

# Journal of Mormon History

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Volume 2 | Issue 1

Article 1

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1975

## Journal of Mormon History Vol. 2, 1975

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### Recommended Citation

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# Journal of Mormon History



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The *Journal of Mormon History* is published annually by the Mormon History Association, P.O. Box 7010, University Station, Provo, Utah 84602. The *Journal* is distributed to members upon payment of the \$4.00 annual dues.

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The Association assumes no responsibility for statements of fact or opinion by contributors.

ISSN 0094-7342

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2000

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COVER: Joseph Smith in the uniform of the Nauvoo Legion.

Front: An engraving published in John C. Bennett's  
*History of the Saints* (Boston, 1842), based on a drawing  
by Sutcliffe Maudsley.

Back: From an oil painting by John Hafen, 1887. Courtesy  
the Historical Department of The Church of Jesus Christ  
of Latter-day Saints.

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## MORMON HISTORY ASSOCIATION AWARDS FOR 1975

### Book Award:

DEAN C. JESSEE, ed., *Letters of Brigham Young to His Sons*, Mormon Heritage Series, vol. 1, gen. ed. Leonard J. Arrington, (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, in collaboration with the Historical Department of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1974).

### Article Awards:

D. MICHAEL QUINN, "The Evolution of the Presiding Quorums of the LDS Church," *Journal of Mormon History* 1 (1974): 21-38; and "The Mormon Church and the Spanish-American War: An End to Selective Pacifism," *Pacific Historical Review* 43 (August 1974): 342-66.

GORDON IRVING, "The Law of Adoption: One Phase of the Development of the Mormon Concept of Salvation, 1830-1900," *Brigham Young University Studies* 14 (Spring 1974): 291-314.

Special Citations: See page 52

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# Quest for Refuge: An Hypothesis as to the Social Origins and Nature of the Mormon Political Kingdom

Marvin S. Hill

Ever since Whitney Cross wrote the *Burned-Over District* in 1950 and postulated that the isms of western New York in the 1830s and 1840s were not the product of Turner's frontier but of rural maturation, historians generally have been confident that the social context of Mormonism has been adequately explained. In 1968 Mario DePillis reopened an aspect of the question by insisting that the Mormons were converted in the West, not New England and New York, as Cross somewhat paradoxically had maintained. Nonetheless, DePillis seemed to agree with Cross that the social ecology of Mormonism was rural, so that his argument proved to be a footnote, not a major revision.<sup>1</sup>

While Cross and DePillis were wrestling with the matter of social context, Mormon historians in Utah were intrigued with another question, the nature of the early Mormon political system. These students argued that a major objective of the Mormons was the establishment of a political Kingdom of God in which a Council of Fifty, comprised of elders and a few non-Mormons, would not only direct the political affairs of the Mormon

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Marvin S. Hill is associate professor of history at Brigham Young University. He was appointed in 1975 to a three-year term on the Council of the Mormon History Association and serves on the *Journal of Mormon History's* Board of Editors.

<sup>1</sup>Whitney R. Cross, *The Burned-Over District: The Social and Intellectual History of Enthusiastic Religion in Western New York, 1800-1850* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1950), pp. 55-76; and Mario DePillis, "Social Sources of Mormonism," *Church History* 37 (March 1968): 50-79.



community but eventually those of the United States and ultimately the world.<sup>2</sup>

It is curious that these generalizations have never been integrated. What was there, if anything, about Cross's maturing rural setting, or DePillis's rural frontier which led the Mormons to attempt the establishment of a political kingdom? When this question is asked it appears that neither Cross or DePillis have adequately explained early Mormonism, for they have not dealt with the central Mormon concern.

Of late, social historians have made us acutely aware how anxiety-ridden the American people were in the 1820s and 1830s. Technological innovation, the growth of cheap transportation, industrialization, migration and social mobility, and the coming of mass politics had altered social and political relationships and made necessary a reappraisal of American society.<sup>3</sup> Historians interested in reform movements have demonstrated that there were many varieties of reform, one of these an effort to exercise conservative control during an era of rapid change.<sup>4</sup> But up to this point the concept of social change and social anxiety has been applied to the Mormons only in a brief and sketchy way.<sup>5</sup>

A demographic study of early Mormonism is badly needed. In its absence I would like to suggest an hypothesis which might help to explain the relationship between the rural ecology of early Mormonism and the quest for a political kingdom. It seems likely that the Mormons reacted against the disintegration of the rural, socially harmonious village community with its dominant religious orientation which its leaders had known in New England,<sup>6</sup> and the triumph of a commercially oriented, acquisitive, openly pluralistic and competitive, and implicitly secular social and religious order in western New York. The early Mormons, I would argue, were fugitives from

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<sup>2</sup>See James R. Clark, "The Kingdom of God, the Council of Fifty, and the State of Deseret," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 26 (April 1958): 131-50. There have been many elaborations of Clark's thesis. See, for example, Klaus Hansen, "The Kingdom of God as a Cause for Mormon-Gentile Conflict," *Brigham Young University Studies* 2 (Spring-Summer 1960): 241-60.

<sup>3</sup>See, for example, Fred Somkin, *Unquiet Eagle: Memory and Desire in the Idea of American Freedom, 1815-1860* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1967); and Douglas T. Miller, *Birth of Modern America, 1820-1850* (New York: Pegasus Press, 1970).

<sup>4</sup>See Lorman Ratner, *Pre-Civil War Reform: The Variety of Principles and Programs* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1967); and C.S. Griffin, *The Ferment of Reform, 1830-1860* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1967); John R. Bodo, *The Protestant Clergy and Public Issues 1812-1848* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1954); Charles I. Foster, *An Errand of Mercy: The Evangelical United Frontier, 1790-1837* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1960); and C.S. Griffin, *Their Brothers' Keepers: Moral Stewardship in the United States, 1800-1865* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University, 1960).

<sup>5</sup>Rowland Berthoff, *An Unsettled People: Social Order and Disorder in American History* (New York: Harper and Rowe, 1971), pp. 247-50.

<sup>6</sup>Among those Mormon leaders in the early years from New England were Joseph and Hyrum Smith, Brigham Young, Orson Hyde, George Albert Smith, Willard Richards, Willford Woodruff, Oliver Cowdery, Thomas B. Marsh, Frederick G. Williams, Edward Partridge, Luke Johnson, Titus Billings, Heber C. Kimball, Joseph Young, Lyman E. Johnson, Levi W. Hancock, Amasa Lyman. Background on these early Mormons can be found in Andrew Jenson, *Later-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia*, 4 vols. (Salt Lake City: Andrew Jenson History Co., 1901-36), vol. 1. Biographical details are also found in several typewritten journals of Mormon leaders in the Brigham Young University Library.

social change and political and social conflict, their Kingdom of God a refuge.<sup>7</sup>

All of New York state after the Revolution enjoyed a booming economy, increasing its commerce between 1791 and 1831 ten fold, making its claim as Empire State good beyond dispute. Flourishing on foreign trade during the post-Revolutionary years, after 1807 New York City and its hinterland profited from control of three major routes of trade: the transatlantic shuttle, the coastal commerce, and the Erie Canal. The middle portion of the canal was in operation by 1820, running a hundred miles west of Little Falls. Industry trailed commerce, but after 1811 when a general incorporation law made it feasible, scores of new firms were begun in sugar refining, chemicals, iron and steel, brewing, brick making, and textiles.<sup>8</sup>

Population boomed. A state that had 340,120 inhabitants in 1790 grew to 1,372,812 by 1820. A high birth rate and foreign immigration accounted for much of this increase in the state, but in the western part emigrants from New England came by thousands, so that Timothy Dwight called it "a colony from New England." James Hotchkin maintained that the rapidity of settlement in western New York with its attending prosperity found no parallel in the history of previous American settlement.<sup>9</sup>

The arrival of so many newcomers could create social and political tensions. Evidence of a general political anxiety in rural areas can be seen in the rapid growth of the Anti-Masonic movement following the abduction of Anti-Masonic crusader William Morgan in 1826. A recent student attributes this highly moralistic movement to several factors: to a fear that republican principles might perish in the too casual keeping of a new generation of Americans, to a feeling of concern at significant economic change and upward and downward social mobility, to the collapse of old political alignments and the indefinite shape of new political movements.<sup>10</sup> Perhaps the protest against political monopolization by Masons was, as much as anything, a demand by newcomers and the politically disassociated that political processes remain open and responsive to their needs and aspirations.<sup>11</sup>

There were anxieties in religion too. During the War of 1812 religion had languished. Afterward there were not enough ministers or churches to meet

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<sup>7</sup>I have stressed Mormon reaction to sectarian conflict in "Role of Christian Primitivism in the Origin and Development of the Early Mormon Kingdom" (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1968).

<sup>8</sup>David M. Ellis, James A. Frost, Harold C. Syrett and Harry J. Carmen, *A History of New York State* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1967), pp. 173-84.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid, pp. 187, 191; and James H. Hotchkin, *A History of the Purchase and Settlement of Western New York* (New York: M.W. Dodd, 1848), p. 17.

<sup>10</sup>Lorman Ratner, *Antimasonry: The Crusade and the Party* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1969), pp. 7-8. However, Edward Pessen has challenged the idea that the 1830s was a period of high social mobility. See "The Egalitarian Myth and American Social Reality: Wealth, Mobility, and Equality in the Era of the Common Man," *American Historical Review* 76 (October 1971): 989-1034.

<sup>11</sup>See Lee Benson, *The Concept of Jacksonian Democracy: New York as a Test Case* (New York: Atheneum Press, 1966), pp. 17-19 on the ideology of the anti-Masons. William W. Phelps, who became a Mormon, said in the newspaper he edited that he hated the aristocratic exclusiveness and political monopolization of the Masons. See the *Ontario Phoenix*, 4 April 1832.

everyone's need. Tremendous missionary activity brought thousands into the Presbyterian, Methodist, and Baptist churches, but despite this growth many communities in western New York were without organized churches. Jeffersonian rationalism also had an impact, and many of the upper classes were indifferent or skeptical toward the inherited faith. Sectarian competition was fierce in the Burned-Over District, and alienated many as they began to doubt the truth of any of the competing denominations.<sup>12</sup>

Amid social change and sectarian conflict, millennialism flourished.<sup>13</sup> At Amsterdam in 1823 Asa Wild received a revelation that the "millennium state of the world is about to take place." Erastus Hanchett, "another prophet" of Lima, was called from his bed at 2 A.M. to deliver God's special message: "to seek peace within, not without oneself." Mordecai Noah became the "first Judge of Israel" and established a heavenly city, Ararat, on Grand Island where there was to be an asylum for the Jewish people. Lorenzo Dow toured western New York and preached his radical millennial views, and a Dr. Ely of New York argued from Ezekiel 37:15-18 that the Jews were soon to be one nation and have a Christian form of government. According to a piece in the *Wayne Sentinel*, the general anxiety was such that "every one looked for some ingenious application of the 'revelations' to the peculiar situation of the world in the present century."<sup>14</sup>

Typical of many of the newcomers to western New York was the family of Joseph Smith, Sr., the father of the Mormon prophet. Preceded in the family line by Robert Smith and Samuel Smith I, who had established themselves comfortably in Topsfield, Massachusetts, and gained recognition in the town as community leaders, Joseph's grandfather, Samuel II, served six terms in the General Court, and was chairman of the Committee at Topsfield which in 1773 voiced its support for the Sons of Liberty who mixed their batch of tea in Boston Harbor. In 1774 Samuel was elected to the first Provincial Congress of Massachusetts.<sup>15</sup> His son Asael, grandfather of Joseph, Jr., seemed destined to achieve prominence, but his expectations were disrupted after his father's death when he found that the estate would not

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<sup>12</sup>Hotchkiss, *History . . . of Western New York*, pp. 26, 94-95, and Cross, *Burned-Over District*, pp. 43-46. Compare the comment of an observer of sectarian conflict in Palmyra, "I was at first a Baptist, then a kind of New Light, afterward a Congregationalist; now my only creed is God be merciful to me a sinner." *Wayne Sentinel*, 2 March 1825. Another Palmyran said he wanted to "come out of the . . . vain speculations and inventions of human will in matters of religion." *Ibid.*, 23 February 1825. See also Reed A. Stout, ed., "Autobiography of Hosea Stout, 1810 to 1835," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 30 (Winter, Spring, Summer, Fall 1962); 249-50, where he says his community was "filled with jars and contentions about the 'non-essentials' . . . but sufficiently essential to keep them in a perpetual quarrel which nearly extinguished my religious fire."

<sup>13</sup>On the relationship between millennialism and social change in medieval Europe see Norman Cohn, *In Pursuit of the Millennium* (Fairlawn, N.J.: Essential Books, 1957); and compare the work of an anthropologist studying Polynesian apocalyptic, Kenelm Burridge, *New Heaven, New Earth: A Study of Millenarian Activities* (New York: Schocken Books, 1969), pp. 3-14.

<sup>14</sup>*Wayne Sentinel*, 23 October 1823; 16, 23 February 1825; 27 September 1825; 4 October 1825; 17 August 1827; 15 January 1830; and Lorenzo Dow, *The Dealings of God . . . in the Life, Experience, and Travels of Lorenzo Dow . . .*, 2 vols. (New York: n.p., 1866), 2:110, 157.

<sup>15</sup>Mary Audentia Smith Anderson, *Ancestry and Posterity of Joseph Smith and Emma Hale* (Independence, Mo.: Herald Publishing House, 1929), pp. 51-56.



cover existing debts. Asael took over the responsibility of maintaining the good name of the family when an older brother could not, and by much personal sacrifice and hard work on the family farm paid most of the debt within five years, finally selling the family estate to balance the account.<sup>16</sup>

Shorn of his inheritance, Asael left Topsfield to take up residence in Vermont. Prior to leaving he apparently disassociated himself from the Congregationalist church of his birth to become a Universalist. Considered deviant by his orthodox neighbors, Asael was never completely satisfied with his social or religious situation. He acknowledged this to his children saying, "I did what in my circumstances seemed best for me for the present; however, the event hath not in some points answered my expectation."<sup>17</sup>

In Tunbridge, Vermont, Asael was able to improve his status by removing to a forested frontier where with hard work and perseverance he acquired much land. Asael had soon established himself among the town leaders, serving as selectman, surveyor of highways, and in other offices. But his eldest son, Joseph, father of the prophet, never achieved much success, encountering misfortune year after year as farmer, part-time teacher, and cooper. In 1816, amid frustration and hope, he migrated to western New York, thinking he might have success on the fertile lands of the Genesee.<sup>18</sup>

Unfortunately, the towns in Massachusetts and Vermont where the Smiths lived have not been studied independently so that any generalizations as to the demographic situation must be of a tentative sort. If Topsfield and Tunbridge were to any extent typical, they were decidedly rural, closely integrated, in some ways socially seamless.<sup>19</sup> The New England homestead was a place of residence and work, prayer and education, where the father served as family patriarch, educator of the youth, respected and obeyed. The farm was largely self sufficient, at least until 1800, when commercialization began to make inroads. There was little room for division between secular and sacred here, economic and religious life were seen as one. Civil and church authorities jointly supported the status quo, reinforcing honored social values of hard work, temperance, religious faith and religious conformity.<sup>20</sup> One study of fifteen towns in Massachusetts, which included Topsfield, argues that throughout the eighteenth century the prevailing social ideal was one of order

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<sup>16</sup>According to the narrative history of his son, John Smith, located in the John Smith file in the Church Archives, Historical Department of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City.

<sup>17</sup>It is obvious that Asael already had acquired Universalist views before leaving Topsfield, and it is likely these liberal ideas alienated him from his neighbors. See Mary A. Anderson, *Ancestry and Posterity of Joseph Smith*, pp. 62-65.

<sup>18</sup>Richard L. Anderson, *Joseph Smith's New England Heritage* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1971), p. 102; Fawn M. Brodie, *No Man Knows My History* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1946), pp. 6-8; and Preston Nibley, ed., *History of Joseph Smith by His Mother, Lucy Mack Smith* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1954), p. 59. This will be referred to hereafter as Lucy Mack Smith, *History of Joseph Smith*.

<sup>19</sup>Michael Zuckerman, in his *Peaceable Kingdoms: New England Towns in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1970), pp. 275-82, includes Topsfield among the fifteen towns which he maintains were socially conservative. We have no comparable study for Tunbridge.

<sup>20</sup>An excellent description of a New England town of 1800 (Franklin, Massachusetts) is found in Jonathan Messerli, *Horace Mann, A Biography* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1972), pp. 4-10.

and harmony. Free elections were a way to achieve public consensus. Dissent was broadly disapproved by church and civil officials. Education was for purposes of chatechization, in the hope that correct principles would promote proper conduct. Men of the 18th century, whatever their political or religious disposition, agreed that parties and factions grew from selfishness, that division and strife were consequences of iniquity.<sup>21</sup>

That the Smith family inherited some of these conservative social values is suggested from Asael Smith's fatherly admonitions to his children. He said, "Strive for the graces most which concern your places and conditions," and "bear yourselves dutifully and conscionably towards the authority under which you live . . . and hold union and order as a precious jewel." Asael warned them to give the church of Christ "that honor, obedience and respect that is her due," and to have no part of "any party or faction, or novelty."

If Asael's social views were conventional, his theological views were unorthodox. He had repudiated the stern God of Calvinism, substituting a benevolent deity whose love for his creatures is manifest in his effort to save all men. Asael told his children, "There is no respect of persons with God, who will have all mankind to be saved." He instructed them to find their own way religiously and pay no heed to what their neighbors might say. If they were socially beneath some of their kindred, they should not be troubled, but "get more wisdom, humility and virtue and you are above them."<sup>22</sup>

Joseph, Sr., shared this theological liberalism, for he joined the Universalists in Vermont when his father did.<sup>23</sup> But Lucy Mack Smith, his wife, was at that time a Methodist and pressured him to leave the Universalists and join her church.<sup>24</sup> Responding to her wishes, Joseph began to attend their meetings, but Asael countered this by throwing Thomas Paine's *Age of Reason* at Joseph, challenging him to read it.<sup>25</sup> Whether Paine's denunciation of the religious establishment influenced Joseph is not certain, but he never joined the Methodists, becoming a religious seeker who affirmed that the true church of Christ was not upon the earth.<sup>26</sup>

It was with a great deal of family pride, but also with a sense of frustration and failure that Joseph Smith, Sr., and his wife moved to Palmyra. At first the new environment may not have seemed uncongenial and they had high hopes. Palmyra was a small village with only six hundred inhabitants and a few stores, located in the midst of a self-sufficient, family oriented agricultural area.<sup>27</sup> But 1817 was the year that Governor DeWitt Clinton

<sup>21</sup>This is Zuckermann's thesis; see especially, *Peaceable Kingdoms*, pp. 46-84.

<sup>22</sup>In Asael's letter to his children written in 1799, in Mary A. Anderson, *Ancestry and Posterity of Joseph Smith*, pp. 62-65.

<sup>23</sup>This was in 1797. See *Tunbridge Town Record*, 6 December 1797, p. 188.

<sup>24</sup>Lucy Mack Smith, *History of Joseph Smith*, p. 43.

<sup>25</sup>Lucy maintains in her printed version (*ibid.*) that it was Joseph's brother, Jesse, who opposed his joining the Methodists, and this may be so, for Jesse was more orthodox than the rest of the family. Lucy's unpagged preliminary manuscript in the Church Archives, however, makes it clear that Asael also opposed and that he challenged Joseph to read Thomas Paine.

<sup>26</sup>Lucy Mack Smith, *History of Joseph Smith*, p. 46.

<sup>27</sup>*Palmyra Courier*, 30 July 1927. That some Mormons engaged in home manufacturing as well as farming is evidenced by the fact that in 1823 Martin Harris, afterward one of the witnesses

began construction of the Erie Canal and times were changing. Even Palmyra and Manchester, where the Smiths moved after two years, seemed in the path of progress and anticipated prosperity. Most of the immigrants, like the Smiths, came to western New York without wealth, yet hoped and expected that hard work would bring them comfortable circumstances within a short time.<sup>28</sup>

Population boomed. Ontario County, where the Smiths settled, had 42,032 people in 1810 and 88,267 in 1820, thus increasing at a rate twice that of the United States generally. Palmyra and its sister village, Macedon, had 2,614 citizens in 1810 and 5,416 in 1820. Manchester and Farmington had 2,215 in 1810 and 4,575 in 1830.<sup>29</sup> When the Smiths arrived at Palmyra the village consisted of a few log huts and wooden houses, with a store or two. Before they left in 1831 there were brick houses three rows deep, three church houses, a bank under construction, and an incorporated school district.<sup>30</sup> The editor of the *Wayne Sentinel* spoke the mind of the town when he said, "The increase of population has been remarkable."<sup>31</sup>

The impact of the canal was substantial. Palmyra was transformed in a few years from a slow-moving, rural village to a town with commercial and business aspirations. In 1819 a correspondent to the *Palmyra Register* said, "No village in the county of Ontario is now doing more business in the commercial line than this." The editor of the *Western Farmer* said in 1821 that the past season had seen the construction of several new business establishments, including a storehouse and ten mercantile shops. Palmyra's business centered along the canal where several grocery and provision stores stood, attracting farmers who sought cash for dairy and farm products. By 1828 there were eighteen different stores where dry goods were sold.<sup>32</sup>

Between 1815 and 1835 all of western New York underwent a change industrially as household crafts were superceded by factories. In Ontario County between 1825 and 1835 household manufactures declined from 376,681 to 178,998. In Palmyra in 1810 households produced 33,719 yards of cloth, but by 1821 factories produced 43,820 yards.<sup>33</sup> Already by 1822 the editor of the *Western Farmer* could boast, "The day is fast approaching when in point of

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to the Book of Mormon, won three prizes in Ontario County for twenty yards of worsted cloth produced in his home, for the best four pairs of worsted stockings, and for the best twenty yards of flannel cloth. See *Ontario Repository*, 11 November 1823.

<sup>28</sup>See the *Western Farmer* (Palmyra), 21 March 1821, for the editor's comment on the anticipated effect of the canal. Compare Charles Brown, "Manchester in the Early Days," *Shortsville Enterprize Press*, 15 March 1890; and Hotchkin, *History . . . of Western New York*, p. 25.

<sup>29</sup>These figures are cited by Milton V. Backman, Jr., *Joseph Smith's First Vision: The First Vision in Its Historical Context* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1971), pp. 33, 45.

<sup>30</sup>*Palmyra Courier*, 30 July 1927; and compare Horatio Gates Spafford, ed., *A Gazeteer of the State of New York* (Albany: B.D. Packard; and Troy, N.Y.: Author, 1824), pp. 400-401 for further details on Palmyra's economic growth by 1821.

<sup>31</sup>26 September 1828.

<sup>32</sup>*Palmyra Register*, 17 November 1819; *Western Farmer*, 12 September 1821; W.H. McIntosh, ed., *History of Wayne County, New York* (Philadelphia: Everts, Ensign, and Everts, 1877), p. 144.

<sup>33</sup>Rolla Milton Tryon, *Household Manufactures in the United States, 1640-1860* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1917), p. 305; and Alice Benjamin, "History of Palmyra" (M.A. thesis, Rochester University, 1942), p. 46.

business wealth, and respectability . . . [Palmyra] will have but few rivals in the state."<sup>34</sup> In 1822 there were 748 in the village in agriculture, 190 in manufacturing, and 18 in commerce; ten grist mills, seventeen saw mills, two fulling mills, one iron works, and six distilleries.<sup>35</sup>

In Manchester there were great hopes that the village would match the growth of its English namesake. Several mill sites along its streams made prospects bright. Typical of several factories to come into the area was the Ontario Manufacturing Company which was established in 1813 by William Brimes. He constructed a building sixty feet square, which housed a jenny, seventy-five spindles, and six looms to manufacture woolen cloth.<sup>36</sup> Time was not on the side of the Palmyrans and Manchesterians, however, as Rochester grew more rapidly and reaped the benefits of canal commerce.<sup>37</sup> Yet, in these years opportunities seemed good. The town bustled with enterprise and its citizens beamed with anticipation.

But population boom and increasing commercialization could create anxieties. Increasing numbers of Palmyrans worked for wages, and many farmers and workers suffered during the depression of 1821. Good times were followed by depression, and then good times once more. Palmyrans became less certain of their destiny, more anxious as they looked ahead. When toward the end of the decade it was clear that Palmyra would not continue to grow at a phenomenal rate, Pomeroy Tucker of the *Wayne Sentinel* philosophized that while growth had not been extraordinary it had been steady and "in this fact we believe we have security."<sup>38</sup>

During plush times styles of living had changed. New mercantile stores opened their doors and seductively advertised elegant goods, assorted silks, cashmere shawls, kid gloves, buckles of steel, silk vests and hose. Fashionable tailoring shops offered fine men's and women's ware.<sup>39</sup> But the Puritan spirit was shocked by increasing worldliness. Newspaper editors reflected the sense of alarm within the rural community out of touch with its traditional simplicity and agrarian egalitarianism. T. C. Strong, pious editor of the *Palmyra Register*, wrote in 1817 that any who "neglects his duty, or refused to improve his talents . . . though he may wade in wealth, and triumph in honor, must be the object of his own contempt." A church member in 1818 lamented that the Presbyterian meeting house was not yet finished, and inquired whether the building was to be neglected "while you are vying with each other in the display of your wealth, in repairing and building new convenient habitations for yourselves." During an economic slump the editor of the *Ontario Repository* warned that although retrenchment could bring a healthy cut back on unnecessary spending, it must bring no slackening in

<sup>34</sup>19 June 1822.

<sup>35</sup>Benjamin, "History of Palmyra," p. 50; and Spafford, *Gazeteer*, p. 401.

<sup>36</sup>Charles Brown, in *Shortsville Enterprize Press*, 15 March 1890 and 17 April 1903.

<sup>37</sup>Cross, *Burned-Over District*, pp. 70-73.

<sup>38</sup>*Western Farmer*, 12 September 1821. Compare *Ontario Repository*, 30 May 1820, and *Wayne Sentinel*, 26 September 1820, where a slump in the money market is acknowledged. See also *Wayne Sentinel*, 13 May 1827.

<sup>39</sup>See the advertisements in *Wayne Sentinel*, 16 February 1825, 19 May 1826, and 14 July 1826.



support of religion.<sup>40</sup> Ministers, taking up a theme long familiar in New England, warned that national prosperity was dependent upon "keeping our religious principles pure."<sup>41</sup>

Palmyra, prosperous but anxiety ridden, was ripe for religious revival by 1820. There were several revivals in the region that year, and a major revival in the town itself in 1823.<sup>42</sup> By 1825 in many small towns along the canal in central and western New York rising middle classes, torn between acquisitiveness and guilt, yielded to Charles G. Finney's modified Calvinism. Applying his "new measures" in villages that were deep in the religious heritage of New England,<sup>43</sup> Finney found a hearing among those who had succeeded financially to a degree they had not expected.<sup>44</sup> He stressed the total moral depravity of the unregenerate whose stiff necks were due to their own conscious choice. He discovered congregations that had been only going through the motions of religious commitment. He found people in anguish, unable to achieve satisfaction in their customary prayers and salutations to the Lord. Many believed themselves taken by the world, too fond of fine clothes and social rank. At Antwerp Finney discovered the whole village profane and negligent of church meetings. At Gouverneur were well-to-do-farmers who longed for repentance. At Elmer's Hill was a woman proud of her righteousness yet guilty underneath. At Ithaca were two gamblers who wished to surrender their worldly professions; at Rome a Mrs. Gillet who loved gaudy attire yet felt certain it would shut her out of the kingdom of heaven. Everywhere the middle class — doctors, lawyers, merchants — elbowed into Finney's meetings, wishing to atone for their prosperity and their religious neglect.<sup>45</sup>

Although attributing his success to the power of God, Finney understood the social significance of his message. In his *Lectures on Revivals* he said that revivals came where there was a worldly spirit in the church, where Christians "conform to the world in dress, equipage," and seek worldly amusements. His message offered relief from guilt magnified by accumulation, a reconciliation with old traditional values.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>40</sup>*Palmyra Register*, 26 November 1817 and 16 June 1818; and *Ontario Repository*, 30 May 1820.

<sup>41</sup>*Discourse Delivered in Canandaigua by Rev. A.D. Eddy, New York, July 4, 1826* (Canandaigua: Bemis, Morse & Ward, 1826), p. 20.

<sup>42</sup>Milton V. Backman, Jr., "Awakenings in the Burned-Over District: New Light on the Historical Setting of the First Vision," *Brigham Young University Studies* 9 (Spring 1969): 301-20; and "Revival of Religion in Ontario District," *The Methodist Magazine* 8 (1825): 158-61.

<sup>43</sup>Hotchkin, *History . . . of Western New York*, pp. 24, 26-27 says most of the people in western New York were from New England and "wished to see the institutions of the gospel established, and in operation, as they had been accustomed to them in the places from which they emigrated." Bernard A. Weisberger, *They Gathered at the River: The Story of the Great Revivalists and Their Impact Upon Religion in America* (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1958), pp. 12, 104, argues that Finney's revivals were supported largely by the middle classes.

<sup>44</sup>Much of the ostentation in dress which Finney found in the towns where he preached suggests they were nouveau riche. See *Memoirs of Charles G. Finney by Himself* (New York: A.S. Barnes & Co., 1876), pp. 115-16, 166, 173.

<sup>45</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 98-103, 129, 134, 146-49, 157, 162, 166, 173-74.

<sup>46</sup>Charles Grandison Finney, *Lectures on Revivals of Religion*, ed. William G. McLaughlin

Although many of the lower classes were guilt ridden too because of their rising status, and some found relief at Finney's revivals, not all could respond affirmatively nor feel comfortable in the middle class churches.<sup>47</sup> Lucy Mack Smith and some of her children joined the Presbyterians during a revival, at a time when the family was relatively well off and bulding a more comfortable home in Palmyra.<sup>48</sup> Nonetheless, Joseph, Sr., remained aloof, angered by the assertion of the Presbyterian minister who preached in his deceased eldest son's funeral sermon that the young man had gone to hell.<sup>49</sup> It may also be that Joseph, Sr., felt uncomfortable in the middle class congregation due to a drinking problem that plagued him in his early years.<sup>50</sup> His namesake, the prophet, still in his teens, attended the revival where his mother, sister, and two brothers were converted. He also wanted to experience the bliss of conversion but could not.<sup>51</sup> He was numbed by conflicting feelings, perhaps by his inability to reconcile his father's dissenting views with the recent affirmations of his mother.

