to succeed him."

⁹Launius, *Joseph Smith III*, 101–5.

brink of depression and despair. Sincere prayer confirmed “a divine message” to Joseph III that “the Saints reorganizing” was the only portion of the dispersed churches looking back to his father that appeared acceptable to him. In April 1860, he and his mother attended a conference of the hopeful “New Movement,” as it was then called, recounted his personal confirmatory experience, and made a lifelong commitment to the group that became the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints.¹⁰

In the almost sixteen years that had elapsed since the assassination of Joseph Smith Jr., other differing claims were part of the confusing situation immediately confronting members of the original Church. As the members of the Quorum of Twelve Apostles made their way back to Nauvoo from various locations in the East where they had engaged in Joseph Smith’s U.S. presidential campaign, Sidney Rigdon had also come back from his new residence in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, to make his “guardianship” claims as successor to the prophet on the basis of being the sole surviving member of the official First Presidency. He asked Nauvoo Stake president William Marks to call a conference for Tuesday, August 6; but Marks cooperatively delayed the meeting until Thursday, thus allowing Brigham Young and three other apostles to reach Nauvoo.¹¹

In a preliminary meeting on Wednesday, August 5, Rigdon asserted that “no man can be the successor of Joseph [since] the martyred prophet is still head of the church.” But, Sidney claimed, he had personally been consecrated Joseph’s emissary “to speak for him.”¹² Rigdon’s case was weakened, however, by Joseph’s attempt in October 1843 to remove him as counselor in the First Presidency, and he had not been active in that office for a considerable time.¹³ On Thursday, Rigdon occupied the entire morning session of the confer-

¹⁰Ibid., 103–5, 117, 221–30.

¹¹James B. Allen and Glen M. Leonard, *The Story of the Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1976), 200–201.

¹²Richard Van Wagoner, *Sidney Rigdon: A Portrait of Religious Excess* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1994), 337.

¹³Edward Leo Lyman, *Amasa Mason Lyman: Mormon Apostle and Apostate: A Study in Dedication* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2009), 75–76, 524 notes 11, 13, and 15. See also Jedediah M. Grant, *A Collection of Facts, Relative to the Course Taken by Elder Sidney Rigdon in the States of Ohio,*

ence, carefully expanding on his claims.¹⁴

After the dinner hour, the conference reconvened; and Brigham Young conceded that the people could indeed choose Rigdon, if they wished, but then built a case for leadership by the Quorum of the Twelve, first by enumerating the numerous disagreements over the past two years between Sidney and Joseph, then by describing how closely Smith had worked with the Twelve Apostles during Rigdon's recent absence from Nauvoo. Young then asserted his most telling argument: "One thing I must know and that is what God says about it. I hold the keys and the means of obtaining the voice of God on the subject" because "Joseph conferred upon our [the apostles'] heads all the keys and powers belonging to the apostleship which he himself had held before he was taken away and no man or set of men can get between Joseph and the Twelve in this world or in the world to come." He repeated Joseph's charge to the Twelve: "I have laid the foundations and you must build thereon, for upon your shoulders this kingdom rests."¹⁵ A year later, Parley P. Pratt also recalled this charge and quoted Joseph's words similarly: "I roll the burdens and responsibility of leading the church off my shoulders on to yours. Now round up your shoulders and stand under it like men, for the Lord is going to let me rest awhile."¹⁶ Ronald K. Esplin explains that the apostles who served missions together in England in 1839–41 became the nucleus that stood united and authoritatively in claiming the keys of succession. Joseph Smith had steadily increased their duties in Nauvoo, thus assuring their position next to the First Presidency.¹⁷

According to Rigdon's biographer, Richard Van Wagoner, Brigham Young, oratorically inferior to Rigdon but more "clever, ambi-

Missouri, Illinois and Pennsylvania (1844; rpt., Grantsville, Utah: Archive Publishers, 2003), 15.

¹⁴Van Wagoner, *Sidney Rigdon*, 337.

¹⁵Joseph Smith Jr. et al., *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 2d ed., edited by B. H. Roberts (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 7 vols. 1902–12; Vol. 7, 1932, 1978 printing), 7:231–35; hereafter cited as *History of the Church*. See also Scott G. Kenney, ed., *Wilford Woodruff's Journals*, 9 vols. (Midvale, Utah: Signature Books, 1983–85), August 3, 1887, 8:450.

¹⁶Parley P. Pratt, *Millennial Star* 5 (March 1845): 151. See also citations to Brigham Young and Wilford Woodruff (note 15), who left strikingly similar accounts.

¹⁷Ronald K. Esplin, "Joseph, Brigham and the Twelve: A Succession

tious and politically astute . . . simply wrested [leadership] away from Rigdon.”¹⁸ This was not particularly difficult to do since the claims of the Twelve were superior, and most Church members recognized that fact. However, a surprisingly large proportion, though still a minority, of Church members never actually moved west.¹⁹

After President Young finished speaking, he called on Amasa M. Lyman to present his own claim or whatever position he desired to elaborate on concerning succession. In October 1843, Joseph Smith had called Lyman into the First Presidency, originally to replace Rigdon; but the general conference did not sustain this action, instead supporting Hyrum Smith’s appeal to give Rigdon more time to return to faithfulness. But most present understood that Joseph had expressed a firm preference for Lyman.²⁰ Brigham Young believed that Lyman had a right at least equal to Rigdon’s to claim the Church presidency. However, Amasa placed his entire influence and argument behind the Twelve, stating forcefully, “I never did conceive [my position in the presidency] gave me a precedence to go before the Twelve.” Then probably remembering the charge each apostle received from Joseph Smith after initially being ordained to their office, he affirmed, “I am satisfied that no man can carry on the work, but the power that is in the Twelve.” Thus, he implied the need for the

of Continuity,” *BYU Studies* 21(Summer 1981): 309–24. Esplin also cites an “Undated Certificate of the Twelve,” ca. fall 1844 or winter 1845, in the Brigham Young Papers, which describes the “last charge,” including Joseph Smith’s “own language to us on that occasion as nearly as we can recollect.” Some have questioned the accuracy of these recollections, but their close agreement with each other and their recording, quite close to the martyrdom, strengthens their claim. See also D. Michael Quinn, *The Mormon Hierarchy: Origins of Power*, 194, 196, 414 note 40, 415 note 50. Marvin S. Hill, *Quest for Refuge: The Mormon Flight from American Pluralism* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1989), 261 note 12, challenges Esplin’s interpretation that the charge clearly designates the Twelve as Joseph’s successors.

¹⁸Van Wagoner, *Sidney Rigdon*, 337.

¹⁹Esplin, “Joseph, Brigham and the Twelve,” 333, states that approximately half of those who were Church members at the death of Joseph Smith followed the Twelve through the difficulties of the succession-exodus period. His note 111 cites preliminary studies by Donald L. Enders, James L. Kimball, and T. Edgar Lyon as the sources for this still-tentative statement.

²⁰Lyman, *Amasa Mason Lyman*, 75–79.

apostles' collective leadership. Young had "stood next to the Prophet Joseph, with the Twelve," Lyman reiterated decisively, and "I have stood next to them (not yet being in the quorum, but nevertheless ordained to the apostleship)." He later explained that "if Joseph Smith had any power to bear off the Kingdom of God, the Twelve have the same."²¹ Lyman's public support, along with Young's arguments and the Saints' mistrust of Rigdon, convinced the majority of those present to follow the apostles.²² Those assembled "unanimously voted . . . to [allow the apostles to] stand as the First Presidency of the church."²³ There has been a persistent debate over the existence of divine manifestations of approval in this decision.²⁴

Three and a half years later, Brigham Young, understandably, began to tire of collegial leadership of the Church by the twelve-member quorum, particularly during the grinding challenges of leading displaced pioneers away from Nauvoo. He began to argue for an organization of a new regular First Presidency.²⁵ After the eventful winter of 1846–47 in temporary pioneer camps on both sides of the Missouri River, the vanguard company, consisting of some 144 men, three

²¹*History of the Church*, 7:237.

²²Lyman, *Amasa Mason Lyman*, 85–86, 88–90.

²³Esplin, "Joseph, Brigham and the Twelve," 325, quoting Andrew Ehat, ed., "Nauvoo Journal of Joseph Fielding," *BYU Studies* 19 (Winter 1979): 155.

²⁴Richard S. Van Wagoner, "The Making of a Mormon Myth: The 1844 Transformation of Brigham Young," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 28 (Winter 1995): 1–24; Reid L. Harper, "The Mantle of Prophet: Creation of a Mormon Miracle," *Journal of Mormon History* 22 (Fall 1996): 35–71. See also Lynne Watkins Jorgensen, "The Mantle of the Prophet Joseph Passes to Brother Brigham: One Hundred Twenty-one Testimonies of a Collective Spiritual Witness," in *Opening the Heavens: Accounts of Divine Manifestations, 1820–1844*, edited by John W. Welch with Erick B. Carlson (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press/Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2005), 373–477. I find it doubtful that the alleged "transformation" of Brigham Young into Joseph Smith proved significant in the initial decisions.

²⁵Bennett, *Mormons at the Missouri*, 42–43. Bennett was among the first to comment on Brigham Young's growing impatience while leading Nauvoo refugees across the extremely muddy prairies of Iowa in 1846. See telling comments in the Journal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (chronological scrapbook of typed entries and newspaper

women, and two children, headed west for Great Salt Lake Valley, where most of the men remained to plant crops and build houses in the new haven for the Saints. Most of the apostles who had traveled west with Brigham Young returned to Winter Quarters in the fall of 1847 with their teams and wagons so that they could bring their own families and more settlers west the following summer.

As President Young settled down to wait out the winter of 1847–48, he held a series of “councils” with the other apostles about creating a new First Presidency. On October 12, 1847, Young approached Wilford Woodruff for his opinion about one of the apostles being appointed president of the Church. Woodruff recorded his uneasiness: “I thought it would require a revelation to change the order of that quorum.” But he soon after reconsidered and assured Young that “whatever the Lord inspires you to do in this matter I am with you.”²⁶ Historian D. Michael Quinn has documented that Joseph Smith’s teachings and revelations lacked any authorization for this move, nor did Brigham Young assert any new inspiration.²⁷ But on the other hand, as Young argued, Smith had established a clear precedent of having long functioned within a First Presidency.

Two apostles (John Taylor and Parley P. Pratt) whose wagon companies arrived later were wintering at Salt Lake Valley, while two others (William Smith and Lyman Wight) were severing their ties with the Church. The other eight apostles held three quorum meetings on November 16, 30, and December 5, 1847, at which Orson Pratt brought up the subject of the “standing & rights of the president

clippings, 1830–present), LDS Church History Library, April 18, May 3, 20, 21, 1846, mainly focused on Brigham Young. On May 24, 1846, he assembled his company of pioneers, despite the rain and announced that the “time had come when he should command them what to do” and see whether they were willing to “hearken to counsel.” See also Lyman, *Amasa Mason Lyman*, 122–24.

²⁶Kenney, *Wilford Woodruff’s Journals*, October 12, 1847, 3:283. Woodruff’s subsequent statement of support appears under his own asterisk. On December 5, 1847, Woodruff seconded Hyde’s motion to sustain Young as Church president. *Ibid.*, 3:294–95. See also Gary James Bergera, *Conflict in the Quorum: Orson Pratt, Brigham Young, and Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2002), 54 note 2. His Chapter 3 is a very useful resource for this episode.

²⁷Quinn, *The Mormon Hierarchy: Origins of Power*, 247.

& also the quorum.” Apostles George A. Smith, Wilford Woodruff, and Amasa M. Lyman partly expressed support related to aspects of Pratt’s position. Apparently neither Orson Hyde nor Ezra T. Benson voiced any concerns, and Young, Heber C. Kimball, and Willard Richards fully supported organizing the First Presidency.²⁸ Young had publicly rebuked Parley Pratt and John Taylor for policies (including agreeing to plural marriages not approved by Brigham Young) implemented while leading the later companies into the Salt Lake Valley in the late summer of 1847, and thus had they been at Council Bluffs, they might likely have also opposed his proposal to grant a new presidency additional power.²⁹

At another meeting on December 5, Amasa M. Lyman, who had never previously voiced any opposition to Young, tactfully protested against the senior apostle’s tendency to criticize fellow apostles in public, as he had recently done to Parley P. Pratt and John Taylor. He complained, “It murders me to the bottom of my soul to have my name handled before the members of the church. I have no fears about what may be said by this quorum concerning me. . . [I]f I do wrong I would like to be told of my faults in the presence of my friends.” Speaking immediately after Lyman, George A. Smith agreed, reiterating that “if there were to be a chastening, let it be in the quorum, and let me have it.” Smith added that he “should like the president to respect the feelings of his quorum.” The second cousins, Lyman and Smith, were clearly thinking of the earlier public chastening of their two fellow apostles. Yet despite these concerns, it is doubtful if anyone ever convinced Young to alter his clearly offensive behavior in this regard. Historian Richard Bennett diplomatically asserted

²⁸Bergera, *Conflict in the Quorum*, 54–81, drawing from “Minutes of Councils, Meetings & Journey,” in Miscellaneous Minutes Collection, LDS Church History Library. None of the deliberations of the last day of November are reflected in this present discussion. See also Kenney, *Wilford Woodruff’s Journal*, November 15, 16, 1847, 3:290–91; December 4, 5, 1847, 3:294–95; December 25, 26, 27, 1847, 3:300–301.

²⁹William Smith, troublesome on several occasions, was excommunicated October 12, 1845, for misuse of Church funds. He had technically been replaced as presiding officer in the eastern branches by Wilford Woodruff in the fall of 1844. Melvin C. Johnson’s *Polygamy on the Pedernales: Lyman Wight’s Mormon Villages in Antebellum Texas, 1845 to 1858* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 2006), 32–53.

that Young's actions were usually "tempered with compassion"; but the minutes of this crucial meeting display no reservations on Young's part in asserting that "whoever is at the head must be a lion" in all ways in which Young came to exemplify these traits.³⁰

Brigham Young's later recollections of the quorum meetings was that Orson Pratt provided the most systematic opposition to his proposals. Pratt was technically correct in arguing that there was no difference in keys or authority in the quorum between the president of the group, chosen by seniority, and the most newly sustained member.³¹ Young sidestepped these arguments and reacted stormily, presenting himself as an injured and insulted man, protesting he would "rather be shot at Carthage jail than be under the necessity of [h]aving to run to my bre[thre]n before I can speak bef[ore] the public." He significantly added: "I am the mouth piece & you [a]r[e] the belly."³² The other apostles would long recognize and quietly resent Young's assumption of his superior status and their inferiority, which became a major issue after his death.

Except for Orson Pratt, who was mainly concerned about theological implications, the question had not actually been about appointing Brigham Young as president of the Church. Young was unquestionably already functioning as the head, which was at least partially recognized at the time. The problem was more whether there should be an autonomous body—the First Presidency—that would assume virtually all of the executive and administrative functions of Church leadership. In the final meeting of the three, December 5, Pratt consistently maintained his fervent arguments against changing the nature of the Quorum of the Twelve and its functions, which would literally downgrade it to become the second ranking quorum in the Church (instead of sharing in the first). Young led the opposing view, with support from Heber C. Kimball, Willard Richards, and, by

³⁰"Minutes of a Meeting of the Twelve Apostles at Orson Hyde's home," December 5, 1847, quoted in Bennett, *Mormons at the Missouri*, 203, 305 note 20–22. See also "Miscellaneous Trustees Minutes," November 17, 1847, quoted in *ibid.*, 210, 308 note 52.

³¹Bergera, *Conflict in the Quorum*, 55–65, 68–69; Leonard J. Arrington, *Brigham Young: American Moses* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1985), 153–55.

³²Bergera, *Conflict in the Quorum*, 57; Bennett, *Mormons at the Missouri*, 209.

then, Orson Hyde. At that juncture, Wilford Woodruff announced his change in views, as did George A. Smith—both leaning more toward support for Young’s position.³³

Amasa M. Lyman then clarified the competing demands of their apostolic responsibilities. On the one hand, he acknowledged their scriptural duty to preach and oversee missionary work throughout the world while, on the other, important administrative work needed to be done at Church headquarters. He explained “Somebody has to preside. I presume three will go to [the] valley [of the Great Salt Lake] and there they [will administer] and watch over the interests of Zion and they may [then] send me [and presumably the other apostles] to preside over Gentiles and Saints [abroad in the world].”³⁴ Lyman’s ministry had demonstrated that he preferred such preaching and proselytizing to the administrative functions that the First Presidency would presumably fulfill. Lyman also noted that Young and, to a lesser extent, Heber C. Kimball and Willard Richards, were a de facto presidency that had been functioning as such during the past year and a half. He further acknowledged that none of the other quorum members were as well qualified—by either temperament or ability—as Brigham Young to become Church president. After junior apostle E. T. Benson gave the proposal his full approval, Orson Pratt admitted that he could not view matters in quite the same light as the other seven, but conceded: “It’s of importance now to organize the church—that this quorum may do as Bro. Amasa says.”³⁵

Almost three weeks later on Christmas Eve day, over a thousand Church members crowded into the recently completed Log Tabernacle in Kanesville (later Council Bluffs) to participate in what Richard Bennett termed “one of the principal days in the history of the church.”³⁶ Orson Pratt obediently conducted the first part of the meeting and, with good grace, acknowledged the desire of at least the other apostles that it was “best to appoint a First Presidency.” Then, just prior to the vote by Church members, Amasa Lyman repeated his

³³Bergera, *Conflict in the Quorum*, 63–82.

³⁴Doctrine and Covenants 107:26–33; Bergera, *Conflict in the Quorum*, 74–76; Bennett, *Mormons at the Missouri*, 69, 309.

³⁵Bergera, *Conflict in the Quorum*, 74–76.

³⁶Bennett, *Mormons at the Missouri*, 69, 213, 309 notes 68–89, mentions meetings on December 24 and 27.

earlier argument of the need for an administrative First Presidency, thus freeing the other apostles for preaching throughout the world. Although some Church members had initially shared some apprehension about the new proposals for the Church organization, the addresses by Pratt and Lyman made it clear that the Twelve themselves had by then reached consensus. Therefore, no opposition was demonstrated among the conference attendees, as the sustaining vote for organizing Brigham Young's First Presidency was taken.³⁷ Some have claimed that divine manifestations attested to the rightness of this action,³⁸ but the debate on that matter still remains open.³⁹

The Brigham Young presidency is widely known, partly because

³⁷Bergera, *Conflict in the Quorum*, 76–80.

³⁸Albert R. Lyman, *Amasa Mason Lyman: Trailblazer and Pioneer from the Atlantic to the Pacific* (Delta, Utah: Melvin A. Lyman, ed., 1957), 181, is one of many who cite B. H. Roberts's *Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Century I*, 6 vols. (1930, rpt., Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1965 printing), 3:314–19 notes 15–25, which drew on the questionable later recollections of Brigham Young and Orson Hyde of “remarkable manifestations of the spirit,” which other more reliable diarists, such as Wilford Woodruff and Amasa Lyman did not note at the time or thereafter. Even Durham and Heath, *Succession in the Church*, 60, followed these leads. See also Lyman, *Amasa Mason Lyman*, 149–50; Kenney, *Wilford Woodruff's Journals*, 3:295, December 5, 1847, makes no mention of anything special occurring. When asked the same question forty-seven years later, Woodruff also denied any such recollection. See Lyman, *Candid Insights of a Mormon Apostle: The Diaries of Abraham H. Cannon, 1889–1895* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books in association with Smith-Pettit Foundation, 2010), August 30, 1894, 544, which appears to be asking about both Nauvoo and Council Bluffs.

³⁹Much later, in April 1860, Brigham Young told the apostles, “At O. Hyde's [residence back in Winter Quarters in 1847] the power came upon us, a shock that alarmed the neighborhood.” Hyde stated the formerly hesitant Orson Pratt had been won over by revelation and, in fact, informed the later conference attendees that he and his colleagues had organized the presidency in 1847 “because the voice of God declared: ‘Let my servant Brigham step forth and receive the full power of the presiding Priesthood in my Church and kingdom.’” “Minutes of Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, April 4, 1860,” cited in Quinn, *The Mormon Hierarchy: Origins of Power*, 452 note 21. For Hyde's 1860 speech, see *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (Liver-

it lasted so long. None should ever deny his countless positive contributions during his tenure. However, few have encountered the substantial number of more negative effects which severely complicated the succession process of those who followed him in the Church presidency, particularly John Taylor and Wilford Woodruff. One of Brigham Young's most significant influences on succession was his momentous alteration in the order of seniority for Orson Hyde and Orson Pratt, which he initiated with the support of his new counselor, George A. Smith.

The story begins in May 1838 when Orson Hyde returned from his first British mission and moved to the new Zion in northern Missouri. Matters there were then moving rapidly toward the brief but violent Mormon War in October 1838. Hyde reached Far West, so exhausted and feverish that his efforts in August to resume his apostolic functions failed. His family-written biography argues that his "fevers caused an increase in his confusion," leaving him "too sick to analyze wisely." While Hyde was in this condition, Thomas B. Marsh, president of the Twelve, shared his own increasing concerns about and intensifying criticisms of Joseph Smith's flawed leadership.⁴⁰

Marsh persuaded Hyde to leave Far West, soon to be besieged by Missouri militia, and accompany him to Richmond Landing, a safer town forty-five miles south in neighboring Ray County. There, Marsh and Hyde met with early key Church leaders, David Whitmer and Oliver Cowdery, who had been excommunicated by a high council court on April 12 and 13, 1838, respectively, in an action in which Joseph Smith did not intervene or attempt to mediate. Both Whitmer and Cowdery testified that, while Joseph had once been absolutely inspired in his work, he was now a "fallen prophet." Influenced by these former Mormons and non-Mormon opponents, Marsh composed a public statement of warning against the "insidious designs of Joseph

pool: Latter-day Saints Book Depot, 1855–86), 8:234. Quinn, *The Mormon Hierarchy: Origins of Power*, 453–57 notes 34–53, suggests that Hyde may have fabricated a faith-promoting account. Quinn referred to the above-cited Woodruff inquiry from 1894, which may be partly mixed with the selection in Nauvoo of the Council of the Twelve over Rigdon's claims. Quinn also makes an important case that there is confusion over whether these presidents of the Church were in fact ordained (252).

⁴⁰Myrtle Stevens Hyde, *Orson Hyde: The Olive Branch of Israel* (Salt Lake City: Agreka Books, 2000), 98–99.

Smith” and alleging that he intended to attack and conquer some of the state—and even beyond Missouri’s borders—by violent means. Hyde appended his own statement to the document, below Marsh’s signature, affirming that he knew most of the statements to be true and believed the others to also be accurate. He then announced in the same document that he had left the Church.⁴¹

Yet by February 1839, Hyde had reconsidered and asked for reinstatement. Never quite excommunicated, on June 27, 1839, he was restored to his apostolic office. But he had clearly acted intemperately at a time when loyalty was literally a life-and-death matter. And considerably later, with action initiated by Brigham Young, closely supported by his newly appointed second counselor, George A. Smith, Hyde’s seniority in the Twelve was repositioned so that he was junior to John Taylor and Wilford Woodruff. Thus, although Hyde outlived Brigham Young, he never rose to the position of senior apostle. George A. Smith, who had been ordained on April 26, 1839, the same day as Woodruff, was thus also made senior to Hyde and Pratt; but his seniority became moot since he died September 1, 1875, before Brigham’s death.⁴²

The second adjustment in seniority, that of Orson Pratt, is far more complicated. In 1841 at Nauvoo, while Orson Pratt was still serving a mission in England, Joseph Smith commenced establishing the doctrine and practice of plural marriage. During this process, he eventually requested that some apostles offer him their wife, which he later explained had been a test of their loyalty and faithfulness. In Orson’s absence, Joseph allegedly approached Orson’s wife, Sarah Bates Pratt, who claimed she rejected all such advances. When Orson returned home in August 1841, Joseph did not immediately teach him about plural marriage, as he had some other apostles; thus, it was Sarah’s story, not Joseph’s, that Orson first heard. He sided with his wife and apparently stopped associating even socially with the other apostles. Joseph and some other apostles were at that time being initi-

⁴¹Ibid., 100–101.

⁴²Ibid., 100–105. See also Allen and Leonard, *Story of the Latter-day Saints*, 126; Quinn, *The Mormon Hierarchy: Origins of Power*, 62–63; Howard H. Barron, *Orson Hyde: Missionary, Apostle, Colonizer* (Bountiful, Utah: Horizon Press, 1977), 103–6. Daniel H. Wells, Young’s first counselor, was not involved in these seniority adjustments, but George Q. Cannon may have been.

ated into the Quorum of the Anointed, which had begun in May 1842 and through which they were beginning to learn the temple ordinances in preparation for helping other worthy Church members to receive their own endowments when the Nauvoo Temple was sufficiently completed. In other ways as well, Pratt distanced himself from Joseph Smith's direction and leadership.⁴³

The impressive but unstable and self-indulgent John C. Bennett, who had earlier ingratiated himself to Smith, was by mid-July 1842 disaffected, excommunicated, and exiled from Nauvoo. He published his own exposé of the Prophet, including his claim that he was present when Joseph made improper proposals to Sarah Pratt. Believing that the Pratts had conversed with Bennett (apparently they had not), Joseph publicly attacked Sarah and Orson Pratt, later explaining that in such cases "when a man becomes a traitor to his friends . . . who is innocent, it is right to cut off his influence."⁴⁴ This sentiment doubtless explains Joseph Smith's feelings toward Orson Pratt, even if he was acting unjustly.

Obviously distraught from this public shaming and the great blow to his faith, some reported that Orson wrote an unsigned note allegedly saying: "I am a ruined man! . . . My sorrows are greater than I can bear!"⁴⁵ He then disappeared from the city. Alarmed that Pratt might be announcing suicidal intentions, Joseph instituted a search. Searchers found him on the second day some five miles below Nauvoo on the Mississippi River bank.⁴⁶ At a Church conference held July 21 where the members were asked to declare Joseph Smith to be a good, moral man, Pratt refused to sustain the action, one of only a few to take such a stance. Within the week, Smith publicly accused Orson of "attempting to destroy himself," alleging that the apostle had told

⁴³Breck England, *The Life and Thought of Orson Pratt* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1983), 78–80. See also Devery S. Anderson and Gary J. Bergera, *Joseph Smith's Quorum of the Anointed, 1842–1845: A History* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2005), xx, xxxix–xlxxx; 162–66, 137–57.

⁴⁴Gary James Bergera, "Seniority in the Twelve: The 1875 Realignment of Orson Pratt," *Journal of Mormon History* 18 (Spring 1992): 29–30 note 39.

⁴⁵*Ibid.*, 29–30 note 39; Thomas Edgar Lyon, *Orson Pratt: Early Mormon* (M.A. thesis: University of Chicago, 1932), 35–38.

⁴⁶England, *The Life and Thought of Orson Pratt*, 78–80; Lyon, *Orson Pratt*, 121. The suggestions of suicidal intent have never been proved.

stories to people who would betray the Prophet.⁴⁷

On August 8, 1842, Apostles Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, and George A. Smith spent a full day with Orson, “laboring” to help him believe Joseph’s account instead of Sarah’s. When Orson held out obdurate, the three apostles, acting on Joseph Smith’s directions, ordained Amasa Lyman to replace Pratt in the Quorum of the Twelve. While they also reported cutting off Pratt from his apostleship, Joseph later declared on January 23, 1843, that this action was illegal because it involved a minority of the quorum.⁴⁸

About the same time that Pratt was reconciled to Smith and the Church, he and Sarah, who had never been disciplined, were rebaptized, and Orson “received the priesthood & the same power & authority as in former days.”⁴⁹ While there is no clear record that Orson Pratt was ever excommunicated, it seems reasonable that he had been at least temporarily suspended from the Quorum of the Twelve. Brigham Young used this episode as the basis for shifting Pratt’s seniority to below that of Taylor, Woodruff, and George A. Smith among the apostles on April 10, 1875. No known record exists that Pratt protested against this action.

Brigham Young’s relationship with Orson Pratt was often stormy and conflict-ridden, as it was also with Orson Hyde and to a lesser extent, John Taylor.⁵⁰ In the matter of succession, it appears clear that eventually the majority of other apostles agreed to accept Young’s shift in seniority of both Hyde and Pratt. The Quorum of the

⁴⁷England, *The Life and Thought of Orson Pratt*, 80–81. *History of the Church* 5:138, has Joseph asserting that “Orson Pratt has attempted to destroy himself.” In a letter from Orson Pratt to the editor of the *Nauvoo Wasp*, Pratt denies authenticity of a letter from Dr. R. G. Foster of New York City stating that John C. Bennett had received a letter from Pratt and his wife. Pratt protests that they had never at any time written to Bennett. *History of the Church* 5:167.

⁴⁸Bergera, “Seniority in the Twelve,” 31–36; Bergera, *Conflict in the Quorum*, 18–47; England, *The Life and Thought of Orson Pratt*, 84–85; Richard Lyman Bushman, *Joseph Smith: Rough Stone Rolling* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2005), 466–67.

⁴⁹Minutes of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, January 20, 1843, quoted in Bergera, “Seniority in the Twelve,” 37.

⁵⁰Bergera, *Conflict in the Quorum*, 83, 137–41, 146–49, 170–87; Barron, *Orson Hyde*, 222. Abram Cannon recorded that Lorenzo Snow de-

Twelve certainly controls its membership and seniority, a prerogative it exercised in 1861, by declaring John Taylor senior to Wilford Woodruff. Woodruff was about a year older than Taylor, but Taylor had been ordained about five months sooner. From that point on, seniority was determined by the date of ordination, a permanent precedent.

In October 1874, when the apostles were presented at both the April and October general conferences, Orson Hyde and Orson Pratt were both sustained as the quorum's senior members; and Hyde, as had long been the case, was recognized as its president. But at the next conference on April 10, 1875, John Taylor was sustained as the senior member (but not as quorum president), with Wilford Woodruff as second senior apostle. According to Woodruff's journal, "George Q. Cannon had presented the authorities at the conference and when he came to the Twelve, John Taylor and Wilford Woodruff was [sic] put before Orson Hyde and Orson Pratt." Woodruff explained this potentially confusing action: "John Taylor was ordained to the apostleship some days [sic; actually about five months] before I was and O. Hyde and O. Pratt had both been out of the church and had returned to the church and been ordained into the quorum of the twelve." Since Taylor and Woodruff had been ordained in the interim, "we both stood ahead of them in the quorum."⁵¹ Despite these adjustments, Brigham Young continued to claim that he was president of the Twelve even though Orson Hyde had been sustained to that position since 1849. Even after April 1875, Young usually could not acknowledge that John Taylor was president of the Twelve.

As a result of the 1875 realignment, Taylor, as senior apostle, assumed leadership of the Church when Brigham Young died in August 1877. However, no First Presidency was organized for more than three years. Nine apostles and two former counselors in the presidency (Daniel H. Wells and John W. Young, who were ordained apostles but not members of the quorum) met about a week after Brigham

scribed to the Twelve how Brigham Young "most terribly scourged" John Taylor for not supporting his United Order crusade while both were involved in the dedication of the St. George Temple. Snow fervently pled with Taylor to apologize to Young, which Taylor finally did. Lyman, *Candid Insights of a Mormon Apostle*, 83–84, April 9, 1890. See also Arrington, *Brigham Young*, 198, 207–8, 407; and Lyon, *Orson Pratt*, 137.

⁵¹Kenney, *Wilford Woodruff's Journal*, April 10, 1875, 7:224; Bergera, "Seniority in the Twelve," 20, 50–55.

Young's funeral and agreed that the authority to guide the Church devolved upon all of them collectively, with John Taylor sustained as president of the Twelve.⁵²

Taylor was sustained as president of the Quorum of Twelve Apostles at the October 1877 general conference in a solemn assembly, which, as George Q. Cannon explained, had been similarly held under Joseph Smith's direction at Kirtland, Ohio, in the earliest days of the Church. Cannon also instructed attendees on how the priesthood quorums should be seated, in addition to the congregation. This ceremonial approach offered a public ritualized acceptance of President Taylor in his new role as the presiding priesthood officer of the Church. As Heath observed, "The sustaining ceremony in essence sanctions the actions of a new president. His official pronouncements then become the law of the church. The Taylor sustaining script was thereafter utilized in each succession through Spencer W. Kimball," although it was abbreviated, beginning with the presidential sustaining of Kimball's successor, Ezra Taft Benson.⁵³

It soon became apparent that at least several apostles felt that Brigham Young had been too autocratic, particularly ignoring the possible role of other apostles of equivalent, if not senior, rank. George Q. Cannon, probably the most consistently loyal to Young of all the apostles, noted with astonishment four months after Young's death that some apostles disapproved of some of Young's actions and

⁵²Durham and Heath, *Succession in the Church*, 74–88, quoted a discourse by John Taylor, October 4, 1877, *Journal of Discourses*, 19:139, in which he stated: "There is no contention, strife or difficulty, because we all understand the principles that God has ordained for the government of his people. The twelve have not assumed the presidency of the church to suit themselves, but as a duty which they could not ignore." John Taylor, "Succession of the Priesthood" (Salt Lake City: no pub., October 1881), 1–24, explained many details of the process. Significantly, Wells and John W. Young, both outspoken advocates of reorganizing the presidency, were never admitted into the Quorum of the Twelve. George Q. Cannon, October 8, 1877, *Journal of Discourses*, 19:231–37, also commented on succession. Durham and Heath, *Succession in the Church*, 80–88, reproduced Cannon's discourse verbatim, calling it "perhaps the most lucid and forceful of all who spoke on these principles of succession in church government at this time" (79).

⁵³Steven H. Heath, "Notes on Apostolic Succession," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 20 (Summer 1987): 45–46.

had felt oppressed, but had not “dared to exhibit their feelings to him,” partly because they did not believe he would give their feelings any heed. Cannon concluded that some felt the Church leader had “transcended the bounds of the authority he legitimately held.”⁵⁴ One telling offensive practice was that, for many years, Young alone had been sustained in general conferences as “prophet, seer, and revelator”; but at the very first general conference after his death, in October 1877, all of the Twelve were recognized and sustained with that status, as they would be in most succeeding conferences.⁵⁵

While Taylor likely desired to organize his First Presidency, I have found no evidence that he attempted to do so for the next two years. But in April 1879, he asserted his will that Moses Thatcher be called as an apostle to replace Orson Hyde, who had died in November 1878. Although most of the quorum favored Francis M. Lyman instead, Thatcher was sustained at the April general conference to fill that vacancy. “Another moment of potential conflict emerged only six months later” on September 6, 1879, when the apostles voted against Taylor’s proposal to reorganize the First Presidency. The apostles who opposed this action, according to Joseph F. Smith, regarded it as necessary to first attain “a fuller unity within the quorum.”⁵⁶ Taylor again renewed his proposal on October 6, 1880, only to again see the Twelve demur. Forty-two-year-old Joseph F. Smith, who had been ordained an

⁵⁴George Q. Cannon, Journal, January 17, 1878, quoted in Joseph J. Cannon, “George Q. Cannon: Relations with Brigham Young,” *Juvenile Instructor* 80 (June 1945): 259–65; Heber J. Grant Letterbook Journal, September 8, 1887, both cited in Bergera, “Seniority in the Twelve,” 52, 107.

⁵⁵D. Michael Quinn, *The Mormon Hierarchy: Extensions of Power* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1997), 40, “When [Brigham] Young used the title ‘Prophet, Seer and Revelator’ at the April, 1851 general conference, he formalized the disparity between himself and the rest of the Twelve.” Thus, Quinn observed, “it is understandable that most members of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles were not anxious to organize another First Presidency after Young’s death.”

⁵⁶*Ibid.*, 41–42, citing the Joseph F. Smith Journal. There were no other serious divisions visible during this important period except for (1) some apostles who thought the Twelve should be more fully included in decision-making, and (2) Daniel H. Wells’s belief, in which he was consistently joined by Heber J. Grant, that Joseph F. Smith should be made the next president of the Church. See, for example, the diary entries of apostles cited

apostle in July 1, 1866, noted in his diary that he was astonished that the proposal was even made. He revealingly stated that the Twelve had debated the issue for nearly four hours after which the quorum members had concluded that most apostles opposed Taylor's move because they assumed that Church members were "not only satisfied, but happy under the administration of the twelve." Smith clearly spoke for some others as well and may, in fact, have revealed the main persisting issue, when he admitted that he did not "want to see repeated what had occurred in the church [under Brigham Young], in ignoring the quorum of apostles and other quorums of the church" who had, essentially, been marginalized.⁵⁷ Senior apostles were less involved in these discussions.

By this time, there was apparently a near-consensus that the most senior member of the quorum was automatically quorum president and thus was at least *de facto* leader of the Church. During the approximate four-hour deliberation in October 1880 that considered Taylor's effort to reorganize the First Presidency, Orson Pratt polled each apostle on the subject, then further complicated the situation by taking the position that the Church president should be younger than the seventy-one-year-old Taylor.⁵⁸

Yet two days later, at another quorum meeting held on October 8, 1880, Wilford Woodruff argued that, if Taylor so chose, he might claim to be Church president by virtue of his calling and position as "chief and oldest apostle." Junior apostle Moses Thatcher recorded

in *ibid.*, 426 notes 14–43: Franklin D. Richards, October 3–4, 1877; Joseph F. Smith, Journal, October 6, 1880; Moses Thatcher, Diary, October 1880, 120; George Q. Cannon, Diary, October 1880, and Jean B. White, ed., *Church, State and Politics: The Diaries of John Henry Smith* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books and Smith Research Associates, 1990), October 9, 1880, 53.

⁵⁷Joseph F. Smith, Diary, October 6, 1880, quoted in Quinn, *The Mormon Hierarchy: Extensions of Power*, 41–42, 426 notes 140–43. Twenty years later on October 4, 1898, Heber J. Grant recalled Richards's comments and recorded them in his diary. Richards stated that there was really no other known cause of the lack of union among the presiding brethren, which appears to have been true. Bergera, "Seniority in the Twelve," 53, suggests, "Given the Saints' millennialist beliefs at that time, it is also possible that the Twelve expected the imminent return of Jesus Christ and felt little urgency to reorganize a First Presidency."

⁵⁸Bergera, "Seniority in the Twelve," 54.

that some of the brethren seemed unsettled (as he would certainly have been) but that a majority, including all of the senior members, expressed agreement with Woodruff's view of Taylor's opportunity. To this, Orson Pratt argued that the quorum already had the "Will of the Lord" on the matter, found in the Doctrine and Covenants, "and it only remains for us to do it."⁵⁹ Woodruff, Charles C. Rich, George Q. Cannon, Albert Carrington, and, to a lesser extent, Lorenzo Snow and Franklin D. Richards agreed with Pratt. Thus, they, including Taylor, comprised two thirds of the apostles. Moses Thatcher and Joseph F. Smith saw no necessity for a First Presidency; and given the clear recognition that Taylor was already acknowledged as Church president, they hoped that Erastus Snow and Brigham Young Jr., who were both absent, could express their opinion before the quorum made a final decision.⁶⁰

The discussion at the October 8 meeting failed to resolve the issue; and Taylor, who was described as "very anxious" to have the subject resolved at once, did not let the matter drop. The next day, October 9, it was brought up again; and Wilford Woodruff, the next most senior apostle, made the motion that John Taylor be nominated and sustained as president by a vote of all present. At that juncture, Taylor was formally set apart as president of the Church and immediately called George Q. Cannon and Joseph F. Smith as his counselors. The general conference had been in session since October 6; and Orson

⁵⁹Ibid., 54; LDS D&C 107:22–24, 33–35, 79–80. Pratt does not identify which section of the Doctrine and Covenants he is referring to, but Section 107 seems the most likely candidate. See also Roy Doxey, ed., *Latter-day Prophets and the Doctrine and Covenants*, 2 vols. (1964; rpt., Sandy, Utah: Leatherwood Press, 2005), 2:301, which quotes John Taylor, *Items on Priesthood*, 1899, 30–31, 33–34: "The presidency [of the Melchizedek Priesthood] has the right to officiate in all the offices of the church, therefore that presidency has a perfect right to direct or call . . . [or] fill any place or position in the church that may be required for that ministry to perform . . . throughout the world."

⁶⁰Even though Thatcher had been an apostle for only eighteen months, he could not bring himself to defer to the senior apostles, an intransigence that remained a persistent—and eventually a fateful—problem in his apostolic career. Significantly, the wishes of the junior apostles (Thatcher and Joseph F. Smith in this instance) were mainly ignored as they had been under Young's presidency.

Pratt there made the announcement to the membership, explaining: "We saw that one council, the most important of all, was still vacant. . . . Could we ignore it? No."⁶¹ The conference voted unanimously to approve the reorganized First Presidency.⁶²

Another issue was also essentially resolved during Taylor's presidency—the protocol to be followed when two apostles were called and sustained at the same time. In such a case, the older of the two was sustained and ordained first, making him senior to the second, younger man. On October 10, 1880, Francis M. Lyman and John Henry Smith were both sustained as apostles. Lyman, who was eight and a half years older than Smith, was temporarily absent from Salt Lake City, so the ordinations were delayed until October 27, when both were ordained, Lyman first. This protocol—the role of age in seniority—had started to be established on February 12, 1849, when Charles C. Rich, Lorenzo Snow, Erastus Snow, and Franklin D. Richards (listed in order of age), were all ordained. Later, on October 7, 1889, three new apostles were announced at the same conference and ordained in order of age: Marriner W. Merrill of Logan, Anthon H. Lund of Ephraim, and thirty-year-old Abraham H. Cannon of Salt Lake City.⁶³

The next, and perhaps most significant, developments in the entire succession policy occurred when John Taylor died in voluntary

⁶¹Bergera, "Seniority in the Twelve," 55–56.

⁶²Quinn, *The Mormon Hierarchy: Extensions of Power*, 42, states that because Taylor had equally suffered under what G. Q. Cannon termed Brigham Young's "stiff hand," the other apostles expected Taylor not to repeat that subjugation of the Quorum of Twelve. However, within two years, Taylor was in conflict with the Twelve. The dispute began on April 7, 1882, when the quorum unanimously voted that Counselor Daniel H. Wells and stake president (in Arizona) Jesse N. Smith fill the two vacancies in the Twelve. Taylor said he preferred other men and mentioned stake president George Teasdale as one of his choices. When Taylor would not cooperate, Wilford Woodruff and others urged that they defer the matter. Later Teasdale and Heber J. Grant filled the vacancies.

⁶³Lyman, *Candid Insights of a Mormon Apostle*, October 6, 1889, 5; October 7, 1889, 7. These included President Wilford Woodruff's charge to the new apostles. Sixteen and a half years later, Orson F. Whitney (age fifty), George F. Richards (age forty-five), and David O. McKay (age thirty-two) were all ordained on April 9, 1906. Apparently this delay resulted, at least in

exile on July 25, 1887, at the Thomas Roueche home near Kaysville, Utah. George Q. Cannon, his nephew and counselor, had been with him for almost all of the thirty-one months Taylor spent in hiding. Joseph F. Smith spent most of this period, also in hiding, but in Hawaii, severely curtailing his participation in First Presidency affairs. Seeing Taylor's illness intensify, Cannon quietly sent for Smith on March 21, and Smith reached Utah in mid-July, shortly before Taylor's death on July 25.⁶⁴ In describing those last three difficult years, Cannon admitted that he had been compelled to make most of the leadership decisions virtually alone.⁶⁵

Heber J. Grant, who turned thirty-one in 1887 and who had been sustained an apostle in 1882 along with George Teasdale, took an unusually intense interest in the succession question. Although the

part, from the fact that Apostles John W. Taylor and Mathias Cowley, who had continued to perform and authorize post-Manifesto plural marriages, had acted on instructions from Joseph F. Smith and tendered their resignations in October 1905. But these resignations were not promptly made public. Several other groups of apostles have subsequently been ordained the same day as well.

⁶⁴George Q. Cannon, Letter to Joseph F. Smith, March 21, 1887, and Franklin D. Richards, Letter to Joseph F. Smith, June 28, 1887, both in Joseph F. Smith Correspondence, cited in Ronald W. Walker, *Qualities That Count: Heber J. Grant as Businessman, Missionary and Apostle* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 2004), 198–99.

⁶⁵Heber J. Grant, Journal, August 3, 1887, LDS Church History Library. This priceless resource was available to me for research in the 1970s, along with many similar journals of his colleagues. However, their use is now more restricted. From my sketchy notes on the physical nature of the Grant journals, it is clear that I usually examined them in their final letterpress copybook form. However, there were times when these copies proved too faint, and I looked then at original handwritten and typewritten pages, e.g., the entries for August 27–September 12, 1889, Grant Papers, Box 137, fd. 2. I also used original papers rather than copybooks for early 1891 journal entries. There is at least one notation in February 1889, where I mentioned that the copybook had been retained but the original pages for that particular volume seemed to have been destroyed. Herein my notations will simply refer to Grant's best available journal entry for that event, which are clearly usually letterbooks. For my notes from this fabulous source, see Edward Leo Lyman Papers, Sharratt Library Special Collections, Southern Utah University, Cedar City, Utah.

entire situation has received little attention from historians, Grant's concerns led to perhaps the most serious known threat ever to the succession-by-seniority process. It proved to be an extended and threatening disruption which, under less patient leadership than Wilford Woodruff's, might have resulted in a bitter split between the senior Church authorities and several defiant—or at least less deferential—junior General Authorities. Yet recounting the details of this struggle for consensus and unity offers valuable additional insights into the entire process. An especially valuable outcome was more extensive discussion of memories of the Nauvoo period during which Joseph Smith explained some theological basis for what was then finally becoming a well-established LDS Church succession policy.

On March 20, 1887, Grant's apostolic duties took him to St. George. Apostle Wilford Woodruff was hiding on the underground at nearby Bloomington and also spending a great deal of time in the relatively new St. George Temple. The two apostles conferred for an extended period of time, with the younger man recounting much detail regarding George Q. Cannon's placing threatened Church property into private hands. Grant also quoted Cannon as saying that it was not absolutely necessary that the president of the Twelve automatically succeed to the position of Church president.⁶⁶ Woodruff listened mainly without comment to the young apostle, as he reflected on the issue, but then followed up with two important letters to Grant, the first on March 20, actually later on the same day they had talked, in which he firmly explained that, should he outlive President Taylor and become the senior apostle, he would not step aside from the expected responsibility.

Grant later read this first letter to fellow junior apostles John Henry Smith and Francis M. Lyman, who expressed full agreement

⁶⁶Walker, *Qualities That Count*, 208–10, cites Woodruff's second letter (March 28, 1887) to Grant, as he had carefully stated his conception of the policy of sustaining the president of the Quorum of the Twelve as Church president. On the latter page, Walker states that, in connection with the ownership of the Gardo House (then the president's residence), "Cannon allegedly had been overheard to say the two [President of the Twelve and President of the Church] might not be the same." Despite Grant's notes and beliefs, I have found absolutely no evidence that Cannon ever held the view that the president of the Twelve and the Church president might be separate persons.

with Woodruff's position.⁶⁷ However, this letter failed to persuade Grant. In his diary, he wrote that he was certainly willing to sustain Woodruff's succession to the highest ecclesiastical position, but he stubbornly declared he did not yet believe that, in the case of the president's death and the First Presidency's subsequent reorganization, "the president of the apostles would [automatically] be made the president of the church."⁶⁸

A week later on March 28, Woodruff wrote Grant a second lengthy letter, in which he quoted Grant's persistent question: "Do you know of any reason in case of the death of the president of the church why the twelve apostles should not choose some other person besides the president of the twelve to be the president of the church?" Woodruff firmly answered: "I have several very strong reasons why not." He then listed two broad arguments, each with specific sub-points. First, as the most senior apostle, Woodruff possessed as much presiding authority as if he had been assisted by two counselors. He pointed out that, during the discussions establishing a First Presidency for Brigham Young and John Taylor, no one had ever asserted that anyone else claimed a superior right to the quorum presidency and Church leadership, because, by that juncture "they were already [literally] the president of the church." If either man had been deemed unfit to be president of the Church, he was certainly unfit to preside over the Quorum of the Twelve either.

His second point was that it would take a majority of the twelve apostles to appoint a new Church president upon the death of the incumbent. Therefore, "it is very unreasonable to suppose that the majority of that quorum could be converted to depart from the path marked out by inspiration and followed by the [original] apostles at the death of Jesus Christ and also [by the first latter-day Quorum of Twelve Apostles] since the death of Joseph Smith." He concluded decisively, and perhaps somewhat impatiently: "Again I see no reason

⁶⁷Woodruff, Letter to Grant, March 20, 1887, quoted in *Qualities That Count*, 208–9. See also Grant, Journal, April 5, 1887, which notes that Smith and Lyman heard Woodruff's comments.

⁶⁸Grant, Journal, March 20, April 5, 1887. Ronald W. Walker, who has utilized this source far more extensively than I, is eminently more familiar with Grant. In his *Qualities That Count*, 208–10, 227 notes 43, 47, he usually cites the journal as Grant, Letterpress Diary, but also sometimes specifies his source as Grant's typed diary.

for discussing this subject until there is some cause for it.”⁶⁹ Woodruff’s explanation was clear and firm—and should have decisively answered Grant’s questions—even if the young apostle did not entirely agree with him. However, Grant continued in quiet resistance to Woodruff, joined by the increasingly defiant Apostle Moses Thatcher, during an extended period which demonstrated a rather shocking breach of deference to the most senior of Church authorities.

