

Journal of Mormon History

Volume 26 | Issue 2

Article 1

2000

Journal of Mormon History Vol. 26, No. 2, 2000

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



Part of the [Religion Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

(2000) "Journal of Mormon History Vol. 26, No. 2, 2000," *Journal of Mormon History*. Vol. 26 : Iss. 2 , Article 1.

Available at: <https://digitalcommons.usu.edu/mormonhistory/vol26/iss2/1>

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



Journal of Mormon History Vol. 26, No. 2, 2000

Table of Contents

CONTENTS

LETTERS viii

ARTICLES

- --Mormons in Congress, 1851-2000 *Robert R. King and Kay Atkinson King, 1*
- --Ricks College: The Struggle for Permanency and Place, 1956-60 *Val G. Hemming, 51*
- --Corinne Allen and Post-Manifesto Antipolygamy *Joan Smyth Iversen, 110*
- --Emmeline B. Wells in Washington: The Search for Mormon Legitimacy *Carol Cornwall Madsen, 140*
- --Other Mormon Histories: Lamanite Subjectivity in Mexico *Thomas W. Murphy, 179*

VISUAL IMAGES

- --Setting the Record Straight *Richard Neitzel Holzapfel and Paul H. Peterson, 215*

REVIEWS

- D. Michael Quinn, *The Mormon Hierarchy: Origins of Power* and *D. Michael Quinn, The Mormon Hierarchy: Extensions of Power* Mario S. De Pillis, 223
- Garold N. Davis and Norma S. Davis, comps. and trans., *Behind the Iron Curtain: Recollections of Latter-day Saints in East Germany, 1945-1989*, Thomas S. Monson
- Faith Rewarded: A Personal Account of Prophetic Promises to the East German Saints, and Howard L. Biddulph, The Morning Breaks: Stories of Conversion and Faith in the Former Soviet Union* Steven L. Shields, 227
- Ronald D. Dennis, trans, and ed. *Prophet of the Jubilee* Bert J Rawlins, 231
- D. Michael Quinn, *Early Mormonism and the Magic World View*, rev. and enl. Kenneth G. Godfrey, 232
- Stan Larson and Patricia Larson, eds., *What E'er Thou Art, Act Well Thy Part: The Missionary Diaries of David O. McKay* Polly Aird, 237
- Scott R. Christensen, *Sagwitch: Shoshone Chieftain, Mormon Elder, 1822-1887* Audrey M. Godfrey, 240
- Valeen Tippetts Avery, *From Mission to Madness: Last Son of the Mormon Prophet* Richard L. Jensen, 244
- Dan Vogel, ed., *Early Mormon Documents, Vol. 2* Thomas G. Alexander, 248
- Noel A. Carmack and Karen Lynn Davidson, eds., *Out of the Black Patch: The Autobiography of Effie Marquess Carmack: Folk Musician, Artist, and Writer* Kristen Smart Rogers, 252

--Newell G. Bringhurst, *Fawn McKay Brodie: A Biographer's Life* Brigham D. Madsen, 254

BOOK NOTICES

--Paul K. Conkin, *American Originals: Homemade Varieties of Christianity*, 258

--Lorin K. Hansen and Lila J. Bringhurst, with special sections by Sorena DeWitt, Nanette Dunford, Marylyn Eyer, Myrtle Jibson, and Ross Westover, *Let This Be Zion: Mormon Pioneers and Modern Saints in Southern Alameda California*, 260

--Ray R. Canning, *My Continuing Quest: Sociological Perspectives on Mormonism*, edited by Stan Larson, 261

--Laura L. Vance, *Seventh-day Adventism in Crisis: Gender and Sectarian Change in an Emerging Religion*, 262

--James B. Allen and John W. Welch, eds., *Life in Utah: Centennial Selections from BYU Studies*, 264

--Jennifer Eastman Attebery, *Building with Logs: Western Log Construction in Context*, 265

--Irwin Altaian and Joseph Ginat, *Polygamous Families in Contemporary Society and Janet Bennion, Women of Principle: Female Networking in Contemporary Mormon Polygyny*, 266

--Liz Lemon Swindle, art and commentary, text by Susan Easton Black, *Joseph Smith: Impressions of a Prophet and Gracia N. Jones, Priceless Gifts: Celebrating the Holiday with Joseph and Emma Smith*, 269

--[No editor,] *The Essential Joseph Smith*, 271

--Lawrence H. Maddock, *John Maddock: Mormon Pioneer*, 272

--Susan Easton Black, *Who's Who in the Doctrine and Covenants*, 273

--Jerald R. Johansen, *After the Martyrdom: What Happened to the Family of Joseph Smith?*, 274

--Davis Bitton, *The Martyrdom Remembered: A One-Hundred-Fifty Year Perspective on the Assassination of Joseph Smith*, 276

--Reed H. Blake and Spencer H. Blake, *The Carthage Tragedy: The Martyrdom of Joseph Smith*, 277

--Richard T. Hughes, *The Primitive Church in the Modern World*, 278

--Emerson Roy West, *Latter-day Prophets: Their Lives, Teachings, and Testimonies with Profiles of Their Wives*, 279

--Ouida Blanthorn, *A History of Tooele County*, 280

--Edward A. Geary, *A History of Emery County*, 281

--Linda Sillitoe, *A History of Salt Lake County*, 281

--M. Guy Bishop, *A History of Sevier County*, 282

--James Kimball, with cartoons by Pat Bagley, *Mormonism 's Colorful Cowboy: J. Golden Kimball Stories*, 284

--Laurie Teichert Eastwood, ed., *Letters of Minerva Teichert, Elaine Cannon and Shirley A. Teichert*,

Minerva! The Story of an Artist with a Mission, and John W. Welch and Doris R. Dant, The Book of Mormon Paintings of Minerva Teichert, 285

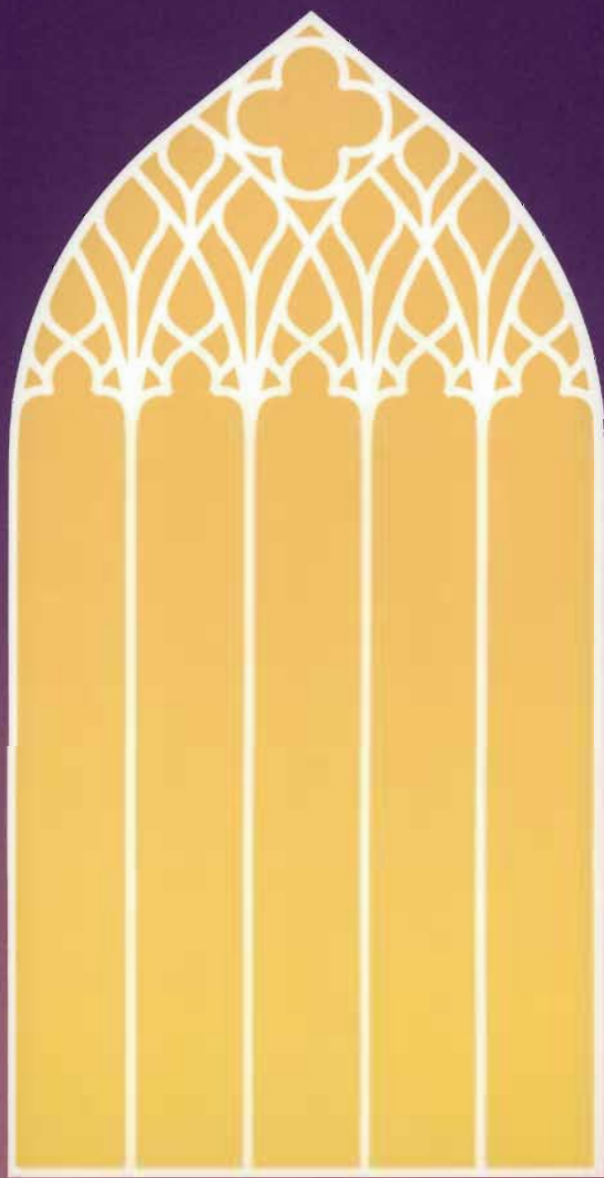
--Larry R. King, *The Kings of the Kingdom: The Life of Thomas Rice King and His Family, 288*

--*Restoration Studies V: A Collection of Essays about the History, Beliefs, and Practices of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, edited by Paul M. Edwards (series editor) and Darlene Caswell (issue editor), Restoration Studies VI: A Collection of Essays about the History, Beliefs, and Practices of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, edited by Paul M. Edwards (series editor) and Wayne Ham (issue editor), and Joni Wilson (assistant editor), and Restoration Studies VII: A Collection of Essays about the History, Beliefs, and Practices of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, edited by Joni Wilson and Ruth Ann Wood- 289*

--Kenneth W. Godfrey, Audrey M. Godfrey, and Jill Mulvay Derr, *Women's Voices: An Untold History of the Latter-Day Saints, 1830-1900, 293*

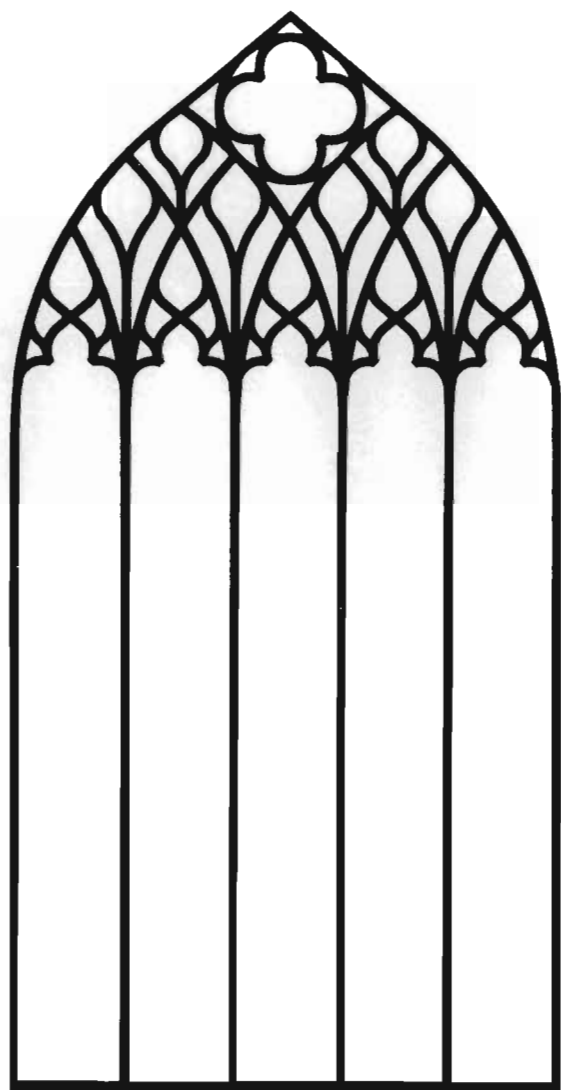
--Newell G. Bringhurst, ed., *Reconsidering No Man Knows My History: Fawn M. Brodie and Joseph Smith in Retrospect, 294*

JOURNAL OF MORMON HISTORY



FALL 2000

JOURNAL OF
MORMON HISTORY



FALL 2000

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

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

© 2000 Mormon History Association
ISS 0094-7342

After publication herein, copyright reverts to authors. Copies of articles in this journal may be made for teaching and research purposes free of charge and without securing permission, as permitted by Sections 107 and 108 of the United States Copyright Law. For all other purposes, permission must be obtained from the author. The Mormon History Association assumes no responsibility for contributors' statements of fact or opinion.

Staff of the Journal of Mormon History

Editorial Staff

Editor: Lavina Fielding Anderson

Executive Committee: Lavina Fielding Anderson, Will Bagley, William G. Hartley, G. Kevin Jones, Lynne Watkins Jorgensen, Brigham D. Madsen, Patricia Lyn Scott, Jean Bickmore White

Editorial Staff: Linda DeSimone, Henry H. Goldman, Derek Jensen, Janet Jensen, Laurie Gilliland, Scarlett M. Lindsay, Linda Lindstrom, H. Michael Marquardt, Dawn Martindale, Murphy S. Mathews, Stephen R. Moss, Michael O. Perry, Loree Romriel, Steve Sturgus

Letters Editor: Jean Bickmore White

Editorial Manager: Patricia Lyn Scott

Business Manager: G. Kevin Jones

Abstracts Editor: Kenneth R. Williams

Compositor: Brent Corcoran

Designer: Warren Archer

Board of Editors

Todd Compton, Santa Monica, California

Mario S. De Pillis, Amherst, Massachusetts

Paul M. Edwards, Independence, Missouri

Susan L. Fales, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah

Dean L. May, University of Utah, Salt Lake City

Isteta Pement, Temple School, Independence, Missouri

Susan Sessions Rugh, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah

The *Journal of Mormon History* is published semi-annually by the Mormon History Association, 2470 N. 1000 West, Layton, UT 84041 (801) 773-4620. It is distributed to members upon payment of annual dues: student, \$12.50; regular, \$15; sustaining, \$20; Friend of Mormon History, \$50; Mormon History Association Patron, \$500 or more. Foreign subscriptions \$20 payable in U.S. currency, VISA, or Mastercard. Single copies \$15. Prices on back issues vary; contact Craig and Suzanne Foster, executive secretaries, at the address above.

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

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

JOURNAL OF MORMON HISTORY

Volume 26, No. 2
Fall 2000

CONTENTS

LETTERS

viii

ARTICLES

- Mormons in Congress, 1851-2000
Robert R. King and Kay Atkinson King 1
- Ricks College: The Struggle for Permanancy and
Place, 1956-60 *Val G. Hemming* 51
- Corinne Allen and Post-Manifesto Antipolygamy
Joan Smyth Iversen 110
- Emmeline B. Wells in Washington: The Search
for Mormon Legitimacy *Carol Cornwall Madsen* 140
- Other Mormon Histories: Lamanite Subjectivity in Mexico
Thomas W. Murphy 179

VISUAL IMAGES

- Setting the Record Straight *Richard Neitzel Holzapfel* 215
and Paul H. Peterson

REVIEWS

- D. Michael Quinn, *The Mormon Hierarchy: Origins of Power*
and D. Michael Quinn, *The Mormon Hierarchy: Extensions
of Power* *Mario S. De Pillis* 223
- Garold N. Davis and Norma S. Davis, comps. and trans.,
*Behind the Iron Curtain: Recollections of Latter-day
Saints in East Germany, 1945-1989*, Thomas S. Monson,

- Faith Rewarded: A Personal Account of Prophetic Promises to the East German Saints*, and Howard L. Biddulph,
The Morning Breaks: Stories of Conversion and Faith in the Former Soviet Union Steven L. Shields 227
- Ronald D. Dennis, trans. and ed. *Prophet of the Jubilee*
Bert J Rawlins 231
- D. Michael Quinn, *Early Mormonism and the Magic World View*, rev. and enl. Kenneth G. Godfrey 232
- Stan Larson and Patricia Larson, eds., *What E'er Thou Art, Act Well Thy Part: The Missionary Diaries of David O. McKay* Polly Aird 237
- Scott R. Christensen, *Sagwitch: Shoshone Chieftain, Mormon Elder, 1822-1887* Audrey M. Godfrey 240
- Valeen Tippetts Avery, *From Mission to Madness: Last Son of the Mormon Prophet* Richard L. Jensen 244
- Dan Vogel, ed., *Early Mormon Documents, Vol. 2* Thomas G. Alexander 248
- Noel A. Carmack and Karen Lynn Davidson, eds., *Out of the Black Patch: The Autobiography of Effie Marquess Carmack: Folk Musician, Artist, and Writer* Kristen Smart Rogers 252
- Newell G. Bringhurst, *Fawn McKay Brodie: A Biographer's Life* Brigham D. Madsen 254

BOOK NOTICES

- Paul K. Conkin, *American Originals: Homemade Varieties of Christianity* 258
- Lorin K. Hansen and Lila J. Bringhurst, with special sections by Sorena DeWitt, Nanette Dunford, Marylyn Eyer, Myrtle Jibson, and Ross Westover, *Let This Be Zion: Mormon Pioneers and Modern Saints in Southern Alameda California* 260

Ray R. Canning, <i>My Continuing Quest: Sociological Perspectives on Mormonism</i> , edited by Stan Larson	261
Laura L. Vance, <i>Seventh-day Adventism in Crisis: Gender and Sectarian Change in an Emerging Religion</i>	262
James B. Allen and John W. Welch, eds., <i>Life in Utah: Centennial Selections from BYU Studies</i>	264
Jennifer Eastman Attebery, <i>Building with Logs: Western Log Construction in Context</i>	265
Irwin Altman and Joseph Ginat, <i>Polygamous Families in Contemporary Society</i> and Janet Bennion, <i>Women of Principle: Female Networking in Contemporary Mormon Polygyny</i>	266
Liz Lemon Swindle, art and commentary, text by Susan Easton Black, <i>Joseph Smith: Impressions of a Prophet</i> and Gracia N. Jones, <i>Priceless Gifts: Celebrating the Holiday with Joseph and Emma Smith</i>	269
[No editor,] <i>The Essential Joseph Smith</i>	271
Lawrence H. Maddock, <i>John Maddock: Mormon Pioneer</i>	272
Susan Easton Black, <i>Who's Who in the Doctrine and Covenants</i>	273
Jerald R. Johansen, <i>After the Martyrdom: What Happened to the Family of Joseph Smith?</i>	274
Davis Bitton, <i>The Martyrdom Remembered: A One-Hundred-Fifty Year Perspective on the Assassination of Joseph Smith</i>	276
Reed H. Blake and Spencer H. Blake, <i>The Carthage Tragedy: The Martyrdom of Joseph Smith</i>	277
Richard T. Hughes, <i>The Primitive Church in the Modern World</i>	278
Emerson Roy West, <i>Latter-day Prophets: Their Lives, Teachings, and Testimonies with Profiles of Their Wives</i>	279
Ouida Blanthorn, <i>A History of Tooele County</i>	280

Edward A. Geary, <i>A History of Emery County</i>	281
Linda Sillitoe, <i>A History of Salt Lake County</i>	281
M. Guy Bishop, <i>A History of Sevier County</i>	282
James Kimball, with cartoons by Pat Bagley, <i>Mormonism's Colorful Cowboy: J. Golden Kimball Stories</i>	284
Laurie Teichert Eastwood, ed., <i>Letters of Minerva Teichert</i> , Elaine Cannon and Shirley A. Teichert, <i>Minerva! The Story of an Artist with a Mission</i> , and John W. Welch and Doris R. Dant, <i>The Book of Mormon Paintings of Minerva Teichert</i>	285
Larry R. King, <i>The Kings of the Kingdom: The Life of Thomas Rice King and His Family</i>	288
<i>Restoration Studies V: A Collection of Essays about the History, Beliefs, and Practices of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints</i> , edited by Paul M. Edwards (series editor) and Darlene Caswell (issue editor), <i>Restoration Studies VI: A Collection of Essays about the History, Beliefs, and Practices of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints</i> , edited by Paul M. Edwards (series editor) and Wayne Ham (issue editor), and Joni Wilson (assistant editor), and <i>Restoration Studies VII: A Collection of Essays about the History, Beliefs, and Practices of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints</i> , edited by Joni Wilson and Ruth Ann Wood	289
Kenneth W. Godfrey, Audrey M. Godfrey, and Jill Mulvay Derr, <i>Women's Voices: An Untold History of the Latter-Day Saints, 1830-1900</i>	293
Newell G. Bringhurst, ed., <i>Reconsidering No Man Knows My History: Fawn M. Brodie and Joseph Smith in Retrospect</i>	294

LETTERS

Fellowship Announcement

The Joseph Fielding Smith Institute for Latter-day Saint History at Brigham Young University announces a Visiting Scholar Fellowship for 2001-2002.

This visiting fellowship (\$35,000) is a full-time residential appointment from 1 September 2001 to 1 May 2002. The fellow will teach one course in a BYU academic department, participate in the monthly Smith Institute seminars, present a paper, and keep BYU policies and standards. Applicants must be a post-doctoral or senior scholar with a book manuscript dealing with LDS history near completion. Scholars of Latter-day Saint history from anywhere in the world may apply.

Applications forms are available on the institute's website: <http://fhss.byu.edu//jfsinst/> or from the Smith Institute (P.O. Box 24485, 121 KMB, Brigham Young University, Provo, UT 84602). The application needs to include a curriculum vitae, letters of recommendation, and a statement of the research project and publication plans. Applications must be postmarked 31 December 2000, and the award will be announced 15 February 2001. For more information, contact Jill Mulvay Derr at the Institute, (801) 378-7492; jill_derr@byu.edu.

Reese Award Announcement

The Joseph Fielding Smith Institute for Latter-day Saint History is accepting entries for the annual William G. and Winifred F. Reese Memorial Award. The \$500 award will be given to the person completing or publishing the best doctoral dissertation or master's thesis in the field of Mormon history in 2000. This prize will be awarded at the MHA meeting in Cedar City in June 2001.

The deadline for manuscripts is 1 February 2001. They will not be returned. Send them to the JFS Institute, 121 KMB, Brigham Young University, Provo, UT 84602, USA.

The Arrington-Prucha Prize

The Western History Association announces the Arrington-Prucha Prize in Western American Religious History. In recognition of the role played by Leonard J. Arrington and Father Francis Paul Prucha in Western American religious history, the Charles Redd Center for Western Studies at Brigham Young University funds this \$400 cash prize for the best essay of the year on religious history in the West.

The prize and a plaque will be awarded annually to the author and a certificate is awarded to the publisher. No time period, geographic restrictions, or questions of religious persua-

sion apply. Candidate articles must have appeared during the 1999 calendar year in a journal, magazine, or edited volume. Any WHA member, publisher, or essay author may nominate an essay by sending a copy of the journal, an offprint, or a photocopy to each member of the award committee, postmarked 31 July 2001.

The award committee consists of Michael E. Engh, Chair, P.O. Box 45041, Los Angeles, CA 90045; Ferenc M. Szasz, Department of History, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, NM 83131-1181, and Thomas G. Alexander, 3325 Mohican Lane, Provo, UT 84604-4854.

Response to Reed Smoot Review

Richard O. Ouellette's review of Harvard Heath's edition of *In the World: The Diaries of Reed Smoot* (Spring 2000, 211-16) contained a handful of misreadings that should probably be pointed out to readers of the *Journal*.

After noting several minor (but em-

barrassing) typographical errors, Ouellette alleges that two footnotes are misplaced (pp. 44, 394), that Heath misidentifies "gov [William P.] Harding" (394), that a "factually confusing or inaccurate footnote" can be found (124), and that Heath does not use "sic" to alert readers to misspelled words in the original document. In fact, the two footnotes appear at the first significant mention of the particular item(s) being annotated. William P. Harding, one of the governors of the Federal Reserve System, is correctly identified (Ouellette thought that this individual should have been Warren G. Harding); the confusing/inaccurate footnote stems from misreading two names as one; and finally the decision to use "sic" seems most appropriately left up to the book's editor.

Gary J. Bergera
Associate Publisher
Signature Books
Salt Lake City

MORMONS IN CONGRESS, 1851-2000

Robert R. King and Kay Atkinson King

WHY LOOK AT MORMONS who served or who are serving as members of the U.S. Congress? Mormons are curious about cobelievers who have served as the United States's highest elected officials, but do people's Mormonness make a difference in how they perform their duties in Congress? Does being Mormon contribute to attitudes or values that influence what he or she does in Congress? Does being a Mormon make it more difficult to win public office? These questions focus on how religious values and the Mormon cultural heritage may influence a member of the U.S. legislature.

There are equally valid questions about how and on what issues the LDS Church and its leaders have attempted to influence Washington through Mormon officials in Congress. A full century ago

ROBERT R. KING <kingr@erols.com> is Chief of Staff to Congressman Tom Lantos (D-California). He received a Ph.D. in International Relations from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy. He is not related to former Utah Senator and Congressman William H. King or his son, former Utah Congressman David S. King. KAY ATKINSON KING was Chief of Staff to LDS Congressman Richard N. Swett (D-New Hampshire: 1991-95) during his entire term and currently serves as Senior Policy Advisor to Swett's father-in-law, Tom Lantos. She received a Ph.D. in linguistics from UCLA. An earlier version of this paper was presented at the Mormon History Association annual meeting in May 1998 in Washington, D.C.

when Utah was finally granted statehood, serious questions were raised about the Mormon hierarchy's political power. Statehood was delayed until Church leaders made a number of significant accommodations, not the least of which were withdrawing public support for new plural marriages and disbanding its own political party. With increasing numbers of Latter-day Saints serving in Congress, do Church leaders exercise influence over Church members who are elected representatives?

These questions are significant and give valid reasons to examine the Mormons who have served in Congress. The questions, however, are difficult to answer. The influences on a member of Congress's votes and actions are complex. Religion is only one of many factors. Furthermore, religious belief or Church loyalty may be more important on one issue than on another. Also, Mormons who have served in Congress run the gamut from high-ranking Church officials to individuals who are Church members in name only. The second series of questions about Church efforts to influence U.S. policy is more complicated and difficult to examine because Church leaders have not made relevant records available, even for periods of time that are long past.

Despite these limitations, however, an examination of the Mormons in Congress provides interesting insights into the nature of Mormon culture, the relationship between the LDS Church and the broader American political community, and significant trends that identify changes within the Church.

WHO IS A MORMON?

A difficult initial question in examining Mormons in Congress is defining precisely who is a Mormon.¹ The Church considers everyone who has been baptized as members, without respect to participation in Church activities or belief in Church doctrine, even though popular Mormon culture and Church leaders distinguish between "active" and "less active" Mormons.

There is no question about the Mormonness of some elected officials. For example, Reed Smoot, who served thirty years in the U.S. Senate (R-Utah, 1903-33), was an apostle during that entire time. Similarly, George Q. Cannon, who served as Utah's territorial

¹ The intensity of the on-going controversy in Israel over "Who is a Jew?" gives some idea of the significance of such definitional questions.

delegate (1871-81), had been an apostle since 1860 and was a counselor to both Brigham Young (1874-77) and John Taylor (1880-81) while serving as territorial delegate. No other Mormons elected to Congress have served as General Authorities of the Church either before, during, or after their service in Congress.

A number of Mormon congressmen were mission presidents following their congressional service. Berkeley Lloyd Bunker (D-Nevada; Senate 1940-42; House 1945-47) served as a bishop and as president of the Southern States Mission. David S. King (D-Utah; House: 1959-63, 1965-67) was president of the Haiti Mission and later president of the Washington D.C. Temple. Gunn McKay (D-Utah; House: 1971-81) was president of the Scottish Mission and served a subsequent mission in Kenya. Wayne Owens (D-Utah; House: 1973-75, 1987-93) was president of the Canada Montreal Mission between his two terms in the House. M. Blaine Peterson (D-Utah; House: 1961-63) was president of the Bavarian Mission.² Others served as stake presidents before their congressional service, including Milton H. Welling (D-Utah: 1917-21), released after he won the congressional race, and Gunn McKay, James V. Hansen (R-Utah; House: 1981-present), and Michael Crapo (R-Idaho; House: 1993-99; Senate: 1999-present). Others have served as bishops including Clair W. Burgener (R-California; House: 1973-83), Orrin Hatch (R-Utah; Senate: 1977-present), and Ron Packard (R-California; House 1983-present).

How should we count baptized Mormons who become estranged from the Church? Frank J. Cannon, a son of George Q. Cannon, was Utah's last territorial delegate (1895-96) and one of its first U.S. Senators (1896-99). When he failed to win reelection in 1898, he blamed Church leaders, became disaffected, was disfellowshipped then excommunicated (1905), published an exposé of Joseph F. Smith's influence in Utah politics, and spent his last two decades lecturing nationally against the Church.³ Despite his 1905

² It does not reflect a political bias that this list of five are all Democrats. It is simply a fact. Perhaps Republicans did not feel the need to demonstrate their commitment to the Church, or perhaps the First Presidency was making a point that *even* Democrats could be mission presidents.

³ Frank Jenne Cannon and Harvey J. O'Higgins, *Under the Prophet in Utah: The National Menace of a Political Priestcraft* (Boston: C. M. Clark, 1911).

excommunication, he was a Mormon during his terms in Congress and, for our analysis, qualifies as Mormon.

Some Mormons in Congress were baptized as children, have not attended a Church meeting in recent memory, do not observe Church practices, and do not necessarily accept the fundamental beliefs of the Church. However, they remain friendly to the Church and continue to identify themselves as Church members. An example is Morris King (“Mo”) Udall (D-Arizona: House 1961-91), a liberal who rejected the pre-1978 Mormon ban on ordaining black men but who always identified himself as Mormon.

Another gray area is individuals of Mormon ancestry who were raised in the Mormon cultural environment but who, for various reasons, were not baptized. There are three examples from Utah. Joseph L. Rawlins, a Democrat from an LDS family, was Utah’s territorial delegate (1893-95), introduced the legislation that resulted in Utah statehood, and later served as Utah’s senator (1897-1903). George Sutherland emigrated from England with his convert parents who became disaffected. Sutherland was never baptized although he attended Brigham Young University, represented the Church in legal matters, was elected to Congress (R-Utah; House 1901-03; Senate 1905-17), and was the only Utahn ever to serve on the U.S. Supreme Court (1922-38). Reva Zilpha Beck Bosone, born in American Fork, Utah, and descended from Mormon pioneer stock on both sides of her family, likewise was never baptized. She was the first woman to serve as majority leader in the Utah legislature, the first female judge in Utah, and the first woman elected to Congress from Utah (D-Utah House: 1949-53).⁴ Because these indi-

See also Leonard Schlup, “Utah Maverick: Frank J. Cannon and the Politics of Conscience in 1896,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 62, no. 4 (Fall 1994): 335-48; Kenneth Godfrey, “Frank J. Cannon,” in *Utah History Encyclopedia*, edited by Allan Kent Powell (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, on-line edition, 1998), and Peter Scarlet, “Disfellowshipped, Frank Cannon Fought Mormon Leaders Through Newspapers, Politics,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, 9 August 1997, on-line edition.

⁴ Joan Harrow, “Joseph L. Rawlins, Father of Utah Statehood,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 44 (Winter 1976): 59-75; Joseph L. Rawlins, *The Unfavored Few: The Autobiography of Joseph L. Rawlins* (n.p., 1956) compiled by his daughter Alta R. Jensen; Irving Dilliard, “George Sutherland,” *Dictionary of American Biography*, Supplement III, 1941-45 (New York:

viduals never were baptized and did not consider themselves Mormons, we do not include them in this analysis.

Jim Gibbons (R-Nevada; House 1997-present) is apparently from a Mormon family and was apparently baptized as a child, but does not identify himself as LDS.⁵ One member of the House of Representatives is Tom Udall (D-New Mexico: House 1999-present), the son of Stewart Udall (D-Arizona: House 1955-61). The younger Udall “considers himself ‘a non-practicing Mormon,’ but a Mormon nonetheless.”⁶ Elected at the same time was his cousin, Mark Udall (D-Colorado: House 1999-present), the son of Morris King (“Mo”) Udall (D-Arizona: House 1961-91). The father considered himself a Mormon; the son does not.⁷ For this analysis, we consider Tom but not Mark a Mormon.

Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1973), 753-56; Joel Frances Paschal, *Mr. Justice Sutherland: A Man Against the State* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1951); Hadley Arkes, *The Return of George Sutherland: Restoring a Jurisprudence of Natural Rights* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1994); Beverly B. Clopton, *The Story of Reva Beck Bosone* (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1980); U.S. House of Representatives, Office of the Historian, “Reva Zilpha Beck Bosone,” *Women in Congress, 1917-1990* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1991), 23-24; Hope Chamberlin, *A Minority of Members: Women in the U.S. Congress* (New York: Praeger, 1973), 207-9; Jane Edwards, “Reva Beck Bosone Built a Career of ‘Firsts,’” *Salt Lake Tribune*, 23 March 1997; and Twila Van Leer, “Legislator, Judge Filled Roles Galore,” *Deseret News*, 19 March 1996, on-line edition.

⁵ Christopher Smith, “Party of One: Harry Reid Is a Congressional Conglomeration—a Democrat, a Mormon, a Gaming Guru,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, 21 June 1998 and the Internet page of the American Civil Liberties Union (www.aclu.org/vote-guide) identify him as Mormon; however, when Gibbons himself provides information, he identifies himself as “Protestant.” See Philip Duncan, ed., *Politics in America: 2000* (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, 1999), 881, and Michael Barone and Grant Ujifusa, eds., *Almanac of American Politics: 2000* (Washington, D.C.: National Journal, 1999), 1003.

⁶ Lee Davidson, “More LDS Members in Congress Than Ever Before: 17,” *Deseret News*, 18 November 1998. Tom Udall’s press secretary provided his Church affiliation. *Politics in America 2000*, 902, which is based on information provided by the congressman, also gives his religion as Mormon.

⁷ *Politics in America*, 236, lists Mark Udall’s religion as “unspecified.”

In short, we include for our analysis members of Congress who identified themselves as Latter-day Saints.⁸ For most of this century, directories and biographical volumes, which solicited information from the individuals themselves, have included religion as a standard category of information about members of Congress.⁹ For Latter-day Saints who served in Congress in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, we have used standard historical material.¹⁰ We have used standard biographies as additional sources.¹¹

⁸ A further definitional wrinkle is dealing with members of Congress who are members of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints. We have found only one RLDS congressman—Leonard Boswell (D-Iowa, House 1996-present). He attended Lamoni High School and the RLDS university, then Graceland College, in Lamoni, Iowa, served twenty years as a pilot in the U.S. Army where he achieved the rank of lieutenant colonel, and served in the Iowa Senate for twelve years before his election to the House of Representatives. He and his wife are active members of the RLDS community. We do not include Boswell on our list because the RLDS Church is, in most regards except for a mutually shared history, distinct from the LDS Church. Furthermore, since one of the important issues examined is the relationship between the LDS Church and Mormons who serve in Congress, an RLDS legislator clearly is not relevant in this context.

⁹ *Who's Who in America* provides information about religious affiliation frequently though not universally. Two political directories of members of Congress and their congressional districts, published bi-annually, include religion with other biographical information: Congressional Quarterly's *Politics in America* edited by Philip Duncan, and National Journal's *Almanac of American Politics* edited by Michael Barone and Grant Ujifusa. This information is provided by the member of Congress. Congressional offices generally do not volunteer such information but provide it on request.

¹⁰ One of the best resources is James B. Allen and Bruce D. Blumell, "The Mormons and the Federal Government in Washington: A Summary," Historical Department of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (December 1976). It was originally prepared for a special issue of the *Ensign* in connection with the dedication of the Washington D.C. Temple but not used because of its length. Footnote 8 lists Mormons who served in Congress up to 1974 but inadvertently omitted Berkeley L. Bunker. We thank James Allen for kindly providing us with a copy of this paper.

¹¹ *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1996* (Alexandria, Va.: CQ Staff Directories, 1996) includes all individuals who

HOW MANY MORMONS HAVE SERVED IN CONGRESS?

From the first Congress's convening on 4 March 1789 through the swearing in of Zell Miller as a member of the Senate on 27 July 2000, 11,592 individuals have served in Congress—9,741 in the House of Representatives only, 1,227 in the Senate only, and 624 in both.¹² Of this number, 68 have been Latter-day Saints.

John T. Caine was the first Mormon seated in Congress as Utah's territorial delegate in 1851. Five of Utah's seven delegates elected before statehood (January 1896) were Mormons. Since 1896, fifty-seven Mormons have served in the House of Representatives, thirty of them representing Utah. Six also later served in the U.S. Senate. Eleven Mormons have represented Utah in the U.S. Senate. Three other Mormon senators represented Nevada. Florida, Oregon, and Idaho have each had one Mormon senator. Nevada was the first state to have a Mormon senator. Thus, since 1896, three times as many Mormons have served in the House (fifty-seven) as in the Senate (seventeen), with six serving in both chambers.

The imbalance in numbers reflects the larger size of the House. At Utah's statehood, the Senate had 90 members and today has only 100, while the House of Representatives went from 356 in 1896 to 435 in 1910. Since that date, the number has remained constant. Because Senate terms are for six years, while House terms are two, turnover is greater in the House. The average length of time in office for Mormons who have served in the Senate (excluding the five who are currently serving) is 12.3 years, while the average length of time in office of Mormons in the House of Representatives (excluding the twelve currently serving) is 8.5 years.

Idaho's population is 28 percent Mormon, but southeastern Idaho has an LDS majority, unlike western and northern Idaho. Idaho's second congressional district (southeastern Idaho) has

served in the Continental Congress (1774-88), and all members of U.S. Congress from the First Congress (4 March 1789) through 30 September 1996. Another useful biographical source is *Official Congressional Directory*, published at least once every Congress by the U.S. Government Printing Office. Unless otherwise noted, we took biographical information about members of Congress from these two sources.

¹² Congressional Research Service of the Library of Congress, information provided 27 July 2000.

elected only Mormon congressmen of both parties continuously since 1951. The first Mormon U.S. senator from Idaho, Michael Crapo, was elected only in November 1998. No other congressional district in the nation outside Utah and Idaho has a majority of Mormon voters.

The sixty-eight Latter-day Saints who have served in Congress constitute less than 0.6 percent of all members of Congress. This figure is less than 1.8 percent—the current proportion of Mormons in the U.S. population in 1995.¹³ The number of Mormons in Congress today, however, reflects a higher proportion of Church members in Congress than in the country as a whole. In the Senate, 5 of the 100 members (5 percent) are Mormon and, in the House of Representatives, 12 (2.7 percent) of the 440 members (including five territorial delegates), giving Latter-day Saints a combined 3.1 percent of all current members of Congress—well above the LDS portion of the population.

The total of seventeen Mormon members of Congress in the 106th Congress (1999-2000), however, will probably be the high-water mark for at least the next two years and perhaps longer. Five Mormon senators are almost certain for the next Congress and beyond, but the number in the House will drop by one at least. Two Mormon House members retire on 3 January 2001: Ron Packard (R-California) after eighteen years of service and Matt Salmon (R-Arizona) after six years of service. No Mormon candidate is in the race to succeed Packard. The Republican candidate for the Arizona first congressional district seat to succeed Salmon, however, is Jeff Flake, an active Mormon who served a mission in South Africa and Zimbabwe. Since Republican registration in that district is nearly 50 percent and Democratic registration is only 35 percent, it is quite likely that Flake will win that seat. While Mormons do not make up anywhere close to a majority of voters in that congressional district, the *Arizona Republic* notes: "Conservatives and members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints are a solid voting bloc in the district," and Mormon voters were probably crucial in Flake's win in the Republican primary.¹⁴ The third case where a change

¹³ *Deseret News: 1997-98 Church Almanac*, 188.

¹⁴ Jon Kamman, "Flake Rises Above Fray; Few Surprises in State," *Arizona Republic*, 13 September 2000, on-line edition; and "On Politics: Arizona/U.S. House 1," *Washington Post*, on-line edition; web page of

involves a seat held by a Mormon is the second congressional district of Utah (Salt Lake County). Mormon incumbent Merrill Cook (R-Utah: 1997-2001) lost the Republican primary in June 2000 to Internet entrepreneur Derek Smith. The Democratic candidate, energy consultant Jim Matheson, is the son of former Utah governor Scott Matheson. Since both candidates identify themselves as Mormon, this seat should remain Mormon whatever the outcome.¹⁵ One factor that could contribute to an increase in the number of Mormons in the House is the reapportionment among the states of seats in the House in 2002 on the basis of the results of the 2000 census. Utah will likely pick up a fourth congressional seat, and Arizona will probably pick up two additional seats.

Latter-day Saints have served in the Congress for the past century and a half. For the sake of analysis, we have broken this time into three roughly equal periods. From 1851 to 1896—the first period—five Mormons and two non-Mormons served as territorial delegates from Utah in the U.S. House of Representatives. (Utah was entitled to a single delegate.) The second period, 1896 to 1951, begins with Utah's admission as a state. With a single exception, the only Mormons elected to either house of Congress during this fifty-five-year period represented Utah. Beginning in 1951, the marker for the third period, at least one Mormon has served in Congress from outside Utah at all times. Since 1951, more members of the House have been elected from outside Utah than from Utah. Today, of the seventeen Mormons in Congress, five senators represent Utah and three other states. Mormons serving in the House include all three of Utah's representatives and nine Mormons from other states (four from California).

Changes in the number and nature of Mormons serving in Congress over these periods also reflect the changing relationship between the Church and the U.S. government, the increasing integration of Mormons into American society and the American politi-

congressional candidate Jeff Flake (www.jeffflake.com).

¹⁵ "U.S. House—Utah/District 2," *On Politics* washingtonpost.com. See also Mary Clare Jalonick, "Cook's Crumble Puts Utah Seat Up for Grabs," *Congressional Quarterly*, 25 September 2000 and "Incumbent Cook Defeated in Utah Primary," *Congressional Quarterly*, 28 June 2000, on-line edition.

cal community, and the changes in Mormon demographics and geographical distribution.

UTAH'S MORMON TERRITORIAL DELEGATES, 1851-96

During the first period, five Mormons and two non-Mormons served as Utah's territorial delegate. In only four of the forty-four years was the delegate a non-Mormon. (During 1881-82, no delegate was seated; see discussion below.) Not surprisingly, four of the five Mormon territorial delegates were Mormon converts, born outside Utah. John T. Bernhisel (territorial delegate: 1851-59, 1861-63) was born in Pennsylvania, joined the Church in New York City, and moved to Nauvoo in 1843.¹⁶ William H. Hooper (1859-61, 1865-71) was born in Cambridge, Maryland, moved to Illinois in 1835 where he was converted to Mormonism, and emigrated to Utah in 1850. George Q. Cannon (1871-81) was born in England, where his family was converted to Mormonism, and immigrated to Nauvoo, then to Utah. The House refused to seat him in 1881 because he was a polygamist and also a counselor in the First Presidency, even though he received by far the largest number of votes in the 1880 election. John T. Caine (1882-93), a convert from the Isle of Man, immigrated in 1846 and reached Utah in 1852. Not a member of the Church hierarchy or a polygamist, he was elected territorial delegate in November 1882 after Cannon was rejected in 1881 and seated as soon as he arrived in Washington instead of waiting for the usual seating of new members (then 3 March following the election). Caine was reelected for an additional four terms and served as territorial delegate for over ten years.

Frank Cannon, the fifth, was Utah's last territorial delegate, serving only one year before Utah's admission to statehood. Born in Utah, he was a third-generation Mormon who was subsequently elected senator.

MORMONS IN CONGRESS, 1896-1951

From Utah's admission as a state in 1896 until 1951, every Mormon in Congress was from Utah except for Bunker of Nevada. During these fifty-four years, fourteen Mormons represented Utah,

¹⁶ Gwynn W. Barrett, "Dr. John M. Bernhisel: Mormon Elder in Congress," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 36, no. 2 (Spring 1968): 143-67.

six in the Senate and eight in the House, while four non-Mormon senators and seven non-Mormon representatives were elected.

Although the number of Mormon and non-Mormon senators representing Utah seem surprisingly evenly divided, the Mormons accounted for eighty-five years (79 percent of the time), while non-Mormon terms total only twenty-three (21 percent). Reed Smoot, Utah's longest-serving senator, was elected to five six-year terms (1903-33), William H. King to four (1917-41), Elbert Thomas to three (1933-51), and Abe Murdock to one (1941-47). Arthur Watkins served two terms (1947-59), although most of his term extends into our third period. Frank Cannon was not reelected after his initial four-year term (1896-99).

Three of the four non-Mormon senators served a single term. Arthur Brown, elected to the initial two-year senatorial term in 1896, was not reelected, nor was former territorial delegate Joseph T. Rawlins after his initial election (D-Utah territorial delegate: 1893-95; Senate: 1897-1903). Thomas Kearns, a prominent Roman Catholic mining entrepreneur, likewise served only one term (1901-05).¹⁷ The exception was George Sutherland (1905-17), who served two terms, was president of the American Bar Association, and later served as an Associate Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court.

Utah's population limited it to a single representative in the House of Representatives until 1913, after the 1910 census, when it earned a second. During 1896-1951, fifteen Utahns served in the House, eight Mormons and seven non-Mormons. Like their ten counterparts in the Senate, Mormon representatives amassed sixty-eight years, while non-Mormon representatives accounted for only twenty-five years. Both Joseph Howell (R-Utah: 1903-17) and James W. Robinson (D-Utah: 1933-47), served seven two-year terms. Don B. Colton (R-Utah: 1921-33) and Walter K. Granger (D-Utah: 1941-53) served six terms, followed by Abe Murdock (D-Utah: 1933-41) with four (he also was elected senator for 1941-47). William A. Dawson (R-Utah: 1949-51, 1953-59) also served four terms, but three

¹⁷ The Utah Legislature deadlocked over a senator in 1899, and one of Utah's Senate seats was vacant for almost two years. Stewart L. Grow, "Utah's Senatorial Election of 1899: The Election That Failed," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 39, no. 2 (Winter 1971): 30-39. Until the Seventeenth Amendment to the Constitution was adopted in 1913, U.S. Senators were chosen by state legislatures, not by popular election.

of them fall in the next period. William H. King (D-Utah: 1897-01) and Milton H. Welling (D-Utah: 1917-21) both served two terms in the House, and King went on to twenty-four years in the Senate (1917-41).