The arguments of the ministers, who after the revival made strenuous efforts to solicit converts for their particular denominations, further confused and repelled the young man.<sup>52</sup> Amidst their "war of words" he could not determine which sect was right and which was wrong.<sup>53</sup> Although he flirted with joining the Methodists, he remained outside any organized religious institution. While in a state of inner turmoil he went into the woods to pray and there received a vision which launched his career as the prophet of Mormonism. The vision confirmed his and his father's suspicions, that the prevailing denominations and their adherents were corrupt, that the true church was not upon the earth. He was told in a subsequent vision that he must tarry, for he would be an instrument to bring back to earth the true mode of Christianity.<sup>54</sup>

By the time he received the golden plates and began translating the Book

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(Cambridge: Harvard University Press, Belknap Press, 1960), p. 25.

<sup>47</sup>*Memoirs of Charles G. Finney*, pp. 127-28; and Elmer T. Clark, *Small Sects in America* (Nashville: Cokesbury Press, 1937), pp. 269-76 which argues that the small sects flourished among the disinherited.

<sup>48</sup>Lucy Mack Smith, *History of Joseph Smith*, pp. 85, 90, and the testimony of her son, William Smith, in *Deseret News* (Salt Lake City), 20 January 1894. Compare the statement by Alexander Neibaur in his Journal, n.p. n.d., microfilm copy, Church Archives.

<sup>49</sup>*Deseret News*, 20 January 1894.

<sup>50</sup>In a patriarchal blessing which Joseph, Sr., gave to his son Hyrum, dated 9 December 1834, he praised his son for always standing by his father: "Though he has been out of the way, through wine, thou hast never forsaken him nor laughed him to scorn." The blessing is in the Hyrum Smith Papers at the Church Archives. There is no evidence that the elder Smith had this problem later in his life after he joined the Mormon church.

<sup>51</sup>Alexander Neibaur Journal, n.p., n.d.

<sup>52</sup>See Smith's account written in 1838 in his *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints . . .*, ed. B. H. Roberts, 7 vols., 2nd ed. rev. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1971), 1:2-6. Compare William Smith's comments in *William Smith on Mormonism* (Lamoni, Iowa: The Herald Steam Book and Job Office, 1883), pp. 6-7.

<sup>53</sup>Joseph Smith, *History of the Church*, 1:3-4. Compare Mario DePillis, "The Quest for Religious Authority and the Rise of Mormonism," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 1 (Fall 1966): 68-88.

<sup>54</sup>Joseph Smith, *History of the Church*, 1:3, 11-12.

of Mormon, his father's family, despite strenuous efforts, had lost the farm and fallen once more on hard times.<sup>55</sup> Thus his mother, brothers, and sisters were more receptive as time went by to the new gospel which would particularly appeal to the disinherited.<sup>56</sup>

Many of the earliest converts to Mormonism were considerably less than middle class economically,<sup>57</sup> had little formal education, and were religiously alienated, either having fled themselves from one of the leading denominations, or else come from parents or grandparents who had taken flight from sectarianism to become religious seekers.<sup>58</sup> They uniformly felt that the old-line churches were corrupt, that the clergy were hireling priests, and that the emerging social order was Babylon incarnate.

In giving expression to these views, the Book of Mormon denounced the kind of social change and conflict that had taken place in Palmyra: the commercialization, the social stratification, the worldliness, the sectarian controversy. One of the prophets of early America affirmed that on the eve of Christ's coming "the people began to be distinguished by ranks, according to their riches and their learning." Due to this emerging class differentiation, social strife ensued and the churches were "broken up."

In times when the people were righteous they prospered. But soon their love of wealth and material things undermined their faith and they became "lifted up," proud of their fine clothes and fine religious sanctuaries. The consequence was a neglecting and despising of the poor. Multiplying in their wickedness, they created many churches whose priests labored for hire and taught the people popular doctrines. Soon the churches were contending with one another which "causeth envyings, and strifes, and malice."

It was only during periods of righteousness that society flourished. At such times no minister or politician worked for pay, but each labored with his own hands. When Christ came the Saints had all things in common, and the

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<sup>55</sup>William Smith details how hard the family worked their farm. See *Deseret News*, 20 January 1894. Lucy Mack Smith, *History of Joseph Smith*, p. 93, describes the loss of the farm.

<sup>56</sup>Lucy and her children stopped attending the Presbyterian church by mid-1828 and were among the first to join the new movement. See reproduction of the records of the local Presbyterian church in *Brigham Young University Studies* 10 (Summer 1970): 482-84.

<sup>57</sup>Orson Spencer, a prominent leader in Utah, said in 1842 that most of the early converts were from the working class. See his *Letters Exhibiting the Most Prominent Doctrines of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Co., 1889), p. 38. Such leaders as Wilford Woodruff, Brigham Young, Lyman Wight, Parley and Orson Pratt, John Taylor, and Lorenzo Snow, to say nothing of the members of the Smith family, were poor farmers or artisans and down on their luck at the time of conversion. See Matthias F. Cowley, ed., *Wilford Woodruff: History of His Life and Labors as Recorded in His Daily Journals* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Co., 1909), p. 4; M.R. Werner, *Brigham Young* (London: Johathan Cape, 1925), p. 7; "History of Lyman Wight," *Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star* 27 (22 July 1865): 455; Parley P. Pratt, Jr., ed., *Autobiography of Parley Parker Pratt* (1874), 3rd ed. (1938; reprinted, Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1961), pp. 30-31; Brigham H. Roberts, *Life of John Taylor* (1892; Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1963), p. 23; and Eliza R. Snow Smith, *Biography and Family Record of Lorenzo Snow* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Co., 1884), p. 2.

<sup>58</sup>In his "Organizational Development and Social Origins of the Mormon Hierarchy, 1832-1932: A Prosopographical Study," (M.A. thesis, University of Utah, 1973), pp. 102, 114, Dennis Michael Quinn indicates that 40 per cent of those appointed to high office by Joseph Smith had little education, and that one third of the early leaders had been Methodists and nearly that many members of no church. On the seeker strain in early Mormonism see Hill, "The Role of Christian Primitivism," pp. 56-60.

rich and poor were homogenized. With social classes eliminated, strife and contention ceased and the people lived in peace and harmony.<sup>59</sup> The Book of Mormon prophets warned the generation of the 1830s that to covet material things and to rate men according to their possessions was to invite destruction. Americans must turn from their worldliness and accept the true gospel of Christ or reap the vengeance of God.<sup>60</sup>

At the heart of the early Mormon critique of American society and the American churches was a complete condemnation of pluralism; the social objective of the Latter-day Saints, a seamless society. For the Mormons there was but one true church and one true doctrine, and all the faithful must be one in spirit and in material wealth. An early revelation commanded: "Be one, and if ye are not one ye are not mine." A Book of Mormon prophet said the volume would help put down contention and establish peace. The ideal political state depicted in the Book of Mormon was a theocracy, where the chief judge was also the head of the church who promoted social and political unity by preaching the true gospel and by establishing a communistic economic order that eliminated social classes.<sup>61</sup>

There was in early Mormon thought a rejection of American political pluralism, a warning that such a political system could not endure. Martin Harris affirmed openly in Kirtland in 1832 that American government was doomed:

Within four years there will not be one wicked person left in the United States; . . . the righteous will be gathered to Zion . . . and there will be no President over these United States, after that time. I do hereby assert and declare that in four years from the date thereof every sectarian and religious denomination in the United States will be broken down, and every Christian shall be gathered unto the Mormonites, and the rest of the human race shall perish.<sup>62</sup>

Joseph Smith was not so positive as to the apocalyptic time table, nonetheless he wrote to N. E. Seaton in 1833, "Not many years shall pass away before the United States shall present such a scene of bloodshed as has not a parallel in the history of our nation; pestilence, hail, famine, and earthquake will sweep the wicked of this generation from off the face of the land."<sup>63</sup>

Mormon leaders had little hope of reform. After their people were expelled from Jackson County, Missouri, Oliver Cowdery warned in 1834 in the *Messenger and Advocate* of the dire effects of political and religious pluralism: "In vain will the Gentiles of this generation attempt to reform themselves, or others, or to obtain what they have lost . . . certain the present Gentile world, with all its parties, sects, denominations, reformations, revivals of religion, societies and associations, are devoted to destruction." In 1835 Cowdery wrote in the same periodical, "The appearance of our country is

<sup>59</sup>2 Nephi 26:20-21, 29; 2 Nephi 28: 9-14; Mosiah 2:14; 3 Nephi 6:12-14; 4 Nephi vss. 3, 13, 16.

<sup>60</sup>See, for example, Mormon 8:37-41.

<sup>61</sup>Doctrine and Covenants of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Salt Lake City: by the Church, 1921), Section 38:27, and in the Book of Mormon, Mosiah 29:42 and 2 Nephi 3:12.

<sup>62</sup>E.D. Howe, *Mormonism Unveiled* . . . (Painesville, Ohio: E.D. Howe, 1834), p. 14.

<sup>63</sup>Joseph Smith, *History of the Church*, 1:315.



truly alarming. Every mail bag brings news accounts of mobs, and riots, great fire and other destructions.”<sup>64</sup> Parley P. Pratt wrote in 1838 that the Book of Mormon “set the time for the overthrow of our government and all other Gentile governments on the American continent.”<sup>65</sup> Joseph Smith said in 1842 that no man made government could endure: “Monarchical, aristocratic, and republican forms of government, of their various kinds and grades, have in their turn been raised to dignity and prostrated in the dust. The plans of the greatest politicians, the wisest senators, and the most profound statesmen have been exploded.” Smith said only a government made by God would bring peace on earth:

[It was] the design of Jehovah, from the commencement of the world, and [is] his purpose now, to regulate the affairs of the world in his own time; to stand as the head of the universe, and take the reigns of the government into his own hand. When that is done judgment will be administered in righteousness; anarchy and confusion will be destroyed, and “nations will learn war no more.” It is for want of this great principle that all this confusion has existed: for it is not in man that walketh to direct his steps.<sup>66</sup>

It has been argued by a recent student that the prophet’s organization of a political kingdom with its executive arm, the Council of Fifty, was a conscious quest for power, for empire.<sup>67</sup> There is some truth in this. Recent studies of millenarian groups in the South Pacific suggest that such groups constitute a rebellion against every aspect of the prevailing social order, including the political, and “predicate a new culture or social order coming into being.” One student holds that such religious movements are concerned with redemptive power. Their launching is related to a conviction that the prevailing order cannot redeem them. Thus they become “holistic” in outlook, seeking to reorganize society from the ground up. Such efforts require political power, and thus these movements become either full-fledged political movements or else abortive and passive.<sup>68</sup>

Unquestionably millenarian in orientation,<sup>69</sup> Mormonism was not only a rebellion against the prevailing churches but also against the social order. It included social, economic and political readjustments. The Mormons wanted a seamless society, free from sectarian strife, class conflict, and political controversy. To fully accomplish such an anti-pluralistic social alteration, political power was required, so that in this context it would seem that there was a certain degree of inevitability in the rise of the political kingdom.

As Robert Flanders has pointed out, Mormon apocalyptic was potentially

<sup>64</sup>*Latter-day Saints' Messenger and Advocate* 1 (December 1834): 39, and (August 1835): 166.

<sup>65</sup>Parley P. Pratt, *Mormonism Unveiled: Zion's Watchman Unmasked . . .* (New York: [the Author], 1838), p. 15.

<sup>66</sup>*Times and Seasons* 3 (15 July 1842): 855-56.

<sup>67</sup>Klaus J. Hansen, *Quest for Empire: The Political Kingdom of God and the Council of Fifty in Mormon History* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1967).

<sup>68</sup>Burridge, *New Heaven, New Earth*, pp. 3-13, 72, 108, 141, 164, 166, and Peter Worsley, *The Trumpet Shall Sound: A Study of Cargo Cults in Melanesia* (London: MacGibbon and Kee, 1957), pp. 44, 226, 231. For an attempt to generalize broadly about millennialist cults, see Anthony F.C. Wallace, “Revitalization Movements,” *American Anthropologist* 58 (April 1956): 264-81.

<sup>69</sup>See Klaus Hansen’s first chapter in *Quest for Empire*, and compare Hill, “Role of Christian Primitivism,” pp. 64-79, 108.

radical.<sup>70</sup> Many Saints expected to acquire immediate power and dominion. In 1845 the Twelve Apostles issued a decree to the kings of the earth that was somewhat suggestive of this. It called upon all nations to submit to the political kingdom of God.<sup>71</sup> There could be a certain amount of militancy that went with these expectations, but when Sidney Rigdon sought to become the prophet's successor and prophesied an immediate war upon the United States and England, his trumpet call fell on deaf ears. Most Saints considered his militant dreams to be fanciful and dangerous.<sup>72</sup>

Much evidence suggests that Mormons generally were not millennial extremists, nor excessively militant. They were content like their prophet to await divine intervention to gain dominion.<sup>73</sup> The prophet's politicking seems to be more defensive than aggressive, more a quest for refuge than a quest for empire. Smith told Governor Thomas Ford in 1843 that his people were "driven to union in their elections by persecution, and not by my influence."<sup>74</sup> There may have been individual exceptions to this, but as a generalization it seems to stand up. Empire became a primary concern of the prophet only after he became convinced that the government of the United States would not intervene to protect his people.

It is true that one reason for a Zion in the Far West was to enable the Mormons to do missionary work among the Indians, and that the Indians were to have an important role to play in the last days according to Mormon apocalyptic. Parley P. Pratt interpreted the Book of Mormon to mean that the Indians would descend upon the wicked Gentiles in America and destroy them.<sup>75</sup> But there is no evidence in this period that the Mormon elders intended to induce an Indian attack.

The Mormons did not become involved in county politics in Ohio until they were the object of fierce sectarian opposition.<sup>76</sup> In Missouri the earliest Mormon settlers were non-political.<sup>77</sup> Early revelations urged the Saints to gather unto themselves and become self sufficient.<sup>78</sup> They did expect that in

<sup>70</sup>Robert B. Flanders, "The Kingdom of God in Illinois: Politics in Utopia," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 5 (Spring 1970): 26-36.

<sup>71</sup>*Proclamation of the Twelve Apostles of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. To All Kings of the World, to the President of the United States of America; to the Governors of the Several States, and to the Rulers and People of All Nations* (Liverpool: F.D. Richards, 1845).

<sup>72</sup>Hill, "Role of Christian Primitivism," p. 299.

<sup>73</sup>Parley P. Pratt, *Voice of Warning*, p. 31, said the kingdom would come "without the aid of human institutions or the precepts of men." See also Hill, "Role of Christian Primitivism," pp. 77-78.

<sup>74</sup>Joseph Smith, *History of the Church*, 5:232.

<sup>75</sup>3 Nephi 20:15-18; and compare Parley P. Pratt, *Mormonism Unveiled*, p. 15.

<sup>76</sup>Hill, "Role of Christian Primitivism," pp. 177-80.

<sup>77</sup>There is no evidence that the Mormons voted as a group during the earliest years in Missouri. Non-Mormons did not begin to fear their political potential until 1833 after their numbers grew. See Josiah Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies* (1844), reproduced in Reuben Gold Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, 32 vols. (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark, 1904-1907), 20:95, for one of the earliest evidences of a political concern. Warren Abner Jennings, "Zion is Fled: The Expulsion of the Mormons from Jackson County, Missouri" (Ph.D. diss., University of Florida, 1962), p. 120, indicates that during the first year there was no hint of conflict between Mormons and Missourians, which suggests that politics was no issue at this time.

<sup>78</sup>Doctrine and Covenants, Section 78:14; and see Leonard J. Arrington, "Early Mormon

time all of Jackson County would be theirs, but this would come by legitimate purchase.<sup>79</sup> When the Saints were driven from Jackson County in 1833 by an angry mob of slaveholders, a revelation admonished the organization of an armed force, "Zion's Camp," which was to redeem the promised land "by power."<sup>80</sup> Yet the Mormon prophet did not venture to Missouri without reassurance from the governor of the state that he would support the Mormons in their efforts to regain their lands, and that state militia would be on hand to assist them when they arrived.<sup>81</sup> Many of the elders were angry at Smith after the governor failed to render assistance and the prophet refused to resort to armed force. But Oliver Cowdery explained that the central motivation of the church leaders when they initiated Zion's Camp was to secure a haven. He wrote in 1834 on the eve of the expedition:

You will undoubtedly see that it is of little consequence to proclaim the everlasting gospel to men, and warn them to flee to Zion for refuge, when there is no Zion, but that which is in possession of the wicked. Lo, Zion must be redeemed, and then the Saints can have a place to flee to for safety.<sup>82</sup>

The Saints came to Far West looking for a "defence and a refuge from the storm."<sup>83</sup> They did not get into trouble over politics but because Sidney Rigdon declared that the Mormons wished to be independent of local law.<sup>84</sup> They tended to their own political affairs in Caldwell County and sought to be economically self-sufficient. In Missouri, above all, the Mormons wanted to be left alone.<sup>85</sup> They stirred trouble in Daviess County, in part because new converts immigrated and voted Democratic.<sup>86</sup> But this voting in a block may

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Communitarianism: The Law of Consecration and Stewardship," *Western Humanities Review* 7 (Autumn 1953): 356 n. 53.

<sup>79</sup>Doctrine and Covenants, Section 57:1-4. Their enemies charged that many Mormons claimed that the Lord would give them Jackson County. See the letter of B. Pixley written 7 November 1833, in William Mulder and A. Russell Mortensen, eds., *Among the Mormons: Historic Accounts by Contemporary Observers* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1958), p. 82, where Pixley maintains the Mormons said Missourians would be driven off unless they sold out. Compare E.D. Howe, *Mormonism Unveiled*, p. 145, and Joseph Thorp, *Early Days in the West Along the Missouri One Hundred Years Ago* (Liberty, Mo.: Irving Gilmer, 1924), p. 74.

<sup>80</sup>Doctrine and Covenants, Section 103:15.

<sup>81</sup>See "Circular to the Churches" in Oliver Cowdery's personal letters, Huntington Library, San Marino, Calif., and compare John Corrill, *A Brief History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Including Their Doctrine and Discipline* (St. Louis: for the Author, 1839), p. 21.

<sup>82</sup>Parley P. Pratt, Jr., *Autobiography of Parley Parker Pratt*, p. 116; Joseph Smith, *History of the Church*, 2:182 and n. See also "History of George Albert Smith" under the date 22 June 1834, Church Archives; and Oliver Cowdery to W.W. Phelps, 30 March 1834, Huntington Library.

<sup>83</sup>Doctrine and Covenants, Section 115:6-7.

<sup>84</sup>Brodie, *No Man Knows My History*, pp. 223-24. Compare *Oration Delivered by Mr. S. Rigdon on the 4th of July 1838* (Far West: The Journal Office, 1838).

<sup>85</sup>The Albert P. Rockwood letters of this period at Yale University, New Haven, Conn., make it clear that the Mormon cooperatives formed at this time were to provide them "no necessity of purchasing of our enemies." The Mormons sought, too, to be free from what they considered to be legal harassment by the Missourians. See *Oration Delivered by Mr. S. Rigdon*.

<sup>86</sup>See James O. Broadhead Papers, Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis. Compare the Railroad Papers at the same location, for a letter to George Churchill, 11 September 1838, which indicates that while the Mormons were Democratic most of the Missourians in the old counties were Whig.

have been a by-product of their fear of pluralism and social disintegration rather than a deliberate reach for power.<sup>87</sup>

After the Mormons were driven by armed force from their settlement in DeWitt they retaliated by launching a raid into Daviess County and sacking two towns.<sup>88</sup> Albert P. Rockwood indicated, however, that the prophet only unsheathed his sword "until he can go into any country or state in safety and peace."<sup>89</sup> Faced with the prospect of all-out war and bloodshed, the prophet had no disposition for it, and quickly came to terms with the Missourians.<sup>90</sup> The Danites, a radical group were more concerned with promoting internal unity in the church than acquiring empire.<sup>91</sup>

Early Mormon politicking in Illinois grew out of the fact that both Whigs and Democrats courted the Mormon vote from the moment the Saints gathered on the banks of the Mississippi at Quincy. Smith's vacillation between parties from 1840 onward was opportunistic and was bitterly resented by non-Mormons,<sup>92</sup> yet it is clear that he sought protection by this means. Thus the Nauvoo Charter was secured largely through the efforts of Stephen A. Douglas and other Democrats, as Smith said, "for the salvation of the church . . . that every honest man might dwell secure under its protection without distinction of sect or party."<sup>93</sup> On those occasions when the charter became an object of bitter denunciation by non-Mormons of Hancock County, it was because the prophet had taken advantage of the power it afforded to issue writs that shielded him from legal processes he considered to be vexatious.<sup>94</sup>

<sup>87</sup>The Mormons took seriously the injunction to be one in all things. See Oliver Cowdery's denunciation of "the present Gentile world, with all its parties" in *Latter-day Saints' Messenger and Advocate* 1 (August 1835): 166.

<sup>88</sup>See *Document Containing the Correspondence, Orders, &c. in Relation to the Disturbance with the Mormons* (Fayette, Mo.: by the Order of the Missouri General Assembly, 1841), pp. 57-59, for the testimony of Apostles Orson Hyde and Thomas B. Marsh.

<sup>89</sup>See Rockwood's letter of 29 October 1838, Yale University. Marsh said, however, that "the plan of said Smith, the prophet, is to take this State, and he professes to his people to intend taking the United States, and ultimately the whole world." But Marsh indicates the prophet went on to say that he would be a Mohammed only if the non-Mormons would not leave him alone.

<sup>90</sup>He made peace with the Missourians despite some strong inclinations to the contrary among some elders. See Rockwood letter, 29 October 1838, and John Corrill, *Brief History of the Church*, p. 41.

<sup>91</sup>According to John Corrill and William E. McClellin, the initial purpose of the Danites was to encourage internal unity. Corrill's testimony at the preliminary hearing before Judge King in November 1838, originally published as *Correspondence and Orders*, has been more conveniently republished as *Senate Document 189*. See Corrill's testimony on p. 14, and McClellin's in the *Ensign of Liberty* 1 (March 1847): 8. Samson Avard, however, taught the Danites that they were "captains to rule over this kingdom of Jesus Christ." See Joseph Smith, *History of the Church*, 3:180.

<sup>92</sup>Thomas Ford, *History of Illinois . . .* (Chicago: S.C. Griggs and Co., 1854), p. 262, and Joseph Smith, *History of the Church*, 3:267-71. Ford noted that after the Mormons had pledged to vote for Walker, a Whig candidate for Senator, but supported the Democrat Hoge, "From this time forth the Whigs generally, and a part of the Democrats, determined upon driving the Mormons out of the state; and everything connected with the Mormons became political." See Ford, *History of Illinois*, p. 319.

<sup>93</sup>Joseph Smith, *History of the Church*, 4:249.

<sup>94</sup>Hill, "Role of Christian Primitivism, pp. 258-60, 263, 269-75.

The Nauvoo Legion was indeed a military arm of the kingdom but was never employed by Joseph Smith or Brigham Young in a quest for empire. It was to protect the Saints from injustice and perhaps in time to save the nation from disorder and ruin. But these were primarily millennial hopes, as the following poem by Eliza R. Snow makes clear.

Fair, Columbial rejoice! look away to the West,  
 To thy own Illinois, where the saints have found rest;  
 See a phoenix come forth from the graves of the just,  
 Whom Missouri's oppressors laid low in the dust:  
 See a phoenix — a "Legion" — a warm hearted band,  
 Who, unmov'd, so thy basis of freedom will stand.  
 When the day of vexation rolls fearfully on —  
 When thy children turn traitors — when safety is gone —  
 When peace in thy borders, no longer is found —  
 When the fierce battles rage, and the war-trumpets sound;  
 Here, here are thy warriors — a true hearted band,  
 To thy country's best int'rest forever will stand;  
 For *then* to thy standard the "Legion" will be  
 a strong bulwark of Freedom — of pure liberty.  
 Should they need re-inforcements, those rights to secure,  
 Which our fathers purchas'd and Freedom ensure  
 There is still a reserve a strong Cohort above!  
 "Lo! the Chariots of Israel and horsemen thereof."<sup>95</sup>

There was increased anxiety in the prophet's mind concerning the state of the nation after he had petitioned Congress for redress for Mormon grievances without success. When he visited Washington, D.C., in 1840 to solicit President Martin Van Buren's personal intervention, Van Buren replied, "I can do nothing for you. If I do anything, I shall come in contact with the whole state of Missouri."<sup>96</sup> Alienated and angry, the prophet predicted doom for the nation.<sup>97</sup> He wrote: "My heart faints within me when I see, by the visions of the Almighty, the end of this nation, if she continues to disregard the cries and petitions of her virtuous citizens."<sup>98</sup> In early 1841 he said that the United States government "is fallen and needs redeeming," for it cannot "stand as it now is but will come so near desolation as to stand as it were by a single hair." Only the work of the elders could save it. "The servant goes to the nations of the earth and gathers the strength of the Lord's house! a mighty army!!!! and this is the redemption of Zion — when the saints shall have redeemed the government and reinstated it in all its purity and glory."<sup>99</sup>

But despite his militant apocalyptic, he did not attempt to seize the government by force. His most radical move came in 1844, when his life was threatened and his people in the midst of a cold war, and he adopted Lyman Wight's proposal to apply "the principles of the Book of Mormon" among

<sup>95</sup>*Times and Seasons* 2 (July 1841): 467.

<sup>96</sup>Joseph Smith, *History of the Church*, 4:24-92. The quotation is on p. 40.

<sup>97</sup>See "Journal History," 11 March 1840, for the prophet's speech against Van Buren.

<sup>98</sup>Joseph Smith, *History of the Church*, 4:89.

<sup>99</sup>Orson Pratt repeated the prophet's prophecy in a letter to George A. Smith, 21 January 1841, Orson Pratt file, Church Archives.

the Indians in the Southwest. After some hesitation Smith told Wight, who had made friends with the Winnebago chief, Nawkaw II or Maukeekishunka, to "go ahead concerning the Indians and southern states, send 25 men & if Nakah will embrace gospel anul Const & make it the voice of Jehovah and stand the U.S."<sup>100</sup> But Smith did not live to implement this program.

His major efforts during the final months of his life, on the other hand, were directed toward finding a refuge by more cautious means. He petitioned Congress to have Nauvoo made a federal territory, free from state and local control, and petitioned several governors to provide an asylum for the Mormons within their states.<sup>101</sup> His candidacy for the Presidency of the United States was similarly motivated. He confessed to his followers that he really did not want the office but that if his campaign was successful he would protect all minorities in their legal rights. His plans for exploring the Far West, which led in the spring of 1844 to his outfitting a company for that purpose, had the same objectives. He told the Twelve Apostles that he wanted them to send a delegation that would find a good location in California or Oregon where "we can have a government of our own" and "live in a healthy climate."<sup>102</sup> Samuel W. Richards, a member of the company who recalled the prophet's instructions to Willard Richards, said the men were to "find a suitable place for the Saints to move to where they could rest for a time."<sup>103</sup>

Smith returned to Carthage in June 1844 — after making good his escape across the Mississippi — primarily because the anti-Mormons threatened to reap vengeance upon the innocent at Nauvoo unless the prophet were taken into custody. The final decisive act of his life was intended to keep Nauvoo as a haven if not for himself at least for his people.<sup>104</sup>

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<sup>100</sup>See the prophet's unpublished journal kept by Willard Richards, 10 March 1844, Church Archives.

<sup>101</sup>Joseph Smith, *History of the Church*, 6:131. Sidney Rigdon's petition to the governor of Pennsylvania is in the Rigdon Papers, Church Archives.

<sup>102</sup>Joseph Smith, *History of the Church*, 6:188, 222.

<sup>103</sup>A written recollection by Samuel W. Richards is in the Brigham Young University Library.

<sup>104</sup>Smith was charged by some of the elders with being a coward and leaving Nauvoo to its fate. Joseph Smith, *History of the Church*, 6:549.



# Jacob Hamblin, Apostle to the Lamanites, and the Indian Mission

Charles S. Peterson

Apostle to the Lamanites, friend of the Indians, frontiersman, pathfinder, peacemaker, Mormon Leatherstocking, and Dirty Finger Jake. Such are a few of the designations that have been used to characterize the Indian missionary, Jacob Hamblin. Taken together they lay claim to a rich and expansive tradition for the Mormon Indian mission as well as for Jacob Hamblin personally. The tradition comes near being heroic but for all its pervasiveness, the concept is one in which variety of expression and force of imagery tend to obscure the theme of missionary work and hide the fact that the Indian mission fell short in its primary purpose of conversion.

In ordaining Hamblin "Apostle to the Lamanites," Brigham Young bestowed a high but hollow title. Through it whispered the echo of St. Paul's ministry to the gentiles. Through it also came the suggestion of sharing in the Mormon apostleship. But for all its suggestive nuances neither the title nor the work with Indians provided Hamblin with the social position and access to power that assignment to the regular hierarchy of Mormon leadership carried. Heavenly promptings early gave Jacob the heart of a friend. Called to the Southern Indian Mission in 1853, his quiet determination to get to the "real mission" soon won him the special designation of "Indians' friend" and ultimately led some to judge that he "knew the . . . [Indians] of Utah and northern Arizona better than any one who ever lived."<sup>1</sup> His gentleness and determination to make peace were among his most appealing qualities. Along

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<sup>1</sup>Thomas D. Brown, *Journal of the Southern Indian Mission: Diary of Thomas D. Brown*, ed. Juanita Brooks, Western Text Society Series, no. 4 (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1972), pp. 38 and 137; and Frederick S. Dellenbaugh, *The Romance of the Colorado River . . .* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1902), p. 93n.

this line Juanita Brooks, more knowledgeable than any concerning the frontier of Mormondom, notes that he was “truly a quiet man . . . [and] more responsible than any other for the success and continuity of the Indian mission, for he dedicated the remainder of his life to the business of maintaining peace.”<sup>2</sup> Jacob’s role as messenger of peace has pleased Mormon readers for nearly a century in James A. Little’s eulogistic *Jacob Hamblin, A Narrative . . . Disclosing Interpositions of Providence, Severe Privations, Perilous Situations and Remarkable Escapes*, first published in a faith-promoting series for young Latter-day Saints. With a penchant for looking beyond the physical horizons of settlement, Hamblin the frontiersman helped settle a dozen or more sites and made literally hundred of sorties onto the deserts of Utah, Arizona, Nevada, and California. This zest for pioneering appealed to Brigham Young’s expansive instincts, and has been heralded by Hamblin’s modern biographers, Paul Bailey and Pearson Corbett, but was wearily tolerated by his lonely wives, one of whom is said to have welcomed approaching death — not because it bespoke reunion with Jacob but because it promised association again with a departed sister wife who had been her constant companion in Jacob’s extended absences.<sup>3</sup> As pathfinder Hamblin has emerged more prominently than any other pioneer Utahn. With the good judgment to follow Indian trails (and with John Wesley Powell to proclaim his fame) he came to embody the tradition of exploration for his people as have Powell and Jedediah Smith for the West. Humble in station and tutored in the wilds, Hamblin’s striking likeness to James Fenimore Cooper’s Leatherstocking was noted at least as early as 1902 by his friend Frederick S. Dellenbaugh in *Romance of the Colorado River*, repeated by James McClintock and Hoffman Birney, and brought to the comparison’s full potential under the gifted pen of Wallace Stegner in *Mormon Country*.<sup>4</sup>

However, Hamblin was not without his detractors. Among them was his contemporary and colleague John D. Lee, to whom Hamblin was “Dirty Finger Jake” or “the fiend of Hell.”<sup>5</sup> Others shared Lee’s dislike, thinking

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<sup>2</sup>Brown, *Journal of the Southern Indian Mission*, p. 53n.