President Woodruff believed that Joseph Smith had given the Quorum of the Twelve the full keys of the priesthood. Thus, “upon the death of President Taylor, the quorum therefore would preside, and their presiding officer would be the president of the twelve.”⁷⁰ Many readers of Woodruff’s letters would draw the most illuminating and solid conclusion that, on the death of any Church president, the senior apostle in fact became the president, whatever his title. The president of the Twelve, then, of necessity would become the president of the Church and thereby would assume that position until he died, became incapacitated or unworthy. Thus, despite receiving this perfectly clear and convincing direction, Heber J. Grant persisted for the next two years in what I interpret as his outrageous protracted delay of what the designated prophet-president would soon expressly state to be his fervent wish—to reorganize the First Presidency. Joined by Thatcher, Grant’s stubbornness was a serious breach of deference.

Grant’s diary during the summer of 1887 while John Taylor was passing into his final illness shows that he understood both the succession principles and Woodruff’s desires, yet the two young apostles determinedly thwarted the reorganization of the First Presidency. As Grant candidly confided to his diary, his main obstacles were resentment and mistrust of George Q. Cannon. Moses Thatcher’s feelings against Cannon were even stronger. In a revealing entry for June 24, Grant summarized a conversation with Thatcher: “In fact we found a

⁶⁹Kenney, *Wilford Woodruff’s Journal*, March 28, 1887, 8:431. See also Durham and Heath, *Succession in the Church*, 97–100. Heath, “Notes on Apostolic Succession,” 47, correctly states: “The Woodruff letter has become a fundamental document in the defense of apostolic succession.” This Heath article is generally among the most insightful sources regarding much of the succession process.

⁷⁰Woodruff, Letters to Grant, March 20, 28, 1887, quoted in Walker, *Qualities That Count*, 209.

good deal of fault with the way he [Cannon] had treated his brethren the apostles and with many of his official acts. We felt a lack of confidence in his official acts that I sincerely wish was not the case. Unless Brother Thatcher and myself have greatly misjudged Prest. Cannon, I am confident the twelve apostles will object to his succeeding Prest. Taylor and I am of the opinion that he expects to be his successor."⁷¹ The grievance list against Cannon included resentment of George Q.'s brother, Angus, the high-handed president of the huge Salt Lake Stake; the sexual and financial scandals of George Q.'s sons John and Frank; President Cannon's rather aloof and superior leadership style; and the strife between rival factions of Church authorities involved in the Bullion-Beck silver mine.⁷²

After repeating most of the same complaints in his July 3 diary entry, Grant concluded that Cannon would seek to become Church president "because he likes power very much and this is why I hope he will not succeed Prest. John Taylor." I have found no documentary evidence to support Grant's suspicion that Cannon would seek the Church presidency. Obviously, there was a personal clash as well. Grant recorded Cannon's earlier observation that Heber "was the most ambitious young man in Utah," a comment which obviously stung the young apostle, who then noted in his diary: "There is no limit to [Cannon's] ambition."⁷³ And even if Cannon did not seek the presidency, Grant feared that Woodruff would select him as his first counselor, again giving him great influence.

Four days later, on July 7, Cannon confided that he had been compelled to act essentially alone, during Taylor's serious decline in March and April. He was the only Church official with Taylor able to counter the effects of the new Edmunds-Tucker Act, which legislation

⁷¹Grant, Journal, June 24, 1887. See also Walker, *Qualities That Count*, 202–8.

⁷²Walker, *Qualities That Count*, 202–8; Grant, Journal, August 3, 1887; White, *Church, State, and Politics*, August 3, 1887, 175. Many apostles considered Angus Cannon tyrannical and insubordinate. See also R. Jean Addams, "The Bullion, Beck, and Champion Mining Company and the Redemption of Zion," immediately following, for a thorough discussion of this troublesome episode.

⁷³Grant, Journal, June 24, July 3, 1887. When Cannon made the statement about Grant's ambition cannot be ascertained, but Grant repeated it in his July journal entry.

disincorporated the Church and severely limited the amount of real estate it could hold. Cannon had acted swiftly to transfer Church property into friendly private hands, presumably with Taylor's general agreement though probably not with specific decision-by-decision authorization. It was a reasonable precaution for the time; but since Cannon had had to act alone or almost alone during Taylor's waning days, Grant and Thatcher resented and were suspicious about his actions.⁷⁴ Cannon explained to the gathered apostles that he read the details of each transaction to President Taylor, but sometimes the older man forgot what he had heard or even claimed that he had not approved an already-made decision. Cannon therefore kept a careful diary of transactions, partly for his own protection. As Cannon later revealed additional details of his situation to fellow apostles on August 3, 1887, at the Church president's office, he found a sympathetic audience, since most of them, were familiar with Taylor's well-known stubbornness.⁷⁵ It was apparently Taylor himself who insisted on not enlisting the assistance of other apostles.⁷⁶ Yet as Grant and Thatcher discussed Cannon's actions, they uncharitably characterized his

⁷⁴Grant, Journal, August 3, 1887; Leonard J. Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom: An Economic History of the Latter-day Saints, 1830-1900* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1958; new ed. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2004), 360-79. I use the 2004 edition. See also James B. Allen and Glen M. Leonard, *The Story of the Latter-day Saints*, 2d ed. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1992), 619, which compliments the Arrington book as among the first recognized by "outsiders" as more scholarly and balanced than most earlier histories written by Latter-day Saints.

⁷⁵Grant, Journal, August 3, 1887. Heber J. Grant twice made diary entries referring to Taylor's stubbornness. In the first case, he quoted Joseph F. Smith: "There was no power on earth that could bend the will of John Taylor." Two months later on October 5, 1887, Grant similarly noted that President Woodruff admitted, "No man could alter the opinion of Prest. Taylor."

⁷⁶Davis Bitton, *George Q. Cannon: A Biography* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1999), 280-89, records no other assistance for Cannon in making administrative and ecclesiastical decisions during Taylor's last days. Only George Q.'s diary, currently restricted to researchers, could document that Taylor specifically prohibited other assistance. As a further complication, U.S. President Grover Cleveland had helped sponsor a Utah Constitutional Convention for late June 1887. Thus, Cannon could not risk having a

motive in acting alone as selfishness.

On July 7, eighteen days before Taylor's death, Grant again reflected on Cannon's ambition: "I wish I could feel that Pres. Cannon is not jealous of Pres. Smith." He also expressed a strong preference that Smith, not Woodruff, would become Church president.⁷⁷ Grant's father-in-law, Daniel H. Wells, had reportedly received a personal revelation to that effect, although it was certainly not binding in any way on the discussions and decisions that followed over the next two years. Both Wilford Woodruff and Lorenzo Snow had predicted that Smith would eventually become Church president, although they could have based this conclusion, not on revelation, but on the fact that he had become an apostle at age twenty-seven and was therefore likely to outlive the older men who were senior to him in the quorum.⁷⁸

On July 25, 1887, Grant again visited Woodruff in St. George. During their three-hour conversation, according to Grant's diary, he alleged that Cannon had not treated other apostles with proper respect or consideration. Doubtless some of Grant's apostolic colleagues would have agreed with this complaint, since several apostles later raised similar grievances about Cannon during subsequent quorum meetings to consider organizing Woodruff's First Presi-

greater number of loyal followers near Taylor, lest federal deputies discover Taylor's location. Such an arrest would have dashed the premature, as it turned out, attempt at Utah statehood.

⁷⁷Grant, *Journal*, July 7, 1887.

⁷⁸Walker, *Qualities That Count*, 26, states that Grant's mother had been sealed to Joseph Smith posthumously so that, technically, Heber was considered Joseph Smith's son in the eternities. Later, Grant and Joseph F. expressed sentiments of being kinsmen. Joseph Fielding Smith, *Life of Joseph F. Smith: Sixth President of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1938), 324. See also Truman G. Madsen, *The Heritage of Heber J. Grant* (Prepared by the Family of Emily Grant, Edna and Axel Madsen for the 105th Anniversary of the Birth of Heber J. Grant, Lion House, November 22, 1961), 15–25, quoted in Durham and Heath, *Succession of the Church*, 125–26. President Grant later noted in his own journal that Joseph F. Smith announced, probably at a Salt Lake Stake Conference, that "he looked upon me [Heber J. Grant] as being the seed actually of the Prophet Joseph Smith under the New and Everlasting Covenant [of plural marriage]."

dency (discussed below). Indeed, Grant attested that Woodruff had essentially concurred in some of his evaluation of Cannon's high-handedness. During this July 25 conversation, Grant repeated his desire that Joseph F. Smith become Taylor's successor as Church president, and Woodruff calmly replied that "he would be willing to have Joseph F. Smith made the president of the church, provided the quorum of the apostles should wish it." Grant admitted that "as near as I can judge he had no idea that such a thing would be done." President Woodruff said plainly that he had "no desire to become the president of the church and I am convinced that he is perfectly sincere in what he said." Grant apparently felt no animosity toward Woodruff, summarizing their meeting with the comment: "I never enjoyed anything more than I have my visit with Prest. Woodruff. To me it is delightful to meet a man whose whole ambition is to know the Mind and Will of God and who desires with all of his heart and strength to carry out that will after learning it."⁷⁹ Ironically, on this same day, three hundred miles to the north, President Taylor was breathing his last.

While Grant's preference for Smith doubtless stemmed at least in part from their personal relationship, he was also apprehensive that Cannon would unduly influence Woodruff. Once Taylor's First Presidency was dissolved by his death, it seems unlikely that Woodruff could simply allow Cannon to step back into the quorum as an ordinary apostle. As Ronald Walker correctly observed, Cannon "knew too much" about the Church's business "and was too indispensable" in keeping its day-to-day operations running smoothly. As Cannon noted in his own journal after Taylor's death, Woodruff told him that "he felt quite unable to attend to the business as it was all new to him. I was familiar with it and he would be very much pleased to have me assist him."⁸⁰

A week after Taylor's funeral, on August 3, ten apostles met and listened to Wilford Woodruff recount the momentous three-hour meeting in Nauvoo on March 23, 1844, when Joseph Smith trans-

⁷⁹Grant, Journal, July 25, 1887.

⁸⁰George Q. Cannon, Diary, August 5, 1887, quoted in Bitton, *George Q. Cannon*, 289. See also Kenney, *Wilford Woodruff's Journal*, 8:448, for Woodruff's statement as he accepted the burden of the presidency.

ferred the final keys and priesthood powers to the earlier Twelve.⁸¹ Woodruff, the only person still alive from that group, quoted Smith as saying “I have had great sorrow of heart for fear I might die before I had given the apostles their endowments, [but now] I have lived to give the twelve apostles their endowments and to set upon their heads every key and power pertaining to the church and kingdom of God that I have received and the time has now arrived when I roll off the responsibilities of the church and kingdom of God upon the Twelve and you have got to round up your shoulders and bear it off before God, angels and men.”⁸² Woodruff reminded his listeners that Joseph Smith had received “every key that had ever been bestowed upon man since the days of Adam” and that Joseph had sealed all of the keys and powers upon the Twelve.⁸³

This was the first time the current apostles had had the opportunity to learn the details of this important earlier event. Although this

⁸¹Quinn, *The Mormon Hierarchy: Origins of Power*, 196, 395 note 129, establishes that the evidence for the date was not absolutely conclusive; rather it is only the best found so far. See also *ibid.*, 415 note 50, including Marvin Hill’s questions about the meeting. Many apostles had been ordained by fellow apostles rather than by members of the First Presidency in the Nauvoo generation. For example, Brigham Young ordained Wilford Woodruff on April 26, 1839, Amasa M. Lyman in August 1842, and John Taylor on December 19, 1838, with Heber C. Kimball assisting Young. Kimball ordained George A. Smith April 26, 1839. However, Joseph Smith certainly recognized these ordinations as valid.

⁸²Woodruff had also recounted some of these same events in less detail to Heber J. Grant in his July 28, 1887, letter, copied into Grant, *Journal*, August 3, 1887. “Endowment” is defined most clearly in the LDS Doctrine and Covenants 132:59 “I have endowed him with the keys of the power of this priesthood.” D&C 38:32 promises: “You shall be endowed with power from on high.” In modern times, the term is used almost exclusively in relationship to temple ordinances. However, “endowment” also referred historically to receiving the right to act in God’s name through His power or priesthood. An essential LDS claim is that divine messengers restored the priesthood and keys of the ancient Christian church to Joseph Smith in his lifetime.

⁸³Kenney, *Wilford Woodruff’s Journal*, August 3, 1887, 8:450; Grant, *Journal*, August 3, 1887. “Keys” are simply permission and authority to use specified priesthood powers.

episode had occurred more than forty-three years earlier, Woodruff drew on his still-vivid personal recollections (probably bolstered by his good journal) of that time when the Prophet Joseph Smith had bestowed upon him and his fellow apostles the sacred apostolic charge. In so doing, the current senior apostle permanently bolstered the position of the president of the quorum of the Twelve Apostles as the sole source from which new presidents of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints could be drawn. In contrast to several recent instances when that procedure had been questioned, there would never again be a serious doubt about any related aspect of the succession process.

According to Grant's account, Woodruff then expressed a preference, at least for a time, "to stand with his brethren of the quorum [rather] than to have two counselors chosen and stand with them as the president of the church." Woodruff, like the other apostles, was unclear about "the financial affairs of President John Taylor," partly meaning the Church finances and the action Cannon had taken to transfer Church property into private hands to avoid its confiscation (escheatment) under the Edmunds-Tucker Act. Woodruff wanted to avoid such confusion in the future by opening a new set of account books after a proper audit of the previously kept accounts.⁸⁴

Woodruff then assured the apostles that, if they were to later organize the First Presidency, this step would not reduce any of their apostolic authority—apparently reassurance that Woodruff would include them more fully in Church affairs. Thereafter, the Twelve did, in fact, meet with far more consistency, often with the First Presidency, even though several individuals were still fugitives from anti-polygamy indictments.⁸⁵ It seems abundantly evident that Woodruff was more inclined to share power and authority than Young or Taylor had been.

In addition to Woodruff's description of Joseph Smith's charge to the apostles, the quorum had a lengthy discussion on whether George Q. Cannon and Joseph F. Smith should resume their places in the quorum, now that John Taylor's presidency had been dissolved by his death. Apostle Moses Thatcher moved that Jo-

⁸⁴Grant, Journal, August 3, 1887.

⁸⁵Abraham H. Cannon kept an excellent diary through his entire apostolic tenure (unfortunately ended by his death in 1895); he attests to the regular meeting of these groups.

seph F. Smith be restored, and Grant seconded the motion. However, George Q. Cannon objected to the proposal, insisting that the charges against him should first be resolved. He stated that it was as if a thunderbolt had fallen at his feet to hear of unresolved grievances against him and expressed dismay that such feelings had been harbored for so long, unbeknownst to him. He confessed “that it had been a great trial to have [had] to labor almost alone on account of the sickness of Prest. Taylor and that he had desired very much to have brother Joseph F. at home.” He explained that he had prayerfully sought divine guidance in discharging the duties devolving upon him and affirmed he believed he had been inspired in his decisions. He then made what turned out to be a somewhat controversial statement that “for four months he had virtually been the president of the church.”⁸⁶

Grant, who usually wrote up his final diary entries from rough notes taken on the spot, naturally reacted negatively to Cannon’s statement. It “fell dead on me and I had no testimony that the Lord approved of this.” He uncharitably considered Cannon’s statement to be boasting, although he was somewhat reassured by Cannon’s later heartfelt announcement that he had no desire to be one of the First Presidency and anticipated with pleasure the day when he could give up those responsibilities. But here too, the dubious Grant hoped Cannon was sincere but was not totally convinced.⁸⁷ Eventually, most of the other apostles understood Cannon’s almost impossible situation and relinquished any lingering resentment they might have felt. Yet this momentous meeting clearly had not promoted the unity among quorum members essential to its proper functioning.

Five weeks later on September 13, 1887, Grant met with Woodruff, Cannon, and Joseph F. Smith. Smith strongly urged Grant to make matters right with Cannon, but the effort proved unsuccessful. Cannon also sought to have the supposedly aggrieved Grant elaborate on the issues that troubled him, but that effort also proved unsuccessful. Grant had written of the August meetings that the attempted reconciliation was “a patched up matter with forgiveness not yet warranted,” then added, “I am almost ashamed of myself that I did not stand out until I was [fully] satisfied and yet I do not wish to be prejudiced against anyone or lacking in mercy.” The same sentiments

⁸⁶Grant, Journal, August 3, 1887.

⁸⁷Ibid., August 3, 1887. See also Walker, *Qualities That Count*, 212–13.

doubtless still prevailed during this September meeting.⁸⁸

As the next general conference approached, on October 5, 1887, the apostles met secretly because of continuing anti-polygamy arrests. In the six-hour proceedings, President Wilford Woodruff pointedly referred to the “feelings in the council unbecoming [to apostles] and wished the brethren to speak freely,” obviously in an attempt to resolve the situation. Woodruff also warned, “If we did not feel to forgive and become united, the spirit of the Lord would not be with us.” All understood that this counsel’s absolute validity sprang from scriptural basis.⁸⁹ George Q. Cannon confessed that the recently expressed grievances against him had caused him “more personal suffering” than anything else in his life.⁹⁰ Then, while not acknowledging any specific wrongdoings, he asked his brethren for their forgiveness.

However, his admission did not have the desired effect. After waiting for the senior apostles to speak first, which they did not do, Moses Thatcher precipitously launched another heated verbal attack on Cannon’s general leadership, listing a half dozen perceived infractions against proper conduct. Grant spoke next, adding twice as many similar grievances. Two other junior apostles, John Henry Smith and Francis M. Lyman, more moderately expressed their own disappointment in perceiving that Cannon had not demonstrated sufficient respect for the other apostles while in the Taylor First Presidency. After the meeting ended, Woodruff confessed in his journal that night how “painful” it was to meet “all day and all night trying to settle some difficulties,” but without success.⁹¹

During five more hours of deliberation next day, including at least one more heated personal exchange between Cannon and Thatcher, Woodruff termed that meeting to have been equally unpleasant and reminded Cannon’s critics that earlier Church leaders had also suffered from notable human failings. He had often

⁸⁸Grant, Journal, September 13, 1887. See also Walker, *Qualities That Count*, 214–15.

⁸⁹Doctrine and Covenants, 38:27 states: “If ye are not one, ye are not mine.” A virtual repetition in D&C 105:4 substitutes “united” for “one.”

⁹⁰Grant, Journal, October 5, 1887. See also Walker, *Qualities That Count*, 215.

⁹¹Kenney, *Wilford Woodruff’s Journal*, October 5, 1887, 8:460.

differed with President Taylor, particularly on the Bullion-Beck silver mine at Eureka, but stressed that he was not Taylor's judge, since all were ultimately accountable only to God.⁹² The meetings certainly had not accomplished what Woodruff desired as the purpose.

As this second thwarting of Woodruff's desires demonstrates, Grant and Thatcher were failing to show deference to senior apostles, a convention that was unusually strong for this ruling LDS body. It also significantly demonstrates that democratic principles were not always the established or preferred pattern in LDS Church leadership. It is true that Grant and Thatcher received at least some encouragement from other junior apostles and that Woodruff was patient to a degree unthinkable to Brigham Young or John Taylor. But it must have become increasingly clear that he did not have unlimited tolerance for this frustrating quorum deadlock. As discussed below, the precedents which the senior apostles were most aware of and about which less seasoned members were only beginning to learn, proved to be the most decisive of all factors in finally resolving the main questions at issue at that time.

During this same lengthy pre-conference session, the third most senior apostle, Franklin D. Richards, expressed firm disagreement with the manner in which the younger apostles had conducted their complaints against Cannon, saying they "had undertaken to trim a tree the wrong way." He then explained that if someone had a complaint against him he would want them to immediately "come to him and explain our feelings." He added his impression that "Brothers Thatcher and Grant were lacking in mercy and altogether too exacting and remarked 'let him that thinketh he stands take heed lest he fall.'" Richards concluded by saying that he prized "the good feelings of the brethren above every thing and loved the brethren as he loved his life."⁹³

Grant's diary comment on Richards's statement was simply to persist in his view that Cannon's comments that day had satisfied him in some aspects but lamented "to record that I was not perfectly satisfied with all of his explanations. I regret more than words of mine can express that I have not the most perfect confidence in Brother Can-

⁹²Grant, Journal, October 6, 1887.

⁹³Ibid., October 5, 1887. Franklin D. Richards, Journal, did not refer to these comments.

non.” He then added in reference to Richards’s conclusions: “I am sorry indeed to feel that my brethren look upon me as lacking in mercy and too exacting, also that my charges against Brother Cannon are unworthy of notice and too small to be mentioned. I hope and pray for wisdom from God that I may not fall because of a lack of mercy or on account of becoming self righteous and seeking occasion against my brethren.” But then he added with his characteristic determination, “With the help of the Lord I am going to try and become more merciful, but I hope also for moral courage to say I am not satisfied unless I am.” He admitted he had helped cause the final reconciliation meetings to extend past midnight.⁹⁴ Richards’s criticisms are indeed a significant gauge indicating the growing impatience of several apostles with the deadlock.

Six months later as the April 1888 general conference approached, Woodruff again held quorum meetings for much of the third week in March—totaling at least twenty-four additional hours of deliberation. Once again, Woodruff described the younger apostles as “bringing forth accusations and trying to settle up our difficulties,” but without success. Cannon’s past actions remained the central issue in the exchanges, even though all present were cognizant of the likelihood that Woodruff would call him into the First Presidency, if one was ever formed. But this time, more apostles, including veteran Erastus Snow, voiced reservations about Cannon’s past actions.⁹⁵ Woodruff, in turn, felt protective about George Q., confiding in his journal: “Most of the younger brethren are bringing accusations against G. Q. Cannon, but he proves them all to be fals [sic]. We spent a painful day.”⁹⁶

Despite all differences in this series of meetings, Woodruff again “presented the importance of organizing the First Presidency.

⁹⁴Grant, Journal, October 5, 1887.

⁹⁵Edwin D. Woolley Jr., a later stake president at Kanab, noted in his writings while traveling on the Arizona Strip with Apostles Moses Thatcher and Erastus Snow that the former urged the latter, his father-in-law, to perhaps lead out in opposing George Q. Cannon. Snow finally, with some impatience, declared “I want you to understand that I will not fight my brethren.” He may have later temporarily strayed from that position. Woolley’s mention of this conversation later appeared in the Journal History, March 8, 1897. See also Walker, *Qualities That Count*, 213–14.

⁹⁶Kenney, *Wilford Woodruff’s Journal*, March 16, 20, 26, 1888,

He noted support from Woodruff, Lorenzo Snow, Richards, Brigham Young Jr., John W. Taylor, and Daniel H. Wells, who was a counselor-apostle to the Twelve but not actually a member of the quorum. Opposed were “Erastus Snow, Moses Thatcher, F. M. Lyman, John Henry Smith & Heber J. Grant.” He concluded that the day had been difficult and he “could not sleep at night.” Given the divisiveness in the quorum, Woodruff withdrew his proposal to form a First Presidency.⁹⁷

Although the quorum remained deadlocked, Brigham Young Jr., like Franklin D. Richards six months earlier, now focused—not on what Cannon had or had not done—but on the effect of these proceedings on the council itself: “Much valuable time is wasted in these comparatively groundless charges and their generally successful refutations.” He then significantly warned, “I tremble for the future if we continue these unrighteous proceedings.”⁹⁸ Young also doubtless reflected the feelings of most senior apostles about dissent by younger quorum members: “It does seem the less we know the more we have to say.”⁹⁹

On the final day of the March sessions, the weary Church leader revealed his own alarming personal assessment when he lamented, “We have tried to settle these things but so far we are still apart. I never saw as much bitterness manifested against one good man by five apostles since the days of the ‘Apostate Twelve’ against the Prophet Joseph in Kirtland.”¹⁰⁰ At that point, Woodruff declared with considerable feeling that those opposing Cannon were motivated primarily by simple jealousy and that “any acts of President Taylor that

8:489–91.

⁹⁷Ibid., March 16, 20, 1888, 8:489–90. See also Walker, *Qualities That Count*, 217; Richards, *Journal*, March 23, 1888. Apparently only L. John Nuttall notes the presence of Apostle George Teasdale, who soon thereafter embarked on a mission to Britain. See note 111. The late John Taylor had not yet been replaced in the Quorum of the Twelve. Therefore, only eleven apostles participated in these meetings.

⁹⁸Kenney, *Wilford Woodruff's Journal*, March 16–23, 1888, 8:489–91; Brigham Young Jr., *Journal*, March 20, 1888, LDS Church History Library. I examined and took notes on the Young journal, like the Richards journal and those of others used herein long before the current restrictions limiting use of these important source documents were put in place.

⁹⁹Brigham Young Jr., *Journal*, March 28, 1888.

¹⁰⁰Kenney, *Wilford Woodruff's Journal*, March 23, 1888, 8:490–91;

five of the Twelve did not think was right was laid to George Q. Cannon."¹⁰¹

This judgment may well have irritated the most experienced of the dissenters, Erastus Snow, who responded with some legitimate criticisms of the accused apostle. Cannon certainly was vulnerable to criticism over the behavior of two sons, John Q., and Frank. He was, like many other fathers, overly protective of these errant young men, and Snow accused him of attempting to stifle open discussion of their actions.¹⁰² Snow asserted that some unnamed leaders were "men worshipers, sycophants & [somewhat guilty of] 'toadyism,'" an accusation that caused Woodruff to perceive that some of this criticism was also aimed at himself. He admitted that the comment had "stird [sic] my blood" and that he responded with an uncharacteristically "sharp rebuke" which, as he

Walker, *Qualities That Count*, 216–17. This particular period in Kirtland had the highest rate of dissension and apostasy ever in proportion to Church membership in history. See also Dean C. Jessee, "The Kirtland Diary of Wilford Woodruff," *BYU Studies* 12 (Summer 1972): 365–99, which significantly reflects on Mormon men and institutions just before this first community unraveled (November 1836–May 1837). Woodruff's record included Joseph Smith's courageous explanation of the problems regarding the less-than-inspired Kirtland Safety Society. See also Davis Bitton, "The Waning of Mormon Kirtland," *BYU Studies* 12 (Summer 1972): 455–64, which contains many details about the economic failure of Mormon institutions in Kirtland during the Panic of 1837, and Donna Hill, *Joseph Smith: The First Mormon* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1977), 195–98, 205–17.

¹⁰¹Kenney, *Wilford Woodruff's Journal*, March 23, 1888, 8:490; Walker, *Qualities That Count*, 217.

¹⁰²Among Erastus Snow's accusations against Cannon were: John Q. Cannon's misuse of Church funds as a counselor in the Presiding Bishopric; George Q.'s using Church funds to purchase an iron mine; and his governance of stock in the extremely rich Bullion, Beck, and Champion silver mine. John Q. also conducted a long-term affair with his wife's sister, Louie Wells, that ended in her death after bearing his child, who also died. Frank Cannon, later one of Utah's first U.S. Senators, drank, patronized prostitutes, and fathered a child out of wedlock whom his parents raised. See Kenneth L. Cannon, "Wives and Other Women: Love, Sex, and Marriage in the Lives of John Q. Cannon, Frank J. Cannon and Abraham H. Cannon," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 16 (Winter 1976): 187–233.

later reflected, had “gone too far.”¹⁰³

But once the passion of the moment passed, Erastus Snow also clearly regretted his own negativism and wrote to both Thatcher and Grant, expressing his personal sorrow and concern regarding their continuing opposition to the senior apostles. He pointedly warned that they were approaching a dangerous “spiritual precipice,” that they had pressed their personal views too strongly, and that if they persisted in this course, they might lose their standing and quorum membership.¹⁰⁴ Thus he had at least partly rectified his behavior toward President Woodruff prior to his death the following May.

Ronald Walker has observed, “Snow’s warning slowly took hold of Grant,” causing “a turning point in his life.” Considerably later, in October 1903, when George Albert Smith was ordained an apostle, Grant publicly admitted the correctness of Erastus Snow’s warning: “From that moment I avoided Moses Thatcher as contagion, and when I got away from his influence I could see that he was fast losing the spirit, and that the course he was pursuing, which was the course I was pursuing also, until I was delivered from him, was right in opposition to the wishes of Presidents Woodruff, Cannon and Smith . . . and it meant his downfall unless he repented.” Grant later lamented that Thatcher denied having ever received Snow’s warning.¹⁰⁵

Walker has insightfully concluded, “With hindsight Grant believed he had erred, especially in breaching a vital rule of the Quorum—collegiality.” He became so troubled about his behavior and thinking that he actually cut some passages from his personal jour-

¹⁰³Kenney, *Wilford Woodruff’s Journal*, March 22–23, 1888, 8:490–91; Richards, *Journal*, March 23, 1888.

¹⁰⁴Erastus Snow, quoted in Walker, *Qualities That Count*, 218. He died in May 1888. See also Andrew Karl Larson, *Erastus Snow: The Life of a Missionary and Pioneer for the Early Mormon Church* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1971), 725.

¹⁰⁵Heber J. Grant, quoted in Heath, “Notes on Apostolic Succession,” 48; Ordination Minutes, October 8, 1903, George Albert Smith Papers, Special Collections, Marriott Library, University of Utah. Grant also later wrote a warning letter to Thatcher, but to no avail. Walker, *Qualities That Count*, 218.

nal.¹⁰⁶ Thereafter, Grant sincerely attempted to achieve reconciliation with George Q. Cannon. In February 1889, he called at Woodruff's office "where I had the pleasure of meeting Presidents Woodruff and Cannon. It was indeed a delight to me to shake hands with President Cannon and realize that he was once more a free man"—not only from his recent prison confinement for unlawful cohabitation, but also from the harassments, partly inflicted on him by Grant, in quorum meetings over the past two years.¹⁰⁷

Meanwhile, another contemporary difficulty leading to some additional conflict was the Church's financial system, which needed better accounting procedures and reform. Several of the younger apostles also apparently saw it as an opportunity to diminish the First Presidency's power by shifting much of the economic oversight to Presiding Bishop William B. Preston. Thatcher particularly approved of this action; Preston was Thatcher's brother-in-law, and the two had been compatible business partners since the 1850s.¹⁰⁸ Nuttall documents that, toward the end of 1888, the senior apostles appointed Thatcher, Grant, Preston, and his counselor, John R. Winder, as a committee to dispose of as much Church real estate as possible, using the money to reduce or eliminate Church debts. The understanding was that President Woodruff must still approve the values and sales arrangements.¹⁰⁹ As Walker has explained, much Church effort in the earlier nineteenth century had focused on establishing programs of social and economic benefit to Church members. Grant and Thatcher typically insisted on more businesslike and profitable financial procedures than those preferred by President Woodruff and

¹⁰⁶Walker, *Qualities That Count*, 195. This may well be the reason that the 1889 letterpress journal volume is reportedly the only diary for that year remaining in the Grant collection at the LDS Church History Library; the older loose pages from the original draft, which are usually also retained in the proper files, have apparently disappeared.

¹⁰⁷Grant, *Journal*, February 22, 1889.

¹⁰⁸Walker, *Qualities That Count*, 216–18, 229 note 80, citing L. John Nuttall, *Diary*, February 27, 1889, and January 23, February 18, 20, 27, April 3, 5, 10, 1889, and notes 83–90.

¹⁰⁹Walker, *Qualities That Count*, 229, note 80. Rogers, *In the President's Office*, 291.

some others.¹¹⁰ L. John Nuttall, secretary to the First Presidency, lamented that the two apostles placed more weight on such matters than on the more spiritual and practical aspects of the kingdom. Indeed, Nuttall's record and comments may well have reflected dismay expressed by members of the First Presidency, since his journal stands as the best known record available on many of these developments.¹¹¹ As it turned out, these measures were reversed a year later after they proved highly unsatisfactory in the estimation of some older Church authorities.¹¹²

A final shock that may also have helped jolt Grant into reversing his opposition was that, in late 1888, Thatcher became so angry over actions by Cannon's rival stockholder faction in the Bullion, Beck, and Champion Mining Company that he threatened to sue Cannon

¹¹⁰Kenney, *Wilford Woodruff's Diary*, August 15, 1887, 8:453; January 26, 1888, 8, notes that Woodruff held business meetings with Bishop Preston but unfortunately includes no details.

¹¹¹L. John Nuttall, *Diaries*, 3 vols., typescript, copied from holograph, 1948, Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah (hereafter Perry Special Collections). The LDS Church History Library has a different typed copy from a later year, which I do not use in this article. I cite my use of the BYU typescript as Nuttall, *Diary*, including the date and page of the typescript. For an excellent excerpted edition, see Jedediah S. Rogers, ed., *In The President's Office: The Diaries of L. John Nuttall, 1879–1892* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2007). I also cite the Rogers edition as, e.g., "Rogers, 112." Nuttall had been John Taylor's secretary and, during a time of poor health, was assisting Mormon political lobbyists in Washington, D.C. When George Q. Cannon concluded to give himself up and serve his shortened unlawful cohabitation sentence, he probably recommended Nuttall to Wilford Woodruff as someone who could handle the regular First Presidency business at Church headquarters—which would have been quite unfamiliar to the new Church president. Woodruff promptly called Nuttall back to Utah to serve in that position. Nuttall, *Diary*, December 3, 17, 1888, and February 27, 1889, 282–83; Rogers, 291–93, 297, 327–29.

¹¹²Lyman, *Candid Insights of a Mormon Apostle*, October 10, 1889, 9. Abraham H. Cannon reports in considerable detail the Twelve's discussion of the increasingly unpopular new business system.

in the Utah Territorial court over stock and profit dispersements.¹¹³ Such action in the earlier days of the Church would likely have resulted in Thatcher's excommunication; as it was, Thatcher had not only almost totally alienated Woodruff and Cannon but was then generating equally bad feelings from most of the other General Authorities.¹¹⁴ And finally, in April 1896, as Erastus Snow had predicted, Thatcher was dropped from the Quorum of the Twelve.¹¹⁵

As a result of Grant's reconciliation with Cannon, by February

¹¹³Edward Leo Lyman, "The Alienation of an Apostle from His Quorum: The Moses Thatcher Case," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 18 (Summer 1985): 70–71. For additional information on the tensions caused over the Bullion, Beck, and Champion Mining Company, see the following article: Addams, "The Bullion, Beck, and Champion Mining Company"; Walker, *Qualities That Count*, 206–7, 218; the Abraham H. Cannon, complete journals, 1888-to October 1889 (excerpts published from his call as an apostle in October 1889), Perry Special Collections; Kenney, *Wilford Woodruff's Journals*, April 3, 1889, 9:15. The mining company stock was also part of the conflict that resulted in John W. Taylor's eventual excommunication. See also Nuttall, *Journal*, March 13, 15, 1889, 335–37; Rogers, 324–25.

¹¹⁴Nuttall, *Journal*, December 3, 1888, 283–85, 319–20; Rogers, 291–92, records that Thatcher told him and Grant that he planned to consult an attorney about the Bullion, Beck, and Champion mining stock. Both men advised him against this action, and Nuttall also informed Cannon of Thatcher's plans. At Cannon's request (he was then serving his prison sentence), Woodruff asked Thatcher to put his charges and complaints in writing so that Cannon could answer them in writing, to the Council of the Twelve. See also Lyman, "The Alienation of an Apostle from His Quorum," 71–72; Nuttall, *Journal*, April 3, 1889, 348–49; Rogers, 333–34, for early though temporary Bullion Beck reconciliation. On December 10, 1888, Thatcher wrote a letter stating he was willing to specify in writing his complaint against Cannon. He had done so, at least temporarily, by April 3, 1889.

¹¹⁵One of the underlying and barely recognized complications in Thatcher was that, because of a stomach ulcer which sometimes caused terrible pain, at some point his physicians prescribed forms of morphine. A widely known medicine, it was not strictly controlled by law. Later, in the summer of 1896, Thatcher's demands for morphine alarmed his family, who subsequently appealed to Church authorities to allow the errant apostle time to seek a medical program to break the habit. But progress alter-

1889, Woodruff felt assured that he could more successfully bring up the issue of organizing the First Presidency. That month he wrote to Francis M. Lyman asking for his position on the question. Lyman responded promptly expressing approval.¹¹⁶ He had started serving his sentence for unlawful cohabitation in the territorial prison just after George Q. Cannon was sentenced, and it seems likely that they had already extensively discussed the succession question. Ronald W. Walker has aptly concluded that “the growing consensus [on succession] was a tribute to Woodruff’s leadership.” A less forbearing man “might have [earlier] forced a serious confrontation and brought [about an] open rupture.”¹¹⁷ His quiet, patient way had finally turned the tide, while impressively allowing Heber J. Grant to grow and develop as a notable Church leader in his own right.

Despite Woodruff’s sincere lack of personal ambition and his appreciative recognition of Cannon’s experience and skill, it seems likely that Woodruff by mid-1889 influenced Cannon’s thinking more than Cannon influenced Woodruff, particularly in the momentous retreat from authorizing new plural marriages then just beginning. For example, on September 9, 1889, Woodruff instructed a

nated with relapses during which the sometimes impressive apostle wavered drastically between aggressiveness and defiance on the one hand and humility and submissiveness on the other. While I make no claims to professional knowledge of either medicine or psychiatry, thirty years of involvement with documentary sources regarding Moses Thatcher have helped me to form some definite opinions about him, particularly about his otherwise baffling mood swings. He sometimes harbored bitter resentment against other good men, particularly in business and political affairs, which especially in a lay church often spilled over into ecclesiastical affairs. His fellow apostles had witnessed these exhausting extremes so long that, by now, they no longer wished him to remain in their quorum. Nuttall, *Diary*, February 18, 20, 1889, 319.

¹¹⁶Nuttall, *Journal*, February 19, April 5, 1889, 2:319–20, 324–25; Rogers, 318. Rogers’s note, 336, states: “Prest. Woodruff said that F[rancis] M. Lyman had been consulted and had expressed himself as in favor.” Woodruff’s earlier inquiry had been sent on February 19, 1889, indicating that he had certainly been planning his move for April conference. See also Walker, *Qualities That Count*, 219, citing Nuttall, *Journal*, February 18, 20, 1889.

¹¹⁷Walker, *Qualities That Count*, 219.

stake president in Davis County not to allow a new plural marriage that had been previously requested.¹¹⁸ Cannon, long the most outspoken advocate of plural marriage, commented at the time that he had never before heard such a statement from a person occupying the highest position in the Church and privately disagreed with it.¹¹⁹ However, by the time Woodruff drafted his historic Manifesto in late September 1890, Cannon fully supported Woodruff's position.¹²⁰

The Bullion, Beck, and Champion mining stock had originally been "consecrated" to the ends that President John Taylor alone would determine, to be partly carried out by John Beck, a devoted Church member and owner of the mine. During Taylor's final illness, he had transferred control of this stock to Cannon. At this later point, Woodruff probably suggested that Cannon release to John W. Taylor and Moses Thatcher the stock claimed by those two factions of shareholders.¹²¹ At a quorum meeting April 3, 1889, Grant summarized: "There was a lot of letters read and mining matters was brought up by Prest. Woodruff and he expressed a desire to have this matter settled

¹¹⁸Bitton, *George Q. Cannon*, 300, 511 note 162.

¹¹⁹*Ibid.*; Thomas G. Alexander, *Things in Heaven and Earth: The Life and Times of Wilford Woodruff, a Mormon Prophet* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1991), 236, 257, 259.

¹²⁰Cannon also used Doctrine and Covenants 84:2–5 and 124:49–54, which Woodruff had used at the same October 1890 general conference. In this revelation, the Lord released the Missouri Saints from building the Independence Temple, shifting the responsibility to the hostile Missourians who had prevented them from fulfilling the commandment. See Brian Stuy, ed., *Collected Discourses Delivered by President Wilford Woodruff, His Two Counselors, the Twelve Apostles and Others*, 5 vols. (Burbank, Calif.: BHS Publishing, 1987–92), Cannon discourse 2:129; Woodruff discourses, 2:134–37. Rogers, *In the President's Office*, January 23, 1889, 309, noted: "A letter was written to Prest. M[arriner] W. Merrill of Logan Temple to discontinue plural marriages for the present and until further advised unless for special occasions, for prudential reasons."

¹²¹Grant, *Journal*, April 3, 1889; Walker, *Qualities That Count*, 219. Various proposals were to use the consecrated stock to purchase property in Jackson County, to establish a Church university in Salt Lake City, and to repay a debt incurred by the First Presidency's purchase of several Nevada gold mines. Leonard J. Arrington and Edward Leo Lyman, "When the Mormon Church Invested in Southern Nevada Gold Mines," *Dialogue: A Journal*

as all others that there might be existing in the quorum as he wished us to be united in all things. . . . Thatcher expressed himself to the effect that he had no doubt that the matter could be satisfactorily arranged by him and Bro. Cannon” (unfortunately temporarily).¹²²

Two days later on April 5, 1889, Wilford Woodruff’s long-delayed desire of organizing a new First Presidency was finally fulfilled, amazingly with no controversy or dissension. Grant’s summary of the historic meeting included the revealing comment that “Prest. Woodruff said he felt the time had come” to organize the First Presidency and “that the church should be fully organized according to the revelations,” adding that “the Lord [now] required it at our hands.” He then called on the brethren to express their feelings. According to Nuttall, Woodruff also stated, perhaps in a conciliatory manner, “I have never seen a time when the church needs the services of the Twelve [more] than today.”¹²³ At that juncture, one of Woodruff’s most strongly expressed reasons why the presidency should be organized was, as Grant quoted him, “it was almost an impossible thing to keep a majority of the apostles together to transact business,” because of continued anti-polygmy prosecutions. This was indeed an accurate assessment of the situation and probably proved to be an unimpeachable argument that finally turned the tide in favor of a new First Presidency.

However, when Woodruff asked President Snow to lead out in the proceedings, Snow made his feelings clear that there had already been sufficient discussion on the subject. And thus, according to Grant’s account, Snow “thought we should [immediately] organize the presidency.” He also presented another powerful and convincing argument: “The twelve [had been] really doing the work that properly belonged to the presidency to do.” He then succinctly declared “that a First Presidency and not the quorum should conduct the business of the Church.” Many of the apostles were still fugitives from unlawful cohabitation prosecution, but to a traditional purist such as Snow, the

of Mormon Thought 35 (Summer 2002): 86–87, for Cannon’s last known involvement with the consecrated stock. Addams, “The Bullion, Beck, and Champion Mining Stock,” documents the Church’s renewal of the consecrated stock fund in 1904 with donations continuing up into the 1970s.

¹²²Grant, *Journal*, April 3, 1889; see *ibid.*, December 2, 1888, for an earlier allusion to the mining stock. See also Abraham H. Cannon, unpublished diaries, 1888 through October 1889.

¹²³Rogers, *In the President’s Office*, April 5, 1889, 386.

apostles' primary scriptural mission was preaching and supervising missionary work, not overseeing Church business and administrative affairs. President Snow then closed his remarks by moving that Wilford Woodruff be made president of the Church and that "he name his own counselors." Franklin D. Richards seconded this motion. Those present who voted in the affirmative were Richards, Cannon, Young, J. F. Smith, J. H. Smith, Thatcher, Lyman (by letter), Teasdale, Grant, and D. H. Wells (whose vote probably did not count). There were no recorded dissenting votes.¹²⁴ Moses Thatcher then stated he had felt for some time the necessity of the complete organization of the priesthood, an expression that was no doubt gratifying to the patient President Woodruff, but which provided another example of Thatcher's eventually disastrous personal inconsistency.

By asking Lorenzo Snow, the quorum president, to speak first, Woodruff may not only have been observing the convention of recognizing the senior apostle first, but also was perhaps offering Snow as a decisive model of proper response for the other apostles to follow.¹²⁵ This was a truly dramatic conclusion to the intentional delays that had prevented the Woodruff First Presidency from becoming organized more promptly for up to two years.

However, when Woodruff predictably nominated Cannon as his first counselor, Cannon essentially asked to be excused unless his appointment had the "heartly and full approval of his fellow apostles and of God." Woodruff assured Cannon of the Lord's approval of his calling along with general support from the Latter-day Saints, but admitted he could not speak for the other apostles. Yet significantly, at this point virtually all of the apostles expressed good will and full approval. Grant apparently said little but did not dissent. Thatcher

¹²⁴Grant, Journal, April 5, 1889. Although not mentioned in sources other than Nuttall, John W. Taylor participated in other votes and actions that day and probably also voted in the affirmative for Woodruff. If he had not, Grant would certainly have so noted. See Nuttall, Journal, April 5, 1889, 2:352; Rogers, 336, quotes Thatcher: "Many of us have been tied up—I am thankful for the united feeling which [h]as been made manifest this morning."

¹²⁵Grant, Journal, April 5, 1889; Alexander, *Things in Heaven and Earth*, 244–45. Snow's statement echoed the same conclusion reached more than forty years earlier by Brigham Young and Amasa Lyman, on December 5, 1847, at Kaneshville-Council Bluffs, Iowa, at the meetings that approved Young's organization of the First Presidency.

grudgingly conceded that he would vote for Cannon on the strength of Woodruff's assurance of divine approval, although he almost brazenly expressed regret that he had not received similar divine assurance to what Woodruff affirmed (which he, at that point, may not have been entitled to receive).¹²⁶ He again listed a few of the old grievances before promising he would "try and sustain him with all my might."¹²⁷ The other apostles probably recognized that was the best they could then expect from Thatcher, who by that time was rapidly losing influence among his fellows.

For his part, Cannon spoke to each of his colleagues, asking them individually for their forgiveness of past offenses. Then he pledged his acceptance of the position as "a duty, privilege and pleasure."¹²⁸ There was no discussion of or opposition to Joseph F. Smith's nomination as the second counselor. The new First Presidency was promptly thereafter accepted by an almost-unanimous vote of the general conference. Many of the subsequent apostolic discourses focused on harmony in Church affairs, tacitly pledging their own commitment to that goal. Thus the long-vexing matter had finally been resolved. Steven Heath has correctly concluded that Woodruff certainly thereby "laid the groundwork for a shortened apostolic presidency."¹²⁹

As quorum president, Lorenzo Snow thereafter worked diligently to unify the apostles, holding special meetings mainly for that

¹²⁶Rogers, *In the President's Office*, April 5, 1889, 337–38, quotes Thatcher as adding, in response to Cannon's appointment: "I wish I had put myself in such a position to have had the same manifestations. There has been some matter of his former administration which have not been approved by the Saints but I will let that pass. When I vote for him I shall do so freely and will try to sustain him with all my might." This is an important viewpoint which few maintained about the apostle at that time or thereafter.

¹²⁷Grant, *Journal*, April 5, 1889; Alexander, *Things in Heaven and Earth*, 244–45; Nuttall, *Diary*, April 5, 1889, 2:352; Rogers, 336. Walker, *Qualities That Count*, 220, also comments on Thatcher's grudging acceptance of Cannon. Lyman, "The Alienation of an Apostle from His Quorum," 72–82, describes persistent ill feelings related to the Bullion-Beck consecrated stock that proved too deep to eradicate.

¹²⁸Grant, *Journal*, April 5, 1889.

¹²⁹Heath, "Notes on Apostolic Succession," 48. These words mean

purpose at least semi-annually.¹³⁰ In December 1892, when Woodruff's health declined, Snow became seriously concerned about the possible necessity of succeeding him as Church president. In December of 1892 (though not recorded in print until late 1906), Wilford Woodruff and several other apostles conversed on general Church matters for several hours. When Lorenzo Snow started to leave, probably to catch a train to his home in Brigham City, Woodruff called him back, informed him he had come very near dying recently, and stated: "When I go I want you, Brother Snow, not to delay but organize the First Presidency promptly."¹³¹ The eighty-six-year-old Snow frequently prayed that he would not outlive Woodruff, but he also characteristically promised that he would devotedly perform any duty required at his hands. In the early fall of 1898, George Q. Cannon took Woodruff to San Francisco, hoping that the lower elevation would improve his health—but to no avail. Woodruff died at the California home of his friend, Isaac Trumbo, on September 2, 1898.¹³²

Cannon telegraphed the news to Lorenzo Snow who went to his personal apartment in the Salt Lake Temple (Snow was then temple president), dressed in his temple robes, and entered the Holy of Holies. Kneeling at its altar, he reminded the Lord of his pleas for Woodruff's life and that he had never sought the burdens now placed on his shoulders. Nevertheless, he pledged "Thy Will be done, I now present myself before Thee for thy guidance and instruction. I ask that Thou [wilt] show me what Thou wouldst have me do." According to his son, LeRoi C., "After finishing his prayer he expected a reply, some special manifestation from the Lord. So he waited—and waited.

the interim functioning of the Twelve as the primary governing body of the Church prior to sustaining each new presidency from then on.

¹³⁰Lyman, *Candid Insights of a Mormon Apostle*, April 8, 1890, 82; April 2, 1891, 195–97; October 3, 1891, 253–55; April 1, 1892, 316–19; October 3–5, 1893, 420–23; April 3–5, 1894, 484–94; October 4, 1894, 553–55; April 3–4, 1895, 625–30; October 1–2, 1895, 730–36.

¹³¹Durham and Heath, *Succession in the Church*, 103–4, recounted Lorenzo Snow's experience, which he reportedly had December 3, 1892. Snow inquired of Woodruff if he should regard this direction as inspired, and Woodruff said he should. The account of this experience did not become publicly known until published in the Southern States Mission, *Elder's Journal* 4, no. 6 (December 1, 1906): 110–11.

¹³²Alexander, *Things in Heaven and Earth*, 329–30.