Non-Mormon members of the House averaged much shorter terms. Elmer O. Leatherwood (R-Utah: 1921-29) was elected to five terms and served nine years, dying midway through his fifth term. James H. Mays (D-Utah: 1915-21) served three terms, and Reva Beck Bosone (D-Utah: 1949-53) served two. The other four non-Mormons served a single term: Utah's first representative Clarence E. Allen (R-Utah: 1896-97), George Sutherland (R-Utah: 1901-03), Jacob Johnson (R-Utah: 1913-15), and Frederick C. Loofbourow (R-Utah: 1930-33), who served a few months more than a full term since he was elected to complete Leatherwood's term.

The first Mormon outside of Utah elected to Congress was Nevada's Berkeley Lloyd Bunker. His grandfather, Edward Bunker, was a member of the Mormon Battalion, a polygamist, and the founder of Bunkerville, Nevada. Berkeley Bunker, a Democrat, was born in 1906 in the Mormon community of St. Thomas, Nevada, became a filling station operator in Las Vegas, and was elected for six years to the Nevada State Assembly (1934-40) where he chaired the Ways and Means Committee (1937-39) and became Speaker in 1939. On 27 November 1940 at age thirty-four when he was also bishop of the Las Vegas Ward, Bunker was appointed to complete the U.S. Senate term of the deceased Key Pittman. In 1942, he ran unsuccessfully in the Democratic primary for his Senate seat but, two years later, won Nevada's single seat in the House of Representatives (1945-47). He again ran for the Senate in the 1946 election but lost in the general election.¹⁸

¹⁸ "New Nevada Senator 'Tapped' for Office While Seeing Movie: Filling Station Operator Wept When Named to Pittman's Seat," *Washington Star*, 4 December 1940, A5. See also U.S. Congress, *Official Congressional Directory*, 78th Congress 2nd Session (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1942), 67; Ed Koch, "Bunker, First U.S. Senator from Southern Nevada, Dies at 92," *Las Vegas Sun*, 11 January 1999, on-line edition; and Shaun McKinnon, "Nevada Public Servant Bunker Dies at Age 92," *Las Vegas Review-Journal*, 22 January 1999, on-line edition.

MORMONS IN CONGRESS SINCE 1951

During the third period—1951 to the present—at least one or more Mormons has always served in the House of Representatives from a state other than Utah; and during most of that time, at least one Mormon senator from a state other than Utah has been seated. Eleven Mormons have served in the Senate and forty-six in the House, a total of fifty-six. These patterns reflect significant shifts in the size and location of the Mormon population and also changes in public attitudes toward Latter-day Saints.

The Utah Delegation

Utah, not surprisingly, has even more consistently sent Mormons to Congress during this period. Since 1951, every one of Utah's six senators has been Mormon: Arthur V. Watkins (R-Utah: 1947-59), Wallace F. Bennett (R-Utah: 1951-74), Frank E. Moss (D-Utah: 1959-77), Edwin Jacob ("Jake") Garn (R-Utah: 1974-93), Orrin G. Hatch (R-Utah: 1977-present), and Robert F. Bennett (R-Utah: 1993-present). During the same period, nineteen Mormons and only two non-Mormons have been elected to the House from Utah. Both non-Mormons served only one term.

Utah's nineteen Mormon members of the House since 1951 are: Walter K. Granger (D-Utah: 1941-53); William A. Dawson (R-Utah: 1947-49, 1953-59); Douglas R. Stringfellow (R-Utah: 1953-55); Henry Aldous Dixon (R-Utah: 1955-61); David S. King (D-Utah: 1959-63, 1965-67); M. Blaine Peterson (D-Utah: 1961-63); Lawrence J. Burton (R-Utah: 1963-71); Sherman P. Lloyd (R-Utah: 1963-65, 1967-73); Gunn McKay (D-Utah: 1971-81); D. Wayne Owens (D-Utah: 1973-75, 1987-93); Allan T. Howe (D-Utah: 1975-77); D. Daniel Marriott (R-Utah: 1977-85); James V. Hansen (R-Utah: 1981-present); Howard C. Nielson (R-Utah 1983-91); David S. Monson (R-Utah: 1985-87); William Orton (D-Utah: 1991-97); Enid Greene Waldholtz (R-Utah: 1995-97); Christopher B. Cannon (R-Utah: 1997-present); and Merrill Cook (R-Utah: 1997-2001).

In the House, Mormons accounted for 90 percent of the total time served during the territorial era (1851-96). This figure dropped to 83 percent during the second period (1896-1951) but, during the third period (since 1951), has climbed to 97 percent. Utah had no senators during the first period, but Mormons accounted for 79 percent of the total years served in the Senate during the second period and for 100 percent since 1951. Non-Mormons had repre-

sented Utah in the House almost 27 percent of the time during 1896-51. The increasing "Mormonization" of Utah's congressional delegation reflects the fact that Utah's population has become more Mormon throughout the twentieth century, from 61 percent in 1910 to 70 percent in 1980 and 75 percent by 1995.¹⁹

A second cause, interestingly enough, is the gradual withdrawal of LDS Church leaders from exercising direct influence over Utah elections. Ironically, in the early days of statehood, Church leaders used their considerable political influence to encourage the election of sympathetic non-Mormons whose presence was useful in countering the charge of political domination by Mormon leaders. For example, when Frank Cannon's behavior in Washington alienated Church leaders, they opposed his reelection and supported the successful candidacy of Thomas Kearns, a Roman Catholic businessman.²⁰ With the integration of Latter-day Saints into American society, it became less important to elect non-Mormons to Congress.

Mormons Representing States Other than Utah

Significantly, in addition to Berkeley Bunker's service in Congress, two of the five non-Utah Mormons to serve in the U.S. Senate have also represented Nevada, although in 1995 Nevada had a population that was less than 8 percent Mormon. Nevada's second Mormon senator was Howard Cannon (D-Nevada: 1959-83). Cannon, born in St. George, Utah, was the grandson of David H. Cannon, a brother of George Q. Cannon. Harry Reid (D-Nevada: House 1983-87; Senate 1987-present) is the third, and the only convert. The other fifteen Mormon senators are all descended from old Mormon families. Reid was born in a small Nevada mining town, and he and his wife joined the Church while he was attending college in Utah.

Three other states have each elected a Mormon senator. Paula Hawkins (R-Florida: 1981-87) represented Florida, which in 1995 had an LDS population of less than 1 percent. Hawkins, born in Salt

¹⁹ *Deseret News: 1983 Church Almanac*, 272, and *Deseret News: 1997-98 Church Almanac*, 258. Percentages of Mormons in other states cited hereafter are from the 1997-98 volume.

²⁰ Thomas G. Alexander, *Mormonism in Transition: A History of the Latter-day Saints* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986), 17-18; Miriam B. Murphy, "Thomas Kearns" and Kenneth Godfrey, "Frank J. Cannon," both in *Utah History Encyclopedia*.

Lake City, is the first Latter-day Saint woman to serve in either house of Congress and the first (and thus far only) Mormon senator from a state located east of Utah. Gordon Smith (R-Oregon: 1996-present), born in Oregon to parents of Mormon pioneer stock, represents Oregon, which has an LDS population of less than 4 percent.

Michael Crapo (R-Idaho: House 1993-99; Senate 1999-present) is the first Mormon senator from Idaho, even though 28 percent of the state's population is Mormon and Idaho's second congressional district has elected an unbroken line of Mormons since 1951. Latter-day Saints have been senatorial candidates in 1966, 1968, 1972, and 1992, but it was not until the 1998 election that Crapo succeeded, winning by a two-to-one margin with similar proportions of the vote in non-Mormon and Mormon areas of the state. Idaho elections may reflect the history of intense conflict between Mormons and non-Mormons as well as non-Mormon uneasiness about the heavy concentration of Mormon voters in eastern Idaho.²¹

The five Mormon senators serving since January 1999 are the highest number ever to serve at the same time. Previously, the highest number of Mormon senators serving simultaneously was four, and that number occurred only twice and for only a two-year period. Four Mormon senators served from 1981 to 1983 (Howard Cannon of Nevada, Jake Garn and Orrin Hatch of Utah, and Paula Hawkins of Florida). Four served simultaneously after 1997 (Orrin Hatch and Robert Bennett of Utah, Harry Reid of Nevada, and Gordon Smith of Oregon).

In the House of Representatives since 1951, Latter-day Saints have been elected from Idaho (seven), California (ten), Arizona (three), Nevada (two), and one each from Hawaii, the territory of American Samoa, New Hampshire, Oklahoma, and New Mexico.

Idaho. Idaho's first Mormon representative was Hamer Harold Budge (R-Idaho: 1951-61); followed by Ralph R. Harding (D-Idaho: 1961-65); George Vernon Hansen (R-Idaho: 1965-69, 1975-85); Orval Howard Hansen (R-Idaho, 1969-75); Richard Stallings (D-Idaho: 1985-93); Michael Dean Crapo (R-Idaho: House 1993-99, Senate 1999-present), and Michael Simpson (R-Idaho: 1999-present). Six of

²¹ See Merle W. Wells, *Anti-Mormonism in Idaho, 1872-92* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1978) and Grenville H. Gibbs, "Mormonism in Idaho Politics, 1880-1890," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 21, no. 4 (October 1953): 285-306.

the seven were born in Idaho and one was born in Utah. All but one descend from Mormon families. Five of the seven were Republicans, who together served for thirty-eight years (76 percent of the time), while the two Democratic representatives served for twelve years (24 percent of the time).

California. After Utah, California has provided the second largest number of Mormon representatives in Congress. Ten have been elected between 1953 and the present. The ten Mormon Congressman who have served from California are: John E. Moss (D-California: 1953-78), who represented a district centered on Sacramento; Delwin M. Clawson (R-California: 1963-78), who represented a district in Los Angeles County including Compton and Downey; Richard T. Hanna (D-California: 1963-74), who represented a district in Orange County; Kenneth W. Dyal (D-California: 1965-67), who represented a district in San Bernardino County; Clair W. Burgener (R-California: 1973-83), who represented a district in San Diego; Norman D. Shumway (R-California: 1979-91), who represented a district in northeastern California, including the eastern suburbs of Sacramento and the northern part of the San Joaquin Valley; Ronald C. Packard (R-California: 1983-2001), who represents a district in northern San Diego County and southern Orange County; Walter William ("Wally") Herger (R-California: 1987-present), who represents a largely rural district in north central California; John T. Doolittle (R-California: 1991-present), who represents a district that stretches north and east from the eastern suburban areas of Sacramento to the Nevada border; Howard Philip ("Buck") McKeon (R-California: 1993-present), who represents a district in northern Los Angeles County.

California's Mormon members of Congress form two clusters: those who were first elected in the 1950s and remained until the 1970s (Moss, Clawson, Hanna, Dyal, Burgener, Shumway), and those elected in the 1980s and 1990s (Packard, Herger, Doolittle, and McKeon). Of the early group, all were born out of state: three in Arizona, two in Utah, and one in Wyoming. All appear to be from Mormon pioneer families who originally settled in the Mountain West but whose families moved to California to find economic opportunities, many during the Great Depression. While this group was split three and three between the political parties, all four who were elected in the 1980s and 1990s are Republican. Three of the

four were born in California, and the other was born in Idaho. Apparently all are from Mormon families except Herger, a convert.

For the last three decades, California has had by far more population than any other state, and its 726,000 Mormons in 1995 make up 2.3 percent of that population. Next to Utah, California has the largest Mormon population, twice the number of Idaho. Unlike Idaho, no congressional district in California has anywhere close to a Mormon majority, and only once has a Mormon succeeded another Mormon. Norman Shumway (R-California: 1979-91) retired from Congress and was succeeded by John Doolittle (R-California: 1991-present) in what was then the fourteenth congressional district, but it is only coincidence that both were Mormons.

For most of the time since 1963, California Mormons in Congress have matched or exceeded the number from Utah. The largest number of Mormon representatives from California at any one time is four, and four have served simultaneously at three periods: 1965-67, 1973-75, and 1995-present. In 1965-67 the four Mormon representatives were Moss, Clawson, Hanna, and Dyal. In 1973-75 the four were Moss, Clawson, Hanna, and Burgener. Since 1993, the four Mormon representatives have been Packard, Herger, Doolittle, and McKeon. That number will drop to three in January 2001 following Packard's retirement.

Arizona. Three Mormons, two of them brothers, have represented Arizona in the House of Representatives. Stewart L. Udall (D-Arizona: 1955-61) was elected to represent the congressional district including Tucson. He resigned in 1961 when President John F. Kennedy appointed him Secretary of the Interior. His brother, Morris King ("Mo") Udall (D-Arizona: 1961-91) won the special election to replace him and held the seat until he resigned because of ill health after thirty years. Stewart and Mo are sons of Levi Stewart Udall, former chief justice of the Arizona Supreme Court, and great-grandsons of David Udall and Eliza King Udall, who converted to Mormonism in England and emigrated to Utah in 1851. Udall family members have been prominent throughout the twentieth century in that state's politics and economic development.

The third Mormon representative from Arizona, Matthew James ("Matt") Salmon (R-Arizona: 1995-2001), was born in Utah to a Mormon family. His district includes the eastern Phoenix metropolitan area, including Mesa, where the Arizona Temple is located. This area has a significant, but not a majority, LDS population. In

1995, Mormons constituted 6.3 percent of Arizona's total population.

Nevada. After Berkeley Lloyd Bunker's service (D-Nevada: Senate 1940-42; House 1945-47), Nevada did not elect a second Mormon to the House for more than thirty years. Harry Reid (D-Nevada: 1983-87) was elected to the House when the congressional reapportionment following the 1980 census gave Nevada a second congressional seat. His district was Las Vegas and the surrounding suburbs. In 1986, Reid won election to the Senate where he still serves. Nevada's Mormons constituted almost 8 percent of its population in 1995.

Hawaii. Cecil Landau Heftel (D-Hawaii: 1977-86) served nine years, then resigned to run unsuccessfully for governor. He was born in Chicago and attended Arizona State University, the University of Utah, and New York University. He was involved in the broadcasting business in Honolulu. Hawaii had a Latter-day Saint population in 1995 of almost 5 percent.

American Samoa. Eni F. H. Faleomavaega (D-American Samoa: 1989-present) is American Samoa's territorial delegate to the House of Representatives. Although territorial delegates cannot vote in plenary sessions, they can serve on and vote in congressional committees, speak on any issue in committee or in the House, and introduce legislation. Faleomavaega served one term as Lieutenant Governor of American Samoa, then was elected territorial delegate, which means that he has represented the territory more than half the time since it was awarded territorial representation in 1980. Although American Samoa has been a U.S. territory since 1900, it "has been little influenced by western settlers and remains almost as Polynesian as it was . . . in 1900."²² American Samoa, one of the most heavily Mormon areas in the world, had a Mormon population of 23 percent in 1995—slightly less than Idaho (28 percent) but a substantially higher proportion than any state other than Utah or Idaho.

New Hampshire. Richard Nelson ("Dick") Swett (D-New Hampshire: 1991-95) was the first Mormon elected to the House of Representatives from a state east of Utah and is the only Mormon ever elected to the House from a state east of the Mississippi River. He joined the Church as a student at Yale University. New Hampshire

²² Michael Barone and Grant Ujifusa, *The Almanac of American Politics 2000* (Washington, D.C.: National Journal, 1999), 1,782.

had a Mormon population in 1995 of less than 1 percent. Swett was a candidate for the U.S. Senate in 1996 in a race so close that national television networks mistakenly declared him the victor early on election night. In 1998 he became the first Mormon appointed U.S. Ambassador to Denmark.

Oklahoma. Ernest James Istook, Jr. (R-Oklahoma: 1993-present) represents a district that covers the most Republican parts of Oklahoma City and its northern suburbs. He was born in Fort Worth, Texas, of Hungarian ancestry and is a convert. In 1995, Oklahoma had a Mormon population of less than 1 percent.

New Mexico. Tom Udall (D-New Mexico: 1999-present), son of Stewart Udall, represents a district covering the northern third of the state, including Santa Fe. Most of the few small Mormon settlements in New Mexico are located in this district. Mormons, however, make up only 3.1 percent of the state's population.

DOES A MORMON IN CONGRESS HAVE DIVIDED LOYALTIES?

Traditionally, a critical issue about Mormons in Congress was whether they had conflicting loyalties between the Church and the nation. What an individual's highest loyalty should be is a legitimate question. Many political thinkers argue that the highest loyalty must be to one's nation or its stability and viability are jeopardized. Church leaders of most denominations, on the other hand, have argued that the believer's faith transcends anything that is simply "of this world," including national allegiance. This issue is particularly sensitive for Mormons since one of the crucial issues that delayed statehood for almost half a century was the widely held (and not inaccurate) perception that Latter-day Saints were intensely loyal to the Church and considerably less loyal to the United States. Could Mormons take an oath to uphold the Constitution and act in the national interest and in the interest of their constituents, or would they simply serve as agents of the Church leadership and obediently follow directions from Salt Lake City? It was an issue that was internally divisive as well, with Moses Thatcher eventually being dropped from the Twelve in April 1896 for refusing to sign a document agreeing to get the First Presidency's permission to stand for public office. For the most part, Mormons in Congress, particularly after the Reed Smoot hearings of 1904-06 (see below), found refuge in a totally pragmatic third option of devotedly serving their constituents. In the case of Utah's representatives in Congress, this *was* serv-

ing the Church. Since 1951 with the increasing numbers of Mormons in Congress representing non-Mormon constituencies, personal and partisan considerations have become more important.

The philosophical question became a political one in 1960 when John F. Kennedy, a Roman Catholic, successfully ran for U.S. President. A key campaign issue was whether he could act independently of the Papacy and the U.S. Roman Catholic hierarchy. In a celebrated speech to the Greater Houston Ministerial Association in September 1960, Kennedy emphatically reaffirmed his belief in an America where “no public official either requests or accepts instructions on public policy from the Pope, the National Council of Churches or any other ecclesiastical source—where no religious body seeks to impose its will directly or indirectly upon the general populace or the public acts of its officials.”²³

This matter is more complicated for Latter-day Saints. Kennedy was a prominent but lay member of the Roman Catholic Church. In contrast, most Mormon men serve in Church leadership positions, and many of those in Congress have also served at one level or another in the Mormon hierarchy. Their situation is perhaps closer to that of Robert F. Drinan, an ordained Jesuit priest (D-Massachusetts: 1971-81), who served five terms in the House of Representatives, the only Roman Catholic priest ever elected to Congress. A number of ordained Protestant clergy have been elected to Congress; however, American Protestants are generally loosely organized and anti-hierarchical, while Roman Catholics, like Latter-day Saints, have a strongly hierarchical church organization. Drinan retired when Pope John Paul II, concerned that Drinan was advocating social positions in Congress that were too liberal for the conservative Roman Catholic hierarchy, forbade priests from serving in public office.²⁴

Three questions dominated the nineteenth-century discussion

²³ “Speech of Senator John F. Kennedy, Greater Houston Ministerial Association, Rice Hotel, Houston, Tex., Monday Evening, September 12, 1960,” in U.S. Senate, Committee on Commerce, *Freedom of Communications: Final Report of the Committee on Commerce* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1961), 206-18.

²⁴ For a summary of Drinan’s career and political views, see Robert F. Drinan, *God and Caesar on the Potomac: A Pilgrimage of Conscience* (Wilmington, Del.: Glazier, 1985).

about the propriety and appropriateness of Mormons in Congress: (1) the Church's role and presumed dominance in Utah politics; (2) the obligations of Church membership which seemed contrary to the oath required of elected representatives to uphold and defend the Constitution, and (3) the practice of polygamy. While polygamy was not the most important of these concerns, it provoked such strong "moral" opposition that it became the focal point of the effort to deny Utah statehood and exclude some Mormons from Congress. Although the long and bitter controversy between the Church and the government was fought out over the surface issue of polygamy, the true underlying issue was the Church's role in politics.

In 1851 when John M. Bernhisel was seated in Congress as Utah's first territorial representative, his fitness was not an issue, probably because two of his three wives had left him and the Church did not publicly announce the doctrine of plural marriage until 1852.

The first challenge to an elected Latter-day Saint representative was filed against William H. Hooper (1859-61, 1865-71). In 1868 Hooper received 15,068 votes; and his opponent, a Mr. McGroarty received only 105. A full year after Hooper's seating as territorial delegate, McGroarty filed a claim with the House disputing Hooper's election on the grounds that "as a member of the Mormon Church he [Hooper] had taken an oath inconsistent with his duties as an American citizen and as a representative, and also that the Territory of Utah, under the control of the Mormon hierarchy, did not have a republican form of government, and that its institutions were inimical to those of the United States."²⁵ The House committee's report concluded: "Institutions dominated by such religious ideas as

²⁵ By "oath," McGroarty was referring to the temple endowment, which then included an "oath of vengeance" against the slayers of Joseph and Hyrum Smith. See David John Buerger, "The Development of the Mormon Temple Endowment Ceremony," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 20, no. 4 (Winter 1987): 52-54. B. H. Roberts, *A Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 6 vols. (1930; reprinted Provo, Utah: BYU Press, 1965), 5:363-66, spends considerable time refuting this claim that Mormons were therefore disloyal to the U.S. government. Chester H. Rowell, *A Historical and Legal Digest of all the Contested Election Cases in the House of Representatives of the United States from the First to the Fifty-Sixth Congress, 1789-1901* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1901), 216.

those of Mormonism were necessarily in a sense hostile to those of the United States, and that the evil of polygamy demanded action by Congress” but refused to set aside the election on the grounds that “there had been no such overt acts of disloyalty” from Hooper or evidence of “coercion of voters.”²⁶

When Apostle George Q. Cannon was elected Utah’s territorial delegate in 1872 by a total of 10,969 votes to George R. Maxwell’s 1,942, Maxwell contested the election on grounds similar to those advanced against Hooper but also charged Cannon with polygamy. The House Committee on elections, focusing on questions of voting irregularities, found that Cannon had the right to his seat but also found that Cannon had at least four wives, “the last of whom he had married since the passage of the [Morrill] act of 1862 making polygamy in the Territories a felony.”²⁷ The Republican majority recommended expelling Cannon, while the Democratic minority opposed expulsion. Because the matter did not come up until near the end of the congressional term, the House voted not to act.²⁸

Cannon served for the next eight years, then won the 1880 election 18,586 to 1,357. However, the conflict between the Church and the government had dramatically intensified. Utah’s territorial governor, Eli H. Murray,²⁹ a Presidential appointee who was unfriendly to the Mormons, declared Cannon’s opponent, Allen G. Campbell, the victor. Murray alleged that British-born Cannon was not a properly naturalized U.S. citizen and that, furthermore, he was not qualified for citizenship because he practiced polygamy. Cannon contested the governor’s decision before the House of Representatives, which, in 1881, declared the seat vacant and seated neither Cannon nor Campbell.³⁰ The Edmunds Act (1882), finalized

²⁶ Rowell, *Contested Election Cases*, 216.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 291-92. See also Roberts, *Comprehensive History*, 5:367-71.

²⁸ Rowell, *Contested Election Cases*, 298-99.

²⁹ The city of Murray just south of Salt Lake City is named for him.

³⁰ See Mark Wilcox Cannon, “The Mormon Issue in Congress 1872-1882 Drawing on the Experience of Territorial Delegate George Q. Cannon,” (Ph.D. thesis, Harvard University, 1961); U.S. House of Representatives, Committee on Elections, *Digest of Election Cases: Cases of Contested Elections in the House of Representatives, Forty-Seventh Congress, from 1880-1882, Inclusive* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office,

the issue by prohibiting polygamists from holding public office. Caine, a former territorial delegate and not a polygamist, was elected to the vacant seat in November 1882, seated that same month, and served until March 1893.

The Church achieved statehood after yielding to intense federal pressure to make certain accommodations. One was the withdrawal of public support for new plural marriages, announced as the Wilford Woodruff Manifesto in September 1890, and another was the dissolution of the Mormon People's Party in 1893.³¹ Lingering suspicions about the sincerity of these actions emerged when B. H. Roberts, a former mission president, senior president of the First Council of Seventy, and convicted polygamist, was elected to the House of Representatives in 1898.³² In this election, the second after statehood, Roberts ran as a Democrat and won 35,296 to 29,631. Twenty-four anti-Mormon ministers in Utah protested his election. Church President Lorenzo Snow published a letter of response in the *New York World*, arguing that Roberts "was not a church candidate in any sense of the word. The church had no candidate."³³ Unconvinced, the ministerial committee launched a national protest that resulted in presenting a "monster petition" with some seven million names to the House of Representatives urging that Roberts be denied his seat. A special House committee, appointed to examine the Roberts matter, reported back in six weeks recommending that Roberts be excluded. Among the reasons cited in the report was

1883), 604-67; *Congressional Record*, 18-19 April 1882; Rowell, *Contested Election Cases*, 298-99; and Roberts, *Comprehensive History*, 6:7-20, 45-50.

³¹ See Alexander, *Mormonism in Transition*, 3-36; Gustive O. Larson, *The Americanization of Utah for Statehood* (San Marino, Calif.: Huntington Library Press, 1971); and Edward Leo Lyman, *Political Deliverance: The Mormon Quest for Utah Statehood* (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1986).

³² Roberts was arrested for unlawful cohabitation in December 1886, released after posting a bond of \$1,000, then forfeited the bond and fled to England, where "for two years, he labored in the ministry" as assistant editor of the Church publication *Millennial Star*. He returned to Utah, surrendered to the court in 1889, served four months in prison, and paid a fine of \$200. Truman G. Madsen, *Defender of the Faith: The B. H. Roberts Story* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1980), 161-98.

³³ *New York World*, 30 December 1898, cited in Roberts, *Comprehensive History* 6:365.

the assertion that his election “is an explicit and offensive violation of the understanding by which Utah was admitted as a State.” The House voted 244 to 50 for his exclusion,³⁴ and Utah was without a representative in the House until 2 April 1900 when William H. King was seated following a special election.

The ultimate case of a Mormon’s fitness to sit in Congress was the Reed Smoot hearings just five years later. Smoot, a General Authority like Roberts (in fact, as an apostle, he outranked Roberts hierarchically) but not a polygamist, was elected to the U.S. Senate by Utah’s legislature on 20 January 1903. Smoot had received the First Presidency’s permission to be a candidate and also followed Church policy in taking a leave of absence from his Church duties. After his election, a group of Utah citizens, predominantly non-Mormon ministers, protested his election because he was an apostle and urged the Senate not to seat him. The Senate seated him and allowed him to function as a senator but also conducted an exhaustive investigation that lasted nearly three years. Many witnesses from Utah and Idaho appeared before the Senate, including Joseph F. Smith, then Church President. The testimony focused on Church involvement in politics, polygamy, and a whole range of other topics. Thirty months later, the Committee on Privileges and Elections reported its resolution that Smoot was “not entitled to a seat,” but the Senate rejected the resolution, with twenty-eight for expulsion, forty-two against, and twenty not voting.³⁵

The resolution of the Smoot case answered the question whether a monogamous Mormon, regardless of church position,

³⁴ See Madsen, *Defender of the Faith*, 241-72; Rowell, *Contested Election Cases*, 582-96; U.S. House of Representatives, *House Report No. 85*, 56th Congress, 1st Session; *Congressional Record*, 4-5 December 1899 and 23, 25 January 1900.

³⁵ U. S. Senate, Committee on Privileges and Elections, *Proceedings Before the Committee on Privileges and Elections of the United States Senate in the Matter of the Protests Against the Right of Hon. Reed Smoot, a Senator from the State of Utah, to Hold His Seat* (59th Cong. 1st sess., doc. 486), 4 vols. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1906); U.S. Senate, Committee on Privileges and Elections, *Reed Smoot*, 59th Congress 1st Session, Senate Report 4253, 2 parts; Milton R. Merrill, *Reed Smoot: Apostle in Politics* (Logan: Utah State University Press/Department of Political Science, 1990), 11-104; Roberts, *Comprehensive History*, 5:390-99.

could be seated in Congress. However, although Smoot was a Utah senator until he was defeated in 1932, no General Authority since has sought elective office.³⁶ Despite considerable social ostracism initially, Smoot earned the respect and acceptance of his colleagues and played an important role in Mormons' gradual acceptance in Congress over the next thirty years.

THE POLITICAL PRICE OF BEING MORMON

Despite the growth of the Church, Mormons constitute a majority in only four congressional districts—Utah's three and Idaho's second district. As a consequence, Mormons running for Congress in Utah emphasize their Mormon connections. Merrill Cook's (R-Utah: House 1997-2001) official biography lists his mission in England, and his Internet web page includes a link to the Church's official Internet site. Christopher Cannon's (R-Utah: House 1997-present) official biography notes that his wife served a mission in Spain. However, Mormon members of Congress from other states generally downplay Church membership, Church positions, or missions, except for attendance at BYU.

The situation generally holds true in the rest of the nation. In the mountain states and, to a lesser extent, on the Pacific Coast, Mormons are generally well regarded though still considered unusual. In other parts of the United States, however, Church membership is a political negative for candidates, attracts few voters, and raises questions in the minds of considerably more, even today. A 1999 Gallup poll of over a thousand American voters asked if they would vote for a candidate if their own political party "nominated a generally well-qualified person for president who happened to be

³⁶ Ezra Taft Benson, apostle and Secretary of Agriculture in Dwight D. Eisenhower's cabinet (1953-61), was appointed, not elected. During the Senate confirmation hearings, no question of fitness because he was a General Authority was raised. Eisenhower cited his Church leadership among the reasons for inviting him to serve in the cabinet. See U.S. Senate, Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, *Ezra Taft Benson, Secretary of Agriculture-Designate, Hearing before the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, January 15, 1953*, 1-28; Ezra Taft Benson, *Cross Fire: The Eight Years with Eisenhower* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1962), 11; and Dwight D. Eisenhower, *The White House Years: Mandate for Change, 1953-1956* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1963), 90.

_____.” Between 92 percent and 95 percent said they would vote for a Baptist, a Catholic, a Jew, an African American, or a woman, but only 79 percent would vote for a Mormon. Only two groups tested in this poll ranked lower than Mormons in political acceptance—homosexuals (59 percent) and atheists (49 percent).³⁷ In short, except in Utah and Idaho, Mormon membership even today is a political negative for political candidates.

The most recent and probably most visible example of this politically negative effect is the 1994 U.S. Senate race in Massachusetts. Mitt Romney, son of former Michigan Governor George Romney and a member of a prominent early Mormon family from Utah, was released as president of the Boston Massachusetts Stake, and challenged Democratic Senator Edward M. (“Ted”) Kennedy, a Catholic and brother of the slain U.S. President John F. Kennedy and former U.S. Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy.

The Massachusetts press and Romney’s opponent during the Republican primary first raised the issue of Romney’s religion. Kennedy, who was up for reelection after thirty-two years in the Senate, had a twenty-point lead in July and pulled back on his extensive campaign commercials during August. Meanwhile, Romney, who faced a strong opponent in the late September Republican primary, intensified his. Two days before the Republican primary, polls showed Kennedy and Romney in a dead heat. Galvanized, Kennedy began a negative campaign, emphasizing job losses resulting from industrial restructuring carried out by Bain Capital, the venture capital group which Romney headed. The reorganization of a firm in Indiana had resulted in a number of union job losses. Some of these Indiana workers came to Massachusetts and dogged Romney’s campaign appearances, energizing labor support for Kennedy. A second prong of attack was to question Romney’s position on social issues by citing conservative LDS positions. Questions raised included Romney’s views of the Church’s position on barring black men from priesthood ordination before 1978, opposition to the Equal Rights Amendment, the traditional role assigned Mormon women, the bar against their priesthood ordination, opposition to abortion, and opposition to homosexuality. Kennedy waffled on

³⁷ Gallup poll of 1,014 adults, conducted 19-21 February 1999, reported by Bulletin News Network, 11 March 1999. The margin of error was plus or minus 3 percent.

raising the religious issue. He first criticized Romney's Republican opponent for bringing it up, then brought it up himself during the latter part of the campaign, insisting that it was a legitimate political issue, but finally apologized.³⁸

The Church's well-known opposition to the ERA and views on women gave credibility to these questions. Romney took a moderate position on most of these social issues. He publicly stated that he would support the Freedom of Choice Act, legislation then under consideration in Congress to codify abortion rights. Romney's stand on homosexuality was also considerably more moderate than the Church's position, affirming that "all people should be allowed to participate in the Boy Scouts regardless of their sexual orientation." He publicly said he would not oppose a gambling casino in New Bedford, Massachusetts, if local residents favored it. Pro-choice groups endorsed Kennedy, who had a long pro-choice record, and pro-life groups reluctantly endorsed Romney. However, the national Conservative Victory Committee branded Romney an "anti-family

³⁸ A *Boston Globe* editorial, 15 February 1994, observed that "it is bruited about in [Republican] party circles that Romney's commitment to women's rights is suspect because it counters the teachings of the Mormon Church, which Romney serves as a stake leader, a lay title of some significance." The editorial took the position that it was inappropriate to question Romney's political views because of his faith and recalled the congressional service of Jesuit priest, Fr. Robert F. Drinan. See also these *Boston Globe* articles: John Aloysius Farrell, "The Mormon Factor: Like JFK Three Decades Ago, Mitt Romney Has to Overcome Religious Prejudice," 22 March 1994, 65-66; Frank Phillips and Don Aucoin, "Romney Quiet on Religious Beliefs: Was Local Leader in Mormon Church," 22 May 1994, 29, 37; Sally Jacobs, "Romney Blasts Lakian Mailing: Letters Raise Religion as Campaign Issue," 2 September 1994, 21, 26; Sally Jacobs, "Romney's 'Red Flag' Challenged: Lakian Says Rival Cites Religion to Stifle Debate," 3 September 1994, 21, 23; Frank Phillips, "Rep. Kennedy Apologizes to Romney on Mormon Issue," 24 September 1994, 13, 20; Scott Lehigh, "Kennedy Believes Mormon-Racial Questions Proper," 27 September 1994, 26; Scott Lehigh and Frank Phillips, "Romney Hits Kennedy on Faith Issue," 28 September 1994, 1, 22; Frank Phillips and Scott Lehigh, "Kennedy Shifts Stance, Says Religion Not a Campaign Issue," 29 September 1994, 1, 30; and Ben Bradlee Jr. and Daniel Golden, "Strategies Shaped an Epic Race: A Look Behind Kennedy-Romney," 10 November 1994, 38ff.

social liberal” and urged its members to work against him.³⁹ The controversy about the Church position and Romney’s views energized traditional Democratic voters, particularly women, and Kennedy won 58 percent to Romney’s 41 percent; however, it was Kennedy’s closest Senate race in his entire political career.

According to the *Salt Lake Tribune*, which gave the race considerable coverage, Romney received significant funding as a result of his Mormon links. He held a number of events in Utah, and Mormons elsewhere contributed to his campaign.⁴⁰

Three other examples had fewer fireworks but reflect the same phenomenon. In 1988, Andrew Wahlquist, former Chief of Staff to Senator John Warner (R-Virginia) and an active Mormon, was the leading candidate for the Republican nomination for U.S. Senate in Virginia. At the Republican state convention, Wahlquist campaign workers and family members were met with open hostility as they lobbied on his behalf. Followers of the Rev. Pat Robertson told them: “He’s not a Christian!” During the demonstration after Wahlquist’s speech at the convention, Robertson followers began chanting, “Mormon! Mormon! Down with Mormons!” The Robertson-dominated convention nominated a black minister, the Rev. Maurice Dawkins, as the Republican candidate for senator. Dawkins was defeated by Senator Chuck Robb by a margin of 71 to 29 percent—the largest margin in a Senate race in Virginia history.⁴¹

In 1994 George C. Landrith III, a Mormon who received his undergraduate education and law degree from Brigham Young University, challenged incumbent L. F. Paine (D-Virginia) for his House seat in the fifth congressional district. Paine conducted polls asking

³⁹ See these *Boston Globe* articles: Scott Lehigh and Frank Phillips, “Romney Under Fire for His Talk; Denies Charges of Anti-Gay Bias,” 16 July 1994, 13, 17; Scott Lehigh and Frank Phillips, “Lakian, Romney Try Finger-Pointing,” 9 September 1994; “Romney Backs Weld on Casino,” 20 October 1994; and Peter G. Gosselin, “Kennedy, Romney Continue Trading Charges over Facts,” 27 October 1994, 39. See also Associated Press, “Conservatives Withdraw Support of Romney,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, 24 October 1994, A14.

⁴⁰ See, for example, “The Rolly Report,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, 28 August 1994, A2, and 16 October 1994, A2.

⁴¹ Personal conversations with Andrew and Myra Wahlquist, 5 November 1999.

potential voters their feelings about Landrith's Mormonism. Although they generally felt negative about it, Paine did not publicly raise the religious issue and was reelected by a narrow majority.⁴²

In the 1998 campaign in Oklahoma's fifth congressional district, Mormon Ernest Istook (R-Oklahoma: 1993-present) was accused of "favoring the Mormon Church" through voting to support an appropriations bill that included funds for a light-rail system in Salt Lake City. Rather than being a substantive criticism of Istook, this issue was apparently a way of calling attention to Istook's religion.⁴³

POLITICAL AFFILIATION OF MORMONS IN CONGRESS

Significant changes in the political affiliation of Mormons in Congress have taken place since John Caine was seated by the House of Representatives in 1851. During most of the territorial period, Utah's delegates belonged to the Mormon People's Party, which was associated with the national Democratic Party. Only the last Mormon territorial delegate, Frank J. Cannon, was a Republican. His father, George Q. Cannon, who served earlier as a territorial delegate (1871-81), was elected as the People's Party candidate, sat on the Democratic side in the House, and was a member of the Democratic caucus.⁴⁴ Ironically, George Q. Cannon, as counselor in the First Presidency, was actively involved in the decision to dissolve the People's Party in 1893, encouraged Latter-day Saints to participate in the two national political parties, and was instrumental in establishing the Republican Party in Utah.

Although Mormon representatives to Congress included both Democrats and Republicans, for the first half century after statehood (1896-51), Democratic Mormons served a significantly greater number of years in Congress than Republicans. Between 1951 and 1981, political affiliation was evenly divided between the two parties. Since 1981, however, the identification of Mormons in Congress with the

⁴² Sally Jacobs, "Separation of Politics, Religion Is Often Elusive," *Boston Globe*, 2 October 1994, 1ff.

⁴³ Ron Jenkins, "Istook Assailed over Salt Lake City Aid," AP wire service, 21 October 1998.

⁴⁴ Personal conversation with George Q.'s grandson, Mark Cannon. *The Biographical Directory of the United States Congress*, 739, incorrectly identifies Cannon as a Republican. See also Schlup, "Utah Maverick," 336.

TABLE 1
Percentage of Time by All Mormons in Congress
According to Party Affiliation

<i>Period</i>	<i>Years</i>	<i>Percent Democrat</i>	<i>Percent Republican</i>
1851-96	41	98	2
1896-1951	165	61	39
1951-81	258	51	49
1981-99	251	30	70

Republican Party has been pronounced. (See Table 1.) Since 1994 when the Republicans won control of both House and Senate, the number of Mormon Democrats had declined even further. At present, only three of the seventeen Mormons in Congress are Democrats: Senator Harry Reid of Nevada, Eni Faleomavaega, territorial delegate of American Samoa, and Congressman Tom Udall of New Mexico. Furthermore, Republican Party leaders, particularly in Utah, but in other Western states as well, emphasize that the Republican Party's political views are consistent with Mormon values and beliefs while Democratic Party positions are not.

The picture is even more lopsided when only data for Mormons representing Utah are considered. The pronounced Utah tilt toward Republican representation in Congress in 1951-81 became even more dramatic after 1981. (See Table 2.)

This Republican tilt among Latter-day Saint political representatives has been a concern to Church leaders. In May 1998, Elder Marlin K. Jensen, a member of the First Quorum of the Seventy, gave an interview to the *Salt Lake Tribune*, which he said was "by assignment," i.e., at the direction of higher Church authorities. Jensen, an attorney and "lifelong Democrat," expressed concern that the Church has a reputation, in the reporter's words, of being "a one-party monolith." Jensen said: "There is sort of a division along Mormon/non-Mormon, Republican/Democratic lines. We regret that more than anything—that there would become a church party

TABLE 2
Percentage of Time by Mormons Representing Utah
in Congress According to Party Affiliation, 1896-2000

<i>Period</i>	<i>Years</i>	<i>Percent Democrat</i>	<i>Percent Republican</i>
1896-1951	161	60	40
1951-81	120	37	63
1981-2000	86	14	86

and a non-church party. That would be the last thing we would want to have happen."⁴⁵

Disappointingly, the November 1998 election six months later only confirmed the Republican trend as Utah elected all Republicans in each contested congressional race. A Republican political consultant who had predicted a major shift as a result of the Jensen interview, admitted: "There wasn't any major effect at all."⁴⁶ Senator Robert F. Bennett, who defeated his non-Mormon Democratic opponent nearly two to one, commented, "I don't think [Jensen] convinced anyone to switch, but what it did accomplish was to say to Mormons who are Democrats, 'It's all right, you can come out of the closet. You can tell your neighbors and not be embarrassed about it.'"⁴⁷

To the extent that Mormons are not represented fully in both political parties, this Utah "monolith" is cause for concern during times that Democrats are in the political ascendancy nationally. Fur-

⁴⁵ Dan Harrie, "LDS Official Calls for More Political Diversity," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 3 May 1998, A-1.

⁴⁶ Unnamed individual quoted in Mike Carter, "Church's Call for Political Diversity, Involvement Fell on Deaf Ears," Associated Press wire story, Salt Lake City, 7 November 1998, on-line edition.

⁴⁷ Kimberly Murphy, "Exit Polls Reflect Popularity of Bennett, Unpopularity of Clinton," Associated Press wire story, Salt Lake City, 7 November 1998, on-line edition.

ther, our data strongly suggest that political loyalty outweighs Church loyalty in the polling booth. In the 1992 U.S. Senate race in Idaho, Mormon Congressman Richard Stallings was the Democratic candidate and non-Mormon Richard Kempthorne was the Republican candidate. In the second district's seventeen counties—the most heavily Mormon part of the state—Stallings carried six counties while Kempthorne carried eleven. Stallings received 46.9 percent of the vote in these counties and Kempthorne received 52.1 percent.⁴⁸

The results of the 1996 gubernatorial race in Idaho also show that party took precedence over Church loyalty. Mormon Larry Echo Hawk, Democratic candidate for governor of Idaho, was the Attorney General (1992-94), a Pawnee, a stake high councilor, and a BYU graduate. His Republican opponent was not LDS. Out of twenty eastern Idaho counties, Echo Hawk carried only two. Exit polls reported that voters were Republicans first and Mormons second.

The 1998 race for the House seat in Idaho's second district again raised this issue. Former Congressman Richard Stallings (D-Idaho: House 1985-93), an active Mormon, returned missionary, and former Ricks College history professor, was the Democratic candidate, while his Republican opponent, Michael Simpson, was an inactive Mormon.⁴⁹ Furthermore, on social issues such as abortion, according to some press reports, Stallings was more conservative. Stallings said he would not use religion against Simpson, though he was willing to discuss the issue with the press. LDS Congressman Mike Crapo, who was running for the U.S. Senate in the same election and had an interest in playing down his religion since Idaho had never elected a Mormon senator, claimed that religion "is signifi-

⁴⁸ 1992 *Idaho State General Election, Abstract of Votes, 3 November 1992*, www.idsos.state.id.us/elect/abstra~1/92_gen.htm. It must be noted that this was a presidential race in which Democrat Bill Clinton fared badly, receiving only 28.4 percent of the vote in Idaho while Republican George Bush received 42 percent, and independent Ross Perot received 27 percent. In absolute numbers, Stallings received substantially more votes than Clinton and slightly more than Bush but, of votes cast in the senatorial race, only 43.5 percent.

⁴⁹ Pokey Allen, "LDS Faith Slips into Battle for 2nd Congressional Seat," *Idaho Statesman*, 10 August 1998, and Chris Onstott, "Democrats Leading in Western Elections," (BYU) *Daily Universe*, 2 November 1998.

cantly overplayed. People vote on the basis of principle.”⁵⁰ Simpson won the second congressional seat with 53 percent of the vote to Stallings’s 45 percent. Crapo also won with nearly 70 percent of the vote.

In short, the serious concern of non-Mormons in the late nineteenth century that Mormons would put loyalty to their church above loyalty to the country or to political party has clearly not been the case in congressional races in the twentieth century.⁵¹ Although it is tempting to speculate what effect a First Presidency announcement (as opposed to that of a member of the Seventy) might have on readjusting the party imbalance in Utah, Church members seem to share the social, economic, demographic, and regional influences of their non-Mormon neighbors.

CHURCH AND FAMILY BACKGROUND OF MORMONS IN CONGRESS

A demographic profile of Mormons in Congress shows that they are overwhelmingly born in the Church and from the Mormon heartland. The five Mormons who served as territorial delegates before Utah became a state, not surprisingly, were converts born outside Utah, with the exception of Frank Cannon. Of the fifteen Mormons who served in the House or the Senate between 1896 and 1951, fourteen were born in Utah and were second- or third-generation Mormons. Bunker, the only non-Utah Mormon in Congress during this period, was a third-generation Mormon born in a Mormon settlement.