<sup>3</sup>From a conversation with Juanita Brooks, July 1970.

<sup>4</sup>Taken together, the sources referred to in the foregoing paragraph comprise a reasonably good bibliography of works on Jacob Hamblin. They are cited here in the order in which they appear in the text. James A. Little, *Jacob Hamblin: A Narrative of His Personal Experience as a Frontiersman, Missionary to the Indians, and Explorer . . .*, Faith Promoting Series, no. 5 (Salt Lake City: Juvenile Instructor Office, 1881); Paul D. Bailey, *Jacob Hamblin: Buckskin Apostle* (Los Angeles: Westernlore Press, 1948); Pearson H. Corbett, *Jacob Hamblin: The Peacemaker* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1952). Works portraying Hamblin as Leatherstocking include: Dellenbaugh, *Romance of the Colorado River*; James H. McClintock, *Mormon Settlement in Arizona: A Record of Peaceful Conquest of the Desert* (Phoenix: [Office of the Arizona State Historian], 1921); Hoffman Birney, *Zealots of Zion* (Philadelphia: Penn Publishing Co., 1931); and Wallace Stegner, *Mormon Country* (New York: Duell, Sloan & Pearce, 1942). John Wesley Powell refers to Hamblin in *Report of the Exploration of the Colorado River of the West and its Tributaries . . .* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1874) and elsewhere. Contemporary references reflecting Hamblin’s steady ways include Brown, *Journal of the Southern Indian Mission*, and James G. Bleak, “Annals of the Southern Utah Mission,” Book A, typescript, at Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City.

<sup>5</sup>Juanita Brooks, *The Mountain Meadows Massacre*, 2nd ed. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1970), p. 107; and John Doyle Lee, *Journals of John D. Lee, 1846-47 and 1849*, ed. Charles Kelly (Salt Lake City: Rolla Bishop Watt, 1938), p. 242.



Hamblin to be reckless with the truth, a tireless self-promoter, or a coward. But for the most part such appraisals appear to have been muttered over desert campfires or buried in personal diaries, and over the years a bigger-than-life tradition has gathered to the memory of Jacob Hamblin.

Whether Hamblin merited praise or condemnation is of little concern here. What is important is that the spirit in which he is said to have acted and his various images are accurate reflections of the Indian mission and the roles it has played in Mormon tradition.

Much has been written about the mission as an agency of Mormon colonization. Its use for mobilizing people and achieving the objectives of the church has received effective treatment from Leonard Arrington and others. The Indian mission is less well known. Juanita Brooks, Lawrence Coates, Charles Dibble, A. R. Lyman, John D. Nash, and a few others have written about specific missions.<sup>6</sup> Others have dealt indirectly with the Indian mission as a broader phenomenon. But as an identifiable feature on the Mormon frontier, the Indian mission has for the most part been lost in the shuffle. As suggested by the various images of Jacob Hamblin, it was so caught up in Indian affairs generally and so much a part of the broad field of colonization that it yields only reluctantly to separate historical treatment.

However, it is clear that what may be called "the Indian mission impulse" gave unity and meaning to the different lives of Jacob Hamblin. The impulse to convert or, in Mormon parlance, to redeem the Indians was a central theme that carried its own unity and gave a distinct meaning not only to Hamblin's life but to a rather diverse and sometimes only vaguely related set of activities. As such the mission impulse may be used to initiate a brief look at the Mormon missionary frontier.

Basically the Indian mission impulse was a sense of obligation. It rested upon the Mormon teaching that Indians were a chosen, but for the time being a cursed, race and that they would ultimately inherit the American continents. Redemption from the curse was held to be imminent and was in part the obligation of Mormons and in part dependent upon God's will and timing. Having accepted the curse as a reflection of divine will, Mormon frontiersmen were sometimes callous, writing off entire generations and justifying hard-handed treatment of Indians as serving the long range needs of redemption and as being consistent with God's purposes. On the other hand there was much compassion. Suffering was recognized and deplored and almost to a man the Saints longed for the time when the enlightening blessings of the Gospel would touch the Indians. In the meantime the conduct of their relations with the Indians was influenced for the better by two great axioms

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<sup>6</sup>A partial listing of works relating to individual missions include Juanita Brooks, "Indian Relations on the Mormon Frontier," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 12 (January-April 1944): 1-48; Charles E. Dibble, "The Mormon Mission to the Shoshoni Indians," *Western Humanities Review* 1 (January 1947): 53-73; (April 1947): 166-77; and (July 1947): 279-93; A. R. Lyman, *Indians and Outlaws: Settling the San Juan Frontier* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1962), and others; and John D. Nash, "The Salmon River Mission of 1855: A Reappraisal," *Idaho Yesterdays* 11 (Spring 1967): 22-31. Lawrence G. Coates's "A History of Indian Education by the Mormons, 1830-1900" (Ed. D. diss., Ball State University, 1969) comes near dealing with the broader question of Indian missions, but lacks the tightness of focus necessary to really bring Indian missions into clear perspective.

emanating from the mission impulse — “feed, don’t fight” and “do them good.” As one pioneer explained, it was the Mormon practice “to shoot Indians with tobacco . . . and biscuits rather than with powder and lead.”<sup>7</sup>

The mission impulse was also a constant. It lay always in the soul and mentality of frontier Mormons. As expressed in action and policies it was influenced by such evidences of God’s will as were manifest in Indian interest for the Gospel, in Indian threats, and in the needs of the church. Thus it was often activated as an expediency and in connection with affairs that were practical as contrasted to humanitarian.

During the first years in the Great Basin the mission impulse evidently did not take the form of Indian missions. Indeed the impulse itself appears to have been played down as were immediate efforts to convert Indians. Brigham Young expressed the anti-mission attitude of this period in May of 1849 when he indicated that “this presant race of Indians will never be converted” and that there would be no use “for our sending Missionarys among them to convert them.” It was not his intention, he said, to “take them in his arms until the curse” was “removed from off them.” On the other hand he was optimistic that through a slow process of civilization they could ultimately be brought back into the “presance & knowlege of God.” Comparing Indian redemption to what Mormons had learned about irrigation, he said:

If we wish to change the course of a stream we must first cut channels for it to Run in & gradually lead it where we want it to go But the moment we undertake to dam up the stream, we have a pond of water which will raise as fast as we can dam against it & will ultimately brake over the dam before we can controle the Stream. Just so we must do with this People . . . & by degrees we will controle them.<sup>8</sup>

Young’s discussion of civilization through “gradual change” reflected an abiding facet of Mormon Indian policy — one which was almost the only expression of the mission impulse until 1853 and one which long continued to be an important element of missionary effort in frontier communities. Simply stated this was the duty of all Mormon pioneers to guide Indians toward civilization through the channels of precept and example. In the short range, the effort to civilize was a means to the end of settlement. In the long term, or “eternal scheme of things,” it began the process of instilling cleanliness, industry, morality, and other virtues prerequisite to redemption.

In its colonizing context the mission impulse was dampened by the fact that Indians just wouldn’t be what Mormons wanted them to be. Resistance, open and tacit as well as protracted, was the result of civilizing efforts rather than progress. When resistance was open, a cruel corollary to the curse doctrine — “it mattereth not whether they kill one another off or somebody else do it” — was sometimes invoked to justify forcing Indians back into line or, as Mormons of the era put it, to “chastize” them.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>7</sup>Franklin D. Richards, “Narrative,” pp. 37-38, manuscript, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, quoted in Leland H. Creer, *Utah and the Nation*, University of Washington Publications in the Social Sciences, vol. 7 (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1929), p. 166.

<sup>8</sup>Sermon reported by John D. Lee, in R. G. Clelland and Juanita Brooks, ed., *A Mormon Chronicle: The Diaries of John D. Lee, 1848-1876*, 2 vols. (San Marino, Calif: The Huntington Library, 1955), 1:108.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid.

When resistance was tacit, the mission impulse among settlers suffered a slow erosion and became an impotent force. Juanita Brooks once sympathized with the problem of maintaining morale on the Paiute frontier. "To think of the Indians as ever becoming 'white and delightful,' " she wrote, "must have taxed the imagination of even the most enthusiastic, for everywhere the missionaries saw only squalor, filth, and poverty, tending to arouse more of disgust and loathing than of love."<sup>10</sup> Under such circumstances, settlers turned their attention to the processes of colonizing or, like Jacob Hamblin, longed for a chance to work with a "more cleanly people" and failing to find it gave vent to the mission impulse by making peace and by engaging in pathfinding and other services short of the redemptive effort.<sup>11</sup> Under the "feed, don't fight" policy Indians often revealed what Mormons liked to call a "saucy and impudent" side of their nature. Encountering Indians for the first time in an 1872 trip through southern Utah, Mrs. Thomas L. Kane wrote that they had "the appetites of poor relations, and the touchiness of rich ones with money to leave." Mormon women, she noted, were exhausted baking for "the masters, while the squaws hang about the kitchens watching for scraps like unpenned chickens."<sup>12</sup>

Indolence, begging, and the prolonged burden of the "feed, don't fight" system frequently resulted in the loathing and disgust spoken of by Mrs. Brooks. An example of sentiments of this kind, tempered with wry humor, was the comment of Joseph Rich who, after watching his father give handouts to the Shoshone chief Pocatello for many years, declared that the name Pocatello, translated into English, meant, "Give us another sack of flour and two beeves!"<sup>13</sup>

But the mission impulse undoubtedly exerted a salutary influence upon Mormon colonizing. In large part this was due to Brigham Young and his influence. In lesser measure it was due to promptings of the mission impulse among individuals, as in an early incident in Hamblin's life. Shortly after settling in Tooele in the early 1850s, a "sudden aversion" to killing Indians came over him. Assigned to bring in suspected Indian offenders, he did so, promising them safe conduct. Local authorities moved to execute the suspects but were frustrated when Hamblin stepped in front of his hostages, saying that it would be necessary to kill him first.<sup>14</sup> Missionaries repeatedly influenced Mormon colonists to be more understanding and restrained in their conduct. Always outside the main lines of ecclesiastical authority and lacking its power, they were at a disadvantage. Something of the cautious

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<sup>10</sup>Brooks, "Indian Relations," p. 12.

<sup>11</sup>"Jacob Hamblin's Journal 1854-57," p. 11, typescript and original at Church Archives, Historical Department of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

<sup>12</sup>[Elizabeth Wood Kane], *Twelve Mormon Homes Visited in Succession on a Journey through Utah to Arizona* [binder's title: *Pandemonium or Arcadia: Which?*] (Philadelphia: [William Wood], 1874), p. 35.

<sup>13</sup>John Henry Evans, *Charles Coulsen Rich: Pioneer Builder of the West* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1936), p. 214.

<sup>14</sup>Little, *Jacob Hamblin*, pp. v and 27.

determination with which the best of them approached their white peers may be seen in the words of one missionary at Cedar City. Prefacing his remarks with the comment that since he knew more about the Indians than did the settlers it might be "pardonable if he should talk . . . of their duties as local missionaries." He continued, "we do not mean to regulate the churches in this southern region . . . , but when we see a wrong . . . that would be injurious to . . . the remnants of Israel, we shall speak of it for future good."<sup>15</sup>

Indian missions first appeared on the Utah frontier in 1853. Thereafter they were used to supplement the civilizing functions of the colonizing process and varied in their form according to specific situations. The nearest any Mormon Indian mission came to conforming with the recognized pattern of proselyting missions was probably the Southern Utah Indian Mission where the desperate Paiutes accepted missionaries as protectors and teachers. Some fifty men were called between 1853 and 1857 to establish mission stations wherever groups of Paiutes were located. Largely self-supporting, the missionaries sometimes moved their families to southern Utah, living nearly as primitively as the Paiutes themselves. Some missionaries became agents through whose hands passed hundreds of Indian children who were indentured to white homes in the region. A few like Ira Hatch took Indian wives. And a few like Hamblin made the mission a way of life.<sup>16</sup>

Somewhat different were missions set up on major routes to counter gentile influence, control trade, and exert a civilizing influence. Such missions were established in the mid 1850s near Fort Bridger, at present Moab, at Las Vegas, and on the Salmon River. Like the Southern Utah Mission these were meant to be permanent, but each failed — one in a matter of weeks and the others as result of the Utah War.<sup>17</sup>

Other missions were expeditionary in nature, involving travel and having objectives limited in time or scope. Among the earliest were those sent to points along the southern route to California. But the classic expression of this type are Hamblin's missions to the Hopi Indians in northern Arizona. Beginning in 1858 he led fifteen winter expeditions through the canyon lands to Oraibi and other villages. Only less striking as expeditions were the missions of Daniel W. Jones in 1875 and James S. Brown in 1875-76. Jones passed through the entire length of Arizona well into Mexico and dispatched one detachment to Zuni in New Mexico. Brown explored the Navajo country of northeastern Arizona in careful detail. During the Arizona settlement, missionary effort became increasingly the work of small parties out from home for short periods only.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>15</sup>Brown, *Journal of the Southern Indian Mission*, pp. 96-97, reporting a talk by David Lewis.

<sup>16</sup>The matter of slaving in early day Utah and of the Mormon practice of buying Indian children out "of slavery into freedom" and raising them under an indenture arrangement is discussed by Brooks, "Indian Relations."

<sup>17</sup>Coates, "Indian Education," pp. 118-36, 179-93, and 207-20; and Charles S. Peterson, *Look to the Mountains: Southeastern Utah and the La Sal National Forest* (Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1975), pp. 37-53.

<sup>18</sup>James S. Brown, *Life of a Pioneer: Being the Autobiography of James S. Brown* (Salt Lake City: George Q. Cannon & Sons Co., 1900); and Daniel W. Jones, *Forty Years among the Indians:*



It is important to note that the two periods in which missions were vigorously applied came at the ends of Utah's two significant wars — the Walker War of 1853 and the Blackhawk-Navajo wars of the 1860s. Policies calculated to keep the peace while the Mormons went about the business of colonizing had proven inadequate in both cases. Apparently taken unaware by the Walker War, Brigham Young's first reaction was to scourge the Saints for lack of faith and to storm that they must fortify, carry weapons, and be prepared to send the Indians "to hell cross lots" if they insisted on threatening Mormon lives and property.<sup>19</sup> Having vented his spleen, Brigham turned to the mission to make the Mormon appeal to the Indians more effective. In all, six missions were dispatched in the immediate aftermath of the war. During this period the rhetoric of redemption was lavishly applied by church leaders and there can be no doubt that the Mormon community was actuated by an upsurge of compassion. A touching lament was that of Thomas D. Brown, clerk of the Southern Utah Mission as he watched a Paiute man die:

"to dust we must return" — alas! poor Indians how near the soil you ever have been, at birth dropped into the dust, creeping, lying and running in it with no other table — thy work bench — thy gambling table — thy theatre — pulpit — stage — bed of joy, sorrow and death; . . . "return to dust!" why poor dark degraded Lamanite thou never went far out of it: What are thy hopes?<sup>20</sup>

Efforts to civilize the red men were redoubled. Many Indians were baptized and given manageable Mormon names, some were ordained to the priesthood, some were taken into Mormon homes, and a few were even sent to more distant tribes as Mormon missionaries.

But behind the rhetoric lay motives that were essentially defensive, as Brigham Young sought to tighten control over the Indians and meet other threats that were looming in the mid 1850s.<sup>21</sup> Thus missions to the Fort Bridger area, to the Salmon River, and to Las Vegas were clearly meant to render Indians more dependent upon Mormons and to reduce the influence of other whites. The Elk Mountain Mission, meanwhile, sought to establish a base in the southeastern corner of the territory from which to counter New Mexican influence along the Old Spanish Trail.

The Indian missions also helped stress the difference between Mormons and Americans — a distinction that the church was especially anxious to make in the 1850s. Leaders sometimes predicted that Indians would fight to protect the church, as when Apostle Wilford Woodruff told Provo Saints that

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*A True Yet Thrilling Narrative of the Author's Experiences among the Natives* (Salt Lake City: Juvenile Instructor Office, 1890). For a more complete discussion of the Hopi missions see Charles S. Peterson, "The Hopis and the Mormons, 1858-1873." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 39 (Spring 1971): 179-93. On the role of missionaries in Arizona generally, see Peterson, *Take Up Your Mission: Mormon Colonizing along the Little Colorado River, 1870-1900* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1973), pp. 192-216.

<sup>19</sup>Sermon of 31 July 1853, in *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (London: Latter-day Saints' Book Depot, 1854-1886), 1:171; cf. sermon of 8 May 1853, *ibid.*, pp. 105-7.

<sup>20</sup>Thomas D. Brown, *Journal of the Southern Indian Mission*, p. 43.

<sup>21</sup>For a recent interpretation of the defensive efforts of the Mormons during the middle 1850s, see Eugene E. Campbell, "Brigham Young's Outer Cordon: A Reappraisal," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 41 (Summer 1973): 220-53.

“the Lamanites of these mountains will yet be a shield to this people.”<sup>22</sup> Missionaries occasionally referred to the Indians as “the battle ax of the Lord” and wondered if their calls were not for the purpose of learning “how to use this axe, with skill.”<sup>23</sup> Not surprisingly, other Americans sometimes viewed the missions with apprehension. Typical was an officer in Colonel J.E. Steptoe’s command who reported that missionaries were teaching the “inferiority and hostility of the Americans and the superiority and friendship of Mormons.”<sup>24</sup> During August of 1857 as the Utah War broke out, Dimmick Huntington — Brigham Young’s most used interpreter — recorded that he “gave” various tribes full right to take “all the beef cattle and horses that was on the road to California.” Similarly Brigham Young told Indians to help themselves to whatever they wanted from the Americans. Most Indians were confused by this radical shift in Mormon policy, but all apparently promised not to help the army.<sup>25</sup>

The Utah War turned attention generally from mission activity. Exceptions to this rule were the Hopi missions which grew from Jacob Hamblin’s fascination for the Hopis and Brigham Young’s interest in southward movement. The first ventures to the mesa villages so stirred Mormon imaginations that plans were laid to placate permanent missions east of the river or, failing in that, to entice the Hopis to cross the Colorado and gather under “the wings of Israel’s Eagles.”<sup>26</sup> However, larger events — the development of a reservation policy in Utah and the westward movement of the Navajos — led to the Blackhawk War and border raids that temporarily interfered with both missionary work and Mormon expansion. Blackhawk was subdued in the mid sixties and Hamblin made peace with the Navajos at Fort Defiance in 1870. With Mormons resuming the outward reach of their settlements, Indian missions flourished once more. The most influential speakers in the church stirred enthusiasm, Indians in western and northern Utah obliged with a flurry of baptism, and the day of the Lamanite seemed again at hand.<sup>27</sup>

The new mission impulse took two directions. In the north dedicated men, often veterans of the earlier missions, gathered Indians at Deep Creek, at Washakie, and at Thistle Valley. Aided by prophecies from Indians that coincided with Mormon teaching, they baptized thousands. Old Dimmick Huntington, now retired from the Indian wars and no longer needed as interpreter, turned evangelist. Setting up his own font, he baptized to the point of exhaustion and cried out in joy, “O Joseph, how I do rejoice in it! They are coming in by hundreds to investigate, are satisfied and are

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<sup>22</sup>*Journal of Discourses* 9:227.

<sup>23</sup>Thomas D. Brown, *Journal of the Southern Indian Mission*, p. 25.

<sup>24</sup>Report of Lt. Sylvester Mowry, 23 July 1855, as quoted in Brooks, “Indian Relations,” p. 17.

<sup>25</sup>“Dimmick B. Huntington Journal, 1857-8-9,” holograph, Church Archives.

<sup>26</sup>George A. Smith to Erastus Snow, 15 February 1863, in “History of Brigham Young,” p. 172, manuscript, Church Archives.

<sup>27</sup>Apostle Orson Pratt was instrumental in setting the tone for the reviving spirit of missionary work. See his sermon of 7 February 1875 as an example in *Journal of Discourses* 17: 299-304.

baptized.”<sup>28</sup> The church provided farm ground on which converts could become self-sufficient, and several hundred native members were gathered into wards and branches.

Simultaneously Indian missions advanced onto the southern frontiers, harbingers of the colonies that followed. Points of Indian contact were established near the Colorado River at Kanab and Pariah in 1870 and by 1873 the first locations were made at Moenkopi, in northern Arizona. From there missionaries pushed on ahead of the main line of settlements to Savoia, New Mexico, Forestdale, near Fort Apache, and points south.

As forerunner, the mission was put to many good purposes. Some were psychological. According to the mission’s tenets, Mormon occupation of Indian lands was both God’s will and a positive virtue, thus giving a double guarantee against any pangs of conscience over the land grab occasioned by settlement. Furthermore, settlers reluctant to face the desert wilderness of southern Utah and Arizona were given additional and persuasive reasons to leave the bosom of Zion when colonizing calls were attached to the idealism of the Indian mission. Later, when the frontier had penetrated to Mexico, church leaders again plied the “duty to the Lamanite” theme to turn Mormon eyes even farther south. As Apostle Brigham Young, Jr., put it: “The time is now come to preach to the Lamanites. The leaders of the Church have in view the 5,000,000 of Lamanites located in Mexico. We never before knew how dark were the minds of those people.”<sup>29</sup>

At this point we may pause to ask, What kind of man was the Indian missionary? To what impulses did he respond and what were his opportunities? In a way, most Mormon frontiersmen — men, women, and children — were Indian missionaries. But other things took priority, and they are more rightly described as pioneers, frontiersmen, or merely Mormons. The same may be said of church leaders. Brigham Young played the role of the “big captain” with zest and skill, was brutal when he had to be, but was a constant force for restraint, honesty and service. Yet his great interest did not lie with the Indian mission nor did his great work take place there. Other church leaders gave even less of themselves. With a few exceptions this appears to have been true of general authorities, and of stake and ward leaders as well.

With colonists and church leaders excluded, a fairly restrictive group remains which served more directly in one or the other of the Indian mission functions. Most of these served for fairly limited periods. A few gave major portions of their lives. As a group they were unimportant in the status structure of Mormon society. Most of them lived on the outskirts of civilization far removed from mainstream activities. Often they were self-supporting or meagerly subsidized by private contributions, trading privileges, and occasional work as guides and interpreters.

Indian missionaries had almost no opportunity to penetrate the regular power apparatus of the church. Even in the days of Brigham Young’s greatest

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<sup>28</sup>Huntington to Joseph F. Smith, 6 June 1875, in *Latter-day Saints’ Millennial Star* 37 (5 July 1875): 427.

<sup>29</sup>Minutes of the Eastern Arizona Stake Conferences, 25 March 1883, Church Archives.

interest formal organization was only partial and sometimes did not exist at all. Young made himself available to key missionaries and otherwise flattered them. This sometimes raised questions as to the relationship of missionary jurisdiction to the authority of resident apostles or colonizing presidents who directed other frontier affairs. Unfortunate cases of this type developed at Moenkopi, in northern Arizona, where the church president's failure to carefully delineate roles led first to frictions between Jacob Hamblin and John L. Blythe in 1873 and three years later to a head-on confrontation between James S. Brown and Lot Smith. Blythe and Brown soon withdrew from the mission in disappointment and Hamblin moved to Arizona where he played a role of diminishing importance.<sup>30</sup>

Brown's case is instructive. He had spent his life in the service of the church, marching with the Mormon Battalion, serving in the Indian mission to Fort Supply in the 1850s, and had filled missions to the Pacific before he was called to Arizona. Hamblin and Blythe had failed to make Moenkopi an effective base of Indian control and the Arizona Mission of 1873 had not succeeded in planting a colony. It was up to Brown, Young told him, to reverse all this. Though Brown was aging and minus a leg he took the call seriously and saw the entire Arizona effort falling under the Indian mission's jurisdiction and his presidency. It is not clear that Brigham Young gave him this charge. It is clear that Brown thought he had. Presently, when Lot Smith appeared at the head of a new colonizing mission, Brown learned just how little claim his position as Indian missionary actually gave him.<sup>31</sup>

Another who was disappointed in efforts to parlay an Indian mission call into a position of importance was the irascible Daniel W. Jones. Somewhat more fortunate in his plans than Brown, he headed first an exploring mission to Mexico in 1875 and a year or so later succeeded to the leadership of a colony that proceeded south to near Phoenix. His troubles grew partially from misunderstanding his assignment but lay more in his failure to get along with his associates. Soon differences over the treatment of Indians led to his withdrawal to a ranch in the Tonto Basin where he sulked for a time before following his interest in Indians and his quest for position on to Mexico.

Brown and Jones shared a calling to the Indians, an unshakable conviction in their own rightness and their disappointment. Beyond this they had little in common. Brown was a straight-line churchman, sober almost to the point of fanaticism, an impelling preacher, and was well integrated in Mormon society. He left a biography that details his life and with neither arrogance nor humor presents his point of view. Jones was a loner. A Mexican War veteran who came to Utah, he met kindness, returned it, and stayed on. With a smattering of Spanish, and prompted by a yen for profit — and quite possibly for disputation — he became a self-appointed missionary to the Utes, trading and arguing his way through several years. Brassy and

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<sup>30</sup>For a more detailed discussion see Charles S. Peterson, "'A Mighty Man was Brother Lot': A Portrait of Lot Smith — Mormon Frontiersman," *Western Historical Quarterly* 1 (October 1970): 393-415.

<sup>31</sup>*Ibid.*; James S. Brown, *Life of a Pioneer*, pp. 460-77.



never without an opinion, he pushed himself forward until he took Brigham Young's eye. He was indirectly involved in translating the Book of Mormon into Spanish and ended up heading a mission to Mexico that was part exploration, part Indian preaching, and part sampling attitudes toward Mormons along the way. His quest for recognition took final form in a book, *Forty Years among the Indians*, where he claims nearly everything for himself.<sup>32</sup>

Other Indian missionaries were a diverse lot and answered a variety of promptings in coming to the Indian mission. A specialty that impinged even indirectly was a good reason for the call. As a result, men who specialized in violence were no strangers to mission rosters. Without fear and quick to kill, Porter Rockwell filled several peace missions. William Hickman, of avenging angel notoriety, appears to have been connected with the Green River Mission. Barney Ward, squaw man and mountaineer, decided to join the Mormons when it became apparent the traders around Fort Bridger were being crowded out and put his intimate knowledge of Indians to work for the church. The involvement of such men, together with the frontier conditions in which they worked, led some who took exception to the objectives of Mormon Indian policy to judge missionaries as a hard lot. One such was agent Garland Hurt who thought they were inciting rebellion in 1855. "They embrace," he wrote the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, "a class of rude and lawless young men such as might be regarded as a curse to any civilized community."<sup>33</sup> But for every Rockwell or Hickman there were a dozen of less notorious stripe.

Lingual abilities led some to the mission. Blessed first with a gift of tongues, George Washington Bean perfected his command of Utah during a long convalescence after an exploding cannon tore his hand off. Thereafter he was much in demand as interpreter and, though more a man of affairs than almost any other missionary, regarded his gift for the language as evidence of his calling.<sup>34</sup> Back from San Bernardino where he had Mexican playmates, young Ammon M. Tenney was called to Hamblin's first Hopi mission as interpreter at the age of fourteen. Owing to his youth and what Tenney called "tenderness in health" the mission was "grevious" to bear, but Jacob comforted him, repeating, "This little man has been our ears and tongue."<sup>35</sup> Continuing intermittently to serve in Indian wars and missions in southern Utah, he became president of the Zuni Mission in 1878. Through a long frontier life he continued to promote his image as an Indian man and missionary.

Similarly Christian Lingo Christiansen's quest for recognition was best satisfied in his role as Indian man. Of little education, strong conscience, and

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<sup>32</sup>Jones, *Forty Years among the Indians*, passim.

<sup>33</sup>Hurt to George Manypenny, 2 May 1855, records of Utah Indian Superintendency, National Archives, as quoted in Brooks, "Indian Relations," p. 16.

<sup>34</sup>George Washington Bean, *Autobiography of George Washington Bean, a Utah Pioneer of 1847, and His Family Records*, comp. Flora Diana Bean Horne (Salt Lake City: George Washington Bean Family Association, 1945.)

<sup>35</sup>Ammon M. Tenney Papers, Arizona Historical Society, Tucson.

a need for importance, he claimed competence in several Indian dialects, missionaried in northern Arizona from 1876 to 1886, moved to Moab where he traded with Indians, interpreted, and wrote long accounts of his earlier exploits for the *Grand Valley Times*.<sup>36</sup> Such special attention as he ever attracted was in connection with his lingual gifts and missionary adventures. Trafficking in a lingual gift of a different nature were Marion Shelton and Thales Haskell, who were chosen for a lonesome mission at Oraibi in 1859-60 where it was hoped they could bypass translation and develop a common tongue based on the Deseret Alphabet. Attracting considerable attention among the Hopis for a few weeks, they soon gave up and left the mesa.<sup>37</sup>

Others were called because they were available. For many of these the Indian mission was about what foreign missions were — a period of proselyting during early manhood that molded character and gave direction to their remaining years. A few stayed on the Indian frontiers, giving expression to the mission impulse through a variety of nonproselyting contacts. Often their children grew up knowing Indians well and, partaking of the mission tradition, became second generation traders and Bureau of Indian Affairs officials. This sort of experience was especially connected with such towns as Bluff, Tuba City, and Savoia, or Ramah as it came to be known.

Among those who were called because of availability was a group that may be termed protege missionaries. These were often selected because of relationship to people in power. John W. Young, son of Brigham, and George A. Smith, Jr., who was killed by Navajos in 1861, were sent by their fathers on Hopi missions with Jacob Hamblin. Rufus Allen, youthful secretary to Apostle Parley P. Pratt, succeeded to the presidency of the Southern Utah Mission in 1854 for reasons growing partially from his association with Pratt, who had been designated as the original head of that mission.<sup>38</sup> Erastus B. Snow and Anthony W. Ivins, son and youthful acquaintance of the apostle, were also given missions for reasons arising from their close associations with Apostle Snow.