There was no reply, no voice, no visitation, or manifestation. He left the altar and the room in great disappointment. He passed through the Celestial Room and out into the large corridor leading to his own room.”¹³³

There he received a magnificent personal visitation from the Savior, as he later told his twenty-one-year-old granddaughter, Allie Young Pond sometime in the next two years.¹³⁴ She was visiting him in the temple and was walking a few steps ahead of him down the corridor, when her Grandfather Snow said: “Wait a moment, Allie. I want to tell you something. It was right here that the Lord Jesus Christ appeared to me at the time of the death of President Woodruff.” This “glorious personage” reportedly stood about three feet above the floor on what appeared to be a plate of solid gold. “His hands, feet, countenance and beautiful white robes, . . . were of such a glory of whiteness and brightness that he [Snow] could hardly gaze upon Him.” Snow lovingly instructed Allie “to remember that this is the testimony of your grandfather, that he told you with his own lips that he actually saw the Savior here in the temple and talked to him face to face.”

Christ reportedly instructed Snow “to go right ahead and reorganize the First Presidency of the Church at once and not wait as had been done after the death of the previous three presidents,” simultaneously confirming that it was God’s will that Snow succeed Woodruff. Thus, when the other apostles finally heard of this, the procedures with which Church leaders had struggled for more than half a century finally became permanently implemented in response to this divine mandate of approval.

Snow did not immediately report this visitation to the Quorum of the Twelve, but the difficult experiences involving creating John Taylor’s and Wilford Woodruff’s First Presidencies, along with Woodruff’s known instruction to Snow, nevertheless had motivated them to cooperate toward that same end.¹³⁵ Late in the same day of Woodruff’s funeral, the apostles met at the president’s office, where, according to Heber J. Grant, Francis M. Lyman stated: “I feel im-

¹³³LeRoi C. Snow “The Redeemer Appears to President Lorenzo Snow,” in Lundwall, *Temples of the Most High*, 148–50.

¹³⁴*Ibid.*, 147–49.

¹³⁵Walker, *Qualities That Count*, 224, reflected cogently that the jars of 1887–89 facilitated Lorenzo Snow’s relatively smooth succession to the

pressed, although one of the younger members of the quorum, to say that I believe it would be pleasing in the sight of the Lord if the First Presidency of the Church was reorganized right here and right now. If I am in error regarding this impression, President Snow and the senior members of the council can correct me.”¹³⁶ That evening, President Snow encouraged all present to express themselves on the question and each stated his belief that it would be proper then to have the presidency organized. Grant reported, “When we had finished, then and not until then did Brother Snow tell us that he was instructed of the Lord in the temple the night after Pres. Woodruff died, to organize the presidency at once.”¹³⁷ Therefore, Snow’s presidency commenced eleven days after Woodruff’s death. His tenure has always been noted for his helping to set the Church back on a firmer financial footing.¹³⁸

During Snow’s presidency, Franklin D. Richards, the quorum

presidency in 1898. This time Heber J. Grant, among others, stressed the seniority policy, quoting the letter that Woodruff had written to him (Grant) in March 1887 describing Joseph Smith’s charge to the Nauvoo apostles.

¹³⁶President Heber J. Grant reported his recollection of Lyman’s comments at the MIA conference, June 1919, during the officers’ testimony meeting in the Assembly Hall. This, too, was part of LeRoi Snow, “The Redeemer Appears to President Lorenzo Snow,” as reprinted in Lundwall, *Temples of the Most High*, 1st ed., 145–46.

¹³⁷*Ibid.*, reprinted in Lundwall, *Temples of the Most High*, 10th ed., 149–50.

¹³⁸During the decade after the Edmunds-Tucker Act, even faithful Church members hesitated to pay full tithes and offerings because they understood that the funds might well pass into the hands of federally appointed receivers, whose honesty Church members had reason to distrust. This reluctance helped establish a need for Lorenzo Snow’s revitalization of the principle with his “Windows of Heaven” crusade. See Edward Leo Lyman, “George Q. Cannon’s Economic Strategy in the 1890s Depression,” *Journal of Mormon History* 29 (Fall 2003): 4–41. It seems that the new prophet never really appreciated and probably never understood the crucial role George Q. Cannon played in placing the Church’s financial affairs on a fairly firm and permanently prosperous foundation. In fact, Snow criticized Cannon for so recklessly sinking the Church into debt and Snow’s successors, Joseph F. Smith and Heber J. Grant, at least sometimes also discounted Cannon’s contributions. He was instrumental in helping develop

president, died in December 1898, apparently making Brigham Young Jr. quorum president. But in fact, both George Q. Cannon, ordained an apostle August 26, 1860, and Joseph F. Smith, ordained July 1, 1866, though not admitted to the Quorum of the Twelve until October 8, 1867, were senior to Young, who had been ordained an apostle February 4, 1864, but was not admitted to the Quorum of the Twelve until October 9, 1868. On September 9, 1898, Heber J. Grant questioned why Young was ranked ahead of Smith when Smith had been admitted into the quorum ahead of him. Young privately expressed disagreement with the resulting change (and recalled that his father had stated it to be correct), but he humbly deferred to his brethren's decision.¹³⁹ On April 5, 1900, the policy was finalized in a quorum meeting that an apostle's seniority began with the date of his admission to the quorum, not his ordination.¹⁴⁰ Thus, by the turn of the twentieth century, the last components essential for clarifying the LDS succession policy had been fully elaborated and would face no serious challenge in the century that followed.

When Snow died on October 10, 1901, after his funeral the quorum assembled in the Salt Lake Temple on October 17, 1901, and recognized Joseph F. Smith's succession to the presidency. His cousin, Apostle John Henry Smith, moved that they reorganize the First Presidency, and it was carried unanimously. John R. Winder and Anthon

and promote Union Pacific Railroad, Utah Power and Light and Utah-Idaho Sugar Corporation, in which the Church acquired much stock. Largely because of these astute developments, the Church became a Fortune 500 entity. Others might well argue, as Cannon doubtless believed, that the confiscation of much Church property authorized by the 1887 passage of the Edmunds-Tucker Act was the actual cause of most of the financial crisis.

¹³⁹Brigham Young Jr., *Diary*, September 9, 1898, quoted in Heath, "Notes on Apostolic Succession," 49. See also Durham and Heath, *Succession in the Church*, 113–14.

¹⁴⁰Minutes of First Presidency and Twelve Apostles, April 5, 1900, 2–7, typescript, John Henry Smith Papers, Special Collections, Marriott Library, University of Utah. See partial quotation in Heath, "Notes on Apostolic Succession," 49–51. See also *Salt Lake Tribune*, December 11, 1899, 5, quoted in Durham and Heath, *Succession in the Church*, 111–16; Joseph Fielding Smith, *The Life of Joseph F. Smith*, 310–11; Melvin Clarence Merrill, *Marriner Wood Merrill and Family* (Salt Lake City: n.pub., 1937), 252.

H. Lund were then sustained as his counselors. As Durham and Heath have elaborated, “Smith called a special conference in November 1901 most likely because he deemed the sustaining vote of the priesthood and the Saints preferable at the time rather than waiting some five months until the regularly appointed April general conference.”¹⁴¹

On several occasions, Joseph F. Smith raised the question of the status of the Church patriarch relative to the apostles. Joseph F.’s brother, John, was then Church patriarch, and Joseph F.’s question primarily related to the status that Joseph Smith had assigned his brother, Hyrum, also the Church patriarch, a position that apparently then ranked higher than the apostles. But after careful consideration over a number of years, with other Church leaders proving less than enthusiastic about any such changes, President Joseph F. Smith concluded not to alter the existing order of succession.¹⁴²

Smith died on November 19, 1918, just as World War I ended and the massive flu epidemic was spreading. After the private funeral, the Council of the Twelve met on November 23, 1918. After all of the apostles had the opportunity to express themselves, Anthon H. Lund, the second-senior apostle after Heber J. Grant, nominated Grant for president, seconded by Rudger Clawson, the third ranking apostle. Grant then nominated Lund and Charles W. Penrose as

¹⁴¹Durham and Heath, *Succession in the Church*, 117–19. They also state that “succession to the presidency [was now] almost automatic. If he [the incumbent prophet] lived worthy and long enough the man would surely become a President of the church” (124). Indeed the process was simply longevity as an apostle. But this “does not negate the fact that it was by revelation that each president was selected—the revelation having already been built into the Lord’s pattern of church government,” mainly by being selected as an apostle as a relatively young man.

¹⁴²Heath, “Notes on Apostolic Succession,” 51–53, concludes: “President Smith, clearly, gave the Church patriarch an elevated and important status but probably never advocated that the Patriarch succeed him and did not press for a change in the sustaining order though he had considered it. With his death in 1918, there were no further questions about the position of the Twelve.” See also Irene M. Bates and E. Gary Smith, *Lost Legacy: The Mormon Office of Presiding Patriarch* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1996); Quinn, *The Mormon Hierarchy: Extensions of Power*, 121–31.

counselors, who were then properly sustained and set apart. This pattern was followed in each presidential succession from then through 1973.¹⁴³ Grant, in the same meeting, proposed to sustain Lund as president of the Twelve as well as his counselor. James E. Talmage confided in his journal, "It is very evident that President Lund will not be able to attend all the meetings of the Twelve, and it was deemed advisable to sustain and set apart the next in order of seniority, viz., Rudger Clawson," as acting president.¹⁴⁴ This arrangement was also employed later when other senior apostles' declining capacity precluded them from acting as president of the Twelve.

The lethal influenza pandemic of 1918–19 demanded such widespread and strict quarantines that the April 1919 general conference, which would usually have sustained Grant and his counselors, was postponed. But in June 1919, at the special MIA conference, Heber J. Grant was finally sustained as Church president "by the will of God, according to the law of succession."¹⁴⁵ Lund was sustained as one of his counselors (but not as president of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles) while Charles W. Penrose was sustained as the Grant's second counselor. Melvin J. Ballard had been ordained an apostle January 7, 1919, but no president of the Quorum of the Twelve had been sustained. The person in line for that was still Anthon Lund, who had been called into the First Presidency, to which he was also sustained in October conference that same year as he had been at April 1919 general conference. But at the April 1920 general conference, Lund was sustained to both positions—as first counselor in the First Presidency and as president of the Quorum of the Twelve. This act more officially established this precedent in Church government.¹⁴⁶ As Durham and Heath observed, thereafter "the changes during President Grant's administration simply reflected the orderly flow of men moving along in their positions of seniority through the

¹⁴³Durham and Heath, *Succession in the Church*, 124–26. The question remained unresolved of what adjustment would be required if Grant died and Lund, as senior apostle, became Church president. However, Lund predeceased Grant, dying on March 2, 1921.

¹⁴⁴James E. Talmage, Journal, November 23, 1918, LDS Church History Library. Heath and Durham examined the Talmage journal before its access became more restricted.

¹⁴⁵Durham and Heath, *Succession in the Church*, 125–27.

¹⁴⁶At that juncture, all had realized that Lund was next in line as

Quorum of the Twelve and the quorum of the First Presidency.”¹⁴⁷ Grant died on May 14, 1945, having served twenty-six and a half years as president—longer than anyone but Brigham Young. Twelve new apostles had been installed during that tenure.

At that time, George Albert Smith, son of John Henry Smith and grandson of George A. Smith, was seventy-five years old and had suffered serious spells of ill health.¹⁴⁸ The main family biographers of President Spencer W. Kimball later noted: “For years during President Grant’s long illness, some members of the church had urged that succession did not need to follow seniority and that in light of George Albert Smith’s advanced years, it was time for a younger man as president.” But at the crucial meeting to decide the matter of succession, George Albert Smith asked each apostle to express his views. All agreed that the president of the Twelve should become Church president.¹⁴⁹

The president of the Twelve during Smith’s administration, George F. Richards, died in 1950, making Elder Joseph Fielding Smith, son of Joseph F. Smith, the next available senior apostle. He was sustained as “Acting President of the Council of the Twelve”; and during the last year of George Albert Smith’s life, David O. McKay, the senior apostle, was sustained as both president of the Twelve and as second counselor in George Albert Smith’s First Presidency. George Albert Smith, died on April 4, 1951. His funeral was conducted as one of the sessions of spring general conference of that year.

Church president, even if Rudger Clawson was being sustained as acting president of the Twelve. The 1920 clarification was in terminology. Being president of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles properly indicated that the holder of that title was senior in the total Church apostolic succession, rather than simply functioning as senior in the Twelve. Durham and Heath, *Succession in the Church*, 127–28.

¹⁴⁷Ibid., 160–64.

¹⁴⁸Mary Jane Woodger, “‘Cheat the Asylum of a Victim’: George Albert Smith’s 1909–12 Breakdown,” *Journal of Mormon History* 34 (Fall 2008): 124–48. Smith had both chronic and sporadic illnesses that could not be accurately diagnosed nor effectively treated, so there was a real argument, besides his age, for considering an alternative to his presidency.

¹⁴⁹Edward L. Kimball and Andrew E. Kimball Jr., *Spencer W. Kimball: Twelfth President of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1977), 220–21.

Five days later at a single Monday conference session, announced beforehand to be a “solemn assembly,” David O. McKay was sustained as the new Church president, on April 9, 1951. This session was conducted by J. Reuben Clark Jr., who had been Grant’s and Smith’s first counselor, and was also called into McKay’s first presidency, but with his position adjusted from first to second counselor. McKay’s longtime friend, Stephen L Richards, became the first counselor. The sustaining vote in the solemn assembly was first by priesthood offices by quorum, starting with the assembled general Church authorities, then the high priests, also seated together in the Tabernacle, then the seventies, then elders, and then the lesser priesthood. After this, the entire congregation assembled on Temple Square, including the priesthood members together, manifested assent. Each group voted by standing and raising their right arm to the square as each officer was proposed.

Although not widely known, this method of voting had been utilized for sustaining the Church authorities since the time of President John Taylor in 1880. For McKay’s 1951 solemn assembly, the Church published the carefully outlined procedures to fully document the processes that had been developing for more than a century. In explaining the procedures, Heath and Durham observed that, “though history and men and policy are part of the process, the whole is made after the mind and will of God, the ‘touchings’ of the spirit, working in history and with men, [to] temper and mature a certain pattern of government.” They concluded: “There is no tradition alone; there is no speculation. The law of succession is certain, and it is revelatory! And it was declared with crystal clearness through the appropriate channels of authority to the membership at large in David O. McKay’s presidency.”¹⁵⁰

President McKay may have been the most visible and popular of all Church presidents, and he enjoyed being in the limelight.¹⁵¹ But in fact, as his administration progressed, President McKay became markedly more indecisive. In the last five of the nineteen years of

¹⁵⁰Durham and Heath, *Succession in the Church*, 164–65. See pp. 140–59 for their careful discussion of the procedures. See also *One Hundred Twenty-first Annual Conference of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, April 6, 7 and 8, 1951, with Report of Discourses* (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1951), 136–51.

¹⁵¹Francis M. Gibbons, *David O. McKay: Apostle to the World, Prophet of*

McKay's presidency, some important Church matters sometimes limped along, as the president-prophet dealt with limitations imposed by strokes, injury, and medications. There was clearly disappointment among the apostles with McKay's arbitrary choices as new assistants, with Thorpe B. Isaacson in 1965 and Alvin R. Dyer in 1968 becoming the president's primary assistants. Counselors Hugh B. Brown and N. Eldon Tanner eventually found it difficult to get McKay's attention. Part of the reason was because they were politically liberal and McKay and his private secretary, Clare Middlemiss, were far more conservative in most of their political views.¹⁵² That portion of his tenure also proved fraught with internal disharmony, with up to five simultaneously serving counselors, who sometimes vied for the president's approval, occasionally leading to contradictory leadership decisions and diminished effectiveness.¹⁵³

McKay's expected successor, the longtime president of the Quorum of the Twelve, Joseph Fielding Smith, had been added as an additional counselor in the First Presidency when he was already ninety.

God (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1986), 263.

¹⁵²Quinn, *The Mormon Hierarchy: Extensions of Power*, 19, 27–32, notes the tension and disappointment among many other apostles over this situation. Quinn stated that Dyer antagonized the presidency's official counselors and was never admitted into the Quorum of the Twelve (54). He also stated that from 1967 until McKay's death in January 1970, LDS administration was in quiet disarray.

¹⁵³Quinn, *The Mormon Hierarchy: Extensions of Power*, 19, 25–32, 53–56. "Second counselor N. Eldon Tanner carried most of the administrative burden of the presidency from March 1966 to 1968" (56). Quinn quoted Utah Senator Frank Moss who confided, not completely accurately, to a California Mormon congressman, Ken Dyal in March 1966: "We have [an] intolerable situation at the top now. President McKay is senile, President Joseph Fielding Smith is senile, President Brown is ill and can't be in his office much of the time, President Thorpe Isaacson has suffered a stroke and is unable to speak and is paralyzed on one side, so we really have only Eldon Tanner to carry the load. He does his best but it is an impossible assignment." McKay unilaterally appointed Alvin R. Dyer as a special counselor in April 1968. He was the cousin of McKay's secretary Clare Middlemiss. See Gregory A. Prince and William R. Wright, *David O. McKay and the Rise of Modern Mormonism* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2005), for a more positive view of selected aspects of the first years.

He contributed relatively little of substance in that position, and it soon became clear that Smith was incapable of effectively participating in regular presidency meetings or taking a strong role in Church leadership. Likely some within the Quorum of the Twelve thus commenced to seriously consider altering, amending, or ignoring the longtime succession policy if McKay's death left Joseph Fielding Smith as senior apostle.¹⁵⁴

McKay died on January 18, 1970. Joseph Fielding Smith was then ninety-three. Since Lorenzo Snow had become Church president in 1898, he and each of his four successors had been installed in office within days of their predecessor's demise. Some worried that delaying succession or changing that pattern might raise alarm among some Church members. Also, since 1923, Church financial operations had become increasingly complex, requiring a rapid reorganization of the First Presidency because of the requirement that a functioning "Corporation of the President" be available to provide continued financial oversight. The recent smoothness of the transition from senior apostle to Church president had generated some anticipation that Smith, a prolific author of books mainly answering questions on Church policies, theology and procedures, would be McKay's successor, although it was also widely known that he, too, would likely often function with diminished capacity.

Thus, a cause of some concern was that McKay could not provide vigorous leadership during the last five years of his presidency, nor did the situation appear likely to improve if Smith succeeded to the presidential office. Yet the man next in the line of succession was Apostle Harold B. Lee, twenty years Smith's junior, who seemed to be in excellent health, appearing fully capable of providing the needed vigorous leadership, and thus making him an attractive possible alternative candidate. It would not be realistic to suppose that Lee and at least some other colleagues had not reflected on perhaps amending the traditional seniority pattern. However, when Joseph Fielding Smith's wife, Jessie Evans Smith, called Lee early Sunday morning, January 18, 1970, to report the former president's death, no firm conclusions in that regard had been reached.

After some of the Twelve and family members had arranged for Hugh B. Brown, McKay's longtime counselor, to conduct his funeral,

¹⁵⁴Quinn, *The Mormon Hierarchy: Origins of Power*, 256–57, 458 notes 59–70.

Joseph and Jessie Smith entered Lee's office. Lee later confided to his son-in-law and biographer, L. Brent Goates, that President Smith seemed agitated about rumors that some contemplated bypassing him because of his age and periodic spells of poor health. Joseph Fielding Smith had always stressed historical tradition, and he strenuously opposed the possibility of being bypassed in the succession. According to Goates, the Smiths made it clear that as Church president, Joseph Fielding would call Lee into the First Presidency as first counselor and concluded that these considerations generated "an overwhelming sense of obligation and responsibility" in Lee.¹⁵⁵ This may well be true, but Lee was already committed to the regular procedures of succession. In a letter to Hoyt W. Brewster Jr. of Los Angeles, he stated that "the brethren have declared time and time again, that the only way that one other than the president of the Twelve could be president of the church would be that the president of the Twelve could receive a revelation from the Lord designating someone else to act in his stead. That, I firmly believe." He concluded: "It has always been so and in my judgement it will always continue to be so that the President of the Quorum of the Twelve would become the President of the church unless the Lord were to direct him otherwise."¹⁵⁶

At the reorganization meeting held five days after McKay's death, and on the day after his funeral, President Smith called the Quorum of the Twelve into the temple for the important meeting on succession of the president. As president of the Twelve, Smith requested each apostle, starting with the junior members, to express their views on succession. During Lee's turn, he significantly drew on the March 28, 1887, letter from Wilford Woodruff to Heber J. Grant in which Woodruff stressed the importance of the well-established succession policy. The apostles therefore followed the revealed pattern of Church government making Joseph Fielding Smith the tenth

¹⁵⁵L. Brent Goates, *Harold B. Lee: Prophet and Seer* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1985), 402-4.

¹⁵⁶Harold B. Lee, Letter to Hoyt W. Brewster Jr. (Los Angeles), January 19, 1968, photocopy in Steven Heath personal files; photocopy in my possession courtesy of Heath. His co-author had obtained their copy earlier from what was then called the Historical Department of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints when it was housed in the Church Administration Building at 45 South Temple, Salt Lake City. See also Durham and Heath, *Succession in the Church*, 171-73.

president of the Church. Harold B. Lee was named as his first counselor and N. Eldon Tanner as his second.

Subsequently, in Joseph Fielding Smith's tenure as president, Harold B. Lee assumed many of the First Presidency's administrative and decision-making duties.¹⁵⁷ But while President Smith was usually unable to undertake even tasks such as performing his granddaughter's marriage, he was yet on occasion "mentally alert" and thus presumably he could receive revelation and direct the Church through inspired counsel when such needs arose.¹⁵⁸ Alan Blodgett, then managing director of the Church financial department, conceded in a later interview that "President Lee was the administrative president of the Church during the years that Joseph Fielding Smith was president."¹⁵⁹ President Smith died in July 1972, after just thirty months in that position, making Lee president of the Church in his own right.

After Lee's apostolic associates followed the well-outlined process, he was sustained as president of the Church, and he chose as counselors N. Eldon Tanner and Marion G. Romney. Spencer W. Kimball was sustained as president of the Quorum of the Twelve. That autumn, President Lee and his wife traveled to Europe with Gordon B. and Marjorie Hinckley; but after an enjoyable side visit to the Holy Land, Hinckley noted that Lee struggled with exhaustion. He kept up his rigorous schedule through the ensuing year, traveling to Europe that fall. But at Christmas, Hinckley was stunned by Lee's haggard appearance. Within days, he admitted himself into a hospital with no other symptoms than exhaustion but suddenly died, despite heroic efforts to resuscitate him by the attending physicians. At that time, President Hinckley expressed shock because, like so many others, he assumed Lee would live so much longer and had started his tenure as president so vigorously. Hinckley could only conclude that the Lord simply had another purpose for the faithful Church leader, who had served only from July 1972 to December 1973.¹⁶⁰ In fact, his short tenure was a brief exception to a hundred-year pattern of

¹⁵⁷Goates, *Harold B. Lee*, 469, 488.

¹⁵⁸Quinn, *The Mormon Hierarchy: Origins of Power*, 256–58, including 458 notes 59–70.

¹⁵⁹Alan Blodgett, interviewed by D. Michael Quinn, on August 29, 30, 1992, quoted in Quinn, *The Mormon Hierarchy: Extensions of Power*, 56.

¹⁶⁰Kimball and Kimball, *Spencer W. Kimball*, 2–5, 7–8, 409–10; Sheri

Church presidents who were eighty or older.

Thus the mantle of Church authority fell on Spencer W. Kimball, who had been praying for Lee in an adjacent hospital room at the time of his death. His grown children immediately recognized the worry in their mother Camilla's face, knowing as she did her husband's inability to give less than 100 percent of his energy to his new responsibility, even at his age of seventy-eight. He was actually four years older than Lee and, afflicted by numerous health issues, never dreamed he would outlive his friend and longtime colleague. Yet while numbed at the new responsibility, he felt assured that God would not have left him this responsibility without being willing to give him support. The day after Lee's funeral, on December 29, 1973, Kimball summoned the surviving fourteen apostles to meet in the temple. After taking the sacrament and participating in a prayer circle, President Kimball posed the question of whether there should be immediate reorganization of the presidency. Each apostle had an opportunity to speak, after which Ezra Taft Benson, the second in seniority, nominated Kimball and the group unanimously assented to the proposal.¹⁶¹

President Spencer W. Kimball became the twelfth Church president in December 1973 and, despite his age, soon established a leadership style of vigor, consensus, and love that generated notable harmony within the hierarchy for a dozen years. He privately believed that "no man will live long enough to become President of this church who is not the proper one to give it leadership."¹⁶² However, for the last third of his tenure, he, too had to rely heavily on another very good interim counselor. Kimball's first counselor, N. Eldon Tanner, was soon incapacitated by the long-term effects of Parkinson's disease; and his second counselor, Marion G. Romney, became unable to function in Church leadership about November 1981, when his eyesight and memory failed. Kimball was challenged by cardiac problems, which eventually could not be resolved,¹⁶³ although he was often mentally alert when Hinckley visited him. He was not in his office

L. Dew, *Go Forward with Faith: The Biography of Gordon B. Hinckley* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1996), 330.

¹⁶¹Ibid., 7-8, 402, 409-10.

¹⁶²Ibid., 7-8, 409-10. Kimball stated: "Each leader in his own peculiar way has made a great contribution to the onward march of the church."

¹⁶³Ibid., 409-10.

much after the beginning of 1982. Thus, perhaps the most significant and longest modern tenure of any single counselor as a *de facto* Church president was Apostle Gordon B. Hinckley, first called as an extra counselor to Spencer W. Kimball in July 1981.¹⁶⁴

By then, many people close to the First Presidency realized that the ever-increasing administrative demands of Church leadership required a high performance of energy and efficiency. Elder Hinckley's long service as an apostle—twenty years—eminently prepared him for the huge additional responsibilities that soon rested upon him with his call as a third counselor in the presidency. He became second counselor in 1982 when Tanner died. One of his biographers, George M. McCune, stated that by mid-1982, Hinckley was carrying almost all of the day-to-day responsibility of Kimball's administration. Symbolic of his great burden was the fact that in both opening sessions of April conference, in 1982 and 1983, he gave the opening address traditionally reserved for the Church president. President Kimball gave a farewell message at the second conference, voicing his approval of all that had transpired.¹⁶⁵

Fully aware of the general Church members' concern over President Kimball's health, President Hinckley assured: "There is no gap in leadership. No work of the presidency is being neglected." In dealing with those troubled by elderly leadership, he pointed out the advantages: "What a blessing. While the church needed malleable men in its early history, the advantages of wisdom are now serving the or-

¹⁶⁴Dew, *Go Forward with Faith*, 393, 401, 423, 436, 474. Thus, Hinckley confronted a most challenging situation, which Thomas S. Monson later called unique in the history of the Church. Kimball's physical abilities were limited, but he was still very much the prophet. Hinckley refused to act beyond his authority. This situation lasted more than four years. Later, Presidents Ezra Taft Benson and Howard W. Hunter also experienced extended periods of physical limitation for at least three years, but in both of those presidencies, Hinckley was aided by the comparatively young and vigorous Thomas S. Monson to share the pressures and responsibilities. Still Hinckley served as the unofficial *de facto* president of the Church for at least seven years.

¹⁶⁵George M. McCune, *Gordon B. Hinckley: Shoulder for the Lord* (Salt Lake City: Hawkes Publishing, 1996), 469, 488, 490. See also Dew, *Gordon B. Hinckley*, 389, 391, 393–96; Quinn, *The Mormon Hierarchy: Extensions of Power*, 393–96.

ganization well.” At about the same time, he also explained in a conference address that “there was an active First Presidency” so long as one counselor could function.”¹⁶⁶ From 1985 to 1988, Apostle Marion G. Romney was next in line to be Church president; but given his failing memory was probably mentally unable to completely fill that position. Thus, a cause of particular concern was a heart attack that Kimball suffered. It was not fatal; but if he had died, the Quorum of the Twelve would most likely have acted collectively as the administrative body, reviving the apostolic regimes at the beginnings of Taylor and Woodruff’s administrations.¹⁶⁷

By April 1984, the Quorum of the Twelve had two vacancies, due to the deaths of LeGrand Richards and Mark E. Petersen. President Hinckley explained that he was simply waiting for President Kimball to initiate the business of replacing them, which, to the surprise of some, he did at that same conference, calling Russell M. Nelson and Dallin H. Oaks into the quorum. In President Hinckley’s conference address, he affirmed: “I want to give you my testimony that they [the new apostles] were chosen and called by the spirit of prophecy and revelation.” He also reassured: “While President Kimball is unable to stand at this pulpit and speak to us, we are on occasion able to converse with him, and he has given his authorization to that which has been done. We would not have proceeded without him.” Sometimes, according to Hinckley’s biographer, Sheri Dew, he knew what Kimball would have chosen to do from his past actions.¹⁶⁸ These heroic surrogate administrative efforts provided a smoothly functioning First Presidency until President Kimball’s death on November 5, 1985.

The considerably “mellowed” Ezra Taft Benson became Church president in the accustomed manner.¹⁶⁹ At the new president’s request, Gordon B. Hinckley conducted the late president’s funeral ser-

¹⁶⁶Goates, *Harold B. Lee*, 490. See also Quinn, *The Mormon Hierarchy: Origins of Power*, 260 note 238.

¹⁶⁷Quinn, *The Mormon Hierarchy: Origins of Power*, 163 note 147.

¹⁶⁸Dew, *Go Forward with Faith*, 397, 401–3, 424. Hinckley frequently visited with the Church president when he was well rested and alert, carefully explaining matters that he deemed could not be delegated.

¹⁶⁹Quinn, *The Mormon Hierarchy: Extensions of Power*, 70–115. Benson had earlier been overly active in promoting the John Birch Society within

vice; and four days later, he was called as Benson's first counselor, with Thomas S. Monson as second counselor. Those observing the appointment of longtime first counselor, Marion G. Romney, as president of the Quorum of the Twelve conceded, that, even though he stood next in the line of seniority; he was then even more diminished in his physical and mental capacities and could not really function in that position. Therefore, Howard W. Hunter filled the *de facto* position. In doing so, the General Authorities were following the precedents set years earlier when Ruderger Clawson had been installed as acting quorum president during Grant's presidency because the still-incapacitated Anthon Lund held the crucial next-in-line position. On November 10, 1985, LDS news spokesmen admitted "they do not know what will happen if he [Romney] outlives [President Benson]." ¹⁷⁰ President Benson had a coronary attack in November 1986, which he survived and was then fitted with a pacemaker. Quinn noted that a "single heartbeat stood between the church and the automatic succession of a mentally incapacitated apostle to the office of president." Actually, the other legitimate alternative was still the collective presidency by the entire quorum of apostles. A spokesman from the First Presidency's office promptly attempted to assure: "The Lord will tell us what to do" in such a contingency, but it was still a realistic cause for concern. ¹⁷¹ Romney lived until 1988.

Undoubtedly, the Church will, from time to time, continue to rely on vigorous and fully qualified counselors, such as Harold B. Lee, Howard W. Hunter, Gordon B. Hinckley and Thomas S. Monson have been, to greatly assist older or ill Church presidents and counselors. ¹⁷² Yet despite such uncontroversial traditions, the dramatically prolonged life-spans now reasonably common because of advances in medical science and other reasons continue to pose questions about

Church circles but, as Church president, was much less intense.

¹⁷⁰Quoted in Quinn, *The Mormon Hierarchy: Origins of Power*, 260.

¹⁷¹Ibid.

¹⁷²Dew, *Gordon B. Hinckley*, 396, captured President Hinckley's daunting dilemma: "The workload was less a concern to President Hinckley than were other questions for which there were no simple answers. Which decisions must be made only by the President of the Church, and which were within his delegated authority to make? How would members react to the feeble condition of the Presidency and to the obvious fact that only he [Hinckley] was active and healthy? More important, how could he continue

the desirability of some type of retirement system for members of the Mormon hierarchy dealing with illness and progressing age.

Although these crises have been reasonably well accommodated within the existing structure, the issue of at least occasional disability through senility resulting from advanced age, as well as other related physical disabilities, has become a definite issue in the matter of LDS presidential succession, and I offer some thoughts on the topic with trepidation. The first apostle known to have formally requested release from his apostleship due to these factors was seventy-year-old James E. Talmage, who died in 1933, still an apostle. At age seventy in March 1941, Apostle Richard R. Lyman also proposed his own retirement, although none of his fellow apostles seemed inclined to discuss his suggestions; and his excommunication for adultery in November, 1943, made the question moot. In the early 1970s, Apostle Hugh B. Brown recommended his own retirement, due to the hampering effects of old age and illness, and mentioned possible retirement for some of his colleagues in the hierarchy. He acknowledged that such a procedure would certainly affect the line of succession for Church presidents.¹⁷³ No action was taken on this proposal except to note that a revelation would probably be necessary to effect such a change regarding apostles. However, three years after Brown's death in 1973, Spencer W. Kimball's First Presidency adopted Brown's recommendation for all General Authorities except for apostles and the First Presidency. Seventies and those in the Presiding Bishopric were thereafter routinely released at the general conference following their seventieth birthday.

Quinn has aptly observed that a retirement system for the Quorum of the Twelve would be a way to bypass impaired senior apostles or guarantee younger Church presidents without ending automatic succession. Retirement of apostles might become automatic upon their own request, upon reaching a certain age, or by medical certifi-

the pace President Kimball had set and advance the work of the church without getting ahead of the President or stepping out of line? . . . Indeed, the dual mandate seemed almost contradictory. At the very least, his was a delicate balance to strike."

¹⁷³Quinn, *The Mormon Hierarchy: Origins of Power*, 259, 459 notes 74-75. He cites the *Deseret News 1993-1994 Church Almanac*, 143, of those receiving emeritus status. Unconfirmed reports mention that Apostle Joseph F. Merrill and Delbert L. Stapley had also sought retirement.

cation that they were in an irreversible condition of physical or mental incapacity.¹⁷⁴ The recent resignation of Pope Benedict XVI, while showing some innovativeness and courage, does not seem likely to influence LDS policies. However, some retirement system may yet be instituted if authorized by revelation.¹⁷⁵

During Hinckley's service as Kimball's counselor, his careful and respectful leadership endeared him to both the hierarchy and membership as he again functioned as literally *acting* Church president. Thomas S. Monson, an apostle since October 1963, joined Hinckley as second counselor as an equally careful, yet powerful administrator. The two commenced to function in a similar manner during a considerable portion of Ezra Taft Benson's presidential administration, which once again extended through a lengthy final illness, that lasted from about May of 1989, when he could no longer conduct much administrative and other business, until his death on May 30, 1994—almost half of his tenure.

Thereafter, the physically frail Howard W. Hunter served as Church president for only nine months—from June 1994 to March 3, 1995. At the beginning of this tenure, Boyd K. Packer was set apart as acting president of the Twelve, since Hinckley, the senior apostle, was in the First Presidency. President Hunter was also mainly incapacitated during his last three months, with his counselors serving once again as the “back-up system.” Thus, both Gordon B. Hinckley and Thomas S. Monson acquired much experience prior to their own tenures as actual presidents of the Church.

Hinckley's service as president in his own right began on April 1, 1995, with a solemn assembly, when he was eighty-four, two years younger than Benson and Hunter had been at the beginning of their presidencies.¹⁷⁶ His other counselor, with Monson, was James E. Faust, who observed of Hinckley: “Perhaps no man who has become president of the Church has been more extensively or better prepared

¹⁷⁴Quinn, *The Mormon Hierarchy: Origins of Power*, 258–60.

¹⁷⁵*Ibid.*, 56.

¹⁷⁶On the evening he was ordained as Church president, March 12, 1995, Hinckley reflected: “One must assume that he who becomes the President of the Church has been selected by the Lord, who has power over life and death, and who preserves and trains a man through long years of service. I returned home, greatly sobered, almost overwhelmed.” Dew, *Gordon B. Hinckley*, 509.

for that office.”¹⁷⁷ It should also be recognized that Hinckley’s more than a half-dozen years of service, often as the sole active counselor to other Church presidents, was a historically significant aspect of the new Church leadership as well. After a productive tenure, President Hinckley died on January 2, 2008, at age ninety-seven.

Thomas S. Monson was ordained and set apart as the sixteenth Church president on February 3, 2008, with Henry B. Eyring as first counselor and Dieter F. Uchtdorf as second counselor.¹⁷⁸ They are all in robust health considering their age at this writing. Boyd K. Packer, though no longer mobile, still functions as president of the Quorum of the Twelve. Thus, after a repeated series of Church presidents suffering from frail or failing health, which they as counselors did so much to compensate for, the Hinckley and Monson presidencies have brought a welcome period of relative health and stability within the hierarchy.

In reflecting about almost two centuries of evolution and development of the succession system for LDS Church president, we can concede that it clearly took an extended period to convince some members of the LDS hierarchy that succession needed to follow a course of strict seniority determined by date of entry to the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles. That several men who eventually attained to that position—Joseph F. Smith, Heber J. Grant, and, to a lesser extent, perhaps Harold B. Lee—entertained alternative views, proves the point. However, there are now virtually no instances where clear precedents have not been laid out. D. Michael Quinn, in his analysis of the long delay Woodruff endured in forming his First Presidency,

¹⁷⁷Ibid., xi.

¹⁷⁸Deseret News, *2013 Church Almanac* (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 2012), 79. See also Quinn, *The Mormon Hierarchy: Extensions of Power*, 58, 94–95. J. Nelson-Seawright observed that Monson’s six predecessors were older than he at ordination, averaging seventy-eight (excluding Joseph and Brigham). Monson was barely above the mean at eighty. If adjusted for contemporary life expectancy, however, Monson is one of the youngest to be ordained president with only Grant and Joseph F. Smith, and perhaps Lee being younger, relative to life expectancy in the year they were ordained. Monson is four years younger in absolute terms than Hinckley was at ordination and is thus positioned to serve a lengthy period as prophet. [http://by commonconsent.com/2008/01/29/monson-age-considered/](http://by.commonconsent.com/2008/01/29/monson-age-considered/) (accessed January 10, 2014).

commented cogently: “Traditional histories have implied that these long periods without an organized presidency were happenstance due to external factors. In reality, these periods were evidence of power struggles between the Twelve and First Presidency. The apostles refused to form a new presidency because they did not want to surrender their own authority.”¹⁷⁹ President Woodruff’s 1887 letters recounting his recollections about Joseph Smith’s 1844 charge to apostles at Nauvoo was a major factor in such clarification and has been cited as important clarification and guidance as recently as 1970. The system may not be considered perfect; but despite occasional questions, it has served well for an impressive length of time and promises to so continue.

¹⁷⁹Quinn, *The Mormon Hierarchy: Extensions of Power*, 48. As I have pointed out, I believe that it was primarily junior apostles who mounted this resistance.

THE BULLION, BECK, AND CHAMPION MINING COMPANY AND THE REDEMPTION OF ZION

R. Jean Addams

Therefore, it is expedient in me that mine elders should wait for a little season, for the redemption of Zion. (LDS D&C 105:13/ RLDS D&C 102:3f).¹

The time for returning to Jackson County is much nearer than many suppose. –Lorenzo Snow²

THIS ARTICLE ANALYZES THE EFFORTS of John Beck, a German immigrant converted to Mormonism, and his discovery of a significant silver and lead mining lode in the Tintic Mountains of the Terri-

R. JEAN ADDAMS {rjaddams@yahoo.com} is a lifetime Mormon history enthusiast and independent historian. He and his wife, Liz, reside in Woodinville, Washington. He has published several articles dealing with the Church of Christ (Temple Lot) and a book, *Upon the Temple Lot: The Church of Christ's Quest to Build the House of the Lord* (Independence: John Whitmer Books, December 2010) and served as president of the John Whitmer Historical Association (2012–13). He presented an abbreviated version of this essay with the same title at the Mormon History Association conference, Calgary, Alberta, Canada, July 2012. ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS: He extends special thanks to Ron Watt (retired), Jay Burrup, Michael Landon, Edward Leo Lyman, Bill Slaughter, Jenny St. Clair, and others of the LDS Church History Library staff who have facilitated access to many of the documents cited in this article. Thanks also to the staffs of the Special Collections of their respective libraries at the University of Utah, Brigham Young University, and Utah State University. He additionally thanks Alexander L. Baugh, Bill and Annette Curtis, Joseph Geisner, Chris Jones, Phil Lear, H. Michael Marquardt, Dave Marsh, Alan Parrish, and Gregory A. Prince for their help and support.

tory of Utah that became known as the Bullion, Beck, and Champion Mining Company. After several years of operation, Beck decided, in part, to facilitate the “redemption of Zion”—by which he meant the Church’s return to the land of Zion (Jackson County, Missouri)—by sharing his mine’s potential fortune with key LDS Church leaders. A broader purpose was blessing the Church in general. To achieve this goal, he worked primarily with President John Taylor and his first counselor, George Q. Cannon.

In April 1883, Taylor received a revelation instructing him to invest in the mine on the Church’s behalf and set aside a portion of the stock in a separate fund that was “consecrated” or dedicated for the redemption of Zion. This divine instruction, combined with the all-out federal pressures attempting to suppress Mormon polygamy, and the number of General Authorities who were on the underground in an attempt to avoid the federal Raid, led to a series of decisions and developments that exploded into a controversial drama that centered on Cannon after Taylor’s death, still in hiding, in July 1887. This drama became a very significant part of the historical and theological landscape of the LDS Church and the Territory of Utah in the 1880s and 1890s.

I set the scene with the early history of John Beck, his discovery of the silver lode, and Taylor’s revelation to invest in the property on the Church’s behalf and establish a “consecrated” fund for the redemption of Zion. According to Lorenzo Snow, Taylor received a

¹Joseph Smith received this revelation June 22, 1834, on Fishing River, Missouri, where the Prophet’s party (Zion’s Camp) had stopped for the evening. Joseph Smith et al., *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, edited by B. H. Roberts, 7 vols., 2d ed. rev. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1948 printing), 2:109 (hereafter cited as *History of the LDS Church*). Because this article deals with the period before 2001 when the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (RLDS) name changed to Community of Christ (while legally retaining its incorporated name), I use “RLDS Church” throughout.

²Stan Larson, ed., *A Ministry of Meetings: The Apostolic Diaries of Rudger Clawson* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1993), 70–72. See also Lorenzo Snow, quoted in David S. Hoopes and Roy Hoopes, *The Making of a Mormon Apostle: The Story of Rudger Clawson* (Lanham, Md.: Madison Books, 1990), 181–82. Snow made this comment on July 2, 1899, at a meeting attended by seven hundred Church leaders held in the Salt Lake Temple.

“second” revelation confirming the first. The specifics of the statement concerning the “redemption of Zion” (i.e., the Church’s return to Jackson County) are hereafter detailed.

The drama of this story not only covers the success and difficulties of operating a mining operation of considerable size but, more particularly, attempts to provide insight into the personalities and relationships involved in the ongoing business of the mine. Complications erupted after Taylor’s death when his heirs, led by his apostle-son John W. Taylor and other minority stockholders like Apostle Moses Thatcher, ignited bitter controversy by demanding the return of their consecrated shares. Personalities, legal maneuvering, and that very basic human weakness of greed all became ingredients in the ongoing drama. Meanwhile, Wilford Woodruff succeeded John Taylor as Church president. All of the original stockholders who participated in the consecrated stock fund, except for George Q. Cannon and Charles O. Card, eventually dissolved their original covenant relationship with the fund.

The fund’s surviving assets, which Cannon relinquished to Lorenzo Snow, who had succeeded Wilford Woodruff as Church president in 1898, provided a much-needed source of cash to resolve a financial obligation of the LDS Church when it was dealing with serious overall fiscal indebtedness. The remaining balance, I believe, was used toward the first repurchase of land in Independence, Missouri, in 1904, by the LDS Church, thereby reestablishing the Church in Jackson County in fulfillment of Joseph Smith’s 1831 prophecies designating it as the land of Zion. This action thus began the physical fulfillment of the vision of the “redemption of Zion,” a goal that, for the past seventy years has seen little open discussion by LDS Church authorities.

THE REDEMPTION OF ZION

Joseph Smith Jr. had sent missionaries to Independence within months of the Church’s organization in New York in 1830. Although their goal of converting the “Lamanites” (specifically, those Indian tribes living just across the Missouri state line) failed, revelations designated Jackson County, of which Independence was the seat, as “Zion” and the site of Jesus Christ’s “Second Coming” to a temple that would be built there. Joseph dedicated a temple site “near the courthouse” on August 3, 1831 (LDS D&C 57:3/RLDS D&C 57:1d). Edward Partridge, the Church’s bishop in Independence, following Joseph’s instructions, purchased 63.27 acres, encompassing the temple

site, in December 1831.

In the summer and fall of 1833, Jackson County's old citizens forcibly expelled the Mormons. By December 1833, Joseph Smith announced a revelation from the Lord that presented "my will concerning the redemption of Zion" (LDS D&C 101:43/RLDS D&C 98:6a). After rebuking the Saints for their "jarrings and contentions, and envyings, and strifes, and lustful and covetous desires" (v. 6/v.3a), the Lord added the consoling promise that "Zion shall not be moved" and that the "pure in heart shall return, and come to their inheritances" (vv. 17–18/4g). The revelation underscored that "there is none other place appointed" than Independence to be Zion (v. 20/4h), a declaration that forbade the Saints to sell their property and kept them tethered to a county that had proved it did not want them.³

In June 1834, while the exiled Saints hovered insecurely across the county line in Clay County, another revelation required that "mine elders should wait for a little season for the redemption of Zion" (LDS D&C 105:9, 13/RLDS D&C 102:3c, f). Joseph Smith's bold gesture of arriving at the head of Zion's Camp had prompted—not support from the state as the governor had previously implied—but an aggressive reaction from Jackson County's old settlers. Cholera hastened the dismal disbanding of the para-military group. In March 1838 when Joseph Smith moved permanently from Ohio to Missouri, he abandoned the reality of an immediate return to Jackson County for compelling rhetoric that sustained the concept of a future return; but the Mormon War that broke out that fall, Joseph's nearly six-month subsequent imprisonment, and the establishment of Nauvoo in the spring of 1839 marked a tacit end to efforts to establish Zion in Jackson County at that time.⁴

³For excellent readings covering this early settlement period (1831–33) in Jackson County, Missouri, see Ronald E. Romig and John H. Siebert, "First Impressions: The Independence, Missouri Printing Operation, 1832–33," *John Whitmer Historical Association Journal* 10 (1990): 51–66; Thomas M. Spencer, ed., *The Missouri Mormon Experience* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2010): "Introduction: Persecutions in the Most Odious Sense of the Word," 1–8, and Ronald E. Romig and Michael S. Riggs, "The Appointed Time." 27–49.

⁴For excellent readings covering settlement (1830–39) in Jackson County and northwest Missouri, see James B. Allen and Glen M. Leonard,

THE RETURN OR PHYSICAL “REDEMPTION OF ZION”

The earliest church with Mormon roots to stake a claim in Independence after Joseph Smith’s assassination was the Church of Christ (Temple Lot), organized in 1852 in Illinois, and historically referred to as Hedrickites after Granville Hedrick, its first recognized leader.⁵ After an 1864 vision to Hedrick, the Church of Christ returned to Jackson County in 1867.⁶

The second major movement, the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, became formally organized in 1860 under

The Story of the Latter-day Saints (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1976), 81–93; Roger D. Launius, *Zion’s Camp* (Independence: Herald Printing House, 1984); Leland Homer Gentry and Todd M. Compton, *Fire and Sword: A History of the Latter-day Saints in Northern Missouri, 1836–39* (Salt Lake City: Greg Kofford Books, 2009); Stephen C. LeSueur, *The 1838 Mormon War in Missouri* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1990); and Alexander L. Baugh, *A Call to Arms: The 1838 Mormon Defense of Northern Missouri* (Ph.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1971), printed in *Dissertations in Latter-day Saint History Series* (Provo, Utah: Joseph Fielding Smith Institute for Latter-Saint History and *BYU Studies*, 2000).

⁵See these publications by R. Jean Addams: “Reclaiming the Temple Lot in the Center Place of Zion,” *Mormon Historical Studies* 7 (Spring/Fall 2006): 7–20; “The Church of Christ (Temple Lot): Its Emergence, Struggles, and Early Schisms,” in *Scattering of the Saints: Schism within Mormonism*, edited by Newell G. Bringhurst and John C. Hamer (Independence: John Whitmer Books, 2007), 206–33; “The Church of Christ (Temple Lot) and the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints: 130 Years of Crossroads and Controversies,” *Journal of Mormon History* 36, no. 2 (Spring 2010): 54–127; “A Contest for ‘Sacred Space,’” *John Whitmer Historical Association Journal* 31, no. 1 (Spring/Summer 2011): 44–68; and *Upon the Temple Lot: The Church of Christ’s Quest to Build the House of the Lord* (Independence: John Whitmer Books, 2010). Also see R. Jean Addams, “The Danielsen Plow Company and the Redemption of Zion,” *Journal of Mormon History* 38, no. 1 (Winter 2012): 51–97. This article provides another episode in the LDS Church’s attempt in the early 1900s to physically regain a presence in Independence and facilitate the “redemption of Zion.”

⁶Bert C. Flint, *An Outline History of the Church of Christ [Temple Lot]* (Independence: Church of Christ Board of Publications, 1953), 107–8. “Temple Lot” is not part of this church’s name but is frequently added to differentiate it from other denominations with similar names.

Joseph Smith III, the oldest surviving son of Joseph and Emma Smith. The RLDS Church officially authorized a “gradual” return in 1877.⁷ The Church was headquartered in Lamoni, Iowa, when it filed a “Notice to Quit Possession” on the Church of Christ on June 11, 1887.⁸ The Church of Christ, to no one’s surprise, did not acquiesce to this threat. That same year (1887) the RLDS Church commenced the construction of its beautiful Stone Church—directly across the street from the Temple Lot.⁹

Except for indirectly supporting the Church of Christ claims, the LDS Church took no steps toward establishing a presence in Independence in the 1870–90s. But in February 1900, four years after the conclusion of the Temple Lot case, two of the leading elders of the Church of Christ visited LDS Church headquarters to solicit help in building a temple on its lot “in this generation” (discussed below).¹⁰ The First Presidency and Quorum of Twelve seriously considered the

⁷Joseph Smith III and Heman C. Smith, *History of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, 1805–1890*, 4 vols.; continued by F. Henry Edwards as *The History of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, 1890–1946*, Vols. 5–8 (Independence: Herald House, 1897–1903), 1976 printing, 4:166–67; hereafter cited as *History of the RLDS Church*. See also Joseph Smith III and Henry Stebbins, “Notes on Travel,” *Saints Herald* 24, no. 2 (January 15, 1877): 25. (The title of this important RLDS magazine has changed over time. I use the title as it appears in each specific citation.)