A substantial majority of the Mormons in Congress since 1951 were also born in the Mormon heartland, and most are from long-time Mormon families. There are few converts, but finding specific information is difficult. Five of the six Mormon senators representing Utah since 1951 were born in Utah to long-time Mormon families; the sixth, Orrin Hatch, was born in Pennsylvania to Utah-born parents. During that same time period, of the nineteen Mormons who represented Utah in the House of Representatives, six-

⁵⁰ Quoted in Allen, “LDS Faith.”

⁵¹ An earlier example of party-centered loyalty occurred in the 1932 election, when neither Reed Smoot’s long-time service since 1903 nor his office as an apostle swayed Utah voters. As part of the national Democratic landslide, they elected Elbert Thomas (D-Utah: Senate 1933-51), an active Mormon but not a General Authority.

teen were born in Utah. Sherman P. Lloyd was born in the Mormon region of Idaho, Enid Greene Waldholtz was born in California to Utah-born parents, and Merrill Cook was born in Pennsylvania.

Of the six Mormons who served in the U.S. Senate from states other than Utah, Howard W. Cannon was born in St. George and Paula Hawkins was born in Salt Lake City. Berkeley L. Bunker was born in Nevada to a Mormon pioneer family. Gordon Smith was born in Oregon, but his parents are both from Mormon families with roots in Utah and Arizona. Only Nevada-born Harry Reid is a convert.

Of the seven Mormons elected to the House from Idaho, six were born in Mormon communities in Idaho. Richard Stallings was born in Utah, but his parents were not Mormons and he was “not raised in the Mormon culture.” He joined the Church as a teenager and served a mission to New Zealand.⁵²

Of the four Mormons in Congress from Arizona and New Mexico, the Mormon pioneering Udall family provided three: Stewart, Mo, and Tom. Matt Salmon was born in Salt Lake City. The ten Mormons elected to represent California districts include seven who were born in Mormon country. John E. Moss and Clair Walter Burchener were born in Utah. Delwin M. Clawson, Kenneth W. Dyal, and Norman D. Shumway were born in Arizona. Ron Packard was born in Idaho. Richard T. Hanna was born in Wyoming. The remaining three were born in California. John T. Doolittle and Buck McKeon were born to Mormon families. The third, Wally Herger, is apparently the only convert.

The other five Mormons in Congress were all born outside Mormon country and are all apparently converts: Cecil L. Heftel (D-Hawaii: 1977-86), Dick Swett (D-New Hampshire: 1991-95), Ernest J. Istook Jr. (R-Oklahoma: 1993-present), Eni F. H. Faleomavaega (D-American Samoa: 1989-present), and Harry Reid (D-Nevada: House 1983-87; Senate 1987-present).

This profile—that Mormons who have served in Congress are descended from Mormon families—is significant because it is disproportionate to the convert/cradle ratio in the Church as a whole. The rate of Church growth from conversions is three times the rate of growth from births to Mormons, even assuming that the inactivity

⁵² Quoted in Rocky Barker, “Stallings Sees His Main Job as Helping Common People,” *Idaho Statesman*, 6 October 1998.

rate for converts is greater than that for Mormon-born individuals. Scholarly studies of Mormon conversions have concluded that "at any given moment the majority of Mormons are first-generation converts."⁵³ This description is emphatically not true of Mormons in Congress.

While it would be an exaggeration to talk of Mormon political "dynasties," four families—the Udalls, Cannons, Kings, and Bennetts—have produced some generational continuities. David King Udall, son of Mormon pioneers David Udall and Eliza King Udall, was appointed leader of the Mormon settlement at St. Johns, Apache County, Arizona. Five of his descendants—four of them Mormon—have served in Congress.

Stewart (D-Arizona: House 1955-61), his brother Mo (D-Arizona: House 1961-91), and Stewart's son Tom (D-New Mexico: House 1999-present) served in the House of Representatives. Mo's son Mark (D-Colorado: House 1999-present) does not consider himself a Mormon. The fifth Udall is Gordon Smith (R-Oregon: Senate 1997-present), whose mother, Jessica Udall Smith, is a first cousin of Stewart and Mo Udall.⁵⁴

Four Cannon relatives have served in Congress: George Q. Cannon (territorial delegate: 1871-81); his son Frank J. Cannon (R-territorial delegate 1895-96; Senate 1896-99), and Christopher B. Cannon (R-Utah: House 1997-present), George Q.'s great-grandson. The fourth, Howard W. Cannon (D-Nevada: Senate 1959-83), is a grandson of David H. Cannon, George Q.'s brother.

With two representatives each are father William Henry King (D-Utah: House 1897-99 and 1900-01; Senate 1917-41) and son David S. King (D-Utah: House 1959-63 and 1965-67). William H., Utah's second representative in Congress after statehood, chose not to run

⁵³ Rodney Stark, "Modernization and Mormon Growth," in *Contemporary Mormonism: Social Science Perspectives*, edited by Marie Cornwall, Tim B. Heaton, and Lawrence A. Young (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994), 14, and Rodney Stark and Lynne Roberts, "The Arithmetic of Social Movements: Theoretical Implications," *Sociological Analysis* 43, no. 1 (1983): 53-67.

⁵⁴ Stewart and Mo Udall are sons of Levi Stewart Udall, the son of David King Udall and his first wife, Eliza Luella Stewart. Jessica Udall Smith is the daughter of Jesse Addison Udall, who is the son of David King Udall and his second wife, Ida Frances Hunt.

for reelection in 1898. When B. H. Roberts was elected but the House of Representatives refused to seat him, King won a special election to complete that term. Later, he was elected to the U.S. Senate, where he served for twenty-four years. David S. served three terms in the House of Representatives, was defeated in a bid for the Senate (1962), rewon his House seat in 1964, but lost a reelection effort in 1966.

The other father-son pair is Wallace F. Bennett (R-Utah: Senate 1951-74) who served in the Senate for twenty-four years, and Robert F. Bennett (R-Utah: Senate 1992-present). The Bennett family is prominent in Utah business and well connected by marriage to Mormon Church presidents. Wallace married Frances Grant, the daughter of Heber J. Grant (1918-45), and Robert married Joyce McKay, a granddaughter of David O. McKay (1951-70).

Only two Mormon women have served in the Congress. The first, Paula Hawkins (R-Florida: Senate 1981-87), was defeated after one six-year term. Enid Greene Waldholtz (R-Utah: 1995-97), the first Utah Mormon woman elected to the House—ninety-nine years after statehood—did not run for reelection after serious charges of campaign irregularities and financial scandal involving her husband Joseph Waldholtz. This very small number stands in sharp contrast to Utah's record of being one of the earliest states to grant women the right to vote.⁵⁵

MORMON VALUES AND MORMONS IN CONGRESS

Mormons are proud of the virtues their religion inculcates, particularly hard work, community service, the importance of good families, honesty, and integrity.⁵⁶ Are these virtues evident among

⁵⁵ Two non-Mormon women have been elected to the House from Utah: Reva Beck Bosone (D-Utah: 1949-53), who served two terms, and Karen Shepherd (D-Utah: 1993-95), elected forty-four years later for one term.

⁵⁶ The public embarrassment of Mormons over the scandal of the Salt Lake City Olympic games, frequently mentioned in the national media reports, illustrates both the importance of these values to Mormons and the extent to which they are attributed to Mormons by those outside the faith. See, for example, Bill Brubaker, "For Mormons, Uncomfortable Reflections; Group Known for Its Morality Considers Glare of Olympic Scandal," *Washington Post*, 15 February 1999, D1.

the Mormons in Congress? Not universally. Members of Congress as a group are probably no more prone to ethical problems, financial reverses, and moral lapses than any group of Americans, but their position brings acute scrutiny, and Mormons' misbehavior is particularly conspicuous when it occurs. Mormons in Congress who have had ethical problems include both Republicans and Democrats, both Mormons from Utah and those from other states.

Enid Greene Waldholtz (R-Utah House: 1995-97) was elected to the House of Representatives as part of the 1994 Republican national sweep of the House of Representatives. She was the first first-termer in eighty years appointed to the prestigious House Rules Committee, and her popularity was only increased when she gave birth to her daughter, Elizabeth, during her term—the second representative in the history of Congress to do so. However, her political career skidded sharply when her husband, Joe Waldholtz, who was her campaign treasurer and a former national treasurer of the Young Republicans, was indicted for bank fraud, campaign finance abuses, and tax evasion. Her 1994 campaign had been illegally financed with \$1.8 million from her father, which he had “loaned” to the couple based on lies by Joe Waldholtz that he held sufficient non-liquid assets to more than cover the loans. In November 1995 as federal officials sought Joe for questioning, he disappeared, reappearing several days later in his attorney's custody.

Congresswoman Waldholtz was an experienced attorney, and campaign workers testified that they had called irregularities to her attention. In a lengthy and tearful press conference in Salt Lake City before a phalanx of local and national television cameras, she disclaimed any knowledge of or responsibility for the violation of campaign laws and the serious personal financial irregularities. Following a lengthy investigation, she was not charged by federal law enforcement officials, but Joe pleaded guilty to bank fraud, filing a false federal election financial report, and filing a fraudulent tax return. Enid divorced Joe, won sole custody of Elizabeth, and legally changed her name back to Greene. The *Salt Lake Tribune* described her career as “the most spectacular downfall of any 2nd [congressional] District representative” and labeled the events “the fraud-riddled Enid Greene-Joe Waldholtz soap opera.”⁵⁷

⁵⁷ Dan Harrie, “The Jinx of 2nd District? Curse Doesn't Spook Cook,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, 4 May 1997, on-line edition. See also Lee Benson,

Congressman George Hansen (R-Idaho: House 1965-69, 1975-85) was convicted in U.S. district court in 1984 for failure to report \$335,000 in loans and investment profits between 1978 and 1981 on his annual congressional financial disclosure forms, which all members of Congress are required to file under the Ethics in Government Act. Hansen was sentenced to serve five to fifteen months in prison and fined \$40,000. The House Ethics Committee then conducted its own investigation. Upon its recommendation, the House voted to reprimand Hansen, although it did not expel him.⁵⁸ Hansen lost the 1984 congressional election by 170 votes to Mormon Richard Stallings (D-Idaho: House 1985-93). He appealed his conviction all the way to the U.S. Supreme Court twice, but began serving his prison sentence in 1986 when the Court refused to hear his appeal.⁵⁹ After his release, Hansen was convicted in federal court on unrelated charges of check-kiting and was again sentenced to serve time in prison.

In 1995, the Supreme Court found the federal law upon which Hansen's 1984 conviction was based inapplicable in another case. Hansen petitioned the House Ethics Committee to reopen his case, vacate its earlier decision, take the issue again before the House of Representatives, reverse the earlier reprimand, and reimburse him for legal expenses in the matter.⁶⁰ The committee made no public response to Hansen's request, but a federal judge ordered Hansen released from jail in March 1996 where he had been serving time on

Blind Trust: The True Story of Enid Greene and Joe Waldholtz (Sandy, Utah: Agreka Books, 1997); *Congressional Quarterly Almanac: 104th Congress, 1st Session 1995* (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, Inc., 1996), I-55; and *Congressional Quarterly Almanac: 104th Congress, 2nd Session 1996*, I-38.

⁵⁸ U.S. House of Representatives, Committee on Standards of Official Conduct, *In the Matter of Representative George V. Hansen: Report of the Committee on Standards of Official Conduct, House Report 98-891 of July 19, 1984*, 2 vols. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1984).

⁵⁹ See *Congressional Quarterly Almanac 98th Congress 2nd Session 1984*, 210-11; and *CQ Almanac 99th Congress 2nd Session 1986*, 45-48.

⁶⁰ George Archibald, "Judge Orders Ex-Rep. Hansen Freed from Federal Prison Early," *Washington Times*, 27 March 1996, 11; and Nathan Lewin and Stephen L. Braga, Letter to Hon. Nancy L. Johnson, Chairperson, Committee on Standards of Official Conduct, 27 March 1996; photocopy in our possession.

the check-kiting conviction. Hansen, a Republican, blamed vindictive federal prosecutors for his legal problems, but the cases against him were, in fact, initiated by the Justice Department during the administrations of Republican Presidents Ronald Reagan and George Bush.

In July 1976, Utah Congressman Allan Howe (D: House 1975-77) was arrested in the midst of his reelection campaign for soliciting sex for hire from two undercover Salt Lake City policewomen posing as prostitutes. At his subsequent trial, he was sentenced to thirty days in jail and fined \$150. Howe appealed the decision of the municipal court, and a month later was found guilty by a jury in a state district court. Despite public pleas from Democratic Party leaders in Utah and the resignations of all but one of his paid campaign staff, Howe refused to withdraw his candidacy and lost the election that fall.⁶¹ Despite this widely publicized embarrassment, Howe received 43 percent of the vote, while Democratic presidential candidate Jimmy Carter received only 35 percent of Utahns' votes. Currently, Howe is an active member of the Church and recently served as high counselor in a stake in the Washington, D.C., area.

Richard T. Hanna (D-California: House 1963-74) was the only member of Congress convicted in the notorious "Koreagate" or "Ricegate" scandal which the *Washington Post* described as "the most sweeping allegations of congressional corruption ever investigated by the federal government." In a forty-count indictment, Hanna was accused of bribery, accepting an illegal gratuity, mail fraud, and failure to register as a foreign agent—the first time this particular charge had been levied against a member of Congress. He did not run for reelection in 1974 and resigned a few weeks before the end of his final term. On 17 March 1978, Hanna pleaded guilty to one count of conspiracy to defraud the government, admitting that he had agreed to use his office to help South Korean rice dealer Tongsun Park and had received \$200,000 for his efforts between 1969 and 1975. Hanna was sentenced to thirty months in a federal prison where another inmate was John Mitchell, Nixon's attorney general convicted in the Watergate scandal.⁶²

⁶¹ Harrie, "The Jinx of 2nd District?" on-line edition; and *CQ Almanac 94th Congress 2nd Session, 1976*, 11.

⁶² See Robert B. Boettcher, *Gifts of Deceit: Sun Myuonng Moon, Tongsun Park, and the Korean Scandal* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1980);

One of the more bizarre cases of misbehavior from a Mormon congressman was Douglas Stringfellow (R-Utah: House 1953-55). Stringfellow, a crippled radio journalist, gave spell-binding public speeches about his heroic military exploits and brutal torture during World War II. The accounts, however, were totally false. When press reports began to cast doubt on his war record, Defense Department officials were reluctant to provide the records that would confirm that he was making false statements for fear of offending a Congressman. Finally, on 16 October 1954, Stringfellow publicly acknowledged his fabrications and withdrew from the reelection campaign two days later. His decision to confess and withdraw as a candidate came after meeting with Church President David O. McKay.⁶³ In one of the most remarkable successes in American political history, Utah's Republican Party selected Henry Aldous Dixon, LDS president of Utah State University, as its candidate only three weeks before the election. Although Dixon spent only \$2,000 on his campaign, he still won the election and served three terms (six years) in the House.

While these episodes show Waldholtz, Hansen, Hanna, Howe, and Stringfellow in an unflattering light both as Latter-day Saints and as members of Congress, far more Mormons in Congress have exemplified the values and virtues of hard work, loyalty, integrity, honesty, commitment to principle, and dedication to family. A number of Mormons in Congress have served on the ethics committees of either house. Sitting in judgment on colleagues is not a pleasant or sought-after assignment, but it is recognized as a necessary duty that requires individuals of high integrity. Howard Cannon served as Chairman of the Senate Select Committee on Standards and Conduct (1973-77) and Harry Reid is the Democratic Co-Chairman of the Senate Ethics Committee. In the House, James V. Hansen served

CQ Almanac, 94th Congress 2nd Session 1976, 32; CQ Almanac, 95th Congress 1st Session 1977, 820-25, 63A-64A; CQ Almanac 95th Congress 2nd Session 1978, 803-11.

⁶³ See Frank H. Jonas, *The Story of a Political Hoax*, Research Monograph No. 8, University of Utah, Institute of Government (Salt Lake City, 1966); "Veterans: The Hoax," *Time*, 25 October 1954, 17; "The 'Hero's' Confession," *Newsweek*, 25 October 1954, 30; and "Just the Facts," *Newsweek*, 1 November 1954, 56.

as chairman of the House Committee on Standards of Official Conduct (1997-99).

As a young senator, Wallace F. Bennett helped establish the National Prayer Breakfast. This annual event brings together national leaders of both parties and of all faiths for an annual prayer service to acknowledge reliance on a higher power. His son, Robert F. Bennett, assumed a position of leadership in the prayer breakfast organization after his election to the Senate. Certainly their Mormon values were important in their leadership in this effort.

The unyielding commitment to principle by many of the Mormons who served in Congress also reflects their religious values. Some of these individuals have affirmed these principles even at high personal cost. Frank Cannon, like many other Western political leaders, supported free coinage of silver at a ratio of sixteen to one with gold because he felt it would benefit the nation's economy and limit the unhealthy influence of eastern capitalists. He delivered a dramatic and defiant speech at the Republican National Convention of 1896 denouncing the party's plank, then led the first-ever delegate walk-out at a Republican national convention. As one historian observed, "Cannon's conscience commanded his course in 1896. Silver for him was a symbol of revolt, a moral question, and a sacred dogma."⁶⁴ Because the Republican Party nominated pro-gold William McKinley as its presidential candidate, Cannon supported Democrat William Jennings Bryan. Utah's citizens gave Bryan an overwhelming 83 percent while only 17 percent went to McKinley in 1896. After Cannon failed to win reelection to the Senate in 1898 or 1899 as a Republican, he joined the Democratic Party and served a term as the party's state chairman (1902-04).

Arthur V. Watkins (R-Utah: Senate 1947-59) had a reputation among his colleagues for integrity and probity which had its roots in his Mormon heritage. In 1954 when the Senate finally was forced to deal with Wisconsin Senator Joseph R. McCarthy for his reckless and defamatory anti-Communist demagoguery, the Senate Republican Majority leader named Watkins chair of the "Select Committee to Study Censure Charges Against the Senator from Wisconsin, Mr. McCarthy." Significantly, scholars of that era invariably recall Watkins's Mormon background when they discuss his leadership.

⁶⁴ Schlup, "Utah Maverick," 345.

McCarthy's biographer, for example, noted: "A leader in the Mormon Church, [Watkins] was respected for his scrupulous ethics, cold objectivity, and personal courage."⁶⁵ Another described Watkins as "a thin and ascetic Mormon from Utah with an unbending devotion to order and propriety."⁶⁶ A third linked his skill as chair with his Mormon background: "Arthur V. Watkins was a Mormon elder from Orem, Utah, a gaunt patriarch who, it was soon discovered, could play variations on the crack of doom with a chairman's gavel. . . . Without Watkins, the Committee might well have been eaten by McCarthy."⁶⁷ Watkins thus played a critical role in ending McCarthy's anti-communist excesses and gross violation of civil liberties. Despite well-deserved praise from both his contemporaries and historians of that era, his campaign for reelection in 1958 failed.⁶⁸

Congressman Ralph Harding (D-Idaho: House 1961-65) was willing to speak out on an issue of principle even when doing so probably cost him his seat in Congress. On 25 September 1963, in a speech in the House of Representatives, Harding sharply criticized former Secretary of Agriculture and Apostle Ezra Taft Benson for his support of the ultra-conservative John Birch Society. In the controversy which followed, Harding received letters commending him from former Republican President Dwight D. Eisenhower, who was vilified by the Birch Society. In the fall of 1963 after Harding's criticism of him, Benson continued to deliver controversial conservative

⁶⁵ Thomas C. Reeves, *The Life and Times of Joe McCarthy: A Biography* (Lanham, Md.: Madison Books, 1997), 646.

⁶⁶ Robert Griffith, *The Politics of Fear: Joseph R. McCarthy and the Senate*, 2d ed. (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1987), 295.

⁶⁷ Richard H. Rovere, *Senator Joe McCarthy* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1959), 223. See also Arthur V. Watkins, *Enough Rope: The Inside Story of the Censure of Senator Joe McCarthy by His Colleagues* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall/Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1969).

⁶⁸ Nationally, Democrats dominated the election, and Utah Republicans were split by J. Bracken Lee's third-party candidacy. Scholars of Utah politics, however, also include Utahns' fears of Communism and disapproval of his committee chairmanship as key reasons for his defeat. Patricia Lyn Scott, "Arthur Vivian Watkins," in *Utah History Encyclopedia*, edited by Allan Kent Powell (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1994).

political speeches and publicly endorsed the Birch Society. In late 1963 Benson was assigned to preside over the European Mission and left for Britain in early 1964. In response to a letter from an Idaho Church member, Clare Middlemiss, secretary to Church President David O. McKay, said that Benson was sent to Europe "by inspiration to preside over the European mission" and said that "there is no truth whatever in the rumors you related in your letter" that he had been sent to Europe to remove him from political activity in the United States. However, in a letter to Congressman Harding, Joseph Fielding Smith, then president of the Quorum of the Twelve, said, "I am glad to report to you that it will be some time before we hear anything from Brother Benson, who is now on his way to Great Britain where I suppose he will be, at least for the next two years. When he returns I hope his blood will be purified." Despite these statements of support for Harding, the controversy probably cost him his seat. Benson was born in Idaho and was popular in the Mormon community there. Harding narrowly lost his bid for reelection to Congress in 1964 by a margin of 47.8 percent to his opponent's 52.2 percent.⁶⁹

THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF MORMONS IN CONGRESS

Public service is difficult to measure. The ability to impact public policy grows from circumstances over which individuals usually have limited control: the situation, the issues, being in the right position to act, and having the right combination of personal abilities. No Mormon has served as Speaker of the House or as majority or minority leader of either party in either body. The most senior Latter-day Saint ever to serve in the elected congressional leadership is Harry Reid, who in January 1999 was elected Senate Democratic Whip, the second ranking position in the Senate Democratic cau-

⁶⁹ Statement of Hon. Ralph Harding of Idaho, *Congressional Record*, 25 September 1963, pp. 18,125-28. When Harding spoke in the House of Representatives, Mo Udall, calling attention to his own Mormon background, seconded his comments about the Birch Society. On the controversy involving Benson and Harding, see the *Ogden Standard Examiner*, 21 February 1964; documents provided by Ralph Harding and text of documents in the possession of Gregory A. Prince. Election results from *Congressional Quarterly Almanac 1964*, 1,032.

cus.⁷⁰ William H. King served briefly as the Senate's President Pro Tempore from 19 November 1940 to 3 January 1941.⁷¹

A number of Latter-day Saint senators and representatives have presided over full committees, which places them in the senior leadership of the Congress. Committee chairmen play key roles in setting public policy and developing federal law, but being chosen for such positions is a function of luck and longevity rather than personal leadership. Chairmanships in both House and Senate usually go to the majority member of the committee who has served on it the longest. For example, Utah Senators Wallace F. Bennett and Jake Garn both served on the Senate Banking Committee; but during Bennett's twenty-four years in Congress, Republicans controlled the Senate for only his third and fourth years in office. Thus, he was the senior Republican on the Banking Committee for many years but never its chair. Garn, who replaced Bennett in December 1974, had served only six years in Congress when the Republicans took control of the Senate. Because Garn happened to be the senior Republican on that committee, he became its chair for the six years that Republicans controlled the Senate (1981-87). During his tenure Garn played a key role in restructuring banking and savings and loan entities; an important banking bill carries his name (the Garn-St. Germain Act).

Eleven Mormons have served as a full committee chairs, seven in the Senate and four in the House. Although there are less than one-fourth as many senators as representatives, there are about the same number of committees. Therefore, a much higher proportion of senators serve as full committee chairs. Furthermore, the proportion of Mormons in the Senate has always been higher than the proportion in the House.

William H. King (D-Utah: House 1897-99, 1900-01; Senate 1917-41) served as chairman of the Committee on Expenditures in

⁷⁰ "Nevada Senator Serving as Minority Whip in 106th Congress," *Church News*, 6 February 1999, 5.

⁷¹ The President Pro Tempore presides over the Senate in the Vice President's absence. A largely ceremonial post, by tradition it goes to the senator of the majority party with the longest service. Since 1947 the President Pro Tempore is third, after the Vice President and the Speaker of the House in the line of presidential succession.

the Post Office Department (1917-19) and Committee on the District of Columbia (1933-41).

Reed Smoot (R-Utah: Senate 1903-33) holds the record as the chair of six committees: on Patents (1907-09), on Printing (1909-13), on Public Lands (1911-13, 1921-23), on Public Lands and Surveys (1923-25), on Expenditures in the Interior Department (1913-19), and on Finance (1923-33).

James W. Robinson (D-Utah: House 1933-47) chaired the Committee on Public Lands (1939-43) and the Committee on Roads (1943-47).

Elbert Thomas (D-Utah: Senate 1933-51) chaired the committees on Education and Labor (1937-45), on Military Affairs (1945-47), and on Labor and Public Welfare (1949-51).

Don B. Colton (R-Utah: House 1921-33) served as chair of the Committee on Public Lands (1927-31) and Committee on Elections No. 1 (1927-31).

Frank E. Moss (D-Utah: Senate 1959-77) chaired the Committee on Aeronautical and Space Sciences (1973-77).

Howard W. Cannon (D-Nevada: Senate 1959-83) served as chair of the Joint Inaugural Committee (1972, 1976), the Ethics Committee (1973-77), the Joint Committee on the Library (1977-79), and Committee on Commerce (1977-81).

Morris K. ("Mo") Udall (D-Arizona: House 1961-91) chaired the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs (1977-91).

Jake Garn (R-Utah: Senate 1974-95) chaired the Committee on Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs (1981-87).

James V. Hansen (R-Utah: House 1981-present) chaired the Committee on Standards of Official Conduct (House Ethics Committee) (1997-99).

Orrin G. Hatch (R-Utah: 1977-present) has been chair of the Committee on Labor and Human Resources (1981-87) and the Committee on the Judiciary (1995-present).

Their impact on U.S. public policy has varied depending upon the times and circumstances during which they served, the length of time they served, and their own interest and commitment to the areas of their committee jurisdiction. Howard Cannon, who chaired the Senate Commerce Committee, played an important role in regulating the trucking industry. Orrin Hatch significantly influenced health, labor, and education legislation as chairman of the Committee on Labor and Human Resources. To pass a number of initiatives,

Hatch, one of the most conservative senators, more than once formed an unusual alliance with Edward Kennedy, the Senate's most visible liberal icon. In chairing the Committee on Judiciary, Hatch has taken the lead on a number of legal issues, including anti-trust matters, and has played an important role in confirming federal judges. For ten of Smoot's thirty years, he chaired the powerful Senate Finance Committee. For twelve of Elbert Thomas's eighteen years, he headed the committees on Education and Labor, Military Affairs, and Labor and Public Welfare, helping to enact Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal reforms and influencing U.S. international policy in the early Cold War. During Mo Udall's fourteen years as chair of the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, he had a key role in legislation to protect the environment, public lands, and national parks.

A much larger number of Mormons in Congress have chaired subcommittees or served as the ranking minority party member of committees and subcommittees. In 1974, Wayne Owens of Utah, a first-term member of the House Judiciary Committee, participated in its hearings and deliberations regarding the impeachment of Richard M. Nixon. A quarter century later, Chris Cannon, on the same committee, considered the impeachment of Bill Clinton and was appointed one of thirteen House "managers" to conduct the trial in the U.S. Senate.

In this list of sixty-eight Mormons in Congress over the past century and a half, two stand out for their significant contributions. Both served for thirty years, one in the Senate, the other in the House. One was a Republican, the other a Democrat. One was among the most conservative members of Congress, the other among the most liberal. One was stern and formal, the other noted for his self-deprecating homespun humor. One was an apostle, the other inactive. The two are Senator Reed Smoot of Utah and Congressman Morris Udall of Arizona.

Smoot overcame the shadow of thirty months of hearings about whether he could retain his seat to become a leading national Republican leader and the longest-serving Mormon senator (1903-33). During Smoot's decade (1923-33) as chair of the Senate Finance Committee, he fashioned the highly protective Smoot-Hawley Tariff, which one scholar considers to be "dubious economic policy turned into a great political success."⁷² It was out of date before it was

adopted; and within two years of Smoot's departure, Congress began a complete reversal of his protective trade policies.

Perhaps Smoot's most significant contribution was a personal triumph; his respected career established beyond question that Latter-day Saints, even those holding the highest ecclesiastical rank, were fit to serve in the U.S. Congress. In the words of LDS historians Ronald W. Walker and Richard W. Sadler: "As chairman of the powerful Senate Finance Committee, he wielded major influence over American economic policy. More than any other Latter-day Saint in public service, [Smoot] personified the Church, assuaging questions about its patriotism and integrity by his personality and presence."⁷³ Another of Smoot's important contributions was mentoring young Latter-day Saints and championing their appointment to important political positions.

Morris Udall interrupted his education at the University of Arizona to join the Army Air Corps where he rose to the rank of captain in the South Pacific theater. For two years he commanded an all-black squadron in Louisiana, an experience, he said, "that really shaped my life. I fought their fights with them. We had some battles over local discrimination." It was that experience which caused his inactivity in the Church. For more than a quarter century, Udall "held and expressed a deep-seated and conscientious disagreement with the church doctrine on the role of blacks."⁷⁴ He lived to see the policy changed in 1978 and, despite his estrangement, also referred to himself as "a one-eyed Mormon Democrat from conservative Arizona," adding wryly, "you can't have a higher handicap than that."⁷⁵

Mo Udall, particularly known for his strong environmental stand, used his chairmanship of the House Interior and Insular Af-

⁷² E. E. Schattschneider, *Politics, Pressures and the Tariff: A Study of Free Private Enterprise in Pressure Politics, as Shown in the 1929-1930 Revision of the Tariff* (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1935), 283. See also Merrill, *Reed Smoot*, 285-348.

⁷³ Ronald W. Walker and Richard W. Sadler, "Church History c.1898-1945, Transitions: Early-Twentieth-Century Period," *Encyclopedia of Mormonism* (New York: Macmillan, 1992), on-line edition.

⁷⁴ Richard Severo, "Morris K. Udall, Fiercely Liberal Congressman, Dies at 76," *New York Times*, 14 December 1998, B-9.

⁷⁵ Udall's eye, injured in a childhood accident, became infected, blinding him.

fairs Committee for almost fourteen years to further that cause. He was particularly adamant against oil drilling in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge in Alaska, and legislation has been introduced to name the protected coastal area in his honor. Udall had a reputation for honesty and integrity. He frequently took strong liberal positions that were at odds with his conservative constituents. For example, in 1967, he delivered a speech in Tucson opposing American involvement in the war in Vietnam, even though a majority of his constituents supported the war.

He championed unpopular causes because he felt they were right. In 1963, he proposed legislation to place cigarettes and tobacco products under the jurisdiction of the Food and Drug Administration, a position vehemently opposed by the tobacco interests that has still not been resolved almost forty years later. He was a leader in requiring elected officials to provide information on their financial holdings and played a key role in campaign finance reform in 1971. Although Udall was one of the most powerful committee chairs, he advocated a system that would limit seniority in selecting committee chairs and, in 1969, led an unsuccessful effort to remove the Speaker of the House of Representatives.

Mo Udall is the Latter-day Saint who went the farthest in presidential politics.⁷⁶ In 1976, he finished second to Governor Jimmy

⁷⁶ George Romney, Republican governor of Michigan, never served in Congress but was also a serious Mormon presidential candidate. After the 1966 elections when he won reelection in Michigan by a substantial margin, national observers saw him as the Republican front-runner. Because of his unfortunate comments and a shifting position on the Vietnam war, Romney was not a serious candidate by the 1968 primaries. Richard Nixon appointed Romney Secretary of Housing and Urban Development. Senator Orrin Hatch was a candidate in the Republican presidential primaries of 2000, although he was not particularly successful and dropped out just after the Iowa caucuses. Hatch's decision to run was probably not based on an expectation of victory but possibly an interest in positioning himself as a vice presidential candidate and also helping to overcome the negative national political impressions of Mormons. He mentioned this latter factor when he announced his withdrawal from the race. Lee Davidson, "Hatch Gives It Up, Gets Behind Bush," *Deseret News*, 26 January 2000, 1. Most news stories on his presidential effort mentioned that he was an active member of the Church, and Hatch's Udallesque humor

Carter of Georgia in seven consecutive presidential primary contests. He lacked the name recognition and adequate financing, but his campaign was also hurt by his liberal positions. They included proposals ahead of their time to establish a national health insurance program and break up large oil companies. He shrugged off the defeat with his legendary humor, frequently telling about visiting a barber shop in New Hampshire. "I'm Mo Udall, and I'm running for president," he announced as he entered the shop. The barber responded: "Yah, we were just laughing about that."⁷⁷

In the century and a half since the first Mormon was seated as Utah's territorial delegate in 1851, through the 1998 election, sixty-eight Mormons—sixty-six men and two women—have been elected to the U.S. Congress. They are a diverse group. They present fascinating portraits of thoughtful solid legislators and a few scoundrels, of political triumphs and personal tragedies. In many regards, they reflect—as congressional representatives have done since the beginning of the republic—the communities which elected them.

As a group, they represent the highest level of LDS participation in American public life. Church leaders have emphasized the importance of seeking good and wise men and women to govern our democracy. Those who have served and are serving in Congress reflect the commitment of Church members to the highest values of public service. The fact that the percentage of Mormons in Congress greatly exceeds the proportion of Mormons in the United States reflects a religious commitment to public service. As the size and geographic distribution the Church expands, the number of Mormons in Congress will likely increase, with more coming from areas beyond the Mormon heartland.

And their political diversity will also, no doubt, increase. Smoot's political success, including his victory over James H. Moyle, an active Democrat and an active Mormon, tried the soul of Democrat and fellow General Authority B. H. Roberts. Then, in 1932

brought him and the Church favorable national attention. Leslie Eaton, "Running Hard in the Back of the Pack," *New York Times*, 17 December 1999, A-27; Laurie Kellman, "Hatch Ran for Presidency Before—and Won," Associated Press wire story, 29 September 1999.

⁷⁷ Udall later published *Too Funny to Be President* (New York: Henry Holt, 1988), a book of classic political humor including many of his own experiences.

Smoot was defeated by Democrat Elbert Thomas, another active Mormon, who for eighteen years gave Heber J. Grant heartburn with his solid support for Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal. Perhaps the most important conclusion is that Mormons are fully part of the American mainstream and that they reflect the values and virtues that Americans, of all religious persuasions, expect of their elected officials.

RICKS COLLEGE: THE STRUGGLE FOR PERMANENCY AND PLACE, 1954-60

Val G. Hemming

ON WEDNESDAY, 21 JUNE 2000, LDS Church President Gordon B. Hinckley announced in Salt Lake City that Ricks College, in the small farming community of Rexburg, Idaho, would undergo a makeover from a junior college to a four-year institution, be renamed “BYU-Idaho,” and add “several yet-to-be-determined bachelor degrees.” The main reason for the expansion was to relieve “chronic overcrowding” at Brigham Young University in Provo. It was not clear from news stories how much consultation occurred among officials at BYU, Salt Lake City, and Ricks before the announcement. What was clear was that Ricks College president David A. Bednar, who had less than twenty-four hours’ no-

VAL G. HEMMING was born and reared in Rexburg, Idaho, attended Ricks College 1956-57, and was a partisan observer during the events described in this article. Delbert G. Taylor was his stake president during Ricks’s turbulent years. Thomas E. Ricks, stake president and founder of Ricks was his maternal grandmother’s grandfather.

Acknowledgments: Many people contributed to providing or gathering information, giving counsel, reading the manuscript and providing perspective. I thank my wife, Alice; my father, Freeman Grover Hemming, born 7 August 1910 in Salem, Idaho, who played an active role in these events; my mother, Cora Pearson Hemming; my daughter Jill Hemming; Gregory A. Prince; Gary Porter; David Porter; John C. Porter; and Blain Bake. Though they all assisted with this history, any errors of fact or interpretation are my own.

tice about the announcement, did not have specific information about which programs would be added, what tuition adjustments would be, or whether faculty would be required to have doctorates. And catching the faculty completely off guard was President Hinckley's statement that Ricks's competitive athletics, which reporters and coaches described as a "powerhouse" and a "model program," was being cancelled because it was "too costly."¹

In some ways, the announcement was an eerie replay of an earlier crisis for the school. Common elements include a not totally benign relationship with the larger Brigham Young University, the central decision-making role of the Church president, divided loyalties for Rexburg residents, and a decision-making style that dampened local input in favor of decisions worked out among central players in the Church's ecclesiastical and administrative hierarchy.

More than forty years ago, the citizens of Rexburg rallied around small Ricks College, their partisan feelings at fever pitch. The leaders of the LDS Church Education System were considering whether Ricks College could "meet its destiny" in Rexburg or whether it had a "greater destiny" in Idaho Falls, a city three times the size of Rexburg twenty-five miles to the south. The controversy was keenly alive from 1954 to 1960, with Ernest L. Wilkinson, president of Brigham Young University and administrator of the Unified Church School System, pushing relentlessly for the relocation with the support of the two counselors in the First Presidency, J. Reuben Clark Jr. and, especially, first counselor Stephen L. Richards. Church President David O. McKay, then in his mid-eighties, first assured Rexburg residents in March 1954 that the college would stay, reversed himself in April 1957 and authorized the move, then in a final reversal in June 1960, decided against the relocation. The six years spanning this period were marked by anxious, sometimes acrimonious, and occasionally unethical maneuverings and debate. This article reconstructs events from the journals of the two main players, McKay and Wilkinson, supplemented by documents and memories of Ricks College President John L. Clarke, Rexburg Stake President Delbert Guy Taylor, John and Arthur Porter, and other Rexburg

¹ Bob Mims, "Ricks College to Become BYU-Idaho," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 22 June 2000, A-1, A-10; Maria Titze, "Questions Abound over Ricks Future," *Deseret News*, 22 June 2000, A-1, A-8; Jay Hinton, "Sports End Hits Like a Bombshell," *Deseret News*, 22 June 2000, A-1, A-8.

partisans. They provide a provocative glimpse into the opinions and actions of the protagonists who determined the future of Ricks College as well as an instructive picture of LDS educational administration during the 1950s.

RICKS COLLEGE HISTORY

Ricks College was founded in Rexburg, Idaho, as the Bannock Stake Academy in 1888 by stake president Thomas E. Ricks.² It was part of the Church's ambitious effort to counter Protestant educational efforts by providing Mormon secondary schools, resulting in the establishment of twenty-two stake academies between 1875 and 1911.³ After Thomas Ricks's death in 1901, the name was changed to Ricks Academy in his honor. Through its first seventy years, Ricks struggled to survive. Its financial support, drawn from the LDS Church, from students, and from the rural communities it served, was never quite sufficient. During the early 1920s when the Church accelerated its withdrawal from secular education—sponsoring instead high-school-level seminaries and college-level Institutes of Religion, Ricks's plight became increasingly perilous.⁴ By 1923, nearly

² Thomas Edwin Ricks was born 21 July 1828 in Kentucky, was called in 1884 as Bannock Stake's first president, and served until his death 28 September 1901. See Wanda Ricks Wyler, *Thomas E. Ricks, Colonizer and Founder* (Provo, Utah: M. C. Publishing, 1989). According to newspaper reports, Ricks College president David A. Bednar received "several phone calls" complaining about the name change. One descendant of Thomas Ricks felt that changing the name "insult[ed] . . . the pioneers. . . . 'They're throwing away our history. Brigham Young had nothing to do with settling this area.'" Associated Press, Rexburg, "Descendant of College's Founder Unhappy with BYU-Idaho Name," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 24 June 2000, C-1.

³ John Clifton Moffitt, *The History of Public Education in Utah* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1946), 186.

⁴ Richard W. Sadler, *Weber State College: A Centennial History* (Salt Lake City: Publishers Press, 1988), 23-28; Jerry C. Roundy, *Ricks College: A Struggle for Survival* (Rexburg, Ida.: Ricks College Press, 1976), 113-29. On 1 February 1928, Adam S. Bennion, then Superintendent of Church Schools and later an apostle, submitted a report to the Church Board of Education summarizing reasons why the Board of Education agreed to close "Emery Academy, Murdock Academy, St. John Academy, Cassia Academy, Uintah Academy, Snowflake Academy, Oneida Academy, Millard Academy, [and] Fielding Academy" in the early 1920s and voted

211 of the Church's academies had been closed. By 1933, three surviving Utah academies—Weber Academy (now Weber State University in Ogden), Snow Academy (now Snow College in Ephraim, Utah), and Dixie Academy (now Dixie State College in Cedar City, Utah)—were transferred to the state of Utah. In this context, rumors circulated that Ricks College was also slated for closure. On 26 December 1930, the LDS Board of Education, consisting primarily of the Quorum of the Twelve, voted to turn Ricks College over to the state of Idaho and directed LDS Commissioner of Education Joseph F. Merrill, who would be ordained an apostle in October 1931, to notify LDS politicians and the local stake officers in Idaho that the Board of Education “would appreciate an effort on their part to expedite the turning over of Ricks College at the earliest possible date.”⁵ On 8 April 1930, an eastern Idaho delegation consisting of five Idaho stake presidents, a number of Rexburg citizens, and Delbert Guy Taylor representing the Rexburg Chamber of Commerce, met with the First Presidency—Heber J. Grant, Anthony W. Ivins, and Charles W. Nibley—and Joseph F. Merrill, seeking assurance that Ricks would not be closed. The delegation failed to convince the Board of Education, who repeated “that we would appreciate an effort on their part [Rexburg Church leaders] to expedite the turning over of Ricks College at the earliest possible date.”⁶

For the next decade, Ricks teetered on the brink of financial disaster, intensified by the cloud of uncertainty that hung over it.

on 8 March 1920 to concentrate on religious education. The reasons were primarily financial. This report is summarized by William P. Miller, President Emeritus of Weber State College, “Weber College, 1888-1933 (Historical Information Obtained from Original Sources in the Archives of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Salt Lake City),” June 1975. According to Miller's foreword, pages 1-72 are quoted from General Church Board of Education minutes with permission of Leonard J. Arrington, then Church Historian. Adam S. Bennion, born 2 December 1886 at Taylorsville, Utah, became Superintendent of Church Schools in 1919 when David O. McKay, then serving as an apostle, was also appointed LDS Commissioner of Education. McKay ordained him an apostle on 19 April 1953.

⁵ Roundy, *Ricks College*, 116-18.

⁶ *Ibid.* Roundy cites a report from the *Rexburg Standard*, 10 April 1930, 1.

The Church, expecting Idaho to assume ownership, provided only minimal financial support. Actual expenditures were said to be \$50,000 per year to run the physical plant plus \$36,000-\$37,000 for salaries. However, the Church's appropriation for 1930-31 was initially only \$38,800, further reduced to \$36,425.⁷ The delegation to Idaho's legislature from Madison County, in which Rexburg was situated, unsuccessfully submitted proposals in 1931, 1935, and 1937, requesting that Ricks be transferred to the state of Idaho; but citizens in eastern Idaho strongly opposed the transfer, realizing that support for the University of Idaho's branch in Pocatello would be compromised if Ricks became a state-supported school.⁸ Most of Ricks's operating funds came from student tuition and LDS members in eastern Idaho. Ray J. Davis, a Ricks College botany professor who was teaching at Idaho State in 1957, recalled these lean years:

If my memory serves me correctly, the Church practically washed its hands of Ricks during the depression, and made a donation one year as low as \$10,000 for its support. I could be off on this figure as it is from memory, but I do know the school was practically abandoned. The better teachers were promised \$1200 a year by the community if they would remain and accept trade in the stores in lieu of part of the cash. They went out into the hills and river bottoms and got wood for fuel to heat their homes. On another occasion the Church tried to give Ricks College to the State of Idaho but the state would not accept it. The people in Rexburg largely built the school and certainly it has been their courage and devotion that have been responsible to a large extent for its continuance.⁹

⁷ David L. Crowder, *The Spirit of Ricks: A History of Ricks College* (Rexburg, Ida.: Ricks College, 1997), 113.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 120-52.

⁹ Ray J. Davis, Letter to Ernest L. Wilkinson, 8 May 1957; photocopy in Delbert G. Taylor File, Manuscript Collection, David O. McKay Library, Ricks College, Rexburg, Idaho. Davis actively opposed Wilkinson's efforts to move Ricks to Idaho Falls, and was responding skeptically to a letter from Wilkinson two days earlier, attempting to persuade him of the merits of the move: "I will answer your questions and comment on the points you made in your letter. (1) Why did I transfer from Ricks College to Idaho State College? . . . I was offered a better salary and encouraged to do research work. . . . (2) You quote the predictions of Idaho Falls . . . that in 2000 there will be 80,000 population. . . . I am suspicious the real estate agents in Idaho Falls have been talking to you. (3) We are agreed on the

By 1940 it was evident that Idaho would not accept the school. In 1944 Franklin L. West, the Church commissioner of education, announced that Ricks would remain in the Church school system, promised new buildings to upgrade its antiquated physical plant, announced plans to improve student recruiting throughout Idaho, and appointed John L. Clarke, a long-time seminary and institute teacher, as Ricks's president, replacing Hyrum Manwaring, who had been appointed president on 6 May 1931.¹⁰ At that point, the school enrolled 160 students. By the end of his presidency twenty-seven years later, enrollment had grown to 5,144.¹¹

In 1947 Idaho mandated that teacher certification requirements require a four-year degree by 1955. For more than fifty years, Ricks with its two-year program had served as a major source of teachers for eastern Idaho. With the Church Board of Education's approval, Ricks expanded its curriculum to meet these new requirements. A third year was added in 1947-48 and a fourth in 1948-49. For Ricks boosters, the 1950s promised to be a prosperous new era for the school they had worked so hard to preserve. However, they had yet to fend off the most serious attack on the school's well-being, mounted from within the Church Education System.