In a few cases the Indian mission extended on to become the dominant element in men's lives. Hamblin was, of course, of this kind. Another was Llewellyn Harris. Quick of temper, he struck an Indian early in his first mission and was sentenced to thirty lashes for his indiscretion.<sup>39</sup> Surviving the flogging, he reappeared, as the Mormons moved into Arizona and New Mexico. Working with Indians throughout both territories, his efforts were capped by a remarkable experience at Zuni where it was said he healed some four hundred Indians stricken with smallpox and in so doing did as much to extend Mormon interest in mission work among the Pueblos as any man.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>36</sup>"Diary of Christian Lingo Christensen," typescript, Brigham Young University Library, Provo, Utah.

<sup>37</sup>Juanita Brooks, ed., "Journal of Thales H. Haskell," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 12 (January-April 1944): 69-98; and Peterson, "The Hopis and the Mormons," pp. 188-89.

<sup>38</sup>Thomas D. Brown, *Journal of the Southern Indian Mission*, p. 3. and n.

<sup>39</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 100-101.

<sup>40</sup>Harris to Orson Pratt, 15 December 1879 [1878], in *Millennial Star* 41 (2 June 1879): 337-38.

Another whose inner call kept him at work with the Indians over many years was Ira Hatch. Quiet and retiring, he had little need of public acclaim, evidently preferring to stay on the remote reaches of the frontier. Yet he was a keen observer, providing some of the most penetrating insights into Indian life to come from Mormon missionaries, and was quite possibly more widely accomplished in Indian languages than any other Mormon, speaking no fewer than thirteen dialects. One of a dozen or so missionaries who took Indian wives, Hatch's marriage to the daughter of the Navajo chieftan Spaneshank may have been the most important, diplomatically speaking, of any.<sup>41</sup> Close companion to Hatch, but better known, was Thales Haskell. Undergoing a major test when an adopted Indian boy shot and killed his wife, Haskell remained constant in his friendship, accompanied Hamblin on most of his Hopi missions, and labored long as an Indian missionary in northern Arizona and Utah's San Juan. Encountered late in life by Apostle Erastus Snow at Bluff, he was asked why he was not with his family. Replying that he had been called on a mission and considered the call still binding, he was released by Snow. Whether at his own volition or by other arrangement, he was still at Bluff working as forerunner among the Indians the next year.<sup>42</sup>

As forerunners, the men of the Indian mission were peacemakers. With scarcely a place to call home and among the most desperately poor in the impoverished colonies of the far south, they moved about extending their contacts, making friends, and intercepting potential problems. Their efforts contributed significantly to make Mormon colonization what James McClintock called "a peaceful conquest."<sup>43</sup> Erastus Snow, for many years guiding figure of the Mormon move south, was far more extravagant in 1882 when he declared:

Today the American nation is indebted for the spirit of "Mormonism" that has been diffused through this mountainous country in the maintenance of peace, and the saving to the nation of millions of treasure as well as thousands of lives.

. . . The wars that have troubled the country . . . have been . . . greatly mitigated by the presence of our colonies on their borders, and by the labors of our missionaries among the Indians . . . . And I am a witness to the fact, that in every instance where the influence of our missionaries and our colonies has been exerted upon these fallen people, their chiefs have been imbued with the spirit of peace, and they in turn have exerted their influence on the side of peace.<sup>44</sup>

As Erastus Snow spoke in 1882, the period of frontier expansion was passing for the Mormons. Though Mexico and Utah's San Juan may be said to be exceptions, there would be no new Indian frontiers to occupy. With the passing of the Indian frontier the practical situations in which the Indian mission impulse had been given institutional expression ceased to exist. No

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<sup>41</sup>For a brief note on Hatch's affairs see Thomas D. Brown, *Journal of the Southern Indian Mission*, p. 21n.

<sup>42</sup>Albert E. Smith, comp., "Thales Hastings Haskell: Pioneer, Scout, Explorer, Indian Missionary, 1847-1909," multilith ([Salt Lake City: the Compiler, 1964]), p. 51; and "Francis A. Hammond Journal," entries of February and March 1887, holograph, Church Archives.

<sup>43</sup>McClintock, *Mormon Settlement in Arizona*.

<sup>44</sup>Sermon, 5 February 1882, in *Journal of Discourses* 23:9.

more would Mormon settlers move in among the Indians with the idea that theirs was both the opportunity and the duty to feed and civilize "fallen Israel." No more would wars emphasize the need for missions to reinforce Mormon control over the Indians or to reduce the influence of non-Mormon elements. Thus, with many of the needs which had contributed to its development gone, the frontier Indian mission passed into gradual disuse, never to be revived again. Even the mission impulse lay dormant for many years before reviving finally in the modern Indian mission period.

In a way Snow's 1882 speech on the peacemaking influence of the Mormon mission was summing up for a system that was passing. As he looked back the thirty-five years to the Mormon arrival in Salt Lake City, he could see little to report in the way of effective Indian conversion. The record was somewhat better in terms of the civilizing influence of the church but still provided no sure platform from which Mormon achievements could be proclaimed. Thus, in speaking of the Indian mission's influence for peace, Snow spoke from its greatest position of strength. Its role in making peace was both the capstone of the mission's secular achievement and the finest practical reflection of its religious ideals. Elaborating, Snow pointed with pride to achievements in colonizing and pathfinding that had influenced the Indian for good. Apparent too was his conviction that a spirit of true friendship had "gone abroad upon the remnants of the house of Israel" as a result of Mormon understanding and compassion. Implicit in his summation was also a conviction that, tempered by the gospel, the Mormon frontier had produced not a single Leatherstocking but an entire generation of them whose virtues were responsible for the finest achievement in American Indian relations.

Snow's claims for Mormon achievement were not modest. Indeed, they were couched in terms of superlative. The accomplishments he delineated were mammoth, the human figures heroic. They were of the stuff from which tradition is made.

It is in the context of the passing frontier Indian mission and the magnitude of its achievement as judged by Mormons themselves that the various images of Jacob Hamblin may finally be seen in perspective. He was truly a figure of the Mormon Indian frontier. As an element in Mormon history he came into being with it and because of it. His life paralleled its course. He first settled west of Salt Lake City, part of Utah's original Indian frontier. He moved south with it and shared its fondest expectations and bitterest disappointments. He passed his greatest period of effectiveness as the Indian mission became obsolete, and his death in 1886 came near marking the final demise of the Indian mission of the frontier period.

But even in death Hamblin continued to serve the Indian frontier. More nearly epitomizing the various nuances of the Indian mission than any of his colleagues, he became the very prototype of its tradition. Unable to dwell comfortably upon the fulfillment of the Indian mission's spiritual objectives, the tradition emphasized its secular accomplishments, couching them in heroic and romantic terms. In so doing it made of the "quiet and industrious Jacob" a figure who was in some ways bigger than life.



# Letters from the Frontier: Commerce, Nauvoo, and Salt Lake City

*Edited by Maureen Ursenbach Beecher*

It was about the time that Joseph B. Teas and Alexander White were laying out the town that young Daniel Wells arrived with his widowed mother and his sister Catherine at the settlement called Commerce on the Illinois east bank of the Mississippi. The year was 1834, and twenty-year-old Daniel had for the past two years been moving westward from his birthplace in Trenton, New York, looking for the best place to establish a home. He had tried Ohio, but the life of a small town schoolteacher had not suited his expansive and adventurous nature.<sup>1</sup>

But Illinois was different. Here was land aplenty, ready prairie, just waiting for the settler's plow. Renting some eighty acres in the name of his mother, the young man raised his house and tilled his soil. The Wells family became a readily accepted part of the growing community of Commerce. The young man prospered, and purchased his land atop the hill overlooking the river and the settlement on its banks, the same property where later the Mormons would build their elaborate temple.

Commerce was the location to which Joseph Smith led his persecuted following of Mormons, or Latter-day Saints, in 1839. It became the town of Nauvoo, and historians, Mormon historians especially, have tended to date the founding of the city from that date, as though there were not much of anything besides swampy wilderness there when the Mormons came.<sup>2</sup> A

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<sup>1</sup>Biographical studies of Daniel Hanmer Wells may be found in Andrew Jenson, *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia*, 4 vols. (Salt Lake City: Andrew Jenson History Company, 1901-1936), 1:62-66, and "Daniel H. Wells," *Tullidge's Quarterly Magazine* 3 (April 1884):113-15. A full biography is that of Bryant S. Hinckley, *Daniel Hanmer Wells and Events of His Time* (Salt Lake City: The Deseret News Press, 1942).

<sup>2</sup>There are several studies of Nauvoo, beginning with that of Mormon historian B. H.



phrase from Smith's *History of the Church*, wherein he speaks of "one stone house and three log houses,"<sup>3</sup> has been misconstrued by later writers to suggest that that was the total village in 1839. Such was not the case. Civilization was already flourishing in 1839 on that bend in the river at the far edge of settled America, a fact attested to in evidence lately come to light. Descendants of Daniel H. Wells, through two branches of his large family, presented to the Historical Department of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints letters originating with Daniel, his mother, and his sister, dating from pre-Mormon times in Commerce. From these letters, the gifts of Abbie Wells, a daughter of Junius Wells, and the Rulon Wells family, I have selected those five which are richest in detail about life in Commerce and the events which followed the Mormon incursion there, and the later experiences of Daniel himself after the expulsion from Nauvoo.<sup>4</sup>

The letters from Commerce are replete with details of conditions in the newborn town — the remoteness, the Indians, the "chills and fever" which threatened settlers in the Mississippi valley, the growing community of family, the development of social concern. Remarkable in describing the life in Commerce is the good humored optimism of these writers, the warm personalities which permeate the descriptions. Three people emerge whole and alive from the letters; there is Daniel, the blustery young son, raised by the circumstance of his father's death to play the role of *paterfamilias*; there is Catherine, his vivacious seventeen-year-old sister, with him in her joy at the new life; and there is Pamela, the maiden-lady half-sister back in the big family house in established Trenton town, New York. And in the background are the rest of the family: Lucy Ann, younger than Pamela, who lives with her sister in Trenton until she marries Joseph Coombs, a friend of the family; Abigail, another half-sister, whose marriage to Stephen Rockwell elicits comments from the two in Illinois; Eliza, who lives with her husband Dr. James S. Ross and their child Henry in Ohio, and whose death finally brings Pamela to venture at least that far into the frontier. Of the generation of their parents, there is only the mother of Daniel and Catherine, Catherine Chapin Wells, whom Daniel brought with him to Illinois, the titular head of the family of three.

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Roberts, *Rise and Fall of Nauvoo* (1900; reprint ed., Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1965); E. Cecil McGavin, *Nauvoo the Beautiful* (Salt Lake City: Stevens and Wallis, Inc., 1946); David E. Miller, "Westward Migration of the Mormons: With Special Emphasis on the History of Nauvoo," Report submitted to the National Park Service, 1963, since published in revised form as *Nauvoo: City of Joseph* (Salt Lake City: Peregrine Smith, 1974); Robert Bruce Flanders, *Nauvoo, Kingdom on the Mississippi* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1965); and articles by T. Edgar Lyon, Robert Flanders, Leonard J. Arrington and Jon Haupt, Richard Bushman, and Richard P. Howard in a special edition edited by Stanley B. Kimball in *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 5 (Spring 1970): 9-79.

<sup>3</sup>Joseph Smith, *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, ed. B. H. Roberts, 7 vols. (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret News, 1902-1932), 3:375.

<sup>4</sup>Other letters in the collection are mainly concerned with family matters. They include the following: James S. Ross, Eliza Ross, and Pamela Wells to Abigail H. Wells, 8 December 1833; [Stephen] H[ubbard] R[ockwell] to Abigail Wells, n.d., but prior to 1836, when the two were married; Catherine C. Woods, James W. Woods, and Catherine Robison to Abigail H. Rockwell, 20 February 1837; James Weston Woods and Catherine Woods to Catherine Robison, 15 November 1840; Catherine C. Woods and Daniel H. Wells to Pamela Wells, 12 October [1841]; Frank [Honor Francis] Wells to Pamela Wells, [ca. October 1841].

In writing to the half-sisters back East, Daniel and Catherine usually shared one piece of paper, each writing in a small but distinctive hand as much as could be squeezed into the space allowed — one letter even has script crosswise over what had already been written. Catherine begins the first letter, telling Pamela in her own youthful way of the life she is finding in the new land. In all the letters, I have tried to preserve that personal flavor: the youthfulness first, and then the maturing which shows through the later letters. I have reproduced the misspellings, making only those corrections which the writers made, and deleting only those words which they themselves stroked through. For the reader's ease I have inserted punctuation and capitals where they were obvious. Any words added for clarity's sake are included in brackets.

Catherine begins this first letter, and Daniel fills what is left of the paper.

Commerce, July 7th 1835

Dear Sister Pamela

We received your and A[bigail]'s kind letter two weeks ago which made us very happy. We had wrote a short time before and sent papers which probably you have received long before this. D[aniel] came in this noon with a letter and 8 papers from E[liza] and L[ucy] which has done us a heap of good (as the suckers say).<sup>5</sup> They were well and in good spirits. I am so pleased to hear any thing from dear Lucy. We have not had a letter from her before since we have been here. O how I wish her or some of you were with me. I should be so happy. How often I think and say O if the girls were here, or one of them. But we must think that it is all for the best and that whatever is, is right. I find that it does no good to think any other way and yet it is hard for me to think that I must be seperated from all of you. But hope keeps the heart whole and I hope to see you here in a year or so at least for I think that you would like the place and people very well. The place is improving very fast, strangers coming continually. Mr Hibard<sup>6</sup> one of our neighbors, expects a brother with his family every day from Vermont. I expect that they will make good citizens.

Perhaps you would like to know how we are situated. At present bub [brother] D[aniel] is up the river two miles getting stone. I expect him home every minute to help me milk. And ma took up her work and went to our nearest neigh[bor] to drink tea and I am all alone sitting by the door where when I look up I see our pretty garden which is close by the door. We have had peas this 3 weeks and a prospect of having them four weeks longer. We have fine lot of cabbages, also onions beets carrots teomatus beans [indecipherable] peppers cucumbers radishes lettuce and I have a few flowers. So you see we have every thing that is good and some that is not. We milk eight cows, have milked ten, make a cheese every other day, and ma keeps school. They was to have me but chose ma on account of government. She has from 20 to 30 scholars and amongst it all we keep pretty busy. Ma has two

<sup>5</sup>"Suckers" was a slang term for Illinoisans. It did not have the pejorative overtones it carries now.

<sup>6</sup>Davidson Hibbard, one of the early settlers, lived on property to the south of the Wells cabin.

dollars a quarter. I wish I was with you a going to school. Have no good school short of 30 or 40 miles. I am not yet married to an indian but D[aniel] talked some of selling me. He was offerd 5 horses for me by an indian. I have been to several parties this spring and have danced. Give my love to grandma, grandpa and all the rest. Do write soon. C. H. W. [Catherine Wells] [*Around the margin:*] I was very thankful for the letter that you sent. Wish you to send again soon. You must be very lonesome without A[bigail]. I wish you would send papers with the patterns of bonnets marked on them if not too much trouble. Tuscan straws are fashionable here, are very small, do not have the sleeves to dresses quite so large as they did and have them full a little round the waist gathered into three bands.

I crossed the river in a canoe the fourth of July and went six miles up a visiting. Ma sends her love and would have wrote had we given room.

Dear Sister,

I improve a rainy day to finish a letter Which C[atherine] has commenced. Not but that I could write one myself, but that this may contain all that we have to tell. I find that settling in a new country is attended with many disadvantages deprivations and inconveniences which are not expected or thought of until tried. Things that we must have and cannot do without comfortably are numerous and come very high, but I have no reason to be discouraged yet for labor is high as well as produce of ever kind, and my health is good. The great difficulty is I cannot improve and get things to get along with as fast as I wish without money. Credit, I have more than I wish, I sometimes think, however, it is very convenient so long as it can be kept good, which requires, you know, like vegetation in a drouth, occasional refreshings to keep from drying up.

If you have ascertained whether I can get my share of money by Power of Attorney or agency I wish you to let me know.<sup>7</sup> Also who to invest with said power, i.e. who will be willing to take the trouble, for I had better pay some one to do it for me, if I can, this fall than to go myself. Not but what I should like to go, but cannot afford it if it can be done without. I shall want it at all events, to make the last payment for our land the 1st of Dec.

You are all alone by this time I suppose. How lonesome it must be to go to meeting, sit in the olde Pew, all, all alone, go home, sit down to reading some old book until you get sleepy and drop it, then start up and begin to think about something, the Preaching perhaps. Wish A[bigail] was with you to go. Then you wander after her to Conn[ecticut] then back to T[renton], and then to Ohio<sup>8</sup> but cannot stop until you get way here among the big Praire and here it can range unconfined.

And so might you, were you here with us. I wish you was. I think we should enjoy ourselves very well. There is a Sunday School at our house every Sunday, and a bible class; also preaching every third Sunday, sometimes oftener. But no protracted meetings — the inha[b]itants would think they

<sup>7</sup>The money which Daniel and Catherine had inherited at their father's death in 1826 had apparently been placed in trust for them, pending their turning legal age.

<sup>8</sup>Eliza, Pamela's sister, lived in Berlinsville, Ohio, with her husband, Dr. J. S. Ross.

were a fooling away their time to spend 3 weeks in that way, but custom is everything. Ma says that C[atherine] and me are as wicked [as] ever so that we do not mind it so much as others might.

The country is setting quite fast so that the neighbors are plenty. Carthage the county seat is 18 miles out in the Prairie and 2 years ago was not laid off. [It] has now 30 or 40 houses and continues to grow. Commerce also improves and will I am confident become quite a place. It was rather sickly here last season and also throughout the West so far as I could learn. It has been quite a wet season so far. I do not know what effect it may have on the health of the place this year. At present it is healthy and I believe will be one the safest of any where.

The Garrison makes everything very scarce and labor high.<sup>9</sup> They are obliged to have 418 tons of hay delivered from the Prairie on that side, and help will be very scarce. The Dragoons have gone out on the campaign will return in Sept. [They] will have many an Indian story to tell when they return. Indians are not so plenty here as you imagine. They have gone up the River. They are very different from those Oneidas — more savage. They dance for liquor, sing their War songs, and swing their Battle axes over your head. If you jump, it is fine sport for them, if not they think you are brave. When they kill any body they make the print of a man's hand on their blanket with red paint. Its not uncommon to see them swing the scalps of their enemies when they dance. With their heads shaved faces painted decorated in the most curious manner, bells on their legs, I dont know what I should call them if I did not know and should meet them by myself. You must have patience or you never will read the half of this letter, but next time you must scold me for not writing oftener. Received a letter from L[ucy] not long since. She says Ephraim is going to be married to Rebeca. I wonder if it is true. If I was you, I would not stay there where folks are so long a getting married. It just exact [*indecipherable*] their spunk. Now here they do not wait so long to get ready, but go ahead. If they have not got any land they go over the River into Michigan,<sup>10</sup> break up a piece of Prairie and fence it, make a cabin and a cover, [*unclear*] and get a few hogs, and there is a plenty, live on dodgers<sup>11</sup> and Bacon and wear jeans. By the time the land comes in market they have money enough to pay for it at congress price. I dont know but they are as happy as any body. They have not much learning, neither have their children. You would be pleased to hear them talk: make a scap of corn, cotch [*unclear*], folch, etc., are among their expressions.

Grand Pa has bought a lot on the square I am glad to hear, so I hope they will live comfortable and not have to work so hard. If they could only make us a visit I should like it and would try to make them stay with us. Tell next time where abouts their house and lot is, and how Old Blue gets along, and about the Temperance Society. Tell Grand Ma I don't mean to have the chill

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<sup>9</sup>Across the river from Commerce was a garrison, Fort Des Moines, soon to be abandoned, but at this time apparently still manned by United States troops. Thomas Gregg, *History of Hancock County* (Chicago: Charles C. Chapman & Co., 1880), p. 245.

<sup>10</sup>Michigan Territory, later Iowa.

<sup>11</sup>A kind of corn meal bread.

and fever this summer and that Ma has plenty of Tartar & Emetic which is her cure all, you know. You don't know how I should like to come and see you all this fall. I think I could tell some stories that would be entertectning, but I am a man of family you know and consequently confined. Mother thinks she shall go and see you all before a great many years pass. I want she should, and C[atherine] too, to go to school at a year. Would like to myself if I could but do not expect I can. C[atherine] wants to know if she can get her money when she is eighteen. If she can and you or any should come here on a visit, she might go back with you and stay a while, perhaps till I could come after her. Tell all my friends they are not forgotten. Give them my best respects. Remember me to all my relations and acquaintances. Per Your affectionate brother,

Daniel H. Wells

Send Papers. We would if we could get them. Dont work too hard because you are alone. I think every time I see a boat land how glad I would be to see some of my old friends. I look among the Passengers to see if there is not at least one that I know, but all are strangers. DW

Corn is 75 cts per bush[el], Potatoes 1.50, wheat 75. The wheat harvest has commenced and is coming in very good. Corn looks well, so does oats Potatoes etc. I have 12 acres of oats, the price generally 37 1/2 cts. Also as much corn besides Potatoes. I take some jobs, work out some, get along any way that I can. Have a span of horse, & a yoke of oxen, hogs etc etc. Why not come this fall or summer and make us a visit. At least Joseph<sup>12</sup> said he might come this year. You come with him if he does. Should suppose some of the Trenton folks might have courage enough to venture this far. I think S. Pebody must have got homesick very quick to return so soon. If he had come here, I dont [think] you would have caught him there again very soon. I wonder what all them Wethersfield chaps a doing or are a going to do. Stay there I suppose, though, get married and build a house on a part of their fathers farm. Is that the example their fathers set them when they come there into the Woods? Now here we dont have to chop and clear off nothing in the world but to break up and fence and not a stump or a stone to throw the plough out of the ground. If they will not come for themselves let them stay there and when they want to see anything go and look at [Niagara] falls or go to Utica to see a big town and then come home and go to work. That will stop them a full six months if not a year. H Dodge did come this far. Was very sorry he did not call. Have not seen the first one that we ever knew since we left Ohio.

Yours etc., D. Wells

The second letter in the group, after a false start on 7 February, was written on 12 March 1836. In it Daniel, by now twenty-one and proud of his increasing stature in the community, tells Pamela, with his usual good humored acceptance, of the roughness of their frontier life, at the same time informing her of the advancing social order: a town council, it would seem,

<sup>12</sup>Joseph Coombs, soon to marry Pamela's sister Lucy.



with Daniel as one of its officers; a debating society and a temperance organization, all in addition to the religious organization already in existence. He has heard from Pamela of their sister Abigail's marriage, and jokes with Pamela about his own bachelorhood. And as usual, he reiterates his wish that Pamela could brave the journey to visit them in Illinois. Daniel begins the letter with some business having to do with his inheritance from their father's estate, then adds his newsy portions; Catherine fills the space remaining on the page.

Commerce, March 12th, 1836

Dear Sister,

For weeks and months have I looked for an answer to the letter which I sent with power of attorney to do my business. I received one but you had not then received mine. I hope it has not miscarried. If I do not received it soon shall write to Storrs and give him the power att[orney]. He has not writen to me as yet but you say he will do the business.

You also state that A[bigail] is going to be married. Quite a secret I suppose for I see in the paper on the 13 *inst.* Mr. S... R.... [Stephen Rockwell] to Miss A... W. [Abigail Wells] both of T[renton]. So you may tell them I wish them much joy and am much obliged to them for my invatation which I did not get. How did they know but what I would come clear there to see them married and if I would not they would have saved their money and credit too. However, they are done with a single life, so good luck to them. And now I should like to know all about it as you promised me you would tell when they got settled. Also what you are going to do with your precious self if you do not come here. And as you think of going to Ohio<sup>13</sup> I shall expect you will come and bring Lucy too, just to see us and the country if not to stay. I cannot hold forth many inducements but think you will not be disappointed very much unless you form an unreasonable idea. You must not think that pigs are runing about teasing to be eaten, neither must you expect to fined turkeys with knives and forks in their backs ready roasted, but be satisfied like us. So long as we have p[l]enty of hog and hominy you shall be welcome if you can afford, a[f]ter living so long in such a large white house, to stop in a cabin where perhaps you may have to stoop to enter in, the entrance closing with a pin. But do not be discouraged for we think we are quite comfortable, considering all. Indeed I am quite anxious for you and L[ucy] to come just to see the way we do live. I do not beleive you will be so apt to have the chill and fever here as in Ohio for I think it is more hea[l]thy.<sup>14</sup> And what is more, I think it would be for your health to come.

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<sup>13</sup>See note 8 above.

<sup>14</sup>Here again is mention of "chills and fever," or the "ague," as it was usually called. Daniel would have Pamela believe that the Mississippi basin climate might be more healthful for her than Trenton; however later in this same letter Catherine tells her that their mother has been sick with the "chills" all winter. T. Edgar Lyon, historian of Nauvoo Restoration, Incorporated, of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, suggests four possible illnesses which settlers might have been describing as "chills and fever": malaria; dengue fever, also mosquito caused; undulent fever, carried by cattle; or typhoid fever. Sources indicate, he says that the disease was prevalent in spring and summer, but usually disappeared with the autumn frost.

I expect you would like to have me tell a little about myself and what I am about. As to the first, I am as big a fool as ever and do not know quite as much, and the latter, just nothing at all only more so, except getting up wood and making fires. I had like to have told you what an office I had got into. I believe I now rather you would come and see. They cotcht me up on a pin hook and elected me so I was obliged to serve.<sup>15</sup>

Weddings have been quite thick here this winter so that I have been almost afraid to go out with out tying up my face for fear I should catch the epedemic but the rage has subsided now. We have debating society and I have got so I can make a tolerable good speech. There is going to be a temperance society formed here tomorrow. I dont know as I have much news to tell you. The war in Florida, and the Frenchmen<sup>16</sup> is the most, and you know more about it than me, I expect, for we do not take any paper yet, but I intend to before long. C[atherine] wants to write some so I must wind off. I think there is a first rate letter in this if it was arranged in grammatical order, I have [*page torn*] I find it tough work, so I dont know what I will do when it gets cold. If your patience lasts [I will] give you credit for more than I have. I wish I could write like you. This is a mixed up medley truly. I dont know when I have been so rattled brained before, nor what should make me so now.

Your D[evoted?] B[rother?] Daniel H. Wells

My Dear Sister,

I have been scolding D[aniel] for taking up so much room for nothing. I tell him that I will write a letter soon and he shall not put a word in it. Perhaps you would like to know what I have been about this winter. Have been at weddings, infairs, quiltings, etc. besides going to meeting every Sunday and once in the week. As to work I have had enough of it to do for Ma has had the chills all winter, sometimes every day and sometimes every other. She has a good appetite and is sound until her chill comes on. She has not been able to work much. I have taken in shirts to make from the garrison.<sup>17</sup> Have made twenty, get from 75 [cents] to a dollar apiece. Dear A[bigail] is really married! Ma joins with us in wishing them much joy. Tell Brother S[tephen] I am afraid he will not make that call he promised us when we came away, but hope that he and A[bigail] will come and visit us soon and you, Dear P[amela], must come this spring, and I shall expect L[ucy] with you. Do not let the fear of chills prevent you from coming. You may not have

<sup>15</sup>Records extant do not reveal what civic office Daniel Wells held at this early date, but family tradition suggests he was constable. He later served as alderman and justice of the peace in Nauvoo, offices, which won him the title "Squire Wells," by which he was known for years afterward.

<sup>16</sup>Wells has likely heard of the uprisings of the Seminoles in Florida, and possibly of the two massacres which had occurred, one at Fort King and one at Fort Brook on 28 December 1835, just about ten weeks prior to this writing. The "Frenchmen" problem he refers to was likely the situation which resulted from the bungling attempts of the Jackson administration to collect compensations for damages incurred during the Napoleonic war. The ensuing diplomatic quarrel climaxed in November 1835 with the closing of both the French embassy in Washington and the American embassy in Paris and beginnings of bilateral preparations for war. Wells apparently knew of the November crisis; he might not yet have heard of the settlement effected, with British mediation, in January 1836. Thomas A. Bailey, *A Diplomatic History of the American People*, 8th ed. (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1969), pp. 195-98.

<sup>17</sup>See note 9 above.

them. They are not dangerous; they would make your health better. I never was as healthy in my life as I have been this winter. Do write soon and tell about A[bigail's] wedding. Give my love to all, Grandpa and Gr.ma and Ruth Ann in partiular. Is it true that she is in a decline? I hope not, but am anxious to hear. CW [Catherine Wells]

March 13th

We had a letter from Aunt Merrill last week. I wish some of the Trenton people would come here and settle, those that would make good inhabitants. Excellent market for everything. Daniel sold 200 bushels of corn last week for 50 cents per bushel, and 30 bushels of oats at the same price. He had sold a good many oats before at forty-five. We have sold fifty dollars worth of fish this winter. It is dark and I must get a candle. I am in hopes that we shall have a good school here this summer. Talk of getting a young lady from Conn. by the name of Wells, maybe relation.<sup>18</sup> I have not seen her. She has taught high school there, [and] knows the languages. I mean to go to school this summer. Do write soon and tell Grandma that we want she should write. Ma says you must come here this spring.

From your loving Sister, CW

Between this letter and the next one, dated simply 28 August, but obviously of 1836, the shape of the life of the Wells family began to change. Daniel's "epedemic" of weddings subsided only briefly: within the next year it caught up with all three members of the Wells family in Illinois. This letter tells of Catherine's marriage to James Weston Woods, the young man who later, self-read in the law, was defense attorney for Joseph Smith. Daniel's almost embarrassed good humor shows through his description of the marriage ceremonies: the pleasant irony is that within several months, and less than a month after his mother's remarriage, Daniel will himself take a wife.

Commerce August 28 [1836]

Dear Sister

After so long delay I do not know what excuse to make. But I do not believe in exuses, & I also believe that a few lines will be not the less welcome by coming seldom.

Catherine is married, and we are all well. Two items of no news, I suppose you think, but it is nevertheless true, and I think if you will come here we can convince you of the fact that it is not such an all killing job to get married as it is cracked up to be.