⁸“Notice to Quit Possession, Served by G. A. Blakeslee, by Attorney, Bishop and Trustee for the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints,” June 11, 1887, Independence, Exhibit 24, in *The Temple Lot Case* (1893; rpt., Independence: Price Publishing, 2003), 247–48. The 1893 printing did not include the “Decision of John F. Philips, Judge in the Temple Lot Case” since his decision was not announced until March 3, 1894. Several versions of the proceedings in the Temple Lot Case are available in print and microfilm; the Price reprint is adequate for the purposes of this article. The depositions were taken between January and November 1892; copies at the Community of Christ Archives and microfilm at the LDS Church History Library.

⁹Richard A. Brown, *An Illustrated History of the Stone Church* (Independence: Herald Publishing House, 1988), 8. Joseph Smith III officially laid the cornerstone on April 6, 1888.

¹⁰Journal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints

invitation and ultimately declined it; however, it reawakened LDS interest in the physical redemption of Zion as a near reality.

Revelatory rhetoric, however, flourished, commonly interpreted as a reclamation of the sacred space known as the Temple Lot.¹¹ Prophets, apostles, missionaries, and members alike in all three movements repeatedly addressed the parallel themes of “gathering to Zion” (defined by the Utah Mormons as the West) and the “redemption of Zion” (which continued to be interpreted as Jackson County) at some point in the future.¹² While the commandment to “gather” informally ended for Latter-day Saints in 1898,¹³ the concept of physically redeeming Zion did not.

For purposes of this article, Zion is hereby defined as a specific location. Granted, there are many other uses of the word “Zion” by various expressions of Joseph Smith’s original church. For example, latter-day scriptures enjoin members “to bring forth and establish the cause of Zion” (LDS D&C 6:6/RLDS D&C 6:3a) and “let Zion rejoice, for this is Zion—THE PURE IN HEART” (LDS D&C 97:21/RLDS D&C 94:5c). Additionally, after the Saints had fled from Missouri in 1838–39 and established themselves in Nauvoo, Illinois, Joseph

(chronological scrapbook of typed entries and newspaper clippings, 1830–present), February 8, 1900, 2; February 10, 1900, 1–6; February 21, 1900, 2–24, LDS Church History Library. The First Presidency minutes, usually not available to researchers, were included in the Journal History for a brief period; my quotations from this source fall between October 1896 and February 1900.

¹¹*History of the LDS Church*, 1:75–76.

¹²LDS D&C 84:3–4/RLDS D&C 2a–b. Orson Pratt, June 14, 1874, *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (London and Liverpool: LDS Booksellers Depot, 1854–86), 17:108–13; Orson Pratt, October 7, 1854, *Journal of Discourses*, 2:54–61; Brigham Young, November 14, 1869, *Journal of Discourses*, 13:151–56; Orson F. Whitney, Address, KSL Radio, December 1, 1929, published as “Zion and Her Stakes,” *Liahona: The Elders’ Journal* 28, no. 2 (July 8, 1930): 31; Ronald D. Dennis, *The Call of Zion: The Story of the First Welsh Mormon Emigration* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1987), 2; *History of the RLDS Church*, 4:166–67; Smith and Stebbins, “Notes on Travel,” 25; Granville Hedrick, “Revelation,” *Truth Teller* 1, no. 1 (July 1864): 4.

¹³George Q. Cannon, Address, *Report of the Semi-Annual Conference of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, October 1898).

Smith announced in April 1844: "I have now a great proclamation for the Elders to teach the Church hereafter which is in relation to Zion. The whole of North and South America is Zion," a further expansion of the many definitions of Zion.¹⁴

With the July 20, 1831, revelation denoting the "center place" and a "land of promise, and the place for the city of Zion," the much anticipated physical location of Zion was no longer a mystery to early Church members. As such, Zion, or the site for the city of the New Jerusalem, was and is specifically designated as Independence, Jackson County, Missouri (LDS D&C 57:2-3/RLDS D&C 57:1b,d).

The passion of LDS Church leaders in proclaiming a return to and reclamation of Zion continued to flourish. President Lorenzo Snow spoke on this topic frequently, as did other LDS General Authorities through the early years of the twentieth century. For example, President Snow preached: "But a large portion of the Latter-day Saints that now dwell in these valleys will go back to Jackson county to build a holy city to the Lord."¹⁵ In 1901, Apostle Rudger Clawson recorded in his diary after a meeting of the Twelve: "One brother spoke in tongues to the effect that the impression given to Pres. Snow of late regarding the redemption of the Center Stake of Zion, and the building of the great temple were from the Lord, and such event would transpire much sooner than many supposed."¹⁶

Members of the Church of Christ (Temple Lot) felt the same inspiring anticipation. Elder George D. Cole in a published prayer expressed his hope for Zion: "Oh Lord we desire to renew our covenants with Thee, and we will walk in Thy ways and keep Thy commandments; yea, we will renew our covenants with Thee by sacrifice, every sacrifice that thou shalt require of us for Zion's redemption and deliverance."¹⁷ Elder John R. Haldeman, as editor of the Church of Christ's newspaper in 1908, posed the rhetorical question: "We would enquire if there is a very bright promise for the old men and women

¹⁴Andrew F. Ehat and Lyndon W. Cook, eds., *The Words of Joseph Smith: The Contemporary Accounts of the Nauvoo Discourses of the Prophet Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1980), 360.

¹⁵Lorenzo Snow, "The Redemption of Zion," November 7, 1900, *Millennial Star* 62, no. 48 (November 1900): 753-56.

¹⁶Rudger Clawson, Journal, January 10, 1901, 187, MS 0481, Special Collections, Marriott Library, University of Utah, Salt Lake City.

¹⁷George D. Cole, "Zion and Her Redemption," *Searchlight* 1, no. 3

now living who are hoping and praying that they may live to witness the redemption of Zion?" He then added: "One hears a great deal of talk . . . about the 'Redemption of Zion.' Some understand it as 'repossessing the land once held in Jackson County by church members.' To others it has a spiritual meaning, while some may be found who believe it has both a temporal and spiritual meaning."¹⁸ Haldeman also brought a practical tone to the "redemption and establishment of Zion," which was "How shall the money be raised[?]" He pointed out: "A perusal of the early revelations reveals the fact that consecration was the first step toward the gaining of an inheritance upon the consecrated land."¹⁹

The RLDS community shared equally in the hope of redeeming Zion. In his memoirs, Joseph Smith III soberly recalled his motivation in making the move to Independence in 1906 at age seventy-four when his church was forty-six years old: "I did so . . . to fulfill, as I believed, a religious duty to become a resident of the place designated of old as Zion."²⁰ John G. Hodges, RLDS long-time Church member and frequent contributor to the *Saints Herald*, raised the persistent, practical question about Zion's redemption: "At present prices how can Zion be redeemed by the Saints 'by purchase'?" He then paraphrased the scripture: "Zion is to be redeemed by power" (LDS 103:15/RLDS 100:3d; both read: "The redemption of Zion must needs be by power"). His conclusion is a vigorous one that propounds an unusual interpretation: "I believe that by the power of God displayed in scourges, in the fierce and vivid lightning, by famine, floods, cyclones, and by people dying off from the earth, land will be cheaper than it has been for years, and thus Zion will be redeemed by

(April 1, 1896): 24. This article is a two-part series published in April, 15, 22-24, and May, 30-32, 34-35, 39-40.

¹⁸John R. Haldeman, "About That Servant," *Evening and Morning Star* 8, no. 11 (March 1908): 1-2.

¹⁹John R. Haldeman, Untitled article, *Evening and Morning Star* 6, no. 4 (August 1905): 1-3.

²⁰Mary Audentia Smith Anderson, ed., *The Memoirs of President Joseph Smith III (1832-1914)* (Independence: Herald Publishing House, 1979 printing), 451. Smith was born November 6, 1832, Kirtland, Ohio.

purchase.”²¹ In the throes of World War II, President Frederick M. Smith expressed “rejoicing that already the problems of gathering and establishment of Zion are pressing more heavily upon us. This is as we anticipated, and as [it] should be, for as we progress on our happy yet difficult road to Zion, we will constantly be in need of the encouragement that lies in our slogan, ‘Onward to Zion.’ Even though the road be upward and difficult.”²²

JOHN BECK AND HIS MINING COMPANY

A Mormon convert and immigrant, John Beck (Johannes Bek), staked a mining claim in the Tintic Mountains²³ of central Utah in 1870 and became one of the most successful mining and business personalities in Utah’s early history.²⁴ Beck was born in Aichelberg, Wuerttemberg, Germany, on March 19, 1843, the first son of Johannes Bek and Christine Caroline Holl Bek. In 1857, after the death of his father “he helped his mother move the family to St. Imier, Switzerland,” where he continued his study of languages. He moved to the French-speaking area of Switzerland in 1860 and was converted to Mormonism in 1861. Karl G. Maeser baptized him on April 27, 1861.²⁵

He returned as a missionary to his native land in 1862 and

²¹John G. Hodges, “The Redemption of Zion,” *Saints Herald* 50, no. 25 (July 1, 1903): 605.

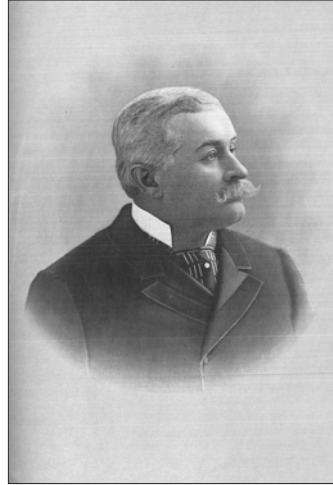
²²Frederick M. Smith, “Problems of the Gathering,” *Saints Herald* 89, no. 12 (October 17, 1942): 3.

²³Tintic, the name given to the mountain range and to the mining district, commemorates “Chief Tintic of the Goshute Tribe of Ute Indians.” Alice Paxman McCune, *History of Juab County: 1847–1947* (n.p.: Juab County Company of the Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, 1947), 169. The Tintic Mountains are located in Tooele and Juab counties, west of the Oquirrh Mountains, approximately seventy miles southwest of Salt Lake City and forty-five southwest of Provo, Utah.

²⁴John Beck ranks with Jesse Knight, David Eccles, and Alfred McCune as an eminently successful late nineteenth-century Mormon businessman.” Allan Kent Powell, “The German-Speaking Immigrant Experience in Utah,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 52, no. 4 (Fall 1984): 317.

²⁵Wilma B. N. Tilby, “Jakob Brand’s Register of Dutchtown, Utah’s Lost German Mining Colony,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 62, no. 1 (Winter 1994): 54. Tilby cites “George Beck” in an unpublished autobiography in

John Beck (Johannes Bek, 1843–1913), a German convert, in 1870 discovered a rich silver lode in the Tintic Mountains, which became the famous Bullion, Beck, and Champion Mining Company. His sale of stock to LDS Church authorities became an extremely controversial subject over the next nearly twenty years. Orson F. Whitney, History of Utah, 4:497.



served in Baden, where he was arrested and jailed. Upon his release, he next proselyted in Wuerttemberg, where he was again arrested and imprisoned.²⁶ Undaunted, he was soon appointed (1863) to preside over the German conference of the Swiss Mission. When his mission ended, he immediately sailed with his family and a large group of converts for America on May 12, 1864, and, after crossing the plains, arrived in Utah on October 26, 1864.²⁷ Beck settled in Lehi, Utah, and in 1866 married his third cousin, Sarah Beck, also a native of Aichelberg.²⁸

In early 1870, having heard rumors of gold and silver in the

possession of Sherwin Allred and Faye Peck, Lehi, Utah.

²⁶Early Missionary List, CRMh 8884, Vol. 1, Supplement, fds. 2 and 5, LDS Church History Library. Several entries show Beck holding meetings in Aichelberg in 1863. I was unable to locate a specific date for the beginning of his missionary labors or an exact date for his release, but he was released before May 12, 1864. See also Orson F. Whitney, *History of Utah*, 4 vols. (Salt Lake City: George Q. Cannon & Sons, 1904), 4:497.

²⁷Powell, "The German-Speaking Immigrant," 316–18; "News from Conferences—Switzerland," *Millennial Star* 25 (April 11, 1863): 237; Whitney, *History of Utah*, 4:497.

²⁸Whitney, *History of Utah*, 4:497. John Beck and Sarah Beck were married August 4, 1866. <https://familysearch.org/Search> (accessed August 8, 2013).

Tintic Mountains, Beck decided to try his luck at prospecting. Beck initially invested \$6,000 (a sizeable sum in 1870) in the Eureka Mine, the first recorded claim in the Tintic Mining District, discovered earlier that year (February 1870). This investment was lost in vexatious lawsuits.²⁹ Beck, undaunted, continued his interest in the area. Believing that “ores migrated downward,”³⁰ he located a promising outcropping at the bottom of the canyon below the Eureka Hill mine and recorded his claim on June 10, 1870.³¹ He was immediately labeled the “Crazy Dutchman” (a corrupted pronunciation of [the German] “Deutschman”) by those working and living in the immediate area for staking a claim in such an unpromising area.³² However, at 200 feet, Beck struck a vein of high-grade silver and lead.³³ Reportedly, when he made this discovery he “bent his head and tears came to his eyes.”³⁴

With the financial backing of the mysterious A. Bullion,³⁵ Beck began his mining efforts on a larger scale. After ten years, on March 21, 1881, he organized the Bullion, Beck, and Champion Mining Com-

²⁹Ibid.; “Luckiest’ Westerner Dies—He Won and Lost Millions,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, April 3, 1913, 20.

³⁰Philip F. Notarianni, *Symbol of an Era: Bullion, Beck and Champion Mining Company Headframe and the Tintic Mining Company* (N.p.: Utah State Historical Society and Utah Division of Oil, Gas and Mining, ca. 1987), 4.

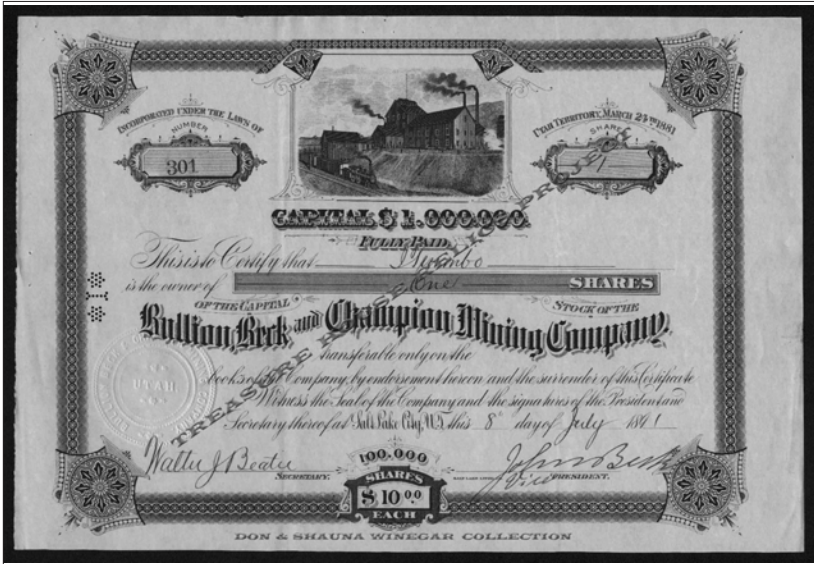
³¹Tilby, “Jakob Brand’s Register of Dutchtown,” 56–57.

³²McCune, *History of Juab County*, 190–11. “Nobody but a crazy man would pick a place like that. The old fool is digging a well, but ain’t even doing that where the water is.” Beck was the butt of jokes by other miners working in the area. The locale near where he staked his claim was worked by family and friends—all German/Swiss emigrants or German/Swiss missionaries. It was soon referred to as “Dutchtown,” a corrupted pronunciation of “Deuschtown.”

³³Pearl D. Wilson, June McNulty, and David Hampshire, *A History of Juab County* (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society/Juab County Commission, 1999), 107–8.

³⁴Philip F. Notarianni, *Faith, Hope, and Prosperity: The Tintic Mining District* (Eureka, Utah: Tintic Historical Society, 1982), 18.

³⁵Leonard J. Arrington, “The Bullion-Beck Silver Mine and Its Consecrated Stock,” an unpublished rough draft, Bullion Beck Mining Company, MS220, Merrill-Cazier Library, Special Collections and Archives, Utah State University, Logan. I have not been able to locate any additional information about A. Bullion, except as referenced here by Arrington.



Companies generally tightly controlled their stock, either selling it directly to individuals or in stock trading. This certificate for one share (\$10), dated July 8, 1891, and signed by Vice President John Beck, was sold to [Isaac] Trumbo, one of a group of California investors that purportedly resolved the Bullion-Beck mine's lawsuit with the Eureka Hill mine. Certificate in Don and Shauna Winegar Collection; photo used by permission.

pany, with a capitalization of \$1 million, consisting of 100,000 shares of \$10 par value common stock. Initial investors included Paul A. Schettler and William W. Taylor. Beck held about 45,000 shares and his partners took up the balance.³⁶ Based on a detailed list of deed transfers in the 1870s, other partners included Beck's brother George, his cousin Gottlieb Beck, as well as German/Swiss immigrants and friends Thomas Bessinger (also Biesinger) and John Harne.³⁷

Perhaps the most important investor was John Taylor, third LDS Church president. He was born in England, November 1, 1808, and

³⁶Ibid.

³⁷Tilby, "Jacob Brand's Register of Dutchtown," 56. Thomas Biesinger was born in Wurttemberg, like Beck, converted to Mormonism in 1862, and immigrated to Utah Territory in 1865, settling in Lehi. In 1883 he served a mission in Austria-Hungary. He eventually traveled to Prague in

emigrated to Toronto in 1832 where he met and married Leonora Cannon. Introduced to Mormonism in 1836 by Parley P. Pratt, he was baptized soon thereafter and ordained an apostle on December 19, 1838. In Nauvoo, Taylor edited two LDS Church newspapers: the *Times and Seasons* and the *Wasp/Nauvoo Neighbor* (1842–46). He also served two missions in Europe and was called to be the president of the Eastern States Mission in 1854.³⁸ He migrated to Utah in 1848 and served in various political and educational positions in addition to his ecclesiastical responsibilities.

After Brigham Young's death in 1877, he led the Church as president of the Quorum of Twelve Apostles, then reorganized the First Presidency on October 10, 1880. His presidency coincided with "the Raid," an all-out federal effort to extirpate polygamy and crush the Church's political power, using the broad powers conferred upon its marshals and judiciary by the Edmunds-Tucker Act in 1877. Resistant to the end, Taylor married his last plural wife, Josephine Roueche, on December 19, 1886, the ceremony performed by her father Thomas F. Roueche and witnessed by George Q. Cannon.³⁹ Taylor spent the last two and a half years of his life in hiding, including part of the time at the Roueche home in Kaysville, where he died on July 25, 1887.⁴⁰

Another high-profile investor was Daniel H. Wells, born in Onida County, New York, on October 27, 1814. In 1826, Wells moved with his mother to Ohio and the following spring to Commerce (later

Bohemia (now Czech Republic), where he was arrested and imprisoned. Thereafter he preached in Budapest; but because of his arrest in Prague, he was forced to return to Bavaria where he assisted in the emigration of German and Swiss Latter-day Saints to Utah Territory. See Wikipedia, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Thomas_Biesinger. I have been unable to locate any information on John Harne.

³⁸Andrew Jenson, *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia: A Compendium of Biographical Sketches of Prominent Men and Women in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 4 vols. (Salt Lake City: Andrew Jenson History Company, 1901–30), 1:14–19; Francis M. Gibbons, *John Taylor: Mormon Philosopher, Prophet of God* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1985), 260, 270.

³⁹Samuel W. Taylor, "Lesser Known Wives of John Taylor," typescript, n.d., photocopy, MS 12082, fd. 1, LDS Church History Library.

⁴⁰Jenson, *LDS Biographical Encyclopedia*, 1:14–19; Wikipedia, [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_Taylor_\(Mormon\)](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_Taylor_(Mormon)) (accessed March 3, 2013); Gibbons, *John Taylor*, 260, 270.

Nauvoo), Illinois. He was long a friend and supporter of Joseph Smith. Wells was baptized in 1846, traveled west with the Mormon migration in 1848, and was ordained an apostle in January 1857. He served as Brigham Young's second counselor from 1857 until Young's death in 1877. Thereafter, he served as a counselor to the Quorum of Twelve Apostles from 1877 until his death, March 24, 1891.⁴¹ The Bullion, Beck, and Champion Mining Company's Account Book identifies other investors as well.⁴²

Interestingly, between March 1881 and January 1882, numerous quit-claim deeds (or other means of legal conveyance) are listed between George Beck, John Taylor, William W. Taylor, Paul Schettler, Daniel H. Wells, and John Beck. William W. Taylor, Schettler, and John Beck are listed again indicating separate conveyances from them individually to the corporate entity of the Bullion, Beck, and Champion Mining Company. The record book does not provide any information about William W. Taylor and Paul Schettler's transferring or quit-claiming deeds both to Beck and also to the Bullion, Beck, and Champion Mining Company. No share numbers are provided in the listing as it appears in the record book. Interestingly, Leonard John Nuttall recorded in his journal that he sold his 100 shares to Beck on February 20, 1882, "for \$60.00 cash."⁴³ This transaction apparently did not require any further documentation and is not listed in the Bullion, Beck, and Champion Company ledger book. By March 1882, Beck had acquired all of the issued and outstanding stock in the original Bullion, Beck, and Champion Mining Company, making him

⁴¹Wikipedia, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Daniel_H._Wells (accessed March 7, 2013); Jenson, *LDS Biographical Encyclopedia*, 1:62–66; Robert V. Thurgood, *Our Prophet Leaders: A Pictorial History of the First Presidency and the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (N.p.: Privately printed, 2012), 42.

⁴²Bullion, Beck, and Champion Mining Company, Account Book, January 29, 1884–August 1, 1889, p. 27, MS 10815, LDS Church History Library. On pages 25–28, numerous miscellaneous items are recorded or noted. Some date back to October 1872 and as late as October 1889.

⁴³Jedediah S. Rogers, ed., *In the President's Office: The Diaries of L. John Nuttall, 1879–1892* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books in association with the Smith-Pettit Foundation, 2007), 84. Nuttall also adds: "He promised to make the amount \$100.00 if the mine continued as at present."

the sole owner.⁴⁴

The relationship of the early participants in Beck's venture is intertwined, to say the least. Daniel H. Wells and John Taylor had known each other since the Nauvoo period (1839–46), a relationship that continued in their roles as members of either the First Presidency and/or the Quorum of the Twelve.⁴⁵ Paul Schettler, a German immigrant in 1858, converted in 1860 in New York and was baptized by George Q. Cannon. In late 1863 and early 1864, Schettler was serving as the president pro tem of the LDS Swiss, Italian, and German Mission, while John Beck was serving as a missionary in Germany.⁴⁶ George Q. Cannon⁴⁷ was John Taylor's nephew, a fellow apostle, and first counselor in Taylor's First Presidency (1880).⁴⁸

⁴⁴*Ibid.*, 27. The last-listed quit-claim deeds transfers are dated January 25 (purchaser John Beck) and 26 (purchaser Bullion, Beck, and Champion), 1882.

⁴⁵Thurgood, *Our Prophet Leaders*, 42; Jenson, *LDS Biographical Encyclopedia*, 1:62.

⁴⁶Jacob W. Olmstead and Fred E. Woods, "'Give Me Any Situation Suitable': The Consecrated Life of the Multitalented Paul A. Schettler," *BYU Studies* 41, no. 1 (2002): 112, 115.

⁴⁷George Q. Cannon was born in Liverpool, England, on January 11, 1827; John Taylor's wife, Leonora was George's father's sister. In 1840, Taylor, an LDS missionary, baptized the entire Cannon family, including thirteen-year-old George Q. The family immigrated to the United States in 1842, reached Nauvoo in 1843, and went on to Utah in 1847. Cannon served a mission to Hawaii (1849), then helped Parley P. Pratt publish a newspaper in California, and, at age twenty-eight, was president of the Oregon and California Mission. In 1860, he was ordained an apostle and presided over the European Mission. In 1873, he was chosen as an additional counselor to Brigham Young. Subsequently, John Taylor called Cannon to be his First Counselor when the First Presidency was again reorganized in October 1880, then was called to the same position by the next two presidents, Wilford Woodruff and Lorenzo Snow. He died April 12, 1901. Jenson, *LDS Biographical Encyclopedia* 1:43–51; Davis Bitton, *George Q. Cannon: A Biography* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1999); Wikipedia, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/George_Q._Cannon (accessed March 4, 2012).

⁴⁸Thurgood, *Our Prophet Leaders*, 44, 57; Jenson, *LDS Biographical Encyclopedia*, 1:42.

Other investors were William W. Taylor, a son of John Taylor,⁴⁹ and L. John Nuttall, a nephew and son-in-law of John Taylor. Nuttall served as a private secretary to Taylor from 1879 until his death in 1887 and continued to serve as secretary to Wilford Woodruff, Taylor's successor.

Leonard John Nuttall was baptized in Liverpool, England, on October 8, 1850, at age sixteen, by John Taylor, his uncle. Nuttall married John Taylor's daughter, Sophia, as his plural wife, in 1875. In Utah, Nuttall settled in Kanab, was involved in various municipal and state offices and assignments, served a mission to his native England (1874–75), and was called as bishop in Kanab soon after returning home. Two years later in April 1877, he was called as president of the Kanab Stake and, on June 4, 1884, was released to assume his duties as John Taylor's personal secretary.⁵⁰ Taylor recruited him as a charter member of the newly reorganized (1881) board of directors of the Bullion, Beck, and Champion Mining Company.⁵¹ He held 100 shares,⁵² the result of a subsequent purchase from that noted previously, and acted as the company's president for an undetermined time but at least from fall 1884 until January 1887.⁵³

⁴⁹Jenson, *LDS Biographical Encyclopedia*, 1:199–200; Wikipedia, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/William_W._Taylor (accessed March 4, 2012). Born in 1853, William W. Taylor died of “bilious colic” on August 1, 1884, as a member of the First Council of the Seventy.

⁵⁰Nuttall died on February 23, 1905, at age seventy. Jenson, *LDS Biographical Encyclopedia*, 1:355–58; Bitton, *George Q. Cannon*, 287; Rogers, *In the President's Office*, xiv.

⁵¹Rogers, *In the President's Office*, 57.

⁵²*Ibid.*, 84. Nuttall sold his initial 100 shares to John Beck for \$60.00 on February 20, 1882. Before or by September 25, 1886, Nuttall had again become a stockholder of 100 shares in the reorganized Bullion, Beck, and Champion Mining Company. He subsequently acquired an additional 3,958 shares on October 13, 1886. These were forfeited shares originally held in John Beck's name which later became collateral for a note held by the LDS Church for money loaned to Beck. Bullion, Beck, and Champion, Account Book, 11.

⁵³L. John Nuttall, Letter to Board of Directors of the Bullion[,] Beck

**JOHN TAYLOR'S REVELATION AND
THE CREATION OF THE CONSECRATED STOCK FUND**

A year following the transfer of the final deeds to either Beck or the Bullion, Beck, and Champion Mining Company by Beck, Schettler, and William W. Taylor,⁵⁴ John Taylor reported a little-known revelation on April 28, 1883, that included the following language: "Besides, have I not shewn unto you, my servant John, a way to raise a fund which should be at your disposal for the accomplishment of my purposes, and by which the rights and properties of my people should be preserved in all of these matters?"⁵⁵

Years later on April 27, 1899, President Lorenzo Snow commented in a meeting of the First Presidency, Quorum of Twelve Apostles, and Presiding Bishopric: "This fund was created by revelation

and Champion Mining Company, July 1, 1893, L. John Nuttall Letter Book 3, MSS 790, Box 4, 387–89, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah. In this letter, Nuttall states: "In the Fall of 1884, while I officiated as President of the B. B. & C. M. Co." As early as October 1883, Nuttall was visiting the mine, inspecting the ore bodies, and making recommendations to Beck regarding the operation of the mine. L. John Nuttall, Diary, no. 13, MSS 790, Box 1, fd. 4, Lee Library. See also L. John Nuttall, George Reynolds, and John Beck, Agreement of Arbitration, January 24, 1887, L. John Nuttall Papers, MS 1269, Reel 6, fd. 27, item 2, LDS Church History Library (access restricted). In this document, prepared just days prior to Beck's departure on his second mission to Germany, Nuttall signed as "Pres. B. B. & C. M. Co." George Reynolds signed as "Sec. B. B. & C. M. Co."

⁵⁴Bullion, Beck, and Champion, Account Book, 27.

⁵⁵Document 1, John Taylor Revelations and Papers, MS 9473, LDS Church History Library. Access to this collection is restricted. I petitioned for and was granted reading privileges in 2011. The revelation (Document 1) is recorded on plain paper (approximately 8" x10") in the handwriting of George Reynolds. This revelation is apparently part of an expanded revelation under the date of April 28, 1883, recorded at Salt Lake City and published in Fred C. Collier, comp., *Unpublished Revelations of the Prophets and Presidents of The Church of Jesus of Latter Day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Collier's Publishing, 1981), Part 85, 1:141–42. This collection has no further designation, i.e., no box or folder numbers. The documents in this collection are numbered 1–10. Documents 1–7, which I transcribed with permission, are handwritten and undated.

given to President John Taylor, who received another revelation confirming the former one.”⁵⁶ The April 28, 1883, revelation appears to be the confirmation of the earlier revelation (which I have not been able to locate) and which may be the reason (or one of the reasons) why Beck’s quit-claim deed transfers and stock purchases between March 1881 and February 1882 occurred when they did. George Q. Cannon referred to John Taylor’s “revelation” regarding the “fund” on several occasions throughout the next sixteen years.⁵⁷

An undated draft of an agreement between John Beck, John Taylor, and George Q. Cannon was prepared (presumably) sometime after the “revelation” date of April 28, 1883.⁵⁸ The draft was finalized, however, in detailed and formal form; Beck, Taylor, and Cannon signed it on June 11, 1883.⁵⁹ The witnesses were George Reynolds⁶⁰

⁵⁶Minutes, quoted in *Journal History*, April 27, 1899, 4.

⁵⁷*Journal History*, October 1, 1896, 4; November 26, 1896, 3; February 21, 1899, 13.

⁵⁸Document 7, John Taylor Revelations and Papers (access restricted), LDS Church History Library. It is recorded in pencil on a sheet of narrow-lined paper (approximately 8" x 8"). The document had no heading, title, date, or signature.

⁵⁹Document 1, fd. 12, labeled “Beck Co. Contracts,” John Taylor Presidential Papers, 1877–87, CR 1 80, MSD 1346, Box 30, LDS Church History Library (hereafter cited as Taylor Presidential Papers). In a subsequent document, signed by John Taylor and witnessed by L. John Nuttall and Charles H. Wilcken on July 2, 1887, Taylor specifically reaffirms that October 3, 1883, was the date of the original agreement of what became known as the “consecrated stock fund.” Document 2, fd. 12, labeled “Beck Co. Contracts.”

⁶⁰George Reynolds, born August 1, 1842, in Marylebone, London, England, converted to Mormonism in 1856, and served as clerk to mission president George Q. Cannon and his successor, Daniel H. Wells. He immigrated to the United States in 1865 and was hired by Brigham Young as secretary to the First Presidency until 1890 when Wilford Woodruff called him to the First Council of the Seventy. Reynolds died August 9, 1909. Wikipedia, [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/George_Reynolds_\(Mormon\)](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/George_Reynolds_(Mormon)) (accessed February 16, 2013).

and Joseph F. Smith.⁶¹ According to this agreement, Taylor and Cannon each agreed to pay Beck \$25,000 in cash. They further agreed to pay Beck an additional \$25,000 (between them) out of future dividends earned on their personal shares from the mine's profits.⁶² This debt was specifically not to be construed as a loan from either Taylor or Cannon.⁶³ Beck transferred a third of his stock to Taylor and a third to Cannon, according to the June 1883 agreement. In doing so, he made them equal partners in what became an extremely lu-

⁶¹Joseph F. Smith, son of Hyrum Smith and Mary Fielding Smith, was born in Far West, Missouri, on November 13, 1838, and, after his father's murder, reached the Salt Lake Valley with his family on September 23, 1848. He served a mission in Hawaii at age fifteen, followed by later missions to Hawaii and Europe. He was ordained an apostle, sustained as a counselor to Brigham Young in 1866, then as a member of the Quorum of Twelve Apostles in 1867. He served successively as a counselor to John Taylor, Wilford Woodruff, and Lorenzo Snow, then became Church president on October 17, 1901. He died November 19, 1918. Francis M. Gibbons, *Joseph F. Smith: Patriarch and Preacher, Prophet of God* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1984), 3, 23, 27, 47–48, 60, 82, 85, 93, 108, 214, 329.

⁶²John Taylor and George Q. Cannon later transferred 15,000 shares (7,500 each) of their personal shares to John Beck's personal stock holdings. (Original 33,333.33 each less 20,000 to the consecrated stock fund. This left each holding 13,333.33 shares. With the transaction discussed herein, each party transferred 7,500 shares, thus reducing their individual personal stock holding to 5,833.33 shares each.) This arrangement was in accordance with a document dated January 14, 1884, "the same being amount in full, in lieu of the Twenty-five Thousand Dollars as heretofore agreed upon, as per the articles of agreement made and entered into June 11, 1883, to be paid out of the proceeds of the mines of said Company, for the remainder of the purchase of Two-thirds of the said Company's Capital stock." This notation appears below the signature block on Document 1, fd. 12, "Beck Co. Contracts" and is signed "John Beck." See discussion below. However, there is no record of this transfer in the Bullion, Beck, and Champion, Account Book, for this time frame (pp. 11–27), nor have I found a record of this transfer elsewhere, indicating, perhaps, that the transaction was later nullified. The ledger book of the mining company shows individual shares held by stockholders on several dates through August 1, 1889. The shares shown on the August 1 date correspond to all other transactions between 1883 and 1889 without allowing for this transaction.

⁶³Documents 1–2, fd. 12, labeled "Beck Co. Contracts," Taylor Presi-

crative but highly complicated and controversial investment.⁶⁴

Approximately four months later, on October 4, 1883, Apostle Heber J. Grant recorded in his diary: “In the afternoon attended a Council meeting Prest Taylor’s office—A revelation given to Prst Taylor last April was read. It was voted that the Trustee in Trust loan to Prests Taylor & Cannon \$25,000.00 for such time and with such securities, as he may think proper.”⁶⁵ According to Taylor’s private secretary, L. John Nuttall, a promissory note was prepared and executed by both Taylor and Cannon on October 8, 1883, Taylor’s sawmill⁶⁶ being used as security.⁶⁷ A week later, on October 11, 1883, at 7:00 P.M., a meeting was held in Taylor’s office regarding the Bullion, Beck, and Champion Mining Company. At his request, his counselors and the apostles who were in town at the time were present. According to Nuttall’s diary, Taylor informed or reacquainted the brethren present of an earlier meeting (most likely held between April and June 1883) with John Beck:

“A Bro John Beck came to me and represented his circumstances & wished for counsel. He had purchased the whole of the property of a mine in Tintic, and had become embarrassed, and in conversation said that he was willing that his whole property should be managed by the

dential Papers.

⁶⁴Ibid.

⁶⁵No editor or compiler identified, *The Diaries of Heber J. Grant* (N.p.: Privately printed, 2012), 10. The entry, as transcribed, is brief and provides no further insight about the conversation or Grant’s personal feelings.

⁶⁶Jenson, “John W. Taylor,” *LDS Biographical Encyclopedia*, 1:151–56; Lin Floyd, “Brief History of Oakley, Utah and the William Stevens Family,” 3, <http://famhistory1867.com/stevenshorton.html> (accessed August 7, 2013).

⁶⁷L. John Nuttall, Diary, July 21, 1887, MSS 790, 14:52, holograph at L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah; microfilm copy at the LDS Church History Library. This entry also notes: “On payment to-day by the B. B. & C. M. Co to James Jack, chief clerk of the Trustee-in-Trust [John Taylor] of \$17,000.00 being the balance due, [on] the note of John Taylor and George Q. Cannon given Oct 8, 1883, for \$25,000 to the Trustee-in-Trust, was duly endorsed, and with the Mortgage on President Taylor’s Mill, given, the same date to secure the payment of said note, were surrendered.”

direction of the Priesthood. In consideration of this matter, as I referred it to Bro Cannon, we (members of the First Presidency) concluded to make a purchase and as you are aware the Council [Quorum of Twelve Apostles] voted to loan us \$25,000.00 [October 4, 1883]. I have a mill in Ogden which I proposed to mortgage as security to the Church for the amount, together with an amount of the Stock of the company besides paying interest at the rate of 8% in the note. I wanted to make a full explanation of this matter. The Church is, and cannot be, any loser therein.”⁶⁸

Heber J. Grant’s diary for this same date added: “The First Presidency and our Quorum met in Prest Taylor’s office and the revelation given to Prest last April was read for the benefit of those that did not hear it at our meeting [on] Octr 4th. . . . The Beck Silver Mine and other matters were talked of.”⁶⁹

Neither diary entry records another possible topic of discussion—that the complexities of the June agreement had already begun. A week earlier on October 3, 1883, Taylor, Cannon, and Beck had further agreed, in an additional and separate contract, that they would each donate 60 percent of their individual holdings (20,000 shares each or 60 percent of the aggregate 100,000 shares issued) to John Taylor as “his own personal property.”

The document states:

John Taylor, George Q. Cannon and John Beck do hereby set apart and unreservedly give three-fifths of the said shares for each of us, or 60,000 . . . to John Taylor, President of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, to be absolutely and unquestionably held by him as his own personal property, to be disposed of by him in any manner and for any purpose that he may deem wise for the benefit of the work of

⁶⁸John Taylor, quoted in Rogers, *In the President’s Office*, 113. While it is possible that the Taylor revelation may have been the impetus for the formal agreement between Beck and Taylor/Cannon, the inclusion of Cannon remains a question. Perhaps Beck wanted to insure payment in cash of the remaining \$25,000 and felt that including the comparatively wealthy Cannon as a partner would facilitate Beck’s predetermined amount of \$75,000 (in the aggregate). Another possibility is that Taylor, as Cannon’s uncle, might have strongly urged Beck to include Cannon. It seems unlikely that Cannon was included because of his position in the First Presidency since Joseph F. Smith, Taylor’s second counselor, was not included.

⁶⁹*Diaries of Heber J. Grant*, 11.

God and the advancement of its interest, and this without any supervision or question upon our part or upon the part of any authority in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. In making this gift of stock, and placing it at the sole disposal of President John Taylor, we do so with the definite understanding upon our part that it [the 60,000 shares] is to be the commencement of the creation of a fund to be used by John Taylor as President of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, for the furtherance of its interests whenever in his judgement [sic] it can be expended advantageously. And this fund shall be kept distinct and separate from the tithing and other Church properties and at no time shall be mingled therewith by the Church itself or any of the offices thereof.⁷⁰

In a subsequent document, dated July 2, 1887, approximately three weeks prior to Taylor's death, but referencing the original contract dated October 3, 1883, it adds this further fascinating information: "Provided, however, that out of this stock thus set apart and donated by us, there shall be such a number of shares sold, not to exceed twenty thousand, as shall realize the sum of fifty thousand dollars with which to reimburse John Taylor and George Q. Cannon, two of the parties to this agreement, for the money advanced by them to pay John Beck, the other party to this agreement for the purchase of two-thirds of the above named property."⁷¹

It is unclear but seems likely that this second agreement, which

⁷⁰Scott G. Kenney, MSS 2022, B. H. Roberts Papers, Box 1, p. 4, "Cannon Journal excerpts," Perry Special Collection, Lee Library. Cannon quotes both from the original document and from the subsequent document which conveys the consecrated stock fund to his (Cannon's) control, as well as providing additional commentary.

⁷¹Document 2, fd. 12, labeled "Beck Co. Contracts," Taylor Presidential Papers. See also John Taylor Papers, MS 50, fd. labeled "John Beck Papers," typescripts 1-2, Special Collections, Marriott Library, University of Utah. The documents in this file have been previously transcribed in a running typescript, i.e., they begin and end with only an extra line-space between the transcribed documents. The pages are numbered 1-4. Transcribed copies of the three original documents in Folder 12, labeled "Beck Co. Contracts," Taylor Presidential Papers, 1877-87, CR 1 80, 1346, Box 30, LDS Church History Library are included in the Marriott Library collection as well as additional transcribed documents. Hereafter, I cite the typescript in the Marriott Library by page number(s).

established the “dedicated” or “consecrated” stock fund (also referred to as the “pooled” or “reserve” stock fund) may have been thought through and decided upon at the time the original stock acquisition agreement of June 1883 was prepared and signed. Possibly, the establishment of the consecrated fund may have been purposely delayed four months in order to separate the documents and to make it after the initial payment of \$50,000 to John Beck and to thus clarify the independence of this consecrated fund. In the undated draft of the June 1883 agreement, but below the signatures, is this additional line of insightful information: “3/5 of the stock to be set apart.”⁷²

Regardless, the consecrated stock fund (and its aftermath) would become a significant and continuing issue of concern—with enormous consequences—for the next twenty years. This issue affected both the LDS Church as an institution and the individual men who were actively involved as stockholders in the initial (and subsequent) control of the shares of this mining venture. A continuous rotation among corporate officers and board members, which included a number of high-level Church officials and administrators with significant differences of opinion, is likewise noteworthy.⁷³

OTHERS INCLUDED IN THE CONSECRATED STOCK FUND

The October 11, 1883, meeting held in President John Taylor’s

⁷²Document 7, n.d., John Taylor Revelations and Papers, LDS Church History Library.

⁷³Church officials or administrators (clerks and secretaries) involved in the management of the Bullion, Beck, and Champion Mining Company beginning in 1883 or thereafter included George Q. Cannon, Abraham H. Cannon, Moses Thatcher, William B. Preston, George Reynolds, L. John Nuttall, John W. Taylor, and Anthon H. Lund. Stockholders beginning in 1883 or thereafter included John Taylor, William W. Taylor, John Q. Cannon, George Q. Cannon, George Reynolds, James Jack, Moses Thatcher, William B. Preston, Marriner W. Merrill, and Charles O. Card. The letterhead of stationery in the Special Collections at the University of Utah, Utah State University, and Brigham Young University lists the names of directors and officers. See also Bullion, Beck, and Champion, Account Book, 11–22; John P. Hatch, ed., *Danish Apostle: The Diaries of Anthon H. Lund, 1890–1921* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books in association with the Smith-Pettit Foundation, 2006), 383.

office apparently had, as its main purpose, reassuring the General Authorities that the transaction would not endanger the Church's financial stability at a time when tithing was plummeting and Church leaders were fleeing to the underground. Taylor used the occasion to reread his April 1883 revelation for the benefit of the apostles not in attendance at the meeting on October 4, 1883. After reading this revelatory document, according to Nuttall, he stated that "any of you who desire can join with us in taking stock on the same terms as we have done. Bro. M[oses] Thatcher expressed his willingness to join the brethren and take \$5000.00."⁷⁴ Inasmuch as the consecrated stock arrangement, i.e., 60 percent had been concluded the week previous, and undoubtedly discussed at the October 4 meeting, Apostle Moses Thatcher was well aware that any stock he purchased in the Bullion, Beck, and Champion Mining Company would result in 60 percent of his investment being automatically placed in the consecrated stock fund.

Thatcher was a well-known businessman and, at that point, was the seventh in seniority in the Quorum, a fact less important in 1883 than it would be later when succession to the office of president was less understood than it became after Lorenzo Snow's 1898 accession.⁷⁵ The result was that Thatcher did, in fact, purchase \$5,000 of the capital stock of the Bullion, Beck, and Champion Mining Company. On April 20, 1887, Taylor wrote Thatcher, emphasizing Thatcher's clear understanding that \$3,000 of this investment would go directly to the consecrated stock fund which lay completely under Taylor's control: "The number of shares which you and Brother Preston, Merrill and Card were entitled to under the arrangement

⁷⁴Rogers, *In the President's Office*, 113.

⁷⁵Moses Thatcher was born February 2, 1842, in Sangamon County, Illinois. His parents and older siblings joined the LDS Church, and the family migrated, first to Utah, then (1849) to California where Moses was baptized a Mormon in December 1856. Three months later at age fifteen, he was ordained an elder and called as a missionary. In October 1857, the family returned to Utah, and relocated in Cache Valley in 1860. Moses served as a missionary in Europe (1866–68), was called as Cache Valley Stake president in May 1877, and ordained an apostle in April 1879. Thatcher was dropped from the Quorum of the Twelve at the April 1896 conference over issues of political independence. He died August 21, 1909. Jenson, *LDS Biographical Encyclopedia*, 1:232–35; Wikipedia, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Moses_Thatcher (accessed February 16, 2013).

which we made, that is, you to receive two-fifths, and three-fifths to go to the fund which I was to control; being the same terms which myself and President Cannon received our stock—were set aside for you.”⁷⁶

In 1895 the *Salt Lake Tribune* reprinted an article that had originally appeared in the *New York Times* criticizing Cannon and his involvement in the Bullion, Beck, and Champion mine among other things. At this point, Wilford Woodruff was LDS Church president, but reorganizing his First Presidency had been a protracted and painful affair, lasting from Taylor’s death in July 1887 until April 1889 when the apostles who disagreed with Cannon—at least in part over his handling of the mine situation during Taylor’s final illness—finally achieved a working reconciliation.⁷⁷ Cannon stated: “After the purchase [by Cannon and Taylor from Beck] we parted with one-seventh of our interest to other parties.”⁷⁸ This “parting” (approximately 14.3 percent of the capital stock) would have provided the opportunity for Thatcher and others to obtain their shares; nevertheless, the shares would have been carved from the shares (one-third each) that Beck, Taylor, and Cannon owned.⁷⁹ Neither the original agreement nor the consecrated stock fund document provide for selling one-seventh of the stock to others, although neither do they specifically forbid such a sale.⁸⁰ As noted previously, limited, but extant, records during the 1880s for the Bullion and Beck mine indicate that certain Church administrators and selected family members acquired a small number

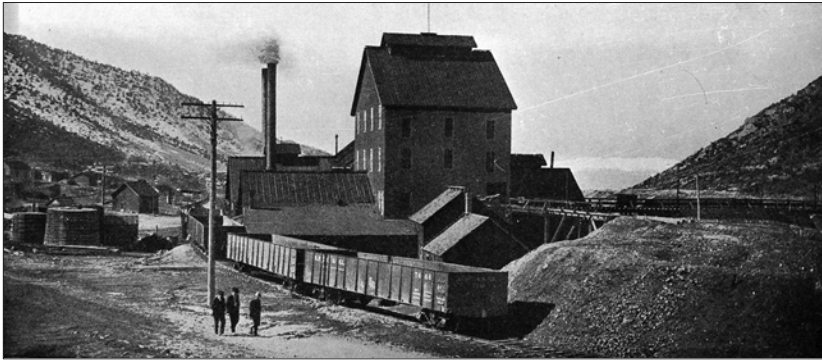
⁷⁶John Taylor, Letter to Moses Thatcher, April 20, 1887, typescript copy, John Taylor Papers, Marriott Library.

⁷⁷For an analysis of the internal dynamics, see Edward Leo Lyman, “Succession by Seniority: The Development of Procedural Precedents in the LDS Church,” *Journal of Mormon History*, 40 (Spring 2014): 94–160, immediately preceding my article.

⁷⁸“That Attack: The New York Times’s Assault on Cannon, Private Affairs Invaded,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, February 18, 1895, 1, 3; “The Facts Given: President Cannon’s Reply to the ‘Times’ Slander, It is a Frank Statement,” *Deseret Evening News*, February 20, 1895, 1, 3.

⁷⁹Document 1, fd. 12, labeled “Beck Co. Contracts,” Taylor Presidential Papers; see also folder labeled “John Beck Papers,” John Taylor Papers, Marriott Library.

⁸⁰Documents 1 and 2, fd. 12, labeled “Beck Co. Contracts,” Taylor Presidential Papers; see also folder labeled “John Beck Papers,” 1–2, John



This photo features the on-site offices, operational and storage facilities of the famous Bullion, Beck, and Champion Mining Company, ca. late 1890s. By 1900 it had paid over \$2.6 million in dividends to stockholders. Railroads hauled ore directly from Eureka mines to smelters throughout the western United States. Photo courtesy of the Tintic Historical Society.

of shares.⁸¹

According to a document dated January 14, 1884—only three months after the creation of the consecrated stock fund which was under Taylor’s personal control—Taylor and Cannon transferred 15,000 shares of their personally owned stock to John Beck. This action was satisfaction “in lieu of the Twenty-five thousand dollars as heretofore agreed upon, as per articles of agreement made and entered into June 11, 1883 . . . for the remainder of the purchase of Two-thirds of the said Company’s Capital stock.” This decision preempted waiting for dividend distributions, which would have occurred over an unspecified period of time based on the success of the mine, the market price for the ores produced, and the demands of the stockholders. As provided in that agreement, they could cancel their debt to Beck; or, I hypothesize, Beck may have applied subtle pressure to receive his “balance due.”⁸² Confusingly, however, the company’s account book does not show any such transfer, possibly due to sloppy

Taylor Papers, Marriott Library.