George Albert Smith, Church president after Heber J. Grant, died in 1951 and was succeeded by David O. McKay, long-time members of the First Presidency. He was an experienced teacher who had been called to the Council of the Twelve from serving as principal of Weber Academy. For many years thereafter, he was a member of the Weber Board of Trustees. A champion of the Church academies and

quality of Rexburg as a place to have a Church school. . . . Finally, you say we must leave sentiment out of this consideration. With this I do not agree. You had better not let Alice [Wilkinson's wife] or your children hear you say you leave sentimentality out of things, or your Church or your country."

¹⁰ Roundy, *Ricks College*, 167-70; Crowder, *The Spirit of Ricks*, 173-79. John L. Clarke was born 14 May 1905 at American Fork, Utah, taught in LDS Church seminary and institute programs for many years, and was appointed president of Ricks College on 30 June 1944 by Franklin L. West. He was about to begin a doctoral program at that point; but his twenty-six-year presidential tenure did not permit him to complete this degree. He retired on 1 July 1971 and died in Rexburg on 20 February 1991. Crowder, *The Spirit of Ricks*, 166-68.

¹¹ Roundy, *Ricks College*, 263, cited *Church News*, 21 November 1969.

junior colleges, he had visited Ricks regularly, beginning as early as 1911. As Church president, he was responsible for founding Church schools in Hawaii, throughout the Pacific, and in Latin America. Significantly, he was apparently the only apostle to oppose the closings and transfers of the Church academies during the 1930s.¹²

ERNEST L. WILKINSON'S MASTER PLAN

A pivotal player in the Ricks drama was Ernest LeRoy Wilkinson, a Utah-born attorney practicing in Washington, D.C. In 1950 a search committee chaired by Elder Joseph Fielding Smith selected him as president of Brigham Young University, replacing Howard S. McDonald (July 1945 to October 1949). Wilkinson was inaugurated as BYU's seventh president by David O. McKay on 8 October 1951.¹³ Born 4 May 1899 at Ogden, Utah, Wilkinson graduated from Weber Academy in 1919 and BYU in 1921, briefly taught English

¹² Miller, "Weber College, 1888-1933," 32, quotes minutes of the Church General Board of Education, twice on this point. On 17 January 1929, 210, the minutes read: "On motion of Stephen L. Richards, it was the consensus of opinion, David O. McKay dissenting, that Commissioner Merrill be authorized to say, should occasion arise, that the Church Board of Education is favorable to the establishment of junior colleges by the state." On 20 February 1929, 212, the topic resurfaced: "Brother Richards expressed himself in support of the policy as stated by the Presidency, and in order to clarify the record moved that the Board sustain and approve the action of the First Presidency in its determination of that policy. Brother McKay stated that he did not wish to be considered as not sustaining the First Presidency, but he could not vote in favor of the elimination of the junior colleges. The motion was seconded by President Ivins and carried." This same meeting also moved that Weber should be included among the schools "to be closed June 15, 1930." The motion carried with McKay dissenting.

¹³ Ernest L. Wilkinson, Leonard J. Arrington, and Bruce C. Hafen, *Brigham Young University: The First Hundred Years*, 4 vols. (Provo, Utah: BYU Press, 1976), 3:522; Ernest L. Wilkinson and W. Cleon Skousen, *Brigham Young University: A School of Destiny* (Provo, Utah: BYU Press, 1976). See also Gary James Bergera and Ronald Priddis, *Brigham Young University: A House of Faith* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1985). Wilkinson resigned as BYU president 9 March 1971 and died in April 1978. See also Woodruff J. Deem and Glenn V. Bird, *Ernest L. Wilkinson: Indian Advocate and University President* (N.p.: privately published, Alice L. Wilkinson, 1982).

and public speaking at Weber, then graduated from George Washington University Law School (1926) and completed a doctorate at Harvard Law School (1927). He taught and practiced law in New York and in New Jersey, where he also served as a branch president and bishop, then moved to Washington, D.C., where he served as counselor to stake presidents Ezra Taft Benson and Edgar B. Brosard.¹⁴ He made a national reputation by winning a record-setting multi-million dollar settlement from the U.S. government in behalf of the Ute Indians.

In March 1953 President McKay approved a reorganization of the Church Education System that placed all Church schools, seminaries, and Institutes of Religion under a single administrator. Wilkinson was named administrator of the Unified Church School System on 26 June 1953.¹⁵ Within days of his appointment, he visited Ricks and was personally briefed by John L. Clarke. In a follow-up letter to Clarke on 31 July 1953, Wilkinson reminded him "to send me the information I requested. I am satisfied that information will give both of us a larger perspective of L.D.S. education in Idaho. It certainly will be beneficial to me trying to agree on certain policies."¹⁶ Clarke sent Wilkinson a lengthy report in early 1954, but

¹⁴ Earl T. Pardoe, *The Sons of Brigham* (Provo, Utah: BYU Alumni Association, 1969), 506-13; Gary James Bergera, "Ernest Wilkinson's Appointment as Seventh President of Brigham Young University," *Journal of Mormon History* 23, no. 2 (Fall 1997): 128-54. See also Julian C. Lowe and Florian H. Thayne, *The History of the Mormons in the Greater Washington Area* (Washington, D.C.: Community Printing Service, 1991), 35-37.

¹⁵ David O. McKay, Journal, 27 March 1953; Clare Middlemiss Papers, courtesy of Gregory A. Prince (hereafter McKay Journal). Wilkinson, *Brigham Young University*, 2:569-99, traces the development of this position. In 1953, Franklin B. West retired as "commissioner of education." Wilkinson was then named as "administrator of Church schools." Among his duties was supervising the affairs of Ricks College (572).

¹⁶ Ernest L. Wilkinson, Letter to John L. Clarke, 31 July 1953, John L. Clarke Presidential Papers, David O. McKay Library, Ricks College, Rexburg, Idaho (hereafter Clarke Papers). I examined this collection with the permission of Blaine Bake, manuscripts librarian, and Ricks President David A. Bednar.

Wilkinson continued to request additional information about the college, student demographics, and eastern Idaho.¹⁷

After World War II, the campus's aging buildings had been renovated and refurbished and the first new structure since 1918, an industrial arts building, was finished in 1949. In 1952 Clarke had announced plans to construct a new building containing an auditorium, offices, and classrooms. Ground for the auditorium was broken in September 1953; but construction stopped after the building's foundation was completed. Simultaneously, rumors began circulating that Wilkinson and the Church Board of Education were considering closing Ricks or moving it from Rexburg to Idaho Falls.

Already possessive and defensive from having saved their school once, Rexburg citizens were alarmed. A major actor in the unfolding events, Delbert Guy Taylor, then in New York City as president of the Eastern States Mission, reportedly heard about the threatened move.¹⁸ Taylor wrote McKay about his concerns and received a letter reassuring him that there was no substance to the rumor.¹⁹ Taylor, a prominent Rexburg businessman and passionate Ricks College supporter, had attended Ricks, sent all six of his children there, represented the Rexburg Chamber of Commerce in the 1930 meeting where an eastern Idaho delegation requested that President Heber J. Grant and his counselors continue Church financial support for Ricks at least until the Idaho legislature could be convinced to make it a state school. He had also personally donated substantial sums to the school. In 1945 he was elected president of the Ricks College Boosters and traveled throughout Idaho soliciting support for Ricks from LDS bishops and stake presidents. That same year, as bishop of Rexburg Fourth Ward, Taylor spoke at the combined Ricks Founders Day and Armistice Day celebrations. In his ad-

¹⁷ Wilkinson, Letters to Clarke, 28 May and 1 November 1954; 8 September, 17 and 21 October 1955; 4 March 1957. The letters are formal and businesslike in tone.

¹⁸ Taylor, born 24 April 1894, at Grant, Idaho, returned from his assignment as Eastern States Mission president (1952-55) to become Rexburg Stake president (1957-66). He died at Rexburg on 29 November 1977. Obituary, *Rexburg Journal*, in my possession. According to his son Gerald, Taylor did not keep a journal.

¹⁹ Roundy, *Ricks College*, 190. He interviewed Taylor 19 June 1975.

dress, he reminded Ricks students and faculty of the great sacrifices made to build the college and to maintain democracy in the world.²⁰

On 20 February 1954, Clarke wrote to Wilkinson about the rumors: "During the past few days, Rexburg and the surrounding Upper Snake River Valley area have been put in a state of alarm regarding information, some of which appears to have authenticity, stating that the removal of Ricks College from Rexburg to Idaho Falls is being seriously discussed. . . . I have been swamped with inquiries regarding the matter."²¹ Wilkinson responded soothingly, but not quite candidly:

Your information that a proposal to move Ricks College to Idaho Falls is being seriously discussed by the Brethren . . . is completely false . . . You will of course appreciate that with a corps of administrative officers and 15 members of the Board of Trustees I cannot guarantee that the matter to which you refer will not be considered by someone or all of us in the future. But you have my assurance that if and when any serious consideration is given of moving Ricks you and others interested will be called upon to give your complete views, long before any decision is made. I must ask, therefore, that you put an end to the alarm of which you speak.²²

Despite Wilkinson's assurances, the lawyerly loophole in this letter lends credence to later reports that, even before February 1954, he was considering moving the school to another site.

Wilkinson's reply failed to quiet the anxiety of Rexburg citizens. On 17 March 1954 Grover Hemming, president of the seven presidents of the Eighty-fourth Quorum of the Seventy, in the Rexburg Stake, sent President McKay a strongly worded telegram: "We are very much disturbed over Ricks College being moved, it is our heritage, we were born and raised here and want to educate our children under its influence."²³ President McKay replied by telegram

²⁰ Crowder, *The Spirit of Ricks*, 170.

²¹ John L. Clarke, Letter to Ernest L. Wilkinson, 20 February 1954, Clarke Papers.

²² Ernest L. Wilkinson, Letter to John L. Clarke, 27 February 1954, Clarke Papers.

²³ The seven presidents were Grover Hemming, Lawrence Grover, Gilbert McKinlay, Elmo Davenport, Stanley McCulloch, Alma Ditmer, and Blair Cook.

the same day: "Rest assured there will be no change in Ricks College."²⁴ This document became pivotal in the unfolding events.

Considering the fact that both the Church president and BYU's president strenuously denied an imminent move for Ricks, where did these rumors come from? Apparently Wilkinson himself was the source. Dr. Herbert Frost, then on sabbatical from Ricks in the East, reported hearing Wilkinson say, during a visit to New York, that there were plans to make Ricks a two-year school and then move it to Idaho Falls.²⁵ Frost may have been the person who alerted Delbert Taylor.

McKay also received letters from the Rexburg Chamber of Commerce and Rexburg Rotary Club, which he answered on 9 July 1954: "The college is not going to be moved from Rexburg and the expansion program is underway."²⁶ However, McKay and/or the Board of Education apparently did not provide any information directly to Clarke or the Ricks faculty; and nearly a year passed before they appropriated funds to complete the new auditorium. The continued delay naturally provoked tension at Ricks and in Rexburg.²⁷ In light of later events, it seems reasonable that Wilkinson held up funding because he fully intended to move the school and realized that constructing a major building would complicate this plan.

Wilkinson treated Clarke like a subordinate, rather than a colleague, a factor that would also heighten Clarke's anxiety. As already noted, Wilkinson repeatedly demanded additional infor-

²⁴ Typescript copies, Taylor File.

²⁵ Roundy, *Ricks College*, 188-89, citing his interview with Frost, 26 June 1975.

²⁶ Quoted in *ibid.*, 192. Both letters say the same thing.

²⁷ John L. Clarke, Letter to Ernest L. Wilkinson, 3 June 1954, Clarke Papers. McKay had just spoken at the Ricks commencement and Clarke had hoped to discuss some questions with him but had not had time to do so. He reported to Wilkinson: "I did stress the need for an immediate decision on some other of these problems, which seem to be holding up our new building and the overall plans for the future of the institution. I briefly mentioned that the curriculum of the School, its future size, and with its future size the possibility of changed location, as well as the place of Ricks in the Unified Church School System, seemed problems which needed to be resolved."

mation about the Ricks physical plant, curriculum, student demographics, and economy of eastern Idaho from Clarke including, for instance, the numbers of LDS students from eastern Idaho enrolled at Idaho State College in Pocatello, seventy-five miles south of Ricks.²⁸

Without any prior notification or request for his input, Clarke received instructions from the First Presidency on 3 February 1955 that Ricks was being returned to junior college status: "We shall not attempt to set forth in this communication all the reasons which induced this decision," announced the letter. ". . . The conclusion was reached without any reflection whatever upon the work of Ricks College and the administration of its affairs."²⁹ Ricks and the Rexburg community were stunned by the news. Clarke responded to the First Presidency with a courageous protest about both the decision and decision-making process:

[We] have never had any indication from the Church School Administrator that he was discussing a change of the curriculum. . . . I have never discussed the matter orally with him . . . I had been told by President Wilkinson that he had been authorized to make a complete study of the Church School System . . . but as I have indicated the matter has never been discussed in any formal way.³⁰

The available records do not show any reconsideration. And despite the implication that a fuller explanation would be forthcoming in face-to-face meetings, Clarke never received any explanation for the decision. The final students in the four-year program graduated in 1956, and Ricks obediently reverted to junior-college status. Puzzlingly, the First Presidency announced on 4 July 1959 that the Church College of Hawaii would add a phased-in third and fourth

²⁸ For example, Wilkinson wrote Clarke on 17 October 1954: "I . . . read your letter of October 4, in which you sent me detailed information as to the students who transferred from Ricks during the summer of 1955. This is very informative and will be helpful to me in keeping in mind the problems of your college." On 21 October 1954, Wilkinson wanted "your registration by classes as of the end of school today . . . immediately" so that he could report it to the trustees the following week. Clarke Papers.

²⁹ David O. McKay, Stephen L Richards, and J. Reuben Clark, Jr., Letter to John L. Clarke, 3 February 1955, Clarke Papers.

³⁰ John L. Clarke, Letter to First Presidency, 19 February 1955, Clarke Papers.

year to its curriculum, making it a four-year college by 1961.³¹ A month later, Wilkinson, who had been traveling in the Middle East, noted with some irritation in his journal:

This makes a quote "liar" out of me because in accordance with the decision of the Board of Education made at the time I became church administrator that the BYU would be the only four-year institution of the church, and that we would have a number of junior colleges, I have consistently stated that there would be no other four-year colleges. One of the first assignments given me when I became administrator was to cut back Ricks College to a two-year college on the ground there was to be only one senior college in the church. This was a dirty job which I performed at the request of the brethren and took the entire rap for it myself. I specifically represented to them that BYU would be the only four-year college.³²

This candid admission suggests lack of candor in Wilkinson's earlier transactions with John L. Clarke. Since the First Presidency signed the letter to Clarke announcing the reversion to junior-college status, it also raises questions about Wilkinson's dealings with the General Authorities and how he "took the entire rap" for a decision that the First Presidency publicly announced.

Throughout his twenty-year tenure as BYU president, Wilkinson vigorously promoted his vision of BYU as "a school of destiny,"³³ by which he meant that BYU would become a huge graduate institution, fed by numerous junior colleges established in locations with large Mormon populations. In 1954, before it became clear that Church finances would not support this ambitious network of junior colleges, Wilkinson negotiated with Utah Governor J. Bracken Lee to have Weber, Snow, and Dixie colleges returned to the Church. The Utah legislature actually passed a bill in December 1953 which was signed by Governor J. Bracken Lee 18 December 1953, permitting the transfer. However, Ogden residents mounted a petition that resulted in the proposal's rejection in a state-wide referendum on 2 November 1954. Wilkinson also envisioned new junior colleges in

³¹ *Church News*, 4 July 1959, cited in McKay, *Journal*, 4 July 1959.

³² Ernest L. Wilkinson, *Journal*, 12 August 1959, typescript, Willard J. Marriott Library, Manuscript Collection, University of Utah, Salt Lake City.

³³ Ernest L. Wilkinson and W. Cleon Skousen, *Brigham Young University: A School of Destiny* (Provo, Utah: BYU Press, 1976).

Salt Lake City, California, Arizona, Oregon, Idaho, and Washington. He looked for property in these states and actually purchased a site in Idaho Falls in 1957. He vigorously pursued these ambitious plans at least through 1961 but, although capturing a large fraction of Church funds for BYU, could not garner enough support to carry out his junior college plan.

Even though the Ricks College auditorium was moving to completion by early 1957, Wilkinson was energetically lobbying the First Presidency and Board of Education about moving Ricks to Idaho Falls. On 5 February 1957, McKay recorded: "During the First Presidency's meeting I presented the matter raised by President Wilkinson about expenditures approved for Ricks College in light of enrollment trends of Idaho Falls students at Pocatello and possibility of other developments in eastern Idaho. It was decided the First Presidency will hear President Wilkinson Friday at 11 A.M."³⁴

During this meeting, Presidents McKay, Richards, and Clark heard Wilkinson's depiction of Ricks's future and discussed the LDS Institute at Idaho State College. A month after the meeting, Wilkinson wrote to Clarke requesting the date of completion and cost of every building on the Ricks campus and the proportions of the cost of each building paid for by donations from local citizens, from students' tuition, and from the Church. He gave Clarke a misleading reason for his request: "This will be helpful, also, to me in trying to get some financial support from certain communities in the Church, such as around Los Angeles, who would like to have a junior college started." He cautioned: "I know you will keep this motive of mine confidential."³⁵

THE PROPOSED MOVE AND LOCAL RESISTANCE

On 8 April 1957, at the conclusion of general conference, McKay presided at a meeting that included the First Presidency, the fifteen presidents of eastern Idaho stakes, Wilkinson, and John Clarke in the Church Administration Building board room. Fortunately, Delbert G. Taylor had, just two months earlier, succeeded Clarke as Rexburg Stake president. Because Wilkinson was Clarke's supervisor, Clarke had been obliged to exercise caution in his advo-

³⁴ McKay, Journal, 5 February 1957.

³⁵ Ernest L. Wilkinson, Letter to John L. Clarke, 4 March 1957, Clarke Papers.

cacy for Ricks; but Taylor, who was not a Church employee, had no such restriction. Even more important, Taylor had some access to McKay through many years of ecclesiastical association and personal friendship.

According to McKay's journal, "this meeting was held in the interest of the future of Ricks with emphasis on the advisability of moving Ricks College from Rexburg to Idaho Falls. President Wilkinson presented facts relating to this very important problem, and each of the Stake Presidents expressed their opinions and view points on the matter. No decision was reached on this problem."³⁶

Wilkinson's carefully crafted statement began:

The facts I shall present to you today are presented by me not as an advocate of the position that Ricks College should be moved to Idaho Falls or that it should stay in Rexburg. Our sole purpose is to present all the facts to you so that the First Presidency may have benefit from your judgment. . . . The sole question before the Board of Education is that of whether Ricks College will achieve a greater destiny by moving to Idaho Falls than by remaining in Rexburg, both in terms of number of students to be served and the quality of that service.³⁷

Although the topic could not have surprised the Idaho people, they had received no formal notification of the topic and thus had had no chance to prepare their arguments. And despite Wilkinson's disclaimers, it was clear that he had been planning Ricks's "greater destiny" in Idaho Falls for the past four years. Taylor returned to Rexburg heavy-hearted but determined to keep the school in what he believed was its rightful location. He needed to present a persuasive alternative view of Rexburg and Ricks College to the First Presidency and the Board of Education.

Wilkinson telephoned McKay on 9 April 1957 and received permission to seek a site in Idaho Falls for the college. According to McKay's journal, he told Wilkinson that Stephen L Richards had been instructed, presumably by McKay, to ask George Gadsby, an official with Utah Power and Light Company, to "confidentially contact" a banker in Idaho Falls "and see what they can do for us."³⁸

³⁶ McKay, Journal, 8 April 1957.

³⁷ Quoted in Crowder, *The Spirit of Ricks College*, 223.

³⁸ McKay, Journal, 9 April 1957. McKay clearly authorized Richards to purchase the 160 acres. This record does not include the purchase price.

This record makes it clear that, Wilkinson's statement to the contrary, the decision to move the college had already been made. McKay's concern about confidentiality reflected his desire not to find land prices inflating, but it may also signal his awareness that Ricks residents would resist the decision.

McKay also recorded that Wilkinson complained: "President Taylor has been critical of him for some years on the theory that President Wilkinson has been doing a lot more for the 'Y' than for Ricks College. I said that I knew the situation and that I also knew President Taylor."³⁹ It is not clear whether Wilkinson felt that this answer meant McKay agreed or disagreed with him. Wilkinson could hardly say that Taylor's complaint was unfounded, since Ricks's annual operating budget was tiny compared to BYU's budget, even though specific figures are not available. Since 1953 when ground had been broken for Ricks's slowly constructed auditorium, BYU had received authorization and funding to construct several buildings.⁴⁰

With ironic but unconscious timing, Taylor wrote a plaintive letter to McKay on the same day as Wilkinson's phone call. He noted Wilkinson's "masterful job of selling" and observed that Wilkinson had spent an entire year preparing for the presentation while Rexburg advocates had been given no warning and no chance to prepare a proper reply. He requested a hearing for the Rexburg Stake to present its views, adding, "I am sorry that it seemed necessary for some of the brethren to draw a conclusion without hearing the much evidence that can be developed and presented in favor of keeping the college in Rexburg."⁴¹ Apparently there was no response to this letter, and the two stake presidencies sent a second letter to President McKay on 15 April, again requesting an audience and saying they could be prepared to present a reply to Wilkinson's presentation within a week.⁴² McKay, who received the letter on 16 April, telephoned Taylor the same day and invited the Rexburg Church

³⁹ McKay, Journal, 9 April 1957.

⁴⁰ Wilkinson and Skousen, *Brigham Young University*, 516-34.

⁴¹ Delbert G. Taylor, Letter to First Presidency, 9 April 1957, Taylor File.

⁴² Rexburg and North Rexburg Stake Presidency [*sic*], Letter to First Presidency, 15 April 1957, Taylor File. The two stake presidents, Delbert G. Taylor and Orvil [*sic*] P. Mortensen, signed it.

officials to reply in person on 23 April.⁴³ He did not tell Taylor that he would be in California that day, that it would be a meeting with the executive committee of the Board of Education, rather than only the First Presidency, and that Richards and Clark would be the only members of the First Presidency in attendance.⁴⁴

A week before the Rexburg delegation's scheduled presentation, the Board of Education met to discuss Ricks. Wilkinson told them that Ricks would need many more dormitories to house 1,500 students, perhaps costing \$6 million. This number appears to be an extrapolation based on Clarke's proposal in 1956 for a new \$500,000 dormitory to house 150 students. Wilkinson had used this number in his 8 April 1957 presentation.⁴⁵ Even new dormitories would not make the school more attractive, he argued, because students considered Rexburg "the end of the line" and that "although we had urged all students in the Rexburg area to attend Ricks College, we have 169 sophomores from that area at BYU as compared to 167 at Rexburg."⁴⁶ After considerable discussion, Mark E. Petersen moved and Henry D. Moyle seconded that Ricks be moved to Idaho Falls. The motion was unanimously passed with the understanding that the stake presidencies from Rexburg would meet with the executive committee of the Board of Education the following week. If the stake presidencies presented any facts which merited reconsideration, the matter would be reconsidered.⁴⁷ Conspicuous by their omission as invitees to the projected meeting were any officials from Ricks College itself, meaning that Wilkinson, as administrator of the Unified Church School System, would represent the school, even though he was clearly partisan. McKay's journal suggests that he attended this meeting, but he made no comment about it.⁴⁸

Within twenty-four hours, the news was public. On 17 April,

⁴³ McKay, Journal, 16 April 1957.

⁴⁴ It is not clear which apostles were on the board of education.

⁴⁵ The untitled 1957 document appears to be written for the Rexburg business community: "Rexburg will, as it has demonstrated in the past, continue to grow steadily, substantially, and will give full support to Ricks College." It states that Ricks had 995 students in 1956-57. Photocopy in my possession.

⁴⁶ Wilkinson, Journal, 16 April 1957.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 17 April 1957.

⁴⁸ McKay, Journal, 16 April 1957.

KRXX, the Rexburg radio station, broadcast the announcement that the Church was studying whether to relocate Ricks to Idaho Falls. Wilkinson blamed Taylor for the breach of confidentiality: "This stirring up of trouble, of course, was completely in violation of the instructions President McKay gave to President Taylor. From Idaho Falls came word that the news was leaking out everywhere."⁴⁹ No provision had been made for McKay's office, Wilkinson's office, or the Board of Education to inform the involved communities about the plan to move the school. The following day, Wilkinson recorded: "During the day we found out that President Delbert Taylor of Rexburg, contrary to instructions has organized the whole community in Rexburg against the transfer of Ricks College."⁵⁰

McKay was also troubled by the KRXX report. On 18 April he reached Taylor by telephone and rebuked him:

I was very much disappointed last evening to learn that the Rexburg Radio had broadcast the fact that discussions had been held regarding the transfer of Ricks College from Rexburg to Idaho Falls. . . . President Taylor said that he was greatly disappointed also—that he had given instructions to his counselors and others concerned not to give anything out. . . . President Taylor said he did not know how the news leaked out. . . . I said that if the decision be made to move the College, then the property will rise to outlandish prices.⁵¹

Taylor apparently called Gene Shumate, the manager of KRXX, about McKay's call, because Shumate wrote McKay a letter of explanation dated 18 April.⁵²

Wilkinson obviously did not want to allow the Rexburg people to have a hearing at all. He complained in his diary: "Although President McKay had firmly resolved he would merely invite the

⁴⁹ Wilkinson, *Journal*, 18 April 1957.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 19 April 1957.

⁵¹ McKay, *Journal*, 18 April 1957.

⁵² Gene Shumate, Letter to President David O. McKay, 18 April 1957, Taylor letter file. "President Taylor of the Rexburg Stake is upset over the fact that news of the current investigation into the advisability of retaining Ricks College in Rexburg has been broadcast. . . . The news of anything of this sort which affects many people cannot be kept secret. Through no fault of the authorities, the word preceded their return from Salt Lake City last week. . . . These are bare facts and the public was entitled to hear them."

stake presidents of that area to confer with the First Presidency and Executive Committee on the matter. Yet, he gave in and consented to an entire delegation meeting next Tuesday. Undoubtedly, the meeting will generate more heat than light."⁵³

During their preparations for the 23 April meeting, the Rexburg Stake Presidency wrote an introductory letter dated 19 April to the First Presidency. The letter affirmed their faith and confidence in the First Presidency, reminded the presidency of the "assurances" given in 1954, quoted the McKay telegram to Grover Hemming and McKay's letters assuring Rexburg's community leaders, and concluded with eloquent solemnity: "You will understand that the institution, which in the minds of many people seems in jeopardy, is regarded among us as an almost living presence."⁵⁴

In anticipation of the Rexburg Stake's plea, Wilkinson somewhat sarcastically observed: "The humble people of Rexburg are even going to fast and pray tomorrow. Happily, I am advised that their prayers will be that the right decision will be made. We all join them in this sentiment."⁵⁵

Wilkinson's journal entry describes in detail the meeting between the representatives of the Rexburg stakes, the executive committee of the Board of Education, and Presidents Richards and Clark. Howard E. Salisbury, professor of English and humanities at Ricks College, took two hours to present the Rexburg case. Wilkinson disdainfully opined: "They avoided entirely the principal question at issue, as to where Ricks College could render the most service—do the most good to the greatest number of students. . . . Their case was built around the thought that Rexburg was a paragon of virtue and Idaho Falls was a penitentiary of vice."⁵⁶ The contents of Salisbury's presentation were apparently not preserved except for Wilkinson's summary.⁵⁷ After the Rexburg delegation left, Wilkin-

⁵³ Wilkinson, Journal, 18 April 1957. Sentence fragment his.

⁵⁴ Rexburg Stake Presidency (Delbert G. Taylor, Willis Nelson, and Walter Ririe) and North Rexburg Stake presidency (Orval P. Mortensen was the stake president), Letter to First Presidency, 19 April 1957, Taylor Files.

⁵⁵ Wilkinson, Journal, 18 April 1957.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 23 April 1957.

⁵⁷ Wilkinson, Journal, 23 April 1957. Other arguments from Salisbury included impact on faculty at Ricks who own their own homes,

son continued the meeting with Richards, Clark, and the executive committee. They concluded that nothing new had been presented to change their decision and unanimously passed a motion to relocate Ricks, after consultation with McKay when he returned from California.⁵⁸

Wilkinson, at Richards's request, prepared a letter for the First Presidency's signatures explaining to the stake presidents in Idaho why the board had decided to relocate Ricks, but this letter was not mailed. On 26 April, the Board of Education met again, and Ricks College was the first item on the agenda. McKay, presiding at the meeting, read aloud from the Rexburg stake presidencies' 19 April letter reminding them of their 1954 "promises."⁵⁹ This piece of information altered the direction of the discussion. Recorded Wilkinson in some exasperation:

When this was discovered, two hours were taken with the subject whether the First Presidency was bound because such a telegram had been sent. Brother Moyle, who had been the one pressing hardest for the removal of the school to Idaho Falls, among the Board of Education, took a flat and strong position against the move, in view of this alleged "commitment" from the First Presidency. Pres. [Joseph Fielding] Smith then joined in. . . . After two hours of discussion it was decided that President McKay would go to Rexburg to attempt to be released from any commitment that had been made, if any.⁶⁰

McKay invited Wilkinson to accompany him to Rexburg.

Two days later—a Sunday—Wilkinson met with Richards and Cecil Hart, president of the South Idaho Falls Stake, at Richards's home in Salt Lake City. According to Wilkinson, Hart said that Taylor's agitation in Rexburg had "gotten out of hand."⁶¹ A week later

McKay's 1954 promise to the Eighty-fourth Quorum of Seventies, the better environment for students provided by small communities, the adequacy of student housing in Ricks, and no consequent immediate need for the Church to build dormitories there.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ The letter, dated 19 April 1957, is addressed to the First Presidency ("Dear Brethren") and was signed by the presidents of Rexburg and North Rexburg Stakes; copy in Taylor letter file.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 26 April 1957.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 28 April 1957.

Wilkinson met privately with Richards about Ricks and was disconcerted to learn that, two days earlier, McKay had met informally with Taylor who “was still fighting to do all he could to resist the move.”⁶² Although Wilkinson himself was engaged in a private meeting, he apparently saw no parallel between himself and Taylor.

Although Taylor supplied important leadership, the resistance to the proposed relocation was widespread from the grassroots up. Another local leader was John C. Porter, editor of the *Rexburg Journal* and *Rexburg Standard*.⁶³ John C. Porter, born in Rexburg, Idaho, on 28 May 1912, was the son of Arthur Porter Jr. who had moved from Preston, Idaho, in about 1900 to teach business at Ricks. Arthur was an ardent Democrat; and when the local Democrat newspaper, the *Current Journal*, fell on hard times, he purchased it in partnership with Ezra Dalby, principal of Ricks Academy from 1901 to 1914.⁶⁴ They changed the paper’s name to the *Rexburg Journal*, and Arthur later also purchased the local Republican newspaper, the *Standard*. John C., who completed a year of study at Ricks, published both newspapers for more than fifty years.

In a series of articles and editorials through May and June, John Porter reminded Rexburg citizens of Church leaders’ “pledges” to retain Ricks at Rexburg, argued that the Church had a “moral obligation” to keep Ricks at Rexburg, and pointed out that citizen contributions to complete the auditorium were “donated for the express

⁶² *Ibid.*, 2 May 1957.

⁶³ John Porter, whom I interviewed by telephone on 19 July 1998, explained that he and his brother Arthur Child Porter got into the newspaper and printing business because of their father’s influence. The father also purchased and operated a book and stationery business, now successfully operated in Rexburg by John’s younger brother Warren. John had been a counselor to Delbert Taylor in the bishopric of Rexburg Fourth Ward and later served as mayor of Rexburg. The Porter family has contributed church, business, and political leadership for Rexburg and eastern Idaho for almost a hundred years. John’s son Roger still publishes the *Standard* and *Journal*.

⁶⁴ Crowder, *The Spirit of Ricks*, 43-44. Dalby changed his name from Christensen in 1907. Dalby was the Danish village where his mother was born. Dalby was released as principal of Ricks Academy in 1914, ostensibly for defending Brigham Young Academy faculty members who were being forced to resign because they taught “higher criticism.”

purpose of providing a college building at Rexburg. The obligation cannot be ignored, side stepped or explained away. It is a moral and financial obligation that must be recognized.”⁶⁵ His was a powerful community voice, crystallizing and articulating local opinion.

On 18 May, Wilkinson met with McKay to prepare for their upcoming trip to Rexburg. McKay probingly asked Wilkinson whether he had overstated the costs of new buildings at Ricks; Wilkinson does not record his answer, if any. McKay also expressed concern about what the campus would be used for if Ricks were moved. Wilkinson wrote: “I had no immediate answer as to what use should be made of these buildings. This is a tough problem. But in my mind, it is much more important to move to Idaho Falls where we will have two or three times as many students, who are not now going to college, than it is to continue with these antiquated buildings.”⁶⁶

On 21 May they drove to Idaho Falls, where Cecil Hart joined them while McKay inspected possible college sites, then accompanied them to Rexburg. There, to Wilkinson’s displeasure, John L. Clarke, Howard Salisbury, and Delbert Taylor joined them for an inspection of all of the buildings on the Ricks campus. At the conclusion of the tour, McKay decided that he and Wilkinson should return to Rexburg on 1 June where Wilkinson would repeat his presentation for all fifteen area stake presidents, the presidents would express their opinions, and the Church Board of Education would again review the question of moving Ricks.⁶⁷

April 1957, records: “9 a.m. Presided at a very important meeting held in the Board Room on the Main Floor of the Church Offices with the following: Presidents Stephen L. Richards and J. Reuben Clark, Jr.; President Ernest L. Wilkinson of the Brigham Young University; Dr. John L. Clarke, President of Ricks College, Rexburg; and the following Stake Presidents of the Rexburg Area: President Parley A. Arave, Blackfoot Stake; President Leonard E. Graham, East Rigby Stake; President Charles Porter Brizzee, Idaho Falls Stake; President J. Cleve Hansen, Lost River Stake; President Lloyd P. Mickelsen, North Idaho Falls Stake; President Orval P. Mortensen, North Rexburg Stake; President Delbert G. Taylor, Rexburg Stake; President

⁶⁵ John C. Porter, “Keeping Ricks College at Rexburg: A Moral Obligation” (editorial), *Rexburg Journal*, 6 June 1957, 4.

⁶⁶ Wilkinson, *Journal*, 18 May 1957.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 21 May 1957.

George Christensen, Rigby Stake; President Heber Earl Stokes, Salmon River Stake; President George Edwin Grover, Shelley Stake; President Lawrence T. Lambert, South Blackfoot Stake; President Cecil E. Hart, South Idaho Falls Stake; President E. Francis Winters, Star Valley Stake; President William A. Strong, Teton Stake; [and] President William J. Lewis, Yellowstone Stake.” (Rearrangement from list to paragraph mine.)

McKay’s journal entry shows his pronounced enthusiasm: “Although this was one of the busiest days of my life—having traveled 400 miles and then spent 6 hours inspecting buildings and consulting with those concerned about the college [—] I felt it was one of the most worthwhile and profitable trips I have ever taken!”⁶⁸

As scheduled, McKay and Wilkinson, this time accompanied by Marion G. Romney, made the return trip to Rexburg on 1 June. Romney’s father, George S. Romney, had been president of Ricks College (1917-30) and Marion Romney himself had been a star basketball player at the school in 1917-18.⁶⁹ He is something of an enigma in the Ricks saga. Early in the conflict, most Rexburg partisans expected his support because of his ties to the school and his longstanding friendship with many of them, including Delbert Taylor; yet from 1957 through 1960, he consistently supported moving Ricks to Idaho Falls. The meeting with the fifteen stake presidents, also attended by civic and other Church leaders from Rexburg, lasted five hours.

Wilkinson made the same presentation he had made to the Board of Education, buttressed with thirty-two large charts. Salisbury countered with his presentation. Wilkinson, confident of his own facts and presentation, wrote dismissively: “It was very apparent that Brother Salisbury had neither been fair nor objective in the materials which he used. . . . Pres McKay did not comment as to what would be the decision but did say that he thought the people of Rexburg were themselves now ready to accept the decision. We all agreed it was a very beneficial trip.”⁷⁰ McKay recorded: “No decision has yet

⁶⁸ McKay, Journal, 21 May 1957.

⁶⁹ Marion George Romney, born 19 September 1897 at Colonia Juarez, Mexico, was one of the first group of Assistants to the Twelve called in 1941, and had been ordained an apostle by David O. McKay on 11 October 1951. Romney served in the First Presidency (1973-87) and died in 1988.

been made regarding the moving of Ricks to Idaho Falls, but I think the people of Rexburg themselves are now ready to accept a decision."⁷¹ Events quickly proved that his assessment was incorrect.

Shortly after the second trip to Rexburg, newspapers reported that BYU had purchased 160 acres at Idaho Falls. This publicity intensified already keen concerns in eastern Idaho that the final decision had already been made. To defuse this apprehension, Richards suggested a public relations maneuver: Wilkinson should issue a press release that the Church's new policy was to purchase land for a branch of BYU wherever there were large concentrations of Church members. Wilkinson liked the idea; but to his displeasure, "President McKay didn't warm up to the suggestion at all, and didn't even let me explain in detail."⁷²

The McKay and Wilkinson journal entries for this period show Wilkinson continuing to press hard, but McKay becoming increasingly reluctant to respond to that pressure. McKay records receiving a barrage of letters and telephone calls from Rexburg partisans, plus copies of Porter's critical articles and editorials. Although no specific entry marks a definite shift, he apparently developed strong doubts about the wisdom of moving the school.

On 2 July, Wilkinson met privately with Richards, asking for news. Richards told him only that McKay had said little except to ask his counselors if they had received a letter from Wilkinson, written on 30 June essentially arguing his case again. Richards and McKay were going on vacation, and Richards did not expect a decision until their return.⁷³

MCKAY'S DECISION

Contrary to Richards's expectation, McKay had already made

⁷⁰ Wilkinson, Journal, 1 June 1957.

⁷¹ McKay, Journal, 1 June 1957.

⁷² Wilkinson, Journal, 28 June 1957: "From 8:00 A.M. to 11:00 A.M. with two intervening conferences, one with Pres. McKay and one with Pres. Richards. . . . I advised him [McKay] that I had been besieged by newspaper reporters concerning reports that the Church had purchased 160 acres of land in Idaho Falls."

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 2 July 1957. Wilkinson, Journal, Sunday, 30 June 1957: "I spent over six hours in the office preparing memoranda for the First Presidency on this matter."

a decision. While Richards was out of town visiting his son on 11 July, McKay met with Clark, informed him that Ricks would not be moved, then telephoned Richards with the decision. McKay had his secretary, Clare Middleniss, make a record of the telephone conversation, and the transcript reveals that Richards, displeased with the decision, tried to persuade McKay to postpone it.⁷⁴ McKay refused to do so.

Instead, he met the same day with the Board of Education executive committee and informed them that the school would stay in Rexburg. "First, granting every reason advanced . . . it is not worth the price, and second the 1954 telegram to the Eighty Fourth Quorum of Seventy. The Church is built on faith and trust. Once confidence is lost, the foundation of society begins to crumble."⁷⁵ Wilkinson promptly "made bold" to point out that "as administrator" he had not made any promise of any kind—which was true—and "stated firmly" that the facts justified the move. Although he was allowed to state his views, Joseph Fielding Smith moved and Henry D. Moyle seconded approval of McKay's decision. Wilkinson did not vote, an obvious protest, although he pointed out in his diary that he usually did not vote on such matters and added: "I may of course be wrong . . . [but] I can't help feel the decision was one of expediency and not made on proper principles. And yet the decision does show the extreme regard the Brethren have for making good on any promise."⁷⁶

In another coincidence, that same day, 11 July 1957, Arthur Child Porter, John C. Porter's brother, who had a private plane, flew Delbert Taylor, his second counselor Walter Ririe, and Rexburg banker Steve M. Meikle to Salt Lake City.⁷⁷ They came on purpose

⁷⁴ McKay, Journal, 11 July 1957.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Wilkinson, Journal, 11 July 1957.

⁷⁷ Arthur Child Porter, born at Rexburg, on 4 June 1916, had attended Ricks and BYU, served as associate editor of the *Millennial Star* during his mission in Britain during Hugh B. Brown's presidency, and was at this time a Rexburg businessman. Walter F. Ririe, Taylor's second counselor and manager of Rexburg's J. C. Penny store, succeeded him as stake president in 1967. Steve M. Meikle Sr., a Rexburg businessman, banker, and active Mormon, was representing Madison County in the Idaho House of Representatives in 1954. Louis J. Clements and Harold S.

to get an appointment with McKay so that they could further lobby him to keep Ricks at Rexburg. To their surprise and joy, during a brief afternoon meeting with McKay, he informed them of the decision he had announced that morning—that the school would not be moved.⁷⁸

At this point, McKay had changed his mind twice. Although he had begun with a predisposition to support the status quo in Rexburg as a result of his 1954 reassurances, Wilkinson's arguments had swayed him and he had, perhaps impulsively, authorized the purchase of land in Idaho Falls for a campus in June 1957. Apparently an important factor in the purchasing decision was to move quickly before real estate prices went up. Then a month later, he firmly decided that Ricks should remain in Rexburg. What he did not anticipate was Wilkinson's and Richards's conviction that this decision was seriously flawed; he also underestimated Wilkinson's single-minded commitment to moving Ricks to Idaho Falls.

The Rexburg community was publicly jubilant over the announcement. Ricks's future seemed secure. Yet privately, Taylor continued to worry. A month after the announcement, he articulated his concerns in a letter to Adam S. Bennion, now an apostle, whom Taylor had known since the 1930s. Taylor had telephoned Wilkinson following McKay's announcement to invite him to "discuss future plans with the members of the stake presidencies of this area." (Each of the Rexburg area stakes also wrote letters soliciting Wilkinson's guidance in planning the future of the school.) Wilkinson had assured Taylor in that telephone conversation that "if the school remains in Rexburg, I will put forth as much effort to build it as if it were moved to Idaho Falls." Taylor, alert to the nuance of that "if," added to Bennion: "I cannot help but feel that Dr. Wilkinson is a person that never gives up and in spite of the decision made by President McKay, he would still move the school to Idaho Falls, if it can be done, and he will use every effort in the future to not be entirely defeated in his tremendous effort to accomplish his purpose the last few years."⁷⁹

Forbush, *Pioneering the Snake River Fork Country* (Rexburg, Ida.: Eastern Idaho Publishing Co. 1972), 295.

⁷⁸ McKay, Journal, 11 July 1957.

⁷⁹ Delbert G. Taylor, Letter to Adam S. Bennion, 23 August 1957, Taylor File.

OPPOSITION BY WILKINSON AND RICHARDS

Taylor had taken Wilkinson's measure accurately. Wilkinson and Richards immediately began seeking a way to persuade McKay to change his decision. Only five days after McKay had announced the decision, Wilkinson drove to Richards's summer home near West Yellowstone, Montana, where Wilkinson "reviewed with him the Ricks College situation."⁸⁰ Wilkinson was disturbed by an article in an Idaho Falls newspaper reporting an interview with "members of Rexburg Stake Presidencies" who reported that McKay had assured them that the Idaho Falls property had been purchased "out of an abundance of caution" but that no school would be founded there.⁸¹

They discussed the results of a recent student housing survey conducted by the Rexburg Real Estate Board which reported that Rexburg could provide housing in the community for 1,570 students. Based on that report, McKay may have discounted Wilkinson's argument that the Church would need to build expensive dormitories. Wilkinson was skeptical of the findings and proposed sending Fred Schwendiman, the BYU housing director, to conduct a house-to-house survey in Rexburg.⁸²

Idaho Falls was growing rapidly during the 1950s. The U.S. Atomic Energy Commission had established offices there to support the nuclear reactor testing station in the west desert. Wilkinson latched onto the city's image as a boomtown; a year and a half later, he asserted that Idaho Falls would have a population of 95,837 in 2000, while Rexburg's would be 8,010. He grossly overestimated the first and underestimated the second.⁸³

⁸⁰ Wilkinson, *Journal*, 16 June 1957.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 17 July 1957.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 21 July 1957.