I will give you a short history of the affair and leave you to judge. You see I was out in the Praire haying and it rained on Friday night, so I came home. Well the next morning I found Woods, (or James Weston Woods, is his name) was here and that he and C[atherine] were going to be married on sunday, and sure enough they was. They just exactly walked over to the

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<sup>18</sup>No record has been found naming a teacher Wells from Connecticut; the statement is nonetheless significant in suggesting that the community had sufficient scholars, and sufficient concern for education, to consider importing a trained and experienced teacher.

school-house arm in arm. Their attendance [attendants] followed next and Ma. Brought up the rear. She wanted me to walk by her side but I thought I had rather walk in the path too so I went behind her. Well we got there at last and there we staid until the preacher preached and sung and prayed, and then they just got up, they did, and cleared away a seat so they could all sit together and then and there they was all standing up, they was, and he married them. That is all, except they come back again and we had some excellent cake, the best I have tasted this long while. I like to forget to tell you, the preacher came over home and some of the neighbors and took dinner and that night I had the greatest notion to go and see some of the girls I ever had in my life, but I was afarid I should not know how to act so I thought I would go to bed & be ready to go to work in the Praire haying again the next morning, as I did. And it is work work all the time.

I am in hopes to make some improvement this winter, that is clear off some land and not have to rent. Think I shall have considerable corn this year — but think it will be cheap. So I think of buying some cattle and perhaps hogs to fatten. Beef is high so is bacon, & I think I can turn by corn in the way the best.

I am getting along as well as I can expect, but find it impossible to keep pace with my wishes. Woods is here. Ma feels tired and has lain down. We have been to meeting. A stranger preached. He is from New York, is viewing the country. Strange it is no person of our acquaintance ever comes this way we have not seen and old acquaintance since we left Ohio and scarcely a day passes but some stranger from the east comes along.

Catherine's marriage was followed hard upon by both her mother's, to Charles Robison,<sup>19</sup> and that of Daniel himself, to his new step-father's daughter, Eliza Rebecca Robison, the latter being solemnized on 12 March 1837. Between these events and the next letter here, Catherine and James moved, first to Carthage and then upriver to Burlington, Wisconsin Territory. The mother, now Mrs. Robison, lived at first at the homestead of her new husband, but later made long visits to her relatives in the East. During one of those visits, Robison died in Illinois.

Outside of the Wells family circle, in the settlement of Commerce as in the nation at large, an economic depression struck in 1837. Many Commerce settlers were forced to abandon their high hopes and sell their recently improved properties, such that in early 1839 land speculator Isaac Galland could encourage Joseph Smith and his refugee followers to come to Commerce from Missouri with promises of "about 10 or 15 houses or cabbins . . . and several farms" which could be had in the neighborhood.<sup>20</sup> The Mormons accepted the offer, came, and commenced their own settlement and improvement of the lands they rented and purchased.

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<sup>19</sup>T. Edgar Lyon suggests that Charles Robison was a lay Methodist preacher, probably the same who conducted the meetings referred to in the earlier letters.

<sup>20</sup>Isaac Galland to D. W. Rogers, 26 February 1839, Joseph Smith Letterbook, Church Archives, Historical Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah.



The new town, renamed Nauvoo in 1840, centered east of the original Commerce, up the bluff from the river. Daniel Wells's hilltop property then became prime real estate, so valuable that he sold, bought back, subdivided and sold again the tract on a part of which the building of the temple soon commenced.

Wells established his family — Eliza had given birth in 1839 to their son Albert — on property eastward of the city, one and one-half miles along Mulholland towards the still virgin prairie. Relatively wealthy and highly respected in the new city, Daniel Wells — “Squire Wells” since his election as justice of the peace — writes again to family in Trenton. This letter, addressed this time to Mr. Joseph Coombs, is to him and his wife Lucy, Daniel's half-sister. The Mormons are being persecuted by hostile neighbors, and Wells, not a Mormon, though sympathetic to their cause, expresses his disgust at the irrational prejudices which motivate the “mobocrats.” He speaks then, with some civic pride, of his city's having raised a candidate for the presidency of the United States in this election year 1844: Joseph Smith, sponsored mainly by his Mormon followers, had announced himself a contender for that office. Wells speaks out in favor of Henry Clay, apparently recognizing that Smith's chances for success are slim, at least in this election.

As the letter begins Daniel gives family news, and refers to a trip East from which he had, apparently, recently returned. At the end Eliza, his wife, adds a brief note to her relative whom she has never met.

Nauvoo March 31st 1844

Dr Brother & Sister. I did not think it would be so long, when I left you, before I should write to you, or you to me, but so it is, and I expect that you expect one from me first. I received a letter from Stephen<sup>21</sup> a short time since, and was very glad to hear from you and of your well doing. We are all very well at present. Albert<sup>22</sup> has had the measles but has entirely recovered. Mother is now with us. She is quite well. Catherine and family were here this winter and staid over a week. We had a very good visit. She and Mother ask a great many more questions about matters and things and people than I can answer. I am not so much of a hand to enquire into every thing as some folks are, therefore cannot give the min[u]tia in every case, and I do not believe if they should take a trip east and not stay any longer than I did they would think of half the things they enquire of me about. I hope they will have the privilege of visiting you soon, but I think it is doubtful if they do this season.

Our city is still improving, emigrants begin to arrive, and considerable preparations making for building. I expect the Temple will be enclosed this year. There was some excitement early in the winter. Those conventionist's that met last fall and passed those resolutions, you will remember, while I was with you, tried to raise an excitement in order to raise mobs and drive the Mormons away, but they found they had not influence to raise a tenth part of what would be necessary to do such a deed. I am only astonished that they

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<sup>21</sup>Stephen Hubbard Rockwell, Abigail's husband.

<sup>22</sup>Daniel and Eliza's son Albert would be five years old at this writing.



should have influence enough to raise any for such a purpose. Men will let their prejudices lead them to do and perform things contrary to their own better judgment. They got so far carried away with their infamous plans, that they very gravely deliberated among themselves, whether they should drive and exterminate all the Mormons, Men, Women and children, or only those more prominent men or leaders. They charged the Mormons with nothing that had any existence, except some of the City ordinances. Some of the ordinances I do not approve, and they have since been repealed, but it is no concern of theirs. If we pass illegal or unconstitutional laws any person agrieved has their remedy by appeal to the Circuit Court, where the judge has power to not only try the case, but the constitutionality of the law itself. This the mobocrats well know, that is the leaders, but instead of telling the people this they try to make them believe that their liberties are in danger & c & c but since they have ascertained their strength they have been very quiet. The largest amount they could number under the greatest excitement they could possibly raise was only two hundred, and I am credibly informed that quite a large number even of these were so disgusted with the whole proceedings that they went home swearing they would never have anything more to do in the matter.

So you see we are not *used* up yet. We still live and have our *being*. And not having anything very pressing on hand though we would bring out a candidate for President as you will see by the papers I send you. Not that we have anything particular against our own lov'd "Harry of West"<sup>23</sup> but *who would* live in a city that could not have at least one candidate for *President* and then who knows what is in the *future*. Suppose we should elect our candidate, would there not be a new brood of "heaven born Amos's," would not the Government Patronage fall like the "genial rays of the summer's sun" upon many an otherwise "luckless wight"? with healing in its wings and *blessings in its train?* But *not yet*. Our own loved Harry must come first, *and then*, the one term principal is a part of our creed you know, but enough of this. I do not yet quite despair of our place voting for Henry Clay. For Van [Buren] they most assuredly will not.<sup>24</sup>

We have had a very [*torn*] winter. Scarce any cold weather and very litt[*torn*]. Wheat looks fine. We have sowed oats and peas and I think from the present prospect will be able to plant in April. The prairie's begin to look green and all nature seems to smile with gladness.

Give our love to Grand Parents, hope they are well, Step[h]en & A[bigail], and tell them we should be glad to have a line from them. Uncle D. S. Chapin<sup>25</sup> has located for the present above here, about 15 miles up the river. Has been doing very well and thinks he will remove his family to this country. I should be most happy to have the pleasure of showing you the

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<sup>23</sup>Henry Clay, the popular frontier candidate in this 1844 election. Nauvoo's Joseph Smith had declared himself a candidate early in the year.

<sup>24</sup>Since his famous refusal to aid the Mormons — "Your cause is just, but I can do nothing for you" — Martin Van Buren was singularly unpopular among them. He did not become a candidate in this election, his party's support going instead to James K. Polk, who then won the election.

<sup>25</sup>D. L. Chapin would likely be brother to Wells's mother.

country pointing out its advantages and its best localities &c &c. I more than half expect to see you and Stephen here this season yet, *looking* at the country *you know*. [*On the fold of the letter:*] Write when you receive this. Tell Pamela to write. O how I wish I could see her. [*On margin:*] My best respects to Uncle H. and all enquiring friends. Yours &c, Daniel H. Wells

Dear sister Lucy, I have no room to write half I would say if you were here. But hope you all will be soon if but for a visit. We had a pleasant visit from Catherine. Little Eliza<sup>26</sup> is quite pretty. Runs where she pleases, is very fond of dress, and particularly fond of her cap and tippet, and plays the coquett on a small scale when dressed to her fancy. Ma says P[amela] promised to write her a *long* letter and hopes she will for we cannot remember half she wants to know. Sends her love to all. Tell sister A[bigail] I thank her for her kind lines and remembrance. I some hope to see her here this summer and think I have half a promise to that effect from Stephen and of course he will not object if she can come. And P[amela] must come. It will improve her health if she has an opportunity, and bring Hary<sup>27</sup> with her. Remember me to all who remember me and give my best love to Sarah Hall and the rest of the cousins. Tell them I hope to see them all again but cannot say when.

E[liza] R. Wells

That letter was written in March 1844. Within a few short months the persecutions of the Mormons from without, and the dissension from within had torn at the roots of the structure Joseph Smith had established in his "city beautiful." Led away once more to stand trial in nearby Carthage, Smith stopped briefly on his way at the home of Squire Wells, his friend and fellow city administrator who was sick at the time.<sup>28</sup> Three days later in a jail in Carthage the Mormon Prophet was shot and killed by a mob of Hancock County residents.

Mormonism did not end, as its enemies had thought it would, with Smith's death. Persecutions intensified, until by 1846 the Mormons were once again on the trail, this time headed for the Rocky Mountains. Through all of this Daniel Wells was not untouched by the people he had defended, nor by the doctrine which had brought them together. On 9 August 1846 he joined them by baptism.<sup>29</sup> His wife Eliza remained unconverted.

In the last dark days of Nauvoo which followed, Wells, now acknowledged one of the Latter-day Saints, moved his wife and child to Burlington, Iowa, where his sister Catherine was living. Returning to Nauvoo, he fought in the last battle which culminated in the final surrender of the city, and which won for him the title "Defender of Nauvoo." After a

<sup>26</sup>Eliza is likely Catherine's daughter, named for her aunt who had died in Ohio in 1841.

<sup>27</sup>At Eliza's death, Pamela had taken her sister's child Harry back to Trenton with her.

<sup>28</sup>Brigham H. Roberts, *A Comprehensive History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 6 vols. (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret News Press, 1930), 2:248.

<sup>29</sup>Klaus J. Hansen, *Quest for Empire: The Political Kingdom of God and the Council of Fifty* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1967), p. 62 suggests that Wells might have purposely postponed his actual joining of the church in order to better serve its interests as a non-Mormon advocate.

winter spent with his family in Burlington, summer among the Mormons in Winter Quarters, and another winter in Illinois, Wells returned to the main body of the Saints in time to make the crossing to the Salt Lake Valley by fall of 1848. He was still unable to persuade Eliza to accompany him, and some few of her letters to him still extant are poignant with the sorrow of their separation.<sup>30</sup>

No sooner had Wells arrived in the growing Utah settlement than he was responsibly involved in the building of the city. His first appointment, as Superintendent of Public Works, put him in charge of construction of an office building for the church, a council hall for the city. Governor Brigham Young chose him on the first proposed slate of territorial officers, and in 1849 Wells was elected attorney general. Two months later, in acknowledgement of his leadership of the troops at Nauvoo, he was appointed Major General in the Utah militia named after the Nauvoo Legion.

These positions he holds as he writes this last letter in the present collection, this time to all the family still living in Trenton, addressed through Abigail's husband Stephen Rockwell. It has been more than six months since he has heard from any of them, and he wonders whether they feel alien to him since his espousal of the much criticized religion. Uncertain of their response to Mormonism, he cannot tell them of his private affairs: that he has married, under church-sanctioned polygamy, Louisa Free and Martha Givens Harris. Nor would they understand that he still is urging his first wife Eliza to join him in his new life. So he turns to safer subject matter: Indians, and his involvement with them as commandant of a peace-keeping mission to Utah Valley, forty miles south of Salt Lake City.

Blood had been shed between the settlers, now under siege in Fort Utah, and the Ute Indians, by now equipped with rifles. When pleas for aid came to Salt Lake City from the detachment in Provo, General Wells volunteered, raised a troop of the Nauvoo Legion, and moved in with planned strategy to lift the siege and then follow the fleeing Indians to the southern limits of the Utah Valley. His instructions had been to clear the valley so that not one Indian remained; his mission was successful.<sup>31</sup>

Wells's account here tends to be laudatory of his troops, understandable, considering the pressure he would feel to show his fellow Mormons in a favorable light. More significant, in the context of prevailing frontier attitudes, is his apparent compassion for the fleeing Indians.

The letter closes, after a report on the progress of government in the new territory, with a good-humored reflection of the joke which circulated about Mormons, that they had horns, and a self-effacing comment on his appearance best understood in the light of indications that, besides a general gauntness of countenance, he had a "cast" to his right eye. Daniel Wells may not have appeared dashing to the ladies of this time, but surely his wit and sincere humanity more than compensated.

<sup>30</sup>Letters from Eliza to her husband, included in the Daniel Wells Collection, Church Archives, reveal the difficulty of the dilemma: Eliza could not tolerate the doctrine of plural marriage, and Daniel would not repudiate the pronouncement of the Prophet.

<sup>31</sup>Orson F. Whitney, *History of Utah*, 4 vols. (Salt Lake City: George Q. Cannon and Sons Co., 1892), 1:426-30 for a full account of the campaign.

Great Salt Lake City, April 19th 1850

Dear Brothes and Sisters, Again I improve the time of the year or season in which we can have communication with the world, being in these secluded vallies, entirely surrounded by impassible barriers of snow Deserts and Mountains at least half the year, to communicate with you. My health is good, and circumstances prosperous. I alway consider I am doing well when I am doing right or acting from a high sense of duty. I now feel that I am not living in *vain* but that my time is continually spent in doing good. I am perfectly satisfied in the course that I have taken in the Cause that I have espoused. My only regret is that I have not the ability to render it more efficient service.

As I do not get any letters from you even when we do have a chance to communicate I am left in doubt in relation to your feelings towards me, even whether you wish to hear from me. But of one thing be assured, that I shall not cease to write to you until I know of a certainty that this is the case. Understand me I do not think it is so altho your utter silence is inexplicable. Your letters may have been lost or if you have not written I doubt not you will have good and sufficient reasons for so doing and that I shall be perfectly satisfied therewith.

I scarcely know what to write about to you, not but what I have plenty to say but do not wish to trouble you with things you do not wish to hear. Of my own private affairs you have probably had enough, with Mormonism you are probably out of patience, with the country it is so bleak barren and desolate that it has become devoid of interest, a world of Mountain Desert, interminable plains, oceans of salt and a perfect surfeit of Gold. Where, O Where, shall I turn, to find a subject that will be of interest. I have it! I have it, incident, incident, sanguinary incident, is what interests in novels. So here goes, for a narrative founded on facts. Complaints had been frequently made from the settlement in the Utah [Valley] that Indian depredations were of frequent occurence. They shot at the people when employed in their usual occupations, drove off their cattle in open daylight and presuming upon the forbearance of the White called them "Women and Cowards," daring them to come and fight. This state of things could not continue long. It therefore became necessary that some measures should be taken to bring the Indians to terms, that quiet and peace might be restored. Many were the plans of conciliations resorted to, suffering wrong without resentment, returning good for evil until forebearance ceased to become a virtue, and all negociations resulted in open war! Now came the bustling preparation for arming, for camping, for carrying provisions and forage for animals, and for prusuing a savage foe into their most secure haunts, secret recesses in the rocky (*cañons*) of the Mountains, or deep ravines covered with dense and thorny thickets.

About the first of February 1850 the forces took up the line of March from the Valley of the Great Salt Lake to assist in quelling these disturbances. Then might you have seen Men trailing along in single file, the foremost to break a hard crust which was upon the snow, and hear the frequent word of command to change as the foremost became tired of this arduous task. Then might be seen men making their couch upon the snow and the lonely sentinel pacing his weary round to keep himself from freezing. After two days hard



fighting among those Brushy ravines the Indians took to the Mountains where rocks and narrow passes furnished them ample natural defences. Long and weary was the pursuit, but they were overtaken in their Mountain home — being routed far and near they fled like the Mountain roe. The Indians were cleared from the valleys, the Slain have gone to their place of rest.

The Mountain dell, alone can narrate the sufferings of those poor wretches who, wounded and naked, fled for their lives over Mountains heights of snow where snow shoes alone could keep them from being buried alive. The campaign is now brought to a close. Now you can hear the merry joke the jovial song and the glad voices of those who are conscious of having done their duty, of hav[ing] periled privation cold hunger fatigue danger and even death for the good of their country without murmuring or complaint. No mercenary spirit pervades their breasts. Patriotism alone inspires their hearts. No pecuniary consideration can liquidate claims like these. No generosity can give peace like theirs.

You can well conceive that scenes like these tend to break the monotony of a winter life where no news from far distant regions can reach, where People are left to their own rescourses for objects to amuse or interest. We have [been] and are extending our settlements some 400 Miles in length varying in width as good locations appear. We have an organised Government, the Legislature of which has held adjourned seessions during the past winter. We have organised the Military, have organised the Judiciary, also some eight of ten counties, granted a charter for a university of learning and passed several ordinances for the domestic peace and tranquility of our young, vigorous and growing State. As to Politics we have but little to do with them unless it be to use such as can be of some practical utility and benefit in our policy. We are and have to be governed by circumstances. Spring has come at last and altho it is yet stormy the husbandman is putting in his crops and the hum of business in our streets betokens the awakening energies of the indomitable perservering and unyielding spirit of which this people are so richly endowed.

We are in entire ignorance as yet and will be until news comes from the States of all that has transpired in that country as well as the old world since about last August or the first of Sept, and when I consider that the Cholera, that Scourge of the Nations, has traveled over the land since I have been able to get a single line from any friend of mine, I feel as tho I dreaded to hear, feeling that from some scourge I shall be bereft of a friend.

Write to me as often as you can direct to the Great Salt Lake City, via of Kane P. O. Iowa and I shall, unless some accident or casualty occurs, be sure to receive them. Tell me all about yourselves, your calculations, your prospects and your feelings and be assured I will be as candid in my answers as you can be in yours. Give my love in a special manner to my Grand Parents. I hope they still enjoy life. Remember me to them in kindness, as well as to my cousins and other friends. And if any of them think that they would know a Mormon by his *horns* I feel quite sure they would be [indecipherable] if they should see me, for I cannot see, for my life but what I am as much of a Man as I ever was, (and you know that I *always prided*



*myself on my good looks*).<sup>32</sup> I remain as ever your loving Brother,  
Daniel H. Wells

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<sup>32</sup>Daniel's underlined boast about his "good looks" is clarified by a story told of him by Heber J. Grant, who knew him well in his later years. The story, long since passed into the Abraham Lincoln lore with names and roles assigned to various persons according to the situation, has Lincoln saying to Wells, "Prepare to die. I have said that if I ever met a homelier man than myself, I would shoot him." Wells replied, "Shoot, Abe, if I am homelier than you I want to die." Heber J. Grant to George Sutherland, 5 June 1941, Heber J. Grant Collection, Church Archives. The story as it was told with Lincoln in the opposite role is published in Alexander K. McClure, *Lincoln's Yarns and Stories . . .* (Chicago and Philadelphia: John C. Winston Company, [1938]), p. 17.

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## MORMON HISTORY ASSOCIATION AWARDS FOR 1975

(Continued from page 2)

### Special Citations:

KENNETH W. GODFREY, for inspiring teaching of Mormon history, for continued activity in research and publication, and for conscientious, effective service as secretary-treasurer of the Association.

KENNETH STOBAUGH, for interest in the preservation of historical sites, for generous assistance at the time of the Association's Nauvoo meeting, and for broad-minded friendliness to people of all faiths.

RALPH TATE, JR., for donating time and expertise to the preparation of legal papers which obtained for the Mormon History Association a non-profit corporate status.

T. EDGAR LYON, for inspiring teaching of Mormon history, for continued activity in research and publication, and for conscientious efforts to maintain integrity and historical accuracy in the projects of Nauvoo Restoration, Inc.

GEORGE S. TANNER, for exemplifying the serious contributions an amateur historian can make to the collecting of source materials and the writing of local and family history.

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# Mormon Migration and Settlement after 1875

*Richard Sherlock*

The writing of Mormon history in recent years has been almost exclusively devoted to the overriding theme of conflict between Mormons and Gentiles. Whether the conflict be seen as cultural in terms of polygamy, economic in terms of non-capitalist institutions, or political in terms of the Kingdom of God, the theme of conflict remains the same.<sup>1</sup> This theme of conflict with the outside world has nowhere been as central as in the writing of the history of the latter phase of Mormonism's frontier experience, roughly from 1875 to 1900. Though the importance of the polygamy crisis itself is now downplayed, it is still seen as a cover for more basic struggles in the political and economic sphere. The theme of conflict remains largely dominant.

This exclusive focus on the often dramatic struggle between Saint and Gentile serves to obscure the much slower process of the later stages of Mormon migration and settlement of the West. This neglect of the study of Mormon migration and settlement patterns in the last quarter of the nineteenth century is a serious one. The study of this process, its cause and its methods, may perhaps reveal more about the tensions of the period and about the changing nature of Mormon society than the historians' preoccupation with conflict.

In the ten years preceding the death of Brigham Young in 1877, 127 new colonies were planted. In the four-year period from 1876 to 1879 alone, one hundred new settlements sprang up in Arizona, Idaho, Colorado, and Wyoming, and in the 1880s major new settlements were founded from Mexico

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<sup>1</sup>See Mark Cannon, "The Mormon Issue in Congress, 1872-1882" (Ph. D. diss., Harvard University, 1960); Leonard J. Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom: An Economic History of the Latter-day Saints, 1830-1900* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1958); Klaus Hansen, *Quest for Empire: The Political Kingdom of God and the Council of Fifty in Mormon History* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1967); and Robert B. Flanders, *Nauvoo: Kingdom on the Mississippi* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1964).

to Canada with the important settlement of the Snake River Fork area around Rexburg beginning in the late 1870s but swelling to a flood tide in the years 1882-84.<sup>2</sup>

It is evident that a massive outmigration was occurring from the settlements which had encompassed the Mormon empire in its earlier phase. From Cache Valley on the north to the Arizona settlements on the south, people were leaving settled valleys and moving elsewhere. Behind this flood of migrations lies perhaps the most important long-term crisis of the period — the crisis of overpopulation and the resultant breakdown of the tightly structured Mormon village system.

During the 1880s immigration to Utah did not slow down. People continued to come at a fairly rapid pace. In the four years 1880 through 1883, 8,318 immigrants arrived, averaging 2,079 newcomers per year. For the ten years 1870 to 1880 the average was 1,620 per year. This continuing stream of people caused problems for the rural agricultural society of Utah. In 1890 the Census Bureau reported that out of 11,884 owners or renters of farms only 461 were under twenty-five and another 1,230 were between twenty-five and thirty. The largest single group was composed of people over sixty.<sup>3</sup> For the same period the census reported 20,568 males between the ages of twenty and thirty in Utah. There were only 3,449 over sixty-five and another 4,552 between the ages of fifty-five and sixty-four.<sup>4</sup> In 1880 the Census Bureau had reported that "Utah presents us with a case dissimilar to any of the other territories, a case of steady, regular growth due almost entirely to its agricultural capabilities." It was precisely this growth in the agricultural context that was progressively undermining the Mormon social system. Land was being taken up and the young who wanted to farm were being forced to move elsewhere.

This crisis of overpopulation and outmigration and the attendant breakdown of the village structure is revealed clearly in the documents of the period. In 1877 Brigham Young wrote to John Morgan, who was leading a group of church converts from Alabama and Georgia, that "as Zion is constantly growing so must we extend our settlements." He proceeded to recommend western Texas or New Mexico as possible locations for a settlement.<sup>5</sup>

More revealing still on the interrelationship of overcrowding, migration, and the breakup of the village group structure is a letter dated 26 December 1882 from Mormon leaders John Taylor and Joseph F. Smith to William B. Preston, president of the Cache Valley settlements (organized as Cache Valley Stake). The letter was written to advise the stake what to do as settlers became

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<sup>2</sup>Milton R. Hunter, *Brigham Young, the Colonizer* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1940), p. 356; Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom*, p. 354; Norman E. Ricks, "Mormon Settlement of the Snake River Fork Country, 1883-1893" (M.S. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1950), p. 41.

<sup>3</sup>Robert W. Sloan, *Utah Gazetteer and Directory . . .* (Salt Lake City: Herald Press, 1884), p. 295; U. S., Congress, House, *Miscellaneous Documents*, 52nd Cong., 1st sess., vol. 50, pt. 15:623.

<sup>4</sup>U.S., Interior Department, Census Office, *Report on Population of the United States at the 11th Census, 1890* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1897), pt. 2:105.

<sup>5</sup>Brigham Young to John Morgan, 28 June 1877, Brigham Young Collection, Church Archives, Historical Department of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City. (Hereafter referred to as Church Archives.)



restless and wanted to move to the Upper Snake River Valley in eastern Idaho. It reads in part:

In all cases in making new settlements the Saints should be advised to gather together in villages as has been our custom from the time of our earliest settlement in these mountain valleys. The advantages of this plan instead of carelessly scattering out over a wide extent of country are many and obvious to all those who have a desire to serve the Lord. By this means the people can retain their ecclesiastical organizations, have regular meetings of the quorums of the priesthood, establish and maintain day and Sunday Schools, Improvement Associations and Relief Societies. They can also cooperate for the good of all in financial and secular matters, in making ditches, fencing fields, building bridges and other necessary improvements . . . . We know of no reason why the methods that have been pursued in the past on these matters are any less applicable to the saints in Idaho and Wyoming than they have proved to those in Utah and Arizona. While the families are gathered in settlements there can be no disadvantage in having the farms outside, within easy reach as the peculiarities of the country may admit, the same as in our older settlements. A spirit to spread far and wide out of sight and reach of the authorities of the Church, must be discouraged as all Latter-day Saints must yield obedience to the laws of the Gospel and the order of the Kingdom of God and a methodical, comprehensive and intelligent system be inaugurated that we may gain influence (not lose strength) by strengthening the wards of the stake of Zion.<sup>6</sup>

This letter reveals that the leaders were aware of the seriousness of what was happening to the Mormon social structure under the impact of overpopulation and outmigration. The problem of young people was particularly critical. How could they stay in Zion with no work? A look at Cache Valley (a particularly active center of outmigration) reveals some of the tension and strain of the Mormon social system. On 1 May 1886 President Marriner W. Merrill of the stake presidency spoke to the Saints in Cache Valley and "deprecat[ed] the prevalence of the views that exist in the world and among too many of the young men of Israel."<sup>7</sup> At the quarterly conference of the Cache Valley Stake on 6 February 1887 Apostle John Henry Smith gave a lengthy discourse on the importance of a correct education for the children and about the problem of the alienation of the young through the educational process.<sup>8</sup> Several years earlier the problem of the young people had been discussed several times by the high priests quorum of the stake.<sup>9</sup> Perhaps the most revealing local commentary on the problem is provided by Charles Card, president of the Cache Valley Stake. In 1884 he wrote in the *Utah Journal*:

We have today factories idle and others not run to their capacity while we wear imported fabrics thereby sustaining other communities. It is no wonder that we have an unemployed element and that many parents say what shall we do with our boys. Others appeal to the capitalists to start enterprises that the unemployed may obtain remunerative labor and thus gather means to sustain themselves.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>6</sup>The letter is printed in full in M. D. Beal, *History of Southeastern Idaho* (Caldwell: Caxton Printers, 1942), pp. 413-14.

<sup>7</sup>"Cache Stake Historical Record," Book B, p. 104, Church Archives.

<sup>8</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 139.

<sup>9</sup>Cache Stake, "High Priests Minute Book," 4 March, 26 December, 1880; 26 June 1881; 26 June, 13 August, 10 December 1882; in Church Archives.

<sup>10</sup>29 January 1884.

With its discussion of factories and unemployed labor, Card's letter suggests the reverse side of the dilemma of overcrowding, the increasing necessity for industrialization. The dilemma of Mormon society in the 1880s and 1890s is thus presented as one of either accepting industrialization or seeing many of its young people move elsewhere to farm.

As the process of outmigration was proceeding, industrialization was also becoming a reality in Utah. The industrial system was becoming highly specialized and intensified. Farming, too, was becoming specialized and intensified. Both of these developments were consequences of the necessity to support ever-increasing numbers of people. In Utah as a whole, agriculture was declining as an occupation. In the decade of the 1870s there occurred the largest single decade drop in the percentage of the working force employed in agriculture.<sup>11</sup>

In 1885 this whole process of overpopulation, industrialization, and migration was summarized by one reporter as follows:

I find the settlements crowded up to their almost capacity, land and water all appropriated and our young people as they marry off have no place to settle near home . . . which is a pretty little city, well governed and quite prosperous but like most of our towns overpopulated, for the resources of the people are about exhausted unless they go into manufacturing.<sup>12</sup>

This forced outmigration from the settled confines of the Mormon empire is mirrored sharply in the process itself, which differed significantly from the methods which had been employed in the earlier stages of Mormon migration. The most important difference in these methods is the sporadic unplanned nature of the bulk of the migrations in this period. Mormon migrations had been, from the earliest immigrations from Europe, highly planned affairs. Very little was left to chance. Careful searches were conducted to determine desirable locations. Leaders were carefully chosen, and the nucleus of the community was also carefully selected and officially called to participate. The nucleus group was called in order to provide a basis of necessary skills in order to make the colony a success. Finally, the community received careful and continuous instructions from Salt Lake City.<sup>13</sup>

The later stages of Mormon migration evidence the breakdown of this highly planned system. In this period people generally migrated sporadically

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<sup>11</sup>Leonard J. Arrington, "The Transition to the Modern Era, 1880-1910," in *The History of a Valley: Cache Valley, Utah-Idaho*, ed. Joel E. Ricks and Everett L. Cooley (Logan: Cache Valley Centennial Commission, 1956), *passim*; Leonard J. Arrington, *The Changing Economic Structure of the Mountain West, 1850-1950*, Utah State University Press Monograph Series, vol. 10, no. 3 (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1963), pp. 41-42; and Charles S. Peterson, "The Americanization of Utah's Agriculture," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 42 (Spring 1974): 108-25.