⁸¹Bullion, Beck, and Champion, Account Book, 11–22.

⁸²Document 1, fd. 12, labeled “Beck Co. Contracts,” Taylor Presidential Papers; see also folder labeled “John Beck Papers,” 1–2, John Taylor Pa-

bookkeeping; or as indicated earlier, perhaps this transaction was later nullified.⁸³

Further complicating matters, in early 1884, President Taylor asked Logan Stake president William B. Preston to raise \$5,000.⁸⁴ Apparently he did not explain why he wanted the money, and Preston apparently did not ask any questions. However, he promptly recruited his two counselors' aid. Apparently \$5,000 was beyond their means, but Preston and one counselor, Marriner W. Merrill,⁸⁵ contributed

pers, Marriott Library.

⁸³Bullion, Beck, and Champion, Account Book, 11–22. This does not mean that the record of the transaction, a physical document detailing the particulars of the arrangement, and the recording of same—a simple summary entry in the company's ledger book—were not documented elsewhere in the company's official records.

⁸⁴Donald G. Godfrey and Brigham Y. Card, eds., *The Diaries of Charles Ora Card: The Canadian Years 1886–1903* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1993), 110. Preston was born in Halifax, Virginia, on November 24, 1830, and was living in Yolo County, California, in the early 1850s as a neighbor to Moses Thatcher's family. He was baptized Mormon in February 1857 and relocated in Utah later that year where he married Harriet Thatcher, Moses's sister, on February 24, 1858. Preston moved to Cache Valley with the Thatcher family and became a bishop in Logan, served a mission in England, and was called as first counselor in Moses Thatcher's Cache Stake presidency in May 1877. He succeeded Thatcher as stake president in May 1879, and then, on April 6, 1884, became LDS Presiding Bishop. He was released in December 1907, due to failing health, and died August 2, 1908. Jenson, *LDS Biographical Encyclopedia*, 1:232–35; Wikipedia, [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/William_B._Preston_\(Mormon\)](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/William_B._Preston_(Mormon)) (accessed February 16, 2013).

⁸⁵Marriner W. Merrill was born September 25, 1832, in Sackville, New Brunswick, Canada, became a Mormon at age nineteen, and immigrated to Utah, arriving on September 11, 1853. In 1860 he settled in Richmond, in Cache Valley, where he served as bishop for eighteen years. He also served as a counselor in the Cache Stake presidency of William H. Preston and Charles O. Card, then was called as an apostle on October 7, 1889. He died in 1906. Jenson, *LDS Biographical Encyclopedia* 1:156–61; Wikipedia, [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Marriner_W._Merrill_\(Mormon\)](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Marriner_W._Merrill_(Mormon)) (accessed February 16, 2013).

\$1,000 apiece, and Charles O. Card,⁸⁶ the other counselor, contributed \$500.⁸⁷ Five years later on March 15, 1889, Card recorded in his diary: “Prest Geo. Q. Cannon . . . explained to me how Prest John Taylor had been moved upon to secure a fund to be governed by him. . . . [H]e had a revelation on this matter and in accord with the spirit of this had set apart 3/5 of this mine for this fund and had been aided in this by Elder John Beck, Apostle Moses Thatcher, Bp. Preston, M. W. Merrill and my self. However, I had only furnished \$500.”⁸⁸

According to Merrill, the three men (Preston, Card, and Merrill) only later (after February 1884) found out that their contribution meant that they owned shares in the Bullion, Beck, and Champion Mining Company.⁸⁹ Preston, in 1899 when he was the Church’s Presiding Bishop, claimed, in an apostolic council meeting, that he “had

⁸⁶Charles Ora Card, was born in Allegany County, New York, on November 5, 1839. His parents were converted when he was four years old. Card was baptized in 1856; a few days later, the family left for Utah, arriving in late September 1856. In March 1860, Card moved to Logan, where he served in the stake presidency of William B. Preston (1879), then as stake president (1884). In 1887, at President John Taylor’s request, he moved to Alberta, Canada, and presided over LDS immigration to that area. Card returned to Logan in 1905 where he died in 1906. Godfrey and Card, *The Diaries of Charles O. Card*, xxxv–xxxviii, 643.

⁸⁷Journal History, April 27, 1899, 7; Godfrey and Card, *The Diaries of Charles O. Card*, 78; Melvin C. Merrill, *Marriner Wood Merrill and His Family* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1937), 85–86; Bullion, Beck, and Champion, Account Book, 11–22.

⁸⁸Godfrey and Card, *The Diaries of Charles O. Card*, 78.

⁸⁹According to Melvin Merrill, Merrill’s son, *Marriner W. Merrill and His Family*, 86: “Along in the eighties President John Taylor of the Church asked him [Marriner W. Merrill] for \$1000 without indicating what he wished . . . it for. . . . This money, unknown to father at the time, was invested to his credit in the Bullion, Beck and Champion Mining Company.” As noted in the text above, Taylor asked Preston for \$5,000; and Preston in turn asked his counselors in the Cache Stake presidency, Merrill and Card, for whatever they could contribute. Preston and Merrill each donated \$1,000 and Card donated \$500. According to company records, dividends were paid to “Moses Thatcher and Company” on September 1886 (and presumably before as the ledger record is incomplete) through February 1, 1889. Beginning May 17, 1889, and continuing until August 1, 1889 (end of the

nothing to do with [it], knew nothing of it, neither did his counselors.”⁹⁰ Merrill added a similar denial regarding the dedication of 60 percent (or 3/5ths) of his shares to the consecrated stock fund: “As for the dedicated stock . . . we knew nothing at all about them.”⁹¹

However, three years earlier, contradicting Preston, Card received a letter before February 10, 1896, from George Q. Cannon about the consecrated stock fund. It advised him that “the Heirs of Prest John Taylor had with drawn theirs out, also Bro. Beck, Apostle Moses Thatcher and Bp Wm B. Preston.” In his answer, Card made it clear that in fact he had, from the beginning of his involvement, clearly understood the purpose and arrangement of the dedicated or consecrated stock. Card replied: “As to the 236 52/63 Shares of Dedicated Stock [that] belong to me, I wish to state plainly[:] It is my desire that it remain subject to the Successors of Prest. John Taylor. I have felt so from the beginning.”⁹² It is interesting that Card knew the exact arrangement between the shares he personally owned (two-fifths) and those shares (three-fifths) that had been made part of the consecrated or dedicated stock fund from the \$500 he had contributed about twelve years earlier in 1884.

EARLY LEGAL ENTANGLEMENTS

Almost from the commencement of the operation of the Bullion, Beck, and Champion Mining Company under the “new” ownership arrangement, the corporation became “embroiled in a disputed claims battle with the neighboring Eureka Hill Mining Company.”⁹³ The Eureka Hill Company sought an injunction to stop the Bullion, Beck, and Champion Company from extracting ore from a disputed internal area of the Beck mine that bordered on Eureka’s claim, or so they maintained. The Bullion, Beck, and Champion Company filed a

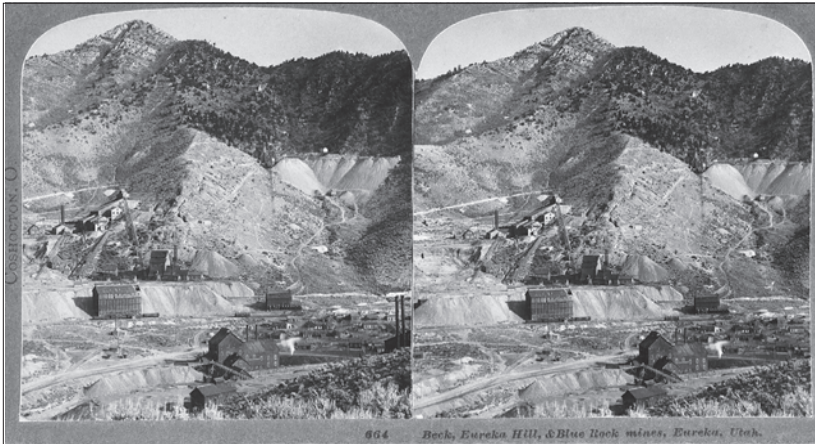
ledger record), Marriner W. Merrill, William B. Preston, and Charles O. Card are listed separately. Bullion, Beck, and Champion, Account Book, 11–22.

⁹⁰Journal History, April 27, 1899, 7.

⁹¹Ibid.

⁹²Godfrey and Card, *The Diaries of Charles O. Card*, February 10, 1890, 109–10. Card copied his answer to Cannon in this entry of his diary.

⁹³Edward Leo Lyman, “The Alienation of an Apostle from His Quorum: The Moses Thatcher Case,” *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 18, no. 2 (Summer 1985): 68.



This photo, ca. 1880s, shows three mines in the Tintic Mining District. The Bullion-Beck mine and supporting structures are at the lower right. The Eureka Hill Mine, which launched a lengthy lawsuit against it, is in the left center. The Blue Rock (also known as the Centennial Eureka) Mine is at the upper right. These three mines, plus the Gemini, were collectively referred to as the “Big Four.” Photo courtesy of the Tintic Historical Society.

counter-suit on January 6, 1885.⁹⁴ The litigation dragged on for more than three and a half years and cost John Beck and his company “nearly half a million dollars.”⁹⁵

John Taylor and George Q. Cannon became extremely worried about the outcome of the litigation as it was being tried before a non-Mormon and biased judge, Orlando W. Powers, of the First Judi-

⁹⁴District Court: *The Bullion, Beck & Champion Co. vs. The Eureka Hill Mining Co.*, “Motion for Non-Suit Overruled,” 1, AC 901.A1, no. 306, Perry Special Collections (printed pamphlet 20 pp. long).

⁹⁵John Beck, Interview with an unnamed person, February 7, 1894, fd. labeled “John Beck Papers,” John Taylor Papers, Marriott Library; John Beck, Letters to L. J. Nuttall Esq., December 29, 1885, and January 5, 1886, both in L. John Nuttall Papers, MS 1269 (access restricted), Reel 6, fd. 21, LDS Church History Library; John Beck (Stuttgart, Germany), Letter to George J. Taylor, December 5, 1887, John Taylor Papers, Marriott Library, stated that the suit had cost him “close to \$300,000.” Whether \$500,000 or \$300,000, this was a considerable sum of money in the 1880s. In 2013 dollars, the range would be \$7.2 to \$13.0 million.

cial Court, District of Utah.⁹⁶ Abraham H. Cannon, George Q.'s son, recorded on August 20, 1886, that his father was on the verge of "losing considerable in John Beck's mine. . . . [H]e sees nothing but ruin ahead, though he has faith God will yet relieve him."⁹⁷ In an effort to deal with the litigation, thereby also assuring their own financial well-being, Taylor and Cannon engaged Hiram B. Clawson, a well-connected and successful businessman, as manager of the Bullion, Beck, and Champion Mining Company in late summer or early fall of 1886.⁹⁸ Clawson involved Californians Isaac Trumbo, Alexander Badlam, and Leland Stanford (and others) to help settle the legal dispute between Bullion-Beck and Eureka Hill. The California syndicate's agreement provided that it receive 25 percent of the stock and mine dividends during the period it ostensibly controlled the property as the Bullion, Beck, and California Mining Company.

This arrangement, while resulting in an acceptable legal solution, did not yield an amicable conclusion between the two Bullion-Beck entities. Some of the Bullion, Beck, and Champion directors (Moses Thatcher, president; William B. Preston, director) and John W. Taylor (John Taylor's apostle son, who represented the considerable Taylor family stock holdings) disagreed with Trumbo, Bedlam, and their associates about the arrangement; and in many of Beck's letters to Taylor, Cannon, and Nuttall during his second mission in Germany (January 26, 1887–June 26, 1889)⁹⁹ he seriously questioned Clawson's motives and business practices. Clawson attended occasional meetings of the First Presidency and Quorum of Twelve when Bullion-Beck and/or the consecrated stock that Can-

⁹⁶*The Bullion, Beck & Champion Co. vs. The Eureka Hill Mining Co.*, 1.

⁹⁷Abraham H. Cannon, Diary, VMSS 62, Vol. 7, Box 5, fd. 2, Perry Special Collections. Three different editions of this diary (excerpts) are in print. This entry does not appear in either Dennis B. Horne, ed., *An Apostle's Record: The Journals of Abraham H. Cannon* (Clearfield, Utah: Gnolaum Books, 2004), or in E. Leo Lyman, ed., *Candid Insights of a Mormon Apostle: The Diaries of Abraham H. Cannon* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books in association with the Smith-Pettit Foundation, 2010).

⁹⁸John Taylor, Letter to Moses Thatcher, April 20, 1887, John Taylor Papers, Marriott Library.

⁹⁹Missionary Record Index, CR 301 43 #2; Early Missionary List, CR Mh 8884, Vol. 1, Supplement, fd. 4, both in LDS Church History Library.



Main Street, Eureka, Utah, ca. late 1890s–early 1900s. No automobiles are visible on the dirt street although electrical power was clearly available in this booming town approximately seventy miles southwest of Salt Lake City. Photo courtesy of the Tintic Historical Society.

non was holding as trustee-in-trust were discussed.¹⁰⁰ L. John Nuttall recorded on September 26, 1886, that Clawson had made a trip to the mine in Eureka and reported his findings to Taylor and Cannon, although he provides no details of Clawson’s report.¹⁰¹ Historian Edward Leo Lyman called Clawson “the initial link to a group of Califor-

¹⁰⁰Hiram B. Clawson was born on November 7, 1826, in Oneida County, New York. His family became Mormon in 1838, moved to Nauvoo in 1841, and moved to Salt Lake Valley in 1848. A successful retailer in Salt Lake City, he was the first superintendent of the Church-owned ZCMI and bishop of the Salt Lake City Twelfth Ward (1882). Clawson had married two of Brigham Young’s daughters; and his son, Ruderger Clawson, who became an apostle on October 10, 1898, subsequently served on the board of the Bullion, Beck, and Champion Mining Company. Hiram B. Clawson died in 1912. Whitney, *History of Utah*, 4:201–2; Jenson, *LDS Biographical Encyclopedia*, 1:629–30. Other documented meetings include August 21, 1891 (Rogers, *In the President’s Office*, 466) and January 24 and 31, 1890 (Lyman, *Candid Insights of a Mormon Apostle*, 56 and 59).

¹⁰¹Rogers, *In the President’s Office*, 169.

nians who, in mid-March 1887, purportedly purchased the mine and incorporated the Bullion, Beck, and California Mining Company. Actually, the former owners retained controlling interest in the mine, but the Californians, apparently through highly placed government connections, compromised with the Eureka Hill company owners and saved the Bullion Beck mine from threatened loss."¹⁰²

On April 20, 1887, John Taylor explained to Moses Thatcher: "Before the expiration of Brother Beck's lease the affairs of the Company were in such a condition that we thought it best to employ Brother H. B. Clauson [sic] to look after our interest, and when Brother Beck's lease expired, brother Clauson was employed as Manager of the property, with a Captain Day as Superintendent of the mine. Brother Beck desired to obtain another lease, which we declined to grant him."¹⁰³ Regardless of Beck's personal feelings over this situation, he accepted a second mission call and left on January 26, 1887.¹⁰⁴

During the late 1880s, the Bullion, Beck, and Champion mine became a major producer of silver and lead (and, to a lesser extent, gold) and became very profitable. In spite of the legal complications in the mid-1880s, dividends were regular and at times significant.¹⁰⁵ In the months preceding John Taylor's death, dividends were sometimes declared monthly or even weekly. For instance, on June 8, 1887, a dividend of \$6,000 was declared. The next week on June 14, another dividend of \$9,333.33 was announced, followed on July 21, 1887, by \$25,166.66.¹⁰⁶ (These amounts would be substantial even today; but in 2013 dollars, the "value range" for 1883

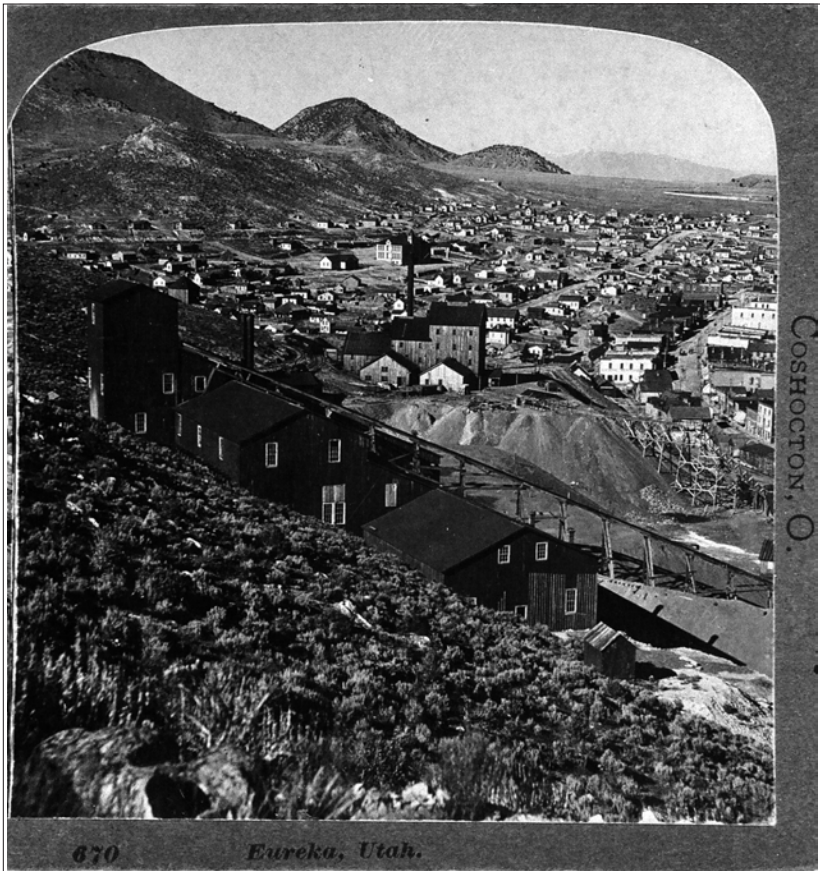
¹⁰²Lyman, "The Alienation of an Apostle from His Quorum," 68. A compromise was reached between the two companies on July 3, 1888. "Compromised! The Great Suit of Eureka vs. Bullion-Beck Settled," *Salt Lake Telegram*, July 4, 1888, 3. However, legal entanglements continued for the Bullion, Beck, and Champion Mining Company and its mining neighbors into the 1890s.

¹⁰³Taylor to Thatcher, April 20, 1887, John Taylor Papers, Marriott Library.

¹⁰⁴John Beck, Letter to John Taylor and George Q. Cannon, May 13, 1887, Nuttall Papers, LDS Church History Library. His mission ended June 26, 1889.

¹⁰⁵Bullion, Beck, and Champion, Account Book, 11–22.

¹⁰⁶*Ibid.*, 12.



By the early 1900s, the mining town of Eureka, Utah, had filled its narrow mountain valley with businesses, schools, a hospital, and mining structures. John Beck donated land for an LDS chapel. Photo courtesy of the Tintic Historical Society.

through 1899 is approximately 24:1.¹⁰⁷) Thus, in less than five months, between June 8, 1887, and October 31, 1887, the dividend payout from the net earnings of the Bullion, Beck, and Champion

¹⁰⁷www.measuringworth.com (accessed February 18, 2013). A thousand dollars in 1883 would be approximately the same as \$24,000 in “today’s dollars.” For example, the July 1, 1887, dividend of \$25,166 would be approximately the same as \$614,000 in today’s dollars. The range between

mine was \$44,666.66, nearly the amount in cash that Taylor and Cannon had paid for their shares in 1883.¹⁰⁸

JOHN TAYLOR IN HIDING: IMPACT ON THE MINE

During the legal dispute with the Eureka Hill Mining Company, and despite the consternation and concern it caused to Taylor, Cannon, and Beck, even more pressing matters plagued LDS Church leaders and members alike in the mid to late 1880s. Day-to-day living became complicated for many Latter-day Saint families as the federal anti-polygamy crusade was stepped up with enforcement allowed by the Edmunds-Tucker Act.¹⁰⁹ To avoid arrest, high-profile leaders of the LDS Church like John Taylor, George Q. Cannon, Joseph F. Smith, other apostles and members of the Presiding Bishopric went into hiding. John Taylor's last public outing, a surprise appearance at the Salt Lake Tabernacle, was February 1, 1885. He attempted to continue managing Church affairs through the services of trusted men like George Q. Cannon, L. John Nuttall, George Reynolds, and James Jack—all investors in the Bullion, Beck, and Champion Mining Company.¹¹⁰ Taylor was constantly on the move between February 1885 and the late spring of 1887; but his deteriorating health during the early summer of 1887 further complicated Church business.¹¹¹

Cannon was in near-constant attendance on Taylor, but the other counselor, Joseph F. Smith, had been on the underground

the years mentioned fluctuates with a high of 24:1 and a low of 20:1. For the majority of the years referenced in this example and others in this article, I use the ratio of 24:1.

¹⁰⁸Bullion, Beck, and Champion, Account Book, 11–13. The 2013 equivalent payout for the referenced time period would be \$1,090,000. www.measuringworth.com (accessed February 18, 2013).

¹⁰⁹Congress passed the Edmunds Act in 1882, reinforcing it with the Edmunds-Tucker Act in March 1886. Francis M. Gibbons summarized the severe impact of this legislation: “[It] provided for the disincorporation of the Church as a legal entity, the forfeiture by the Church of all property in excess of \$50,000, and the dissolution of the Perpetual Emigrating Fund Company.” Gibbons, *John Taylor*, 258.

¹¹⁰Bullion, Beck, and Champion, Account Book, 11–22.

¹¹¹Gibbons, *John Taylor*, 268–70.

since 1883. After spending several weeks in Church communities throughout the Southwest and Mexico, he was in California, planning to return to Utah, when Taylor urgently warned that he would be arrested on sight. Smith left for Hawaii on February 2, 1885.¹¹²

As Taylor slipped into his final illness, he and Cannon began to take steps to secure Church and personal matters. On July 2, 1887, approximately three weeks prior to his death, Taylor authorized the sale of 15,300 shares of the consecrated stock, “a number sufficient to realize the sum of fifty thousand dollars and no more, out of which he has reimbursed himself and the said George Q. Cannon for the advancement of the sum of money paid by them jointly to purchase from John Beck the stock mentioned in said instrument.”¹¹³ Continuing, Taylor set out, in clear and non-refutable language, his decision in naming a successor trustee-in-trust for the consecrated stock fund: “Now, therefore, the said John Taylor . . . has assigned, set over and conveyed . . . to the said George Q. Cannon, one of the contributors of said fund, all the balance and residue of said shares of stock in the said, Bullion, Beck and Champion Mining Company . . . [and] hereby confers upon the said George Q. Cannon all the rights, powers, and authority held . . . by him, the said John Taylor.”¹¹⁴

Furthermore, the document clearly restated the defined purpose of the fund: “. . . And also the further power and authority to use

¹¹²Francis M. Gibbons, *Joseph F. Smith: Patriarch and Preacher, Prophet of God* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1984), 135–39.

¹¹³Document 2, fd. 12, labeled “Beck Co. Contracts,” Taylor Presidential Papers; Folder labeled “John Beck Papers,” 1–2, John Taylor Papers, Marriott Library. Based on the Bullion, Beck, and Champion Mining, Account Book, 11, the transfer or sale of the 15,300 shares took place prior to September 25, 1886. Therefore, it can be reasonably concluded that the document dated July 2, 1887, was a necessary legal formality to create a record about the reason for and accomplishment of the provisions of the original June 1883 agreement between Beck, Taylor, and Cannon. Bullion, Beck, and Champion, Account Book, 11, LDS Church History Library.

¹¹⁴Documents 2–3, fd. 12, labeled “Beck Co. Contracts,” Taylor Presidential Papers, LDS Church History Library; fd. labeled “John Beck Papers,” 1–3, John Taylor Papers, Marriott Library. Document 3 reconfirms the understanding of July 2, 1887 (Document 2), and was signed by George Q. Cannon on September 8, 1887, in the presence of Arthur Winter.

said shares of stock, if practicable, in purchasing that certain piece of ground in Jackson County in the state of Missouri, that was named and set apart by the Prophet Joseph Smith as the site for a temple of God.”¹¹⁵ This document was the first acknowledgement in writing that this fund, consecrated to “the redemption of Zion,” was to purchase the Independence temple site.

The document concludes: “It is distinctly understood that the said George Q. Cannon in assuming control of said funds shall not be accountable for its disposition or management to the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, nor to any authority thereof, but shall have the absolute control and management of said fund, without question from any course whatever; provided, only, that said fund shall not be used for his own private benefit, nor for the benefit of his heirs.”¹¹⁶

John Taylor’s signature was witnessed by L. John Nuttall and Charles H. Wilcken, Taylor’s bodyguard, messenger, and general factotum on July 2, 1887. The day before, on July 1, Cannon had sent for Joseph F. Smith. He arrived incognito in Salt Lake City on or about July 18, 1887, and was taken directly to Taylor’s secret hiding place in Kaysville. Taylor died a week later on July 25 without making any alterations in this consecrated stock transfer.¹¹⁷

DISPUTED OWNERSHIP OF THE CONSECRATED STOCK FUND

Within a matter of months after John Taylor’s death, three Taylor heirs intervened in the consecrated stock fund: John W. Taylor, a second son, George J. Taylor, and L. John Nuttall (Taylor’s nephew, son-in-law, and private secretary). All three were appointed to carry out the provisions of John Taylor’s will.¹¹⁸ Among the assets of the Taylor estate was the Bullion, Beck, and Champion Mining Company stock, which

¹¹⁵Document 2, fd. 12, labeled “Beck Co. Contracts,” Taylor Presidential Papers, LDS Church History Library; fd. labeled “John Beck Papers,” 1–2, John Taylor Papers, Marriott Library.

¹¹⁶Document 2, fd. 12, labeled “Beck Co. Contracts,” Taylor Presidential Papers, LDS Church History Library; fd. labeled “John Beck Papers,” 1–2, John Taylor Papers, Marriott Library.

¹¹⁷Gibbons, *Joseph F. Smith*, 154–56; “Announcement of the Death of President John Taylor,” *Deseret News*, August 3, 1887, 1; Gibbons, *John Taylor*, 270; Rogers, *In the President’s Office*, 218–19.

¹¹⁸Bitton, *George Q. Cannon*, 287, quoting George Q. Cannon’s Jour-

apparently included the consecrated stock, or as John W. Taylor called it, “pooled” stock.¹¹⁹ It is likely that, during the review of the assets listed in Taylor’s will, Nuttall advised his brothers-in-law that the consecrated stock had been transferred from their father as trustee-in-trust to George Q. Cannon only weeks before Taylor’s death.

Historian Ronald W. Walker poses the question that must have been on the executors’ minds: “What right did Cannon have to the dedicated stock and its profits?” He answers:

Cannon’s diary had explanations. According to this source, before Taylor died an attempt had been made to convey the property to the new Church President, but since no successor had yet been chosen, a name could not be inserted into the legal document and attorneys therefore feared that the transfer might be challenged. As a way out, according to Cannon, it was thought “eminently proper” to deed the property to him, with the stipulation that the Beck property would be used for Church purposes.¹²⁰

John W. and his brother(s) claimed that their father was “incompetent” when he signed the document transferring control of the pooled stock to Cannon and gave their reasons for this belief.¹²¹ Cannon countered that “though President Taylor was failing

nal, July 1, 1887; *Journal History*, October 1, 1896, 4–5.

¹¹⁹Document 1, fd. 12, labeled “Beck Co. Contracts,” John Taylor Presidential Papers, LDS Church History Library; Folder 9, labeled “Estate,” CR 1 80, MSD 1346, Box 30, Taylor Presidential Papers. The shares were also referred to as “reserve” stock, as well as “consecrated,” “dedicated,” and “pooled” stock.

¹²⁰Ronald W. Walker, “Qualities That Count: Heber J. Grant as Businessman, Missionary, and Apostle,” *BYU Studies* 43, no. 1 (2004): 207. Walker cites Bitton, *George Q. Cannon*, 286–87, who quotes Cannon’s diary, July 1, 1887.

¹²¹*Journal History*, October 1, 1896, 5. In addition to John W. and George J. Taylor, two additional brothers made comments about their father’s state of mind to L. John Nuttall. Rogers, *In the President’s Office*, 230. Nuttall, *Diary*, September 27, 1887, states: “I had some conversation with Bros. Thos E. & R[ichard] J. Taylor in relation to the affairs of their fathers estate. I talked to them in a pointed manner, I being fully aroused at remarks which they said had been made by some of the family respecting the Presi-

then he did not look upon him as incapable of doing business.”¹²² L. John Nuttall, who was also daily with President Taylor during his final weeks, also challenged the claim of incompetence. Several days after John W.’s last visit to his father on July 3, Nuttall recorded: “After taking his bath this morning he seemed to brighten up and continued to do so all day. He spoke more plainly and answered questions very distinctly.”¹²³ Regardless, Cannon’s absolute position in regard to the consecrated stock fund to which Taylor had originally transferred 60 percent of his original shares, posed a serious problem to the Taylor heirs who were anxious to resolve this issue, since it was impeding a settlement of their father’s estate. In addition to the consecrated stock was the matter of the four years of accumulated dividends.

The settlement of the estate was further delayed and complicated when George Q. Cannon was arrested September 15, 1888, and, with remarkable haste, indicted and sentenced on September 17 for unlawful cohabitation.¹²⁴ He served five months in the Utah Territorial Prison.¹²⁵

In October 1888, one month into Cannon’s imprisonment (September 1888–February 1889) Apostle Moses Thatcher approached Wilford Woodruff,¹²⁶ president of his apostolic quorum, to specifically discuss the Cannon-controlled consecrated stock fund and the

dent[']s will and his inability to understand what he was doing &c, &c.”

¹²²Journal History, October 1, 1896, 5.

¹²³Rogers, *In the President’s Office*, July 17, 1887, 211; Gibbons, *John Taylor*, 268-69.

¹²⁴Scott G. Kenney, ed., *Wilford Woodruff Diaries: 1833–1898*, 9 vols. (Midvale, Utah: Signature Books, 1985), 8:517.

¹²⁵*Ibid.*, 9:8. Cannon was released from the Utah Territorial Prison on February 21, 1889, and met the same day with Nuttall to discuss “B B & C M Cos. Affairs.” Rogers, *In the President’s Office*, 319.

¹²⁶Journal History, October 1, 1896, 6. Wilford Woodruff, ordained an apostle at Far West, Missouri, on April 26, 1839, became president of the Quorum of Twelve Apostles in 1880 and succeeded John Taylor as Church president on April 7, 1889. Woodruff’s journal states: “We organized the first Presidency By Apointing Wilford Woodruff President & George Q Cannon & Joseph F Smith Councillors.” Kenney, *Wilford Woodruff’s Journal*, 9:15. He was president of the Twelve from 1880 to 1889, so both John W.

shares that Thatcher had contributed when he made his purchase, four years earlier, in October 1883.¹²⁷ Consistently referring to the stock as “pooled,” rather than “consecrated” or “dedicated,” he informed Woodruff that he intended to sue Cannon for the return of his shares. Woodruff told him emphatically that suing Cannon “would be the worst move he had ever made.”¹²⁸

Moreover, Moses Thatcher insinuated that giving Cannon control of the stock created a conflict of interest. According to Nuttall, “He [Thatcher] consented to President Taylor holding and controlling the pooled stock, but not to its being transferred to his successors or assigns, and he had not consented and would not consent to the transfer made on the 2nd of July/87 by Prest Taylor to Bro. Cannon.”¹²⁹ He further claimed that, as a stockholder, his permission was required for any transfer of the trustee-in-trust.¹³⁰ None of the documents dealing with the consecrated stock in any way allude to this erroneous assumption by Thatcher. Nuttall, whom Woodruff had retained as his personal secretary after Taylor’s death, noted in his journal that, before the meeting of the Quorum of Twelve Apostles held on December 3, 1888, he and Joseph F. Smith met privately with Thatcher. Nuttall repeated Woodruff’s warning that Thatcher “would be sorry for it [suing Cannon] if he did,”¹³¹ an opinion that Joseph F. reiterated. Thatcher wrote Woodruff on December 7, 1888,

Taylor and Moses Thatcher were responsible to him for carrying out their apostolic responsibilities. Jenson, *LDS Biographical Encyclopedia*, 1:20–26; Matthias F. Cowley, *Wilford Woodruff: History of His Life and Labors* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1971), 101.

¹²⁷Rogers, *In the President’s Office*, 113, October 11, 1883.

¹²⁸*Ibid.*, 292, December 3, 1888; *Journal History*, October 1, 1896, 6.

¹²⁹Rogers, *In the President’s Office*, 292, December 3, 1888.

¹³⁰Woodruff, quoted in Moses Thatcher, “In Self Defense,” *Journal [Logan, Utah]* December 22, 1896, 1–2; Thatcher then explains and refutes Woodruff’s statements. Thatcher wrote this 1896 article in reply to a letter that President Wilford Woodruff wrote him on December 7, 1888. These were old issues as far as Thatcher was concerned but, obviously, were still points of contention. Due to a conflict in 1896 with Woodruff over the issue of political autonomy (discussed hereafter), Thatcher went public with the Woodruff correspondence dating back nearly eight years.

¹³¹Rogers, *In the President’s Office*, 281, December 3, 1888.

quoting Smith's admonition before the December 3 quorum meeting: "I confess that I was not only smarting under the sting of what I feel to be unjust treatment, I would put the whole business [obtaining his pooled stock from George Q. Cannon] in the hands of an attorney for settlement as I did not longer wish to endure the annoyance and trial to which the affair subjected me. In reply Brother Joseph as I remember said to me 'If you do Brother Moses you will regret it as long as you live.'"¹³²

The matter of the consecrated stock fund was a matter of discussion in the December 3, 1888, quorum meeting that followed, and John W. Taylor was obviously aware of Thatcher's demands. He added his own concerns about Cannon's role as trustee-in-trust, as a flurry of letters immediately following the December 3 quorum meeting documents.¹³³ However, John W. Taylor, asked Franklin S. Richards, "legal advisor and general attorney"¹³⁴ for the LDS Church for aid in resolving the situation. Richards went to the territorial prison, standing in what is now the Sugarhouse Park area, and advised Cannon that Taylor planned to reclaim his father's consecrated stock by filing a lawsuit. Eight years later in October 1896, when Cannon reminded Taylor of his action, Taylor denied it; but in the First Presidency's meeting minutes for the next day, Cannon asked Richards "if he remembered calling on him in the Penitentiary on business with the Bullion-Beck Company, and telling him that if the 'dedicated stock' belonging to the Taylor heirs, was not surrendered to them, suit would be entered for its recovery." Richards corroborated that Cannon's memory "was perfectly true."¹³⁵

Cannon understood that, regardless of the outcome, a legal entanglement with either Taylor or Thatcher would receive major news-

¹³²Thatcher to Woodruff, December 7, 1888.

¹³³George Q. Cannon, Letter to Wilford Woodruff, December 4, 1888; Woodruff to Thatcher, December 7, 1888 (as noted above, Thatcher went public in late 1896 with the letter and his response to it); Thatcher to Woodruff, December 7, 1888, all in John Taylor Papers, Marriott Library. Also see *Journal History*, December 22, 1896, 11-12 and Thatcher, "In Self Defense," 1-2.

¹³⁴Jenson, *LDS Biographical Encyclopedia*, 4:57-58. The Church had retained Franklin S. Richards as legal counsel and general attorney since 1880.

¹³⁵For Cannon's accusation, see *Journal History*, October 1, 1896, 4.

paper attention in Utah (and most likely throughout the United States) and, inevitably, directly involve the Church.¹³⁶ As a result, he decided to release the relevant portions of the consecrated stock to Thatcher and the Taylor heirs.¹³⁷ On August 5, 1889, five and a half months after Cannon's release from the Utah Territorial Prison and two years after John Taylor's death, Cannon ordered the transfer of the consecrated stock in question, with all accumulated dividends, to Moses Thatcher. Later that month or sometime in early September the Taylor family representatives also obtained the release of their father's consecrated stock (as adjusted) and all accumulated dividends.¹³⁸

John Beck had hurriedly left on his second mission in January 1887,¹³⁹ seven months before John Taylor's death in July 1887. At that point, the consecrated stock fund was not an issue. If Beck had been available, Cannon would almost certainly have discussed the situation with him, or Beck would have gone to Cannon himself when he first heard of Thatcher's and John W. Taylor's threats to retrieve the

Richards's corroboration appears in *ibid.*, October 2, 1896, 2.

¹³⁶*Ibid.*, October 1, 1896, 4.

¹³⁷*Ibid.*, February 11, 1897, 3. I have not located a document recording the actual transfer of stock and dividends to the Taylor heirs or Thatcher. However, Abraham Cannon notes in his journal on August 9, 1889, that he and his brother Frank attempted to obtain a satisfactory receipt from the Taylor heirs (George J. and John W. Taylor, and Alonzo E. Hyde) but that the heirs refused. Abraham Cannon also notes three days later on August 12, 1889, that Thatcher demanded his certificate, but Cannon refused because his father, George Q., was not in town. Abraham further comments on August 14 that his father "forbade George Reynolds delivering certificates of the dedicated stock to any but those who signed receipts in full for stock and dividends to date." Abraham Cannon, Journal, VMSS 62, Vol. 11, Box 5, fd. 11, 74-75, Perry Special Collections. Presumably either in late August 1889 or shortly thereafter, George Q. obtained the appropriate releases and receipts.

¹³⁸Journal History, February 11, 1897, 3; also Nuttall, Diary, February 11, 1897.

¹³⁹John Beck, Letter to John Taylor and George Q. Cannon, May 13, 1887, Nuttall Papers, LDS Church History Library, comments: "I left Salt Lake City on the 26th of Jan. with parts of my familie." See also Whitney, *History of Utah*, 1:498.

stocks that they felt they were owed. An obvious question is why George Q. Cannon did not correspond with Beck in Germany, discussing the developments regarding the consecrated stock fund. Perhaps Cannon did not want to unduly encumber Beck with this matter and thus divert him from his missionary duties. Another possibility, however, is business frustrations existing between Beck and Cannon (and also Taylor).

In December 1886, about six weeks before Beck left on his mission, he wrote a lengthy nine-page epistle to Taylor and Cannon. The letter dealt with a delay in renewing Beck's lease to operate the mine and a perceived lack of appreciation for the hard work in making the operation highly profitable for their personal benefit (as well as the benefits to the consecrated stock fund). Furthermore, Beck felt justified in requesting (short of demanding) \$200,000 reimbursement for money he had personally spent in defending the Bullion, Beck, and Champion Mining Company in the litigation initiated by the Eureka Mining Company. (As noted previously, the amount spent by Beck on litigation has also been stated as both \$300,000 and \$500,000.)

On January 24, 1887, only days before his departure, Beck and Nuttall (in his role as president of Bullion-Beck) agreed to a Submission of Arbitration Agreement to cover "all matters in controversy."¹⁴⁰ Additionally, in a letter written by Beck to Taylor and Cannon in May 1887, he inquired and expressed concern about the rumors that the mine "had been sold for \$250,000" to "some parti [sic] from California," and asked them "to do me the kindness of letting me know something about it."¹⁴¹ Beck's early involvement may have played a significant role in deflecting the Thatcher-Taylor demands.

Beck's mission may have been prompted by John Taylor's public counsel to Church officers to resist arrest as much as possible.¹⁴² By

¹⁴⁰Agreement, January 24, 1887, Nuttall Papers.

¹⁴¹John Beck (Stuttgart, Germany), Letter to John Taylor and George Q. Cannon, May 17, 1887, Nuttall Papers.

¹⁴²Gibbons, *John Taylor*, 248–49. President John Taylor's last public address was at a meeting held in the Salt Lake Tabernacle, filled to capacity, where without previous announcement and with guards posted at the doors, he appeared and instructed the Saints. "Toward the end of his talk,

1887, Beck had become a wealthy and prominent business leader.¹⁴³ However, he was asset-rich and cash-poor; demands from his creditors and overdue bills may have influenced his decision.¹⁴⁴ He was also a known polygamist¹⁴⁵ and had local prominence as the first president and most prominent supporter of the Eureka Branch.¹⁴⁶ Certainly he would have been a prime target for federal marshals as the raid accelerated.¹⁴⁷ If arrested, Beck would certainly have been convicted and sentenced to a six-month term in the Utah Territorial Prison, just like his friend George Q. Cannon.

In Germany, Beck began to receive sketchy, yet troubling, reports about his mine in Eureka. Despite a major ore strike, there was reportedly no increase in shipments, revenue, or dividends.¹⁴⁸ Beck was also having difficulty in obtaining/receipting money for his living/mission expenses from the mine superintendent and the newly

President Taylor turned to the aspect of the government's new crusade that was most distressing to those caught up in it. . . . In a litany of woe, the speaker condemned the cankering irritations to which polygamist families were being subjected." He concluded by stating in reference to the government's efforts to arrest any polygamist in the Territory and beyond: "We must take care of ourselves as best we may and avoid being caught in their snares."

¹⁴³McCune, *History of Juab County*, 191–92; Whitney, *History of Utah*, 4:497–98.

¹⁴⁴"Mr. Beck's Fortunes: His Princely Schemes All Gone by the Board," *Salt Lake Herald*, April 16, 1887, 7.

¹⁴⁵Beck's polygamist marriages were Louise Matti, November 3, 1873; Bertha Goss, July 17, 1884; Matilda Goss, June 20, 1885; and Louise Goss, October 29, 1885. <https://familysearch.org/search/tree/results#count> (accessed August 8, 2013).

¹⁴⁶The LDS Eureka Branch of the Juab Stake was organized April 27, 1884, and John Beck was called as the branch president. A chapel was built with Beck's funds on property owned by the Bullion, Beck, and Champion Mining Company. McCune, *History of Juab County*, 196–97.

¹⁴⁷Taylor to Thatcher, April 10, 1887, John Taylor Papers, Marriott Library.

¹⁴⁸John Beck, Letter to John Taylor and George Q. Cannon, May 13, 1887, Nuttall Papers.

hired agent, Hiram B. Clawson.¹⁴⁹ The absence of key managers and directors certainly provided an opportunity for corruption. Beck wrote from Stuttgart on May 13, 1887, to “Presidents John Taylor & George Q. Canon [sic],” requesting a status report on the mine and alerting them to his concerns about Clawson.¹⁵⁰ During his absence in Germany, Beck also occasionally corresponded with L. John Nuttall regarding his concerns.¹⁵¹

Just before Beck’s mission ended in June 1889, he received a cablegram from George J. Taylor, a brother of John W. and one of the executors of John Taylor’s estate, asking “me when I was coming home and if some of my friends could meet me in Germany. I answered that I would return on the Steamship ‘Wyoming’ and arrive at New York, mentioning the day.”¹⁵² (According to the LDS Church’s Missionary Record Index, John Beck “returned,” without specifying New York or Salt Lake City, on June 26, 1889.)¹⁵³ John W. Taylor, instead of his brother George J., and Alonzo E. Hyde met Beck in New York City.¹⁵⁴ Beck must have been uneasy about this meeting with both men. Hyde (1848–June 19, 1910), was the son of Apostle Orson Hyde and had married Annie Taylor, John Taylor’s daughter. Hyde and partner George Whitmore built the first gypsum mill in 1887 in Nephi, Utah. Undoubtedly due to his family connections, he became actively, though briefly, involved in the operation of the Bullion, Beck, and Champion Mining Company. By 1891, he was on the board of directors, general manager of Beck’s mining operations, and man-

¹⁴⁹Ibid.

¹⁵⁰Ibid.

¹⁵¹John Beck, Letters to L. John Nuttall, March 13 and July 7, 1887, Nuttall Papers.

¹⁵²Beck, Interview with an unnamed person, February 7, 1894, 3–4. Beck owned five houses, one for each of his wives.

¹⁵³Missionary Record Index, CR 301 43, #2, LDS Church History Library.

¹⁵⁴I have not found the exact date of Beck’s arrival in New York City; but he wrote George J. Taylor (Stuttgart, Germany), April 29, 1889, John Taylor Papers, Marriott Library, that he intended to “start for home in a few weeks,” and his official mission record card states he “returned,” without specifying location, on June 26, 1889. Missionary Record Index, CR 301 43, #2.

ager of the company boarding house and store in Eureka.¹⁵⁵ Three years later, Beck, interviewed by an unidentified individual on February 7, 1894, detailed numerous complaints against Hyde, including misrepresentation for personal profit.¹⁵⁶

Beck was not alone in his mistrust of Hyde. John Nuttall's diary records embarrassing moral lapses on Hyde's part.¹⁵⁷ Abraham H. Cannon records his own frustration and that of his father about Hyde's mishandling of Bullion-Beck matters including his refusal to transfer stock to Cannon.¹⁵⁸ Hyde also followed Hiram Clawson's tactic of ingratiating himself with the California faction along with Moses Thatcher and William H. Preston, further alienating him from Beck and Cannon.

The three men (Beck, Taylor, and Hyde) had dinner at the "St. Denis Hotel," then discussed the consecrated stock situation. Following their meal, according to Beck's recollection nearly five years later, Taylor and Hyde told him of George Q. Cannon's decision to transfer John Taylor's consecrated stock to the Taylor heirs and to return or transfer Thatcher's share of the consecrated stock back to Thatcher.¹⁵⁹ Taylor and Hyde were certainly stretching the truth if Beck's recollection is correct as a decision on these two demands was still pending and not resolved for several more months. It is doubtful whether Beck already knew about Cannon's pending decision. Based on later developments, it does not appear that either Taylor or Hyde advised Beck at that time of the difficulties that the Taylor heirs or Thatcher had experienced in their efforts to obtain the consecrated stock from Cannon, including their threats of bringing suit.

The three men took the train together back to Salt Lake City. En route, Taylor probably asked Beck if he was interested in buying the

¹⁵⁵Colleen Whitley, ed., *From the Ground Up: The History of Mining in Utah* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 2006), 349–51; Wilson, McNulty, and Hampshire, *A History of Juab County*, 67–68.

¹⁵⁶John Beck, Interview with an unnamed person, February 7, 1894, 3–4.

¹⁵⁷Rogers, *In the President's Office*, 455–57, 467.

¹⁵⁸Lyman, *Candid Insights of a Mormon Apostle*, 73–74, 76–77.

¹⁵⁹John Beck, Interview with an unnamed person, February 7, 1894, 3.

Bullion, Beck, and Champion stock once it was in possession of the Taylor heirs. Apparently Beck did not make a decision because nothing further was concluded at that time. In his 1894 interview, he recounted that, in Salt Lake City, “the Taylor boys came to me [probably in the summer of 1889 soon after his return] about buying their stock and offered to take \$10.00 per share therefor [sic] I agreed to pay them.”¹⁶⁰ In an episode that certainly appears to be sheer greed—if not actual fraud—Alonzo E. Hyde “called the boys out” of the meeting they were having with Beck “and soon after I was informed they wanted \$15.00 per share.”¹⁶¹ Without further explanation or comment on his own reaction to this change, Beck reported that he paid “\$240,000” for some “16,000 shares.” Beck added: “Of course this mining stock had never called for such a price as this but I felt I wanted it [and] took it.”¹⁶²

Sometime thereafter (1889–90), while Beck was in Logan, he met with Moses Thatcher, who told Beck that he “wanted to get out of the whole affair and would sell me his stock for \$4.00 per share which I agreed to take and pay for.” However, Alonzo E. Hyde, who was either present at the meeting or in a position to learn the details promptly, “took Thatcher aside and I presume told him of my deal with the Taylor boys” with the result that “I paid M. Thatcher for his 5,000 shares at \$15.00 per share.”¹⁶³ Beck recalled that he gave a note to Thatcher “for \$50,000.00 and [the] balance [of \$25,000] in cash.” Beck commented further: “Moses Thatcher admitted to me a short

¹⁶⁰*Ibid.*, 4.

¹⁶¹*Ibid.*

¹⁶²*Ibid.* The Bullion, Beck, and Champion Mining Company account book’s last entry is August 1, 1889, and does not reflect any transaction with the Taylor heirs. Bullion, Beck, and Champion, Account Book, 20–22. These three pages would cover the time period June 11, 1889–August 1, 1893.

¹⁶³Moses Thatcher’s explanation of events, published in his article, “In Self Defense,” 1–2, acknowledged that, on August 5, 1889, he received the transfer of 2368 16/63 shares of the “pooled” stock. Probably Thatcher still held his original 1,600 shares as well, making a total of 3,968 16/63 shares. Thatcher may have also acquired other shares. I hypothesize that Beck was misremembering how many shares he purchased from Thatcher. Based on my calculations from the Bullion, Beck, and Champion Account Book, Thatcher would have originally purchased 3,947 shares for the

time ago that he got \$10.00 per share—\$50,000. I now would like to know what became of the other \$25,000.”¹⁶⁴ This meeting and subsequent transaction would have, therefore, taken place after Thatcher had received his consecrated stock from George Q. Cannon.