⁸³ Ernest L. Wilkinson, "Ricks College: A Statement. Statement of Sequence of Events, Information Considered by, and Reasons for the Decision of the Board of Education of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, to Move Ricks College to Idaho Falls—Reasons for Its Change of Mind" (n.p.: 12 December 1958), 5. This pamphlet exists in at least two versions. The first, which has thirty-two pages, was prepared for a 21 December 1958 meeting, discussed below, and the second version of 33 pp. includes a letter from Wilkinson dated 31 December 1958, reporting that the meetings were held and that attendees sustained the action. This

On 21 July 1957 when Richards was back in Salt Lake City, Wilkinson drove to his home for another meeting about Ricks. Although Richards was disturbed, says Wilkinson, over some alleged inconsistencies in McKay's statements to the executive committee, he cautioned Wilkinson against going ahead with the housing survey unless McKay agreed to it in writing but agreed to ask McKay whether BYU could establish a branch at Idaho Falls while leaving Ricks at Rexburg. After leaving Richards, Wilkinson drove to J. Reuben Clark's home for further advice. Clark advised him "not to be precipitate in making any decision."⁸⁴

Two months later, Wilkinson pressed the Ricks agenda in a regularly scheduled meeting with the First Presidency on 21 September, proposed establishing a branch college at Idaho Falls, and boldly demanded that the president of Ricks College, stake presidents, and all others be required to send all business pertaining to Ricks College to the Board of Education through him exclusively or that he be relieved of the responsibility for Ricks. That was not all. He specifically asked that no one be allowed to meet with General Authorities about Ricks College. Apparently he had gone too far, for "President McKay did not seem pleased with my presentation."⁸⁵ However, when he gave McKay the letter he had drafted to be sent to Clarke and the Idaho stake presidents, clarifying procedures for managing Ricks College, McKay agreed to sign it.⁸⁶ On 27 September when Richards assured him that the letter had been sent, Wilkinson felt vindicated. His strategic move had confirmed his control over Ricks as administrator of the Unified Church School System.⁸⁷ Beginning in the summer of 1957, John L. Clarke seems to have become directly

second edition was apparently sent Church-wide to all stake presidents. I quote from this second edition; original at LDS Church Archives, p. 5. On 20 July 1998, the Idaho Falls webpage estimated the city's current population as "approximately 50,000" and the population of Rexburg, not counting Ricks students, as "approximately 15,000." Ricks college students currently make up "over half of Rexburg's population." Sam Neff, "Athletics Not in BYU-Idaho Future," (*BYU Daily Universe*, 22 June 2000, 7.

⁸⁴ Wilkinson, Journal, 21 July 1957.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 25 September 1957.

⁸⁶ McKay, Journal, 25 September 1957. I have been unable to locate a copy of this letter, and McKay's journal does not summarize its provisions.

⁸⁷ Wilkinson, Journal, 27 September 1957.

responsible to Wilkinson rather than corresponding with the Board of Education or the First Presidency.

The following month on Sunday, 27 October, Wilkinson met with Clarke in Provo and informed him that no funds for new buildings at Ricks would be available until a pending study of the entire junior college program, apparently suggesting that he expected to bring up the Ricks issue in the context of the several other junior colleges he was planning. "I pledged him to secrecy on the matter and think this time he will keep the confidence," wrote Wilkinson.⁸⁸ The issue of Ricks's location was now bundled with Wilkinson's plans to develop a network of feeder junior colleges, including new schools at Idaho Falls and Salt Lake City.

Wilkinson's successful countermove obliterated the Board of Education's earlier approval of three building projects that had been factored into Ricks's 1957 budget. They included a "Library Classroom Building" for which \$10,000 in architectural fees had been appropriated, \$169,000 for a new wing on the "Technical Education Building," and \$500,000 for two residence halls. The last page listed "Special Projects for 1958," which had not yet been approved. They included \$800,000 for the library and classroom building, \$250,000 for one women's dormitory and \$113,000 for "miscellaneous projects."⁸⁹ Wilkinson unilaterally canceled the entire program. One can only surmise the frustration that Clarke must have felt, especially since he was placed in a painful double-bind of conflicting loyalties to his school and to his supervisor.

Throughout 1957-58 Wilkinson worked tirelessly on his Church-wide junior college plan.⁹⁰ When it became apparent that

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 27 October 1957.

⁸⁹ "Special Projects 1957 Budget: Ricks College," no date, 4 pp., Taylor File. The document states that the 1958 Special Projects still needed approval.

⁹⁰ Wilkinson, *Journal*, 5 September 1957: "They [the executive committee] authorized me to recommend to the board of trustees that we immediately purchase land which could be used whenever we wanted it for three junior colleges in Los Angeles, one in San Francisco, one in Portland, one in Spokane, one in Idaho Falls—unless the situation in Rexburg precludes it—and one in Salt Lake City." Further, Wilkinson's journal entry for 8 December 1957 also mentions junior colleges in Boise-Caldwell, Idaho, and Phoenix, Arizona.

the Church would not finance the full plan, he organized a BYU development fund to supplement the substantial capital investments being made on the Provo campus to free up other capital funds for his junior colleges.

On 19 July 1957, he also arranged for BYU housing director Fred Schwendiman to “assist Ricks College people in making a house-to-house survey on what the accommodations are for Ricks College students.”⁹¹ He used a BYU definition of “adequate” student housing that the executive committee of BYU’s Board of Trustees had approved which included adequate windows for bedrooms and bathrooms for ventilation, proper sanitary facilities, and fire and safety standards. According to Wilkinson’s summary, Schwendiman found “only 622 acceptable accommodation[s] in homes as compared to the 1,570, including 240 on-campus accommodations” that the real estate board had claimed. Wilkinson attacked the earlier housing study as “based on fraudulent representations.”⁹² On 30 June 1958, he took these results to Richards’s home, seeking Richards’s sponsorship in presenting his conclusions to the Board of Education.⁹³ It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that Wilkinson, true to his adversarial training as an attorney, was interested only in “facts” supporting his view that Rexburg was the wrong location for the college.

MCKAY’S REVERSAL

In August 1958 Taylor, Max C. Mortensen (Yellowstone Stake president), and Marvin C. Meyers (second counselor in the North Rexburg Stake) visited McKay in Salt Lake City to ask why the promised construction at Ricks College was being held up. McKay telephoned Wilkinson and asked what was being accomplished at Ricks. According to McKay’s journal, Wilkinson reported that he had met

⁹¹ Wilkinson, Journal, 19 July 1957.

⁹² Wilkinson, “Ricks College: A Statement,” 15. On pp. 14-17, Wilkinson compared the Schwendiman survey with that of the real estate board. He summarizes: “These facts revealed, of course, that the decision of the First Presidency and the Executive Committee not to move Ricks College, had been based on information leading to misleading conclusions, and again raised the question of the type of building program needed at Ricks College” (15).

⁹³ Wilkinson, Journal, 30 June 1958.

with Clarke two months earlier, that the two men were in entire agreement, and that “we . . . went along with every request of President Clarke”—a statement that would have astonished Clarke. McKay commented pointedly that Clarke had not been present at any meeting *he* had attended. Wilkinson reassured him in vague terms that “several things” were being done at Ricks and dismissed Taylor’s concerns: “I am just afraid that President Taylor does not know what President Clarke is doing.” McKay asked Wilkinson to call Taylor and tell him about their discussion.⁹⁴

This combination of stonewalling and misrepresentation demonstrates the extent of Wilkinson’s commitment to his own goals. He obviously exerted great administrative latitude in administering the affairs of the Unified Church School System. Where Ricks was concerned, he was willing to undercut McKay’s expressed wishes and assurances to the ecclesiastical officers of Rexburg, to stall the building program, and to marshal support for another effort to relocate the school. A question that cannot be answered is the extent to which he was willing to take such a daring step because he felt supported by Stephen L Richards, then serving as the senior administrative officer for the eighty-four-year-old McKay.

Two months after this phone call, on Sunday morning during the October 1958 general conference, Wilkinson met with “all of the stake presidencies of Rigby, Idaho Falls, Shelley, and Blackfoot” to discuss a proposal that the citizens of Idaho Falls were planning to petition the legislature for a junior college in Idaho Falls.⁹⁵ On 14 October, Wilkinson reported this development to the First Presidency, stressing that this state college would be competition to Ricks.⁹⁶

On 31 October 1958, McKay, now eighty-five, was convalescing at home following cataract surgery in considerable discomfort.⁹⁷

⁹⁴ McKay, Journal, 20 August 1958.

⁹⁵ The presidents of the stakes Wilkinson lists are George Christensen, Rigby Stake; Leonard E. Graham, East Rigby Stake; Lloyd D. Mickelsen, North Idaho Falls Stake; Cecil E. Hart, South Idaho Falls Stake; Charles P. Brizzee, Idaho Falls Stake; George E. Grover, Shelley Stake; Parley A. Arave, Blackfoot Stake; and Lawrence T. Lambert, South Blackfoot Stake.

⁹⁶ Wilkinson, Journal, 9-15 October 1958.

⁹⁷ McKay, Journal, 13 November 1958, described his eye surgery:

when J. Reuben Clark and Stephen L. Richards visited him with a letter from the six Idaho stake presidents who had met with Wilkinson. A petition to be circulated in Idaho Falls called for a referendum on establishing a state junior college in the city. The petition would lead to a ballot measure in the November general election. Calling the situation a “crisis,” they urged an emergency decision to move Ricks, or at least establish a branch of BYU at Idaho Falls. They asserted that Ricks College in Rexburg would not be viable with a state junior college in Idaho Falls. Given his age and post-operative condition, McKay was placed in a difficult position. His journal entry reads:

10 a.m. to 12 noon—Held a meeting with my counselors at my home. During our two-hour meeting we gave consideration to the letter signed by Presidents of the Stakes in the Idaho Falls area reviewing public interest and action being proposed by citizens of Idaho Falls for the circulation of a petition to the legislature for the establishment of a state college at Idaho Falls. The letter included President Wilkinson’s concurrence in the subject being brought to the attention of the First Presidency for consideration of the advisability of making an announcement as to the plans of the Church to develop Ricks College at Idaho Falls.

Consideration was also given to the memorandum of the meeting held in Idaho Falls, attended by citizens interested in petitioning for the establishment of a Junior College in Idaho Falls as well as the memorandum of legal steps to be taken for an election upon the issue and for financing the establishment of a Junior College.

After consideration it was unanimously agreed to recommend to the Council of the Twelve and the Board of Education that steps be taken to establish Ricks College at Idaho Falls. It was decided to present this recommendation to the Council of the Twelve today in a special meeting and to have Elder Marion G. Romney and Elder Hugh B. Brown go to Rexburg to present the decision to the presi-

“During this operation, as you know, the great caution . . . the doctors give is that there shall be no jar, no stooping over, to give nature opportunity to recuperate. It is quite a serious operation. . . . The first week you have to be very careful, but during that time I had the attendance of nurses 24 hours a day. They would not trust me because I threw my hands up. Every once in a while I would be awakened by a gentle hand taking my hand down and putting it by my side. . . . Tonight I believe I will get the necessary lenses put in for this eye, so for the first time in a year I will be able to focus and use two eyes.”

dents of the Rexburg Stakes, and to ask them to sustain the action, and that thereafter announcement of the decision be released to the newspapers in Idaho Falls and Salt Lake City.

The balance of the day I rested.⁹⁸

But McKay was apparently troubled by this decision. Dr. Richard Sonntag, who performed the surgery, was present in McKay's home when Richards and Clark visited to discuss this topic. According to Sonntag, McKay asked his opinion about relocating Ricks; Sonntag said he did not think the move was necessary, and McKay responded that he did not feel good about the proposed move.⁹⁹

On Sunday evening, 2 November, Romney and Brown met with Rexburg stake and ward priesthood leaders. Interviewed in 1975, Clarke attended the "special priesthood meeting" as a member without any advance information about its purpose and "was as shocked as anyone when he heard the announcement." Clarke recalled Hugh B. Brown saying that the announcement was the "hardest job he had ever been given."¹⁰⁰ According to McKay, Romney announced the First Presidency's decision to relocate Ricks and called for a sustaining vote. The majority of men present faithfully raised their hands. In retrospect, they discussed whether they had sustained the action itself or the First Presidency, a small but crucial difference in gauging orthodoxy and loyalty. Romney and Brown allowed no comment on or discussion of the matter but simply closed the meeting. "Monday morning [3 November] at 7 o'clock Brother Romney and Brother Brown met the Presidents of the Idaho Falls Stakes and told them of the reaction of the people in Rexburg. The Brethren asked that they be especially considerate of the people at Rexburg. Brother Romney reported that the stake presidents in and around Idaho Falls were gratified with the decision and felt that the movement to secure a State Junior College would be abandoned."¹⁰¹

Wilkinson recorded that on Monday, the same day that Rom-

⁹⁸ McKay, Journal, 31 October 1958. The choice of Romney and Brown is interesting. Both had ties to Rexburg. Brown was a close friend of Arthur Child Porter, John C.'s brother.

⁹⁹ Richard Sonntag, M.D., telephone interview, 12 May 1998, notes in my possession.

¹⁰⁰ Roundy, *Ricks College*, 221.

¹⁰¹ McKay, Journal, 4 November 1958.

ney and Brown were meeting with the Idaho Falls stake presidents, he telephoned Richards at home "before 8:00 A.M. and he agreed to meet with me at 9:00 A.M." Richards filled him in on the 31 October meeting with McKay and subsequent events. Wilkinson recorded a clumsy but gleeful joke: "I commented to Pres. Richards that I have been working on the transfer of Ricks College for several years and had not succeeded, but while I was out of town it was accomplished. And that I thought I should go out of town oftener."¹⁰²

Church members and citizens in Rexburg were incredulous and angry at this unexpected reversal, made without any consultation or warning whatsoever. Following the public announcement, Elder Mark E. Petersen, who "had conferred with several businessmen in Idaho Falls, including Mr. McDermott, owner and editor of the Idaho Falls papers," reported his conversations to McKay. According to McKay's journal, "McDermott expressed himself as highly pleased" by the decision but characterized the movement for a State Junior College as abortive and said "the businessmen had not been consulted and that he felt sure that they would be loath to have taxes raised to support a State College at Idaho Falls, and that Ricks College at Idaho Falls would be welcomed by the people."¹⁰³ This description suggests McKay's awareness of the possibility that the proposed state college at Idaho Falls was an empty but successful threat, contrived to persuade the Church to relocate Ricks.

By 10 November when McKay returned to the office, he raised the Ricks matter with his counselors, commenting that he thought it wise to go to Rexburg and explain in person why the decision was made. McKay had received a letter dated 4 November 1958 from Steve M. Meikle, the banker and legislator in Rexburg, who had been part of Delbert Taylor's 1954 delegation and who had also contacted McKay in April 1957 about the relocation. Although Meikle's letter is not available, McKay gave it serious consideration.¹⁰⁴ After some

¹⁰² Wilkinson, Journal, 29 October-3 November 1958.

¹⁰³ McKay, Journal, 4 November 1958.

¹⁰⁴ On 25 April 1957 McKay had received a telephone call from Orval Adams, an officer of First National Bank in Utah, who was a financial advisor to the Church and a personal friend of McKay's. "Mr. Adams stated that he is not interfering with the Ricks College matter, but he just called me to tell me about the caliber of Mr. Meikle. He is President of the Idaho

discussion, "it was decided that all three members of the First Presidency should go to Rexburg and explain to influential people that the keeping of Ricks College at Rexburg was based on the assurance that it would supply the need, but that now it was evident that it will not and that a Junior College at Idaho Falls is the greater need, and that to continue Ricks at Rexburg with a Junior College at Idaho Falls with an institute also at Idaho Falls would cause Ricks College to dwindle."¹⁰⁵ They set the date of their visit for Saturday, 15 November 1958.

The Ricks announcement had also caught other General Authorities by surprise. Thorpe B. Isaacson, a counselor in the Presiding Bishopric, who was hospitalized at the time, wrote candidly to John L. Clarke on 4 November 1958:

Last night I read in the *Deseret News* the very sad article regarding Ricks College. . . . Frankly, I must confess this is the first I had ever heard of it, and I was shocked, and I feel very blue and sad about it. For that reason I am taking the liberty of writing to you. . . . I have talked to the brethren and I have been informed, of course, that this has been studied now for some months. My own personal opinion is it has been studied ever since the time the decision was made to not move the school from Rexburg. . . . It is easy to understand [in retrospect] why it was impossible to get any buildings started there. That is both shocking and disturbing.¹⁰⁶

Clarke shared this letter with Delbert Taylor, who, concerned with the mounting furor in Rexburg, wrote to Isaacson on 7 November. The content of the letter contradicts Wilkinson's characterization of Taylor as a troublemaker and organizer of dissent: "This is a most disturbing experience. Its repercussions are being felt all over the Church and is increasing by the hour . . . We have advised our High Council to meet all Wards this coming Sunday night and to do all they can to convince our people that it is our responsibility not to criticize and to be true and faithful." He continued with his observations and analysis of the political climate. "So you can see, Brother Isaacson, that this Junior College

Bank of Commerce in Rexburg, a legislator and one of the most prominent men in Idaho."

¹⁰⁵ McKay, Journal, 10 November 1958.

¹⁰⁶ Thorpe B. Isaacson, Letter to John L. Clarke, 4 November 1958, Clarke Papers.

business was never any kind of a threat to Ricks College . . . and it couldn't possibly have been used for a logical excuse for moving Ricks College."¹⁰⁷

The status of the decision was, from one perspective, binding and final. The decision had been made by the First Presidency, endorsed by the Quorum of the Twelve,¹⁰⁸ and sustained by priesthood leaders in eastern Idaho. Wilkinson apparently took the position that the decision was a Church matter, not to be influenced by the views of the Rexburg business community. However, many Church members in Rexburg did not agree. They felt that it was less an ecclesiastical decision than a politically motivated, incorrect decision which needed to be corrected.

MCKAY'S PERSONAL APPEARANCE

On 13 November, McKay's journal notes that there was "considerable discussion held on Ricks College matters" in that day's First Presidency meeting, based on his written summary of the matter. They also revisited the letter signed by the six southern Idaho stake presidents that had been the basis of their decision on 31 October. They evaluated information about the relative populations to be served, the level of public interest in a state college in Idaho Falls, and the probable impact of such a college on Ricks College. They also planned the upcoming meeting in Rexburg.¹⁰⁹

On the eve of the trip, McKay telephoned a family friend in Rexburg, Dr. Murland F. Rigby, and invited him to attend the First Presidency's meeting in Rexburg next day.¹¹⁰ Rigby emotionally assured McKay of his loyalty:

¹⁰⁷ Delbert G. Taylor, Letter to Thorpe B. Isaacson, 7 November 1958, Taylor File.

¹⁰⁸ McKay, Journal, 31 October 1958.

¹⁰⁹ McKay, Journal, 13 November 1958.

¹¹⁰ Rigby was a descendent of William Rigby, one of the original Mormon settlers of the Snake River Valley. He practiced medicine in Rexburg for many years and served as Ricks College's physician for more than twenty years. He had become acquainted with McKay through his parents. He moved from Rexburg in 1976 after the Teton Dam disaster. Roundy, *Ricks College*, summarizes an interview with Rigby conducted on 8 May 1975 about his memories of the efforts to move the college.

I really believe . . . I don't care what happens to the school now; I want to sustain you. Some of the people have been spiritually killed and wounded and their souls have got to be reunited. They have got to be helped. This thing has had a repercussion all over the Church. Somebody has tried to put you in second, and I don't want anyone to put you in second place. You stand high and holy above all men. That is my testimony, and I want you to hear it.¹¹¹

On 15 November, with McKay and Clark in one car and Richards in another, the First Presidency drove 250 miles through a blinding snowstorm, arriving late at the meeting, which was held in a classroom in the new auditorium. Romney offered the opening prayer. McKay then read a conciliatory statement reaffirming deep ties with Ricks and the Rexburg community, reminiscing about his many trips to Ricks over the years, and telling anecdotes about the early Rexburg community, Church leaders he had known who participated in the founding of Ricks, and his association with them when the stake academies flourished. He described how the stake academies had been closed one by one. "Weber College was one survivor of that epoch, and so was Ricks Academy. And we are proud of it," he said. He noted when Ricks was made a four-year college. He did not comment on its closing. He then told of a recent conversation and correspondence with Steve Meikle, absent because he was hospitalized with a critical illness. McKay used Meikle as a surrogate audience, saying that he wanted to explain why the school would be moved.

After this lengthy preamble, however, McKay supplied only a single reason: consumer demographics. Ricks attendance was lower than expected and many students from eastern Idaho were attending other schools. The LDS population in eastern Idaho was concentrated south of Rigby. Moving the school to Idaho Falls would improve its ability to compete for these students.

Several attendees, including Delbert Taylor, pled for a reconsideration, identified the relocation project as Wilkinson's project, and impugned his motives.¹¹² Before returning to Salt Lake City,

¹¹¹ Transcript of audiotape of telephone conversation between McKay and Murland Rigby, Friday, 14 November 1958.

¹¹² McKay, Journal, 15 November 1958: "Account of meeting on Ricks College matters held in Rexburg, Idaho, as reported by A. Hamer Reiser, who accompanied the First Presidency to the meeting as secretary.

McKay visited Meikle in the hospital, but there is no record of their conversation.¹¹³

McKay apparently expected resistance to dissolve after his personal appearance and may have been taken aback that it did not. He therefore decided to broaden his base of support. Wilkinson, who made a retrospective entry covering 18-28 November because the period "had been filled with so many pressures," explained McKay's next move:

President McKay called me to his office last Monday and said he was deeply concerned over the attacks being made upon me in Rexburg. I told him that I was not at all concerned about them, that they didn't bother me one bit, and I was happy if only the Rexburg people were venting their venom on me rather than on the First Presidency. He then replied they were attacking the First Presidency also, and particularly charging that he, the president, had broken his word. He was deeply concerned over this.¹¹⁴

Wilkinson tried to dissuade McKay from asking for the views of the stake presidencies, bishops, and officers of the Melchizedek Priesthood quorums in the fifteen affected stakes "because it would reopen the entire question again, and it ought not to be reopened." McKay countered that "75 percent would favor Idaho Falls," thus

The meeting was opened with prayer by Brother Marion G. Romney and then President McKay made a statement of the reasons for the decision to move the Ricks College campus from Rexburg to Idaho Falls. . . . After President McKay had finished speaking it seemed evident these men had come to this meeting as objectors, among the chief of whom was President Taylor. . . . The objectors tried to blame President Wilkinson about this matter between the time when the original decision was made and comparatively recently. . . . Pres Clark told them that President McKay did not need anyone to make up his mind; that he had heard the arguments and made up his own mind. . . . President Taylor particularly seemed to urge that they had never had opportunity to discuss the matter; that President Wilkinson had come after long preparation and made his statement and the matter had been pushed through without proper opportunity to make their statement. President Clark pointed out to him . . . the Presidency had given them a separate meeting. . . . Finally, rather reluctantly, he seemed to admit that."

¹¹³ McKay, Journal, 15 November 1958.

¹¹⁴ Wilkinson, Journal, 18-28 November 1958.

allowing him to say that “the decision was made by the people, and that he had not gone back on his word.” Wilkinson laid out a lawyerly but ultimately futile case: the 1957 decision had been made on “fraudulent representations about Rexburg student housing,” that “no contract” was involved, and that “administrative interpretation” could change at any time. McKay responded: “he realized that there was no contract, but his word meant more than a contract.” Wilkinson had little sympathy for McKay’s position, fuming privately that if he had “adhered to the decision of the board of trustees [in 1957] . . . the entire matter would have been behind us.” Wilkinson was also irritated that, in his July 1957 announcement that the college would not move, McKay had rejected Wilkinson’s urgings to issue a press statement “that this was an administrative decision which would not be irrevocable.”¹¹⁵

Despite Wilkinson’s efforts to derail McKay’s proposal, McKay recorded, on 3 December 1958, that he “received a proposal”—he does not say from whom—

. . . to have stake and ward officers in the stakes of the Ricks College area manifest their support of Ricks College at Idaho Falls. After discussion it was decided to wait for a statement being prepared by President Ernest L. Wilkinson . . . of the history of the proposal to move Ricks College to Idaho Falls, and the stake and ward officers be asked to react [on] that occasion . . . be on call of the stake presidents in the district (2 in Blackfoot, 3 in Idaho Falls, 2 in Rigby, Lost River, Salmon River), the meetings be held at the same time, the purpose of the meeting to be announced at the meeting, and the officers attending to be asked if they sustain their stake presidents in their asking the First Presidency to reconsider the decision to leave Ricks College at Rexburg.¹¹⁶

In short, the meetings would all be held on the same Sunday evening; the subject would not be announced ahead of time. The request that Wilkinson write a statement of the history of the controversy meant that Wilkinson’s next journal entry was also retrospective. He says that McKay and Richards requested that he write “a careful statement for them to send to the priesthood and other leaders in the ten Stakes.” Wilkinson resisted: “It was a kind of *ex post facto* action to have action already taken sustained” and

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

¹¹⁶ McKay, Journal, Wednesday, 3 December 1958.

Lee, Romney, and Brown felt that a statement “would just add to the controversy.” However, he capitulated and drafted an eighty-page statement “with graphs and other statistical material.” He read it to the First Presidency, who wanted it cut. He spent the weekend on the condensation, went over the final draft with Richards on 17 December, and had it sent off on 18 December.

Again, he complained in his journal:

The matter could have easily been closed in July of 1957, if President McKay had not been “soft” in permitting people in Rexburg to talk him out of a decision already made by the board of education. I think he was very much imposed upon by President Delbert Taylor and others. . . . President McKay and the rest of us could have saved ourselves months of time had he stood fast on the decision which everyone realized, even at that time, should have been made (except President [Joseph Fielding] Smith, who was influenced by his son-in-law on the Ricks faculty, and Henry D. Moyle).

I hope this is the last statement that I have to issue on the matter. . . . I suspect that my forty-page statement, although it is written in a very calm manner, will stir up a lot of controversy.¹¹⁷

This statement became a pamphlet thirty-one pages, long in print, entitled “Ricks College: A Statement.”¹¹⁸ Because Romney and Brown had already met with the Rexburg stakes, no meetings were planned for that area, even though they had not heard the “fact” statement and it had not been clear whether they were sustaining the First Presidency or the relocation proposal. This decision reduced the number of stakes involved from fifteen to ten. A little over a week later, the night of 21 December was designated for these meetings,¹¹⁹ and, as an obvious afterthought on the very day of the meetings, the First Presidency broadened attendance from priesthood leaders to include women executives of the YMMIA, Relief Society, and Primary.¹²⁰

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁸ McKay, *Journal*, 3 December 1958.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 12 December 1958.

¹²⁰ McKay, *Journal*, Sunday, 21 December 1958, records the First Presidency decision to send letters about the meeting to the presidents of Rigby, East Rigby, Idaho Falls, South Idaho Falls, North Idaho Falls, South Blackfoot, Blackfoot, Shelley, Lost River, and Salmon River stakes. Officers to be invited were “stake presidencies, stake clerks, patriarchs, presidencies

THE REXBURG RESPONSE

Meanwhile, all during this month, John Porter and his group had kept the public's attention focused on the issue. In his "Bald Statements," a regular front-page column in the *Rexburg Journal*, John C. Porter noted on 4 December 1958 the enormous financial losses that Rexburg residents and businesses would sustain if the college were moved. Sarcastically, he added: "It could be quite a sum to lose. Of course, Dr. Wilkinson does not concern himself with big sums. He thinks nothing of junking the present Ricks campus. It will take at least \$5 million to replace Ricks campus at Idaho Falls. That's 'chicken feed' to some people." A news article on the front page of the same issue spelled out those financial losses: "Individual property owners in Rexburg will suffer financial losses of many thousands of dollars. . . . A report issued by the Chamber of Commerce Fact-Finding Committee shows that many of these people improved their property to provide student housing at the direct request of college officials." The paper also organized a membership drive for a "Committee of One Thousand" to save Ricks College. The committee reported "a few" new memberships with each mail, "along with letters telling the committee to try to keep Ricks in Rexburg."¹²¹

On 18 December, Porter ran a photograph in the *Rexburg Standard* of two scantily clad nightclub performers and a copy of an advertisement for the floor show at Idaho Falls's Bon Villa Club. The copy read scathingly: "Shows of this type undoubtedly contribute to the culture of a community making it an ideal place for a junior college. . . . Yes, Idaho Falls is a growing city. It is a boomtown with all the things that go along with a boomtown. In our opinion it is hardly the place for a college. What do you think?"¹²² In the next issue, Porter recorded his 1959 New Year's resolutions in "Bald Statements": "I will not take any more pictures of strip tease shows in Idaho Falls. I will continue to try to keep Ricks College in Rex-

of High Priests, Seventies, Elders Quorums, chairmen of Senior Aaronic Priesthood Committees, Stake Superintendencies of Relief Societies, Sunday Schools, Y.M.M.I.A., Y.W.M.I.A. organizations, Primary associations, Bishoprics, and clerks, at each ward."

¹²¹ *Rexburg Journal*, 4 December 1958, 1.

¹²² "The Stars in Action," *Rexburg Standard*, 18 December 1958, 2.

burg.”¹²³ Porter vigorously attended to the second resolution, much to the disquiet of Church authorities in Salt Lake.

During my July 1998 telephone interview with Porter, he reported that Hugh B. Brown often spent part of his summer vacation fishing on Idaho’s Island Park Reservoir with Art and John Porter. When the efforts to move Ricks to Idaho Falls became public, Brown encouraged them to resist the move. The Porters did not want to challenge leaders of the Church, and knew that Church members in Rexburg would not support attacks on the First Presidency and other Church authorities. They knew that Wilkinson had enemies and detractors, believed that he was culpable as well as vulnerable, and made him the object of their political letter-writing and journalistic campaigns opposing the move. They understood the power of their press and used it to full advantage. Porter admitted to me that the Committee of One Thousand, which was really comprised of himself, Art, and about half-a-dozen others, developed a large mailing list and weekly sent out copies of their articles, editorials, and letters. Their mailing list included McKay, many other General Authorities, and bishops from throughout the Church. Porter chuckled when he added that Wilkinson subscribed to their papers and so he “paid to get the news.”¹²⁴

Suspecting the reason for the meeting, Harold Matsen, a Mormon representing the Rexburg Chamber of Commerce, and four other Mormons, tried to attend the meeting being conducted by Rigby Stake President George Christensen. They were refused entrance, which further inflamed an already volatile situation in Rexburg. The *Deseret News* reported on 23 December that the men were turned away, adding:

The Rexburg chamber had asked permission to allow a representative to present Rexburg’s side of the matter, but that request was denied. . . . Mr. Matsen’s charges were contained in unsigned telegrams sent to various newspapers and to the wire services. . . . He confirmed by telephone the content of the telegrams, which he said were sent out by Gilbert Larson, Rexburg chamber official.

George Christensen . . . said the meeting at Rigby was restricted to Rigby Stake officials and that invitations were made to the meeting

¹²³John C. Porter, “Bald Statements.” *Rexburg Journal*, 25 December 1958, 1.

¹²⁴John C. Porter, Telephone interview, 19 July 1998.

ahead of time on that basis. . . . The pamphlet from Dr. Wilkinson . . . was an impartial report. It praised Rexburg patrons for their support of the college. . . . He said that the Rexburg group apparently had intention of “trying to break up the meeting.” He said they later distributed handbills which he considered unwarranted criticism of Church officials.¹²⁵

Another negative reaction came when Wilkinson’s pamphlet was, according to John Porter, distributed to leaders Churchwide. Partisans in Rexburg, unaware that Wilkinson had written it at McKay’s request, assumed that BYU’s president was using his position to influence the debate.

Wilkinson’s *Statement* reiterated that the decision revolved around a single question: “Whether Ricks College would have a greater destiny and perform a greater service as a great educational institution of the Church by being located at Idaho Falls rather than in Rexburg. All other matters were either subsidiary or irrelevant to the central question.” Wilkinson reviewed the history of the school and efforts to move it, presented much demographic data on eastern Idaho communities, attacked the findings of the real estate housing survey, replaced it with Schwendiman’s results showing a shortage of acceptable housing, and presented information on Ricks students vs. eastern Idaho young adults who attended other schools, including BYU. He argued that many small schools had successfully moved to areas with larger populations,¹²⁶ becoming residential schools that required less campus housing, hypothesized without specifics that the cost of adequate student housing at Ricks would cost \$6-8 million, and concluded that the impact on student enrollment at Ricks College of the planned state junior college in Idaho Falls justified McKay’s reversal of his 11 July 1957 decision. He asserted—but without supplying reasons—that this “administrative decision” did not

¹²⁵ McKay, Journal, 21 December 1958 includes this news clipping, similar clippings from the Associated Press, and one from the *Salt Lake Tribune* dated 23 December 1958.

¹²⁶ He named ten schools, including Lewis and Clark College from Albany to Portland, Oregon; Bob Jones University from Cleveland, Tennessee, to Greenville, South Carolina; Georgia State College from Industrial College to Savannah, Georgia; Earlham College from Earlham to Richmond, Indiana; and El Camino College from Lawndale to El Camino, California.

mean that the President had “gone back on his word.”¹²⁷ Rexburg stake presidencies received a copy of this pamphlet.

Delbert Taylor was not convinced by Wilkinson’s presentation. On 28 December, Taylor and his counselors—Willis G. Nelson and Walter Ririe—returned to Salt Lake City and met with President McKay and Hamer Reiser, who took notes at the meeting, urging a rehearing.¹²⁸ Taylor asked for a kneeling prayer; McKay countered with an invitation for Taylor to offer a standing prayer. Taylor’s opening statement expressed not anger but personal turmoil over “the unrest in Rexburg. . . . We are terribly ill at ease. We do not know how to solve it. We thought we could chat with you and get your counsel, advice and blessing—that we could find something to clear the picture. It is disturbing to us beyond measure. We just cannot sleep, information coming and going from different sources, some reliable, and some irresponsible, that just keep the pot boiling.” Reiser records a lengthy debate between Taylor and McKay over Wilkinson’s motives. Taylor reported that, while he was president of the Eastern States Mission, “Dr. Winsor of Cornell University heard from Dr. Wilkinson that he was going to reduce Ricks to a two-year school and then move it to Idaho Falls.” With obvious frustration, Taylor recalled his fruitless efforts to communicate with Wilkinson over the ensuing years: “We tried every way we could to approach him, but no chance. . . . All these things developed up there and have caused discord and disunity; and I wish I were a million miles from it. It has been so disturbing.”¹²⁹

Despite McKay’s defense of Wilkinson, he was not pleased to be confronted with evidence that Wilkinson had misrepresented the facts. McKay read from the *Statement* that Wilkinson had “five hearings in all” with Taylor and other Rexburg leaders, then asked Taylor, “How many appointments did you say you had with him?” Taylor answered: “We have never met with him. He has never given us a hearing.” McKay read further: “It must also be apparent that in the entire consideration over a period of five years, the Brethren were solicitous in the extreme of the views of the Rexburg Church and civil leaders.” Again Taylor presented a sharply contrasting picture.

¹²⁷ Wilkinson, “Ricks College: A Statement.”

¹²⁸ Willis G. Nelson, Taylor’s first counselor, was also principal of Madison High School, Rexburg’s only high school.

¹²⁹ McKay, *Journal*, 28 December 1958.

At the end of the meeting, McKay agreed that Taylor could write a rebuttal to Wilkinson's *Statement* for the First Presidency. McKay's parting remarks were reassuring: "I get your point of view. The Church is dear to us all. Whatever is the right thing to do, what the Lord wants us to do, we will do, and that will be right. I want you to point out in the statement that which is not true, and that which is not in accordance with the facts."¹³⁰ Wilkinson probably was not informed that Taylor was going to write a rebuttal.

The *Salt Lake Tribune* ran a follow-up article in early January reporting "strenuous protests" from the Rexburg community, with the Chamber of Commerce accusing Wilkinson with responsibility for the "bickering . . . over the location of Ricks College."¹³¹ Wilkinson's strategy was to ignore the protest and make the relocation a *fait accompli* as quickly as possible. On 26 January, he announced plans to build a junior college in Salt Lake City. Two days later he announced the "Master Plan for Ricks College at Idaho Falls."¹³²

On 17 January 1959, Wilkinson and Harvey Taylor flew to Blackfoot and met with "25 stake presidents in the Ricks College area" to plan the relocation.¹³³ He proposed including the Pocatello stakes in the new Ricks College area, thus positioning Ricks to compete directly with Idaho State College for LDS students. McKay refused to include these stakes in the Ricks College area as he did not want to cause additional problems in Pocatello.¹³⁴ Wilkinson met with the First Presidency on 6 February and reported the progress of his plans to move Ricks.¹³⁵ McKay's journal reports the content of these meetings but gives no personal opinions. On 6 February, Taylor telephoned McKay, scheduling a meeting four days later to present the promised rebuttal. Taylor tried to persuade McKay to see the Rexburg delegation alone and also permit Arthur Porter to

¹³⁰ McKay, Journal, 28 December 1958.

¹³¹ Associated Press, "'Y' President Blasted on Ricks Move," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 3 January 1959, quoted in McKay, Journal, 3 January 1959.

¹³² McKay's journal contains verbatim transcripts of respective dates with no further commentary: *Deseret News*, 26 January 1959; *Deseret News*, 28 January 1959; *Church News*, 31 January 1959.

¹³³ Wilkinson, Journal, 29 December 1958-16 January 1959, names only one stake president (Brizzee) and does not name the stakes.

¹³⁴ McKay, Journal, 6 February 1959.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*

attend. McKay would not invite Porter and insisted that Wilkinson be present.¹³⁶

The full First Presidency met for more than two hours with Taylor, Nelson, and Ririe. The lengthy minutes include the text of the rebuttal, a sixty-four-page pamphlet titled: *Dr. Wilkinson's Role in the Proposal to Move Ricks College* (Rexburg, Ida.: Art Porter Printing, 10 February 1959). The author was identified as "The Committee of One Thousand, Rexburg." Richards and Clark immediately protested against accepting the booklet because it was anonymously authored.¹³⁷ The authorship of the pamphlet became, in essence, a red herring that allowed the First Presidency to avoid responding to the merits of the argument. Instead, they charged that, although this was a Church matter, the authors had solicited support from outside the Church. They criticized the Rexburg Stake presidency for not controlling the Rexburg agitators, implied that they had abetted the protestors, and chastised them for "breaking Church discipline." Despite McKay's earlier invitation to Taylor to identify Wilkinson's misstatements, he now refused to let Taylor discuss these alleged errors point by point. Although McKay accepted a written summary of ten alleged misstatements, the First Presidency was obviously upset by the tone of the booklet and by its allegations that Wilkinson was responsible for the decision to move Ricks. Three days later, the *Deseret News* published an extremely critical notice signed by the First Presidency under a headline "Church Decries Ricks Pamphlet."¹³⁸ They interpreted it as "an attack on the professional integrity of Dr. Wilkinson" in its claims that he had planned the relocation "in contravention of official decisions" and that his statement "contain[ed] misrepresentations, with the implication that such were

¹³⁶ Ibid.

¹³⁷ Arthur C. Porter, interviewed 23 June 1975, acknowledged that he was the sole author of this booklet, based on information collected from many sources and several unnamed persons. John C. Porter corroborated that Art was the sole author, although many helped gather information for it. John C. Porter, telephone interview, 19 July 1998. See also Roundy, *Ricks College*, 234.

¹³⁸ Stephen L. Richards, "Church Decries Ricks Pamphlet," *Church News*, 13 February 1959, typescript in McKay, Journal, 13 February 1959. McKay also identifies Stephen L. Richards as the author.

deliberate.” The notice rebuked the aspersions on him and his honor as unwarranted, stated that he had the First Presidency’s full confidence, that the stake presidents had made their request in good faith, but that “we regard as presumptuous and without justification the effort made by this anonymous ‘Committee of One Thousand’ to project itself into matters pertaining to Church administration.”

Soundly rebuked, the Rexburg Stake presidency apologized. Clarke was essentially silenced by his subordinate position in the Unified Church School System, although he later reported that he “wrote a letter to the First Presidency in which I said if it ever gets to the point where I have to be disloyal to you I’ll resign. But, I said, I think Ricks College should remain in Rexburg.”¹³⁹ McKay’s journal chronicles frequent First Presidency discussions and expressions of support from stake presidents in the Idaho Falls area.¹⁴⁰

On 27 March just before April conference, Elder Gordon B. Hinckley, who had recently attended a stake conference in Rexburg, read a memorandum containing a message that Delbert Taylor asked him to deliver to the First Presidency. Taylor had told Hinckley that he “was greatly oppressed by a sense of having done wrong. . . . We know we have made some serious mistakes. We have done wrong. We sustain the First Presidency, and we want them to know that we sustain them.” Hinckley added: “President Taylor is now trying to appease the people’s feelings and to gain their united support of the First Presidency. . . . In conversations repeatedly President Taylor indicated that he sustained President McKay and the

¹³⁹ John L. Clarke, Interviewed by Arthur C. Porter, 1989 (no month or day), 16 pp.; photocopy of typescript in my possession, quotation from p. 14. I thank Gary Porter for this copy and permission to use it. Unfortunately Clarke did not specify at what point in the controversy he wrote his letter.

¹⁴⁰ McKay, Journal, 9 January, 2, 6, 10, 13, and 20 February, 13 and 27 March 1959. Cecil Hart, president of South Idaho Falls Stake, called McKay’s office, representing the other stake presidents, as believing “that the Ricks College would serve more efficiently at Idaho Falls than if it were to remain in Rexburg.” He “deplored” the Committee of One Thousand’s “attack upon President Wilkinson and the Presidency of the Church.” The Ricks issue does not surface again until April conference and Stephen L. Richards’s death.

Presidency and appeared to be extremely repentant about what has happened.”¹⁴¹

On 19 May 1959, Wilkinson lost his strongest ally when Stephen L Richards died suddenly from a coronary thrombosis. Wilkinson lamented: “Pres. Richards had been a great strength in the Presidency of the Church and will be missed sorely by President McKay, who relied completely on him. . . . but no one has given me more effective support than he. Next to President McKay I will probably miss him more than anyone.”¹⁴² J. Reuben Clark replaced Richards as first counselor, while Henry D. Moyle—who had often sparred with Wilkinson over money and disagreed with him on moving Ricks—became second counselor.

A lull in the controversy followed. Wilkinson’s attention shifted to BYU and to concern that the Pacific Board of Education, not he, controlled the Church College of Hawaii. He was very upset, upon returning from the Middle East, to learn that the First Presidency had authorized CCH to become a four-year institution.¹⁴³ His next mention of Ricks occurred in a memo to Clare Middlemiss on 26 August, providing at her request a summary of business he had transacted with the First Presidency that day. He noted that he had left before the meeting ended but that Joseph Fielding Smith planned to propose to the First Presidency that General Authorities be admonished not to give any encouragement to Rexburg residents to have the decision changed and that “appropriate action” be taken about Rexburg Church leaders who continued to resist.¹⁴⁴

A DIVERSION

The lull was over. Wilkinson’s hard line was his reaction to the next effort to keep Ricks in Rexburg by casting aspersions on his character. By 16 August 1959 a circular, written by a “Special Committee of BYU Alumni of California,” was mailed from near San Francisco to “211 LDS bishops.”¹⁴⁵ I have been unable to find a copy;

¹⁴¹ McKay, *Journal*, 27 March 1959. McKay does not record his reaction or that of others in the meeting to this apology.

¹⁴² Wilkinson, *Journal*, 19 May 1959.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, 12 August 1959.

¹⁴⁴ McKay, *Journal*, 26 August 1959.

¹⁴⁵ Gary Porter, Statement prepared “as a historical record of my father Arthur Child Porter,” 3, n.d., typescript, 7 pp.; photocopy in my

but Jerry Roundy, in his history of Ricks College, describes it as a "two sided flyer." On the front is a photocopy of an article written by Ed Montgomery of the *San Francisco Examiner*, and published on 15 May 1959. This article reports on the

defunct Texas based American Health Studios which had sold hundreds of memberships to Bay area residents and then gone bankrupt. It was the very last paragraph of the article, however, that was intended for readers of the circular. Circled in red ink the paragraph read: "*Ryan further determined that Brigham Young University of Utah had loaned American Health Studios \$300,000 and holds a chattel mortgage on the physical assets of four of the northern California studios, most of which are located in leased quarters.*" . . . Within six months the same organization was under investigation for fraud. WE ASK PRESIDENT WILKINSON.

Roundy continues:

The circular writers were careful to not actually accuse President Wilkinson of any illegalities, but [the] intimation was enough to cause people to think. . . . The back side of the circular was filled with copies of newspaper clips showing the chattel mortgage held by B.Y.U. and clips from Texas and California newspapers linking the B.Y.U. President and the B.Y.U. to the American Health Studios.¹⁴⁶

Roundy notes that a group of BYU alumni quickly rallied to Wilkinson's support, charging that the circular was simply an attempt at character assassination. They admitted that Wilkinson had communicated with the health studios but denied any impropriety.¹⁴⁷ Naturally Wilkinson suspected, despite the San Francisco mailing, that Ricks partisans had written and distributed it. It was an

possession.

¹⁴⁶ Quoted in Roundy, *Ricks College*, 237-39.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 237-39. Wilkinson, Journal, 27 August 1959, records that the incoming and outgoing executive committees of the BYU Alumni Association had appointed a subcommittee "to investigate the scurrilous attack." He answered their questions, then insisted on leaving the room while they discussed their course of action. Fifteen minutes later, by "unanimous vote" they had authorized one of the officers "to answer the circular over their names, and send it to all the Stake Presidents, Bishops and other parties." Wilkinson notes with gratification that "they were all highly indignant over the attack." Throughout the rest of 1959 and early 1960, he records repeated efforts to find out who was behind the circular.

astute guess. Arthur C. Porter, shortly before his death on 7 June 1997, told his son, Gary, that he had prepared and printed the circular. Angry over Wilkinson's role in the Ricks relocation and particularly irritated at Wilkinson's "end-justifies-the-means" tactics, Art stepped across the same ethical line. When he discovered the BYU-American Health Studios connection, he decided to use the incident to embarrass Wilkinson. He flew his own plane to San Francisco and mailed copies of the circular to leaders throughout the Church.¹⁴⁸

Rumors, allegations, and disagreements marred the summer. A few days after the flier came out, Wilkinson met with George Christensen, president of the Rigby Stake and a supporter of the relocation. Christensen gave him "up-to-date material as to the methods that Delbert Taylor and others were using to defy the decision of the General Authorities to move Ricks College to Idaho Falls."¹⁴⁹ Wilkinson apparently missed the irony of his characterization, since he had himself set the events in motion to "defy" McKay's decision to leave Ricks in Rexburg. Meanwhile, no funds were appropriated for the new campus at Idaho Falls; and although the Church had purchased the property, no work began on the site. The citizens of Rexburg therefore still believed they had a chance to get the decision reversed, even though Delbert Taylor was no longer a rallying point for opposition.