<sup>12</sup>F. A. Hammond, "On the Way to San Juan," *Deseret News Weekly*, 24 April 1885.

<sup>13</sup>Phillip A. M. Taylor, "Why Did British Mormons Migrate?" *Utah Historical Quarterly* 22 (July 1954): 249-70; Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom*, pp. 102-4; Joel E. Ricks, *Forms and Methods of Early Mormon Settlement in Utah and the Surrounding Region* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1964), pp. 48-50. One important student of this process writes, "In opening up new areas to settle the Church did not wait for volunteer action or send only those who were seeking a stake in the land, rather it selected the nucleus group with regard to leadership, agricultural experiences and diversification of occupation." Feramorz Y. Fox, "The Mormon Land System: A Study of the Settlement and Utilization of Land under the Direction of the Mormon Church" (Ph.D. diss., Northwestern University, 1932), p. 148.

in small groups. Though it is still possible to find carefully planned and carried out settlements such as the settlements of Arizona and Bluewater, New Mexico, the bulk of the migrations were scattered and unplanned. From Star Valley, Goose Creek, and the Upper Snake River Valley in Idaho and Cardston, Alberta, Canada, to the settlements of Ramah, New Mexico, San Luis Valley of Colorado, and the Mormon colonies in Mexico men came and went in an increasingly atomistic fashion. Let us review now the major details of Mormon colonization after 1875.

*Wyoming.* Star Valley was scouted for settlement in 1877 by Moses Thatcher and William B. Preston but the first families moved in without direction from the Bear Lake community of Saint Charles in 1879, founding Auburn in the upper end of the valley. A small party of four families also located in the lower end of the valley in 1879, founding Freedom. In May of that year Charles Rich was appointed to supervise the settling of the valley by any who wished to settle, but no organized colonization was undertaken. Though the early growth was slow — only seven families lived in the valley in 1880 — during the eleven years 1879-90 nine separate settlements were founded.<sup>14</sup>

Development of the valley proceeded slowly and sporadically, especially prior to 1885. Some settlers arrived in 1881 intending to settle, but rapidly became discouraged and left. By year's end only two families remained in the upper end of the valley. A townsite was chosen the previous year for what would become the major town of Afton; due to its slow growth, however, the town was not surveyed until 1885. In 1883 two men built cabins at the site, but they left shortly and it was not until two years later that a lone man came to the site to stay permanently. Others followed shortly. Also in 1885 Grover was settled by a small group of four men, including two brothers, James and Joe Jensen, and Fairview was settled by a sporadic influx of five families. After 1885, six settlements were opened as the valley experienced a large influx of settlers.

These developments came on the heels of two long letters that appeared in the church-owned *Deseret News* lavishly touting the economic merits of settlement in Star Valley. The first letter was written by Moses Thatcher, who was attempting to spur settlement. The second was equally if not more lavish in its praise but was anonymous. After these letters appeared, the settlement of Star Valley proceeded at a much more rapid pace. In 1886 Osmond and Smoot were opened up, each by lone individuals. In 1887 three families moved into what would become Thayne. Two years later there were fourteen families in the town. Eighteen eighty-eight saw the settlement of Bedford by a lone settler, a Dr. Ormsby from Logan, and by relatives of William Preston, who were sent to manage some of his cattle. Etna was settled the same year by five families. In 1890 Turnerville was begun by a lone settler, a William Turner from West Jordan.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>14</sup>The basic information on Star Valley is presented in Ray M. Hall, "A History of the Latter-day Saint Settlement of Star Valley, Wyoming" (M.S. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1962). See also *Deseret Evening News*, 21 September 1880.

<sup>15</sup>*Deseret Evening News*, 2 May, 29 July 1885.

To some extent the Mormon migration into Star Valley was the result of virulent Idaho anti-Mormonism and the relatively tolerant Wyoming governor who is said to have remarked, "they are good settlers, leave them alone." However, two important factors mitigate against seeing this as simply a refuge for polygamists. First, exploration and settlement of the valley began before the virulent Idaho anti-Mormonism reached anything approaching crisis proportions. Second, the large influx into the valley followed closely the lavish praise in regional newspapers of the economic merits of settlement.

*Idaho.* The settlement of the Upper Snake River Valley around Rexburg was a second major effort of Mormon colonization during this period. The settlement began in 1879 when a single man moved into the Poole's Island region and two men moved into the area around Lyman. In the fall of that year a group of five, including two sets of brothers, settled on Henry's Fork. In 1879 John Poole of the Utah Northern Railroad visited the area around Poole's Island, liked the prospects, and proceeded to inform Apostle F. D. Richards, who called a meeting in Ogden at which many expressed a desire to settle. Poole was appointed to supervise the settlement of those who wished to go.<sup>16</sup>

During the next decade of massive migration to the area, eleven separate communities were settled, comprising eight different church wards or congregations. Church organization began in earnest in December of 1882 when a ward was organized with Thomas Ricks as the bishop. In the spring of 1883 Ricks selected the site of Rexburg as a "headquarters" community. Population here grew rapidly. When Heber J. Grant visited the area in 1884 he reported four hundred people in Rexburg itself. That same July there were more than fourteen hundred people in the area, and a stake was organized a little more than a year after the formation of a ward.<sup>17</sup>

The settlement of some of these areas pre-dates the Rexburg settlement. In 1879 a lone settler had located in the Parker area. By 1881 a branch had been organized and three years later there were 270 people in the area. In 1881 settlers began moving into the Menan area which numbered two hundred persons when a ward was begun in 1884. In 1882 three men including two families moved into the Louisville (Lewisville) area and began a settlement. Within two years 250 were in the area.<sup>18</sup>

Four areas were settled in 1883. Several unorganized settlers moved into the Lyman area in the fall of that year. The following year a ward was formed with more than two hundred people. A lone person settled in the Salem area which had a much slower growth (75 persons by 1885). Also in 1883, three groups of brothers moved into the Teton area from Mendon, Utah, and three settlers moved into the Wilford area beginning settlement there.

All of this migration to the Snake River Fork country occurred in the face of Idaho anti-Mormonism, perhaps more bitter than its Utah counterpart. It

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<sup>16</sup>Basic materials on settlement here are available in Beal, *History of Southeastern Idaho*, pp. 198-226, and Norman Ricks, "Snake River Fork Country," *passim*.

<sup>17</sup>*Deseret Evening News*, 25 June 1884.

<sup>18</sup>This material and the following is from Norman Ricks, "Snake River Fork Country," *passim*.



bespeaks poignantly of the push of overcrowding in Utah and the pull of the fertile volcanic soils of Idaho.

Mormon settlement of Cassia County, Idaho, began as early as 1873, when two families came to upper Cassia Creek from Willard, Utah, founding Beecherville, later named Elba. During the next seven years before 1880, another four settlements were opened. In 1875 Mormon families started moving into the Marsh Basin north of Elba and founded Albion, which four years later became the county seat of newly created Cassia County. In 1876 two Mormons, Thomas Hutchinson and John Colliher, moved into the Sublett area. In 1878 Myron Durfee located on Almo Creek to begin what later would become Almo. He was joined by another lone man in the fall, and in 1880 a small group including Henry Durfee, Sr., Henry Cahoon, and a few others came from Box Elder County, Utah.<sup>19</sup>

In 1878 James Daley and his three sons moved to the Goose Creek Valley from Grantsville, Utah, and proceeded to stake out homesteads. They returned the next year to begin permanent farming. In the spring of 1879 Mrs. Thomas Dayley wrote to her father William Martindale about the area. After a visit to the area, Martindale was so impressed that he returned and proceeded to interest Francis M. Lyman, president of Tooele Stake. Lyman himself visited and liked the area and proceeded to call Martindale to return to supervise the settlement. By 1880 there were 150 persons in this community. Oakley, as it was later known, became the center of the Mormon settlements in the Cassia area. In 1889 a Cassia Stake Academy was erected and in the same period a tabernacle and a theater were completed.<sup>20</sup>

*New Mexico.* Mormon colonization efforts in New Mexico were neither as extensive nor as successful as those in Idaho but they were numerous. In the mid-1870s missionaries located at Savoya (or Savoia). This attempt was soon abandoned, but another group under the direction of Lorenzo Hatch was sent there in 1877 to do missionary work, renaming the community Navajo. This group abandoned the area in 1878 after "plague" had decimated the colony during the winter. Some returned but Indians drove them out. In 1879 a small group succeeded in locating there and constructed a successful water storage system. To this area the beleaguered refugees from Sunset and Brigham City, Arizona, went in 1882, renaming the community Ramah.<sup>21</sup>

In 1878 the first permanent settlement was begun at Fruitland when a lone settler, Ben Boice, moved in. A year later two brothers from Moab began farming there but did not remain. In the spring of 1880 two brothers, Joshua and David Stevens from Millard County via Bluff, Utah, moved in and were followed in the summer by their father, Walter Stevens. Others continued to come in individualistically. In 1883, for example, single individuals came

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<sup>19</sup>The basic information on the Cassia settlements can be found in Beal, *History of Southeastern Idaho*, pp. 187-98; Leslie L. Sudweeks, "Exploration and Settlement of Southern Idaho, 1807-1880" (M.S. thesis, University of Utah, 1935); Wayne R. Boothe, "A History of the Latter-day Saint Settlement of Oakley, Idaho" (M.S., Brigham Young University, 1963); Andrew Jenson, "History of the Cassia Stake," manuscript, Church Archives.

<sup>20</sup>Boothe, "History of . . . Oakley, Idaho," pp. 23-25.

<sup>21</sup>H. Mannie Foster, "History of Mormon Settlements in Mexico and New Mexico" (M.A. thesis, University of New Mexico, 1937), p. 67.

from Richfield, Mona, and Vermillion, and two came from Montezuma. In the fall of 1880 Erastus Snow visited the area and liked the prospects for settlement. He proceeded to St. Johns, Arizona, where he called Luther Burnham to go to take charge of the settlement. Burnham, however, went alone as many of those called with him refused.<sup>22</sup>

In 1883 the Jackson area was settled by Walter Stevens and Joshua and Albert Farnsworth. The next year Stevens's other son, David, moved into the area. By 1893 there were four families at the earlier Fruitland settlement and sixteen at Jackson. By 1899 the Jackson area was abandoned as the lack of water drove the settlers from the dry earth.<sup>23</sup>

During this period other Mormon groups were also moving into New Mexico. In 1881 a drought at Sunset and Brigham City, Arizona, caused a group to seek their livelihood elsewhere. They settled on the Zuni River at the site of Navajo and founded the important community of Ramah. In 1882 a group moved into the Williams Valley and founded Pleasanton near the San Francisco River. In the middle 1880s many of this community went to Mexico, and by 1889 the last family, that of Jacob Hamblin, who had died there in 1886, moved away. Another failure was La Plata, about eighteen miles north of Farmington. Mormon families started moving into the area in 1899, but under the conditions of little water and gentile hostility the community became deserted by 1902.<sup>24</sup>

In 1883 three brothers, John, Melvin, and William Swapp, and three others purchased land in Luna Valley and proceeded to settle it, partially because of rumors that a railroad would pass through the valley. Though Indian raids almost closed out the settlement in its early years, they proceeded to create a stable community which in the 1960s numbered approximately 220 people.<sup>25</sup>

Two further settlements in New Mexico are interesting because of the contrast they provide to the general patterns of non-directed outmigration. The first of these is Bluewater, located on a branch of the Rio Grande. Hearing the lavish railroad advertising of the area in the mid-1880s, the bishop of Saint John, Arizona, sent out F. A. Tietjen and F. P. Nielson in 1886 to survey the area for possible settlement. Their report was favorable, and a company was formed to construct the necessary dam and to oversee settlement. It was not until 1894, however, that the first families moved to the area. Though the community remained small it was a successful venture.<sup>26</sup>

The second community, Behula in Rio Arriba County, was one of the few communities of the period whose rise and fall can be specifically linked to the rise and fall of the polygamy crusade. It began in 1889 after Apostle John Henry Smith advised polygamists in the San Luis Valley to seek a refuge in

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<sup>22</sup>John F. Palmer, "Mormon Settlements in the San Juan Basin of Colorado and New Mexico" (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1967), pp. 11-13; Andrew Jenson, "History of the Burnham Ward," manuscript, Church Archives.

<sup>23</sup>Palmer, "San Juan Basin," p. 48.

<sup>24</sup>Foster, "Mexico and New Mexico," pp. 67-82.

<sup>25</sup>Ibid., pp. 78-81.

<sup>26</sup>Ibid., p. 82.

New Mexico. The community encountered great hardship in the arid land, and by 1890 the First Presidency was forced to make a choice of whether to maintain the community. They decided favorably, but without the anti-polygamy raids to spur the colony, it rapidly deteriorated and was abandoned in 1895.<sup>27</sup>

*Colorado.* The Mormon colonization of Colorado falls into two distinct areas of settlement, both within the same time frame. The earliest of these areas to be opened was the San Luis Valley in southwestern Colorado. As we have noted before, colonization here was not directed from Salt Lake. John Morgan had to write and request information on a suitable area. The people arrived and were quartered in Pueblo, Colorado, with vague notions of settling in New Mexico when exploration and decisions on settlement were undertaken in 1878.<sup>28</sup>

To some extent the Church attempted to take an active part in making this community a success. Originally the settlers, who were from the southeastern part of the United States, had to request aid in the form of "twenty or thirty families who are better posted on the principles of the gospel and better acquainted with cultivating the soil."<sup>29</sup> The Church responded by calling Hans Jensen of Manti to head a party to help settle the area, but only eighteen persons went with him and, as later appeals make clear, this help was not enough.<sup>30</sup>

Development of this area proceeded at a rapid pace for the period. In February 1879 the townsite of Manassa was laid out. By November of that year five immigrant companies had already come in and population was approximately 250. In the fall of 1880 the settlement of Ephraim was begun by a few families from Utah, though a survey had been made in 1879. Several settlers had started farming there, but only two families established themselves permanently. In 1881 some moved six miles north of Manassa to found Richfield. Again only two families were the first permanent settlers. Others came shortly and a branch was organized in 1883. By 1883 there were more than eight hundred people in the valley and a stake was organized.<sup>31</sup>

Following the organization of the stake, the valley continued to be settled rapidly. In 1884 Mormons moved east of the river to settle in Jaroso. This sporadic influx rapidly deteriorated and by the mid-1890s was abandoned. In 1885 the Sanford area was settled when John Taylor, who visited the area, recommended it. This area grew rapidly and by 1888 there were 650 people. Also in 1885 a lone settler located at Morgan. Others followed, though in scattered fashion. By 1893 there were eighty people. In 1887 a lone settler located thirty-five miles northeast of Manassa at Blanca. Two other families

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<sup>27</sup>Judson H. Flower, Jr., "Mormon Colonization of the San Luis Valley of Colorado, 1878-1900" (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1966), p. 113.

<sup>28</sup>John Morgan to Brigham Young, 28 June 1877, Brigham Young Collection; also Nicholas G. Morgan, "Mormon Colonization in the San Luis Valley," *Colorado Magazine* 27 (October 1950): 264-93.

<sup>29</sup>J.Z. Stewart to John Taylor, 15 May 1878, Church Archives.

<sup>30</sup>John Morgan to John Taylor, 2 April 1880, Church Archives; *Deseret Evening News*, 23 August 1878.

<sup>31</sup>Flower, "San Luis Valley," pp. 56-71.

followed that season. A branch set up the following year dwindled rapidly and was disorganized in 1892. In 1888 southern converts moved to Fox Creek sixteen miles southwest of Manassa. The area was largely unorganized, and church meetings were not held until 1891. By 1893 the community had ninety-four, but it rapidly declined, and by 1900 only one Mormon family remained. Eastdale, twenty-one miles southwest of Manassa, was the last community to be settled. A lone man began farming there in 1888, but it was not until 1890 that settlement began in earnest. The first permanent dwellings were erected in 1891. By that summer the community numbered eighty-six persons.<sup>32</sup>

The second major area of Mormon settlement in Colorado was in the San Juan Basin, farther to the west from Manassa. Mancos was the earliest and the most stable of these communities. It was already a mining town when Joseph S. Smith arrived there from Bluff, Utah, in 1880 in search of work. He proceeded to rent a farm, which he irrigated. The next year two persons came, including John Allred from Sanpete, but only one remained. By 1888 there were thirty-five Mormon families and the community was largely Mormon. Church organization did not arrive there until 1884 and a ward was not formed until 1887.<sup>33</sup>

Near the turn of the century three more areas were settled in the San Juan Basin. About 1898 families began moving into Hammond. By 1900, when a ward was organized, there were twelve families. Here the dry earth yielded only a subsistence living; after the collapse of the irrigation system in 1914 the community disintegrated. Though some stayed on, it was finally abandoned completely in 1930. The area called Kline was settled in 1901 by four families including a father, Henry Slade, and his son-in-law. By 1903 a ward was organized. There was already one Mormon family living at Redmesa in 1905 when a group of about ten to fifteen families moved there after having seen the area the previous year on the way to a stake conference. By 1907 church organization was begun. Unlike both Hammond and Kline, this area remained a stable, if small, community of two to three hundred persons.<sup>34</sup>

*Mexico.* Because they are connected closely with the dramatic struggle to maintain polygamy, the migrations to Canada and Mexico are the most well-known movements of the period. They are also perhaps the most misunderstood. Though both of these movements took place in the immediate context of the anti-polygamy raids, the methods of settlement and the shaping of each of the communities owes a great deal more to the underlying causes and forms of migration in the period than to the exigencies of a flight from persecution.

The Mormon colonization of Mexico had been considered and exploration parties sent out by Brigham Young as early as 1875 — years before the polygamy struggle reached its crisis proportions. Due to Indian troubles colonization did not seem wise at that time. In 1882 Alexander MacDonald, a church leader in Arizona, again scouted Mexico for possible settlement.

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<sup>32</sup>Ibid., pp. 72-113.

<sup>33</sup>Palmer, "San Juan Basin," pp. 55-58; Andrew Jenson, "History of the Mancos Ward," manuscript, Church Archives.

<sup>34</sup>Palmer, "San Juan Basin," pp. 76ff.



Another church party attempted to deal with the Indians in 1884 as a preparation for settlement. In the midst of this interest in Mexico one group had already attempted to colonize Mexico in 1882. Upon reaching lower Arizona, they were strongly counseled against the move by church officials and they turned back.<sup>35</sup>

Actual colonization began in 1885 as a direct result of the anti-polygamy raids. In January of that year John Taylor had specifically advised Arizona polygamists to seek a refuge in Mexico. The next month small parties began moving in sporadically. In early March Apostle Moses Thatcher led a group in and full scale colonization was underway. Mormon settlement of Mexico during the next two decades was vigorous and extensive. By the end of the decade, the population exceeded three thousand. Nine permanent settlements were undertaken in both Sonora and Chihuahua, with several others started but later abandoned.<sup>36</sup>

When the Mormons went to Mexico in 1885 they located at two places which would later become the major towns in Mormon Mexico, Juarez and Diaz. Almost immediately an extensive program of exploration and land purchases was launched under the direction of the Mexican Colonization and Agricultural Company which was set up by the church to oversee the colonization. Other areas were rapidly settled. In 1887 two of the mountain colonies to the southwest were opened up: Pacheco and Cave Valley. Seven years later two other mountain settlements were begun. Garcia was begun by a lone settler in 1894 and by late the next year was large enough to be organized as a ward. In April of 1894 a small group of men began the settlement of Chuichupa. In 1888 George Brown from Provo, Utah, bought land at the site of Dublan on the condition that he locate settlers there. In 1889 there were two hundred settlers when the land deal collapsed and they were forced to move some distance away. The colony remained intact and Dublan eventually became a major Mormon settlement in Mexico.<sup>37</sup>

In the 1890s two Mormon settlements were begun in Sonora, Mexico. The first of these, Oaxaca, was begun in 1892 when George Williams bought land along the Bavispe River. Colonists began arriving shortly and by 1894 a ward was organized. Williams, however, found that he could not meet the terms of his purchase contract. At that point the Mexican Colonization and Agricultural Company bought the land and resold it to the settlers, thus saving the community. In 1898 the church company bought a large tract of land in the Batipeto ranch area. In January of 1899 the first lone settler moved in. Others followed, thus starting the settlement of Morelos.<sup>38</sup>

Mexican colonization was supported heavily by the church, especially in the critical area of the needed capital for land purchases. With this aid and

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<sup>35</sup>Marion Stewart, "The Story of J.Z. Stewart," p. 10, typescript (1934), Utah State University Library, Logan, Utah; Thomas Romney, *The Mormon Colonies in Mexico* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1938), pp. 42-48.

<sup>36</sup>B.H. Roberts, *Life of John Taylor* (1892; reprint ed., Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1963), pp. 380-82; Romney, *Mormon Colonies in Mexico*, p. 55.

<sup>37</sup>Romney, *Mormon Colonies in Mexico*, pp. 95-101.

<sup>38</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 115-25.

support many of the communities were successful. Others, however, either were not successful or received aid only after settlement. We have noted that several of the successful settlements were begun as private purchases of land with an ensuing attempt to induce settlement. Only later did the church render needed aid. Several attempts were failures. In the late 1880s settlers moved into the Harp Valley, but it was abandoned in 1890. Settlers also purchased land in the Santa Maria Valley east of Dublan, but the church refused to sanction settlement there due to distance and the community closed. Two founding families remained at Corrolitas less than one year.<sup>39</sup>

Mormon colonization in Mexico is an anomaly for the period. It proceeded under close church aid and supervision. Nevertheless, this was not uniformly the case. Many small groups migrated on their own, and several scattered colonizing attempts failed. It is also worthy of note that the bulk of this migration and aid occurred after the Woodruff Manifesto. This suggests that the underlying cause of the success of the Mexican colonization is more closely related to the general pattern of Mormon outmigration during this period than to the momentary necessities of beleaguered polygamists.

*Canada.* The migration to southern Alberta is even more in microcosm of the process described above. The immediate cause for settlement is clearly the necessity for polygamists in Cache Valley to escape arrest. In fact, the leader of the settlement, Charles Card, was under an arrest warrant and was free only because he had escaped. The important question, however, is not why they came but why they stayed and why the area became a major church center.<sup>40</sup>

This question becomes crucial once it is realized that the Mormons could not practice polygamy in Canada. Their specific request to the Canadian government on this question was turned down. Moreover, polygamy itself was outlawed in 1890, probably as a result of a "Mormon scare." It thus becomes tenuous at best to seek for the underlying causes of the success of the Alberta settlements in the context of a refuge for polygamists. Furthermore, the church — at a time when it was on the verge of bankruptcy, yet before polygamy had been abandoned — chose to invest heavily in the Cardston community. On 5 April 1889 Card records the receipt of \$1,000 for the purchase of a townsite. On 16 May of the same year he received money to purchase 18,400 acres and lease another 9,840 and on 10 August five hundred head of church cattle arrived. These developments took place after the Mormons had been denied the right to have polygamous families in Canada, yet before the practice was given up. They reveal the need to see the colonization effort as part of the process of Mormon migration and settlement in this latter phase and point up the deficiencies of focusing too heavily on dramatic instances of flight from persecution.<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>39</sup>Foster, "Mexico and New Mexico," pp. 50ff. The outlay of capital by the Mexican Colonization and Agricultural Company must have been substantial, with purchases of 50,000 acres along the Piedras Verdes River and 60,000 acres each at Diaz and Corrales.

<sup>40</sup>Archie G. Wilcox, "Founding of the Mormon Communities in Alberta" (M.A. thesis, University of Alberta, 1950), pp. 9-10. The story of Card's arrest is found in A. James Hudson, "Charles Ora Card, Pioneer and Colonizer" (M.S. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1961), pp. 75-82.

<sup>41</sup>Charles Card, "Journal," 10, 14 November 1888; 5 April, 16 May 1889; microfilm of

Moreover, the migration to Canada was an atomistic process. Though some planning went into the venture, most notably Card's exploration of the area, the first group was not called nor given specific instruction. Card at one point submitted the names of 41 people who had expressed a desire to go. But in the end he felt himself lucky to get ten men. Though the venture was shrouded with secrecy, anyone was free to go if he knew about it. The development of this community was sporadic at first. People arrived and left in rapid fashion the first year, with sixty-eight people staying through the winter. In September of 1888 there were "about 100 people" in the settlement. By 1893 the settlement had five hundred.<sup>42</sup>

In the 1890s the community continued to experience rapid growth, especially after the completion of an irrigation ditch in 1896. These developments in irrigation helped to spur the expansion of the colony. Two more communities were settled in the 1890s. Though the method employed here differed substantially from other colonizing efforts in the 1880s and 1890s, the motive did not. In 1898 the church entered into an agreement with the Alberta Railway and Irrigation Company to provide labor and skills to build an irrigation system in the Cardston-Lethbridge area. According to the terms of the contract, the church was to establish two towns along the route. In August of 1898 Charles Card selected the site for the first community, Magrath. The following spring one settler moved in and others followed. By November there were three hundred people. The second settlement, Stirling, was laid out in November 1898; by the fall of 1899 fifty-four families had settled in the community.<sup>43</sup>

The final community, Raymond, was also the result of economic inducements. C. A. Magrath of the Alberta Railway and Irrigation Company became interested in the prospects for growing sugar beets. After a sample grown in the area returned a favorable report, Magrath was able to interest Apostle John W. Taylor and wealthy Utahn Jesse Knight. With church encouragement Knight and Magrath struck up a deal and in September 1901 a site was surveyed for a town and adjoining sugar factory. Settlers swarmed to the area and by November of 1901 a ward was organized.<sup>44</sup>

The structure and process of Mormon migration patterns after 1875 reveal in microcosm the crises and tensions which were pressing the Mormon social system. The increasing frequency of atomistic, unplanned migrations suggests the tensions of a closed agricultural society centered around small villages in the process of breakdown due to overcrowding. Several distinct features recur. First, the obvious economic motives which led Utah residents to migrate into

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holograph, Church Archives; Melvin S. Tagg, "A History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Canada, 1830-1963" (Ph.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1963), p. 150; Wilcox, "Mormon Communities in Alberta," p. 136.

<sup>42</sup>Card, "Journal," 25 September-14 October 1886; 25 January, 3 March 1887; *Deseret Evening News*, 22 September 1888.

<sup>43</sup>Card, "Journal," 3 November 1887; Tagg, "Church in Canada," pp. 186-91; Lawrence Lee, "Mormons Come to Canada," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 54 (January 1968): 11-22

<sup>44</sup>Tagg, "Church in Canada," pp. 192-95.

neighboring areas. In the records of the period very little is heard about "building the Kingdom" or the "gathering." The economic merits of settlement in a given region are praised while the older theocratic motives that prevailed in the 1850s and 1860s received at best lip service and at worst silence. A significant case in point is the Canadian settlement. Charles Card believed firmly in "building the Kingdom" and all it stood for. But when southern Alberta became a major center of migration it was due to cheap land and readily available water; these considerations were stressed by the church in its effort to spur development of the area.<sup>45</sup>

The second important feature is the lack of pre-planning. Though the church was not yet ready to give up on trying to supervise settlement, most of its aid — in money, leadership, and skills — came *ex post facto*. In most cases settlement *had already begun* when church authorities visited the area and proceeded to call leadership, organize wards and branches, and call additional settlers with needed skills. The tightly structured process of pre-planned migrations was breaking down in the face of forced migrations from overcrowded valleys.

A third important feature of the period is the preponderance of relatives settling in the same area. A frequent pattern was for brothers to settle together, or for a son to settle in an area and be followed by a father or by a brother. To a large extent these brothers seem to have been second generation Mormons leaving already settled communities and not new converts, as was the case in the San Luis Valley. This process seems again to have been one of forced outmigration of young men from areas where land was already taken up, accompanied occasionally by older men in search of new areas to settle.

A final important feature of the period is that many areas were farmed or used as cattle ranges before permanent settlement was undertaken. Particularly is this the case in areas around an already established community like Manassa or Mancos, Colorado. In these areas and others, farmers living in one place started cultivating land in distant areas and only later did they or others move to become permanent residents. Others farmed in areas for one season and left when fall came, perhaps never to return. The sporadic nature of economically induced migration is clearly evidenced.

The death of Brigham Young in 1877 was a watershed of monumental proportions for the Mormon experience on the frontier. Older and less vigorous men took over the leadership of the church, and younger men with less desire for maintaining settled ways rose up from the grass roots. In the decades that followed, with Brigham Young's guiding spirit gone, many of the distinctive features of the Mormon social system either disappeared or were changed. The breakup of the earlier pattern of migration and settlement is only part of the larger breakdown of Mormon social, political, and economic institutions. The 1880s saw the end of the Mormon attempts to establish cooperative communities (United Orders), the end of the Council of Fifty and its dreams of political empire, and the end of the antipolygamy crusade and the eventual end of that peculiar marital institution.

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<sup>45</sup>*Deseret Evening News*, 5 May, 13 April 1898; 10 January 1899.



These developments of the 1880s came in the midst of a bitter struggle that all but destroyed the Mormon church. It sapped the energy and time of church leaders and in the end left the communities leaderless, since those who had guided Mormon society were either in jail or in hiding. The finely honed institutional structure established by Brigham Young — theocracy in economics, politics, and in social affairs — broke down. Leaders were unable to lead and followers were inevitably left to their own devices.

These devices were many and varied. Thus, the story of Mormon migration after the death of the great colonizer becomes at once both a tragic and a successful tale. For some, it is the phenomenal successes in the Upper Snake River Valley and the plains of Southern Alberta. For others, the tale is a tragic one of parched earth, little water, and abandoned homesteads left to the mercy of the desert wind. Perhaps the most poignant and symbolic of these tragedies is the death in 1886 of Jacob Hamblin, one of the Mormon empire's greatest colonizers. He died at the tiny Mormon settlement of Pleasanton, New Mexico, which had been opened only a few years earlier. By 1889 his family, the lone remaining settlers in Pleasanton, gave up the losing struggle and the final homestead of "the apostle to the Lamanites" was left to the bitter judgment of the New Mexico desert.

Viewing all of this as a unified process of outmigration takes us a good distance from the conflict historians. We must look upon the later stages of Mormon migration as part of a process as old as ancient Greece, encompassing in suggestively similar ways the New England Puritans and reaching global proportions during the same period the Mormons were "moving out."<sup>46</sup>

The process of outmigration in the context of the breakup of highly structured rural communities was a major phenomenon of the century after the Napoleonic era when roughly fifty-five million Europeans migrated from Europe and countless others left the settled communities of Poland, Bavaria, and Lancashire to fill the teeming industrial centers of Hamburg, Dresden, and Birmingham.<sup>47</sup> This process has direct relevance for the Mormon migration; as Carlton Qualey has noted, "The majority of people who have emigrated in modern times came from rural village economics which had reached a point of saturation in terms of land and employment available."<sup>48</sup>

This thesis has been strengthened and elaborated by detailed studies of individual migrations. In his study of English migration to the American West, Oscar Winther concluded that "the dominant elements were the farmers

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<sup>46</sup>The Puritan case is a particularly suggestive comparison with the Mormon. See Thomas Jefferson Wertenbaker, "More of the World, Less of Heaven," *American Economic History: Essays in Interpretation*, ed. Stanley Coben and Forrest Hill (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1966), pp. 39-59.