With the consecrated stock fund broken by John W. Taylor and Moses Thatcher, it was not long before John Beck met with Cannon and requested the return of his own contribution to the consecrated stock. In October 1896, at a combined meeting of the First Presidency and the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, Cannon told his version of this gathering (as recorded by an unnamed secretary in the minutes of this meeting): “When Brother John Beck came home [from his mission in June 1889] and demanded his stock, [I] reminded him of the covenant which had been entered into. His reply was that President Taylor’s family and Brother Moses Thatcher had got theirs, and he wanted his.”¹⁶⁵ While no doubt disappointed, Cannon complied. At this point, the total number of shares remaining in the consecrated stock fund totaled 7,390, consisting of his initial contribution and the smaller amount (60 percent of the \$500 worth of shares) donated by Charles O. Card.¹⁶⁶ On Thanksgiving Day, November 26, 1896, President Wilford Woodruff convened a “special meeting” of the First Presidency, Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, and the First Council of the Seventy who were available to discuss several issues, political and otherwise. One of the topics involved Thatcher, who had been dropped from the quorum for his political intransigence almost seven months earlier on April 6, 1896.¹⁶⁷ During the course of the conversation as recorded in the minutes, Apostle Heber J. Grant stated emphatically: “Brother Thatcher was a covenant breaker. He had solemnly agreed that 60 percent of the means he had invested in the Bullion-Beck Company should be dedicated to the Lord, for the use of the church under di-

\$5,000 he invested, of which two-thirds would have been transferred on the company books to the “consecrated” fund. Bullion, Beck, and Champion, Account Book, 11–22.

¹⁶⁴Beck, Interview with unnamed person, February 7, 1894, 4.

¹⁶⁵Journal History, October 1, 1896, 5.

¹⁶⁶Godfrey and Card, *The Diaries of Charles O. Card*, 78; Journal History, April 27, 1899, 3.

¹⁶⁷Journal History, November 26, 1896, 2–5.

rection of the President, and he demanded that stock after the death of President Taylor, and it was through that [Thatcher's actions] the heirs of President Taylor had also demanded their dedicated stock, and then John Beck had demanded his."¹⁶⁸

**GEORGE Q. CANNON RELINQUISHES CONTROL OF THE
CONSECRATED STOCK FUND TO LORENZO SNOW**

The mine continued to be a huge producer of silver and lead in the late 1880s and 1890s. During 1889, dividends were declared on nearly a monthly basis and ranged from \$40,000 to \$50,000 each.¹⁶⁹ In November of 1890, Wilford Woodruff recorded in his diary a trip to Eureka to visit the Bullion, Beck, and Champion mine. He stated: "The profit from this mine is about \$50,000 a month."¹⁷⁰ The *Deseret News* reported on January 17, 1900, that the Bullion, Beck, & Champion mine has paid in dividends since 1870 . . . \$2,633,400.¹⁷¹ (In 2013 dollars this amount would be approximately \$63,201,000.)¹⁷²

After nearly two years of delays, caused at least in part by the dissatisfaction of some of the younger apostles with George Q. Cannon's handling of some Church business matters during the last several months of President John Taylor's life, including the Bullion-Beck consecrated stock fund, the First Presidency of the LDS Church was again reorganized in April 1889. It had taken repeated meetings and great patience on President Wilford Woodruff's part to achieve reconciliation within the quorum; but at last the Twelve reached the desired unity. Woodruff called George Q. Cannon as his first coun-

¹⁶⁸Ibid., 4. Prior to this meeting Thatcher had been "summoned to meet the Twelve on 12 November." Thatcher's response was such that the quorum "renewed the summons for 19 November. When he did not appear, it was unanimously concluded that he be dropped from the quorum and prevented from every function of the Priesthood." Lyman, "The Alienation of an Apostle from His Quorum: The Moses Thatcher Case," 86. Lyman quotes Brigham Young Jr., *Journal*, November 19, 1896.

¹⁶⁹Bullion, Beck, and Champion, Account Book, 11-13, 17-22.

¹⁷⁰Kenney, *Wilford Woodruff's Journal*, November 22, 1890, 9:124.

¹⁷¹"Sale of the Bullion-Beck: Will Be Finally Considered Tomorrow Afternoon, Purchased by Local Man," *Deseret Evening News*, January 17, 1900, 6.

¹⁷²www.measuringworth.com (accessed February 18, 2013).

selor.¹⁷³ Woodruff died on September 2, 1898, at the San Francisco home of Isaac Trumbo, a key participant during the Bullion, Beck, and California phase of the mine's history.¹⁷⁴

Lorenzo Snow immediately succeeded him in his capacity as senior apostle but promptly moved to reorganize the First Presidency, which occurred on September 13, 1898. He, likewise, chose George Q. Cannon as his first counselor.¹⁷⁵ During 1889–98, Cannon had continued to hold the remaining shares in the consecrated stock fund as mandated by John Taylor's document of instruction; and the Bullion, Beck, and Champion Mining Company continued to pay, as previously stated, amazing dividends to its stockholders. However, on April 27, 1899, a special meeting in President Snow's office convened the First Presidency, Quorum of Twelve Apostles, and Presiding Bishopric at Cannon's request.¹⁷⁶ According to Rudger Clawson, who had been ordained an apostle in the quorum in October 1898:

Pres. Geo. Q. Cannon explained the object of the meeting. Said he had been impressed since the death of Pres. Woodruff to transfer to Pres. Snow what is known as the "dedicated stock [of the Bullion, Beck, & Champion Mining Company]."

Pres. Cannon . . . then read a statement . . . explaining the nature of the dedicated stock and the purposes for which it should be used among other things, namely to purchase the Jackson County Temple site.¹⁷⁷

Cannon then produced a written statement of receipts and disbursements for the consecrated stock fund (7,390 shares remained,

¹⁷³Thurgood, *Our Prophet Leaders*, 65. Wilford Woodruff was sustained as president of the LDS Church at the April 7, 1889, general conference. In his journal, Woodruff recorded: "This 7 day of April 1889 was one of the most important days of my life, for upon this sabbath day I was Appointed The President of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter (day) Saints by the Unanimous vote. . . Then my Two Councillors George Q. Cannon and Joseph F. Smith were voted in the same Manner." Kenney, *Wilford Woodruff, Diaries*, 9:10.

¹⁷⁴Cowley, *Wilford Woodruff*, 620–21.

¹⁷⁵Thurgood, *Our Prophet Leaders*, 76.

¹⁷⁶Journal History, April 27, 1899, 2–7; Rudger Clawson, Diary, April 27, 1899, 210–17, MS 0481, Box 6, Special Collections, Marriott Library.

¹⁷⁷Larson, *A Ministry of Meetings*, 52.

according to Cannon's record) between October 1883 and April 1899 (the date of the meeting), a period of fifteen and a half years. Total dividends and interest earned amounted to \$179,669.69.¹⁷⁸ Disbursements included \$40,000 in tithing, \$4,000 in temple donations, \$3,000 in other donations, and other asset acquisitions in land and stock for total disbursements of \$154,667.78. The remaining cash and marketable securities balance was \$24,991.61.¹⁷⁹

President Snow then said: "This is a very serious matter. Pres. Cannon has made a statement, showing the manner in which the fund has been used and suggesting, if it meets with the approval of the brethren, that it be disposed of by being closed into the Church funds. It seems, so far as we can learn that the fund was established by the spirit of revelation and whether it would be proper to close it up or suppress it, is a question for the brethren to decide."¹⁸⁰ He did not apparently focus on the question of whether incorporating the consecrated stock into the general Church fund had implications for future plans to purchase (or to give up the intention of purchasing) the temple site in Independence.

Cannon next suggested that the Bullion, Beck, and Champion consecrated stock (7,390 shares) which he held as trustee-in-trust, valued in 1899 at \$44,338; a house and lot in a prime Salt Lake City location valued at \$40,000; 170 shares of Saltair Beach stock valued at

¹⁷⁸Journal History, April 27, 1899, 3–4.

¹⁷⁹Larson, *A Ministry of Meetings*, 53. A careful review of the numbers presented by Cannon, and as recorded by Clawson, do not compute. The liquidation of assets listed are valued at \$103,816.60. Yet, according to Cannon and based on the accuracy of Clawson's notes (I cross-checked the original diary, Special Collections, Marriott Library, and the transcription is correct) after paying the Sterling mine debt, there would be a remaining cash balance in the consecrated stock fund of \$11,663.40. To arrive at this final figure, the liquidation value would have had to have been \$127,163.40. This would require an additional \$23,346.80. It is highly possible that either Cannon skipped or Clawson failed to record a disbursement listed earlier in his report, i.e., a \$36,000.00 investment in Cannon, Grant, and Company. Perhaps the value or remaining loan balance accounts for the difference. Furthermore, Cannon lists the acquisition of "house and lot" at \$60,000.00 but gives the 1899 market value (apparently) at \$40,000.00, unless either Cannon or Clawson erred in copying numbers.

¹⁸⁰Ibid; Journal History, April 27, 1899, 4.

\$10,000; plus the remaining adjusted cash balance remaining in the fund, be delivered to Lorenzo Snow.¹⁸¹ Cannon strongly suggested that \$115,500 of the fund's available balance (cash plus liquidation of other assets) be used to liquidate a serious financial obligation of the LDS Church—a “call” for funds by the Board of Directors of the Sterling Mining Company. Sterling was a speculative venture in gold-mining that the Church had invested in during Wilford Woodruff's tenure as president. Cannon, of course, had been one of his counselors.¹⁸² Meeting Sterling's call would have left \$11,663.40 in the consecrated stock fund.¹⁸³

The shares, however, were apparently not liquidated at that time. In 1904–7, the U.S. Senate Committee on Privileges and Elections held hearings to decide whether Apostle-Senator Reed Smoot would be allowed to retain his seat. Subpoenaed as a witness was LDS Church President Joseph F. Smith. He testified under oath on March 2, 1904, that he was vice-president of the Bullion, Beck, and Champion Mining Company.¹⁸⁴ Furthermore, as late as 1908, LDS Apostle Anthon H. Lund was serving on the board of directors of the Bullion, Beck and Champion Mining Company.¹⁸⁵

Returning to the meeting in Snow's office April 27, 1899, in the discussion preceding the vote, his counselor Joseph F. Smith re-

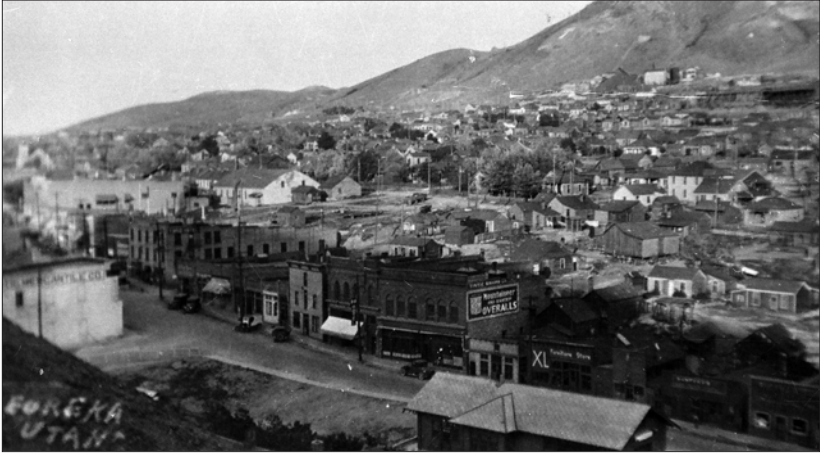
¹⁸¹Larson, *A Ministry of Meetings*, 53.

¹⁸²*Ibid.*, 31–32, 539. Clawson's entry (539), January 29, 1903, “Statement of Receipts and Disbursements from All Sources of the Trustee-in-Trust” reported for 1900 that the “Indebtedness of the Church, Oct. 1, 1898” to the Sterling Mine was \$118,288.12. Perhaps this information triggered Cannon's strong suggestion to pay off this debt when he transferred the consecrated stock fund to Snow in April 1899.

¹⁸³Larson, *A Ministry of Meetings*, 54.

¹⁸⁴www.salamandersociety.com/foyer/prophets/josephfsmith (accessed March 7, 2013); Michael Harold Paulos, ed., *The Mormon Church on Trial: Transcript of the Reed Smoot Hearings* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2008), 19. Interestingly, Paulos does not include the lengthy list of questions from “Mr. Taylor,” the committee's attorney, about the multiple businesses of which Joseph F. Smith was either an officer or director. However, the exact date of March 2, 1904, is ascertained by placing the set of questions posed and answers given by Smith between other documented testimony provided.

¹⁸⁵Hatch, *Danish Apostle*, 383.



Eureka's Main Street and hillside, ca. late 1910s–20s. Note advertisement for "Overalls" painted on the store. The mines in the area peaked during this era, and most closed during the Great Depression of the 1930s. Many of the remaining structures on Main Street are no longer occupied. Photo courtesy of the Tintic Historical Society.

mindful those in attendance of "President Taylor's reasons for establishing the fund, a fund that might be used as the tithing could not be used. This fund consisted of three-fifths of the Bullion-Beck Mining stock and its object was . . . to purchase the Jackson County Temple lot, the Kirtland Temple lot and other properties which had been in possession of the Church."¹⁸⁶

This reminder triggered strong feelings about the redemption of Zion for Latter-day Saints, even though the last time Mormons had had a presence in Missouri was their evacuation from the state in early 1839. Now, sixty years later, the topic was still a live one. A little more than two months later, Apostle Brigham Young Jr. would visit Independence on July 6, 1899. There he met with Richard Hill, presiding elder of the Church of Christ (Temple Lot)¹⁸⁷ and assured him "that the Utah church would soon make a movement looking toward the 'Redemption of Zion' and the building of the Temple." Young further

¹⁸⁶Journal History, April 27, 1899, 5.

¹⁸⁷The Church of Christ (Temple Lot), organized in 1852 in Illinois, was the earliest church claiming Joseph Smith as their founding prophet to return to Independence (1867) after the death of Joseph Smith Jr. in re-

stated there should be “no surprise felt if agents of the Utah church should shortly appear in Independence for the purpose of buying up real estate in the town, and Jackson County as well.”¹⁸⁸ Young was certainly “prophetic” based on events that transpired only a few years later.

CHURCH OF CHRIST ELDERS VISIT SALT LAKE CITY

The following year, in February 1900, the First Presidency received an unexpected visit from two elders (George D. Cole and George P. Frisbey)¹⁸⁹ of the Church of Christ (Temple Lot) who had come expressly to meet with LDS Church leaders. In their initial encounter on February 8, they proposed to President Lorenzo Snow and Apostle Charles W. Penrose, who had escorted them to Snow’s office, that the LDS Church join with them and Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints in a three-church conference to be held in Independence the following March “for the purpose of ascertaining if it is not possible for a delegation” of the three churches “to harmonize their views on doctrine with a view of coming together and uniting into one body.”¹⁹⁰

Snow arranged a meeting for February 10 which the apostles who were in Salt Lake City would attend. At that meeting, Cole stated that “they had been moved upon by the proper spirit” to seek a recon-

sponse to an 1864 vision to Granville Hedrick, the Church’s first recognized leader. Addams, “A Contest for ‘Sacred Space,’” 44–68; Addams, “Reclaiming the Temple Lot in the Center Place of Zion,” 7–20.

¹⁸⁸Brigham Young Jr., Diary, MS 1236 1–4, Box 4, fd. 5 (access restricted), LDS Church History Library; “Are They in Earnest,” *Searchlight* 4, no. 6 (July 1899): 1; Miscellaneous news item without a heading, *Jackson County Examiner [Independence]*, July 8, 1899, 1. The *Searchlight* was the official organ of the Church of Christ (Temple Lot).

¹⁸⁹George D. Cole was a long-time member of the Church of Christ (Temple Lot). He was baptized in April 1870 in Independence by Richard Hill. Cole was a very successful missionary and traveled extensively for the Church of Christ. He died in 1918. George P. Frisbey was baptized a member of the Church of Christ in Tazewell County, Illinois, in 1865 by David Judy. Frisbey left Illinois in company with other members of the Church of Christ and traveled to Independence in 1867. He served as presiding elder of the Church of Christ and died in 1919.

¹⁹⁰Journal History, February 8, 1900, 2.

ciliation of differences between themselves and the RLDS and LDS churches and “to see what, if anything, can be done about building the Temple in Jackson county, Mo.”¹⁹¹

When the meeting concluded, President Snow asked if the Church of Christ elders could extend their visit, as guests of the LDS Church, while efforts were made to arrange for those apostles who had been absent to return to Salt Lake City promptly. Frisbey and Cole readily accepted Snow’s invitation; and, eleven days later on February 21, 1900, the First Presidency, seven members of the Quorum of Twelve Apostles, and two members of the Presiding Bishopric held a lengthy meeting with the two Church of Christ elders.¹⁹²

After the elders’ presentation and an exchange of questions and answers which consumed the morning, Elders Cole and Frisbey were excused so that the LDS Church leaders could discuss the matter privately in an afternoon session. President Snow instructed the LDS officials present to speak freely about the proposed conference in Independence.¹⁹³ Rather than directly responding to the request of the Church of Christ elders, George Q. Cannon spoke instead about the 63.27 acres purchased by Bishop Edward Partridge in December 1831 for the young church.¹⁹⁴ This acquisition, he pointed out, included the two-and-a-half-acre parcel then held by the Church of Christ. “Our hearts for years have inclined towards the center

¹⁹¹Ibid., February 10, 1900, 1. On February 9, 1831, Joseph Smith announced a revelation that “the city of the New Jerusalem shall be built” (LDS D&C 42:62; RLDS D&C 42:17b) and, four months later, another revelation instructed him to go to “Missouri, unto the borders of the Lamanites” (LDS D&C 54:8; RLDS D&C 54:2b). Smith and his party reached Independence, Jackson County, Missouri, in mid-July where he announced it as the “place for the city of Zion” and that the specific location “for the temple is . . . not far from the court house” (LDS D&C 57:1–3; RLDS D&C 57:1a.–d.). See Addams, *Upon the Temple Lot*, 4–6.

¹⁹²Journal History, February 21, 1900, 2–4.

¹⁹³Ibid., February 21, 1900, 13–14.

¹⁹⁴Jones H. Flourney and Clara Flourney, Deed to Edward Partridge, December 19, 1831, Jackson County, Property Records, B:1, Independence, Missouri. The 63¼ acres is owned (approximately) as follows: Community of Christ 40½, LDS Church 20, Church of Christ (Temple Lot) 2 3/4.

stake of Zion,” Cannon stated. “President Taylor wanted to create a fund, outside of the tithing” for purchasing land in Jackson County and “he did create such a fund, and the predominant idea in his mind was to watch for a favorable opportunity to buy land in Independence.”¹⁹⁵

President Snow stated that “President Cannon had expressed his views exactly in relation to the purchase of land [in Jackson County],” and confirmed that his mind “was tolerably clear in regard to the redemption of Zion. We are not prepared for it now. . . . We must have money.”¹⁹⁶ The minutes continued: “It was clear to his mind it would not take long to create a fund,¹⁹⁷ and when this should be done it would be in order to purchase the land as opportunity presented without creating excitement. In this way [he believed] Zion would be redeemed, as President Cannon had said, by purchase.”¹⁹⁸ Despite their obviously keen interest in the temple site, they decided not to participate in the proposed three-church conference or the proposed temple construction project.¹⁹⁹ Later that afternoon, President Snow “conversed privately with them [Elders Cole and Frisbey] and apparently they were quite prepared to receive what he said to them”—which was that the LDS Church appreciated, but would not accept, their invitation. Snow offered to pay their travel expenses to and from Utah and “this mark of kindness [was received] very thankfully, and they left with the best of feelings.”²⁰⁰

In deciding not to participate in either the three-church confer-

¹⁹⁵Journal History, February 21, 1900, 13.

¹⁹⁶Ibid., 13–14.

¹⁹⁷Perhaps Snow was saying that “it would not take long to ‘add to the existing’ fund” that Cannon had alluded to only minutes before. Certainly of those in attendance, John W. Taylor and Marriner W. Merrill would have known that Cannon was talking about the consecrated stock fund but apparently chose not to comment on this sensitive matter. In addition, Apostles John Henry Smith, Francis M. Lyman, and George Teasdale, as well as all three members of the First Presidency, were present in meetings discussing the consecrated stock fund in October 1896 and December 1899. Apostle Anthon Lund was present at the December 1899 meeting.

¹⁹⁸Journal History, February 21, 1900, 14.

¹⁹⁹Ibid., 23.

²⁰⁰Ibid., 23–24.

ence or in the temple construction project as proposed by Elders Cole and Frisbey, the LDS Church leaders saw three major objections:

1. Control of the temple facility once erected. After excusing Elders Cole and Frisbey following the morning meeting on February 21, 1900, President Snow (as recorded) stated to the brethren that “he was not unmindful of the fact that when the Temple should be built in Jackson county, this Church would do it.”²⁰¹ Apostle Marriner W. Merrill commented that, in a private discussion, “I asked them [the two visiting elders] if they knew anything about temple building or the use it would be put to after building it, they answered, ‘No.’ But, the proposed committee, they held, was to agree on some plan by which the Temple could be built.”²⁰²

2. Unspecified direction in accomplishing either objective as the Church of Christ elders suggested. Apostle Frances M. Lyman commented: “It seems to me President Snow, that the Lord will tell you whenever it is necessary to make any move to obtaining that land and build the temple.” Apostle George Teasdale remarked that “if the building of that holy house depended on the harmonizing of ourselves with other people it could never be done.”²⁰³

3. Pronounced organizational and doctrinal differences, especially the ongoing contest over authority with the RLDS Church. President Snow remarked at the February 10 meeting that “he would like to see an effort on the part of the Reorganization to make right a very serious wrong.” Cannon amplified: “They tried their best to have me cast out of Congress.”²⁰⁴ Snow focused on another prickly point—the possibility of uniting the organizations: “It would be entirely out of the question to combine these organizations represented by two bodies known as First Presidencies, twenty-four apostles, etc.” Snow added: “We might as well undertake to unite twenty-four of the Utah sectarian ministers as to try to form a reconciliation with the Reorganized church.”²⁰⁵ Cannon remarked at the meeting on February 21 that he “had to admit a union looked almost impossible as the inseparable difficulty of au-

²⁰¹*Ibid.*, 11.

²⁰²*Ibid.*, 16.

²⁰³*Ibid.*, 16, 15.

²⁰⁴*Journal History*, February 10, 1900, 3.

²⁰⁵*Ibid.*, 2, 5.

thority would come in the way.”²⁰⁶

REESTABLISHING AN LDS PRESENCE IN JACKSON COUNTY

In my opinion, this meeting with the Church of Christ (Temple Lot) elders was the catalyst behind the LDS Church’s active steps to establish a physical presence in Jackson County and its renewed interest in the “redemption of Zion.” Only three months later, the First Presidency called James G. Duffin,²⁰⁷ a seasoned missionary, as president of the Southwestern States Mission, headquartered in St. John, Kansas. Before the year’s end, on December 26, 1900, Duffin moved the mission office to Kansas City, Missouri.²⁰⁸ Although Jackson County had always been included in whatever LDS mission had geographical jurisdiction in the Midwest, Duffin’s relocation of the mission headquarters²⁰⁹ established the first official LDS presence in Jackson County since the forced exodus of 1833. It came only ten months following the Hedrickite elders’ visit to Salt Lake City. Furthermore, by 1902, the LDS Church published an edition of the Book of Mormon in Kansas City.²¹⁰

After a “quiet” search for property near the temple lot through

²⁰⁶Ibid., February 21, 1900, 4–5.

²⁰⁷James G. Duffin was born May 30, 1860, in Salt Lake City. On June 13, 1887, he was called to serve a mission in the Southern States and, in October 1899, served a second mission in the Southwestern States. From May 1900 until November 1, 1906, Duffin served as its mission president. http://www.lib.byu.edu/dlib/mmd/diarists/Duffin_James_Gledhill.html (accessed November 10, 2010).

²⁰⁸William J. and Annette W. Curtis, eds., *The Missouri Independence Mission, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1883–2005: The Return to Zion*, 4th printing rev. (Independence: Privately printed, 2005), 158.

²⁰⁹Ibid. The mission home was at 1421 Locust Street and was later moved to “a more commodious building” at 1405 Locust Street. In 1907 the mission home/office was relocated to Independence.

²¹⁰Ibid., 159. The Kansas City, Missouri, 1902 edition of the Book of Mormon was printed by Burd and Fletcher for the Southwestern States Mission. This edition is the same as the 1891 Salt Lake City edition. Chad J. Flake and Larry W. Draper, eds., *A Mormon Bibliography: 1830–1930*, 2 vols. (Provo, Utah: BYU Religious Studies Center, 2004), 1:84.

the offices of a local attorney, John Southern,²¹¹ Duffin acquired a twenty-six-acre parcel from the Maggie C. Swope Estate in Independence on April 14, 1904. This land was directly southeast of the Church of Christ (Temple Lot) property and included twenty acres (of the twenty-six acquired) that had been part of Partridge's 1831 purchase.²¹² In October 1905, Duffin purchased a smaller parcel adjoining the 1904 purchase and fronting Walnut Street.²¹³ The money provided to Duffin came from a fund established for the "purchase of land in Independence, Jackson County, Missouri, and the redemption of Zion."²¹⁴

Sixty-two and a half years later on April 19, 1968, the LDS

²¹¹John Southern represented the Church of Christ (Temple Lot) in its historic legal entanglement with the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (1891–96), known as the Temple Lot Case. Addams, "The Church of Christ (Temple Lot) and the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints: 130 Years of Crossroads and Controversies," 76–80.

²¹²Jackson County, Mo., Property Records, Maggie C. Swope to James G. Duffin, April 14, 1904, 251:66; untitled news item, *Jackson Examiner*, April 22, 1904, 1. Duffin deeded this property to Joseph F. Smith, also on April 14, 1904, but the transfer was not recorded until 1907, two years after Duffin was released as president of the Central States Mission and three years after the land purchase. Jackson County, Mo., Property Records, James G. and Mary Jane Duffin, Deed to Joseph F. Smith, July 5, 1907, 273:152–53. The Southwestern States Mission's name was changed on April 4, 1904, to the Central States Mission. Curtis and Curtis, *The Missouri Independence Mission*, 161.

²¹³Robert D. and Mary W. Mize, Deed to James G. Duffin, October 11, 1905, Jackson County, Mo., Property Records, 265:323.

²¹⁴Joseph F. Smith, John R. Winder, and Anthon H. Lund, Letter to William H. Smart, April 18, 1904. After thanking Smart for his donation, the First Presidency stated: "We . . . have great pleasure in saying that we have recently purchased nearly twenty six acres of this temple lot property for which we paid \$25,000." A handwritten receipt included with the letter specified that the donation was for the "Jackson County Temple Fund." The receipt bears the same date and is signed by James Jack, cashier. Later, the fund's name was preprinted on prenumbered receipts. The prenumbered receipts are for donations to the "Jackson County Temple and Redemption of Zion" fund. First Presidency receipts for Smart's additional donations are dated February 13, 1905, and December 30, 1911. I ex-

Church announced plans for the construction of a 12,000-square-foot visitors' center at the corner of Walnut and River streets. The center would be situated on the northwestern portion of property that Partridge had originally acquired and which Duffin had reacquired.²¹⁵ A groundbreaking ceremony presided over by Joseph Fielding Smith, a counselor in the First Presidency, was held with much fanfare on August 3, 1968.²¹⁶ The completed edifice was formally dedicated on May 31, 1971. Joseph Fielding Smith, who had become LDS Church president on January 23, 1970, gave the primary address; and his counselor in the First Presidency, N. Eldon Tanner, offered the dedicatory prayer.²¹⁷

Although the proof required is probably in the Church's restricted financial records, I argue that the consecrated stock fund established by John Taylor, George Q. Cannon, and John Beck in October 1883, with its remaining balance (1899) and with subsequent additional contributions, was the fund that President Joseph F. Smith used in April 1904 to acquire the twenty-six-acre parcel of the temple lot property.²¹⁸ On April 27, 1899, according to the figure Cannon provided (and assuming that the Sterling Mine debt was extinguished, or significantly reduced, as Cannon suggests in his presentation to the other General Authorities in April 1899), perhaps as much as \$11,663 would have remained in the fund that Cannon relin-

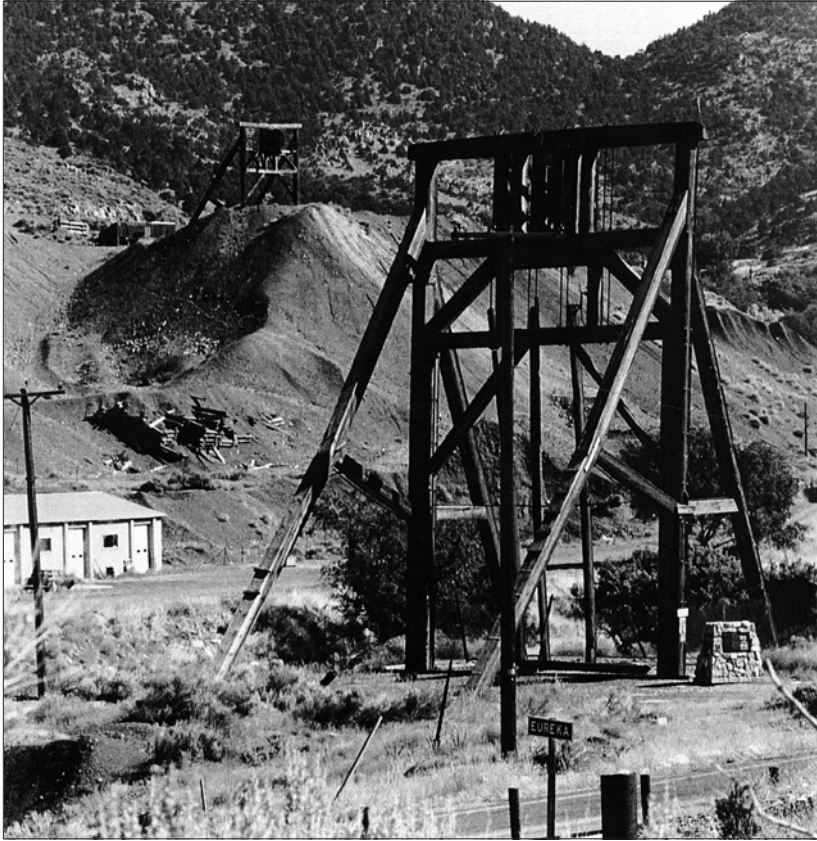
press appreciation to Smart's grandsons, Thomas and William Smart, for generously providing color photocopies of the letter and all three receipts. See also William B. Smart, *Mormonism's Last Colonizer: The Life and Times of William H. Smart* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 2008).

²¹⁵"Church Center Planned Here," *Kansas City Times*, April 20, 1968, 14; "Latter Day Saints Visitors Center: Work Set for Fall," *Independence Examiner*, April 20, 1968, 1; "Mormons Plan Independence Visitors' Center," *Saints Herald* 115, no. 12 (June 15, 1968), 7; Curtis and Curtis, *The Missouri Independence Mission*, 111.

²¹⁶"Visitors Center Ceremony Set," *Independence Examiner*, August 3, 1968, 1; "Ceremony at a Mormon Project Site," *Kansas City Star*, August 4, 1968, 7.

²¹⁷"LDS Dedicate Center before Storm Hits," *Independence Examiner*, June 1, 1971, 1; Thurgood, *Our Prophet Leaders*, 129.

²¹⁸Smith, Winder, and Lund, Letter and receipts to Smart, April 18, 1904.



The Bullion, Beck, and Champion Mining Company headframe or “gallows,” constructed 1890, is now on the National Register of Historic Sites. Headframes provided the main entrance into a mine and were used to transport men, supplies, mules, and ore in and out of the mine. These wooden structures are extremely rare. Photo ca. 1980, courtesy of the Tintic Historical Society.

quished to Snow as the successor trustee-in-trust.²¹⁹ Between February 1900 and April 1904, others were asked to contribute to this fund

²¹⁹Larson, *A Ministry of Meetings*, 52. As previously noted, it appears that the Bullion, Beck, and Champion stock that Cannon relinquished to Snow in 1899 was not sold at that time since Anthon W. Lund, second coun-



R. Jean Addams and wife, Liz, stand beside the Historic Site Monument located at the base of the headframe of the Bullion, Beck, and Champion Mine. The monument maps a typical underground mine and provides a historic text and photos of the original buildings and head frame. Photo 2007, in R. Jean Addams Collection.

(or at least were made aware of its existence and its purpose) and sent in additional donations.²²⁰

The *Deseret News* and *Salt Lake Herald* both reported on May 2, 1902, a donation of \$10,000 by Mary Matilda Barratt “for the building of the temple in Jackson County, Missouri.”²²¹ Additionally,

selor in the First Presidency, attended meetings of the board of directors of the Bullion, Beck, and Champion Mining Company on March 17 and July 7, 1908. Hatch, *Danish Apostle*, 378–79, 383.

²²⁰Journal History, June 28, 1904, 5: Anna Maria Jensen, “age 86 years, sent \$50 towards the building of the Temple in Jackson county.”

²²¹“How Property Disposed Of,” *Deseret Evening News*, May 2, 1902, 1; “Gives Fortune to the Church,” *Salt Lake Herald*, May 3, 1902, 5. Mary M. Barratt’s will is dated March 25, 1901.

Apostle Matthias F. Cowley asked William H. Smart²²² on March 21, 1904, to make a specific contribution to a fund “created for the redemption of the land of Zion in Missouri.”²²³ Smart donated \$200 on April 18, 1904, and received a receipt and accompanying letter signed by the First Presidency of the LDS Church thanking him for this contribution and explaining the purpose and use of his donation.²²⁴ The hand-written receipt states: “Received from William H. Smart Two hundred Dollars as a donation to the Jackson Co. Temple Fund.” Smart, over a period of time, made additional contributions and received numbered printed receipts with the specific notation that his “voluntary donation [was] for the purchase of land in Jackson County, Missouri, and the redemption of Zion.”²²⁵

SUCCEEDING YEARS OF THE INITIAL PARTICIPANTS IN THE CONSECRATED STOCK FUND

What happened to the men who willingly consecrated 60 percent of their initial purchase of stock in the Bullion, Beck, and

²²²William H. Smart was born at Franklin, Idaho, on April 6, 1862. He served a mission to Turkey, then another in England in 1889. In 1899 he was called as president of the Eastern States Mission and, in 1901, as president of the Wasatch Stake, Heber City, Utah. He was primarily responsible for colonizing the Uinta Basin, under First Presidency direction, on land that had previously been part of the Ute Indian Reservation which the federal government opened to white colonization in 1905. He subsequently served as president of the Unitah Stake, the Duchesne Stake, and the Roosevelt Stake. He died December 3, 1937. Smart, *Mormonism's Last Colonizer*; Jensen, *LDS Biographical Encyclopedia* 1:360–61.

²²³William H. Smart, Journal, March 21, 1904, typescript, 635. My thanks to William B. Smart, grandson of William H. Smart, for providing a photocopy of this entry.

²²⁴Smith, Winder, and Lund, Letter to Smart, April 18, 1904.

²²⁵First Presidency receipts for Smart's additional donations are dated February 13, 1905, and December 30, 1911. The pre-numbered receipts are for donations to the “Jackson County Temple and Redemption of Zion” fund. As late as October 1921, Smart donated fifty shares of stock in the Salt Lake Knitting Works to be “used for the redemption of Zion,” as acknowledged by LDS Church President Heber J. Grant in a letter of response to Smart in November 1921. Heber J. Grant, Letter to William H. Smart, November 19, 1921; photocopy in my possession.

Champion Mining Company, to a specific fund to be administered solely by LDS President John Taylor for purposes that included the purchase of land in Jackson County and the erection of the millennial temple?

John W. Taylor, John Taylor's apostle-son and first cousin of George Q. Cannon, was a family-designated representative in administering his father's estate. He and his fellow apostle, Moses Thatcher, broke the consecrated stock fund to which his father had willingly contributed 60 percent of his initial acquisition of 33,333.33 shares of stock.²²⁶ The Quorum of Twelve Apostles chastised him at various times for his violation of the consecrated stock fund and the financial implications to the Church that his action precipitated.²²⁷ Taylor invested in a Canadian land venture in the 1890s and lost "some \$50,000" according to Charles A. Magrath, a prominent Canadian politician and land surveyor who reported this figure to LDS Church President Lorenzo Snow in March 1899.²²⁸

Furthermore, Taylor apparently was troubled by and eventually rejected Wilford Woodruff's announcement of the Manifesto in September 1890, sustained by a majority of those voting, at the October 1890 general conference of the Church. From that point on, the Church no longer officially authorized new plural marriage, a step that eventually, over the next few decades, resulted in renouncing the practice in this life.²²⁹ As Church president, Joseph F. Smith spent several uncomfortable days testifying before the Senate Committee on Privileges and Elections and returned to announce a "Sec-

²²⁶Journal History, November 26, 1896, 4.

²²⁷Ibid., October 1, 1896, 4. "President Cannon said that if Brothers Moses Thatcher and John W. Taylor had united with him in preserving intact that solemn covenant which had been entered into, the Church would be in possession of ample means." Ibid., October 22, 1896, 8. Heber J. Grant, while laying the primary responsibility on Moses Thatcher, implicates the other covenant breakers and states that their action had resulted "in loss to the Church of perhaps one million dollars." Ibid.

²²⁸Ibid., March 13, 1899, 2.

²²⁹B. H. Roberts, *A Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Century One*, 6 vols. (Provo, Utah: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1965), 6:401.

ond Manifesto” in general conference on April 6, 1904.²³⁰ In 1901, Taylor married two sisters, Roxie and Rhoda Welling, who made their home in Mexico; he also performed plural sealing ordinances for others.²³¹ At the First Presidency’s request, he signed a letter of resignation on October 28, 1905, along with fellow apostle Matthias F. Cowley, who had also resisted cessation of new plural marriages. This action was deemed necessary for fellow apostle Reed Smoot to retain his Senate seat.²³² Both men were formally dropped from the Quorum of Twelve Apostles at the afternoon session of LDS Conference on April 8, 1906.²³³ Taylor was subsequently excommunicated for “insubordination” on March 28, 1911.²³⁴ Reportedly, Cowley, who had not been excommunicated, rebaptized him “in a ceremony on the shore of Lake Utah”²³⁵ before his death on October 10, 1916.²³⁶ Another record, however, contradicts some of these details. Anthon H. Lund noted in his diary that James E. Talmage, who was ordained an apostle in 1911, told the Quorum of Twelve Apostles that John W.’s brother Moses had performed the rebaptism and was reprimanded for it.²³⁷ Lund does not report the source of Talmage’s information. John W. Taylor died in Forest Dale, Utah, on

²³⁰Hatch, *Danish Apostle*, 272.

²³¹Jean Bickmore White, *Church, State, and Politics: The Diaries of John Henry Smith* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books in association with Smith Research Associates, 1990), 543; Hatch, *Danish Apostle*, 321–22.

²³²Roberts, *Comprehensive History of the Church*, 6:402; Hatch, *Danish Apostle*, 321. Their resignations were not formally accepted, however, until December 14, 1905. Hatch, *Danish Apostle*, 325.

²³³White, *Church, State, and Politics*, 556.

²³⁴*Ibid.*, 668.

²³⁵B. Carmon Hardy, *Solemn Covenant: The Mormon Polygamous Passage* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992), 267. For an excellent review of this episode see Hardy’s Chapter 7, “The Leaders Divide: Roberts and Smoot, Taylor and Cowley,” 245–83. I am indebted to William B. Smart for alerting me about this information. Smart, *Mormonism’s Last Colonizer*, 147.

²³⁶Hatch, *Danish Apostle*, 660.

²³⁷*Ibid.*, 660–61, August 21, 1917. On August 23, 1917, he wrote: “We [the LDS Church] published the fact in the (Deseret) News that he was not a member of the church when he died.”

October 16, 1916.²³⁸

Apostle Moses Thatcher was the fourth major participant in the consecrated stock fund but had invested the much smaller amount of \$5,000.²³⁹ Like his fellow apostle John W., he was chastised for his role in breaking the consecrated stock fund.²⁴⁰ As an independent investor and businessman, he took an active part in the mine's management, beginning in August 1889 and continuing into the early 1890s, along with John W. Taylor and William B. Preston. Thatcher was elected president of the Bullion, Beck, and Champion Mining Company by the board of directors in August 1889.²⁴¹ He defied several requests by President Wilford Woodruff in early 1890 to settle the legal entanglement between the Bullion, Beck, and Champion Mining Company and the Bullion, Beck, and California Mining Company (which included individuals recruited by Hiram B. Clawson, and led by Trumbo and Badlam, to settle the suit with the Eureka Hill Company).²⁴² Thatcher's refusal of Woodruff's counsel eventually led to a suit between the two Bullion, Beck companies filed in district court in

²³⁸[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_W._Taylor_\(Mormon\)](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_W._Taylor_(Mormon)) (accessed August 8, 2013).

²³⁹Rogers, *In the President's Office*, 113.

²⁴⁰Journal History, October 22, 1896, 8. In the ongoing press coverage in 1896 of Thatcher's troubles with his quorum, he offered the following explanation, among others, about why he wanted his consecrated stock returned: "Those shares, for which I paid, represented a value to me at that time [1887-88] exceeding \$25,000—an amount I did not feel able or willing to lose." "Stands Firm: Moses Thatcher's Reply to Lorenzo Snow, Thatcher Is Unmoved," *Salt Lake Tribune*, December 13, 1896, 1.

²⁴¹Abraham Cannon, Journal, August 6, 1889, 74-75. The board of directors met on this date. Thatcher, John W. Taylor, and Beck, acting on the unfinalized agreement that the shares formerly held in the consecrated stock fund would be turned over to them, elected Moses Thatcher, William B. Preston, John Beck, Alonzo E. Hyde, and, as a sop to George Q. Cannon, his son Frank C. Cannon. Hyrum B. Clawson was nominated but rejected. The officers were: Thatcher, president; Beck, vice president; Preston, treasurer; and George J. Taylor, secretary. On August 12, 1899, the board elected Hyde as manager and, in so doing, dismissed Clawson.

²⁴²Kenney, *Wilford Woodruff Journal*, March 26, 1890, 9:88: "I had an interview with Badlam and Trombow [sic] and they had Come to Salt Lake

July 1891.²⁴³

Additionally, Thatcher sought election as U.S. Senator in 1895²⁴⁴ on the Democratic Party ticket without the First Presidency's approval. The political parties met in state conventions as provided for in the Enabling Act, which Congress passed as a prelude to Utah's admission to statehood in 1896.²⁴⁵ The Democratic Party did not carry the election, and Thatcher's immediate political ambition was thus thwarted. Nevertheless, his deliberate opposition to ecclesiastical counsel was a major factor in the development of the "Declaration of Principles," also known as the "Political Manifesto," which required General Authorities to seek First Presidency approval before running for office and which the April 1896 general conference approved.²⁴⁶ He compounded his insubordination on Sunday evening, April 5, 1896, by refusing to sign the "Declaration of Principles" docu-

City once more to offer the olive leaves of Peace to Moses Thatcher[.], J. W. Taylor[.], H B Preston[.] Alonzo E Hyde & those associated with (them) to Settle the disgraceful piece of work they were Engaged in the Beck Mine business." On at least two prior occasions, Woodruff expressed negative feelings about the situation. On January 31, 1890, a meeting with the "Beck Mine Comp" was "not a pleasant meeting," 9:82. On March 4, 1890, he recorded Joseph F. Smith's comment after a Bullion, Beck meeting: "They had a bad spirit" (9:86).

²⁴³"A Big Suit: The Bullion-Beck Sued for \$200,000, The Claims Made by the California Company, A Fight Will Surely Follow," *Salt Lake Herald*, March 19, 1890, 1; See also *District Court for the Third District, Utah Territory*, July 22, 1891, Plaintiffs, Alexander Badlam, R. J. Davis, A. A. Dewing, and Isaac Trumbo [for the Bullion, Beck, & California Mining Company] and Defendants, Moses Thatcher, John Beck, A. E. Hyde, W. B. Preston, Richard Taylor and the Bullion, Beck & Champion Mining Company, B. G. Olesen Collection, Box 1, fd. 11, Merrill-Cazier Library, Utah State University. This suit was settled by a compromise.

²⁴⁴Lyman, "The Alienation of an Apostle from His Quorum," 80.

²⁴⁵Milton R. Hunter, *The Utah Story* (Salt Lake City: Milton R. Hunter/Wheelwright Lithographing Company, 1960), 239. Utah was admitted to the Union as the forty-fifth state on January 4, 1896.

²⁴⁶Lyman, "The Alienation of an Apostle from His Quorum," 82; White, *Church, State, and Politics*, 347. The LDS conference voted unanimous approval on April 6, 1896. In the normal course of events at each April conference of the LDS Church, a "sustaining" of all General Authori-

ment when it was presented to him.²⁴⁷

Despite his political ambitions, Thatcher had been in poor health for many years and had, as a result of medical treatment, become addicted to morphine.²⁴⁸ He was frequently absent from quorum meetings, for which he offered various excuses. During a meeting of the First Presidency and Twelve in October 1896, called to deliberate Thatcher's standing, Apostle Francis M. Lyman stated: "Brother Thatcher's sickness was partly due to his disregard of the Word of Wisdom and the record of his scant attendance at the meetings of this council showed that he had lost the Spirit of his Apostleship."²⁴⁹ Both Wilford Woodruff and Lorenzo Snow, as Church presidents, called him to repentance but to no avail.²⁵⁰ Woodruff commented in a meeting of the First Presidency and Quorum of Twelve Apostles in late November 1896: "Ever since the death of President John Taylor Brother Moses Thatcher had been influenced by an apostate spirit"; and, in the same meeting, Heber J. Grant stated that "Brother Thatcher was a covenant breaker."²⁵¹ Noted historian Edward Leo Lyman maintains that a key moment in Thatcher's alienation was his part in breaking up the consecrated stock fund by demanding the return of the shares he had earlier contributed.²⁵²

ties is presented to the assembled membership. Apostle John H. Smith reported in his journal: "The name of Moses Thatcher was left out." White, *Church, State, and Politics*, 347-48.

²⁴⁷Lyman, "The Alienation of an Apostle from His Quorum," 83. Brigham H. Roberts of the First Council of the Seventy also ran for political office without First Presidency approval, thus generating the production of the "Declaration." Roberts, after much prodding, counsel, and pleading, confessed his error and signed the document. Thatcher refused.

²⁴⁸*Diaries of Heber J. Grant*, 226; Lyman, "The Alienation of an Apostle from His Quorum," 83-84; White, *Church, State, and Politics*, 350, 354.

²⁴⁹Journal History, October 22, 1896, 7; Lyman, *Candid Insights of a Mormon Apostle*, 589.

²⁵⁰Journal History, November 26, 1896, 3.

²⁵¹*Ibid.*, 2, 4.

²⁵²Lyman, "The Alienation of an Apostle from His Quorum," 86-87.

These issues, together with his “unrepentant attitude,”²⁵³ resulted in his being dropped from the quorum on November 19, 1896, and being forbidden to exercise his priesthood.²⁵⁴ He was not disfellowshipped, however.²⁵⁵ Thatcher died at his home in Logan on August 21, 1909.²⁵⁶

Following the leads of Taylor and Thatcher, John Beck also requested the return of his consecrated stock and accumulated dividends from George Q. Cannon, which Cannon granted. Beck then paid large sums to acquire the shares held by the Taylor family and Moses Thatcher. By late 1889, Beck was holding approximately 50 percent of the capital stock of the Bullion, Beck, and Champion Mining Company, making him by far the largest stockholder.²⁵⁷ Financially speaking, however, Beck was asset-rich and cash-poor. He was heavily involved in many other ventures including the Utah Sugar Company, the Utah Guano Company, other mining enterprises, the Utah Asphalt and Varnish Company, the Ashley Asphalt and Coal Company, Beck’s Hot Springs (north of downtown Salt Lake City), and the Saratoga Hot Springs (west of Lehi).²⁵⁸ Furthermore, Beck owned five beautiful homes in Salt Lake City (one for each of his five

²⁵³Journal History, October 22, 1896, 5–7.

²⁵⁴White, *Church, State, and Politics*, 363; Lyman, “The Alienation of an Apostle from His Quorum,” 86.

²⁵⁵White, *Church, State, and Politics*, 377; Lyman, “The Alienation of an Apostle from His Quorum,” 89. At Thatcher’s disciplinary council before the Salt Lake Stake High Council (August 6–14, 1897), he was charged with “apostasy.” Now repentant, Thatcher exclaimed that “fellowship in the church was to him worth all else on earth.” He was allowed to retain his membership, pending a published statement that met the stake presidency’s requirements.

²⁵⁶Wikipedia, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Moses_Thatcher (accessed February 16, 2013). His funeral was held in the Salt Lake Tabernacle on August 29, 1909. John H. Smith noted that the “building was filled to suffocation.” White, *Church, State, and Politics*, 629.

²⁵⁷By late 1889, Beck had acquired approximately 16,000 shares from the Taylor heirs and approximately 4,000 shares from Thatcher. These acquisitions were in addition to approximately 30,000 shares that he already owned.

²⁵⁸Whitney, *History of Utah*, 4:497.

wives and their children—sixteen in total),²⁵⁹ and, for a short time, Brigham Young’s former home: the Beehive House.²⁶⁰ Wilford Woodruff recorded going to Eureka on October 23, 1890, to dedicate “the new Meeting House built by Beck & the Saints.”²⁶¹ Beck was both “generous” and “trusting,”²⁶² traits that resulted in his being manipulated into unwise investments in which he lost considerable sums. Sometimes he was outright duped or defrauded by those he had supposed were his friends.²⁶³ Beck was compelled to sue some of those whom he had trusted the most.²⁶⁴

In late April 1899, Beck declared bankruptcy in federal court,²⁶⁵ and in 1900, in a separate legal proceeding, any hope for financial recovery was dispelled when the court ruled that Beck’s “pretended Bill of Sale” to James A. Cunningham in 1898 of his 51,000 shares of stock was invalid.²⁶⁶ Although he had been among Utah’s wealthiest men,

²⁵⁹Ibid., 4:498.