Then, in October, Wilkinson had a misunderstanding with Moyle, with whom he had had a cautious relationship up to this point. Wilkinson had invited Moyle to dedicate two dormitories, then sent a follow-up letter that a relative of the person for whom one of the buildings was being named "wanted more than 10 minutes of time." He had suggested that "it may be unnecessary" for Moyle to do more than make a few comments and offer the dedication. "Highly insulted and indignant," Moyle called Wilkinson on the carpet for inviting a member of the First Presidency to speak and then withdrawing the invitation. Wilkinson lamented that Moyle "was not reasonable in listening to any explanation."¹⁵⁰ Through the remainder of 1959 and 1960, Wilkinson found himself sparring with Moyle over BYU funding.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁸ Gary Porter, Statement. See also Roundy, *Ricks College*, 237-38.

¹⁴⁹ Wilkinson, Journal, 22 August 1959.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 20 October 1959.

At the end of October, almost exactly a year since McKay's decision to relocate Rick, Dr. Rigby of Rexburg telephoned McKay, stating that he knew the name of the General Authority who had encouraged the eastern Idaho stake presidents to write the "crisis" letter urging the relocation. McKay, who does not record the General Authority's name, said he did not believe the story but would look into it. Rigby pled for a reconsideration.¹⁵²

THE 1960 BUDGET CRUNCH

In December 1959 a new budget committee was chosen for the Church with Spencer W. Kimball as chairman. In a meeting with this committee on 4 December, Wilkinson learned that the Church had spent \$8 million above its income during the calendar year 1959 and that budget requests for 1960 exceeded anticipated income by \$17 million. The committee on the disposition of tithes—composed of the First Presidency, the Quorum of the Twelve, and the Presiding Bishopric—had affirmed the Church's policy of not having expenditures exceed income. Kimball therefore asked Wilkinson to reduce anticipated expenditures for the Unified Church School System in 1960 by \$8.5 million, a figure which included \$5 million for the Idaho Falls campus and \$3.5 that Wilkinson wanted for other junior college sites.¹⁵³ With his usual refusal to accept reserrals, Wilkinson tried unsuccessfully to get the money for Ricks restored later that month.¹⁵⁴ Although he continued to envision a network of junior colleges, December 1959 essentially terminated the possibility.¹⁵⁵

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 7 September 1960: "President Moyle peremptorily announced that he knew the Church had overspent its budget for this year" and that there would be no money for the junior college program. On 19 October, Moyle successfully reduced Wilkinson's education budget so that more money could go to missionary work and chapel construction.

¹⁵² McKay, *Journal*, 30 October 1959. McKay does not record the General Authority's name, but he may have been Stephen L Richards. Richards was a close friend of Cecil Hart, president of South Idaho Falls Stake, and John Porter believed that Hart worked vigorously behind the scenes to have Ricks moved. John C. Porter, telephone interview, 19 July 1998.

¹⁵³ Wilkinson, *Journal*, 4 December 1959.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 29 December 1959.

¹⁵⁵ Wilkinson continued to press his agenda, but with less success.

The next spring in April 1960, Wilkinson, who was feeling burdened by his responsibilities, asked McKay for a “special blessing” and recorded the tender experience: “He laid his hands on my head . . . and said he was giving the blessing at my request and because of his own desire. He referred to me as ‘beloved associate’ and ‘esteemed friend.’” The blessing recognized Wilkinson’s heavy load, asked in his behalf a vision of the future and the ability to transform the vision into action, asked that Wilkinson would understand the dangers of communism, and blessed him that his body might be cleaned of any impurities or health-destroying elements “for my age,” and that Wilkinson would have strength to do his work.¹⁵⁶

THE THIRD MCKAY DECISION

On 2 May McKay, without informing anyone but his family, Clare Middlemiss, and Wilkinson had himself driven to Ricks. The day before, he invited Wilkinson to go along; but Wilkinson, who was preparing for a meeting with the Board of Trustees, declined—which he later admitted was a tactical blunder. He wrote a few days later, “Although I could not have done it and gotten ready for a meeting of the Board of Trustees . . . it was a real opportunity lost.”¹⁵⁷

Wilkinson’s absence meant that he could not impose his interpretation of the experience on McKay, and the outpouring of spontaneous feeling apparently altered McKay’s feeling that Rexburg was an outpost of resistance. The Church president arrived just as a student devotional was ending. Immediately President Clarke convened a second devotional, preempting the next hour’s classes. President McKay spoke “to the students for about thirty minutes, admonishing them to know where they are going and to live up to the principles [of] the Church.”¹⁵⁸ The students sang “We Thank Thee, O God, for a Prophet,” and he shook hands “with about five hundred students”—over half of the student body of 922.¹⁵⁹ Then McKay met

Wilkinson, *Journal*, 7 June 1960, specifically mentions that “Brother Kimball and Brother [Delbert L.] Stapley” were concerned about the financial implications of his ambitious proposed building programs.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 28 April 1960.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 6 May 1960.

¹⁵⁸ McKay, *Journal*, 2 May 1960.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 30 June 1960.

with Clarke and asked him “to furnish me with some data regarding the College which I wish to study” and returned to Salt Lake City. Exhilarated, the eighty-six-year-old Church president wrote: “It was a very successful visit, and I wanted to partake of the spirit of the school and see just what they are accomplishing under adverse circumstances of this year, which was one of the most difficult years for Ricks College. I was very glad I made the trip—it was about 500 miles. It was one of the best trips I have made in many a year!”¹⁶⁰ The following day McKay received the information he had requested about where the students were from.¹⁶¹

On Saturday, 11 June 1960, Wilkinson met with McKay to lobby for a “fifteen year junior college plan” that he wished later to propose to the Board of Education. For his part, McKay wanted to discuss their need to “make a decision regarding Ricks College.”¹⁶² Wilkinson was greatly encouraged by the meeting, recording that it was “one of the most satisfactory conferences I have had for a long time.” He also recorded that McKay described his recent trip to Rexburg and said “he and I would have to get together and decide what to do with Ricks.” The phrasing did not communicate a firm commitment to the relocation decision, and Wilkinson speculated:

My impression is that Pres. McKay really wants Ricks College to stay at Rexburg. . . . I will have to go to this meeting [of the Board of Education on 29 June] well prepared. . . . President McKay was obviously greatly concerned about the Ricks College situation. This is apparent from the fact that he told me that was the most important matter that he had to decide as President. The peace loving soul that he is, it is very difficult for him to make decisions regardless of their merits where there is violent objection.¹⁶³

To Wilkinson’s displeasure, he received a call on 23 June that the board meeting had been canceled. That evening he telephoned

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 2 May 1960.

¹⁶¹ Clarke had broken down the information by state and foreign country with Idaho students also listed by town with a second breakdown by stake and mission. He concluded his letter: “I do hope that very soon we may be able to move forward with a program of development for the college. All of us at Ricks sustain and support you with our faith, prayers, and love.” McKay, *Journal*, 3 May 1960.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, 11 June 1960.

¹⁶³ Wilkinson, *Journal*, 11 June 1960.

McKay to express his dismay. McKay assured him that the meeting was only postponed and agreed to meet with him privately on 25 June. Wilkinson was even more displeased after the meeting was over. He had made a strong pitch to McKay that, as McKay recorded in his journal, "it will cost nearly as much to build Ricks at Rexburg as it will to build a new college at Idaho Falls—\$7,014,000 at Idaho Falls and \$5,600,000 at Rexburg." Unpersuaded, McKay told Wilkinson that he had gone along with the Brethren (probably meaning Clark and Richards) but that he "had never really felt right about the decision" made in response to the October 1958 "crisis" letter to relocate Ricks.¹⁶⁴

Seeing the decision unraveling before his eyes, Wilkinson extravagantly wrote, "This was by all odds the most unsatisfactory talk I have had with President McKay." The President seemed to "brush aside practically every argument I made in favor of sustaining the two decisions of the Board of Education to transfer it to Idaho Falls. He virtually accused me of two things. One inciting the stake presidents at Idaho Falls to urge that Ricks be transferred to Idaho Falls and two that I did not support his intermediate decision to have the college remain at Rexburg."¹⁶⁵ Despite Wilkinson's tone of injured innocence, he was, in fact, guilty on both counts.

Wilkinson tried to explain some of the extenuating circumstances that accounted for his actions, but

I do not think he was entirely satisfied . . . I could not tell him, which was the fact, that I had been dealing with President Richards on this matter and President Richards on many occasions had urged me to hold up the matter and not get any money appropriated at Rexburg because President McKay had been imposed upon by fraudulent stories when he decided to move Ricks to Idaho Falls (since President Richards has died it was inappropriate to place the blame on him so I took all of it).

In a dramatic countermove, Wilkinson offered to resign. This proposal had the desired effect of distracting McKay: "His reply was that he never wanted to hear me say anything like that again," Wilkinson concluded. "I am not going to give up until the final decision is against me although it seems that President McKay has himself made up his mind."¹⁶⁶ In retrospect, McKay's total lack of skepticism about

¹⁶⁴ McKay, Journal, 25 June 1960.

¹⁶⁵ Wilkinson, Journal, 25 June 1960.

Wilkinson's motives is as amazing as Wilkinson's inability to accept McKay's decision.

On 30 June, Wilkinson asked to present his view to the Quorum of the Twelve; but on the very day of his request, McKay called a special meeting of the First Presidency and Twelve in the Salt Lake Temple. Here he "gave a report on Ricks College. This was in deed an Apostolic meeting . . . a matter which had given him [meaning McKay] a lot of worry." He gave a detailed history of the actions and decisions regarding Ricks College, said "he could not feel right about moving the school from Rexburg to Idaho Falls, and spending seven million dollars in building a new school, leaving standing in Rexburg at least three new buildings on campus, even though they should have to spend five million dollars in Rexburg." When he thought about relocating Ricks, he said, he felt "cloudy." Whether or not they built a junior college at Idaho Falls he recommended that Ricks be retained at Rexburg. One by one, the General Authorities present expressed negative feelings about the move and support for leaving Ricks at Rexburg. Joseph Fielding Smith moved and Henry Moyle seconded to sustain McKay; the vote was unanimous.¹⁶⁷

Mystifyingly, McKay did not inform Wilkinson, Clarke, Taylor, or anyone else of this decision. On 2 August, Wilkinson made a note to himself to "write a letter suggesting that we found at the same time a college in Idaho Falls"¹⁶⁸ and continued his efforts either to inaugurate building the campus at Idaho Falls or to convince the Board of Education to build both in Rexburg *and* Idaho Falls. On 7 September, a delegation of Church and civic leaders from Idaho Falls visited McKay to inquire about the delay in starting the promised construction.¹⁶⁹ Bafflingly, McKay remained noncommittal and they left without knowing that a decision had been made. On 19

¹⁶⁶ Ibid.

¹⁶⁷ McKay, Journal, 30 June 1960.

¹⁶⁸ Wilkinson, Journal, 2 August 1960.

¹⁶⁹ McKay, Journal, 7 September 1960. Arriving at the office at 6:45 A.M., he was surprised to find waiting six men waiting for him: "Lloyd Mickelsen, North Idaho Falls Stake President; W. J. O'Bryan, Mayor, City of Idaho Falls; Paul W. Ahlstrom, Idaho Falls Stake President; George Christensen, President of Rigby Stake; George E. Grover, President of Shelley Stake; and Rex Schwendiman, of School District 91, Idaho Falls." Punctuation standardized.

October McKay met Wilkinson before the regularly scheduled Board of Trustees meeting and asked Wilkinson about Ricks. Wilkinson replied that “I had not been pressing him on the matter. That I had been waiting his decision.” McKay still did not inform Wilkinson about the apostolic meeting. Instead, he directed Wilkinson to build dormitories in Rexburg. The BYU president correctly deduced that this was McKay’s “indirect way of saying that we were not going to build the junior college at Idaho Falls.”¹⁷⁰ But at least this time, Wilkinson seems to have accepted the decision.

Considering his zealous six-year effort to move Ricks, Wilkinson’s journal entry expresses less disappointment than one might expect: “Over the six year period this had engrossed my time more than any other matter. I have spent more time on it than any other matter. . . . I have given my best to it. . . . As I try to be philosophical about the matter, however, I think probably the thing to do is now to accept it without further protestation.”¹⁷¹ Perhaps McKay’s indication had allowed the natural process of attrition to wear away even Wilkinson’s iron will.

A week later on 27 October 1960, still acting indirectly, McKay lifted the cloud over Ricks by telephoning Clarke and asking, “Will you send me the list of your needed buildings?” Clarke replied that he would be happy to do so. McKay added: “Send a copy of the letter to President Wilkinson. . . . [And give] my best wishes to the student body this morning.”¹⁷²

Despite Wilkinson’s “philosophical” acceptance of the decision, he was actually so disheartened that he met with Marion G. Romney on 8 November 1960 and “poured out my soul to him with respect to my great concern over the Ricks College situation.” Romney listened patiently, then recalled for Wilkinson the story of Abraham’s willingness to sacrifice Isaac and Heber C. Kimball’s willingness to give his wife, Vilate, to Joseph Smith. Wilkinson, understanding the point Romney was making about obedience, acquiesced: “I think I am going to go along with Brother Romney’s advice.”¹⁷³

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 9 October 1960.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 19 October 1960.

¹⁷² McKay, Journal, 27 October 1960.

¹⁷³ Wilkinson, Journal, 8 November 1960.

EPILOGUE

Nearly seven years later in a meeting between the ninety-three-year-old McKay and the nearly seventy-year-old BYU president, Wilkinson suggested that the Unified Church School System needed a chancellor "who would have supervision over all branches of the Church school system." McKay agreed and asked if Wilkinson had anyone in mind. Wilkinson suggested Howard W. Hunter but McKay worried about Hunter's health; he proposed Delbert Stapley, but Wilkinson thought Stapley had insufficient educational experience. Finally McKay suggested good humoredly: "I think we ought to appoint you."¹⁷⁴

Later that month, McKay received a visit from Dr. Rigby of Rexburg. As they reminisced about the struggle over Ricks College, McKay confided: "I have always felt good about the fact that we had not moved Ricks College out of Rexburg; that I had never felt right about the decision that was made under stress to move the college to Idaho Falls, and had never rested easy until the decision had been changed. I thanked Dr. Rigby for calling, and invited him to come back again when he is in the city."¹⁷⁵

In 1989 when Arthur C. Porter was contemplating writing about the struggle over Ricks's location, he interviewed John L.

¹⁷⁴ McKay, Journal, 5 February 1967 from notes prepared by Wilkinson. McKay obviously did not make the proposal seriously, since Wilkinson was not appointed.

¹⁷⁵ McKay, Journal, 15 February 1967 also recorded an odd experience that Rigby, who made at least two visits and several telephone calls, had had on his arrival in the city that day. According to McKay's journal, Rigby "said he stopped at ZCMI lunch counter for a sandwich before coming up to our home at 1037 East South Temple to see me. While eating his sandwich a striking-looking man, well dressed in a dark suit, came over and sat down by him, and said, 'You are going to see President McKay aren't you?' Dr. Rigby, surprised, and without thinking, said, 'Why yes, I am going to see President McKay.' He did not know the man; had never seen him in his life. The man then said, 'You help President McKay; he needs all the help you can give him!' Dr Rigby turned his head to take a bite of sandwich, and then turned back to say something to the man, but he was gone. He quickly put some money down on the counter grabbed his coat, and tried to follow the man, but he could not find him anywhere. He said that to this day he has wondered who the man was."

Clarke. When Porter asked: “Do you think the idea for the move itself was germinated in Wilkinson’s mind or could Stephen L. Richards have put him up to it?” Clarke attributed the idea to Wilkinson and saw it as “part of a bigger scheme . . . [of] having junior colleges all over the west.” In fact, Clarke had been appointed chairman of “a committee called the Curriculum Committee for Junior Colleges.” He confessed:

I can’t name any other authorities simply because I don’t know. . . . The only thing I found wrong with Wilkinson—and I’ve spent hours together, just like the two of us talking here . . . I’ve been in his home many times . . .—and the only thing I ever had against him was he seemed to believe that the end justified the means. If he had an idea that he thought was a good one, you’d better get out of his way. He didn’t mind just running over you. . . . I have never believed that Wilkinson just decided he was going to humiliate Rexburg. . . . I think he was sincere in thinking that the school would be better off in Idaho Falls. But then . . . having made the decision, he’d do anything to get his way.¹⁷⁶

For these reasons, Clarke “doubt[ed] very much that Stephen L. Richards would originate the idea, but he picked up on it immediately. He and Wilkinson were good friends.”¹⁷⁷

Why did the Ricks conflict take nearly seven years to resolve? One could make a case that McKay was indecisive and easily influenced. However, the evidence indicates otherwise. McKay had no desire or compelling vision to move Ricks. He remembered his disappointments over the closing or secularization of the stake academies, especially Weber Academy. His spiritual, historic, and human impulses were to preserve the college in Rexburg. Without Wilkinson’s single-minded drive for Ricks’s “greater destiny,” this drama would not have occurred. Wilkinson, unable to accept the failure of his grand vision, tirelessly and repeatedly devised new strategies to convince McKay to support his plans. The diaries of both men reveal them as simultaneously human but also larger than life.

¹⁷⁶ John L. Clarke, Interviewed by Arthur C. Porter, 1989 (no month or day), 18 pp.; photocopy of typescript in my possession, quotation from p. 4. I thank Gary Porter for this copy and permission to use it.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 2.



The Jacob Spori Building on Ricks College Campus, 1952. The ninety-seven-year-old Spori Building, Ricks's oldest, was scheduled for demolition in December 2000. However, unidentified personnel ordered a "surprise demolition" on the evening of 28 November, and wrecking crews arrived at midnight. The steel cable attached to the bulldozers ignited the building, which burned to the ground, producing flames visible fifteen miles out of town. The demolition was "to avoid potential safety hazards to students" (History Up in Flames," Daily Universe, 30 Nov. 2000, 1).



Delbert Taylor



John Porter

CORINNE ALLEN AND POST-MANIFESTO ANTIPOLYGAMY

Joan Smyth Iversen

CORINNE TUCKERMAN ALLEN (1856-1931), wife of Clarence Emir Allen (1852-1932), the first elected congressman for the new state of Utah, was a prominent non-Mormon Utah resident for over forty years.¹ She was involved in the founding of the Utah

JOAN SMYTH IVERSEN is emerita professor of history, State University of New York at Oneonta, where she was chair of the history department and coordinator of the women's studies program. Her earlier articles about the relationship of nineteenth-century suffragists and Mormon women appeared in *Feminist Studies*, *Frontiers: a journal of women's studies*, and *Journal of the History of Sexuality*. She is the author of *The Antipolygamy Controversy in U.S. Women's Movements, 1880-1925: A Debate on the American Home* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1997). An earlier version of this paper was presented at the Mormon History Association annual meeting in June 1998 at Washington, D.C.

¹ Clarence Allen, an early adversary of the Mormons, was a member of the Liberal Party in Salt Lake City. See "Clarence Emir Allen," *National Cyclopedia of Biography*; and "Clarence E. Allen," in Orson F. Whitney, *History of Utah*, 4 vols. (Salt Lake City: George Q. Cannon & Sons, 1892-1904), 4:687-88. Before his election to Congress after statehood in 1896, Allen served in the Utah Territorial House of Representatives in 1888, 1890, and 1894 where he was responsible for introducing the first legislation establishing Utah public schools, which earned him the title of "Father of the Free Public School System in Utah." Florence E. Allen, *To Do Justly* (Cleveland, Ohio: Western Reserve University Press, 1965), 5; and

Woman Suffrage Association (1889), served as president of the Ladies' Literary Club (1895-96), was both president and founding member of the Utah Federation of Women's Clubs (1893), attended the first (1897) meeting in Washington, D.C., of the National Congress of Mothers (forerunner of today's National Parent-Teachers Association), and began the Utah chapter of the Congress of Mothers (1898).²

Behind this record of club activity is the unexplored story of yet another role of Corinne Tuckerman Allen—that of antipolygamist—and the response to post-Manifesto polygamy within U.S. women's organizations. By focusing on Corinne Allen's antipolygamy efforts, we can trace the reemergence of an antipolygamy movement after Utah statehood and better understand the political dynamics underlying the B. H. Roberts and Reed Smoot controversies. More important, attention to Corinne Allen's career as an antipolygamy reformer allows us to observe the complex responses of women's groups to the antipolygamy issue, to grasp the assumptions underlying the antipolygamy crusades, and to better understand the transformation of ideas of gender and morality which ultimately made antipolygamy irrelevant.

EARLY UTAH YEARS

The Allens arrived in Utah in 1881-82. Clarence Emir Allen had been a professor of Greek and Latin at Western Reserve College until he fell seriously ill with tuberculosis. Advised to migrate west

R. N. Baskin, *Reminiscences of Early Utah: Danites, Murder, and Polygamy* (Salt Lake City: Utah Lighthouse Ministry, 1914 photo reprint), 198-203. Allen reluctantly joined the GOP with Mormon members but then worked cordially with prominent Republican Mormons like Heber M. Wells. Edward Leo Lyman, *Political Deliverance: The Mormon Quest for Utah Statehood* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986), 273. Allen describes campaigning with Heber Wells in his diary. C. E. Allen, holograph Memo Diary, 19 October 1895, Florence Ellinwood Allen [daughter] Papers, MSS 3287, Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland, Ohio (hereafter cited as Allen Papers, Western Reserve).

² Interestingly, this impressive list of activities is barely mentioned in her obituary in the *Deseret News*, 12 September 1931, 8, which describes her as "prominent in social circles." I am indebted to Linda Thatcher of the Utah State Historical Society for sending me this obituary.

for his health, he moved to Salt Lake City to teach at Hammond Hall, Salt Lake (Congregational) Academy. His daughter, Florence Ellinwood Allen, reported that he was so ill during the trip that he was actually carried into Salt Lake City on a stretcher.³ Corinne, accompanied by two small children, arrived in Salt Lake City six months later.⁴ By 1886, when he was preceptor at Hammond Hall, Clarence was advised to seek less sedentary employment as a cure for his continued ill health. He moved his family to Bingham, Utah, and became an self-taught assayer for the Old Jordon and South Galena Mining Company.⁵

The Allens' arrival in Utah Territory coincided with the height of the first women's antipolygamy crusade.⁶ This crusade had begun in 1878 with the founding of the Salt Lake Ladies Anti-Polygamy Society, was followed by the formation of ties with the Protestant women's home missionary societies, and resulted in the launching of a large grass-roots women's antipolygamy initiative in the 1880s.⁷

³ Allen, *To Do Justly*, 2-5. Florence Ellinwood Allen (1884-1966) was the first woman federal judge in America, first appointed to the Ohio Supreme Court (1922) and then appointed by Franklin D. Roosevelt to the federal Circuit Court of Appeals (1934). *Notable American Women: The Modern Period*, edited by Barbara Sicherman and Carol Hurd Green (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press, 1980), 11-13.

⁴ The Allens had seven children, one of whom died in infancy. Two sons, Clarence Jr. and John, were casualties of World War I. Corinne was survived by four daughters: Dr. Esther Gaw (Dean of Women, Ohio State University), Judge Florence Allen, Mrs. Helen Shockey, and Mrs. Elizabeth Sloane (both residents of California). "Mrs. Corinne Tuckerman Allen, S.G. '79," "Obituary," typescript, Allen Papers, Western Reserve.

⁵ Allen, *To Do Justly*, 3-5. A detailed sketch of his life is printed in "Clarence Emir Allen: Father of the Free Public School System in Utah," *The AX-IDENT-AX* (Salt Lake City) 17 (August 1952): 2-7, Allen Papers, Western Reserve.

⁶ The nineteenth-century women reformers used *woman* (singular) to refer to their crusades and organizations, e.g., Woman Suffrage Association, Woman's Christian Temperance Association, etc. While using their terms in quotations and titles, I frequently revert to the modern usage of *women* (plural) when writing about these movements.

⁷ The first women's antipolygamy crusade was identified by Robert J. Dwyer, *The Gentile Comes to Utah: A Study in Religious and Social Conflict*,

This antipolygamy sentiment facilitated the passage of federal antipolygamy legislation. The Edmunds Act (1882) criminalized the Mormon practice of polygamy, disfranchised polygamists, and created the five-member Utah Commission to oversee Utah elections. As a result, federal marshals launched the beginning of the "Raid" to hunt out polygamists. The more punitive Edmunds-Tucker Act (1887) set in motion the machinery to confiscate Mormon Church property which led to the Woodruff Manifesto, the first real LDS capitulation on the question of plural marriage.

There is no record that the Allens engaged in antipolygamy activities in their early years in Salt Lake City when Clarence taught at the academy. Since they were active members of the Congregational Church which was involved in the antipolygamy campaign, however, it is probably safe to assume that they were sympathetic to the crusade in this period. Clarence Allen aligned himself with anti-Mormon politics after 1888 when, as a member of the Liberal Party, he profited from the Utah Commission's redistricting and was elected to the territory's House of Representatives from the Bingham-Tooele district.⁸ He later recalled that he quashed Mormon legislative opposition to his public school legislation by enlisting the help of prominent anti-Mormon Senator George Edmunds.⁹

In 1889 the Allens attended a Liberal Party rally in Salt Lake City which celebrated the continued attacks upon polygamists. Sung at the rally to the tune of "Marching Through Georgia" was "Marching Through Zion," written by one of the Allen daughters. It exulted in Mormon polygamists' flight to the "Underground" to escape im-

1862-1890 (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University Press, 1941). The importance of the Protestant home mission women in this crusade is described by Peggy Pascoe, *Relations of Rescue: The Search for Female Moral Authority in the American West, 1874-1939* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990). For the proliferation of the women's antipolygamy crusade and its impact upon nineteenth-century women's groups, see Joan Smyth Iversen, *The Antipolygamy Controversy in U.S. Women's Movements, 1880-1925: A Debate on the American Home* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1997).

⁸ Whitney, *History of Utah*, 4:687-8. For an anti-Mormon view of these events, see Baskin, *Reminiscences of Early Utah*, 173-83.

⁹ C. E. Allen, Letter to Hon. R. N. Baskin, 6 December 1911, Allen Papers, Western Reserve; also published in Baskin, *Reminiscences of Early Utah*, 198-201, and Lyman, *Political Deliverance*, 120.

prisonment."¹⁰ By 1890, the Allens had moved back to Salt Lake City, where Clarence represented its fifth precinct in the legislature of 1890. He served as clerk of Salt Lake County from 1890 to 1893, was admitted to the bar in 1892, and that same spring went to Washington, D.C., to oppose Utah's bid for statehood.¹¹

Corinne Allen also took up antipolygamy activity in 1892. Her name appeared that year as secretary of the Industrial Christian Home.¹² The Industrial Christian Home Association, funded by Congress, was established by the home mission women as a key part of their antipolygamy effort in 1886. Although intended to be a refuge for women fleeing plural marriage, the home was never successful.¹³ It was, however, a preeminent symbol of antipolygamy efforts by Protestant women. Corinne Allen's executive position in this association is significant, as it links her to the first woman's antipolygamy crusade and its ideas, which she shared. The impetus behind this crusade was a maternal form of feminism—the efforts of many home mission and social reform women to protect and advance the moral authority of the mother in the home.¹⁴

Harriet Beecher Stowe, author of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and a celebrity who endorsed antipolygamy, promulgated with her sister Catharine a description of this mother-centered universe—the Chris-

¹⁰ "Marching through Zion," song sheet, Allen Papers, Western Reserve.

¹¹ Whitney, *History of Utah*, 4:687-8; "Allen," *National Cyclopedia of American Biography*, 132-33.

¹² U.S. Utah Commission, "Industrial Christian Home Association of Utah" (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1892), microfilm.

¹³ See Pascoe, *Relations of Rescue*, 20-30, 87-90; and Gustive Larson, "An Industrial Home for Polygamous Wives," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 38 (Summer 1970): 263-75.

¹⁴ This concept is central in Pascoe, *Relations of Rescue*. See also Paula Baker, "The Domestication of Politics: Women and American Political Society, 1780-1920," *American Historical Review* 89, no. 3 (June 1984): 620-47; and Barbara Leslie Epstein, *The Politics of Domesticity: Women, Evangelism, and Temperance in Nineteenth-Century America* (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1981). For how these ideas relate to antipolygamy, see "The Discourse of Antipolygamy," in Iversen, *The Antipolygamy Controversy*, 133-58.

tian family state. Catharine Beecher described this ideal: "The family state then, is the aptest earthly illustration of the heavenly kingdom, and in it woman is its chief minister."¹⁵ Addressing Congress in 1888, Angie Newman (1837-1910), founder of the Woman's Home Missionary Society and antipolygamy movement, connected maternal feminism to antipolygamy: "Homes are the rock on which this Republic is built. Homes where *one woman reigns as queen* sitting upon a throne whose honor knows neither compromise nor division."¹⁶

With the exception of their emphasis upon the mother's supremacy, antipolygamy women's views of family reflected the nineteenth-century consensus on the link between marriage and the public order—a consensus which also found polygamy unacceptable. Historian Nancy Cott, examining four U.S. Supreme Court decisions from the late nineteenth century, found that the Court held a specific model of marriage as integral to the stability of the state. That model was monogamous, intraracial, and Christian.¹⁷

COOPERATION WITH MORMONS

The same year that Corinne Allen joined in singing a parody delighting in the travails of polygamists, she paradoxically joined with Mormon women to establish the Utah Woman Suffrage Association (1889). Utah woman suffrage, granted by the territorial legislature in 1870, had been abolished in 1887 by the Edmunds-Tucker Act. The removal of Utah woman suffrage had been requested by

¹⁵ Quoted in Catharine E. Beecher and Harriet Beecher Stowe, *The American Woman's Home* (New York: J. B. Ford & Co., 1869), abridged in *The Educated Woman in America*, edited by Barbara M. Cross (New York: Teachers College Press, 1965), 83.

¹⁶ Quoted in Jeannette H. Ferry, "The Industrial Christian Home," 13, Utah Territorial Papers, National Archives, Washington, D.C., microfilm. Emphasis mine. See also "Memorial of Mrs. Angie F. Newman, Remonstrating Against the Admission of Utah Territory into the Union," presented to Committee on Territories, U.S. Senate, 1st sess., 50th Cong., Miscellaneous Doc. 201.

¹⁷ Nancy F. Cott, "Giving Character to Our Whole Civil Polity: Marriage and the Public Order in the Late Nineteenth Century," in *U.S. History as Women's History*, edited by Linda K. Kerber, Alice Kessler-Harris, and Kathryn Kish Sklar (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995), 107-21.

home mission antipolygamy women as early as 1884.¹⁸ These efforts to disfranchise Utah's women caused divisions within the rival National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA) and American Woman Suffrage Association (AWSA). By 1888 these organizations were preparing to merge, and the National was moving to a federated structure. Utah women had been in contact with these groups as early as 1870, and some Utah women had held nominal appointments on their executive committees.¹⁹ With the National's new organizational structure, participation would be determined by a federation of state organizations. Utah suffragists began the Utah Woman Suffrage Association both to help regain the lost franchise and to qualify for membership within the reorganized National Woman Suffrage Association.

The antipolygamy crusade was carried into the national woman suffrage associations, making the membership of Mormon suffragists a divisive issue.²⁰ In Utah, antipolygamist women who had iden-

¹⁸ In 1884 Angie Newman and Cornelia Paddock drafted a petition asking Congress to abolish Utah woman suffrage, and Newman circulated it through women's home mission societies and the growing membership of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union. "Condition of Affairs in Utah," *Woman's Home Missions* 1 (November 1884), 91. See also Carol Cornwall Madsen, "Schism in the Sisterhood: Mormon Women and Partisan Politics, 1890-1900," in *New Views of Mormon History: A Collection of Essays in Honor of Leonard J. Arrington*, edited by Davis Bitton and Maureen Ursenbach Beecher (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1987), 213-15; and Carol Cornwall Madsen, ed., *Battle for the Ballot: Essays on Woman Suffrage in Utah, 1870-1896* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1997).

¹⁹ Until she was disfranchised as a polygamist by the Edmunds Act (1882), Emmeline B. Wells served on the executive committee of the National Woman Suffrage Association. Charlotte Cobb Godbe Kirby was one of the first Utah women to make contact with Eastern suffragists. Her sister-wives, Annie Thompson Godbe and Mary Hampton Godbe, served on the National's executive committee. See Beverly Beeton, "A Feminist Among the Mormons: Charlotte Ives Cobb Godbe Kirby," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 59 (Winter 1991): 22-31; Beverly Beeton, "Woman Suffrage in Territorial Utah," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 46 (Spring 1978): 100-20; and Lola Van Wagenen, "Sister-Wives and Suffragists: Polygamy and the Politics of Woman Suffrage, 1870-1896" (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1994).

²⁰ Joan Smyth Iversen, "The Mormon-Suffrage Relationship:

tified themselves as suffragists now declined to support Utah woman suffrage. Jennie Froiseth (1849-1930), editor of the *Anti-Polygamy Standard*, refused to work with Mormon women to start the state suffrage association even though she represented Utah on the National's executive committee. Froiseth and other Utah antipolygamist suffragists chose to accept disfranchisement as the price for an intensified federal anti-Mormon campaign.²¹

In light of these developments and her own antipolygamy sentiment, Corinne Allen's decision to cooperate with the Mormon women to found the Utah Woman Suffrage Association is significant. She was acting, in this instance, upon her lifetime commitment to the principle of woman suffrage. She later explained that she had learned woman suffrage from her father, Jacob Tuckerman, an Ohio educator who had been an Oberlin classmate of the famous woman's rights leader Lucy Stone and who himself was a delegate to the London World Antislavery Convention.²² Corinne Allen's progressive views on women's rights were undoubtedly reinforced when, as a young woman, she became the first student to enroll in the newly opened Smith College, one of New England's famous women's colleges. At the end of her life, she proudly observed that she had subscribed to Lucy Stone's *Woman's Journal* from its inception.²³

Personal and Political Quandaries," *Frontiers: a journal of women's studies* 11, nos. 2-3: 8-16, reprinted in Madsen, *The Battle for the Ballot*, 150-72. See also Van Wagenen, "Sister-Wives and Suffragists," 323-416.

²¹ "The Sister Suffragists," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 8 January 1889, 4; "The Gulf Between Them," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 11 January 1889, 2. Annie Godbe wrote a letter to the National arguing that she now believed that Utah woman suffrage was the means of her degradation. National Woman Suffrage Association, *Report of the Sixteenth Annual Washington Convention* (Rochester, N.Y.: Charles Mann, 1884), 80-81.

²² Corinne Allen, Letter to Alice Stone Blackwell, [1930?] National American Woman Suffrage Association Papers, microfilm, Library of Congress (hereafter NAWSA Papers). Jacob Tuckerman (1824-1914) was principal of the Grand River Academy and the New Lyme Academy, Ohio. See handwritten notes, Allen Papers, Western Reserve. Corinne Allen's obituary in the *Deseret News* (12 September 1931, 8) identifies Jacob Tuckerman as president of Oberlin College, but this is apparently a mistake.

²³ Corinne Allen, Letter to A. S. Blackwell, n.d., NAWSA Papers. The

The acceptance of the Utah Woman Suffrage Association into the National Woman Suffrage Association, which then merged into the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA), was not without conflict. However, after the admission of the Utah women, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints announced the Woodruff Manifesto (1890), a step that marked its withdrawal of public support for new plural marriages. The decade following this announcement was a period of greater acceptance of Mormon women within the larger woman's movement. This era was also marked by greater cooperation between Utah Mormon and non-Mormon women, leading one historian to describe it as the "Decade of Détente."²⁴

Corinne Allen and her husband were key players in this era of interfaith "détente." Mormon women's clubs were admitted to the Utah Federation of Women's Clubs which Allen helped to found and in which she served as president during 1894-95. Years later, Corinne Allen stated that she had not favored bringing the Mormon women's clubs into the Utah Federation but was "overborne" by the eastern women who believed that the Mormon women had abandoned polygamy and should be taken at their word.²⁵ Despite these private misgivings, she worked amicably with Mormon women on their Utah display at the Columbian Exposition in 1893 and cooperated closely with Emmeline B. Wells in the formation of the Republican Women's League.²⁶

Clarence Emir Allen also cooperated with Mormons to build

Woman's Journal was the oldest woman suffrage journal in America.

²⁴ Carol Cornwall Madsen, "Decade of Détente: The Mormon-Gentile Female Relationship in Nineteenth-Century Utah," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 63 (Fall 1995): 298-319.

²⁵ Mrs. Ernest E. Knudsen, comp., "History of Utah Federation of Women's Clubs, 1893-1952," 7-8, 1952, typescript, Utah State Historical Society; and Katherine Barrette Parson, *History of Fifty Years: Ladies' Literary Club, Salt Lake City, Utah, 1877-1927* (Salt Lake City: Arrow Press, 1927), 87-89. Allen's statement appears in Corinne Allen, "The Power of the Mormon Church in National Organizations of Women," 4, [1911/12?], typescript, Corinne Allen Papers, MSS A/A42, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe College, Boston (hereafter cited as Allen Papers, Schlesinger).

²⁶ Madsen, "Decade of Détente," 313; Madsen, "Schism in the Sisterhood," 224.

the Republican Party. He had initially resisted the efforts of some members of the anti-Mormon Liberal Party to reorganize as the Utah Republican Party, which would admit Mormons, and was one of the last of the Liberal Republicans. However, after 1894, he campaigned with Frank Cannon, later one of Utah's first senators, and with Heber M. Wells, later governor of Utah.²⁷

The high point of the Allens' interlude of détente came when Clarence Allen defeated Democrat B. H. Roberts to become the first Utahn elected to the U.S. House of Representatives after statehood in 1896. Utah's state constitution had restored woman suffrage; and the Allens, accompanied by Senator Frank Cannon, attended the Washington, D.C., convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association celebrating the addition of a new state which allowed woman suffrage. Corinne Allen's letter describing the event appeared in the *Woman's Exponent*, edited by Emmeline B. Wells.²⁸

Clarence and Corinne Allen's Washington sojourn was short lived because of the national gold-standard controversy which dominated the Republican Party's national convention in St. Louis (April 1897). Both Clarence and Frank Cannon refused to support the GOP platform which endorsed the gold standard rather than a return to bimetallism currency, a policy desired by Utah and other western pro-silver states. Allen, accompanied by other western senators, walked out of the convention when it adopted the gold plank.²⁹ Neither Allen nor Cannon was reelected to federal office; and within three years, Corinne Allen would become the most important woman leader in the newly reawakened antipolygamy crusade.³⁰

²⁷ Lyman, *Political Deliverance*, 156-216. Allen describes campaigning with Cannon and Wells in Clarence E. Allen, *Memo Diary*, 19 October 1895. Allen Papers, Western Reserve.

²⁸ "Extracts from Mrs. C. M. [sic] Allen's Letter," *Woman's Exponent* 24 (1 February 1896): 108.

²⁹ "Clarence Emir Allen," *AX-IDENT-AX*, 7. Also bolting the convention were Utah Senators Frank Cannon and Thomas Kearns, Colorado Senator Henry Teller, and Idaho Senator Fred DuBois. Cannon, Kearns, and DuBois worked unsuccessfully with other anti-Mormons to unseat Utah's Senator Reed Smoot (1903-07).

³⁰ "Missing Babe in Polygamy Trial," *New York Journal*, 31 October 1899, B. H. Roberts, Scrapbook, 1896-98, microfilm, MS 8616, Historical Department Archives, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake

RESURGENCE OF THE ANTIPOLYGAMY MOVEMENT

The era of cooperation in Mormon-national relations, which produced both Utah statehood and woman suffrage after the Manifesto of 1890, was shattered in 1898 when B. H. Roberts, a Democrat, polygamist, and member of the First Council of Seventy, was elected to the House of Representatives.³¹

Preceding Roberts's election, rumors of continued polygamous marriages had reenergized the anti-Mormon Salt Lake Ministerial Association. In June 1897, Presbyterian minister William R. Campbell began publication of a journal entitled *The Kinsman*, which reported violations of the Manifesto, launched an all-out attack on post-Manifesto polygamy, and now stood ready to organize a nationwide campaign against seating Roberts.³² Within a month of Roberts's election, the Ministerial Association had begun a crusade which would achieve the unprecedented goal of preventing a duly elected member of the House of Representatives from being admitted.

Ironically, Roberts had run for office without the support of the Church hierarchy, some of whom feared that his election would be detrimental to Mormon and state interests.³³ Nor had many Mormon women suffragists backed Roberts, still remembering his opposition to Utah woman suffrage at the state constitutional convention. Nonetheless, Mormon opponents interpreted Roberts's election as a Mormon challenge to the monogamist nation and an "insult

City (hereafter LDS Church Archives).

³¹ Davis Bitton, "The B. H. Roberts Case of 1898-1900," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 25 (January 1957): 27-46; William Griffin White, Jr., "The Feminist Campaign for the Exclusion of Brigham Henry Roberts from the Fifty-Sixth Congress," *Journal of the West* 17 (January 1978): 45-52; Truman G. Madsen, *Defender of the Faith: The B. H. Roberts Story* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1980); and Davis Bitton, "The Exclusion of B.H. Roberts from Congress," in his *The Ritualization of Mormon History and Other Essays* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994), 150-70.

³² "To the Methodist Ministers," *The Kinsman* 1 (13 November 1897), 2. *The Kinsman* attack included a series entitled "Polygamy and Inspired Lies" written by non-Mormon attorney Theodore A. Schroeder. For Schroeder's background, see Jessie L. Embry, "Ultimate Taboos: Incest and Mormon Polygamy," *Journal of Mormon History* 18 (Spring 1992): 93-113.

³³ Madsen, *Defender of the Faith*, 244.

to American womanhood”—an attempt, once having achieved statehood, to gain legitimacy for polygamy.³⁴

William Randolph Hearst's influential *New York Journal* announced in December that American women would lead a crusade against Roberts.³⁵ The Presbyterian Woman's Board of Home Missions had already authorized Reverend William Campbell to continue his investigation of Utah and appealed to all denominational home mission societies to organize 100,000 women. By the end of December 1898, the *Salt Lake Tribune* observed that the American women had declared "war" on Utah's elected congressman.³⁶

Unlike the earlier home mission antipolygamy crusade of the 1880s, which had grass-roots origins with the Salt Lake Ladies' Anti-Polygamy Society and women like Angie Newman, the home mission campaign against Roberts was directed by Protestant ministers.³⁷ Rev. William Campbell, editor of *The Kinsman*, and Josiah Strong, nationally renowned Congregationalist minister, were key figures behind the women's home mission campaign. Strong had been active in the earlier anti-Mormon crusade, linking the menace of Mormonism to Anglo-Saxon expansion and manifest destiny.³⁸ Strong had earlier established the

³⁴ "Mormons Are Defiant," *Sunday Herald* (Boston), 20 November 1898, Roberts Scrapbook. The quotation is attributed to President William McKinley in "Oppose a Polygamist," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 27 December 1898, *ibid.*

³⁵ "American Women to Fight Mormon Congressman," *New York Journal*, 18 December 1898, Roberts Scrapbook.

³⁶ "Opposing Mormon Roberts," *New York Times*, 10 December 1898, 7; Roberts Scrapbook, "American Women Not to Be Degraded," *New York Journal*, 22 December 1898, *ibid.*; "Women's War on Utah's Congressman-Elect," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 27 December 1898, 1.

³⁷ Woman's Board of Home Missions, Minutes, 13 December 1898, holograph, Presbyterian Church of the United States Archives, Philadelphia, Pa. (hereafter Presbyterian Archives). Campbell sent a printed letter to all denominational home mission societies urging cooperation. See B. H. Roberts Collection, MS 1278, fd. 678, LDS Church Archives.

³⁸ "Josiah Strong," *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York: 1936): 16:150-51; and Jergen Herbst, "Introduction," in Josiah Strong, *Our Country* (1891, reprinted; Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1963), vi-xix.

League for Social Service (New York) that would continue anti-Mormon work through publications and lectures into the next century. Both Strong and Campbell worked closely with the Presbyterian Woman's Board of Home Missions.³⁹

While the home mission women deferred to ministerial direction, other organized women's groups, particularly those interested in social purity reform,⁴⁰ led out in anti-Roberts activity: the Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU), American Female Guardian Society (formerly Woman's Moral Reform Society), and the National Christian League for the Promotion of Social Purity. All three were active in issues of women, children, home, and extending the moral authority of women, but the WCTU was by far the largest and most influential. Some of its leaders were active in the much smaller woman's suffrage movement.⁴¹ As part of her strategy to strengthen and unify the suffrage movement, Susan B. Anthony had invited these groups to a meeting in 1888

For the relation of Strong's expansionist ideas to anti-Mormonism, see Iversen, *The Antipolygamy Controversy*, 144.