<sup>47</sup>See the brilliant paper by Frank Thistlethwaite, "Migration from Europe Overseas in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries," in *Historie Contemporaine*, XI Congress International des Sciences Historiques, *Rapports*, vol. 5 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Winsell, 1960), pp. 32-57.

<sup>48</sup>Carlton Qualey, "Immigration as a World Phenomenon," *Immigration and American History*, ed. Henry Steele Commager (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1961), p. 48. A similar point is made in the analysis of Dudley Kirk, *Europe's Population in the Interwar Years* (Geneva: The League of Nations, 1946), p. 81.



and those from the lower middle classes," those populations hardest hit by the agricultural depression of the period.<sup>49</sup> Dorothy Thomas concluded her analysis of Swedish agricultural emigration by noting the following causative factors: "The rapid population increase, the drying up of young people in the country, the slow expansion of opportunities for making a living from the land, and the late development of industrialization and urbanization had unquestionably produced a latent push towards migration upon the surplus population."<sup>50</sup>

Perhaps the most detailed and incisive evidence concerns Polish migration. W.I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki found that in the same areas with similar economic depressions one community could be found to produce outmigration while another would not.<sup>51</sup> While concluding that "economic motives almost exclusively predominate in the emigration of peasants," they were careful to point out that migration occurred within the context of the breakup of the traditional village structure.<sup>52</sup> They found that "where the primary group organization is weaker," emigration occurred much the same as elsewhere. The problem of rural overcrowding, combined with partial industrialization, served to weaken the traditional village structure of highly interwoven patterns of kinship and family ties.<sup>53</sup> The rural Polish village had served, as did its Mormon counterpart, almost as a primary group, and as it weakened under stress the problem of outmigration emerged.

It is within this global context that the latter phase of Mormon migration occurred — part of a much wider phenomenon than one relating only to the history of Mormonism. Yet it was more than simply another example of a broad phenomenon. The Mormons were trying to solve *both* the problems of overcrowding and maintaining the village structure by setting up small farming villages at ever-increasing distances from Salt Lake. In a sense they were fighting a final battle in the struggle against industrialization and individualism. To the twentieth century which longs for a pastoral past which is largely myth, the Mormon experience would seem to be a valiant attempt to transform myth into reality. Though their struggle to maintain small communal villages was doomed to failure, it was a noteworthy effort to meet the problems that all agrarian societies faced in the late nineteenth century.

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<sup>49</sup>Oscar Osburn Winther, "English Migration to the American West," *In the Trek of the Immigrants: Essays Presented to Carl Wittke*, ed. Oscar F. Ander (Rock Island, Ill.: Augustana College Press, 1964), pp. 115-16.

<sup>50</sup>Dorothy Thomas, *Social and Economic Aspects of Swedish Population Movements, 1750-1933* (New York: MacMillan Company, 1941), p. 89.

<sup>51</sup>W.I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*, 2 vols. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1927).

<sup>52</sup>*Ibid.*, 2:1488

<sup>53</sup>*Ibid.*, 1:92-93. Also on the lack of outmigration from rural closed societies and the growth of migration attendant to the transition and breakup of such societies, see Kirk, *Europe's Population*, pp. 81, 148.

# **“The Mormon Peril”: The Crusade against the Saints in Britain, 1910-1914**

*Malcolm R. Thorp*

It has long been contended that substantial progress was made toward erasing some of the last vestiges of religious intolerance in Britain during the two decades preceding the outbreak of World War I. The English historian R. K. Ensor captured this sentiment when he observed that “outside the churches in this period — and to some extent inside most of them — the religious attitude regarding creeds was one of growing tolerance.”<sup>1</sup> An important exception to this generalization, however, can be found in the attitude of both the populace and the churches toward the Mormons during the period 1910-1914. According to Rudger Clawson, president of the European Mission of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints from 1910 to 1913, there were “scenes of violence and mobocracy” at Birkenhead, Bootle, Heywood, Sunderland, Seaton Hirst, Nuneaton, Birmingham, Bristol, London, and Ipswich, as well as a later disturbance at Norwich. In the course of these confrontations,

one Elder was tarred and feathered; another was hit in the face with a brick, which resulted in a black eye and a swollen cheek; another received a handful of lime dust in his eyes, nose and mouth, causing temporary blindness . . . ; another bled profusely from a scalp wound caused by a potato studded with glass; and others . . . were hustled about and handled roughly at various times by the infuriated populace who gathered in the streets by the thousands.<sup>2</sup>

It will be the purpose of this article to explore the anti-Mormon campaign, noting especially the extent to which these sentiments found

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<sup>1</sup>R. K. Ensor, *England 1870-1914* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1936), p. 531.

<sup>2</sup>Rudger Clawson, “Memoirs of the Life of Rudger Clawson, Written by Himself” (1926), pp. 490-91, photocopy of typescript, Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City, Utah. Citations to the “Memoirs” will be to the penciled page numbers rather than to typed page numbers of separate parts.

acceptance in Britain. It will be argued that although the crusade found considerable popular support, especially in northern England, much of the impetus for this movement came from churchmen and other conservative elements who felt threatened by the "acids of modernity" that were eroding Victorian values.

What makes the anti-Mormon agitation during this period significant is that the Mormons had been involved in missionary activities in Britain since 1837, yet never before had they faced such concerted hostility. To be sure, from time to time missionaries had been subjected to isolated attacks, and clerical opinion was virulent in its condemnation of Mormon doctrines. But actual violence was a rarity; the last major incident was apparently in 1888, when two Mormon missionaries were assaulted by an angry mob in Wales.<sup>3</sup>

Why was there so much animosity toward the Mormons when sectarian conflicts in Britain were largely a thing of the past? It was asserted by one news correspondent that the Mormons were feared because they had become a power in terms of their growing numbers. But in 1910, only 8,228 Saints lived in Britain out of a total population of forty-five million. In real terms, it is hard to conceive of this group constituting a threat to the status quo; yet the frequency with which such epithets as "Mormon Peril" and "Mormon Menace" were used suggests that this was a widely diffused sentiment.<sup>4</sup>

A striking parallel exists between the anti-Mormon crusade in Britain and that which David Brion Davis described in America in the second quarter of the nineteenth century. During a period of rapid social change in which traditional values were called into question, Davis found that Americans were increasingly hostile to any group which seemed to threaten established ways. Hence, American nativists turned on the Mormons, Masons, and Catholics because it gave them a sense of identity they otherwise lacked. "What distinguished the stereotypes of Mason, Catholic, and Mormon was the way in which they were seen to embody those traits that were the precise antithesis of American ideals." By portraying these minorities as a threat to established institutions, opponents of the Mormons were able to unite diverse political, religious, and economic groups against a common enemy.<sup>5</sup>

Like America in the 1840s, Edwardian Britain was also undergoing a period of rapid change which was unsettling to many groups of society. "There was a feeling," according to J. B. Priestley, "that religion, the family, decency, social and political stability, the country itself, were all in danger." In the years 1910-14 Britain was drifting to the verge of domestic chaos, as labor unrest, feminist agitations, and parliamentary divisions over such issues as the reform of the House of Lords and the Irish Question were rapidly

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<sup>3</sup>Nicholai Sorenson, "The Winds of Adversity: Anti-Mormonism in Great Britain, 1910-1925" (unpublished Brigham Young University History 497 Seminar Paper, 17 April 1974), p. 3, photocopy of typescript, Church Archives, Historical Department of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

<sup>4</sup>*Daily Mail*, 15 April 1911; *Latter-Day Saints' Millennial Star* 73 (2 February 1911): 71; *Daily Express*, 12 and 15 April 1911.

<sup>5</sup>David Brion Davis, "Some Themes of Counter-Subversion: An Analysis of Anti-Masonic, Anti-Catholic, and Anti-Mormon Literature," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 47 (September 1960), 205-24.

fragmenting society into dangerous extremities. As a result there was a propensity for seeking violent solutions to problems that troubled the country.<sup>6</sup>

Religious life was affected by this prevailing atmosphere of discontent. One noted Anglican scholar has written that the church itself "caught the disease of hysteria, and ecclesiastical controversialists too began to argue only at the tops of their voices, and to be persuaded that all who differed from them must be moved by motives of treachery and fraud."<sup>7</sup> Perhaps this explains, at least in part, why so many churchmen were willing to support the anti-Mormon crusade, even to the extent of advocating violent methods.

Moreover, we should remember that the churches were locked in a struggle against the growing forces of secularism, and many clergymen believed that godlessness and immorality were becoming triumphant. The Church of England was in the vanguard of groups seeking to prevent the liberalization of divorce proceedings, using as its argument the unexamined assumption that any increase in the number of divorces would constitute an evil.<sup>8</sup> In a period when sexual mores were changing, the churches also championed the old against the new in the Forward Movement for Purity. The Reverend James Marchant was a leading crusader within this movement, and his views were the same as those popular fifty years earlier:

His advice to young men is essentially the prudential morality of that great Victorian Martin Tupper: think clean thoughts, take exercise and cold baths, avoid modern novels, practice abstinence, and when you marry use your "sacred relations" only to nurture "the beautiful flower of parenthood."<sup>9</sup>

Not only did Marchant head the battle against the "new morality," but he also was a crusader against what he considered another form of the same evil — Mormonism.<sup>10</sup>

As in America before the Civil War, Mormonism came to represent the apotheosis of all that was considered to be wrong with society. To many ministers Mormonism was nothing more than a pseudo-religion, cloaked in the outward form of Christianity. Inwardly it was considered to be a godless, materialistic creed, which condoned the satisfaction of male sexual appetites at the expense of innocent women.<sup>11</sup> At its heart, Mormonism was no more than paganism. According to Bishop Welldon, Dean of Manchester, Polygamy, whether confessed or disguised, is an essential part of Mormonism, and inasmuch as it is a barbarous practice which the whole of the Christian world has outgrown — it is one of the distinctions between Christianity and Paganism — I think

<sup>6</sup>John B. Priestly, *The Edwardians* (London: Heineman, 1970), p. 87; George Dangerfield, *The Strange Death of Liberal England* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, Capricorn Books, 1961).

<sup>7</sup>Roger B. Lloyd, *The Church of England in the Twentieth Century*, 2 vols. (London: Longman's, Green and Co., 1946-50), 1:52.

<sup>8</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 148-54; G. Stephens Spinks, ed., *Religion in Britain Since 1900* (London: Andrew Dakers, 1952), pp. 31, 45-46; Samuel Hynes, *The Edwardian Turn of Mind* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1968), pp. 197, 210.

<sup>9</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 283.

<sup>10</sup>*Daily Express*, 20 April 1911.

<sup>11</sup>*Protestant Standard*, 14 January 1911; Winifred Graham, *The Mormons* (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1913), pp. 224-26.

that any attempt to organize a polygamous Mormon propaganda in England should be stamped out by the law.

He went on to assert that with great difficulty the world had made certain moral advances, and if all those questions which had been settled were to be reopened, he could "not see where the progress of humanity lies." Certainly typical of much of clerical opinion was the comment of Archdeacon Madden of Liverpool, who said that Mormons were even worse than murderers because they destroyed something even more precious than the body — the soul: "The Mormon creed is immoral in its essence and disastrous to the highest interests of the home, of womanhood, and of children." It was even asserted by one prominent clergyman that Mormonism undermined all the essential Christian virtues — "Bible, Martyrs, Gospel, ethics." According to him these were the same virtues that made Britain into a great imperial nation, and the implication was that Mormonism was therefore a threat to British civilization.<sup>12</sup>

Although the stereotypes of Mormonism were undoubtedly popular because they related to anxieties in society, it must be remembered that the crusade in Britain was connected to similar activities abroad. Anti-Mormon sentiments were strongly reinforced by "new evidence" emanating from American sources which claimed that polygamy was still practiced in Utah. In the United States, the church was subjected to a vicious series of attacks by the American press. According to Leonard Arrington, "The national muckraking press issued dozens of anti-Mormon books which in hatred and vituperation matched anything previously published against the Roman Catholics and Jews."<sup>13</sup> The Reed Smoot controversy between 1904 and 1907 was widely discussed in the British press, and raised the question of the continuing practice of polygamy by the Mormons.<sup>14</sup> Moreover, such suspicions found further confirmation from reports originating with the *Salt Lake Tribune*, which contended that more than 240 secret marriages had been performed in the temple since the Manifesto of 1890. The newspaper hinted that this figure represented only the "tip of the iceberg."<sup>15</sup> Perhaps the most influential of these new sources were Alfred H. Lewis's vitriolic anti-Mormon article in *Cosmopolitan* and the more moderate and influential report by Burton J. Hendrick in *McClure's Magazine*, both published in February 1911.<sup>16</sup>

The British attitude toward the church was also influenced by events, as well as by rumors, in Europe. On 23 July 1910, the *London Times* announced that twenty-one Mormon elders had been expelled from Prussia, and that

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<sup>12</sup>*Manchester Guardian*, 20 April 1911; *Liverpool Daily Post and Mercury*, 10 January 1911; Reverend Daniel H. C. Bartlett, *The Mormons or Latter-Day Saints* (London: J.A. Thompson and Co., 1911), pp. 88-89.

<sup>13</sup>Leonard J. Arrington, "Crisis of Identity: Mormon Responses in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries," in Marvin S. Hill and James B. Allen, eds., *Mormonism and American Culture* (New York: Harper & Row, 1972), p. 173.

<sup>14</sup>Graham, *The Mormons*, p. 213.

<sup>15</sup>Burton J. Hendrick, "The Mormon Revival of Polygamy," *McClure's Magazine* 36 (February 1911): 458; *The People* (London), 16 June 1912; and *Daily Mail*, 18 April 1911, picked up the *Tribune* assertion.

<sup>16</sup>*Review of Reviews* 43 (March 1911): 300. W. T. Stead's reviews of these two articles.



Mormon propaganda had been declared to be illegal.<sup>17</sup> It was also reported, in part erroneously so, that the government of the Netherlands had issued a public pronouncement warning young women of the possible dangers awaiting those who emigrated to Utah.<sup>18</sup> To many in Britain it seemed as if their government was behind the times: "Prussia has given the lead in stopping this gruesome traffic in young women . . . by expelling its procurers from their country. Will our Government take this matter in hand? is the cry of the people."<sup>19</sup>

Reports of the survival of polygamy in Utah came virtually at the same time that the Mormons were becoming more conspicuously present than at any time since the great conversions of the 1840s. During the first decade of the twentieth century, missionary activity in Britain showed signs of improvement after years of lethargy. There were 1,376 missionaries working in the country, an increase of 23 per cent over the previous decade. Moreover, the number of baptisms increased from 3,742 in 1890-1900 to 7,857 in 1900-1909, a rise of over 100 per cent. In 1910 the missionaries distributed nearly six million tracts and visited over sixty thousand homes. Thus, in terms of actual numbers the Mormons were still an insignificant minority, but their aggressive missionary tactics gave them greater publicity than their numbers deserved.<sup>20</sup>

During the second half of the nineteenth century, following the public pronouncement in 1852 that polygamy was being practiced in Utah, it was possible for Britishers to see Mormons as a ridiculous body of deluded extremists and even as a subject of humor. Characteristic were the stories circulated about Brigham Young's and Heber C. Kimball's legendary matrimonial exploits.<sup>21</sup> "To the vast majority," wrote a *Manchester Guardian* correspondent, "Mormonism is a synonym for polygamy, and is known mainly through Artemus Ward's jokes or through someone else's moral philippics."<sup>22</sup> Typical of Victorian attitude toward the church was Lord Cromer's assessment of popular sentiments: "It is somewhat difficult for those who, in the language of Latter-Day Saints, are called 'Gentiles' to treat Mormonism seriously. To them the founder of the Mormon creed appears to be either an impostor or a lunatic, and the creed itself a farrago of nonsense devised to cloak immorality."<sup>23</sup> But in the early twentieth century, under the

<sup>17</sup>Gilbert Scharffs, *Mormonism in Germany: A History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Germany between 1840 and 1970* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Book Co., 1970), p. 54.

<sup>18</sup>Graham, *The Mormons*, p. 194. The Dutch government was apparently disturbed by the activities of Mormon missionaries, and contemplated such a policy, but it was never put into effect. Great Britain, Foreign Office, 371/939/34720.

<sup>19</sup>Graham, *The Mormons*, p. 304.

<sup>20</sup>Richard L. Evans, *A Century of "Mormonism" in Great Britain . . .* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret News Press, 1937), p. 243; *Millennial Star* 73 (2 February 1911): 71.

<sup>21</sup>Owen Chadwick, *The Victorian Church*, 2 vols. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1966-70), 1:439.

<sup>22</sup>22 April 1911. See [Charles F. Browne,] *Artemus Ward, His Book* (1862; London: G. Routledge and Sons, 1888), pp. 77-83, for a lampoon on Brigham Young and his eighty-seven wives.

<sup>23</sup>Evelyn Baring, First Earl of Cromer, *Political and Literary Essays*, Second series (London:

impetus of changing societal values, and coupled with modest missionary successes, Mormonism was seen as something "both frightening and fascinating."<sup>24</sup>

## II

By late 1910, hostility was beginning to mount against the Mormons in Britain.<sup>25</sup> Already an active group of crusaders was at work. They were fiercely determined to abolish Mormon propaganda in the country, either by arousing the interest of Parliament, or, if necessary, through alarming the populace into united action.

The Reverend Daniel H.C. Bartlett, vicar of St. Nathaniel's, Liverpool, was already a veteran campaigner against Mormonism, having for a number of years led a lively battle in the north. Bartlett's interest in Mormonism stemmed from 1907, when he discovered that several female members of his congregation had joined the Latter-day Saint sect, and he took steps to prevent further inroads. In 1908 he was involved in a series of heated debates with Charles Penrose, president of the European Mission. Bartlett was also credited with distributing fifty thousand anti-Mormon pamphlets.<sup>26</sup> His book, *The Mormons or Latter-Day Saints*, became a popular success and was adopted as the Church of England's official reply to the Mormons.<sup>27</sup> It was largely through Bartlett's efforts that the first large-scale anti-Mormon rally was organized at Liverpool in January 1911. The *Protestant Standard* wrote concerning his influence, "All honor to Mr. Bartlett for his heroism and energy in the great work he has undertaken in combatting an evil . . . which should never have been allowed an hour's existence in this country."<sup>28</sup>

All sources are in agreement concerning the significance of the role of Hans Peter Freece in the agitation against the Saints.<sup>29</sup> Freece was the son of a convert who attained a position of prominence under Brigham Young, but later left the church after quarreling with the prophet. The father, Peter Freece, had two wives, the second of which came from Denmark and was Hans's mother. According to Hans Peter Freece's later recollections, he was first turned against the Mormon church because of the hardships suffered by

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Macmillan and Co., 1914), p. 342.

<sup>24</sup>Davis, "Counter-Subversion," p. 208. Fantasy was certainly an element within anti-Mormonism. See, for example, the report in *John Bull*, 11 February 1911, of a supposed case in London involving blood atonement. Also Winifred Graham's description of the Mormon temple ceremony, which was said to have ended in an orgy; *Daily Express*, 28 March 1911.

<sup>25</sup>Great Britain, Public Record Office, H.O. 40/46/164, folios 163, 165, 166, 186, 196, 214, 220. (Home Office Entry Book which lists letters sent to this department). From the manner of entry, most appear to be hostile letters, although the actual documents were destroyed. Folio 196, for example, lists a letter from E. A. Fitzroy, M. P., who spoke in Parliament against the Mormons.

<sup>26</sup>According to the *Millennial Star* 73 (4 May 1911): 281, "We really believe that of the present generation in Liverpool, Mr. Bartlett was the first to become visibly agitated about us." *Daily Telegraph*, 18 April 1911; *Millennial Star* 73 (4 May 1911): 281.

<sup>27</sup>Published in 1911, and reprinted 1924. An abridged edition appeared in Church of England Manual Series, no. 21 (London: C.J. Thynne, 1911).

<sup>28</sup>14 January 1911.

<sup>29</sup>Clawson, "Memoirs," pp. 417, 491; Winifred Graham, *That Reminds Me* (London: Skeffington and Son, 1945), p. 57.

his polygamous mother. "Rescued" by a Presbyterian missionary, Hans left Utah and went to New York, where he eventually obtained a law degree from Columbia College. While he was still a student, Freece began his career as an anti-Mormon lecturer, traveling throughout the state of New York giving an "eye-witness" account of happenings in Utah. In 1910 he was sent to Europe as the representative of the Interdenominational Council of Women to warn the various European countries of the grave danger to young women caused by the increase in Mormon missionary work.<sup>30</sup>

Freece was evidently a good-looking man who did not lack the power of persuasion.<sup>31</sup> While in England he delivered a series of highly inflammatory speeches in which he claimed insight into the secret workings of the Mormon society. Although his approach was generally applauded, at least one reporter who was himself anti-Mormon commented on Freece's lack of depth: "He indulged in a good many of those irreverent and vulgar witticisms on sacred things which pass, among a certain class of Americans, for smartness."<sup>32</sup> He was nevertheless a formidable opponent of the Mormons, which can be seen in efforts taken by Clawson to discredit him as a disreputable apostate.<sup>33</sup>

Perhaps the most interesting of the crusaders was Winifred Graham (Mrs. Theodore Cory), a popular Edwardian novelist whose imaginative characterizations are significant for the way in which she portrayed the Mormons as the personification of evil. Miss Graham came from an upper-middle class background with important social connections, and in 1907 she married Theodore Cory, the son of a wealthy coal magnate. While traveling in France shortly after her marriage, she became acquainted with Harry de Windt, a well-known traveler and popular writer. "He fired my imagination," she later recalled, "with an account of his recent visit to Utah, where he lived among the Mormons and studied their ways." Inspired by de Windt's stories, Miss Graham claimed to have engaged in "vast research" on the subject. She related that in one mail alone she received "fourteen secret books" from Utah which gave her a full account of the Mormons' temple ceremonies. For nearly two decades after this initial exposure to Mormonism she spent much of her career attempting to rid Britain of the Saints. As she reveals in her autobiography, "I found it thrilling to fight with voice and pen this mighty kingdom working for self-interest, a vampire in fact, sucking the blood of Europe with its wolf-like emissaries in sheep's clothing hot on the heels of British womanhood."<sup>34</sup>

Her writings on Mormonism, however, show a serious defect in her

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<sup>30</sup>*The Times*, 17 April 1911; *Millennial Star* 73 (19 January 1911): 41. Graham, *That Reminds Me*, p. 57.

<sup>31</sup>*Protestant Standard*, 14 January 1911.

<sup>32</sup>*Church Times*, 12 May 1911.

<sup>33</sup>*Millennial Star* 73 (12 January 1911): 24-27. In a libel suit against Clawson, Freece charged the Mormon leader with saying that he was a wastrel, that he tried to get money without working for it, and that he had frequented houses of ill-fame; *The Times*, 3 December 1912. On the advice of Mormon leaders in Salt Lake, Clawson left Britain before the matter came to trial; Clawson to First Presidency, 18 March 1913 and 29 March 1913, and cabled reply, 2 April 1913, copied into Clawson, "Memoirs," pp. 493-95.

<sup>34</sup>Graham, *That Reminds Me*, pp. 32, 59.

knowledge of the subject. She accepted at face value the assertions of leading anti-Mormon authorities,<sup>35</sup> and overdramatized the interworkings of a society about which she knew little.<sup>36</sup> All her novels had similar plots in which a beautiful but naive heroine is deceived by crafty Mormon missionaries and is rescued moments before falling victim to a villainous Mormon polygamist. Perhaps the most insightful assessment of her fictional works on Mormonism is found in the review of her later novel, *Eve and the Elders* (1924), in the *Times Literary Supplement*: "Miss Graham does not succeed in creating an atmosphere. Her Salt Lake City might be Huddersfield; her elders could attend any chapel in the West Riding. The whole thing is middle-class, with the addition of a suggested but improbable vice." While she failed to convince the reviewer that murder and polygamy were rampant in Utah, she was praised for building characters and in creating an atmosphere of suspense.<sup>37</sup>

Despite her limitations as a novelist, she did succeed in popularizing her views on Mormonism. *Ezra the Mormon* (1907), the first of her novels on the subject, was reprinted in 1908 and again in 1912. During the height of the anti-Mormon crusade she published *The Love Story of a Mormon* (1911), followed by *The Sin of Utah* (1912), and *Sealed Women* (1922), which appeared first in serialized form in the London newspaper *Tit-Bits* in 1912. In addition, she published *The Mormons: A Popular History* (1913) which, although devoid of significance as history, was an effective polemical tract. Indeed, it appears that Miss Graham's books and newspaper articles played an important part in shaping opinion against the Mormons.

Besides this trio of leading agitators, the anti-Mormon movement brought together a number of churchmen, local dignitaries, and ex-Mormons. Father Bernard Vaughan, a popular Catholic preacher, toured through the country advocating that the Mormons should be "taken by the scruff of their necks and cast into the sea."<sup>38</sup> Bishop J.F.C. Welldon, Dean of Manchester and a well-known classical scholar, was one of the most influential lecturers on the subject. His views were shaped by a visit to Utah in 1905, where he heard rumors that polygamy was still being practiced.<sup>39</sup> In addition, there was the Mormons' arch-enemy, William Jarman, an ex-Mormon priest who had earlier emigrated to Utah, but later returned to England where he led a campaign against the missionaries in the West Country in the 1880s. His book, *Hell on Earth* (1888), a partially autobiographical account of his life as a Mormon, and one of the most vicious attacks on the church printed in Britain, was still being sold during this period.<sup>40</sup> Jarman, however, was a gray-bearded septagenarian who was not always a success as a lecturer, but he

<sup>35</sup>See her bibliography in *The Mormons*, n.p.

<sup>36</sup>See especially her novel *The Sin of Utah* (London: Everett and Co., 1912), in which the setting is in the fictitious community of "Mountain Deep," Utah. Her description of the system of polygamy resembles more closely a Turkish sultan's harem than a rural community in Utah.

<sup>37</sup>6 March 1924. See also the *Supplement's* review of *Sealed Women*, 30 March 1922.

<sup>38</sup>Clawson, "Memoirs," p. 434. copying a *Millennial Star* editorial which is quoting Father Vaughan.

<sup>39</sup>Bishop James E.C. Welldon, *Forty Years On: Lights and Shadows (A Bishop's Reflections on Life)* (London: I. Nicholson and Watson, 1935), pp. 22-23.

<sup>40</sup>William Jarman, *Uncle Sam's Abscess: or Hell on Earth* (Exeter: H. Leduc, 1888).

was nevertheless treated by the Mormons as one of their worst opponents.<sup>41</sup> In Parliament the young lawyer Arnold Ward was recognized as the leader of a group of M.P.'s who pressed for a parliamentary inquiry into Mormon missionary activities.<sup>42</sup> His interest was roused by complaints from his constituency, Watford, of missionaries' successes among young girls. He claimed to have evidence that the Mormons still practiced polygamy and that they were "inducing" young girls to leave Britain "where the probability is that they will be entangled in polygamous marriages."<sup>43</sup> Ward, however, was a conservative back-bencher during a period when the Liberals were in power, and he lacked influence in parliamentary affairs.

The arguments employed by the anti-Mormon propagandists were based on long held assumptions, and there was little that was original.<sup>44</sup> At the heart of the campaign was the belief that thousands of British girls were being lured away by false pretenses to Utah.<sup>45</sup> In Britain, the Mormons were said to carefully conceal their belief in polygamy, but once young girls were in Utah, many were forced into the system by economic necessity. According to Freece, The elders and missionaries are young men of good appearance and address, and the women are flattered by their attentions. The women are told that if they go to Utah they will have chances to get good positions and marry well. Their fares are paid to Utah by the Mormon Church. When they get there they find things far different from what was represented. They have no way of getting back; they are obliged to reconcile themselves to their new surroundings.<sup>46</sup>

"The supply of these 'celestial brides,'" wrote one correspondent, "has dwindled during the past two years." Hence, it was asserted, the present "whirlwind campaign" to satisfy the sexual appetites of the elders in Zion.<sup>47</sup>

Other writers, however, were less crude and more analytical in their reasonings as to why the Mormons desired female converts. It was believed that Mormon church leaders were engaged in a "life and death" struggle with the gentiles for political control of Utah. If they lost, then it was thought that the Mormon religion could not survive, but would crumble under the impact of adverse public opinion. To keep this from happening, church leaders were purposefully recruiting young girls because in Utah they could vote, and thus they were a source of docile political support which could be marshalled against the ever increasing gentile influence in the state.<sup>48</sup>

The Mormon church was portrayed as being a great "secret society"

<sup>41</sup>Clawson, "Memoirs," p. 416; Rudger Clawson to Joseph F. Smith, 18 September 1912, European Mission Papers, Box 3, fd. 6, Church Archives.

<sup>42</sup>*The Times*, 19 April 1911; *Daily Mail*, 13 April 1911.

<sup>43</sup>*Daily Telegraph*, 13 April 1911.

<sup>44</sup>See especially William Alexander Linn, *The Story of the Mormons, from the Date of Their Origin to the Year 1901* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1902); Ruth Kauffman and Reginald Wright Kauffman, *The Latter-Day Saints: A Study of the Mormons in the Light of Economic Conditions* (London: Williams & Norgate, 1912); and Arrington, "Crisis of Identity," p. 173.

<sup>45</sup>Graham, *That Reminds Me*, p. 58; Frank Russell, "The Menace of Mormonism," *London Magazine* 26 (May 1911): 323-34.

<sup>46</sup>Kauffman and Kauffman, *The Latter-Day Saints*, p. 120. See also C. Sheridan Jones, *The Mormons Unmasked* (London: Harold and Sons, [1911]), pp. 8-9.

<sup>47</sup>*The People*, 16 June 1912.