²⁶⁰Journal History, December 20, 1898, 2. Zion’s Savings Bank had purchased the Beehive House for \$40,000 under a sheriff’s sale. The article in the Journal History explains: “Bro. John Beck, who had previously owned the property, would have six months to redeem it.”

²⁶¹Kenney, *Wilford Woodruff’s Journal*, March 26, 1890, 9:124; Tilby, “Jacob Brand’s Register of Dutchtown,” 64. The Bullion, Beck, and Champion Mining Company owned the property on which the meetinghouse was built. Larson, *A Ministry of Meetings*, 762–63, August 25, 1904.

²⁶²Whitney, *History of Utah*, 4:498.

²⁶³“Luckiest’ Westerner Dies: He Won, and Lost Millions,” 20.

²⁶⁴“John Beck Entered Suit in Third District Court against Alonzo E. Hyde, His Late Manager, Demanding an Accounting of \$1,085,000,” *Deseret Evening News*, January 23, 1894, 5; “Here’s Another Cloudburst: John Beck Now Goes after H. M. Ryan in Great Shape,” *Deseret Evening News*, October 25, 1894, 1.

²⁶⁵“John Beck’s Troubles: Adjudged a Bankrupt in the Federal Court on Request of His Creditors,” *Deseret Evening News*, May 1, 1899, 8; “Is John Beck a Bankrupt?: According to His Own Office States He Is Yet Wealthy, Says He’s Being Devoured,” *Deseret Evening News*, September 1, 1899, 8; “John Beck’s Assets: Claims He Has Over a Million in Contingent Resources: Owes Third of Million,” *Salt Lake Herald*, September 2, 1899, 8.

²⁶⁶Journal History, October 15, 1900, 3. This is a clipping from the

he died “wretchedly poor” on April 2, 1913.²⁶⁷ His death was “due to blood-poisoning resulting from a scratch inflicted seven weeks ago by a nail in one of his shoes.”²⁶⁸

George Q. Cannon’s steadfastness, on the other hand, provided the LDS Church with desperately needed funds in 1899 to satisfy a “call” on Church-owned stock in the Sterling Mining Company. By turning the consecrated fund over to President Snow, Cannon saved the Church from embarrassment and, perhaps, from further adverse financial and legal implications.²⁶⁹ Cannon continued to serve as Snow’s first counselor until his death on April 12, 1901.²⁷⁰ The estimated remaining funds (1899) of \$11,663, I believe, provided the “seed money” for the revitalization of the “Jackson County Temple and Redemption of Zion” fund in the early 1900s,²⁷¹ prompted by the visit from the Church of Christ (Temple Lot) elders. At the follow-up meeting of the LDS First Presidency, Quorum of Twelve Apostles, and Presiding Bishopric on February 21, 1900, President Snow

Deseret Evening News of the same date.

²⁶⁷“Luckiest’ Western Dies: He Won and Lost Millions,” 20. The *Tribune* quotes W. S. McCornick “who has known Mr. Beck for many years.”

²⁶⁸“John Beck Closes a Useful Life: Well Known Mining Man Passes Away from Results of Blood Poisoning,” *Deseret Evening News*, April 2, 1913, 1.

²⁶⁹Journal History, April 27, 1899, 4; Hatch, *Danish Apostle*, 52. Clawson commented on the noon meeting in President Snow’s office: “I said that I thought the object for which the fund was established should be maintained so far as possible.” Larson, *A Ministry of Meetings*, 52–54.

²⁷⁰Bitton, *George Q. Cannon*, 447–48.

²⁷¹Larson, *A Ministry of Meetings*, 265, 354, 367, 537, 704. These citations refer to “Statement of Receipts and Disbursements from All Sources of the Trustee-in-Trust” or interim financial reports copied into Clawson’s diaries. The first citation is for the calendar year ending 1900, followed by an interim report dated November 1, 1901 (diary entries of April 4 and November 1, 1901). They record contributions for the “Jackson Co. Temple” of \$1,250 and \$160 totaling \$1,410, made between October 1, 1898, and November 1, 1901. The year-end report for 1902 (diary entry of January 29, 1903) reported that an additional \$174.50 had been contributed to the “Jackson County Temple offering.” At the end of 1903 (recorded February 4, 1904), the “Jackson Temple” offerings now totaled \$13,787.82. This amount most likely reflects Mary Matilda Barratt’s \$10,000 contribution but would also indicate that other donations were made during 1903.

made it abundantly clear that the fund John Taylor had established in 1883 was specifically for the “redemption of Zion.”²⁷²

Thus, the renewed and refreshed fund, originally established in 1883 with 60,000 shares of the Bullion, Beck, and Champion Mining Company stock, provided the money for the first property acquisition by the LDS Church in Jackson County since the early Church’s forced exodus in the fall of 1833. In April 1904, mission president James G. Duffin acquired the twenty-six acres on which the LDS Visitors’ Center is situated today. It is located across the street to the south from the Community of Christ temple and diagonally to the southeast from the chapel and headquarters building of the Church of Christ (Temple Lot).

A final question might be asked: What happened to the redemption of Zion fund after Duffin acquired the property in 1904? As mentioned earlier, additional land purchases were made in the general area surrounding the original 1831 Partridge property acquisition between 1904 and 1914, the year the LDS Independence chapel was dedicated. However, there is ample reason to believe that the redemption of Zion fund was continually augmented thereafter.

Sixty-three receipts document donations to the fund for the “purchase of land in Independence, Jackson County, Missouri, and the redemption of Zion” between William H. Smart’s second contribution dated February 13, 1905 (for which preprinted receipt #20 was issued), and his third receipt, dated December 20, 1911 (#84). Thus, at least during the intervening six and a half years, other donors besides Smart were making contributions to the fund. Between 1904 and 1915, LDS activities in Independence included land purchases, the establishment of a plow manufacturing factory, the relocation from Kansas City of the Central States Mission home and office, the incorporation and eventual erection of a state-of-the-art printing press facility, and the construction of a chapel.

It is possible that the redemption of Zion fund once again became dormant at that point, but I do not think that was the case. Certainly LDS General Authorities’ conference addresses on the topic declined beginning in the 1930s.²⁷³ However, the Church’s efforts to further a presence in Jackson County and western Missouri did not.

²⁷²Journal History, February 8, 1900, 2, and February 21, 1900, 2–24.

²⁷³General Conference speakers used the phrase “redemption of

While the only specific evidence I have located thus far has been the donations in the early 1900s to the “Jackson County Temple” fund and to the fund established in 1904–5 for the “purchase of land in Independence, Jackson County, Missouri, and the redemption of Zion” (the Smart receipts), corroborating documentation suggests that the fund was maintained after 1915 and was still in existence as late as 1977. The continued purpose of this fund was/is to acquire additional land in Missouri. In particular, the LDS Church was very active in the 1970s in acquiring property in and around the area designated as Adam-ondi-Ahman (Daviness County, in northwest Missouri).

In a letter addressed to a faithful Church member living in California dated December 23, 1969, and prepared on stationery of the Office of the First Presidency, Elders Joseph Fielding Smith and Alvin R. Dyer advise this individual that he will soon be contacted by “Brothers Junius Driggs and Joseph Bentley . . . on a matter of great importance to the Church which is of a confidential nature.”²⁷⁴ As supplemental correspondence confirms, this individual pledged \$50,000, which was specifically earmarked to acquire property at Adam-ondi-Ahman.

Furthermore Dyer, in a follow-up letter dated June 18, 1970, indicated that “there are other important pieces of land at this and other consecrated places in Missouri, such as the City of Seth, Far West, and Independence.” On November 20, 1973, Dyer informed this individual that the Church had, indeed, acquired “the site of the old public square in Far West, Missouri. . . . The Church is using your contribution, and others, to purchase these important lands in Missouri.” On April 27, 1977, President Spencer W. Kimball and his counselors, N. Eldon Tanner and Marion G. Romney, signed a letter to this same person noting that he had, at that point, paid \$42,000 of his \$50,000 pledge “to the Missouri Lands Fund.”

Dyer’s diary also includes several entries in 1970 dealing with this land acquisition project. For example, he commented on January

Zion” 116 times: 100 times between 1850 and 1920, but only sixteen times since 1920. In fact, the phrase has not appeared in general conference discourses since the 1980s. Keyword search “redemption of Zion,” <http://corpus.byu.edu/gc> (accessed August 30, 2011).

²⁷⁴Joseph Fielding Smith and Alvin R. Dyer, Letter, December 23, 1969; photocopy of this letter and follow-up correspondence described below in my possession on condition of recipient’s anonymity.

8, 1970, that an Arizona family “had contributed \$100,000 to the Missouri Land project.”²⁷⁵ Barely a week later on January 16, 1970, Dyer noted in his diary that another Arizona couple “will make available one-half million dollars,” for the purchase of property in Missouri.²⁷⁶

It may appear that the LDS Church has distanced itself from making any public statement in the last thirty or forty years regarding the redemption of Zion as understood and discussed by both leaders and the Church’s rank-and-file members during its first century of existence. But this fundamental tenet of the early Church remains, nonetheless, an essential doctrine in preparing for Christ’s second coming and the commencement of His millennial reign.

It was, perhaps, with this recognition still very much in mind that the leadership of the LDS Church in 1981 slightly altered the wording in the Tenth Article of Faith. Prior to this date, Article 10 read: “We believe . . . that Zion will be built upon this (the American) continent, that Christ will reign personally upon the earth . . .”²⁷⁷ The 1981 version, reflecting a more international membership, now reads: “. . . that Zion (the New Jerusalem) will be built upon the American continent; that Christ will reign personally upon the earth . . .”²⁷⁸

The Community of Christ (prior to 2001 the RLDS Church) takes the position that it, as a church, has built the prophesied temple in accordance with early revelations to Joseph Smith and more recent revelations to their prophet-presidents.²⁷⁹ The Church of Christ (Temple Lot) made a gallant effort in 1929 and the 1930s to accom-

²⁷⁵Alvin R. Dyer, Diary, typescript excerpt, January 8, 1970, 86, Gregory A. Prince Collection, Accn 1334, Box 42, fd. 1, Special Collections, Marriott Library, University of Utah.

²⁷⁶Ibid., January 16, 1970, 92.

²⁷⁷“Articles of Faith of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints,” in *Pearl of Great Price* (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1973), 59.

²⁷⁸Articles of Faith of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, in *Pearl of Great Price* (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1981), 60.

²⁷⁹The prophet-president of the RLDS Church who announced revelation in 1968 (RLDS D&C 149A:6) and 1972 (150:8) regarding the “to be built” Independence Temple was W. Wallace Smith. His successor Wallace

plish the same objective. While that effort did not see completion, its members believe that they are “custodians” of that sacred space—the Temple Lot—“in the center place of Zion,” even though they take the position that “the temple project is not currently considered a ‘primary focus’ of the church.”²⁸⁰

The LDS Church in 2008 opted not to build a temple in Independence on property owned and surrounding its Visitors’ Center and, instead, constructed a temple across the Missouri River to the north, near Liberty in Clay County, dedicated on May 6, 2012.²⁸¹ LDS members may well ponder the meaning of the declaration in the Tenth Article of Faith: “That Zion (the New Jerusalem) will be built upon the American continent.” The LDS Church is a visible and meaningful presence once again in Jackson County—a presence that, I believe, had its beginning with the 1883 Bullion, Beck, and Champion Mining Company’s consecrated stock fund.

B. Smith announced the 1984 revelation which stated in part: “Let the work of planning go forward, and let the resources be gathered in, that the building of my temple may be an ensign to the world of the breadth and depth of the devotion of the Saints” (Community of Christ, *Book of Doctrine and Covenants* 156:6).

²⁸⁰Apostle William A. Sheldon, Church of Christ, Interviewed by R. Jean Addams, April 2006. Sheldon, email to Addams, December 2006, reaffirmed that the building of “the Temple” was not a core objective of the church, then stated: “The primary focus [of the church] is missionary work and building up the Kingdom of God.” Referring again to the Temple Project, he added: “We will simply await the Lord’s further direction.”

²⁸¹“Temples, Kansas City, Missouri,” ldschurch.org website: lds.org/church/temples/kansas-city-missouri (accessed August 15, 2013).

INDIAN PLACEMENT PROGRAM HOST FAMILIES: A MISSION TO THE LAMANITES

Jessie L. Embry

THE INDIAN STUDENT PLACEMENT PROGRAM, a plan by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints to place Native Americans in Mormon homes, was praised and condemned from its beginnings in the 1940s and continues to be debated. Those supporting the program have pointed to the success stories because the Native American Placement students were able to receive an education and learn Mormon beliefs, one of which is that the restored gospel will bless all people but especially the people of the Book of Mormon, whose descendants are among the American Indians.¹ Those who question the purpose of the program see it as a twentieth-century version of the Mormons' "colonization of indigenous peoples."²

JESSIE L. EMBRY is the Associate Director of the Charles Redd Center for Western Studies at Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

¹See Dale L. Shumway and Margene Shumway, *The Blossoming: Dramatic Accounts of the Lives of Native Americans in the Foster Care Program of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Orem, Utah: Granite Publishing, 2002).

²Elsie Boxer, "‘To Become White and Delightful’: American Indians and Mormon Identity" (Ph.D. diss., Arizona State University, 2009), abstract.

Still other studies looked at the program's general history.³

The focus of nearly all studies, though, described the Indian Placement Program from a Native American point of view. While they sometimes discuss the host or foster families, they use only the Natives' voices to tell the stories. Exceptions include a study conducted by BYU sociology professors Bruce A. Chadwick, Stan L. Albrecht, and Howard M. Bahr for the LDS Church and published in *Social Caseworker*, a study by Arizona State University researchers who examined the length of time that foster families continued in the program, and a few theses by Placement case workers with limited samples.⁴ The BYU study mainly focuses on Placement's impact on the students and their biological families. Only the last two pages deal with the foster families. Yet the closing sentence states, "The most negative consequences were experienced by white foster siblings, not Indian students or their families."⁵

What was the Indian Placement Program like for the host fami-

³For general information and administrative history, see Clarence R. Bishop, "A History of the Indian Student Placement Program of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (M.A. thesis, University of Utah, 1967). Bishop was the administrator for the Placement Program and gives an overview of the development of the program and the caseworkers. James B. Allen gives a general history in "The Rise and Decline of the LDS Indian Student Placement Program, 1947-1996," in *Mormons, Scriptures, and the Ancient World: Studies in Honor of John L. Sorenson*, edited by Davis Bitton (Provo, Utah: Foundation of Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, 1998). For an overview of other studies, see Brandon Morgan, "Educating the Lamanites: A Brief History of the LDS Indian Student Placement Program," *Journal of Mormon History* 35, no. 4 (Fall 2009): 191-217.

⁴Bruce A. Chadwick, Stan L. Albrecht, and Howard M. Bahr, "Evaluation of an Indian Student Placement Program," *Social Caseworker* 67, no. 9 (November 1986): 515-24; Laurel O. Oziel, E. Mauray Payne, and Steven Terry, "A Comparison of Continuing and Discontinuing Foster Families in the Indian Student Placement Services" (Graduate School of Social Service Administration, Arizona State University, May 1972), cited in Genevieve DeHoyos, "The Indian Placement Program of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints: A Statistical and Analytical Study (first draft)," L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

⁵Chadwick, Albrecht, and Bahr, "Evaluation of an Indian Student

lies? This article is the first attempt to answer that question by allowing the host families to tell their stories. The main sources are oral history interviews conducted most often with parents, but sometimes with siblings, about the experiences in the Placement Program. I have also researched the history of the Placement Program from the foster family point of view and used the guidelines prepared for the host families. In the notes, I compare these experiences with extensive literature about foster care and the impact on the foster families in general.

I found that the host families in the Placement Program articulated a genuine love for the Indian people and a desire to help them. Scholars could argue that their underlying motives were fueled by the standard colonialism of all white Americans to force the indigenous people to accept the European American culture. While some scholars might find evidence for that conclusion even in my sources, I read them differently. I believe that the foster families made great sacrifices in letting strangers from another culture into their private places. Primarily, they mentioned three motives: (1) because a Church leader asked them to, (2) because they felt the scriptures told them to, and (3) because they felt a special love for the Native Americans and hoped to improve their lives.

I am inspired by a story that Sherry L. Smith told in her presidential address to the Western History Association in 2009. Smith, who focused on “reconciliation and restitution in the American West” told a story she had “stumbled upon” about the relationship between a U.S. army lieutenant, Charles Erskine Scott Wood, and the leader of the Nez Perce, Chief Joseph. After the Battle of White Bird Canyon in 1877, Wood confessed that he wanted “a crack at an Indian.” But as the war ended, he had “thoughts on the Indian as man and brother.” Wood wanted to get to know an Indian and felt that his wish came true when he was “drawn to Chief Joseph.” According to Wood, over the years the two became friends. Wood’s son lived with Chief Joseph several summers, and the chief and other Nez Perce were welcomed at Wood’s home in Portland, Oregon.

Smith only has Wood’s description of the friendship; but based on his writings, she says that “in this tiny microscopic way, Wood and Joseph created a relationship based upon personal reconciliation.” Wood’s children developed close friendships “based on mutual re-

spect” with Indians. And apparently Chief Joseph accepted “the son of the conqueror into his home.” Smith summarizes that Wood’s reaching out was a “rarity” while Joseph’s willingness to reach out into white culture was equally rare, even though circumstances forced him to deal with Americans.

Smith spent most of her address discussing examples of public reconciliation in the United States and the West but returned to the story of Wood and Chief Joseph in her conclusion. Wood’s son had asked Chief Joseph what his family could do to thank him for his kindness. Chief Joseph asked for a horse. For unknown reasons, Wood’s son did not fill that request and felt guilty for years. Finally in 1997 the Wood family bought a horse and then gave it to one of Chief Joseph’s descendants. The next year, the Wood family and the Nez Perce people held a “public ceremony of reconciliation” at Fort Vancouver. Every year since then, the tribe, the U.S. Army, Vancouver, and the National Park Service have held an annual ceremony and exchange of gifts to “dramatize . . . a mutual public commitment to healing intercultural wounds.”

Just before this conclusion, though, Smith discusses the role of historians in “reconciling . . . ‘discordant views.’” Western historians who have been “in the thick of this process” can help the process by “reminding us of the rich marrow of human relations and experiences. Such scholarship can encourage active dialogue among all parties.” Through their work, historians “can foster moments when people listen to each other, learn to address the past with an honesty that transcends reflexive or defensive postures, and move toward genuine understanding. This kind of historical practice can help people become bigger than their assigned societal roles, learn to see themselves as others see them, and take responsibility for their actions.”⁶

Like this encounter between Charles Erskine Scott Wood and Chief Joseph, the Placement Program brought whites and Indians into contact in a way they would not have otherwise experienced. These relationships had a wide variety of effects on the host families, ranging from adding the Placement student to the host parents’ will to asking a student to leave because he violated the family rules and harmed the biological brothers and sisters.

This article will first describe the Charles Redd Center for West-

⁶Sherry L. Smith, “Reconciliation and Restitution in the American West,” *Western Historical Quarterly* 41, no. 1 (Spring 2010): 6, 7, 25, 23.

ern Studies' Indian Placement Program Host Families Oral History Project. It will then give a history of the Placement Program from the host family point of view. Finally the article will use the interviews to allow the host families to show their views of the Placement Program and tell stories about how having a Placement student affected their families.

INDIAN PLACEMENT PROGRAM HOST FAMILIES ORAL HISTORY PROJECT

For more than twenty years, the Charles Redd Center for Western Studies has collected oral histories of LDS ethnic Mormons with a particular focus on their experiences in the Mormon Church. These included interviews with LDS Native Americans, many of whom participated in the LDS Indian Placement Program. As I read these interviews and the literature about Placement, I could not find the host families' experiences. So I proposed a complementary oral history project that focused on interviewing the host families.

The project turned out to be more difficult than I had imagined. During the forty years I have worked in oral history, the policies on whether the federally mandated Institutional Review Board (IRB) needed to review such projects have changed. The government established the process to protect human subjects; but for some time, historians fell outside these policy guidelines because they are collecting personal stories.⁷ It was only after I had launched this project that I received instructions that it had to be cleared. Brigham Young University's IRB approved the project but specified that I must not include the interviewees' names nor those of any Placement students, and to always refer to the Native Americans as "students." I had permission to place a newspaper article in the *Deseret News* and then in some rural Utah newspapers but was not allowed to find additional interview candidates by the effective "snowball" method (in which an interviewee can suggest the names of other possible interviewees). Thus, I was limited only to people who responded directly to the newspaper articles. Encouragingly, however, I found that many host families wanted to tell their stories. Nearly two hundred people responded to

⁷For information on the IRB debate, see Linda Shopes, "Oral History, Human Subjects, and Institutional Review Boards," <http://www.oralhistory.org/about/do-oral-history/oral-history-and-irb-review> (accessed August 23, 2013).

the short initial article.

I hired three BYU students to conduct the interviews. In two semesters, they collected over 150 interviews. I did some additional interviews, especially with families from rural Utah. A few people submitted their stories and were not interviewed. The collection comprises a total of 177 stories. More than 90 percent were with host parents. Quite often the husband and wife were interviewed together. While the interviewers had an outline to help prompt memories, the main focus was to allow the narrators to tell what they felt was important. Therefore, it is impossible to make any broad generalization, which, as it happens, was what the IRB wanted me to avoid. Therefore, my conclusions should not be considered generalizable to any other population or to foster families as a whole.⁸

Usually the interviewers started by asking, "Tell me about your experiences with the Indian Placement Program." For some interviewees that question was enough to get them started, and the interviewers did not ask another question. Other interviewees wanted more guidance and needed additional prompts to identify areas of interest. The IRB approved an outline which included topics such as reasons for participating in the Placement Program, first impressions

⁸Social scientists are often not able to use the names of their informants and often assign other names. I was reluctant to do that for this article because I felt that I had promised the IRB and the interviewees that their identity would be protected. I base that conclusion partially on some research I conducted on Mormon polygamy. Kimball Young's research assistants assigned names to the polygamists that they interviewed. However, after reading their notes and conducting interviews at the Redd Center, I could easily identify their informants. I wanted to prevent the same effect with Placement host families. Therefore, I have removed all names of people and places to mask who is speaking. As I read through the interviews, I did not find potentially interesting patterns in which the foster parents said one thing but whose behavior was different. Using my polygamy experience as an example, I found that sometimes the children of Church-sanctioned polygamous families would say that their father was in charge even though he was gone a lot but then would tell me that their mother conducted family prayer, disciplined, and advised the interviewees. I was expecting—but did not find—a similar pattern with the host family interviews, although other researchers might disagree. I tried to use as many interviews as possible as examples in this article. I selected stories based on the clarity with which they made the points or on their inherent interest.

of the students, daily routine, experiences at school and church, relationships with family members, purpose of the Placement program, successes and challenges, and memorable experiences. The interviews discussed only the Placement Program, excluding other areas of the interviewees' lives. This limitation usually led to short interviews since the students were in the homes many years ago and the interviewees remembered primarily generalizations, but only a few specific stories. One interview lasted only four minutes because the foster mother had had an Indian student in her home for only a short time and insisted that she was just one of her children. A few interviews lasted longer than an hour, especially when a family had fostered more than one student, when the interviewees remembered specific events, when the student had remained part of the family, and/or the interviewees had very negative or positive views of the program. But most interviews were about thirty minutes long.

I was surprised that some of the interviewees had had a Placement student for only a year or even only a few months. According to Clarence Bishop, who worked as the director of the Placement Program, "It is the goal of the Program to have the Indian child remain in the same foster home during the entire school year."⁹ A 1968 *Lamanite Handbook of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* which described all the Church's programs for Native Americans, expressed the same view: "It is hoped that once a placement is made, it will continue each succeeding year until the Lamanite student graduates from high school."¹⁰ Some interviewees described a student who followed that pattern. One student came at age eight and returned to the same family until she graduated from high school. Others told of students who stayed for five or six years. These foster parents explained that they loved the student and felt they were helping him or her. But even those who had a student for only a short time responded to the press release because they had a story they wanted to share.

Some interviewees wanted to know the purpose of the Redd Center study and were surprised to learn that we were seeking only historical information. Some wanted to know if the program was go-

⁹Bishop, "A History of the Indian Student Placement Program," 109.

¹⁰Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, *Lamanite Handbook of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1986), 9; hereinafter cited as *Lamanite Handbook*.

ing to be started again. Several asked if the Redd Center could help them contact students of which they had lost track. Many wanted to know if their experience was typical or atypical. Even though I was not allowed to attach names to the project, they wanted to show the interviewers family photos that included the student, art work by the student, and gifts that they received from the student's biological families. All the interviewees signed the release form without question.

The interviews were all recorded and then transcribed and edited. The interviewees had the opportunity to make any additions, changes, or corrections to their transcripts. Each interview was assigned a number and then, the tapes and release forms, along with the contact information, were destroyed so that there is no way to connect an interview to a person's name. These interviews are housed in the L. Tom Perry Special Collections in the Harold B. Lee Library at Brigham Young University.

I had some concerns that those who responded—in essence taking the step of volunteering to participate in the project—would tell only positive stories. But the interviewers gathered a number of negative stories where I am sure that the interviewees were glad that their names were not attached. One interviewee had the very negative experience of dealing with a Placement student who sexually abused one of his biological children. When he complained to the case worker, he found out that the student had also abused children in previous homes. The case worker explained that it wasn't really abuse but was just what happened on the reservation. The interviewee felt no support from the program itself, nor did he and his family—not even the abused child—receive counseling on how to deal with the trauma they experienced. His wife was less angry and still was a faithful Latter-day Saint, but the host father had essentially left the Church, bitterly summarizing the experience: “No good deed goes unpunished.”¹¹

While there were other negative experiences, most host families were still involved in the Church. The interviewees talked about a mixture of good and bad experiences. As one interviewee explained, “I

¹¹Interview 83, LDS Placement Program Oral History Project, Charles Redd Center for Western Studies, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, 10. All host family oral histories come from this collection with quotations and paraphrased stories (but not conclusions or general impressions) being cited by interview number and page number.

appreciate this opportunity to share because I think it's nice to be able to think of something having permanence. Maybe through this interview I can leave a little bit of my perspective. I appreciate that it feels permanent, and that there's going to be something documented about this. Should anything happen to me or to her [the Placement student] it's not lost forever and this will be written."¹²

HISTORY OF PLACEMENT FROM THE HOST FAMILY'S POINT OF VIEW

Over its history, the LDS Church has struggled to share its message with Native Americans for two main reasons: U.S. policies have limited religious access to the reservations, and tribes have been reluctant to allow preaching by non-native religions. It was not until Congress passed the 1934 Indian Reorganization Act that other religious groups were allowed on the reservation, and then only with tribal resolutions approving the law. But the law did make a difference to Mormons. As historian Peter Iverson explained in a history of the Diné (Navajo) tribe, the LDS Church was able to work more with the tribe in the late 1940s.¹³

But while the law allowed the Mormon Church on the Navajo reservation, some Navajos objected. One way that LDS Church leaders hoped to create a positive environment for missionary work with the Navajos was by providing education. In 1946, Chee Dodge, then the tribal chairman, complained to Congress that the lack of schooling was the tribe's "gravest need."¹⁴ In 1947 LDS Church President George Albert Smith offered to create on-reservation boarding schools that could also be used as churches, but there is no evidence that this suggestion moved beyond the proposal stage. Other ideas were to provide religion classes at existing boarding schools.¹⁵ In the end, though, the Church leaders decided to focus on a Placement Program in which students left their homes on the reservation to live with Mormon families during the school year.

As the often-told story goes of the beginnings of the Placement

¹²Interview 50, 9.

¹³Peter Iverson, *Diné: A History of the Navajos* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2002), 178.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, 191.

¹⁵Southwest Indian Mission Manuscript History, February 1, 1947, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, LDS Church History Library, Salt Lake City.

Program, Navajo Helen John and her family were farm laborers in Richfield, Utah, following World War II. Although her father objected, John asked if she could stay with a local Mormon, Amy Avery. John told Avery that the schools were not good on the reservation and that staying in a white community was her only chance to have an education. Recognizing that living with the Avery family might impose a hardship on them, John offered to live in a tent in the family's backyard. Avery could not host John but also felt that she should not be in a tent. She talked to Golden Buchanan, a member of the stake presidency who was responsible for Mormon Indian affairs in the area. He felt a concern for John's plight and contacted Apostle Spencer W. Kimball.

In response, Kimball showed up at the Buchanans' door and asked the family to take Helen into their home as a daughter. Golden's wife, Thelma, was reluctant. Her mother believed that it was better to feed the Indians than to fight them, a statement often credited to Brigham Young. But as a young girl between ages five and eleven, Thelma was always afraid when the Indians came to their home asking for food. When she was eleven, her family moved, and she had had no contact with Native Americans until Kimball asked her and her husband to provide a home for Helen John. Thelma had not heard of John's request, so she told Kimball that having an Indian student living with them would not work. She told her husband that she did not like Indians and did not respect them. Her grandfather had told her that the only good Indian was a dead one, and she believed that. Furthermore, the couple had had only sons, so she would not know what to do with a daughter. But Golden told her that they could not turn down an apostle. Thelma agreed. Kimball had stayed overnight, and the next morning Golden and Thelma told him at breakfast that they had changed their minds.¹⁶ John lived with the family for years and remained close throughout their lives.

Helen John brought friends and family members to Richfield and asked if they could stay in Mormon homes. Soon there were more

¹⁶Bishop, "A History of the Indian Student Placement Program," 33; Golden Buchanan Oral History, interviewed by William G. Hartley, 1974-75, LDS Church History Library, 2:1-14; Thelma Buchanan Oral History, interviewed by William G. Hartley, 1976, Church History Library, 1-19. Thelma recalled, "Helen tried so hard to please us" (15).

students than the town of Richfield could handle. On Kimball's suggestion, Buchanan expanded the Placement Program as an informal Church program in Sanpete and Sevier counties. He convinced Miles Jensen from Gunnison to work with him on the project. At the time Jensen operated a bread delivery business, but he was looking for something more fulfilling in his life. The Placement Program filled that role in his life.¹⁷

Jensen had worked for the Gunnison Sugar Company and recruited Navajo migrant laborers. He had been called as a stake mission president assigned to the Navajo workers when he met Buchanan at a Gunnison Stake leadership meeting to discuss assisting Indian children. At that meeting, Buchanan asked Jensen to take a student. When he discussed it with his wife, Celia, she was supportive and agreed to take a student; but through a miscommunication, they had two female students the first year. Over time the Jensens became pillars in the program.¹⁸ In June 1948 Buchanan became the Coordinator of Indian Affairs for the Church, working with the Indian Relations Committee and then, in 1951, president of the Southwest Indian Mission. Jensen be-

¹⁷Celia Jensen, Miles's wife, recalled that, just before the request to work with the Placement Program, she and Miles were considering moving to Salt Lake City. When they were invited to help with the Placement Program, Miles "really liked working with the Placement Program. He just had this special gift. He'd meet a kid, talk to them, and get a little bit about their history. I don't know how the Lord ever preserved him. He'd go to the reservation and meet them and their families. He'd make all these notes. On the way home he'd review these notes. By the time the kid came to the reception center he could call the kid by his first name and just seemed to just know quite a bit about the kid. So he had the good relationship with most of the kids he had. I'm sure it was just a special gift that he was able to know those kids so well." Celia Jensen, Oral History, interviewed by Jessie L. Embry, 2008, 11, Nurses' Training/LDS Native American Oral History Project, Charles Redd Center for Western Studies, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah. See also Miles Jensen Oral History, interviewed by Gordon Irving, 1983, LDS Church History Library and Miles Jensen Oral History, interviewed by Loretta Hefner, 1979, LDS Church History Library.

¹⁸Celia Jensen, Oral History, 9-10.

came the head of the informal Placement Program.¹⁹

During these early years, the Placement Program was a volunteer effort. No official records were kept, but each year the number of homes helping students, mainly from the Navajo reservation, increased. In 1949 Kimball wrote a report for Church President George Albert Smith explaining the program. "For the past year or more we have been doing some experimentation in the 'outing' field with the Indians." Kimball continued, "At the urgent request of Indians on the reservation we have brought . . . a number of young Indians and placed in them in various homes, largely in Sevier and Gunnison Stakes. These young people have come directly from the reservation into the cultured homes of our members. They have come not as guests nor as servants, but as sons and daughters without adoption." While some were not Mormons when they came, they "have participated in the Church activities and almost all of them have joined the Church and are very happy in their associations in this area."²⁰

Buchanan's call as president of the Southwest Indian Mission helped expand the program because he was on the reservation and could help contact potential students. Miles Jensen also visited the reservation to talk to the students and their parents and then made arrangements for them to come to Utah. The students usually arrived on a bus in Gunnison. Celia, a nurse, would take them home and give them a bath, dinner, and a bed. She also checked their overall health since, as Miles explained, "We had no budget." Then the students were sent to their respective homes. Since not all of the students were Mormon, Miles described: "The foster parents were most considerate of the children, taking time to teach them of the Church and our culture to make the adjustment of the children easier."²¹ By 1951 some foster families in California were also taking students. Carpooling foster families would pick up students for several families. Sometimes Buchanan would put the students on a public bus and then call the foster parents to tell them when the students would arrive. At the end of the school year, the foster parents would call the mission home and tell them that the children were returning. By the 1953–54 school year, sixty-eight students were living

¹⁹Bishop, "A History of the Indian Student Placement Program," 36.

²⁰Spencer W. Kimball, quoted in *ibid.*, 37–38.

²¹*Ibid.*, 39.

in LDS homes under these arrangements.²²

Kimball was impressed with what the informal Indian program had accomplished, and in 1954 he asked the First Presidency and the Council of the Twelve Apostles to make it an official Church program.²³ At the same time, Buchanan wrote to Stephen L Richards, a counselor in the First Presidency, about programs for the Navajos. He said that many Navajos were “anxious and ready to join the Church when certain conditions are alleviated which tie them to the other churches and other organizations,” then continued, “Our possibilities of baptism are limited only by the number of Lamanites in the mission.” A larger problem than conversion, though, was preventing government and officials in schools sponsored by other religions from convincing the young Mormons to abandon the LDS faith.

Buchanan recognized that education on the Navajo reservation suffered from many deficiencies, and many Diné were not in school. But that was a government problem, not a reason for the LDS Church to sponsor a school. The Church’s goal was to protect the youth from the teachings of other churches, show them how to lead in the LDS Church, provide higher moral standards, especially as related to the LDS Word of Wisdom, and give them wholesome recreational opportunities. Buchanan’s three options were Placement, dorms near public schools, or a Church-run boarding school.

Buchanan’s preference was having Native Americans in LDS homes because their residence could show them the gospel in action, help preserve the Native culture, give the youth a wider view of how the Church operated, train leaders, raise the students’ standard of living, show youth the unity in the Mormon faith, and give white Mormons richer opportunities to meet and understand the Lamanites. He saw possibilities in the other options but felt that these options would be more expensive and less beneficial. Buchanan concluded his letter, “The Indian people are ready. They are looking to us for leadership as they have never looked before. The youth of these people need what we have and at the present time we are denying it to them. I feel strongly that the Church cannot neglect its responsibilities further. Today the children are pliable and can be molded.” He

²²Ibid., 39–40.

²³Ibid., 40.

feared that “tomorrow they will not be.”²⁴

Kimball and Buchanan were apparently convincing. In 1954 the Placement Program became an official Church program. On August 10, 1954, Stephen L Richards and J. Reuben Clark Jr., the two counselors in David O. McKay’s First Presidency, sent a letter to seven stake presidents in Sevier and Sanpete counties asking them to invite families in their stake to accept Indian students into their homes. They pointed out that there should be “no compulsion or pressure” on the stake members to accept students. Families should accept a student “as a welcomed member of the household” who should take part in “the spiritual and cultural atmosphere of the home” and “be given such schooling in the public schools as may be afforded.” Since the students came from families “without financial means,” the foster families should be prepared to provide “food, clothing, transportation, and other incidental expenses.”²⁵

The letter asked the stake presidents to work with Miles Jensen. In response, Miles traveled throughout central Utah to find families to take in Indian children. He also visited the Navajo reservation to find families who were willing to let their sons and daughters go to Utah for the school year. Celia continued to provide medical check-ups for the children. She worked at the local hospital to support their family since Miles Jensen’s salary was very small. In addition, the Jensens also took in Placement students on their own and often had other students for part of the year whose foster families could not keep them for some reason, including disharmony.²⁶

Simply announcing that Placement was a Church program was not enough. First, the Utah State Department of Public Welfare expressed concerns about the number of Indian students living in Utah residents’ unlicensed homes. Church leaders were able to resolve that problem by placing the Placement Program under the supervision of the Relief Society, which had a license to place foster children and to

²⁴Southwest Indian Mission Manuscript History, September 30, 1954.

²⁵Stephen L Richards and J. Reuben Clark Jr., Letter to seven stake presidents in Sevier and Sanpete counties, quoted in Bishop, “A History of the Indian Student Placement Program,” 43–44.

²⁶*Ibid.*, 35–36, 44; Celia Jensen, Oral History, 10. See also the Miles Jensen interviews.

arrange adoptions.²⁷ Second, some tribes expressed concerns about the program. Through meetings in 1956, 1957, and 1958, many of the concerns were resolved. The new guidelines required that the students be members of the LDS Church, have a physical examination, be of school age, have written permission from biological parents to participate in the program, and if possible speak English.²⁸ Over time arrangements were also made so that students could be placed in Arizona, Idaho, Washington, and California, and western Canadian provinces.²⁹ The Relief Society continued to provide the agency for the Placement Program in Utah until 1969 when the Church separated social services from the women's organization and created the Unified Social Services. In 1973 this organization became LDS Social Services.³⁰

Over the years, the Placement Program also provided programs to assist foster parents. One development was that Miles Jensen added an orientation meeting for the host families at reception centers established by the Church (usually a ward or stake meetinghouse) where students were bused for physical examinations and to meet their families. He gave a presentation on the students' culture, a medical doc-

²⁷John Farr Larson, the director of the state Services for Children, wrote Belle S. Spafford, the Relief Society general president, in April 1954. The Relief Society had a state license to place children in homes, but Larson complained that its placing of Indian students did not meet state laws, which required that "children should be placed with foster parents having the same racial background." But because of the difficulties in finding Indian foster families, the state would allow placing children in non-Indian homes. Larson cautioned that the Church agency should "select . . . foster parents who will be able to accept and adjust to the racial and cultural differences." In response to this concern, the LDS Indian Committee and the Relief Society drew up guidelines for its Social Services program and the Relief Society hired case workers, designed to help foster families, biological parents, and Indian students. Miles Jensen and mission president Golden Buchanan worked with Lauramay Nebeker, the director of the Relief Society agency, to follow the state requirements. Bishop, "A History of the Indian Student Placement Program," 44-48.

²⁸Ibid., 44-48, 58-64.

²⁹Ibid., 77-78.

³⁰James B. Allen and Glen Leonard, *Story of the Latter-day Saints*, 2d ed. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1992), 96.

tor discussed the students' health and ways to help them, Relief Society leaders explained their role in the program and thanked the foster parents for participating, and if available, a tribal leader "expressed appreciation to the parents for their assistance in behalf of the Indian children." In 1959 Paul Jones, the chair of the Navajo Tribal Council, came to the Richfield reception center and, after touring the facility and meeting a family who was taking a student, expressed his support of the program.³¹

As the Placement Program expanded, the foster parents' meetings programs at the reception centers were replaced by orientation meetings conducted by caseworkers. In the 1960s, some caseworkers held six meetings with the foster parents and Indian students during the first three months of school. According to Bishop, "The meetings consisted of a series of lectures, panels, discussion groups, movies, etc., which would discuss such things as Indian culture, family strengths and weaknesses, the student participant and his responsibilities, personal cleanliness, initial adjustment, and Program policies and procedures."³²

The ASU study hypothesized that families with the training would be more likely to continue the program, but their reports did not support that conclusion. The researchers found that receiving training did not influence whether the families continued to take Placement students after the first year.³³ Nor was the training uniform. Only a few of the interviewees mentioned attending classes to better understand Native American culture and their students. One said, "We went to several meetings to teach us the program, to encourage us, and to give us skills that we would need. They were to give us background, not on her [the student] particularly but on Indians in general."³⁴

One interviewee was impressed with Miles Jensen's training but

³¹Bishop, "A History of the Indian Student Placement Program," 66-67.

³²*Ibid.*, 100.

³³Oziel, Payne, and Terry, "A Comparison of Continuing and Discontinuing Foster Families," 35.

³⁴Interview 111, 1.

not with his replacement.³⁵ Several of the interviewees took students on short notice or from other families and were not aware of the training component. One pointed out, "I wish there would have been a class about [the culture]. There may have been some training, but it was so late when they placed him we only had about three days before he came."³⁶

One interviewee who had problems with her assigned student explained, "As I have thought about it over the years and even then, I feel we were not informed enough. We were not prepared. We weren't given a lot of paperwork that would explain some of the things we should have been aware of, watch for, and how to deal with." When the interviewer asked if there should have been more training, she responded, "Yes. It was just, 'Here, have at it.' We weren't prepared like we should have been. So generally speaking it was not the happiest experience we've ever had for us or her."³⁷

One way the Placement Program provided information was by developing pamphlets to help host families understand their responsibilities and to explain generic Native American culture and customs that might come as a surprise to them. The LDS Church History Library has copies of the "Foster Parent Guide" published in 1965, 1977, and 1980.³⁸ However, none of the Redd Center interviewees mentioned the pamphlets. As the following examples from the interviews show, their realities were not always the same as the pamphlets' expectations.

THE PLACEMENT EXPERIENCE

This historic background gives a framework for understanding the host families' experiences. The first experience that the interviewees had was their decision to become host parents. Margaret M. Keller, the Relief Society Social Services and Child Welfare Department head, recalled that the families were selected in the same way as other foster homes. "We want warm parents in a united home, who have the capacity for sharing their lives with others. The parents

³⁵Interview 38, 3.

³⁶Interview 92, 3.

³⁷Interview 23, 4.

³⁸"Foster Parent Guide," pamphlets, copies dated 1965, 1977, 1980, LDS Church History Library.

needed to be in good standing in the Church, have good health, have adequate money and living quarters, and have a desire to take a child.”³⁹ The informal method of contacting people that Buchanan and Jensen used changed when Placement became an official Church program under the direction of the Relief Society. The instruction to encourage but not pressure families to participate varied in interpretation based on the enthusiasm of the stake leaders. The 1965 guide explained, “The stake president has been charged with the well-being of the Indian children in his stake and in virtually all instances has appointed a high councilor to give special attention to the Program.”⁴⁰

The stake responsibilities went beyond just helping the students. The leaders were also in charge of finding families. According to the records, many Navajo parents were interested in the program, but often there were more students than host families. A 1966–67 Placement Program report pointed out that fewer than 40 percent of the applicants were accepted, partly because the students did not qualify but also because of a “lack of foster homes and lack of personnel to extend the Program.”⁴¹

To help relieve that problem, the Placement Program informed stake and ward leaders how many host families were needed. Several interviewees mentioned these active recruitment efforts. One interviewee recalled that, as a high councilor, he was in charge of finding host families. He worked with bishops to encourage them to ask members to take Placement students. He spoke at ward sacrament meetings each year and asked members in these addresses to accept a Native American student into their homes. Typically, the high councilor gave a talk and then had two or three students discuss their experiences in the program. He often quoted Spencer W. Kimball, whom he described as “an advocate of the program.” As a result of reading that talk and attending the meetings, he became “a convert to the program.” While a number of families in his rural area did take students, he continued, “I don’t think everyone who wanted to did.” However, he did not have students in his own home. When asked if he felt pressure to take a student, he said yes. But his children were young and he

³⁹Mayola R. Miltenberger, *Fifty Years of Relief Society Social Services* (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1987), 254.

⁴⁰“Foster Parent Guide,” 1965, 5.

⁴¹Bishop, “A History of the Indian Student Placement Program,” 108.

had a large family. Thinking back, he remembered that many families were in a similar situation with numerous small children. "For whatever reason, we never got around to it."⁴²

Other high council members took a more active role by visiting homes. One interviewee recalled that she and her husband were converts to the Church and wanted to live the gospel as completely as possible. After being married in the temple, they moved to a rural area after their first two children were born. Shortly after moving, they had their third child. About the time that child was born, a friend of her husband's from a neighboring town who was also a high councilor visited them and asked them to take a Placement student. She recalled that she was concerned since she had a new baby and did not want another child. But the high councilor kept visiting her husband and then asked them to pray about it. As a result, they agreed to take a student who remained a part of their family at the time of the interview.⁴³

By 1977, stake leaders were less actively involved in the Placement Program. According to that year's edition of the "Foster Parent Guide," "The Indian student has full membership in the ward and stake in which the foster parents reside."⁴⁴ It explained that the bishop and other ward officers should help the foster family but it did not explain that the bishops were now responsible, in connection with assigned case workers, for finding host families. A. LeGrand Richards, a stake president from 2003 to 2013, had earlier served on several high councils, including the first high council of the newly formed Provo South Stake. He recalled some involvement by high councils as late as 1981: "I remember Don Liddiard (if I remember correctly) had the assignment on our high council when I served in 1981. It had already lost most of its energy by then, but it seemed that he had great energy about it." M. Wayne Snow, first president of Provo South Stake, remembered that the main responsibility rested with the case workers and the bishops.⁴⁵

Some bishops and other Church leaders felt that, if they were go-

⁴²Interview 161, 2.

⁴³Interview 162, 1.

⁴⁴"Foster Parent Guide," 1977.

⁴⁵A. LeGrand Richards, email to Jessie L. Embry, April 25, 2013. M. Wayne Snow, email to Jessie L. Embry, April 24, 2013. Snow also explained,

ing to ask their ward and stake members to take a student, they should also accept that responsibility. One woman recalled, “When we accepted our first Indian Placement Program child, my husband was the bishop of our ward. He had been instructed by the stake president that he needed to find X many homes for these Indian children. He reasoned, ‘How can I ask another family to accept an Indian child if we as a family were not willing to do this?’”⁴⁶ Another interviewee said, “When the Placement Program came out, my husband was stake president. I figured he had to set the example. But we enjoyed having them. They were really a blessing to us.”⁴⁷ A stake president had about thirty students in his stake. He had not taken a student; but when a family in a nearby town could not take a student, he and his wife agreed to have her.⁴⁸

One interviewee explained that her parents loved the Indian people and Apostle Kimball, so when they were asked to take a student, they readily accepted. After she was married, she remembered that either the Church leaders or the stake president “issued a challenge” for families to take students. Their bishop interviewed her and her husband, asking “if we’d be willing to accept an Indian Placement student. My husband didn’t have any experience with it, but for myself, it was ‘Sure. No problem. Glad to.’”⁴⁹

Another interviewee who was the Relief Society president heard at a ward council meeting about a student who was unhappy in her present foster home and needed an immediate change. She and her husband had thought about taking a child when their children were at home but had decided that they did not have room. When the bishop

“Case workers were assigned to work with families recommended by their Bishops. I can’t remember assigning a high councilor to oversee the program. Part of the case workers’ responsibilities was to visit the Indian reservations and along with the full-time missionaries serving there to interview and recommend placement students. I have inquired of Bishop Lynn Wride, former bishop of the Sixth Ward and my brother-in-law, who had several Placement students and he verified this.”

⁴⁶Interview 102, 1. The interviewee remembered, “Our children (we had five) were used to sharing our home with relatives that needed help as well as perfect strangers that needed help so they felt ‘what else is new?’”

⁴⁷Interview 144, 2.

⁴⁸Interview 160, 1.

⁴⁹Interview 22, 1, 5.

described the student's situation and the immediate need for a family, the interviewee felt that this was the time. Their stake president supervised the Indian Placement Program in the area, and he accepted their application.⁵⁰

Other families heard the announcement in church and felt inspired to respond. After the bishop said that more students were coming than homes had been assigned, a couple sat in their car after the meeting and decided that, since their children were grown, they had space. They went back into the meetinghouse and told the bishop they would take a child.⁵¹ Another family heard the announcement, prayed about it, and then asked for a student. They were interviewed by the stake president and bishop.⁵² Another couple said that the Placement topic "kept coming up in church" so her husband came home and said he would like to have a student in their home.⁵³

Yet having a student did not always work out for the best, according to one couple. Bishops and stake presidents "really leaned on the people to take kids that maybe they couldn't or shouldn't have. But they felt like if they were going to be a good Mormon, they had to do it. Of course, it usually didn't work." They continued, "There was more pressure than there really needed [to] be. It's one of those things that 'this is an opportunity,' but it's not an opportunity for everybody. There are those families that they'd put the kids in that I'd just absolutely shudder. 'No! Don't do this!' But the bishop would say, 'We've got to have five families. Here are five families. Okay, put them in those five.' The caseworker would be over a large area and not know the families and not understand until really a little too late."⁵⁴

The Church explained in the 1965 "Foster Parent Guide" that the Placement Program gave "educational, spiritual, social, and cultural opportunities in non-Indian community life for Latter-day Saint Indian children." It continued, "It is felt that through the exemplary living of selected Latter-day Saint families, these Indian youth will be motivated to use their experiences now and later for the benefit of

⁵⁰Interview 3, 1.

⁵¹Interview 43, 1.

⁵²Interview 84, 1.

⁵³Interview 134, 1.