³⁹ Dr. Josiah Strong, "The Supreme Peril of Modern Civilization," *Proceedings of the Third Annual Convention of the National Congress of Mothers*, in *National Congress of Mothers: The First Conventions*, edited by David J. Rothman and Sheila M. Rothman (New York: Garland Publishing, 1987), 255-56. For these ministers' influence on Presbyterian women, see Woman's Board of Home Missions, Minutes, 7 February 1899, Presbyterian Archives.

⁴⁰ The social purity movement was a nineteenth-century reform movement primarily concerned with the abolition of prostitution and the sexual double standard. Laura Hapke, "Social Purity Movement," *Women's Studies Encyclopedia*, edited by Helen Tierney, 3 vols. (New York: Greenwood Press, 1989-91), 3:416-17. Antipolygamy women often equated polygamy with prostitution. Jeffrey Donald Nichols, "Prostitution and Polygamy: The Contest over Morality in Salt Lake City, 1847-1918" (Ph.D. diss., University of Utah, 1998), 62-75.

⁴¹ Steven M. Buechler, *Transformation of the Woman Suffrage Movement: The Case of Illinois, 1850-1920* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1986), 105, connects the rise of these groups to the growth of a new middle class following the Civil War. For the rise of moral reform women and their impact upon the public arena, see Epstein, *The Politics of Domesticity*.

from which emerged a coalition, the National Council of Women.⁴² Mormon women's groups shared membership in this organization with antipolygamy reformers, and the Roberts controversy was carried to its triennial meeting in February 1899. Elizabeth Grannis, president of the Christian League for Social Purity and Corinne Allen's friend, introduced a resolution that Roberts be denied his seat.⁴³

Although Mormon women suffragists had not all supported Roberts's campaign, they had to repudiate any attempt at the National Council meeting to condemn him because the issue had now become one of loyalty to their church and beliefs.⁴⁴ As a devout Mormon and a plural wife, Emmeline B. Wells firmly believed in the doctrine of plural marriage and reportedly said that she honored Roberts for standing by his wives.⁴⁵ Wells attempted to diffuse the controversy by substituting a resolution calling for all congressional representatives to be "law abiding" for the Grannis resolution.⁴⁶ After an intense, emotional debate, the delegates passed Wells's weaker resolution. The LDS cause was probably assisted by a record-setting blizzard that started on 13 February, dropped over thirty-eight inches of snow, left walls of snow ten to twelve feet high in Washington, and reduced the number of dele-

⁴² See Ruth Ellen William Drish, "Susan B. Anthony De-Radicalizes, Re-Organizes, and Re-Unites the American Woman Suffrage Movement, 1880-1890" (Ph.D. diss., University of Iowa, 1985), 38-62. May Wright Sewall (1897-1899), Anthony's lieutenant in shaping the National Council of Women, became its president (1897-99) and later president of the International Council (1899-1904) with which the National Council became affiliated.

⁴³ Elizabeth Grannis (1841?-1926) had founded the social purity league in 1887 and cooperated closely with Corinne Allen against polygamy. Later she supported mandatory sterilization for the incompetent and insane. "Purity Reformer Dead," *New York Times*, 23 March 1926, 27.

⁴⁴ During the debate, Susa Y. Gates left the platform in tears. See Susa Y. Gates, "The Recent Triennial in Washington," *Young Woman's Journal* 10 (May 1899): 207-08.

⁴⁵ Winifred Black, "Mormon Women Urge Legalized Polygamy," n.d., Roberts Scrapbook.

⁴⁶ "Triennial Meeting of the National Council of Women," *Woman's Exponent* 28 (February/March 1899): 117.

gates present for the meeting, which lasted from 11 to 20 February.⁴⁷

The Mormon women's victory at the triennial meeting did not end the matter. On 20 February, only one day after Wells's resolution passed, the National Congress of Mothers (also meeting in Washington) passed a resolution opposing Roberts's seating. This group was a relatively new organization, founded in Washington, D.C., in 1897. Corinne Allen, who had attended the founding meeting, attended with a delegation from the Utah chapter which she had organized in May 1898. Allen and the Utah delegation introduced the anti-Roberts resolution, declaring that the "election of a polygamist to Congress threatens the sacred institution of monogamous marriage."⁴⁸ Corinne Allen's antipolygamy efforts were indefatigable for the next twenty years, conducted primarily through the National Congress of Mothers. By the end of the year, two newspapers identified her as a key figure in the antipolygamy women's struggle.⁴⁹

In many ways the Roberts controversy and the conflicts that it aroused within women's groups, echoed the impact of the antipolygamy controversy upon the earlier woman suffrage movement. While no non-Mormon woman advocated polygamy, some defended the Mormon women. The debate on polygamy had not changed over the decade: The issue still divided those who saw polygamy as jeopardizing the ideal home and the Republic from those who argued that the evils of polygamy were often not much worse than those of inadequate monogamous marriages. The antipolygamists tended to support the status quo consensus about marriage while the non-Mormon suffrage defenders measured the question of polygamy or monogamy against a radical ideal of egalitarian marriage.⁵⁰

⁴⁷ The blizzard is recorded in Rothman and Rothman, eds., *National Congress of Mothers*, 193-94.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 274.

⁴⁹ "Mrs. Allen Is No Friend of Roberts, the Polygamist," *Indianapolis Sun*, 4 November 1899, Allen Papers, Western Reserve; "Missing Babe in Polygamy Trial," *New York Journal*, 31 October 1899, Roberts Scrapbook.

⁵⁰ See Joan Smyth Iversen, "A Debate on the American Home: The Antipolygamy Controversy, 1880-1890," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 1 (April 1991): 585-602, reprinted in *American Sexual Politics: Sex, Gender and Race Since the Civil War*, edited by John C. Fout and Maura Shaw Tantillo (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 123-40.

Many of the Mormon women's former allies and friends from the previous decade rallied to their side during the Roberts controversy.⁵¹ After the Washington meetings, both Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton aroused considerable attention by asserting that a faithful Mormon polygamist husband was worthier of respect than a non-Mormon adulterous husband.⁵² Such support, however, pitted some older suffragists against new friends. While Anthony supported the Mormon resolution at the triennial meeting, her dear friend and later successor, WCTU leader Dr. Anna Shaw, opposed it. Other women activists, such as the New York State Federation of Women's Clubs and the Chicago Women's Club President, also refused to join the anti-Roberts movement.⁵³

The Roberts affair demonstrated that the antipolygamy issue could still mobilize thousands of American women to defend their vision of the American home and family. Antipolygamy had enormous grass-roots power, undoubtedly tied in some way to the growing uneasiness caused by an increasing national divorce rate and the rise of companionate marriage—an ideal including the expectation of romance, companionship, sexual fulfillment, and emotional satisfaction that had replaced the view of marriage as a contractual institution.⁵⁴ Calls for an antipolygamy Constitutional amendment were often paired with demands for a federal marriage law to make divorce uniform in all the states.⁵⁵

The Roberts controversy further revealed that the turn-of-the-century woman's movement was not monolithic. Historians writing

⁵¹ Iversen, *The Antipolygamy Controversy*, 196.

⁵² "Impure Men Worse than Mormons Says Susan B. Anthony," *New York World*, 20 November 1899, Roberts Scrapbook; Iversen, "The Mormon-Suffrage Relationship," 166-67.

⁵³ "One Moral Standard for Men and Women," *New York World*, 8 December 1899, Roberts Scrapbook; "Calls the Petition Twaddle," *New York Times*, 31 October 1899, 2.

⁵⁴ For examples of how the evolution of companionate marriage is widely described by social historians, see Steven Mintz and Susan Kellogg, *Domestic Revolutions: A Social History of American Family Life* (New York: Free Press, 1988), 107-32; and Sara M. Evans, *Born for Liberty: A History of Women in America* (New York: Free Press, 1989), 177-80.

⁵⁵ See Nelson Manfred Blake, *The Road to Reno: A History of Divorce in the United States* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1962), 144-46.

about the Roberts affair have described the pronounced women's activism as "feminist."⁵⁶ Roberts himself sourly remarked that the fight against him was led by "long-haired men and short-haired women."⁵⁷ Roberts's pejorative labels slurred the masculinity/femininity and gender identification of these groups; but they also reflected a shifting view of masculinity at the end of the century which was based upon the social Darwinist belief that the refinements of civilization had diminished virility, resulting in a view of male social purity reformers as effeminate and their female counterparts as emasculating.⁵⁸ Ironically, the women's reform groups that most urgently endorsed woman's political equality were those who refused to condemn Roberts. The groups that fueled the antipolygamy effort were committed to protecting woman's moral authority. Labelling these antipolygamy groups as feminist is anachronistic and highly problematic.

In the Roberts affair we can glimpse the beginnings of a shift in the woman's movement, a soon-to-emerge modern concept of feminism which argued for the liberalization of sexual expression for women and a movement away from the sexual controls advocated by nineteenth-century social purity reformer.⁵⁹ This shift would finally leave Corinne Allen stranded and irrelevant on her antipolygamist island.

ANTIPOLYGAMY ACTIVITIES CONTINUES

On 25 January 1900, the House of Representatives voted to deny Roberts his seat in that body. Antipolygamy forces had won; a highlight of their victory was the delivery to Congress of petitions with seven million signatures wrapped in an American flag.⁶⁰ Following this success, the antipolygamy coalition shifted

⁵⁶ White, "The Feminist Campaign," 45-52.

⁵⁷ "Roberts Bitter in His Own Defence," n.d., Roberts Scrapbook.

⁵⁸ Gail Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 77-90.

⁵⁹ Nancy F. Cott, *The Grounding of Modern Feminism* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1987), 16-42; and John D'Emilio and Estelle B. Friedman, *Intimate Matters: A History of Sexuality in America* (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1988), 171-239.

⁶⁰ White, "The Feminist Campaign," 49. This dramatic presentation

its efforts to a campaign for an antipolygamy Constitutional amendment.⁶¹ Only three years later, however, anti-Mormons rallied to a new cause—an attempt to unseat Reed Smoot, Mormon apostle, who was elected U.S. Senator by the Utah legislature in January 1903.

Smoot's election followed a state Republican election victory and marked the reemergence of Clarence E. Allen as an open adversary of Mormon political power. Despite Corinne's leadership role in the Roberts affair, her husband had kept a low profile, possibly hoping for Mormon Republican support in the state legislature to be reelected as senator, but his 1901 candidacy had failed. When the GOP won in 1902 and Utah's legislature, meeting in January 1903, had selected Smoot, Allen apparently abandoned hopes for elected national office and joined a group of nineteen Salt Lake City citizens who filed a protest in Washington opposing Smoot's seating.⁶²

Smoot, unlike Roberts, was not an open proponent of polygamy. Although his father was a polygamist, he himself was monogamous. However, some of his adversaries accused him of secretly practicing polygamy.⁶³ The citizens' protest expressed concern that

of petitions was not new. In the first antipolygamy crusade, Angie Newman had delivered 100,000 women's signatures also wrapped in an American flag. "That Utah Petition," *Home Mission Monthly* 2 (May 1888): 147.

⁶¹ Iversen, *The Antipolygamy Controversy*, 190-91. An antipolygamy minister had proposed such an amendment in 1886, and the Utah Commission's minority report had repeated the proposal in 1887. Rev. Ballard S. Dunn, *The Twin Monsters and How National Legislation May Help to Solve the Mormon Problem and Restore to Society Somewhat of the Sacramental Character of the Rite of Holy Matrimony* (New York: James Pott & Company, 1886), 45.

⁶² *Proceedings Before the Committee on Privileges and Elections of the U.S. Senate in the Matter of the Protests Against the Right of Hon. Reed Smoot, a Senator of Utah, to Hold His Seat* (Washington, D.C.: Printed for Senator Smoot by Judd & Detweiler, n.d.), 1:126.

⁶³ One of the signers of the citizens' protest, Rev. John L. Leilich, filed a separate charge accusing Smoot of practicing polygamy. This accusation was disproved in subsequent hearings. However, Corinne Allen continued to believe it. Corinne Allen, "Evils of the Harem Life of Mormon Women," 9, [1909-12?], typescript, Allen Papers, Schlesinger.

Smoot's religious beliefs and high church position would allow him "to war upon the [monogamous] home."⁶⁴

Corinne Allen was one of the first women leaders to carry the anti-Smoot campaign into the national women's arena. She introduced the polygamy issue at the Detroit meeting of the National Congress of Mothers (June 1903). In her capacity as head of the Utah chapter, she reported examples of post-Manifesto polygamy in Utah, asserting that to be silent on the question would be to "endanger the popular standard of marriage."⁶⁵

Responding to Allen's antipolygamy alert, the National Congress of Mothers had, within seven months, organized the National League of Women's Organizations, an umbrella group of women's organizations, to fight Smoot's seating. It consisted largely of groups that had earlier been active against Roberts: Daughters of the American Revolution, the WCTU, Christian League for Social Purity, Interdenominational Council, and National Congress of Mothers. It was headed by Mrs. Frederic (Hannah) Schoff (1852-1940) who was also president of the National Congress of Mothers.⁶⁶

By the end of 1904, antipolygamy leaders were proclaiming the support of one and a half-million women.⁶⁷ Although the Congress of Mothers had initiated the coordinated antipolygamy attack of the National League, it was the Woman's Christian Temperance Union that emerged as Reed Smoot's most important foe. Because it was both the largest women's group and the best organized at a grass-

⁶⁴ *Proceedings Before the Committee on Privileges*, 1:126.

⁶⁵ Journal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (chronology of typed entries and newspaper clippings, 1830-present), 24 June 1903, 1, LDS Church Archives.

⁶⁶ "Women War on Mormonism," *New York Times*, 1 January 1904. Paul Holsinger, "For God and the American Home: The Attempt to Unseat Senator Reed Smoot, 1903-1907," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 60 (July 1969): 156, dates the National League's formation as 1906. This confusion occurred because newspapers initially referred to the group as the "National Union of Women's Organizations," identifying it as the National League only in 1905.

⁶⁷ "How 1,500,000 American Women are Fighting Mormonism," *Washington Times*, 22 January 1905, Carlos A. Badger Scrapbook, microfilm, MS 4586, LDS Church Archives. Carl Badger was Smoot's personal secretary during the hearings.

roots level, the WCTU succeeded in having each of its chapters in forty-five states submit resolutions to Congress requesting Smoot's expulsion.⁶⁸

Again, the antipolygamy controversy was carried into the larger women's movement. As during the Roberts affair, the National Council of Women debated an anti-Mormon resolution. This time, perhaps facilitated by better organization, the resolution passed despite Susan B. Anthony's assertion that Smoot was properly elected and had a right to retain his seat as he was not a polygamist.⁶⁹ Furthermore, the antipolygamy women moved to expel Mormon women's groups from the National Council. May Wright Sewall successfully opposed this action, recalling that some had tried to keep the Mormon women from original membership in the organization in 1888 and that she and Susan Anthony had agreed to admit the Mormon women, not as polygamists or as Mormons, but as "philanthropic and benevolent associations." She continued, "I believe in monogamic marriage . . . [but] I do not believe we purify it by persecuting others."⁷⁰ In spite of this defeat, antipolygamy women lobbied to exclude the Mormon women's groups from the National Council for the rest of the decade.

Corinne Allen was especially angered by Mormon women's continued association with the National and International Councils of Women.⁷¹ She and daughter Florence were living in Germany from 1904-06.⁷² From this location, Corinne launched an unex-

⁶⁸ Holsinger, "For God and the American Home," 156; "WCTU After Reed Smoot's Scalp," *Salt Lake Herald*, 12 September 1903, in *Journal History*, 11; and "White Ribboner's Score Mormons," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 31 October 1905, *ibid.*, 12.

⁶⁹ "Purity of the Home," *Washington Post* 14 April 1905, Badger Scrapbook. Anthony died in early 1906, before the Smoot matter was settled in his favor. At a memorial service in Salt Lake City, Mormon women adopted a resolution "that in her death the women of Utah, the U.S. and the world, lost their dearest and best friend." "Honor Life of Miss Anthony," *Deseret News* 17 March 1906, *ibid.*

⁷⁰ "Purity of the Home," *Washington Post*, 14 April 1905, Badger Scrapbook.

⁷¹ Corinne Allen, "The Power of the Mormon Church," 3.

⁷² After Florence Allen graduated from Western Reserve University in 1904, she spent the following two years with her mother studying music

pected attack on Mormon women at the International Congress of Women held in Berlin (1904). The Mormon delegates, Lydia Dunford Alder and Alice Merrill Horne, attended a scheduled paper session on social purity. Rather than addressing social purity in general, Elizabeth Grannis of the Christian League for the Promotion of Social Purity delivered a "bitter attack" upon Mormon women and their church. Corinne Allen, rising to deliver the scheduled response to Grannis's paper, continued the attack. She apologized for this criticism, excusing it by expressing the hope that it would force Mormon women to improve their "fatherless homes."⁷³ The chair gavelled Allen to silence. According to Lydia Alder, several prominent women leaders, including Anna Shaw, Carrie Chapman Catt, and May Wright Sewall, later expressed their regrets to the Mormon women for this incident. Corinne Allen, however, simply transferred her anti-Mormon campaign to several Berlin drawing rooms.⁷⁴

In the United States, other polygamy opponents from the National Congress of Mothers attempted to have the Mormon women banned from membership in the General Federation of Women's Clubs (GFWC). Hannah Schoff, president of the mothers' congress, prepared a resolution for the 1904 General Federation national convention, refusing admittance to any woman's group that "tolerated, preached or practiced violation of national or state laws." It passed but was so vaguely worded that it never actually succeeded in removing Mormon women's groups. Ten years later, Corinne Allen still complained about their presence, insisting that the "hand of the church was upon the Utah Federation of Women's Clubs."⁷⁵

Meanwhile, the Senate Committee on Privileges and Elections held public hearings between March 1904 and February 1907, focusing less on Smoot's fitness to retain his seat than on the Church's political and economic power and the continued practice of polyg-

at the University of Berlin. It is not clear if any other family members were with them. "Register of Florence Ellinwood Allen Papers," 1, typescript, Western Reserve.

⁷³ Lydia Dunford Alder, "Report: International Congress of Women, Berlin 1904," holograph, LDS Church Archives.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ "Mormon Women Barred Now," *New York Times*, 23 May 1904, 1. Allen quotation is in her "The Power of the Mormon Church," 4-5.

amy. A sensational moment occurred when President Joseph F. Smith admitted to continued cohabitation with his plural wives.

While initial public reaction to the Smoot hearings was decidedly anti-Mormon, over the course of the three-year investigation the political tide turned. Although the committee recommended against seating Smoot, the full Senate vote on 20 February 1907 was in his favor. The final outcome undoubtedly owed a great deal to the support of President Theodore Roosevelt, a Republican.⁷⁶ The antipolygamy women had hoped for Roosevelt's support against Smoot, and the National League of Women's Organizations personally delivered anti-Smoot petitions to Roosevelt in June 1906.⁷⁷ Roosevelt remained noncommittal until the end of that year when he dampened the anti-Mormon movement by condemning persecution and warning against "hysterical sensationalism."⁷⁸ In a similar vein, the *New York Times*, which had initially taken an anti-Mormon stance, now labeled the women antipolygamy crusaders "mindless and bigoted."⁷⁹

Roosevelt's stinging rebuke of the antipolygamy movement capped a speech the previous year to the National Congress of Mothers, the group which had launched the attack upon Smoot. Instead of expressing his support for antipolygamy, Roosevelt launched an indirect attack on women activists by extolling a new masculinity, denouncing the evils of birth control, and pointing out the peril of "race suicide."⁸⁰ His words were an implicit criticism of women re-

⁷⁶ R. Milton Merrill, *Reed Smoot: Apostle in Politics* (Logan, Utah: Utah State University Press, 1990), 92. Merrill argues that Smoot's astute political record earned Roosevelt's support (76-79). The Smoot affair also marked the political shift of Utah from the Democratic to GOP ranks.

⁷⁷ "Good Luck, Ladies," *Post*, 9 June 1907, Badger Scrapbook.

⁷⁸ "Excerpts from Roosevelt's Speech," n.d., Badger Scrapbook.

⁷⁹ For earlier editorial opposition to Smoot, see "Mormon Propaganda a Menace," *New York Times*, 13 March 1904, 6. The quotation is from "A Return to Reason," *ibid.*, 22 February 1907, 8. The *Times* also concluded that Smoot's removal from his Senate seat would be unconstitutional. "The Case of Utah," *ibid.*, 12 June 1906, 8.

⁸⁰ "President's Scorn," 13 March 1905, Badger Scrapbook. It is ironic that Roosevelt berated the National Congress of Mothers about "race suicide," since it did not endorse birth control. As we shall see, Corinne Allen used her marriage sanctity committee to rail against birth control.

formers who were often blamed for the falling birth rate. In the same year, former President Grover Cleveland had criticized the women's club movement as directly menacing the "integrity of our homes."⁸¹

Roosevelt's and Cleveland's attacks reveal an emerging masculine resistance to the nineteenth-century campaign for woman's moral authority—the fundamental underpinning of antipolygamy discourse. Roosevelt epitomized a new concept of masculinity that had also transformed national attitudes toward the West. Early in the nineteenth-century, male passion had been deemed dangerous, and ideal manhood was defined as the control of passion. Now, with the growing popularization of social Darwinism had come a new view of masculinity. Educators bemoaned the excessive controls of civilization and began to celebrate a "primitive masculinity" rather than masculine self-control.⁸² The new masculinity helped erode underlying support for the antipolygamy movement. Roosevelt never defended polygamy, but he openly praised the Mormons' abundant procreation and repudiation of artificial methods of birth control.⁸³

CORINNE ALLEN, THE LAST ANTIPOLYGAMIST

When Corinne Allen returned from Berlin in 1906 she found that the Utah Congress of Mothers had "gone to pieces"—destroyed, she reported, by Mormon members' "attempts to teach polygamy at the meetings."⁸⁴ Allen reorganized the Utah chapter and continued her antipolygamy activities through this affiliation with the National Congress of Mothers, funneling most of her subsequent antipoly-

⁸¹ Grover Cleveland, "Woman's Mission and Woman's Clubs," *Ladies' Home Journal* 22 (May 1905), 3-4.

⁸² Arnaldo Testi, "The Gender of Reform Politics: Theodore Roosevelt and the Culture of Masculinity," *Journal of American History* 81 (March 1995): 1509-33; Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization*, 170-71; E. Anthony Rotundo, *American Manhood: Transformations in Masculinity from the Revolution to the Modern Era* (New York: Basic Books, 1993); and Michael Kimmel, *Manhood in America: A Cultural History* (New York: Free Press, 1996).

⁸³ "Mr. Roosevelt and the Mormons," *Collier's* 47 (15 April 1911): 28.

⁸⁴ Corinne Allen, Letter to Mrs. J. H. Reeve (President, National League of Parents and Teachers), 21 September 1924, Allen Papers, Schlesinger.

gamy efforts through its Marriage Sanctity Committee, which she chaired. This committee was created at the 1910 Denver meeting of the National Congress.

After their failure to remove Smoot from the U.S. Senate, antipolygamy forces continued their efforts to obtain an antipolygamy amendment to the Constitution, a movement that had begun during the Roberts controversy. Rev. William Campbell refocused *The Kinsman*, which had first exposed post-Manifesto plural marriages, as “the organ for the campaign for the antipolygamy constitutional amendment.”⁸⁵ Josiah Strong’s League for Social Service carried on its anti-Mormon activities through publications and hired lecturers. The WCTU also continued to work for the antipolygamy amendment, and by 1913 had persuaded thirty states to pass resolutions calling for its adoption.⁸⁶ The National Congress of Mothers adopted a resolution calling for the amendment’s passage, citing as justification the continued practice of polygamy revealed in national magazine articles. This resolution urged Congress to destroy the power of the Mormon “organization” that was “obnoxious to civilization . . . and repulsive to womanhood.”⁸⁷

The amendment campaign received impetus from the National Reform Association of Presbyterian and Episcopal ministers who, in 1914, called for a renewed women’s crusade to aid in passing an antipolygamy amendment introduced into Congress by Massachusetts Republican Frederick Gillett.⁸⁸ This organization hoped to launch five hundred mass meetings in support of the amendment. There is no historical record of such meetings; however, Congress did receive 20,000 resolutions supporting the Gillett amendment from women’s auxiliaries and organizations.⁸⁹

In the decade following the Smoot battle, the coalition of women’s groups who had tried to unseat him continued unsuccessful efforts to bar Mormon women from the National and International Councils of Women. After an attempt at the Seattle meeting

⁸⁵ Masthead, *The Kinsman* 2 (February 1900).

⁸⁶ Ian R. Tyrell, *Woman’s World/Woman’s Empire* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991), 140.

⁸⁷ *Child Welfare Magazine*, 5 (June 1911): 189.

⁸⁸ “Frank J. Cannon,” typescript, John McCormick Folder, Utah State Historical Society.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

of the National Council of Women failed, Emmeline B. Wells, as chair of the Utah Council of Women, invited one hundred of the women leaders who attended the Seattle meeting to visit Salt Lake City on the way home. She arranged a banquet for these visitors at the Saltair resort with Church President Joseph F. Smith as speaker. The women from the antipolygamy coalition, led by Corinne Allen, objected to the Saltair gathering, and Allen specifically protested listening to a speech from a man “who stands for the violation of the law”—referring to his Smoot hearings’ admission that he had continued to cohabit with his plural wives.⁹⁰

Elizabeth Grannis, Corinne Allen’s guest, apparently attended the banquet. Insulted that toastmistress Emmeline Wells did not recognize her presence publicly, Grannis vowed that she and other antipolygamy women would continue their efforts at excluding Mormon women from membership.⁹¹ Corinne Allen also continued the same crusade for the next fifteen years, repeatedly asserting that Mormon membership in national groups was part of a church conspiracy to proselytize and secure the social recognition of polygamy. Mormon membership in the International Council of Women was especially dangerous, she stated, because the Mormons “pay large sums of money into its treasury, and expect favors in return.”⁹²

On occasion, Allen attempted privately to convince non-Mormon women in national organizations to disassociate themselves from Mormon women. Responding to such a request, a woman signing herself as Annalea Carson answered that she did not believe that she was endorsing polygamy by sitting beside Wells in National Council meetings and, furthermore, that she admired Wells as a “grand old Lady” and never turned her back on her friends.⁹³ True to Allen’s convictions, one of her last public acts was an attempt to keep the National Congress of Parents and Teachers (formed from

⁹⁰ “This Is the Saltair Meeting,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, 19 July 1909, *Journal History*, 4-6.

⁹¹ “Mormon Women Deceived Clubs,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, 19 July 1909, *Journal History*, 7. Grannis blamed May Sewall for blocking the expulsion efforts to this point.

⁹² Allen, “The Power of the Mormon Church,” 1-3.

⁹³ Annalea Carson, Letter to Corinne Allen, 19 January [1915?], *Allen Papers*, Schlesinger.

the National Congress of Mothers in 1924) from admitting the Mormon Home and School League into its membership.⁹⁴

An important asset to the anti-Mormon campaign in the aftermath of the Smoot hearings was Frank Cannon,⁹⁵ Clarence Allen's former political colleague and one of Utah's first senators. Excommunicated in 1905, Cannon provided fuel in the midst of the anti-Mormon muckraking magazine campaign (1910-12) by publishing *Under the Prophet in Utah: The National Menace of a Political Priestcraft* (1911), which had first appeared as a magazine series.⁹⁶ Corinne Allen praised and publicized Cannon's magazine series in her annual report from Utah to the National Congress of Mothers in 1911.

The major thrust of Corinne Allen's antipolygamy efforts went into her work on the Committee on Marriage Sanctity which resulted in her completion of a "sex morality code" which she published in 1916 under the title "Have You Taught Your Child to Be a Monogamist?"⁹⁷ She had begun her committee work intending to gather literature from authorities which detailed a moral code of marriage. After writing to numerous universities and seventy-nine theological seminaries, she discovered that such

⁹⁴ Corinne Allen, Letter to Mrs. J. H. Reeve, 21 September 1924, Allen Papers, Schlesinger.

⁹⁵ Kenneth W. Godfrey, "Frank J. Cannon: Declension in the Mormon Kingdom," in *Differing Visions: Dissenters in Mormon History*, edited by Roger Launius and Linda Thatcher (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994), 241-61. Cannon was an important lecturer for the women's antipolygamy fight against Smoot. Woman's Board of Home Missions, Minutes, 2 May 1905, Presbyterian Archives; and "DuBois Attacks Smoot," *New York Times*, 15 March 1905, 1.

⁹⁶ Frank J. Cannon and Harvey J. O'Higgins, *Under the Prophet in Utah: The National Menace of a Political Priestcraft* (Boston: C. M. Clark Publishing, 1911). Thomas G. Alexander, *Mormonism in Transition: A History of the Latter-day Saints, 1890-1930* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986), 68-69, traces the beginning of this magazine campaign to a 1907 article by Senator Julius Burrows.

⁹⁷ Mrs. Clarence E. Allen, "Have You Taught Your Child to Be a Monogamist?" *Child Welfare Magazine* 10 (February 1916): 192-94; typescript in Allen Papers, MS 67-538, Women's History Archive, Smith College, Northampton, Mass.

a literature did not exist.⁹⁸ Consequently, she set out to amass it herself with the aid of her daughter Florence.⁹⁹ She wrote to prominent authorities, such as the former president of Smith College, asking for statements affirming the importance of monogamy. She hoped her committee would serve as a "Clearing House for ideas on the family relation."¹⁰⁰ Allen urgently expressed the many dangers she saw eroding the Christian standard of monogamous marriage: the prevalence of organized vice, Eastern religions, modern fiction, the increase in divorce and, of course, "the power and influence of the Mormon Church."¹⁰¹

Allen's published statement on the importance of monogamy argued that it was the "one solution to the sex problem." Rather than sex education in schools, parents should teach "sex reticence" and the importance of "the ideal of normal family life."¹⁰² She hoped that the National Congress of Mothers would reprint and circulate her sex morality code and adopt an educational campaign that she had outlined earlier in which every mothers' club would sponsor a marriage sanctity program annually.¹⁰³ Her hopes were never realized.

Within a year of the publication of the sex morality code, the United States entered World War I. The two Allen sons, Clarence, Jr. and Jack, both Yale graduates and lawyers, were casualties. Clarence was killed in action and Jack, inoculated for typhoid and

⁹⁸ Corinne Allen, Letter to Mrs. J. Reeve, 21 September 1924; and Corinne Allen, "Report to National Congress of Mothers," 15 January [1918?], Allen Papers, Schlesinger.

⁹⁹ Florence Allen, Postcard to Corinne Allen, 20 March 1911, Allen Papers, Schlesinger, recommended that Corinne read E. Westermarck, *Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas* (London: Macmillan Bros., 1909).

¹⁰⁰ The statement of L. Clark Seelye, President Emeritus of Smith College, is in Allen Papers, Schlesinger. Allen received statements from many individuals including anti-Mormon editor Charles C. Goodwin and author Charlotte Perkins Gilman. Her quotation is from Mrs. Clarence E. Allen, Chairman, "Report of Marriage Sanctity Committee," 1918, Allen Papers, Schlesinger.

¹⁰¹ Allen, "Report to National Congress," 4, 1915.

¹⁰² Allen, "Have You Taught Your Child," 192.

¹⁰³ "Educational Campaign of the Marriage Sanctity Committee," typescript, 6 April 1915, Allen Papers, Schlesinger.

smallpox in the Army, developed a serum poisoning that affected his brain.¹⁰⁴ These developments were devastating, but Corinne Allen continued to monitor the dangers to monogamy that she saw around her. She was especially concerned at a rumor that the German government might adopt polygamy to restore its depleted population.¹⁰⁵ Allen wrote to *Forum* magazine and telegraphed the editor of *Eugenics Review* in London to combat this unverified policy.

However, the real postwar threat to antipolygamy reformers came from shifting ideas of sexuality and the post-war rise of a sexual revolution shaped in pre-war America but now come to fruition. It transformed the assumptions of Corinne Allen and the antipolygamy movement about womanhood and marriage. Nineteenth-century social purity reformers had based their antipolygamy arguments upon the demand for a single sexual standard and the purity of womanhood. The new morality of the twentieth century regarded a single sexual standard as one in which women would have the sexual freedom allowed men.¹⁰⁶

Corinne Allen's correspondence startlingly documents this conceptual clash between the outdated social purity reformer and the new woman. Allen had apparently written to Laura Garrett asking her to endorse monogamy and an antipolygamy stance. Garrett replied that she believed man was "naturally polygamist" and suggested that Allen consult the works of Havelock Ellis and Ellen Key.¹⁰⁷ Havelock Ellis (1859-1939) was the leading theorist of the

¹⁰⁴ Corinne Allen, Letter to Mrs. J. H. Reeve, 21 September 1924; Allen's obituary, typescript, Allen Papers, Western Reserve. A Veterans of Foreign Wars post was named after Clarence Jr. in Utah. "Mother of S.L. War Hero Dies," *Deseret News*, 12 September 1931, 8.

¹⁰⁵ Allen concluded that Swedish feminist Ellen Key was advocating this policy. Actually, Key merely suggested that the idea might be considered "tenable" from the standpoint of race hygiene. Ellen Key, "War and the Sexes," *Atlantic Monthly* 117 (June 1916): 839.

¹⁰⁶ Nancy F. Cott, "Across the Great Divide: Women in Politics Before and After 1920," *Women, Politics and Change*, edited by Louise A. Tilly and Patricia Gurin (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1990), 153-76; and Cott, *The Grounding of Modern Feminism*, 6-8.

¹⁰⁷ Laura Garrett, Letter to Corinne Allen, 1911, Allen Papers, Schlesinger. I could find no further information about Garrett. Garrett

sexual revolution of the early twentieth century, and Ellen Key (1849-1926) was a noted feminist advocate of free love.

The new ideas on sex and morality were not the only postwar blows to fall upon antipolygamy. The war had transformed Corinne Allen's parent organization, the National Congress of Parents and Teachers. With a greatly expanded membership, the organization had shifted to community-focused programs promoting libraries, playgrounds, and health clinics for schools and away from nineteenth-century maternal reforms like sexual purity.¹⁰⁸

When Corinne Allen again unsuccessfully requested that the National Congress disseminate her sex morality code and educational plan in 1923, it was the end of her public work.¹⁰⁹ The Utah chapter of the National Congress had been depleted, in her words, by "death, old age and removal from Utah."¹¹⁰ She left Utah in 1926 and died five years later, at age seventy-five, in California. The *Deseret News* obituary recalled her primarily as the mother of a Salt Lake war hero and secondarily as a reformer active in parent-teacher associations.

CONCLUSION

Corinne Allen's work through the Marriage Sanctity Committee of the National Congress of Mothers allows us a glimpse of how national women's organizations engaged the issue of antipolygamy, cooperating and/or disagreeing in anti-Mormon controversies. Her ideas on womanhood, motherhood, and marriage were those which underlay the nineteenth-century consensus on antipolygamy. Additionally, her emergence as an antipolygamy leader from the Salt Lake Protestant home mission society and her connections to the failed political ambitions of her husband, epitomize the local underpinnings of the national antipolygamy crusades.

Undoubtedly, the Mormon Church's changes to accommodate the demands of national critics undercut the antipolygamy crusaders' agenda. But it is equally true that Corinne Allen's an-

actually recommended that Allen read the works of "Eleanor [sic] Key."

¹⁰⁸ Cott, "Across the Great Divide," 162.

¹⁰⁹ Corinne Allen, Letter to Mrs. J. H. Reeve, 26 September 1923, 2, Allen Papers, Schlesinger. The archive contains no response to her request.

¹¹⁰ Corinne Allen, Letter to Mrs. J. H. Reeve, 21 September 1924, 4.

tipolygamy crusade ended because the nineteenth-century consensus on woman's domesticity and moral authority had been replaced by a new feminism which found antipolygamy irrelevant.

EMMELINE B. WELLS IN WASHINGTON: THE SEARCH FOR MORMON LEGITIMACY

Carol Cornwall Madsen

THE BITING COLD OF A JANUARY DAY in 1894 contrasted sharply with the embracing warmth of the parlors of the large structure once known as the Industrial Christian Home for Women in Salt Lake City.¹ Failing to attract sufficient clients—disillusioned plural wives—to remain operative, the home was now used as a meeting hall for the Ladies Literary Club, a cultural and exclusive bastion of Gentile women.² Emmeline B. Wells and a number of Mormon women on this day were honored guests. “Some years ago,” Wells

CAROL CORNWALL MADSEN <ccm3@ucs-exch.byu.edu> is Professor of History and Senior Research Historian at the Joseph Fielding Smith Institute for Latter-day Saint History at Brigham Young University and is a past president of the Mormon History Association. She is preparing a biography of Emmeline B. Wells and an edition of the diaries.

¹ For a thorough study of the meaning and use of women’s “moral authority” in gaining federal support for the construction of the Industrial Christian Home, see Peggy Pascoe, *Relations of Rescue: The Search for Female Moral Authority in the American West, 1874-1939* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 20-69, 87-90.

² The Ladies Literary Club was organized in 1877, an outgrowth of the Blue Tea Club (1875-85), the first known women’s club organized in Utah. Both were comprised almost exclusively of disaffected and non-Mormon women.

mused, "no Mormon could be admitted as visitors even, but now things are different—we are sought after. . . . We are getting more recognition and stand more on an equality with other women than formerly."³ The long winter of discord had given way to a new season of reconciliation.

It is unlikely that any similar social occasion could have been more gratifying to Emmeline Wells who, in 1894, was the sixty-six-year-old widow of the influential Mormon leader Daniel H. Wells, corresponding secretary of the Relief Society General Board, editor of the Mormon women's newspaper *Woman's Exponent*, and president of the Utah Territorial Woman Suffrage Association. For fifteen years she had been counted among the "leading sisters" of the LDS Church and since 1879 had been the chief liaison between Mormon women and national woman suffrage leaders.⁴ This invitation to the Ladies Literary Club was the capstone of two decades devoted to defending, explaining, and validating Mormonism and Mormon women to a skeptical world. "I desire to do all in my power to help elevate the condition of my people, especially women," she had vowed in 1878,⁵ and for the next twenty years she strove to fulfill that goal through attendance at national suffrage conventions, correspondence with suffrage leaders, editorials in the *Woman's Exponent*, and personal appeals to U.S. Presidents and other national lawmakers.

Her entry point was the public press, specifically the *Woman's Exponent*, a bi-monthly newspaper, which entered the publishing

³ Emmeline B. Wells, Diary, 26 January 1894, holograph, Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

⁴ Two recent studies of this period in Mormon history which have been extremely helpful in preparing this article and a forthcoming book on the public life of Emmeline B. Wells are Lola Van Wagenen, "Sister-Wives and Suffragists: Polygamy and the Politics of Woman Suffrage, 1870-1896" (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1994), and Joan Smyth Iversen, *The Anti-Polygamy Controversy in U.S. Women's Movements, 1880-1925: A Debate on the American Home* (New York: Garland Publishers, 1997). Van Wagenen examines the suffrage/polygamy struggle from the standpoint of Eastern suffragists while Iversen analyzes the motivations and strategies of the anti-polygamists.

⁵ Wells, Diary, 4 January 1878.

scene in Salt Lake City in 1872, two years after Utah women were given the vote and the same year that non-Mormon women in Utah coalesced into a nascent anti-polygamy movement.⁶ This local Mormon women's periodical, which Emmeline Wells edited from 1877 to 1914, augmented by her contributions to other women's newspapers in the East, played a major role in establishing her credentials as a spokesperson for the women of her church. Looked on as either unwilling victims or accomplices in their own degradation for their embrace of plural marriage, Mormon women were considered outside the boundaries of acceptable social behavior.⁷ Wells's goal was to legitimize their religious rights just as suffragists attempted to legitimize woman's political rights, bringing Mormon women back into the sisterhood of American female society. "I believe in women," she wrote in 1874, "especially thinking women." They would be the primary focus of her activism.⁸

Unwilling to accede to the "radical separatism"⁹ of Brigham Young and the rejection of "Babylon" that characterized Mormons' early stance against the "corrupt" and unforgiving world they had left, Wells was one who had never quite closed the door to her pre-Mormon life.¹⁰ She was a thoroughgoing daughter of New Eng-

⁶ The 1872 try for Utah statehood evoked strong Gentile opposition, which included the deterring voice of Gentile women, who used their resistance to statehood to reflect their revulsion of polygamy. (*Gentile* is the term Mormons most frequently used for designating non-Mormons in the nineteenth century.) Their growing voice equaled their increasing presence in Utah. Moreover, statehood would deprive non-Mormons of their strongest advocates, the federally appointed territorial officers. See Orson F. Whitney, *History of Utah*, 4 vols. (Salt Lake City: George Q. Cannon & Sons, 1893), 2:703; and Van Wagenen, "Sister-Wives and Suffragists," 102-5.

⁷ Though only a minority of adult Mormons, estimated at about a third, actually engaged in plural marriages, the Church as a whole was indicted for the practice.

⁸ Blanche Beechwood (pseudonym for Emmeline Wells), "Why, Ah! Why," *Woman's Exponent* 3 (1 October 1874): 67.

⁹ The term is Maureen Ursenbach Beecher's.

¹⁰ Eliza R. Snow, particularly, sought to insulate Zion from the practices of Babylon. Explaining her reason for organizing the young women of the Salt Lake City Seventeenth Ward into a Mutual Improvement Association, she said, "We had come out of Babylon, and thought we had

land, born in rural Petersham, Massachusetts, in 1828, who retained her emotional ties to that region by invoking memories of her happy youth in the poems, stories, and essays she published as "Aunt Em." However, left repeatedly on her own resources through the desertion of her first husband, the early death of her second, and the financial failings and death of her third, Emmeline Wells soon became hardened to the realities of a less tranquil life and developed the inner resources to deal with such personal crises. Within her tiny five-foot frame was an unyielding loyalty to her convictions, a ready intellect, a forthright manner, and an unremitting desire to participate in what she called "the work of the world." She was recognized by her peers as "a living encyclopedia of information on all subjects connected with the cause of woman" and, though "sarcastic at times," possessed an unusual and delightful sense of humor which she often displayed.¹¹ Daughter of a widow, twice a plural wife, mother of five daughters, and leader in women's causes and organizations, her life was centered in a female domain. "I love woman," she once wrote. "It is one of my sentiments," and her life's work gave credence to that statement.¹² She committed herself to bridging the gulf separating Mormon women from their non-Mormon sisters.

Her motivating force was an abiding faith in the integrity of the individual and a utopian assumption of the universality of womanhood. She found the ideology of Elizabeth Cady Stanton, a philosopher of the nineteenth-century woman's movement, a useful model. Stanton upheld "the rights and duties of a woman as an individual," above the "incidental relations of mother, wife, sister, daughter," some of which, Stanton noted, many women never experience.¹³ Religion, Wells would argue, was an additional individual

left her behind; but the spirit of the world had crept in among our young people, and we had Infidels among them." "Relief Society Reports," *Woman's Exponent* 6 (15 February 1878): 138. Babylon represented the "worldliness" Mormons had rejected upon conversion.

¹¹ Susa Young Gates provides a fairly lengthy character sketch of Wells in *History of the Young Ladies Mutual Improvement Association* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1911), 52-53.

¹² "Woman's Mass Meeting," *Woman's Exponent* 7 (1 December 1879): 103.

¹³ These thoughts were given fullest expression in Stanton's 1892 valedictory address to the newly merged National American Woman

feature, not necessarily experienced similarly by all women but no more inherently divisive than one's marital or familial status. Gender was a fundamental identity that bonded women into a female sodality that should encompass rather than resist individual differences.¹⁴ She would readily agree with the sentiment Stanton expressed in a letter to her friend Lucretia Mott: "Men mock us with the fact and say we are ever cruel to each other. Let us end this ignoble record and henceforth stand by womanhood."¹⁵ Womanhood was transcendent and universal in its claims, Wells believed, a unifying bond that had the power to transform society.

"Woman's work in this day and age," she was fond of saying, "is not only an individual work, but a universal work for all her suffering sisterhood."¹⁶ Woman's nature made her particularly suitable to succor the poor, the weak, or the downtrodden, she claimed. How logical, then, "that we should love one another, that we may the more readily aid, comfort, strengthen, encourage and truly sympathize with each other."¹⁷ In this sentiment, she again echoed Elizabeth Stanton, who complained of women "crucifying" those who were different. "To me," Stanton wrote, "there is a sacredness in individual experiences which it seems like profanation to search into

Suffrage Association and published as "The Solitude of Self," extracted in Ellen Carol DuBois, ed., *Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony: Correspondence, Writings, Speeches* (New York: Schocken Books, 1981), 246-54.

¹⁴ Most nineteenth-century reformers were white and generally middle-class who either ignored racial differences or assumed that they were speaking for all women. Class distinction was also often ignored, although several women's groups addressed the specific concerns of working-class women.

¹⁵ Quoted in Theodore Stanton and Harriot Stanton Blatch, eds., *Elizabeth Cady Stanton as Revealed in Her Letters, Diary, and Reminiscences*, 2 vols. (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1922), 2:137. While Elizabeth Stanton, like other suffragists, did not endorse polygamy, she did not disparage polygamous women and defended their right to participate in the national suffrage movement against the objections of Lucy Stone and others of the American Woman Suffrage Association, a rival to Stanton's National Woman Suffrage Association.