<sup>48</sup>*Manchester Guardian*, 22 April 1911.



whose tentacles stretched to Wall Street as well as Washington, D.C. According to the *Daily Mail*, the church was "a force of tremendous power, controlling the state government of Utah, influencing the American railways and great financial corporations, exerting a political 'pull' at Washington, and secretly or openly defying the law."<sup>49</sup> So powerful had the church become that the government could no longer control it. Utah (which was equated with the Mormon church) was "a sovereign state" and "it can defy Congress, and the United States Government are in a predicament in wishing to suppress the evil."<sup>50</sup> But, whereas the American government could no longer deal with this problem, the European nations could, for it was believed that Mormonism, like Lenin's version of capitalism, needed to expand in order to keep alive. As we have observed, converts were indispensable to Mormonism because they counterbalanced the political influence of her enemies. Because Americans were sufficiently informed about Mormonism, the church's survival depended upon the quotas of converts received from Europe. For this reason, missionaries with unusual sexual magnetism were sent to win over gullible young girls.<sup>51</sup> It was even suggested by one prominent clergyman who labored in London amongst the poor and lower middle class that he had "abundant reason to believe that many young London girls reported as 'missing' have been spirited away to Utah."<sup>52</sup> But, it was reasoned, if the European source of converts could be cut off, then Mormonism would die an ignominious death.

What is interesting about this argument is that it was based on the belief that "thousands" of females were being lured from Britain every year, even though there was no real empirical evidence to support this allegation.<sup>53</sup> This, however, was no problem to those who wanted to believe in spite of the lack of evidence, for, as Bartlett contended, "We are convinced of these evils even though it may be difficult to prove individual cases."<sup>54</sup> It was thought that the Mormons carefully concealed the actual figures by prompting immigrants on what to tell authorities and by sending converts through Canada to Utah rather than through Boston.<sup>55</sup>

Although it is impossible to precisely determine the extent to which these assumptions were believed, some indication of their popularity can be ascertained by examining the attitude of the British press on this issue. It has not been possible to examine all newspapers for this period, but a wide sampling of both London and regional newspapers suggests that the arguments of the anti-Mormon crusade received substantial support from this important source of opinion.

As might be expected, the popular halfpenny papers saw the possibilities

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<sup>49</sup>17 April 1911.

<sup>50</sup>Russell, "Menace," p. 324; *Pall Mall Gazette*, 13 April 1911.

<sup>51</sup>*The Times*, 17 April 1911; *The People*, 25 August 1912; Graham, *That Reminds Me*, p. 59; *Daily Telegraph*, 18 April 1911. This last article also suggested that votes for women in Utah was an attraction.

<sup>52</sup>*The Standard*, 24 April 1911.

<sup>53</sup>See W. T. Stead's attack on this allegation in *Daily Express*, 1 May 1911; also Clawson, "Memoirs," p. 436, quoting the *Daily Express*, 28 April 1911.

<sup>54</sup>*Daily Mail*, 13 April 1911.

<sup>55</sup>*Ibid*; Russell, "Menace," p. 324; *Tit-Bits*, 2 March 1912.

for sensation and scandal in the polygamy issue, and several of these newspapers played a major role in the crusade. The *Daily Express* not only published a series of articles — Winifred Graham was a feature writer for this paper<sup>56</sup> — but the editorials by R. D. Blumenfeld were particularly vicious. On 3 April 1911, he wrote: "The Mormon 'religion,' a foul and bestial apotheosis of animal passion and sexual degradation, is the vilest superstition that ever masqueraded in the civilized world." Responding to the question of whether or not Mormons should be allowed freedom of preaching their doctrines, he concluded that "to allow its teachers to shelter themselves behind our regard for free speech is to confess that we are a nation of doctrinaires made foolish by our love for large, fine-sounding phrases."<sup>57</sup>

Not to be outdone, the *Daily Mail* joined the bandwagon and ran a series of articles exposing the Mormon practice of polygamy, but these were decidedly more moderate in tone than those published by the rival *Daily Express*.<sup>58</sup> In addition, as might be expected, Horatio Bottomley's scandal-mongering publication, *John Bull*, was likewise among the leading attackers, printing some of the most sensational features of all. The role of *The People*, and its correspondent Frank E. Farncombe, was also important because of a series of articles published in 1912. These were instrumental in renewing anti-Mormon agitation after it had largely died down following the initial excitement over the issue early the previous year. Not only did Farncombe attempt to expose Mormonism, but he tried to use *The People* as a medium to organize the battle against Mormon emissaries. It was largely through his efforts that the Anti-Mormon League was established in London, although there is no evidence that this organization ever played an instrumental role in the campaign.<sup>59</sup> Indeed, the crusade against the Saints was a disunited effort and lacked the means of channeling anti-Mormon sentiments in such a way as to pressure Parliament into seriously considering the question.

Nor were stories against the church confined to the halfpenny popular press, as Clawson believed. Such respected conservative papers as the *Daily Telegraph*, *Pall Mall Gazette*, *The Standard*, *Illustrated London News*, and the *Saturday Review*, carried either anti-Mormon features or editorials. *The Times* during this period was generally unbiased in its coverage of Mormon topics and was at least open enough to publish public statements by Mormon leaders denying the allegations of their opponents. But *The Times* did publish one story by a correspondent which contended that gossip concerning the revival of polygamy was correct. Because of the paper's prestige, this article was widely quoted and tended to give credence to arguments of the anti-Mormons.<sup>60</sup>

<sup>56</sup>See especially her "Orgies of the Mormons," 28 March 1911; "The Mormon Pass to Slavery," 31 March 1911, and her shocking story on blood atonement on 30 March 1911.

<sup>57</sup>*Daily Express*, 3 and 29 April 1911.

<sup>58</sup>See especially, *Daily Mail*, 13 and 15 April 1911.

<sup>59</sup>*John Bull*, 21 and 28 January 1911; 4 and 11 February 1911; see issues of *The People*, 23 July-18 August 1911; British Anti-Mormon League, *Programme of Meetings*, n.d., copy in Correspondence and General Files of the British Mission, at Church Archives; *Millennial Star* 75 (6 February 1913): 83.

<sup>60</sup>Clawson to First Presidency, 16 May 1911, in Clawson, "Memoirs", p. 445; *Daily*

Among the Liberal newspapers, only the *Manchester Guardian* printed anti-Mormon articles, although these were not the sensational kind that were found especially in the *Daily Express*. The *Westminster Gazette*, the leading oracle of the Liberal party, was silent on this issue.<sup>61</sup>

Church-affiliated newspapers were generally hostile. The *Church Times*, the largest circulating Church of England newspaper, declared: "The only thing to be done with these undesirable "saints" is to clear them out of this country. They should be told to go, and should have a few days in which to make arrangements for their departure, and then, if they seem inclined to stay on, should be deported."<sup>62</sup> Other leading Anglican papers, *The Record*, the *English Churchman* and *St. James' Chronical*, and *The Guardian*, all gave similar advice, as did the *Protestant Standard*, a Liverpool-based periodical which had a long tradition of opposition. The leading Baptist news organ, the *Baptist Times and Freeman*, was also hostile toward the Saints, but differed from its Anglican counterparts in advocating peaceful means of opposition, and in warning against the effects of persecution. But the *Methodist Recorder*, although not directly urging that strong measures should be taken, warned its readers that the luring of innocent girls into polygamy went beyond the traditional bounds of toleration.<sup>63</sup>

The attitude of provincial newspapers varied and it is difficult to generalize for the country as a whole. The Rudger Clawson "Scrapbook," preserved in the L.D.S. Church Historical Department, does, however, contain numerous clippings from local papers throughout the country, which indicate considerable hostility against the church. Newspapers such as the *Liverpool Daily Post and Mercury* and the *East Anglian Times* played a prominent role in regional agitations. On the other hand, the *Sunderland Echo* and the *Bristol Evening Times and Echo* were papers circulating in areas where there was open hostility to the Mormons, yet they consistently stood in favor of toleration.<sup>64</sup>

Indeed, it must be pointed out that not all segments of the British press were antagonistic to the Mormons. While many newspapers were silent on this issue, others strongly condemned the crusade because it violated British ideals of toleration. Typical of this sentiment was William Stead, editor of the *Review of Reviews*. Although he had a long career as a journalist interested in social questions, and he was not above sensationalism,<sup>65</sup> he found persecution of the Mormons repugnant even though he had no sympathy for Mormon

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*Telegraph*, 18 April 1911; *Pall Mall Gazette*, 13 April 1911; *The Standard*, 24 April 1911; *Illustrated London News*, 29 April 1911; *Saturday Review*, 22 April 1911; *The Times*, 19 April, 1 May, and 20 April 1911.

<sup>61</sup>*Manchester Guardian*, 22 April 1911.

<sup>62</sup>21 April 1911. See also 17 March 1911, and 13 April 1911.

<sup>63</sup>*The Record*, 28 April 1911; *English Churchman*, 20 April 1911; *The Guardian*, 5 May 1911; *Protestant Standard*, 14 January 1911; *Baptist Times and Freeman*, 8 May 1911; *Methodist Recorder*, 4 May 1911.

<sup>64</sup>Rudger Clawson, comp., "Scrapbook No. 2, Anti-Mormon Crusade in Great Britain 1911-12, and part of 1913," passim, a 3-volume collection of newspaper clippings, in the Rudger Clawson Papers, Church Archives.

<sup>65</sup>*The Times* (London), *History of the Times*, 4 vols. in 5 (New York: Macmillan, 1935-52), vol. 3, *The Twentieth Century Test, 1884-1912* (1947), p. 93.

doctrines. While emphatically contending that there was no evidence that Mormons recruited English girls for polygamous purposes — that this was a "mendacious" falsehood invented by "intolerant religionists"<sup>66</sup> — he went on to claim, "I admit, however, that the Mormons have the sneaking fondness for polygamy that many Roman Catholics have for persecution, and further, that they believe so much in the Divine mission I do not think they would stick at anything to secure the triumph of their Church. For them also, the end justifies the means."<sup>67</sup> Leonard Henslowe, writing in *London Opinion*, was more sympathetic than Stead. He said he found no evidence that polygamy was practiced in Utah, excepting the marriages contracted before the Manifesto.<sup>68</sup> *The Clarion*, an influential socialist journal, wrote, "We have heard a little of the gospel of Mormonism, and it has struck us as rather a harmless and ridiculous superstition differing only slightly from the tenants of more reputable Christian sects in this country." The article then pointed out:

We have been recently presented with the amazing spectacle of a clergyman of the Church of England marching, with a truculent horde of lowly followers of the gentle Jesus, upon a Mormon meeting, and giving them so long to quit the town. This clerical survival of the dark ages, this insolent and bigoted anachronism, stood up and hinted that unless his fellow-religionists cleared out within a few days things would be made hot for them by the Christian mob. This savage outbreak of persecuting zeal is cloaked with the pretense of protecting poor young girls from being enticed to Utah, there to live immoral lives. Our righteous old friend, the "Daily Express" full of pure and passionate zeal for the saving of these helpless maidens, has taken up the cudgels on their behalf. Perish the unworthy thought that it might be thinking of dirty sensation or circulation.<sup>69</sup>

Although the Mormons did receive support from some segments of the press, it is hard to escape the conclusion that the tide of opinion was indeed running against them as there were more expressions of hostility than favorable responses.

This was especially the case within the Church of England. In the lower house or Convocation of the Diocese of York, in February 1912, the clergy adopted a report condemning Mormon missionary activities and called for the upper house to consider the matter.<sup>70</sup> Although this was never done, sentiment among the bishops was strongly in favor of the spirit of this resolution. The Archbishop of Canterbury, Randall Davidson, expressed his views in a letter to Winston Churchill, the Home Secretary, "I am quite sure that the subject is important, and that, even if we cannot at present get all the clear evidence that we want about individual cases, this propaganda is an evil thing."<sup>71</sup> In a survey conducted by the *Daily Mail*, leading ecclesiastical dignitaries were asked to respond to questions concerning whether or not they favored legislation against Mormon missionary activities. Of the thirteen

<sup>66</sup>*Daily Express*, 1 May 1911; Clawson, "Memoirs," pp. 428-30.

<sup>67</sup>*Review of Reviews*, 43 (March 1911): 299.

<sup>68</sup>6 May 1911.

<sup>69</sup>Clawson, "Scrapbook," n.p.

<sup>70</sup>*Church Family Newspaper*, 23 February 1912.

<sup>71</sup>Home Office, H.O./1009/142,926/70.

Anglican bishops responding, eight indicated that they favored such action, and three responded that they were against Mormonism but that they had not considered the issue of legislation. Only the Bishop of Lincoln saw the issue in its true perspective: "The Bishop of Lincoln thinks Mormon trouble is a small matter, which can be left to the good sense of the British people."<sup>72</sup>

In addition to Anglican sentiments, the three Catholic bishops who responded all indicated that they favored legislation against the Mormons. The nonconformist leaders surveyed, although indicating a repugnance for the Mormon faith, tended to avoid advocating drastic action.<sup>73</sup>

In the House of Commons, however, there was little support for legislation. On 18 November 1910, E. A. Fitzroy, conservative M.P. for Northamptonshire South, questioned Winston Churchill, then the Home Secretary, on whether he was aware of the propaganda being carried out in Britain by the Mormons for the purpose of inducing English girls to go to America. Churchill responded, "Inquiry has from time to time been made into allegations which have reached the Home Office, but no ground for action has been found. I am informed that polygamy is now forbidden by the rules of the Mormon Church as well as the law of the United States." But when Arnold Ward raised the issue again on 6 March, Churchill promised to make inquiries concerning the allegations against the Mormons: "I am aware that the matter is causing a great deal of concern in this country. I am treating it in a serious spirit, and looking into it very thoroughly."<sup>74</sup>

As a result of this pressure, the Home Office sent questionnaires to police commissioners in the important cities where the elders were engaged in missionary work. Although most of the reports which were sent to the Home Office were destroyed, we do know that they failed to turn up any incriminating evidence.<sup>75</sup> The Head Constable of Liverpool indicated that after six weeks of investigation, he could find no evidence that the Mormons were preaching polygamy: "Personally I cannot see that the promise of a share only of a husband, however attractive he might be, is a bait likely to catch a modern girl, though a plurality of wives might attract a man with certain views of life."<sup>76</sup>

While the Home Office inquiry was proceeding, Ward pressed for a parliamentary debate on the Mormon question. This was scheduled to take place on 13 April but at the last moment was prevented by the introduction of a "blocking motion," a parliamentary procedural device that could be used by an M.P. to steer proceedings to another issue.<sup>77</sup> Although his efforts to bring the matter before the House of Commons were thwarted, Ward took advantage of the moment to question the Prime Minister, Herbert Asquith, on

<sup>72</sup>See *Daily Mail*, 18 and 19 April 1911.

<sup>73</sup>*Ibid.*, 20 April 1911.

<sup>74</sup>Great Britain, *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates*, House of Commons, 5th ser., 20:65 and 22:811.

<sup>75</sup>Home Office, H.O. / 1009/142,926/185.

<sup>76</sup>H.O./1009/142,926/95.

<sup>77</sup>Because a subject which the Labor Party desired to raise had been "blocked" by a Unionist member, the Labor Party "blocked" all subjects which were of interest to the Unionists, including Mormonism. *Daily Mail*, 13 April 1911.



the issue of Mormon propaganda. Asquith replied that he considered "this a very serious matter," but said that until the completion of the Home Office investigation, "it is premature for me to say that it is ripe for discussion."<sup>78</sup>

The scheduled debate on the "Mormon question" never took place, principally because the government had little interest in this issue. From what can be ascertained from public responses from M.P.'s on this issue (see the table), it would appear that it was a question which received backing primarily from Conservatives (Unionists were also Conservatives), although it would be going too far to label this a party issue.<sup>79</sup> As the *Daily Express* reported on 12 April, a number of Unionists were anxious for the debate to take place, but "It is not expected, for the present at least, that the Government will see its way to emulate the drastic example already set by Germany in expelling Mormon missionaries."

**M.P.'s Who Publically Supported  
Anti-Mormon Crusade**

<i>Name</i>	<i>Party Affiliation</i>	<i>Constituency</i>
Banner, Sir J. S. Harwood	Unionist	Everton
Boyton, James	Unionist	East Marylebone
Bull, Sir William J.	Conservative	Hammersmith
Burgoyne, Alan	Unionist	North Kensington
Cassel, Felix	Unionist	St. Pancras West
Chaloner, Col. R.G.W.	Unionist	Abercromby
Crooks, William	Labor	Woolwich
Faber, Captain W.V.	Unionist	Andover
Fitzroy, E.A.	Unionist	Northants, South
Gastrell, Major Houghton	Conservative	North Lambeth
Hall, E. Marshall	Unionist	East Toxteth
Hamilton, Lord Claud	Unionist	South Kensington
Harris, Sir Henry Percy	Unionist	South Paddington
Hicks, W. Joynson	Unionist	Brentford
Hoare, S.J.G.	Unionist	Chelsea
Hodge, John	Labor	Gorton
Houston, R.P.	Unionist	Toxteth, West
Horne, Rev. C. Silvester	Liberal	Ipswich
Lampson, Locker	Unionist	Salisbury
Newman, John	Unionist	Enfield
Neild, Herbert	Unionist	Ealing
O'Malley, W.	Nationalist	Connemara
Ronaldshay, Earl of	Unionist	Hornsey
Rutherford, W. Watson	Unionist	West Derby
Samuel, Harry	Unionist	Norwood
Scott, Leslie	Conservative	Exchange
Smith, F.E.	Unionist	Walton
Spicer, Sir Albert	Labor	Central Hackney
Strauss, Arthur	Unionist	North Paddington
Ward, Arnold	Unionist	Watford

<sup>78</sup>*Parliamentary Debates*, 5th ser., 24:491-92.

<sup>79</sup>See especially *Daily Express*, 14 April 1911.

## III

True to the crusading tradition, the campaign on the local level centered on a series of public rallies, in which prominent national figures such as Freece, Bartlett and Graham joined with clergymen, town councillors, and other community leaders in order to stir opinion against the Mormons. The first of these occurred at Liverpool on 26 January 1911. It was an outstanding success, as an unexpectedly large crowd turned out for the occasion, and it was necessary to stage a second rally in a nearby hall. Throughout the spring, similar meetings were held in such northern cities as Birmingham, Bootle, Chester, Bradford, Manchester, and Edinburgh. In London the *Daily Express* sponsored a rally at Holborn Hall with expectations of arousing sentiments against the Saints, but Londoners appear to have been reluctant to support the movement, and this occasion must have been a disappointment.<sup>80</sup> Nevertheless, by April *The Times* reported, "There is evidence that the feeling against the Latter-Day Saints is rising in the various parts of the country."<sup>81</sup>

Not all communities, however, were notably hostile. According to the *Daily Express*, there were eighty-two cities and towns where the elders were proselyting in April 1911.<sup>82</sup> In only nine of these were there subsequent violent demonstrations, and in most there is no evidence of serious resistance. This suggests that violence, and even organized opposition, was indeed exceptional, and in most communities the anti-Mormon crusaders could do no more than affect individual opinions concerning the Saints.

Even where there is evidence of opposition, this was often channeled into rather harmless activities. At Maidstone, for example, Lord Castlereagh, the local M.P., along with the mayor and a deputation of the clergy, signed and circulated a manifesto in April 1911 warning the heads of families to beware of Mormon missionaries. In Nottingham, the response appears to have gone no further than pressuring the city corporation into suspending the privilege allowed to elders of using the public baths after hours for baptismal services. At Glasgow, those hostile to the Saints won a heated debate on whether Mormon literature should be removed from the library, but otherwise, there was no effective opposition.<sup>83</sup>

Turning to the towns that were scenes of anti-Mormon disturbances, what emerges is that with the exception of the disorders at Bristol and Brixton (South London), all occurred in either the industrial North or in East Anglia. Although it is difficult to explain exactly why these areas were scenes of disturbances, perhaps some clue can be found in the fact that organized religion was still a powerful force in these regions.<sup>84</sup> The trend toward

<sup>80</sup>*Protestant Standard*, 14 January 1911; *The Standard*, 21 April 1911; Clawson to First Presidency, 25 April 1911, quoted in Clawson, "Memoirs," pp. 436-37.

<sup>81</sup>24 April 1911.

<sup>82</sup>Clawson, "Scrapbook," p. 4.

<sup>83</sup>*The Times*, 24 April 1911, and 2 May 1911; *Glasgow Herald*, 22 December 1911.

<sup>84</sup>Owen Chadwick, *The Victorian Church*, 2: 226, 232. By this period, Anglicanism in the North had already started to decline, but nonconformity was at its peak of strength. See John D. Gay, *The Geography of Religion in England* (London: Duckworth, 1971), pp. 79, 112-13.

secularization had not progressed as far as in other areas, and, as a result, we might surmise that clerical influence — which was predominantly anti-Mormon — was still a powerful voice amongst churchgoers. Moreover, these were also areas where the Mormons were most active in missionary work and where there were known examples of young girls forsaking families and friends for a new life amongst the Saints in Utah.<sup>85</sup>

There is also a considerable degree of similarity in the events connected with these disturbances. These were not spontaneous outbreaks of violence in the sense of happening on the spur of the moment without prior agitation. Instead, the violence occurred at the culmination of highly organized campaigns which had the expressed purpose of expelling the Mormon missionaries from the community. This usually took the form of series of rallies at which a resolution was adopted giving the elders a specified time to leave the town and warning them of dire consequences if they remained. In most instances violence was resorted to when the Mormons refused to leave and the only apparent means left was to resort to extreme measures, although it must be pointed out that in several towns the Mormons did leave when threatened with expulsion. Local pressure of this kind was so intense that the missionaries decided to quit Smethwick and Heywood in April 1911 and Seaton Hirst in the following spring.<sup>86</sup> These were, however, small towns of little importance, and the Mormons left because it was senseless to remain where opinion was running so strongly against them.

At Birkenhead, in April 1911; the church leaders decided not to bow to pressure and made a stand on the principle of religious liberty. After the Mormons failed to heed an ultimatum to leave, an angry crowd led by T.M. Thomson, a city councillor, surrounded the Mormon chapel, which was being guarded by police. After dark, a window in the hall was broken and police were assailed by demonstrators with stones and mud. During the ensuing scuffle, five Elders were "more or less hurt" and five men were arrested. According to the Birkenhead police commissioner, if the crowd had gained entrance into the building, there would have been loss of life.<sup>87</sup>

A similar series of episodes occurred at Nuneaton in the spring of 1912. The failure of the elders to comply with an expulsion decree led to a series of incidents in which the local chapel was attacked. On one occasion two "mobocrats" came to the door while a meeting was in session. Two elders stepped to the door and one was struck in the face, resulting in the loss of several teeth. On another occasion, about thirty anti-Mormons gained entrance into the worship service and disrupted the proceedings. The local Mormon leader, Albert Smith, described as a frail man of sixty, decided to leave the building as a result of the disturbance. While on the stairs he was accosted by Charles H. Smith, one of the local agitators: "On about the second step he [Albert Smith] felt feathers flying all over him, and after that he

<sup>85</sup>Ibid., pp. 321-23.

<sup>86</sup>*Church Times*, 21 April 1911; Clawson to Winston Churchill, 22 April 1911, and Clawson's comments on the letter, in Clawson, "Memoirs," pp. 426-28; *Millennial Star* 74 (6 June 1912): 365.

<sup>87</sup>*The Times*, 17 April 1911; *Daily Mail*, 22 April 1911.

felt something very warm on his head and running down his face, and over his clothing. By the smell he could tell it was . . . tar." According to Clawson, "The tarring and feathering of Elder Albert Smith at Nuneaton is quite the worst experience we have yet had in this mission."<sup>88</sup>

Some of the most violent demonstrations were sparked by fears that the Mormons were about to establish permanent residence. Sunderland, "a Christian city of 151,162 population," was described as being the "storm center" of anti-Mormon agitation in the North of England in the spring of 1912. These demonstrations were initiated when the Mormons purchased a building which they planned to remodel into a chapel. Throughout the spring there were rallies and incidents in which windows were broken, and the sign was torn from the building. Tensions were so acute that President Lichfield, leader of the Newcastle Conference, wrote, "We cannot walk along the street without being molested." On several occasions, "stones, horse manure and other objectionable missiles" were thrown at the missionaries.<sup>89</sup> On 21 May a resolution was passed giving the elders seven days to leave town. When they failed to abide by this resolution, a series of incidents ensued in which large hostile crowds (estimated as high as ten thousand, although this must be used with caution) gathered and only with difficulty were restrained by the police. What is significant about the Sunderland disturbances was not the actual damage or the assaults (on one occasion an elder was hit on the head with a brick), but the frequency as well as the intensity of disturbances. On one occasion an angry crowd went searching for Mormons. A young Jewish boy was mistaken for a Mormon and assaulted. Luckily he escaped into a store where he was protected by a merchant.<sup>90</sup> This, and other episodes, indicates frustration at not being able to find satisfaction through releasing aggressions against the hated Mormons.

At Birmingham in August 1912, the Mormons moved to a new location within the city, much to the displeasure of local residents. No sooner had the Saints occupied their new quarters when an angry crowd assembled, and the windows were broken. Albert T. Smith wrote:

The feeling here at the present time is very bitter, especially among the lower classes, where so many wicked falsehoods have been told concerning us. Then there are two different show houses presenting 'Mormon' plays, and between the acts they have one of the anti-Mormons give a lecture, and all this adds fuel to the fire.

Such activity, however, had the effect of firming the resolve of the Saints. "We are all well in Birmingham and rejoice in the work, and the present opposition makes us feel more determined than ever to make a stand for truth."<sup>91</sup>

A different tactic was employed at Brixton, where the Reverend Hook Longsdon, Vicar of St. Andrews, South London, was credited with originating

<sup>88</sup>*Millennial Star* 75 (12 June 1913): 376-77; Clawson, "Memoirs," p. 458, quoting *Millennial Star*, 13 June 1912; and "Memoirs," p. 454.

<sup>89</sup>*Millennial Star* 74 (6 May 1912): 312-14; European Mission Papers, Box 4, fd. 6, Church Archives; Clawson, editorial in *Millennial Star*, 23 January 1913, quoted in Clawson, "Memoirs," p. 462.

<sup>90</sup>*Millennial Star* 74 (20 June 1912): 424-27.

<sup>91</sup>*Ibid.*, 29 August 1912, pp. 555-56.

the idea of "peaceful picketing" of Mormon meetings. Young men from the Church of England's Men Society were stationed outside the Stockwell Institute, a building rented by the Church. As young women approached, they were discouraged from entering, perhaps more out of fear than rational argumentation. The difficulty with this method was that it was not entirely successful, and when it became apparent that "peaceful picketing" could not by itself prevent the Mormon meetings, others turned to more violent means. On 14 July 1912, a number of people attempted to force their way into the building, but were prevented. When the elders left, however, they were followed by a large crowd which pelted them with stones and other debris. Eventually it was necessary to obtain police protection in order to escape. After a series of disturbances, the landlord of the Stockwell Institute asked the Mormons to leave, and activity in this area had to be momentarily suspended.<sup>92</sup>

Besides the activities of carefully organized anti-Mormon campaigns which often precipitated violence, another ingredient was the dissemination of rumor. According to the psychologist Gordon Allport, "Rumor seems to offer a sensitive index for the state of group hostility."<sup>93</sup> The spread of rumors concerning the Mormons indicates considerable group hostility against them in some communities. At Nuneaton, the violence in March 1912 was at least in part sparked by rumors that as many as thirty local girls were about to leave for Utah as the result of Mormon enticements.<sup>94</sup> Although this allegation was strongly denied by church leaders, little credence was given to these denials. Ill feeling, leading to violence at Bristol in November 1912, was sparked by newspaper reports on the horrors of the white slave traffic, a topic which was at the time receiving parliamentary attention. It was rumored that Mormon elders were agents for this illicit trade. Children were said to be "frightened to tears" by stories circulating about strange men (i.e., Mormons) kidnapping them, and "speculation was that they were lost forever."<sup>95</sup>

The spectacular disturbances at Ipswich between November 1912 and February 1913 were likewise related to the rumors concerning the connection between Mormons and the white slave traffic. Angry demonstrators gathered on several occasions, and there was considerable damage done to the dancing saloon used by the Saints for worship: "Chairs, gas globes and the harmonium were broken and things were badly damaged." At nearby Colchester, wild rumors circulated of elders giving chocolates containing chloroform to young children, as well as stories of missionaries luring young women into abandoned houses at night.<sup>96</sup>

By the spring of 1913, however, the crusade had all but exhausted its strength. No longer were there hostile demonstrations, and missionary

<sup>92</sup>*The People*, 14 July 1912; *The Times*, 15 July 1912; Clawson, "Scrapbook," no. 3, p. 10.

<sup>93</sup>Gordon W. Allport, *The Nature of Prejudice*, (Cambridge, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., 1954), pp. 64-65.

<sup>94</sup>Clawson, "Scrapbook," p. 62.

<sup>95</sup>*Millennial Star* 74 (28 November 1912): 760-63.

<sup>96</sup>Clawson, in *Ipswich Evening Star*, 31 January 1913, quoted in Clawson, "Memoirs," p. 473; and Amos A. Cook's report in *Millennial Star*, 6 February 1913, quoted in Clawson, "Memoirs," p. 471.



activity, after a two year lull, began to show signs of recovery. But in 1914 renewed disturbances broke out in Birmingham and Norwich.<sup>97</sup> Compared to earlier riots, these last outbreaks of hostility were minor in intensity and quickly dissipated. Thus, even before the outbreak of World War I, which occurred only two months after the Norwich incident, Mormonism was no longer a topic of concern to the populace of Britain.

#### IV

It is hard to escape the conclusion that the anti-Mormon crusade failed because it was a movement which achieved significant support only in the North of England and in East Anglia. Moreover, the campaign was supported by church opinion, and to some extent by conservative sentiments, but otherwise failed to capture influential support. Indeed, to many people the crusade lacked factual evidence to support the allegations against Mormons, and it violated the traditional British belief in religious toleration.

On the other hand, the campaign did have an adverse effect on Mormon proselytizing activities. "The persecution," wrote Clawson, "has planted a prejudice in the minds of the people towards us that is hard to overcome and had told heavily against us in the matter of baptisms."<sup>98</sup> The number of converts declined significantly during these years, from 963 in 1910 to 482 in 1911. The figures show even a further drop in 1912, when only 363 persons were baptized, although, as we have observed, there was a slight recovery during 1913 and 1914, when 376 and 399 converts joined the church.<sup>99</sup>

Although the use of violence against the church was short lived, the way in which Mormons were portrayed during the campaign affected popular attitudes for years to come. Sneaky, licentious, and sexually magnetic Mormon elders were viewed as posing a threat to the purity of women, as well as the virtues of a Christian nation.

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<sup>97</sup>*Millennial Star* 76 (30 July 1914): 492-93.

<sup>98</sup>Clawson, "Memoirs," p. 448.

<sup>99</sup>Evans, *A Century of "Mormonism,"* p. 244.

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