⁵⁴Interview 59, 12.

themselves and their people.”⁵⁵ In his M.A. thesis, Clarence Bishop gave the purpose of Placement as “to make possible educational, spiritual, social and cultural opportunities for Latter-day Saint Indian children, and to provide opportunity for them to participate in non-Indian community life so that they can use their experiences now and later for their benefit and that of their people.”⁵⁶

The Redd Center interviewees saw a variety of reasons for the Placement Program. The most common response was to provide educational opportunities. A few added that reservation schools were inadequate and that being in a family was better than living at a boarding school. Many felt that education was the most important purpose, not converting the students to Mormonism. One interviewee pointed out the irony that the student’s parents taught at a boarding school but did not want their children to attend it.⁵⁷ Another felt that Spencer W. Kimball had seen the problems that the Indians had in his home state of Arizona. “It was great compassion that would have motivated the program. It was the idea that if a person can get an education you can change a life and bring them out of poverty and negative behaviors.”⁵⁸ Still another interviewee said she “thought it was to give the children a better education. They could learn about the other culture, the white culture. Maybe it would give them incentives to want to do something or be something.” The interviewee remembered, “Our school was geared for students to move on to academic work.” With that focus, a teacher told her, “I think it is criminal that you people are bringing these Indians off the reservation to put them in this type of a school.” Since the student was only in the third grade, the interviewee continued, “I felt so sorry for the poor little guy coming so young to completely white people. I just almost ached for him all the time.”⁵⁹

Other interviewees felt that Placement was to get the students off the reservation since the interviewees sensed that repeated generations were caught in a cycle of poor decisions. Similarly, others felt

⁵⁵“Foster Parent Guide,” 1965, 1.

⁵⁶Bishop, “A History of the Indian Student Placement Program,” 103.

⁵⁷Interview 99, 5.

⁵⁸Interview 9, 8.

⁵⁹Interview 12, 7, 1.

that Placement showed the students a different way of life and helped them learn a new culture. Interestingly, two interviewees felt that the program was to make the students white while one said that it was to teach them that they did not have to become white.

Still many foster families felt that they needed to share their religion. They hoped that seeing a family pray, read scriptures, and attend church would give the students a model that they might not have on the reservation or in their biological parents' homes. The Placement graduates could then teach their children the same information. As one interviewee pointed out, "My thought is to show them a different way of life, to give them some stability in the gospel and in a different way of life because most of them only knew drinking."⁶⁰ Another person said, "We were not really educated as to what were the goals of the Indian Program. I could assume what they might be, to give him a better life and a chance for a future life and nurturing him in the gospel. Those were the things I wasn't sure of. I thought, 'If that's happening, it's more subtle. It's not something we would see for years.'"⁶¹

While one interviewee saw education as a goal, religion was the main focus. Placement was "to help them be strong in the Church and be in an organized ward that was carried out well, and week by week they interfaced in that ward. They could see how the Church ran. They would be heavily involved in all the programs which seemed to run better in our wards than they do on the reservation. . . . [It was] to strengthen their testimony and attachment to the Church. . . . Hopefully they would go to people with the means to send them on missions and to school. We would have put him clear through college. Every now and then we think what he could have done with his talent."⁶²

While there were general objectives for the Placement Program, each family had its own motives for being involved. The 1965 guide recognized that families had "many and varied reasons motivating their participation in the placement service" but that the main reason should be "to assist an Indian child in his quest for an education." The 1977 guide added "in his quest for spiritual development" and then

⁶⁰Interview 21, 12.

⁶¹Interview 1, 7.

⁶²Interview 79, 10.

continued “and an education.”⁶³

A few Redd Center interviewees explained that they decided to participate in Placement because they felt a spiritual duty to help the Book of Mormon people. One interviewee broke into tears as she described that she felt a personal responsibility to be the “nursing fathers and mothers” promised in the Book of Mormon (1 Ne. 21:23, quoting Isa. 49:23). The BYU sociologists felt that most of their foster parents were involved because a Church leader asked them. A quarter of the foster parents wanted an intercultural experience. Others felt that they had received blessings from God and needed to show their gratitude by sharing their good fortune with others.⁶⁴ The ASU study felt the main reasons were to fulfill Book of Mormon prophecy (24 percent) and to help “the underprivileged” (20 percent).⁶⁵ Some interviewees gave more practical reasons why they became involved. For example, they had no children and felt that they could help others as a result. Others had a younger child whom they felt could benefit from having a companion.⁶⁶

The pamphlets contained helpful information on how the Placement students might react to their new surroundings. For exam-

⁶³“Foster Parent Guide,” 1977, 2.

⁶⁴Chadwick, Albrecht, and Bahr, “Evaluation of an Indian Student Placement Program,” 523.

⁶⁵Oziel, Payne, and Terry, “A Comparison of Continuing and Discontinuing Foster Families,” 38–39.

⁶⁶This reasoning matched that of state-sponsored foster parents. The following books and articles offer guidelines for foster care in general, not Placement, but it shows that Placement host families had concerns similar to those of foster parents. The major difference is that foster-care parents are paid. According to Mary Buell Sayles, *Substitute Parents: A Study of Foster Families* (New York: Commonwealth Fund, 1936), 19, “The individual who took a foster child without hope of finding satisfaction in the experience would be too selfless to be quite human.” Veli-Pekka Isomaki, “The Fuzzy Foster Parenting: A Theoretical Approach,” *Social Science Journal* 39, no. 4 (2002): 629, refers to this emotional basis as “fuzzy foster parenting” but concludes that most foster parents “think they just wanted to open their heart and home for children living in need of a safe and decent home. They feel their motive is a sincere calling to help these children.” But foster parents also took children because they could not have a baby or because their children were raised and they wanted youngsters in the home. In cases of an

ple, they suggested that host families should expect an adjustment period lasting for about the first three months and explained that the student would be “under a greater emotional stress than he shows.” As a result the family should “reassure him and make him welcome without pressing him to respond.”⁶⁷ But the experience could also be overwhelming for the host families. One foster mother recalled picking up her Placement student and driving home through a storm. “I thought, ‘Oh my, is this a forerunner of what we’re going to experience?’ You’re just a little bit uneasy thinking, ‘Can I do this? Will this work out?’ The storm was so bad we had to pull off of the road for a while. That’s how bad the rain was hitting. I said to the kids, ‘Let’s have a word of prayer.’ So this was our introduction to our Indian boy early on. We had a word of prayer and then came on home.” The mother was so unsettled that she asked her children to help the student settle in and then went to her bedroom to pray. “I beseeched my Father in Heaven. I said, ‘Father, I’ve bitten off more than I can chew. What can I do for this boy that his parents can’t do?’ I really was in a quandary. I thought, ‘This is a bad start. Here I’ve been so sure about it and now I feel so unsure.’ I had the most sweet witness from the Spirit that told me it would be just fine and I’d not have to worry. Things would work out as they were supposed to and this is what I should be doing. That stayed with me the whole time I was in the Placement Program. I never forgot that sweet witness of the Spirit that this was what we should be involved in.”⁶⁸

One interviewee said that the student and foster brother had to come to blows before they overcame their difficulties and became friends. The oldest son in the host family was one year older than the Placement student. According to the foster mother, their case worker told them, “They had to have time to see who was in charge. [Our son] was the oldest of his family. They had to have an understanding of

only or much younger child, the parents saw fostering as providing a playmate. Some wanted to have someone to care for after a child died. Some wanted a chance to volunteer at home. In short, one generalization about a single motivation is too simplistic for foster care in general. Angela C. Baum, Sedahlia Jasper Crase, and Kirsten Lee Crase, “Influences on the Decision to Become or Not Become a Foster Parent,” *Families in Society* 82, no. 2 (March/April 2001): 202.

⁶⁷“Foster Parent Guide,” 1965, 6.

⁶⁸Interview 53, 1.

who was going to rule the roost like the oldest sibling does. Mine was used to the same thing. The student was bigger than him even though he was younger.” She recalled that, about six months after the student arrived, they went to visit her sister. The Placement student and her biological son ended up “having a really good wrestling match in their back yard. My husband and my brother-in-law said, ‘Just let it go. Just watch them. They’re not going to get hurt.’ They weren’t. They were just wrestling. . . . It was like watching two bulls, deer or elk or something because they were fighting to the death.” After three and a half hours, “they finally came to an understanding. They came up with a couple of black eyes. They went to school the next morning, and they didn’t think that was cool.” The biological son won even though the Placement student was bigger. According to the caseworker, “Your own son needs to be the [dominant] person in the house.’ [But] they were very, very, very best friends from that moment. They still are. That’s what had to happen.”⁶⁹

One host family was very excited to have a student. The daughter who was about the same age was very willing to share her room, but the student, who was under the age of ten, had a hard time fitting in. It was so stressful that she wet her bed nearly every night. The foster sister tried to understand her concern and include her in all her activities with friends. But it was an awkward experience. The student stayed only one year, and the family felt relief when she left. Her parents recalled, “We did learn after the first year, that that was much harder on our daughter than we had realized. In fact, [our daughter] became ill. My husband said he was afraid the reason [was] she had worked so hard to accommodate.” Nor was the ten-year-old daughter the only one to suffer. An older daughter in her early teens resented the student’s presence. The brothers were older and seemed to accept her better. They were “brother-ish” toward her. Despite this negative experience, though, the family accepted two other Placement students.⁷⁰

One foster mother explained, “I tried really hard to make her [the student] a part of our family.” She felt that her children “were really good about accepting her as an equal and not being mean or unkind about it. They enjoyed spending time with her and doing things with her. We never had a problem at all with them not getting

⁶⁹Interview 157, 2, 3.

⁷⁰Interview 51, 2, 3-4.

along or anything.” She recalled taking the student and her daughter shopping for prom dresses that were quite expensive. She told both, “If you want them you have to earn the money to get them.” She continued, “Both of them did; they were just great. They earned some of the money. When they didn’t quite have enough then I had them do some jobs around the house to get enough money. They both bought these really pretty dresses, and they both had dates. It was really neat.” For her, doing “equal things as much as we could. . . was the thing that made the biggest difference in her fitting in and her knowing that she was equal to the others. I don’t think the others [our children] felt like that was wrong. I don’t think they ever did.”⁷¹

But “equal” did not always work. One set of foster parents told the student that he was not a guest and that they would not give him special treatment. But they felt that “he wanted to be catered to.” When asked how their own children felt about the student’s resistance to doing chores, the parents responded, “They didn’t have any problem with it at all. They recognized the difference in how the student reacted versus the way they had been brought up. Other than that, I don’t think it had any lasting effect on them.”⁷² Another Placement parent said he was not sure how his children felt. “You’d have to ask my daughter. We tried to treat them equally. We told the kids before we went and got her that she was going to be another sister. We weren’t going to treat her any different than we treated them. I believe whole-heartedly that we treated them all equally, as fairly as we could.”⁷³

Another family reported the same effort to treat their children and the student the same, only to learn later of a negative reaction from their biological children. One foster mother recalled, “My son is

⁷¹Interview 36, 1, 5, 7.

⁷²Interview 151, 3.

⁷³Interview 164, 7. Foster parents in general expressed similar concerns. Foster mothers tried to make the new child feel “a part of the family,” and “not a guest.” But some parents expressed concern about the need to adjust to someone who might have problems with toileting, table manners, and personal hygiene. Some foster children played with fire, stole, and fought. Discipline was also a struggle, and some mothers felt that the foster children were demanding and did not show gratitude for the family’s sacrifices. Patricia Woodward Cautley, *New Foster Parents: The First Experience* (New York: Human Sciences Press, 1980), 62, 63–73.

the kind that keeps things in. I didn't know. He kind of resented the fact at the time that my husband and I both worked so hard to make things fair." She continued, "It's a family joke. Christmas came around, and they both got the same presents, a blue version and a brown version because of the blue eyes and the brown eyes. They could always predict. We'd open presents, and one would get one thing and the other would say, 'Okay, I know what I'm getting.'" She concluded, "We really wanted to try to be fair, and I regret that my son had a hard time." While her biological son eventually became close to the student, "At the time there was competition. I'm sure he had some sibling jealousies going on."⁷⁴

Another foster mother said, "The student became our child, our boy, one of our family. That's all. [But] my youngest daughter will still say to this day, 'You got the student against my wishes. And I can remember you treated him better than you did the rest of us.' I say, 'No we didn't. We just had to make concessions because he was making adjustments and it was a whole new experience for him.'"⁷⁵

One interviewee explained that her mother made the Placement Program her entire life. She took several children, she made ward members and relatives feel guilty if they did not also take Placement students, and she even legally adopted two Indian children. Everything in the family including this interviewee's prom rotated around the Placement students. She described her conflicted feelings: "I have spent many years feeling guilty about that because my mother's attitude was, 'You've had everything, you snotty, little white girl. So what if you sacrifice? So what if it's hard? So what if you don't like it? The Indians must come first.' That was my experience with the

⁷⁴Interview 28, 2-3. D. C. Poland and V. Groze, "Effects of Foster Care Placement on Biological Children in the Home," *Child & Adolescent Social Work Journal* 10, no. 2 (Summer 1993): 154, explained that while each foster-care situation was unique, two major concerns for biological parents and children were dealing with discipline and guilt. Discipline required structure, but some biological children felt that they had to meet higher expectations than the foster children. Foster parents tried to show their biological children that the foster children needed love while assuring that their biological children did not feel abandoned and resentful of the foster child. That situation could be compounded if the biological children then felt guilt for not being more loving to the foster children.

⁷⁵Interview 53, 2.

Placement Program.”⁷⁶

Others said there was an almost instant friendship. One foster sister recalled, “She was reserved and quiet when she first arrived.” But she found out soon that the student was “a tease! She loved to torture a couple of the brothers by sticking her bubble gum behind their ears.” The student had half of the bedroom, and the foster sister continued, “I didn’t mind her keeping her own spaces clean, but I learned to dislike her straightening my spaces. I was not the clean freak.” When she complained to her mother, the sister continued that her mother wisely said, ‘Then, you will have to tell her. You have to work it out.’ I never did. I learned to tolerate things better.” The student also cleaned the whole house and locked the brothers out. While the parents were happy with the clean house, the brothers were upset. The sister concluded, “The student would clean the house, and I kept the boys entertained and happy. But if I were not there, the boys struggled with her meanness to them.” Despite these concerns, the foster sister explained,

We really, really enjoyed one another. Foster students couldn’t drive family cars and consequently they did not have opportunities to do group activities with other foster students in the stake. I would get my boyfriend to go around to five different houses to pick up foster students and take them with us to activities. We took them on day trips to go play in the snow, dances, zoo, etc. It was fun to listen to them speak Navajo and have fun with other Placement students. We loved to lie awake at night after MIA. We shared and swapped stories of things that had happened. We were sisters in every sense of the word. We didn’t do everything together. Since we had other foster students in our ward, she wasn’t the only one at the high school, so we didn’t really hang out at the high school really close.

But when they were together, “We giggled like girls! She played Buck Owens and the Buckaroos non-stop on my record player. I swore I would never listen to country/western again in my life. Now, if I hear someone speak Navajo, my heart strings are pulled and I miss her terribly.”⁷⁷

The “Foster Parent Guide” pamphlets did not address the im-

⁷⁶Interview 25, 1.

⁷⁷Interview 99, 1–3.

pact of having someone from another culture on the host family.⁷⁸ The BYU sociologists questioned the parents and siblings in the host family. When asked if there were any problems during the first three months, 20 percent of the foster parents said they had “strained” relations as a couple because they disagreed on how to work with the student. In addition, 20 percent of the foster mothers saw that their own children experienced stress while only 8 percent of the foster fathers noticed problems. The biological children reported more stress; 25 percent said it negatively affected their relationships with their parents and a third said that it affected their relationships with their biological brothers and sisters.⁷⁹ The Redd Center interviewees were not given a survey, but the interviewees told stories showing the relationships between the Placement students and their family. In time, most of the families settled into a pattern. Nearly all of the Redd Center interviewees explained that the student became just another child and was treated the same as the family’s own children. One foster mother said, “She was just another child, but that was the great part. She was

⁷⁸State-run foster programs provided training for foster parents accepting children from cultural backgrounds different from their own. Even so, foster parents pointed out that “identity is not simple” and each child was unique. Foster parents focused more on the child’s personality, rather than cultural and racial differences. They also saw each child as a human being and tried to help them work through discrimination incidents. But at the same time, they encouraged the children to see positive elements of their culture (e.g., food, holidays, art, and cultural events). But there were always problems in communicating cultural differences, especially if there were language differences. Foster parents especially found it challenging to learn about cultural differences on their own. Ellice Daniel, “Fostering Cultural Development: Foster Parents’ Perspectives,” *Children and Youth Services Review* 33, no. 11 (November 2011): 2234–37. But as the foster parents tried to allow the children to learn about the host culture, the foster family learned more about their own cultural blind spots, increasing their understanding and confidence in working with the foster children. Jason D. Brown, Jennifer Sintzel, David St. Arnault, and Natalie George, “Confidence to Foster across Cultures: Caregiver Perspectives,” *Journal of Child and Family Studies* 18, no. 6 (December 2009): 634.

⁷⁹Chadwick, Albrecht, and Bahr, “Evaluation of an Indian Student Placement Program,” 523.

just like one more of our own for a while.”⁸⁰

One foster father said, “In my mind, there were a few little minor incidents, but there were no major incidents. It was just a blending.” He agreed that the student was “just another one of the kids.” They tried to “get him involved as much as he felt comfortable. As he got more comfortable, he opened up, and that’s when we saw his humorous personality. For example, I remember we were going down to a Christmas gathering with my sister. We had an old Rambler, and we were packed in there like sardines. We were going up the hill which is quite a steep hill to get to my sister’s place. The car was acting up and wasn’t going very fast. We were running a little bit late. . . . The student said, ‘Would you like me to run ahead and let them know that we’re coming?’ That was just one of his little humorous things that we remembered. But that loosened us all up because we were concerned about making it anyway. . . . It was just the spur of the moment, spontaneous humor that he [came] up with which is really neat.”⁸¹

The BYU sociologists found that over a third of the host parents and children saw behavior problems such as “honesty, chastity and the like.”⁸² Out of the 177 interviews, only 14 mentioned such major problems as sexual misbehavior and stealing. When I talked to Bruce Chadwick as I was starting the oral history project, he alerted me to expect reports of sexual misbehavior. I appreciated the warning because otherwise I would have not been prepared.

One woman who had several Placement students explained in her interview that she knew of at least one case where a female Place-

⁸⁰Interview 108, 4.

⁸¹Interview 16, 8–9.

⁸²Chadwick, Albrecht, and Bahr, “Evaluation of an Indian Student Placement Program,” 523. These concerns resemble those in state-run foster care. These studies show that having other children in the home can lead to behavior problems in the foster family. Biological children may also resent the time that the parents spent with the foster child and, as a further complication, may feel guilty for apparently not accepting the foster child. When the newness wears off, the family has new “issues of jealousy, competition, fear, and anxiety.” Biological children sometimes draw into a shell; others report “the feeling of being uncomfortable in my own house.” Some feel that the foster child does not like them. Maha N. Younes and Michele Harp, “Addressing the Impact of Foster Care on Biological Children and Their Families,” *Child Welfare* 86, no. 4 (July/August 2007): 24, 30–31.

ment student needed to be removed from a home because the family's teenage sons were sexually interested in her. But according to this interviewee, the opposite also happened. She reported "the converse situation" of Placement students sexually attacking or abusing the family's biological children, a situation which "was more common. These kids had grown up in hogans with the whole family. They were so knowledgeable about sex that it was a real problem frequently." She recalled that an elementary Placement student sexually abused her six-year-old daughter. "As they usually do, [he told the girl], 'You can't tell her [your mother] that this is what happened or' He laid all this on. So it was a . . . while before we caught on there was a problem. Then the girl had said that he was frightening. We tried to work with it; and one day, all of a sudden from his attitude I thought, 'No, this is still going on. He's got to be out of here, and he's got to be out before night.' He was slipping and sliding into her bedroom at night." The foster mother went on to explain, "There was quite a bit of that going on. The Indians were very knowledgeable about sex. By and large, they [the Placement Program] wanted really active families. So you've got very active families with usually very young kids totally oblivious" to sexual activity.⁸³

One set of host parents remembered that they planned on visiting their Placement student on the reservation after the first year, but their two-year-old daughter protested that she did not want to see him. "I can't remember exactly how she worded it, but she was only two. It

⁸³Interview 59, 4–5. Foster families, especially with Navajo foster children, often mentioned sexual behavior on the reservation. Some female Placement students returned pregnant for another school year. However, such problems could occur in any home where children are learning about their bodies and sex. Jim Dandy, a Mormon and Navajo medicine man, described his childhood hogan: "We shared this small space, with my mother sleeping on the south side with my sisters and the boys sleeping on the west or north side. . . . Sometimes Mom and Dad slept together and we learned that they were married, but we could not sleep close as brothers and sisters. Boys never kissed their sisters or held their hands, but hugging was just fine. . . . The boys could never look at their sisters in a sexual way." Robert S. McPherson, Jim Dandy, and Sarah E. Burak, *Navajo Tradition, Mormon Life: The Autobiography and Teachings of Jim Dandy* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2012), 83. Dandy explained that "sexual promiscuity and abortion are . . . indicators of the end of the world" (179).

was kind of like, ‘Well, he touched me.’” Their older daughter said that it had not happened to her, but they found out later that she lied. “She says to this very day she doesn’t know why she did not report the behavior. Maybe because she was ashamed.” The family cancelled their visit to the Placement student; but when the student returned to the home for the next school year, the host father discussed the sexual abuse with the caseworker and was upset that he minimized its effect: He “basically just said, ‘These kids. They live in a hogan. They see all kinds of things, and of course they’re curious.’ The social worker just kind of dismissed it.” Later another social worker told this host father that it was not usual for a student to molest small children, a different message from the casual reaction of the first caseworker. The father continued, “I felt like maybe the Church wasn’t that prepared to deal with these issues and to help people live with the issues.”⁸⁴

The most distressing story of such a serious problem was that a Placement student not only abused the foster sister but taught her biological brother to also sexually molest her—abuse that continued for two years after the student had left but about which the parents did not learn for years. While the host mother acknowledged that the student had probably been abused on the reservation, she still felt that his behavior had negatively impacted her family. “Of course, we don’t know if our son would have done those things without the student, but we feel like the student introduced something that maybe seemed okay. . . . It was only when he [our biological son] grew older and understood how bad this was that he came to get it made right.” The parents assured that both their son and daughter had counseling, and the foster mother saw no long-term effects. “Nobody in our family ever speaks of the student. Of course, my husband and I haven’t ever really wanted to bring it up. It’s just a very hurtful thing.”⁸⁵

The more common problem that the foster families saw was taking things. Some families defined such misappropriations of property as a major concern, while others saw it as a learning experience. According to the 1977 edition of the “Foster Parent Guide,” “Western culture assigns ownership to all property. Often property in Indian possession not presently being used may be used by one having a need. Thus, a child may feel justified to take an item not specifically

⁸⁴Interview 41, 3.

⁸⁵Interview 1, 3.

his.” The guide suggested, “You should handle such matters with firmness, tact, and understanding.”⁸⁶

An intermediate situation seemed to involve food. One foster mother who had several Placement students recalled that “they’d be like little pack rats. After they’d leave and go back home and you’d clean the room out, there’d be all this moldy food in the drawers. I don’t know if that had anything to do with the fact that maybe they didn’t always have food to eat. That was always the hard part because you really didn’t have an idea of what their life was like back home.”⁸⁷ Another host mother did not overreact to finding “food in her drawers which I know is a typical thing coming from poor homes. Still, it’s that sneak-behind-your-back, not asking, mentality.”⁸⁸ But still others were more willing to accept such squirreling away of food as a reaction to insecurity about having enough food or having regular meals. “She was afraid that we wouldn’t feed her, I guess,” commented one mother. “She would hide food underneath the bed. We’d tell her, ‘You don’t have to worry. We’ll feed you.’ So it was a little while before she knew that.”⁸⁹

One foster father observed that the potato chips they stored in the family basement as part of their business “started to disappear.” They discovered that their student was eating them and then hiding the bags. This student also poked holes in canned pears and drank the juice. “I knew who had done this because my boys knew that, if they wanted some, they could just go down and get some, open them up and eat them.” When the student at first denied these food-related acts, the father announced that all the boys must stay in their rooms, without supper, until the guilty one admitted his wrong-doing. In this case, the biological sons explained to the student, “He’s not going to be mean or punish you. Just tell him.” When the student finally brought himself to confess, the host father “put my arm around him and I said, ‘We have lots of fruit down there. If sometime you get hungry and we’re not eating right then, just go down and get a bottle and open it and eat it.’ He said, ‘Oh, I can do that?’ He was very pleased.” But he also concealed food in his sock drawer—so that “he’d have a lit-

⁸⁶“Foster Parent Guide,” 1977, 4.

⁸⁷Interview 21, 9–10.

⁸⁸Interview 113, 5.

⁸⁹Interview 11, 3, 4.

tle storage there in case he wanted to eat. That was something else.” But the father interpreted it as a cultural circumstance: “Down on the reservation it’s feast or famine. If you don’t have much to eat, and then you finally get some, why you really load up. That’s what he was doing.”⁹⁰

One family recognized that the attitude of seeing property as communal rather than individual was a problem. The parents and the biological children reduced the problem by taking care not to leave money around. The foster mother recalled, “To them if it was there, then you just took it. Our kids figured this out. I think our kids policed them almost as much as we did.”⁹¹ One student “borrowed” pudding from the local convenience store and then flushed the containers down the toilet. He admitted that he did not put them in the garbage because he did not want the foster mother to know he had “borrowed” the food. She said that she did not go through the garbage.⁹²

One interviewee who was close to the same age as the Placement student her family was hosting was indignant when the student wore the girl’s clothes without asking. She interpreted the situation as stealing. Her father explained that it was not stealing in the student’s mind—just “using,” and had his daughter work it out with the student. Their solution was to “let the children handle it as much they could because then they stayed friends. . . . It would have been very difficult for us to take our daughter’s side and fight that battle because it would have hurt [the student’s] feelings.”⁹³

One interviewee remembered that a disturbing situation developed when she, as Relief Society president, had collected money for an activity only to have the money disappear. The Placement student seemed responsible but denied it when “we questioned him about it, and of course, he said he didn’t. I could not ever find that money.” She replaced the money herself, a financial sacrifice to the family. Then “about three months later I was doing canning. I went to my canning room and found the money all stuffed in a jar. I know he took it. . . . He learned in very hard ways not to take what wasn’t

⁹⁰Interview 114, 6–7.

⁹¹Interview 51, 16.

⁹²Interview 32, 1.

⁹³Interview 160, 4.

his. He had never experienced that before.” But she attributed this attitude to cultural differences—“That’s how they live there”—not moral turpitude.⁹⁴

One family had two Placement students for a while. The foster student in the fifth grade “stole quite a bit. At one point the Placement worker said if she stole again she’d have to go home.” When the host parents asked the second student, a boy, if he had any ideas” about how “to help her,” he explained: “At home she probably got in trouble if she didn’t steal. So now you’re teaching her that it’s not the right thing to do and she’s confused.’ So we all had a good talk about that.”⁹⁵

The BYU sociologists asked if the Placement students affected the views of the host family’s biological children on the Word of Wisdom. Eighty percent of the host parents and 73 percent of the biological children interviewed said that having a Placement student did not influence the family’s observance of the Word of Wisdom.⁹⁶ Since after 1954, only Mormon students were eligible for Placement, the interviewees expressed surprise that Placement students did not keep the Word of Wisdom. One foster father recalled that a Word of Wisdom problem gave the whole family the feeling that they had failed their Placement student. When he stole beer from a convenience store, the father went to the police station and instructed the arresting officer: “‘Throw the book at him,’ because I would say that about my own kids because I’m tough-loving. There’s no way I’m going to bail out my kids. He’s caught, and he’s going to pay the price.” One of the biological daughters was very disappointed by the Placement student’s behavior, saying, “He’s ending up to be the cliché drunk Indian.” The father said, “The whole point of the whole program was to help and somehow we weren’t able to help our student.”⁹⁷

The “Foster Parent Guide” pamphlets thanked the host parents for participating in the program: “As foster parents you will per-

⁹⁴Interview 157, 3.

⁹⁵Interview 83, 1.

⁹⁶Chadwick, Albrecht, and Bahr, “Evaluation of an Indian Student Placement Program,” 523.

⁹⁷Interview 41, 3–4. Other non-Placement foster families had similar problems. As Patricia Woodward Cautley, *New Foster Parents*, 62, explains, “The delicate balance of the family is bound to be threatened by the introduction of a new member. . . . This very sensitive family situation is exactly

form a unique and essential function in your home and under your influence that the student will gain the experience of today in preparation for his responsibilities of tomorrow. We trust that while you are foster parents you will receive much joy and satisfaction in guiding the life of one of God's chosen spirits in his search for truth and happiness. We also realize that the deep feeling of joy and satisfaction which you will experience will be the result of self-giving and sacrifice."⁹⁸ The 1968 *Lamanite Handbook* explained that the Placement Program "serves Latter-day Saint homes and families with the opportunity of selfless service and to be co-partners with Lamanite homes and families in the growth and development of these priceless children."⁹⁹

What were those positive outcomes? The responses to the BYU sociologists' study identified outcomes of love and patience. A third of their respondents enjoyed learning about a new culture.¹⁰⁰ The ASU study concluded that more families that continued to participate in the Placement Program "expressed feelings of love toward their foster child while many discontinuers felt friendship, duty, or pity."¹⁰¹ The Redd Center interviewees gave similar responses. When many of the host families started the program, they thought about how they could help the Placement students. But as they reflected on the experience, they felt that they got as much as the students. They felt that they moved from being self-centered to being more sensitive to others; they also felt that their children learned to be more tolerant and lost their fears of other people.¹⁰²

One interviewee felt that "liking" the student was even more im-

that which is supposed to help the foster child. Failure to help the child is likely to imply failure of the family as a unit."

⁹⁸"Foster Parent Guide," 1965, 3. Essentially the same information was repeated in each of the pamphlets.

⁹⁹*Lamanite Handbook*, 10.

¹⁰⁰Chadwick, Albrecht, and Bahr, "Evaluation of an Indian Student Placement Program," 523.

¹⁰¹Oziel, Payne, and Terry, "A Comparison of Continuing and Discontinuing Foster Families," 36.

¹⁰²I compiled a list of terms to describe what the participants learned: patience, love, understanding, sharing, a new brother or sister, spiritual blessings, tolerance, new worldview, closer family, stronger testi-

portant than loving him or her, since liking connoted a desire to be with the person. One interviewee enjoyed a new set of grandchildren when they stayed in touch with the Placement student after marriage. Several interviewees said that they were better Mormons because they felt a need to set a good example for the student by holding family prayer and family home evening. They might have skipped those programs if they had not felt observed by the Placement student. Several interviewees felt that they had failed at the program but still saw a great impact because at least they had tried.

Thus, despite some disappointing experiences, the Placement Program seems to have had a positive impact on the foster families. But would they do it again? The BYU sociologists found that 85 percent of the host parents would like to have a child again. But one-third of their children said that they would not participate. The biological children felt that the Placement students introduced “inappropriate” behaviors into their family. They also felt that the student had experienced “culture shock.”¹⁰³ This study took place as the program was still operating. By the time the Redd Center conducted its interviews, the parents were at least grandparents and some were even great-grandparents. The thought of starting over with students was overwhelming. So when asked if they would do the program again, there was a split. Some said definitely. Others said if they were younger. But some avoided the question and simply said that they were too old to even think about doing it again.

What made a host family successful? The ASU study tried to list some characteristics as they questioned why some families continued and others did not. “They are slightly older (around 45 years of age), they have large families, they have a better income, they have older foster children, they have more boys than girls, [and] the foster child is of an age within the range of their own children. These families tend to be united in their desire for the foster child, the parents feel free to

mony, desire to follow Church leaders’ counsel, enrichment, nonjudgmentalism, compassion, empathy, learning, humility, God’s love for all, trust, acceptance of cultures, blessing for helping, knowledge of own blessings, sacrifice, service, forgiveness, ability to overlook problems, and eliminate stereotypes, diversity, love outside the family, best friend, small miracles, and fun.

¹⁰³Chadwick, Albrecht, and Bahr, “Evaluation of an Indian Student Placement Program,” 523–24.

discipline their foster child, and they also express love more readily and they tend to establish a closer relationship to the child as well as his natural family." In other words, "motivation seems essential, ability to express both positive and negative feelings, as well as possibly the maturity, the experience, as well as the income that older families may acquire."¹⁰⁴ Margaret M. Keller, the Relief Society Social Service and Child Welfare Department head, commenting in 1958 felt that the foster homes "have been well chosen" as shown "in the successful placements we have made."¹⁰⁵

The Redd Center interviewees had a wide range of experiences. Some families were well off and could provide for the student with relative ease. Others had problems with unemployment and were on Church welfare, yet still the student fit in well. Some families had very few children. Some had very large families. Interviewees often mentioned "rules" that seemed to increase the chances of success—for example, that the student should not be the oldest child so the parents would have had the experience of dealing with a teenager. Yet in one case, the parents of very young children had a teenage Placement student who seemed to love "mothering" the smaller children. Another similar guideline was that the student should be near the same age as a biological child. In some families, this situation encouraged friendship between the biological child and the Placement child; but in some families, this situation led to unhealthy competition. Some families recommended taking only one Placement student at a time and not from different tribes, but one family found that the students related well regardless of tribal affiliation. Some families felt well rewarded by the gratitude of their Placement student, while others felt unappreciated.

Clearly, Placement did not offer a single pathway to success. Just as some people become friends and others become enemies, the host families and Placement students had different personalities. One host mother explained that when her family decided not to have the student back, "I felt bad initially because I felt like he was being rejected again, but I knew something. It wasn't a fit for our family. We didn't seek out another Indian child. . . . I couldn't get a good feel

¹⁰⁴Oziel, Payne, and Terry, "A Comparison of Continuing and Discontinuing Foster Families," 37.

¹⁰⁵Margaret Keller, quoted in Miltenberger, *Fifty Years of Relief Society Social Services*, 254.

whether this was really helping them. It's made sense; it seemed like it should be. But I don't know if the culture was so different or it was our family."¹⁰⁶

How did the host families measure success? Many felt that they were successful if the students were active in the Mormon Church and if contact continued between the family and the Placement student. One interviewee remembered Spencer W. Kimball saying, "You know the program won't fail but people will fail the program."¹⁰⁷ Many Placement students maintained affectionate and mature contact as they grew older. Others heard from their Placement student only when the student wanted money. Others had only limited contact, while still others had no contact at all. The Placement Program training materials acknowledged that Native Americans rarely kept in touch and the foster families should not take it personally. Those who had contact made efforts to participate in Mormon and Native traditions. Several interviewees enjoyed attending a Native wedding. But they also felt great joy when their foster student was sealed to a spouse in the temple. Some foster fathers baptized their Placement students' children. When they saw their foster students active in the Church, many experienced what they defined as success.

The host parents who did not see continued Church activity were disappointed, but they found other ways to measure success if they maintained contact. Several interviewees mentioned visiting their students' homes and finding that they kept house just as their foster mother had taught them. Many parents also felt gratified when they learned that many of the tribal leaders had been on Placement. Others reported being told that Placement participants stood out on the reservation because they were happy, healthier, and more mindful of other people. One interviewee said that their student did not fit that pattern, but when he suffered an eventually fatal accident he asked the hospital to contact the host parents because they were the only people he knew who cared for him.

But one interviewee suggested another measure of success. While some families saw themselves as failures, another interviewee had a broader perspective. "I've known so many foster parents where the kids came on Placement and they only stayed two or three months or a year. The kids went home, and the parents never heard from

¹⁰⁶Interview 1, 4.

¹⁰⁷Interview 7, 3.

them again. They think they're a failure. They've never heard from them again. In some cases, they've gotten pregnant out of wedlock or they've gotten killed in a drunken deal." The interviewee acknowledged, "There are all kinds of stories I could tell you. A lot of foster parents thought, 'That was a waste of time and waste of money because looky here.' What they don't see is what it has done on the reservation like the stories I've told you. I was able to go out there as an administrator of this program and see firsthand those kids who went home."¹⁰⁸

The "Foster Parent Guide" recognized that it might be hard for the parents to see success and instead, under a section titled "Little by Little," explained:

Do not become discouraged if the Indian student is not progressing as rapidly as you would like. Principles as well as facts have to be taught, thought through, evaluated, and believed, before they can be internalized and incorporated into behavioral patterns. This is done little by little. The home life experiences particularly sought for the Indian youngsters are the everyday routine procedure that distinguish your family as a solid, Latter-day Saint family. It is hoped that the everyday habits of righteous living will instill within the Indian student such principles as faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, respect for the rights of others, ability to meet and conquer his own problems, the development of a positive self-image, increased recognition of his ability to achieve and determination to live up to his capabilities. These characteristics will not suddenly appear within the student as if by a miracle. On the contrary, it will take opportunity upon opportunity, discipline upon discipline, precept upon precept and example upon example. The race will not be won by the swift, but by those who teach and enrich the Indian child's life little by little and endure to the end.¹⁰⁹

SUMMARY

Placement was a sacrifice for everyone. One interviewee whose parents accepted three Placement students said that, as a mother and a grandmother, she can see those sacrifices more clearly. "I see how hard it must have been for the parents to let their children go away to get an education. They had a hope that their sacrifice would mean a better life for their children. How the mother's heart must have ached

¹⁰⁸Interview 95, 9.

¹⁰⁹"Foster Parent Guide," 1965, 19–20.

for them. I see how bravely the children went forth, not really knowing where they would be or in what circumstances they would find themselves.” That is the typical view, but she continued, “I also see the sacrifice of my own parents, opening up the modest home and small budget they had to include more children into their home. They had a hope that they could make a difference [and] give opportunity to these children who were in their care.” She added, “I hope we did make a difference. All three of these girls are wonderful, productive women with children of their own.”¹¹⁰

Although the BYU sociologists’ article concluded, “The most negative consequences were experienced by white foster siblings, not Indian students or their families,”¹¹¹ I am not sure that they really found the Placement Program hardest on the foster siblings. Preceding that single, concluding sentence, they wrote, “To summarize, the foster family members experienced very real costs by taking a placement child. For the majority of both parents and children, however, the overall experience was good.”¹¹² Based on the Redd Center interviews, I believe that both statements are extreme. Each case is different, and there is no “typical” experience. But the experience did indeed produce love as a common characteristic. Margaret M. Keller explained in 1958 that the Placement Program “grew out of a love the Latter-day Saints have for the Indian people.”¹¹³ I believe that the host families did accept the Indian Placement students out of love for the Native Americans. But as this article shows, it had both positive and negative impacts on their own biological families. The Placement Program was not only about the students. It is also about the families that took the students in.

¹¹⁰Interview 7, 16.

¹¹¹Chadwick, Albrecht, and Bahr, “Evaluation of an Indian Student Placement Program,” 524.

¹¹²*Ibid.*, 523–24.

¹¹³Keller, quoted in Miltenberger, *Fifty Years of Relief Society Social Services*, 251.

REVIEW

Matthew Kester. *Remembering Iosepa: History, Place, and Religion in the American West*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2013. ix + 203 pp. Illustrations, maps, notes, bibliography, index. Cloth: \$49.95; ISBN 9780199844913

Reviewed by Brian Q. Cannon

Matthew Kester, an assistant professor of history and university archivist at BYU-Hawaii, set out to write a modest narrative history of Iosepa, a short-lived town in Utah's Skull Valley inhabited by more than two hundred Hawaiian Mormons early in the twentieth century. As his research progressed, Kester decided he wanted to situate Iosepa in a broader context of migration between Hawaii and western North America, treating it as "one of many diasporic communities" of Pacific Islanders (166). The resultant book is intellectually engaging, wide-ranging, creative, and occasionally provocative. The first half of the book focuses upon developments in Hawaii while the last half largely treats Hawaiians' experiences in Utah.

Kester begins with the stories of three Hawaiians who crossed the Pacific in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries: the Hawaiian nobleman Kaiana who traveled to both Vancouver Island and China in 1787–88; the Kona chief Naukane who labored in the Columbia River fur trade in the 1810s and 1820s and lived out the rest of his life at Fort Vancouver; and Thomas Hopu, a young Hawaiian who made his way to Connecticut in 1809, became a sailor, and eventually converted to Christianity. These migrants were unusual in their elite status but typical of other migrants in the ways that international economic currents and religion conditioned their experiences. Well over a thousand Hawaiians worked in the fur trade, moved to California during the gold rush, or labored on American and British sailing ships between the late 1700s and 1865. Thus, when Hawaiian converts traveled to Utah, they became part of a well-established diaspora.

The author argues that the Hawaiian Saints' gathering to appointed ha-

vens on Lanai and Oahu foreshadowed their migration to Utah. In discussing these island gatherings, Kester creatively applies theories and perspectives from Hawaiian cultural studies, suggesting that Hawaiian converts contested or manipulated uneven power relationships with Euro-American missionaries, supervisors and neighbors to achieve their own objectives. He argues reasonably that Hawaiians, many of whom had lost their land base, were attracted to Mormonism partly because the doctrine of the gathering offered them access to land where they could pursue traditional modes of subsistence farming and fishing. Kester portrays the converts as traditionalists who were interested in growing food for “direct consumption” but “seemed less than enthusiastic about working to produce goods for sale” on the plantation (63).

Just because the Hawaiians were more interested in traditional fishing and farming than working for wages does not mean that they resisted capitalist agriculture, though. ‘Awa, a mildly intoxicating tuber, was grown on the plantation both for consumption and sale. After mission president Frederick Mitchell ordered the destruction of the entire ‘awa crop, many laborers defected and pooled their resources to buy land south of the plantation. One can conclude, as Kester does, that the laborers relocated because they desired to pursue traditional subsistence under a “communitarian model” (70) as an alternative to capitalism. But a market-oriented concern, the destruction of an important source of income, impelled their defection; as Kester acknowledges, ‘awa was a valuable cash crop and the Hawaiian Saints were “cash-strapped” and needed the money they could earn from its sale to pay taxes (71).

Kester paints a complex portrait of Hawaiians’ reception in Utah. On the one hand, islanders living in Salt Lake in 1885 stated that they were satisfied with their employment and housing. On the other hand, by the late 1880s, “they found themselves near the bottom of a racial hierarchy . . . that severely circumscribed their social and economic choices” (88). Kester attributes this marginal status partly to racial stereotypes and racialized discourse. He resourcefully reconstructs those stereotypes using articles that appeared in Utah newspapers from the 1860s to 1920. Few of the articles dealt with Hawaiian residents of Utah, but they linked the dreaded disease of leprosy to Hawaiians, alleged that Polynesians practiced cannibalism and infanticide, and criticized Hawaiians for their supposed lack of hygiene. One article denigrated the Hawaiians as an inferior race. Historians have largely attributed the Hawaiians’ retreat from Salt Lake to Skull Valley to locals’ concerns regarding leprosy, but Kester emphasizes racism and non-Mormons’ opposition to the Hawaiian converts’ applications for citizenship and voting rights as key factors.

While many authors have written about the Hawaiians’ experiences at Iosepa, Kester plows new ground by using correspondence between the residents and the Hawaiian consul in San Francisco. Some of the settlers at Iosepa were so unhappy that they petitioned Hawaiian officials to pay their return

passage to Hawaii. The petitioners may have exaggerated their mistreatment, though, in an effort to elicit sympathy and money from Hawaiian officials. For instance, several complainants who alleged that they were not permitted to leave Skull Valley and return to Salt Lake somehow managed to travel to Salt Lake and obtain work within a few months of filing their petition. Wilford Woodruff and the *Deseret News* denied charges of mistreatment, and several individuals who reportedly desired to return to Hawaii later said they wanted to stay. Kester uses correspondence from Hawaiian officials and correspondence between Mormon leaders to show both sides of the issue. This little-known saga and the archival research that allows Kester to reconstruct it significantly advance knowledge regarding Iosepa.

Kester tells of Iosepa's growth, the economic stability and prosperity that the colony experienced between 1902 and 1915, and the liquidation of the colony and return of its residents to Hawaii between 1915 and 1917. He concludes that race was "an important factor" in Church leaders' decision to close the colony and repatriate its residents; no other group of Mormon colonists was sent back to their homeland, and one former resident of Iosepa recalled, decades after departure, that Joseph F. Smith had encouraged the Hawaiians to return by warning that his successors might be less solicitous of their welfare than he was as a former Hawaiian missionary (136).

The author's relative unfamiliarity with Utah's history is occasionally reflected in minor errors. For instance, while the California gold rush created an economic windfall for Utah, Kester's assertion that "the discovery of gold in California created Mormon Utah" by transforming struggling Mormon settlements into economically "successful" communities exaggerates the economic importance of the mineral rush (42). He states that the first Hawaiian to visit Utah, Jonatana Napela, attended the temple during his six-month stay in 1869; Napela indeed received his endowments in Salt Lake during that time, but this ritual would have been in the Endowment House, not the temple, because it was far from completion.

In an excellent concluding chapter, Kester probes Iosepa in public memory. Focusing on the Memorial Day celebrations each year that bring hundreds of Utahns of Polynesian descent to Skull Valley, he concludes that the annual pilgrimage to the townsite has transformed it into "sacred space" for Pacific Islander Saints (139). That pilgrimage, and the story of the Iosepa settlers, links Polynesians in Utah to the heritage of both the pioneers and the gathering, validating their status as insiders and their claim upon Utah as their home.

BRIAN Q. CANNON {brian_cannon@byu.edu} is professor of history and director of the Charles Redd Center at BYU. He is the author of two books and over two dozen articles on western, Mormon, and rural American history.

BOOK NOTICE

Francis M. Gibbons. *John Taylor: Mormon Philosopher: Prophet of God*. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1985; rpt. in paperback 2009. 302 pp. Internal parenthetical citations, appendix: "The Philosophy of John Taylor," and index. Paper: \$19.95; ISBN-13: 978-1-6-641-2091-1.

John Taylor (1808–87) was third president of the LDS Church from 1877 when Brigham Young died until his own death in hiding in 1887. British-born, he emigrated to Canada where he was converted by the preaching of Parley P. Pratt in 1836. He visited Kirtland briefly during the height of the apostasy there over the failure of the Church's bank and other causes but, in essence, had had personal contact with Joseph Smith for only a few days before making a lifelong commitment. On his way back to Canada, he "spoke in tongues" while he and his traveling party were praying to find a place to preach (14). Gibbons records no other instances of Taylor speaking in tongues. He became an apostle in 1838 and promptly returned to England as a missionary.

As a "fixed characteristic," Taylor "would never ask a human being for help. . . . He would implore the Lord

for assistance and direction, but never other people. This quality was rooted both in his native independence and dignity and in his assurance that God would reward him with the blessings that he sought" (17, 36, 41). He "introduced a touch of class and culture into the wilderness" (95) and had a "dignified, patrician bearing" (232). Although other authors have characterized his relationship to Brigham Young as a prickly one, Gibbons asserts that "the similarities in the two were at the spiritual level; the differences could be traced chiefly to their earthly backgrounds" (25). He does not describe Brigham Young's anger in 1847 when, returning to Winter Quarters, he encountered LDS companies en route to Utah under the direction of Taylor and Pratt.

Gibbons draws heavily on B. H. Roberts's 1892 biography of Taylor and quotes from Taylor's addresses and writings (in addition to the appendix) to document his eloquence. He preached the first LDS sermon in Ireland and baptized the first convert in Ireland.

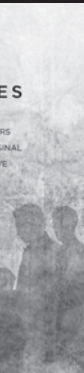
Except for John's marriage to the "attractive, vivacious" Leonora Cannon in 1833 (11–12), Gibbons barely mentions Taylor's acceptance of plu-

ral marriage which left him with seven wives (53). His method of countering attacks on plural marriage before its public announcement in 1852 was to “poke fun at these nonsensical stories” and to read the Doctrine and Covenants statement on marriage (since removed) (115). During the “move south” in 1856, he had eighteen children, most under age ten (156). This description, however, is the last discussion of his wives and children except for mentioning that son John W. Taylor was also an apostle and that two of John’s plural wives visited him during his final illness (262).

Gibbons describes and summarizes John Taylor’s fiery public address aimed at Captain Stuart Van Vliet but does not mention the Mountain Meadows Massacre. According to Gibbons, the Danites were a “myth” (173, 176). He also does not describe the complicated legal tangle of the Bullion Beck Mining Company consecrated stock, the 1887 revelation in hiding that plural marriage would

continue, or Taylor’s fairly well-documented sealing to Josephine Roueche, in December 1886, while he was in hiding at the Roueche home in Kaysville with her father performing the ceremony. Taylor asserted that only 2 percent of Mormons practiced polygamy (257), a figure about which he probably had better information since the Endowment House records were in his keeping.

Gibbons finds “hints and suggestions” that John Taylor, had he lived longer, would have made the same decision in withdrawing authorization for new plural marriages, citing the First Presidency’s epistle read at the April 1887 general conference and his approval of the “proposed constitution . . . which . . . contained a provision forbidding the practice of polygamy” that “the Utah electorate almost unanimously approved, . . . an event that would have been impossible had not the Saints known that their late beloved leader had concurred” (266, see also 259).

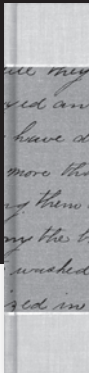


Forgotten Mormonism's Twelve

and
rdt

ed to the
Twelve Apostles,
tnesses of
. Because of
be forcibly
orum, and six
it.

hose of stung
k, lack of
ony. These
anner conflict
s, tests of faith,
ces, and ami-
ch man going



Cowboy Apo Anthony W.

Elizabeth O. A

Anthony W. Iv
Arizona explor
hunter, politician
president of the
Mexico, apostle
LDS First Pres
plural marriage
Wilford Wood
calling for an e
But after the S
1904, he helped
polygamists fro
Well-known fa
Eyrings and Ro
the Mexican co
led them throu
and real estate