¹⁶ "Woman's Work," *Woman's Exponent* 4 (15 November 1875): 94.

¹⁷ Blanche Beechwood. "Bear Ye One Another's Burdens," *Woman's Exponent* 2 (1 March 1874), 146.

or expose.”¹⁸ Marriage, Wells argued, was just such an individual experience. That plural marriage should be such a persistent target of reformers seemed inexplicable to her. “The wrongs of women betrayed and abandoned, and the neglected progeny that swarm the cities of the United States, these are the evils of modern society” that should demand the attention of women, she argued, “not plural marriage. . . . Let Mormon women alone,” she pleaded. “They know how to take care of themselves and their children.”¹⁹

However naively, Wells believed that the strength of sisterhood, if properly focused, would soften the growing antipathy to polygamy. “Many think we are little less than barbarians,” she wrote in a brief statement to *Woman’s Words*, a Philadelphia-based suffrage paper, “but women’s charity will sustain each other, feel for one another’s sorrows, and extend the hand of fellowship to all who are striving for the elevation of the sex, even though they may not see alike. I do not think it is the nature of women to crush each other,” she hopefully added. “Women are most all universally peace makers.”²⁰ But the woman’s anti-polygamy crusade, which began in the 1870s and lasted for two decades and sporadically beyond, proved otherwise. Wells clearly underestimated the depth of the aversion to polygamy and the threat so many women felt it posed to traditional Christian marriage. Most of all, to the moral reformers of her time, the patriarchal structure of polygamy desecrated the mother-dominated home and undermined women as the primary purveyors of moral authority.²¹

Emmeline Wells also acted from a firm conviction that the nineteenth-century claim of being “woman’s era” did not begin with the hundred signatures on Elizabeth Stanton’s 1848 “Declaration of Sentiments,” an early manifesto of woman’s rights,²² but with a gath-

¹⁸ Quoted in Stanton and Blatch, *Elizabeth Cady Stanton*, 137.

¹⁹ “The New Crusade,” *Woman’s Exponent* 7 (15 November 1878): 92.

²⁰ *Woman’s Words*, 1 May 1877, 23; Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

²¹ Pascoe, 32-69, and Iversen, *The Anti-Polygamy Controversy in U.S. Women’s Movements*, 133-58.

²² The origin of an organized movement for woman’s rights is attributed to a meeting called by Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucretia Mott in July 1848 in Seneca Falls, New York. Three hundred attended the meeting; one hundred were bold enough to sign the Declaration of

ering of twenty Mormon women six years earlier to whom Mormon prophet Joseph Smith “turned the key of knowledge and intelligence” and promised that this symbolic act represented “the beginning of better days” for women.²³ To Wells, the 1842 organization of the Relief Society, not the 1848 Seneca Falls convention, opened this important epoch for women. As Wells explained years later, “It presented the great woman-question to the Latter-day Saints previous to the woman’s rights organizations, not in any aggressive form as women opposed to men, but as a co-worker and helpmeet in all that relates to the well being and advancement of both.”²⁴ The leadership and virtual autonomy LDS women exercised in their organizations, the self-reliance and authority developed by plural wives, along with the legal, educational, and political gains of women in Utah and elsewhere provided supporting evidence that prompted her and many others to feel that by the end of the nineteenth century “men no longer had the same absolute sway.”²⁵ They were persuaded that those women working for woman’s emancipation were acted upon by an influence they did not realize or comprehend, an influence that naturally merged the efforts of Mormon and non-Mormon

Sentiments, a listing of women’s grievances and resolutions to rectify them. See Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, Matilda Joslyn Gage, et al., *History of Woman Suffrage*, 6 vols. (Rochester, N.Y.: Susan B. Anthony, 1881-1922), 1:68-73.

²³ Minutes of the Female Relief Society of Nauvoo, 28 April 1842, typescript in my possession.

²⁴ “Women’s Organizations,” *Woman’s Exponent* 8 (15 January 1880): 122. See also “Stray Notes,” *Woman’s Exponent* 8 (15 July 1879): 23 for Wells’s ideas on how the Relief Society qualified women for the responsibility of suffrage and other rights and offered opportunity for social and personal achievement.

²⁵ Though Mormon women, like most nineteenth-century Victorian women, accepted a social hierarchy that privileged males, they nonetheless believed they had opportunities that brought them nearer to a social parity with men than other U.S. women. See, for example, Lula Greene Richards’s editorial: “Women enjoy more of what is contended for as woman’s rights than they do in any State in the Federal Union; . . . they appreciate their position and are seeking to qualify themselves for spheres of usefulness to which their sisters in other parts of the country can only yet look in prospective.” “Woman Lawyers,” *Woman’s Exponent* 1 (1 October 1872): 68.

women in bettering the lives of all women.²⁶ Thus fortified, spiritually and ideologically, Emmeline Wells was ready to brave the opprobrium awaiting her when she was invited to join the suffrage movement as one of the few enfranchised women of the nation, seeing it as an opportunity to attain legitimacy for her people.

In the 1870s, Mormonism was besieged from both within and outside its borders in the West. In Salt Lake City a schism had erupted in 1869, originating with a group of highly regarded Mormon merchants and intellectuals. Led by William Godbe and E. L. T. Harrison, this group rebelled against Brigham Young's implementation of a self-sustaining and cooperative economic program that appeared to them to be anti-merchant, anti-individual, and insular at a time when the newly completed transcontinental railroad promised new impetus for economic development. Moreover, their embrace of spiritualism reinforced their distrust of theocratic rule, with Young becoming the focus of their dissent.²⁷

At the same time, the growing Utah Gentile population was becoming increasingly vocal in its opposition to Mormonism, and the two factions, while not uniformly compatible, initially found themselves united in their antipathy to Brigham Young's policies.²⁸ In 1872, at the height of the schismatic turmoil, Mormons convened their fourth constitutional convention, hoping once again to gain home rule but instead generating a flurry of public opposition. After three unsuccessful attempts, in an effort to ascertain the conditions on which Congress would grant statehood, constitution writers seemed to suggest a possible retreat from polygamy, evoking distrust and contravention from non-Mormon Utahns, who doubted the sincerity of such a voluntary surrender. Congress evidently agreed and rejected the bid.²⁹ For twenty more years non-Mormon men and women opposed each bid for statehood while fueling anti-Mormon sentiment by a sustained crusade to persuade Congress to enact legislation to limit Mormon hegemony

²⁶ "Self-Made Women," *Woman's Exponent* 9 (1 March 1881): 148.

²⁷ See Ronald W. Walker, *Wayward Saints: The Godbeites and Brigham Young* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1998).

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 226-28.

²⁹ Whitney, *History of Utah*, 2:691-705, 720-21. For George Q. Cannon's role in this effort, see Davis Bitton, *George Q. Cannon, A Biography* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1999), 171-72.

in Utah and outlaw polygamy.³⁰ When proposed legislation began to include the repeal of woman suffrage in Utah, granted in 1870, polygamy and woman suffrage became inextricably coupled. This connection created a dilemma for many suffragists, who abhorred polygamy but rejected the disfranchisement of Utah women as a tool to dislodge the practice.

Emmeline Wells entered public life during this volatile period and became a central figure in the national debate and crusade against Mormons. Her private ambition and desire to aid women in reaching their potential coincided with the wish of LDS leaders to obtain tolerance, if not respect, for the Church. Building relationships with women not of her faith offered a means to dispel misunderstanding and to develop some degree of acceptance. Wells had mapped her own path to achieving these goals before Church officials tapped her to act in behalf of LDS women.

Before her initial visit to Washington, D.C., as a delegate to the National Woman Suffrage Association convention in 1879, Emmeline Wells capitalized on her position with the *Woman's Exponent* to move into an elite circle of intellectual women journalists, giving her entree to their publications and theirs to hers. Thus, as a contributor at its inception in 1872, then associate editor, and finally editor and publisher of the *Exponent* by 1877, Wells wrote for an audience that reached beyond the borders of Mormondom. Exchanging papers with *Woman's Words*, an organ of the National Woman Suffrage Association, the *Woman's Tribune* of Ohio, and the *Ballot Box* of Philadelphia (later the *Woman Citizen and Ballot Box*), Wells's editorials, articles, and letters found a ready Eastern audience. She even exchanged with the popular Boston *Woman's Journal*, organ of the American Woman Suffrage Association, rival to the National, and opponent to any political alliances with Mormon women.³¹ It was

³⁰ Besides federally appointed officials, a loose alliance of military officers, businessmen, lawyers, and other Gentile residents of Utah, known by Mormons as "the ring," had begun a persistent and ultimately successful effort to convince Congress to strengthen the 1862 Morrill Act. Bitton, *George Q. Cannon*, 164.

³¹ In 1869, suffragists differed on the extent to which they should support the rights of freed slaves in advance of women's rights, causing a split in the movement. Lucy Stone and her husband Henry Blackwell organized the more conservative American Woman Suffrage Association,

willing, however, to print all views on Mormonism, including impassioned defenses by various Mormon writers. Through these exchanges, Wells's name became familiar to their editors, their readers, and particularly suffrage leaders.

Plural marriage rather than suffrage became her first area of defense. As an anti-polygamy movement escalated in the 1870s and the nation's attention switched from reconstruction in the South to Mormonism in the West, Wells's primary challenge was to persuade the doubtful readers of these women's papers that polygamy neither demeaned nor subjugated women. In 1876, after an initial plea for open-minded understanding, addressed to the readers of *Woman's Words*, she followed up with three articles providing a glimpse of Mormon society. She lauded the achievements of Mormon youth, explained the economic activities of Mormon women in the area of home industries, and commended the enterprising work of the women's Retrenchment Association.³²

She staked her claim as an authentic voice of Mormon women that year, however, in the *Woman's Journal*. In its pages Wells waged a brief skirmish with fellow Utahn Charlotte Cobb Godbe, an avid woman suffragist. Charlotte, a step-daughter of Brigham Young, had married Mormon dissenter William Godbe in April 1869 as his fourth wife, in what observers called an "impassioned love match."³³

while Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony organized the National Woman Suffrage Association, which made woman suffrage its primary goal. Ellen Carol DuBois explains the details of this division and the resulting ideologies of the two groups in *Feminism and Suffrage: The Emergence of an Independent Women's Movement in America, 1848-1869* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1978).

³² "The Young People of Utah," *Woman's Words*, 1 (July 1877), 53; "Home Industries in Utah," *ibid.*, 1 (August 1877), 67; "Retrenchment Associations," *ibid.*, 1 (October 1877), 101-2.

³³ Godbe's other wives were Ann Thompson (Annie), Mary Hampton, and Rosina Colburn. Charlotte's mother, Augusta Adams Cobb, of Boston, had joined the Church in 1843, traveling to Nauvoo shortly thereafter with Charlotte and a younger brother who died on the way. She married Brigham Young the same year, four years before her divorce from James Cobb, which deprived her of custody of her four other children. Her son James later traveled to Utah and became associated with the Godbeites. Walker, *Wayward Saints*, 66, 136-38.

Furthermore, Brigham Young officiated, even though Godbe had been quietly fostering dissent for more than a year. The egalitarianism, anti-authoritarianism, and free-thinking aspects of spiritualism, which attracted many suffragists as well as Godbeites, challenged Godbe's polygamy. While equal suffrage fit comfortably within Godbeite tenets and immediately engaged the interest of three of his wives, plural marriage did not and came to be viewed as anachronistic by these religious reformers, many of whom, like Godbe, were polygamists. Though at first defensive of the practice, by 1871 Godbe had begun to deny its divine origin and claimed it to be merely "a superstition." Dissolution by mutual consent, rather than federal mandate, was his solution for existing plural marriages, and by 1873 he had amicably separated from all but his first wife Annie. Charlotte and William waited until 1879 to formalize their separation with a divorce; and Charlotte later admitted that she had subsequently "wobbled around in the faith," never wholly out of the LDS Church but not convincingly a true believer.³⁴ Charlotte thus occupied the paradoxical position of being a plural wife who disapproved of plural marriage.

In December 1870, a little more than a year after her marriage to William, Charlotte wrote to the *Revolution*, a short-lived organ of the NWSA (1869-71), defending Brigham Young against a critical attack but also obliquely introducing a theme which she would develop frequently in following years. Differing from her husband's solution, she opined that the "Mormon problem" would be solved, not by national lawmakers, but by the young ladies of Utah when their "womanly instincts" were "freed from all religious constraint, let loose from priestly fear."³⁵ Unconstrained, women would refuse to marry polygamously, she believed, leaving the practice to die out by attrition. As one who had willingly—even passionately—entered the practice, Charlotte was either hypocritical or already disenchanted.

As the first Utah contacts with the national suffrage movement in 1869, Charlotte and her sister wives, Annie and Mary, enjoyed the attention of Eastern suffragists, who believed they were harbingers of reform in Utah.³⁶ In 1871, when Elizabeth Stanton and Susan B.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 327, 329-30.

³⁵ "A Mormon Lady on the Mormon Leader, Mrs. Godbe's Views of Brigham Young," *The Revolution*, 15 December 1870, n.p.

³⁶ The Godbeite embrace of spiritualism may have contributed to

Anthony traveled to California, they stopped in Utah at the invitation of the Godbes and left convinced of the eventual success of the New Movement.³⁷

Throughout the 1870s, the Godbe women continued to attend the National's suffrage conventions, serve on its board, and correspond with suffrage papers. Indeed, it was a September 1876 letter that Charlotte wrote to the *Woman's Journal*, three years after her separation from William, that prompted Emmeline Wells's first contribution to its pages. In her lengthy letter Charlotte invited sympathy for Mormon women who, she claimed, were in subjection to male influence. She expressed her "emphatic desire" to see "a discontinuance of the practice of plural marriage." She then predicted, as she had done six years earlier, that the strong aversion to polygamy, which she claimed to have found among Mormon youth, would eventually eradicate the practice, eliminating the need for a federal act.³⁸ A few months later, Charlotte lauded the younger Mormons who had freed themselves from the "superstitions of their parents." She patronizingly noted that Eliza R. Snow, perhaps the best-loved and most respected woman in the Church at that time, whom she described as "an old lady on the shady side of seventy," and Charlotte's step-father, Brigham Young, were among the "antiquarians too old to change."³⁹ Charlotte also claimed, erroneously, that Brigham Young supervised the "little sheet" (the *Woman's Exponent*)

the Godbe wives' acceptance in Eastern suffrage circles, despite their initial polygamous status. Charlotte also capitalized on her mother's New England roots and associations to personally meet some of the leaders in the woman suffrage movement.

³⁷ William Godbe's position paper on polygamy, entitled "Polygamy: Its Solution in Utah—a Question of the Hour," published by the *Salt Lake Tribune* about the same time the women were in Utah, evidently assured them that the reform movement would succeed in dismantling polygamy where women's vote in Utah had failed. When the women addressed a Mormon audience in the old Tabernacle, Daniel H. Wells introduced them. In later years Emmeline Wells noted her attendance at this meeting.

³⁸ Charlotte Ives Godbe, "Polygamy in Utah," *Woman's Journal*, 9 September 1876, 296.

³⁹ Charlotte Ives Godbe, "Polygamy Condemned by Mormon Women," *Woman's Journal*, 17 February 1877, 52. The article's title is misleading.

and that “it did not represent the views of the most influential class among Mormon women.”⁴⁰ While this statement was a backhanded compliment to the paper’s effectiveness as a forum for the orthodox Mormon position, it hardly endeared her to her Mormon sisters. Nor did her allusions to Brigham Young and Eliza R. Snow.

In her response,⁴¹ Wells informed the *Journal’s* readers that Charlotte had visited Boston and spent time among those whose monogamous marriages she now claimed were “higher, holier and happier than that obtained through plural marriage” yet had returned to Utah and almost immediately married William Godbe. Moreover, Wells pointed out, it was William, not Charlotte, who had dissolved the relationship. Wells, twice a plural wife with no apologies to make, then stated the position of Mormon women regarding plural marriage, rejected Charlotte’s observations, and indirectly claimed to be a more legitimate spokesperson for Mormon women than Charlotte.⁴² This public debate deepened the personal schism between the maverick Charlotte and the orthodox Wells.⁴³

⁴⁰ Ibid. That its editor, Emmeline Wells, was the wife of a counselor in the First Presidency and that Eliza R. Snow, “presidentess of all Mormon women,” along with other prominent LDS women were on its board and also contributed regularly to its columns could not have escaped Charlotte’s notice. Her motive in making these false assertions can only be described as self-serving. Utah delegate George Q. Cannon, also of the First Presidency, was conversant with Mormon women’s contributions to national suffrage papers and wrote Brigham Young’s successor as Church President, John Taylor, that he felt that the *Woman’s Exponent* had helped the Mormon cause. Cannon, Letter to Taylor, 28 January 1878, quoted in Beverly Beeton, *Women Vote in the West: The Woman Suffrage Movement, 1869-1896* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1986), 58.

⁴¹ After writing her response, Wells wrote to Church President Brigham Young, explaining the need to set the record straight. Emmeline B. Wells, Letter to Brigham Young, 13 November 1876, Brigham Young Papers, Historical Department Archives of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City (hereafter LDS Church Archives).

⁴² Emmeline B. Wells, “Answer to ‘Polygamy in Utah,’” *Woman’s Journal*, 28 October 1876, 352.

⁴³ A decade later Charlotte, still smarting, complained to Church President Wilford Woodruff that “a *little* woman Ed.[itor] of a little paper pub[lished] in Salt Lake City, . . . took her pen in hand to show *why* I was

In the meantime, Wells turned her attention to the all-consuming job of editing the *Exponent*, using its pages to explain, commend, and defend Mormonism. With the escalation of federally initiated anti-polygamy proposals, woman's vote in Utah also became increasingly jeopardized. Considering it a prop to Mormon dominance in Utah and thus a support of polygamy, anti-polygamists urged Congress to overturn the territorial statute that had enfranchised Utah women in 1870. Though many of the Gentile women of Utah supported this action, Eastern suffragists adamantly opposed what seemed to them a patently discriminatory and unconstitutional measure. Even the Boston *Woman's Journal* condemned such proposals. The National Woman Suffrage Association went so far as to appoint three women to memorialize Congress and otherwise watch over the rights of the women of Utah.⁴⁴ To avert just such capricious acts on the part of Congress or state legislatures and to redirect their

not eligible to such an office, [delegate to a forthcoming Woman's Congress] & cruelly gave to the world thro' the same paper—that had kindly criticized me,—my painful domestic experience in polygamy, adding that I was not now an advocate for this principle of the church, hence could not be a representative for the women here." Charlotte Ives Cobb Kirby, Letter to Wilford Woodruff, 5 February 1889, quoted in Beverly Beeton, "A Feminist Among the Mormons: Charlotte Ives Cobb Godbe Kirby," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 59 (Winter 1991), 26. Only once was Charlotte's name considered as a possible representative at a suffrage convention, perhaps because of her close relationship with women suffragists who lobbied against anti-polygamy measures that included the repeal of woman suffrage in Utah. In 1881 LDS President John Taylor proposed sending delegates to Washington, D.C., with a memorial on polygamy and also proposed inviting Charlotte to attend the suffrage convention; but George Q. Cannon, Utah's congressional delegate, felt the time inauspicious for any representation from Utah. Beeton, *Women Vote in the West*, 66, and Wells, *Diary*, 3 December 1881, 6 January, 19 February 1882.

⁴⁴ The three were Sara J. Spencer, who remained both a friend and supporter of Mormon women during the protracted anti-polygamy struggle, Belva A. Lockwood, and Ellen C. Sargent, wife of Congressman Aaron Sargent, a woman suffrage supporter. *Journal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (chronology of typed entries and newspaper clippings, 1830-present), 13 October 1874, 5; 3 February 1876, 5.

focus, after an unsuccessful 1872 attempt to claim their voting rights under the Fourteenth Amendment, the National Woman Suffrage Association turned its energies toward a new constitutional amendment.⁴⁵

In 1877, a call for petitions to support a woman suffrage amendment, published in the Salt Lake *Deseret Evening News*, became the means of tangibly allying Mormon women with the woman suffrage movement. It also helped to create a contingent of Mormon women activists eager to support those who were working in their behalf. "We ardently and hopefully desire to be one with the women of America," Wells wrote to the *Ballot Box*, "in whatever may be practicable for universal National Woman Suffrage." Moreover, she explained, Mormons "do not believe man has the right to deter women from enjoying the God-given privilege of free agency." Rather, they believe "that man and woman are created free and equal to act in unison on all subjects and interests to both."⁴⁶ Mormon women, she implied, were not coerced in either their religious or political decisions.

Wells took the initiative on the petition in Utah by calling a meeting at the *Exponent* office of "some of the most prominent [female] leaders of the city."⁴⁷ Their efforts yielded over thirteen thousand signatures, more than from any other state or territory, which they forwarded to the National Association early in 1878.⁴⁸ A

⁴⁵ The U.S. Supreme Court rejected their claim on the basis that "the Constitution does not confer the right of suffrage upon anyone." See Ellen Carol DuBois, "Taking the Law into Our Own Hands': *Bradwell, Minor*, and Suffrage Militance in the 1870s," in *Visible Women: New Essays on American Activism*, edited by Nancy A. Hewitt and Suzanne Lebsock (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993), 19-39. DuBois elucidated the effects of this Fourteenth Amendment strategy in "Outgrowing the Compact of the Fathers: Equal Rights, Woman Suffrage, and the U.S. Constitution, 1820-1878," *Journal of American History* 74 (December 1987): esp. 852-62.

⁴⁶ "Convention Letters," *Ballot Box*, July 1877, 1.

⁴⁷ *Deseret News*: "Woman Suffrage," 12 December 1877, 1; "Woman Suffrage in Utah," 13 December 1877, 2; "Woman Suffrage," 14 December 1877, 1; "Female Suffrage," *Journal History*, 15 and 17 December 1877 and 11 January 1878.

⁴⁸ "Home Affairs," *Woman's Exponent* 6 (1 February 1878), 132. The petitions were presented to the Committee on Privileges and Elections on

few months later, having never met a suffrage leader or attended a meeting, Wells was appointed to the Advisory Board of the National Association.

Her successful leadership of the petition campaign, her editorial position at the *Woman's Exponent*, and her contributions to *Woman's Words* and the *Woman's Journal* bore fruit when Sara Spencer, Washington correspondent for *Woman's Words* and secretary of the NWSA, wrote to Wells expressing "sincere friendship" in February 1878, a month after receiving the petitions. "Surely my day star is rising," Wells joyfully recorded in her diary. "This is one of the events of my life."⁴⁹ She was even more pleased to read in the October 1878 issue of *Woman's Words* Spencer's invitation for Utah women to attend the annual convention of the National Woman Suffrage Association: "Let us by all means invite one or more of the enterprising, public spirited, women of Utah to be present at the next Washington convention. If we mistake not, our Gentile sisters have much to learn from these heroic women. What we read of their business ability, courage, and patriotism, is an inspiration to us."⁵⁰ Spencer's private letter to Wells and her public invitation to Mormon women effectively opened the way for LDS women to join the national effort to retain women's right to vote in Utah.

Sara Spencer was not alone in thinking that Mormon women ought to attend a Washington convention. Shortly before his death in 1877, Brigham Young had seen the value of an alliance with Easterners and proposed sending several of the "sisters," including two of his daughters, Zina Young Williams and Susa Young (Gates), to the East to lecture on Mormonism. He acknowledged that it would be "an experiment," but wanted to see it tried.⁵¹ The most immediate inducement to send Mormon women East, however, was neither of these votes of confidence. It was the formation of a local anti-polygamy society.

the Judiciary on 11 February 1878, and included names of some of the Utah workers, as reported in the *Ballot Box*, March 1878, 3.

⁴⁹ Wells, Diary, 15 February 1878.

⁵⁰ "From Utah," *Woman's Words* 2 (18 October 1878): 282. In response to a letter from Wells about a congress of representative women, Spencer issued the invitation. She evidently picked up the Mormon use of the word "Gentile" in reference to non-Mormons.

⁵¹ Whitney, *History of Utah*, 2:845.

As historian Orson F. Whitney noted, only two hundred women attended the organizing meeting of the Anti-Polygamy Society of Utah in November 1878 in Salt Lake City, but its effects were formidable.⁵² In a lengthy letter to Lucy Hayes, wife of U.S. President Rutherford B. Hayes, along with 30,000 copies of a memorial against polygamy sent to clerics throughout the country, the members demonstrated that plural marriage was one "incidental" in a woman's life they could neither accept nor tolerate.⁵³ Just a few months after Wells's exultant diary entry, a united womanhood became even more illusory for her. At the Mormon women's rally that protested the Anti-Polygamy Society's activities a month later, she acknowledged her despair. With great regret, she told her audience that she realized: "The time has come when we can no longer be silent, as we are assailed, and that too by our own sex. . . . We have been attacked in a way we never anticipated. We never thought that woman could rise up against woman."⁵⁴ The struggle over moral and social values that dominated the 1870s and 1880s presented the Eastern suffragists with a dilemma that was never fully resolved until woman suffrage was repealed in Utah in 1887: whether to align themselves with Mormon women, who defended woman suffrage along with polygamy, or with Gentile women, who were willing to surrender suffrage in exchange for federal legislation against polygamy.

While the strength of women's voices raised against Mormonism may have seemed negligible in relation to congressional measures gathering force in Washington, they proved their effectiveness in rousing public indignation. A month after the Mormon rally, January 1879, when LDS Church leaders supported the attendance of two women at the National Woman Suffrage Association convention in Washington, the whole nation had been alerted to conditions

⁵² *Ibid.*, 3:139. It published the *Anti-Polygamy Standard* from April 1880 to March 1883; the society itself disbanded in 1884.

⁵³ The society also memorialized Congress. Whitney, 3:61-62; Barbara Hayward, "Utah's Anti-Polygamy Society, 1878-1884" (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1980), 19-21; and Robert Joseph Dwyer, *The Gentile Comes to Utah* (Salt Lake City: Publishers Press, 1971), 190-214.

⁵⁴ "Woman's Mass Meeting," *Woman's Exponent* 7 (1 December 1878): 103.

in Utah.⁵⁵ At this point, however, Emmeline B. Wells replaced Susa Young Gates as one of Brigham Young's choices. Thus the Utah delegation consisted of one widowed daughter of Brigham Young and Wells, whose name by 1879 was well known in suffrage circles.⁵⁶ The two women would not only attend the convention but also carry a memorial to President Hayes asking him to veto any legislation against the Mormons.

Characterized as "cackling hens" and "Zion's roosters" by the hostile *Salt Lake Tribune*, and burdened with their own anxieties about the reception awaiting them, the women left Salt Lake City on 3 January 1879. Wells was then fifty-one years old. Zina Williams was twenty-eight. Traversing the land by train that she had crossed on foot thirty years earlier, Wells succumbed to an engulfing nostalgia. Could she possibly have imagined in 1848, as she trudged westward with the other Mormon outcasts on their western journey, that her return to the East would take her to the highest level of government? And what kind of response would she receive to her plea for tolerance and understanding for the religion that had altered her life? She did not have long to wait for answers. The warm welcome offered by both Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Stanton quickly dispelled the Mormon women's fears and gave them the confidence they needed to meet the large delegation of suffragists. Clearly, suffrage leaders had a vested interest in these two women who, among the few enfranchised women in the country, carried the burden of validating the suffragists' assertion that women were capable of voting.⁵⁷

⁵⁵ While polygamy was the most sensational of complaints against the Mormons, their cohesiveness, allegiance to Brigham Young as both their spiritual and temporal leader, their political dominance in Utah, and their expansion throughout the Mountain West were also viewed as anti-American. Other contributions to the negative image of Mormons (and particularly of Brigham Young) were the 1875 divorce suit of Ann Eliza Webb, Brigham Young's plural wife, her subsequent lecture tour, and the 1877 trial and execution of John D. Lee in connection with the Mountain Meadows Massacre twenty years earlier.

⁵⁶ Brigham Young had died two years earlier. Zina had been a widow since 1874 but, in 1884, would become the fourth wife of Charles O. Card.

⁵⁷ The argument persisted among many anti-Mormons that Mormon women voted only as directed by male leaders as well as for their own

An 1879 article published in the *Woman's Journal*, ridiculed the National for admitting the two Mormon women to their January convention. Elizabeth Stanton quickly picked up the challenge and chided Lucy Stone, founder of the American Association and the *Journal*, for not refuting the article. "If George Q. Cannon can sit in the Congress of the United States without compromising that body on the question of Polygamy," Stanton retorted, "I should think Mormon women might sit on our platform without making us responsible for their religious faith."⁵⁸ In the May 1879 issue of the *National Citizen and Ballot Box*, which printed Stanton's critique, the editor added her own response: "It ill becomes the *Woman's Journal* to cast a slur upon those women whose married life is not in accord with its ideas of right, for Lucy Stone's own married life. . . is a protest against the laws of marriage as recognized by the *Christian Church* and the Commonwealth of Massachusetts."⁵⁹ This kind of journalistic sniping fueled the dissension between the two associations and their leaders for another decade. While they differed over tactics, policies, and procedures generally, polygamy and its proponents remained major divisive factors.

Not only did the National Association invite Mormon women to attend its 1879 convention, it also invited the two delegates, as enfranchised women, to speak. Moreover, both Williams and Wells were appointed to join Sara Spencer and Matilda Joslyn Gage in carrying a suffrage memorial to President Hayes during the convention.⁶⁰ Fulfilling the second purpose for their Washington trip, the

"degradation" and thus were not good representatives of female voters.

⁵⁸ "The Brand of the Slave," *National Citizen and Ballot Box*, May 1879, 2. George Q. Cannon had been a delegate to Congress from Utah since 1872.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.* Lucy Stone and Henry Blackwell wrote their own marriage covenant (eliminating the word "obey") and Stone added six articles protesting the legal status of women as prescribed by both civil and religious law. Her refusal to take her husband's name, which created numerous legal complications and sometimes moral ambiguities about their life together, and her financial support of the marriage and Blackwell's own commercial ventures were unconventional at best in nineteenth-century America. See Andrea Moore Kerr, *Lucy Stone: Speaking Out for Equality* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1992), 86-95.

⁶⁰ For accounts of the convention, see "Over the Hills and Far Away,"

two Mormons also privately presented to President Rutherford and Lucy Hayes a memorial from the LDS women of Utah describing the disastrous family disruption that would follow enforcement of the 1862 Morrill Act, which outlawed bigamy, and any law that supported it. In a personal but somewhat ironic gesture of friendship, Wells presented Lucy Hayes with a copy of Edward Tullidge's laudatory *Women of Mormondom* with an inscription reading, "Please accept this token of the esteem of a Mormon wife, E. B. Wells."⁶¹

Through a coincidence of timing, their personal plea for compassion, designed to augment the fervent appeal in the memorial, was complicated by the announcement of the Supreme Court's decision in the Reynolds case, upholding the constitutionality of the Morrill Act.⁶² Issued on 6 January 1879, just as the NWSA convention convened and only days before Wells and Williams met with President and Mrs. Hayes, it naturally affected his official position

Woman's Exponent 7 (1 February 1879), 186; "Visit to Washington," 7 (15 February 1879), 194; "The Washington Convention," 7 (1 March 1879), 202; "The Washington Convention," 7 (15 March 1879); 210; "Women in Council—their Recent Convention," *National Citizen and Ballot Box*, February 1879, 11; "The Brand of the Slave," *ibid.*, May 1879, 2; "Report from Utah," *ibid.*, July 1879, 6; *Woman's Journal*, 25 January, 8 and 25 February, 1879; *Deseret Evening News*, 11, 14, 18, 22, 28, 31 January and 15 March 1879; and also the *Salt Lake Tribune* during the same weeks. For personal accounts, see Wells, *Diary*, 1 January–5 February 1879, and Zina Young Williams, *Diary*, 3 January–5 February 1879, holograph, LDS Church Archives. For an effusive account of the polite reception the women received, see Hannah T. King, "Events of the Present Day," *Woman's Exponent* 7 (1 March 1879): 205.

⁶¹ Wells, *Diary*, 18 January 1879. The book was preserved with Lucy Hayes's papers and housed in the Hayes Library in Fremont, Ohio. I am grateful to Patricia L. Scott for giving me a photocopy of the rather pointed inscription.

⁶² The conviction of polygamist George Reynolds, who voluntarily agreed to a trial in 1874 and a second one in 1875, led to an appeal before the U.S. Supreme Court. On 6 January 1879 it sustained the decision of the lower court, holding that "it was within the legitimate scope of the power of civil government to determine whether polygamy or monogamy should be the law of social life within its domain." The Court thus took a position that few Mormons expected and which they resisted for another decade.

on this volatile question. The President and First Lady were cordial and gracious, but this demeanor masked their aversion to the practice and their approval of the ruling.⁶³ Impressed by their cordiality during the visit, Wells mistakenly believed that “some good must come of it.”⁶⁴ For nearly three more weeks, Wells and Williams visited senators and congressional committee members, prepared a memorial for Congress, and spoke in behalf of Mormons before the House Judiciary Committee. Whether from inexperience or naive optimism, Wells consistently confused manner for intent, and continued to be hopeful. This was the first of a number of miscalculations. Always on the defensive before these federal officials, Wells, secure in her own sense of justice, seemed to magnify any friendly gesture, polite reception, or kind word. We are “surely accomplishing something,” she reported to her diary. She discounted the strength of public opinion, manifested by a flurry of supporting letters and petitions favoring the Supreme Court decision and calling for stringent legislation to enforce it.⁶⁵ It was a tide of national opinion that washed over the ripple of protest advanced by Wells, Williams, and their suffrage allies.

One of the emissaries’s partial victory was at a House Judiciary Committee hearing which followed the NWSA convention. Sara Spencer introduced the two women and reminded the committee that it had heard “large numbers of gentlemen upon this [Mormon] question, asking you for legislation, which will work terrible hardships upon women and children. Will you not hear these women in

⁶³ Lucy Hayes, in fact, became involved with the Methodist-Episcopal Home Mission Society, founded in 1880. Under its auspices, numerous women, including Angelia (Angie) Thurston Newman, a vociferous foe of polygamy, worked with the Anti-Polygamy Society of Utah.

⁶⁴ Apostle John Taylor felt that the two women were “doing all the good they can and will remain there as long as Bro. Cannon thinks they can be of use to the cause.” John Taylor, Letter to Wilford Woodruff, 28 January 1879, John Taylor Family Papers, Special Collections, Marriott Library, University of Utah, Salt Lake City. The women coordinated their efforts with George Q. Cannon to facilitate their work in Washington.

⁶⁵ See, for example, Wells, Diary, 17 and 21 January 1879. The Hayes Library’s presidential holdings show news clippings from around the country affirming almost unanimous support for enforcing the Supreme Court ruling.

their own behalf?"⁶⁶ The message of the women seemed to have touched a responsive chord when the Judiciary Committee brought in a bill "legitimatizing the offspring of plural marriages to a certain date and also authorizing the president to grant amnesty for past offenses" against the Morrill Act.⁶⁷ Cannon was also eager to see some form of amnesty for Mormons, a proposition favored by President Hayes, but President John Taylor, who had succeeded Brigham Young, advised against it since acceptance might mean capitulating to the Supreme Court ruling, which he was unwilling to do. Though some of the provisions of the proposed amnesty bill were later incorporated in the 1882 Edmunds anti-polygamy act, no action was taken on it in 1879.⁶⁸

In reporting to her Church leaders and women supporters about this challenging introduction to national politics, Wells was not so sanguine as to ignore "the apathy" she detected among the Saints in Utah. The implications of the Supreme Court ruling had not yet seemed to make an impact. But she was pleased with the experience and proudly noted in her diary, "I thank God I was the first to represent our women in the Halls of Congress."⁶⁹ She rightly saw it as a major step in her self-assigned mission to work for the women of her church.

The *Salt Lake Tribune* had ridiculed their efforts, its Washing-

⁶⁶ "Mormon Women before the House Judiciary Committee," from the *Washington Star*, 17 January 1879, reprinted in the *National Citizen and Ballot Box*, 3 (February 1879), 11. Cannon called the women's permission to appear before the Senate and House Judiciary Committees "a mark of respect almost unprecedented." Cannon, Letter to John Taylor, 7 February 1880, quoted in Beeton, *Women Vote in the West*, 64.

⁶⁷ Stanton et al., *History of Woman Suffrage*, 3:130. See also "Memorial," *National Citizen and Ballot Box*, February 1879, 11, and "The Following from the *Mission Mirror*," *Deseret Evening News*, 24 January 1879, 2. For provisions of the Edmunds Act, see Gustive O. Larson, *Outline History of Territorial Utah* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1965), 267-68. For a history of inheritance and other laws relating to wives and children of polygamous marriages, see Carol Cornwall Madsen, "'At Their Peril': Utah Law and the Case of Plural Wives, 1850-1900," *Western Historical Quarterly* 21 (November 1990), 425-44.

⁶⁸ See Bitton, *George Q. Cannon*, 224.

⁶⁹ Wells, Diary, 20 February 1879.

ton correspondent had belittled their impact, and members of the American Suffrage Association had rebuked the National for accepting Mormon women's membership, but Wells was undismayed. She concentrated on the genuinely significant achievement of having forged both personal and political alliances with many of the women she met in Washington, especially Sara Spencer and Matilda Gage, and of having won the respect of the redoubtable Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Stanton.⁷⁰ Another new acquaintance, attorney Belva Lockwood, became a singular champion of Mormon rights, using a broad array of legal arguments and working primarily with congressional leaders and Utah delegates.⁷¹ All vigorously defended their association with Mormon women. "When the women of a whole Territory are threatened with disfranchisement," Elizabeth Cady Stanton inquired of the critical *Woman's Journal*, "where should they go to make their complaint but to the platform of the National Suffrage Association?" Matilda J. Gage added that she felt "pity for those women who turn and rend their sister women working differently from themselves."⁷² The support of these women would persist throughout the difficult period that lay ahead.

Although Wells did not return to Washington for seven years, she maintained a correspondence with her new suffrage friends. As the anti-polygamy crusade intensified in the years following her Washington trip, resulting in the Edmunds Act (1882) disfranchising polygamists and installing a federally appointed Utah Commission to oversee territorial elections, suffragists became more sensitized about their controversial relationship with Mormon women. With Congress debating an even more stringent anti-polygamy bill prepared by Senator George F. Edmunds of Vermont, just months after passing the Edmunds Act, the political climate in Washington was not hospitable to Mormon women. However, when Eastern suffragists learned that Edmunds's new bill (passed in 1887 as the Ed-

⁷⁰ Joan Smyth Iversen examines these relationships in "The Mormon-Suffrage Relationship: Personal and Political Quandaries," *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 11, nos. 2-3 (1990): 8-16.

⁷¹ Beeton, *Women Vote in the West*, 70-80, describes Mormons' effusive praise for Lockwood's support. Other suffragists felt embarrassed by her overt enthusiasm.

⁷² "Mrs. Stanton and Mormon Women," *National Citizen and Ballot Box*, May 1879, 2, reprinted in *Woman's Exponent* 7 (15 May 1879): 240.

munds-Tucker Act) included a measure to divest all Utah women of the vote, they mounted a strong campaign to defeat it.

Unwilling to quarrel with the 1882 Edmunds Act's disfranchisement of all polygamists, both men and women, suffragists lobbied against any further extension of that punitive measure, noting the discriminatory bias against women that the new bill reflected. Learning that the Utah Commission urged such action was disheartening. Utah women were divided on the issue. From their different perspectives Emmeline Wells and Annie Godbe sent reports to the 1884 NWSA convention at Susan B. Anthony's request.

In her report, Wells explained that everyone then living in or ever having lived in polygamy was disfranchised, even women widowed before the 1862 Morrill Act. She expressed her indignation at the Utah Commission's recommendations to take the vote from nonpolygamous women. "What good reason can be given?" she demanded. She also denied that Mormon women "voted as they are told by their husbands. . . . Our women vote with the same freedom that characterizes any class of people in the most conscientious acts of their lives." Wells urged the National to "use their influence to prevent the passage of any such measure or law."⁷³

For her part, Annie Godbe supported the movement to disfranchise all Utah women, insisting that the women of the territory had had the franchise "forced upon them under circumstances that compel their use of it to their own injury." While "abstractly right," she continued, ". . . woman suffrage in Utah is made a means of her degradation." Recognizing the inequity of the bill in depriving only women of the vote, she acknowledged that "women must take, not what we want, but what our masculine masters see fit to give us" and complained that thus far those masters had exercised only "first class tinkering" in their legislative measures against polygamy.⁷⁴ Annie's position reflected that of the moral reformers, for whom dismantling polygamy was more urgent than maintaining the vote. This stance reinforced the incompatibility of the moral reformers with

⁷³ Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, eds., *Report of the Sixteenth Annual Washington Convention, March 4th, 5th, 6th and 7th, 1884, with Reports of the Forty-Eighth Congress* (Rochester, N.Y.: National Woman Suffrage Association, 1884), 78-79.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 80-81.

hard-line suffragists, a division that kept them from uniting under a single woman suffrage banner for several more years.

During the winter of 1885-86, while this debate raged in the press and on the lecture circuit, Wells set out on her own bridge-building journey to the East. She was now fifty-seven, once more reconnecting with her New England siblings after a forty-year separation.⁷⁵ She also visited a number of writers with whom she had been corresponding. All were pleasant to her and admiring of her editorial work.⁷⁶ She particularly wanted to visit the offices of the *Boston Woman's Journal*, with which she had corresponded for nearly a decade. Having felt the sting of its anti-polygamy attacks, she was greatly relieved to find the staff polite and helpful. An unexpected encounter with Henry Blackwell, Lucy Stone's husband, was surprisingly pleasant. Wells found him "very cordial in his manner" and was delighted when he invited her to dinner at his home to meet Lucy and their daughter.⁷⁷

Arriving that evening at the Stone-Blackwell home in Naponset, Wells found her hosts congenial and gracious. She was pleased at their intense disapproval of Edmunds's new bill, which had recently passed the Senate, and noted with approval their judgment that the sections confiscating Mormon Church property and disfranchising Utah women were "unjust and unconstitutional."⁷⁸ The evening's conviviality, however, did not temper their opposition toward polygamy nor toward Wells as its foremost female representative. This became evident two years later in May 1888 when Wells, perhaps misled once again by the cordiality of those whom she met, wrote a glowing tribute to Lucy Stone and the American Woman Suffrage Association in the *Woman's Exponent*. "I fell in love with her the moment I saw her," Wells confessed to her readers, "and shall never

⁷⁵ Emmeline was the seventh in a family of ten children, one of whom died before Emmeline was born. None of her older siblings joined the LDS Church when she, her mother, and her three younger siblings did by 1843. She left Massachusetts in 1844 as a new convert and young bride.

⁷⁶ They included John Greenleaf Whittier, Elizabeth Stuart Phelps (the one exception to her gracious reception), Charlotte Fowler Wells of the *Phrenological Journal*, and the editor of the Boston-published *Watchman*, with whom she had debated the virtues of polygamy.

⁷⁷ Wells, Diary, 12 January 1886.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 13 January 1886.

forget how my heart went out to her.”⁷⁹ But Lucy Stone’s response was not reciprocal. Three months after Wells’s laudatory editorial appeared, which Stone undoubtedly read, she wrote to Frances Willard, recently elected president of the National Council of Women. Stone admitted that she was reluctant to allow the American Woman Suffrage Association to join the newly organized National Council of Women because it had permitted Mormon women to attend its organizing meeting and had allowed a “particular Mormon woman,” later identified as Emmeline Wells, to become a life member, assuring that her name “stands secured in the Committee for the Council.”⁸⁰ Whether this information ever reached Emmeline Wells is unknown, but Wells never ceased to admire Lucy Stone’s courage and advocacy of woman’s rights.

In January 1886, shortly after her visit with the Stone-Blackwell family, Wells traveled on to Washington, meeting with President Grover Cleveland’s unmarried sister Rose, then acting as official White House hostess, but failing to gain her sympathy despite her cordiality. Wells also met with Utah’s current congressional delegate, John T. Caine, and Hamilton Willcox, an early woman suffrage supporter and lobbyist, to discuss the new anti-polygamy Edmunds bill. She was too late to attend the annual NWSA convention, at which the old-guard suffragists supported a resolution calling for a less orthodox position on religion, thus opposing the uncompromising stand of the temperance and social purity women. The moral reformers, with the aid of Susan B. Anthony, whose primary goal was to broaden the base of the suffrage movement, carried the day, however, and defeated the resolution, foreshadowing the more conservative, traditional character which the association was assuming.⁸¹ This change did not bode well for continued Mormon affiliation,

⁷⁹ “American Women Suffrage Association,” *Woman’s Exponent* 16 (1 May 1888): 178.

⁸⁰ Lucy Stone, Letter to Frances Willard, 23 August 1888, in Leslie Wheeler, ed., *Loving Warriors: Selected Letters of Lucy Stone and Henry B. Blackwell, 1853 to 1893* (New York: Dial Press, 1981), 314-15, 393. Although she did not attend the organizing meeting, Emmeline Wells became a “patron,” or nonvoting lifetime member of the council.

⁸¹ See Ruth Ellen William Drish, “Susan B. Anthony De-Radicalizes, Re-Organizes, and Re-Unites the American Woman Suffrage Movement: 1880-1890” (Ph.D. diss., University of Iowa, 1985).

but a personal visit with Anthony shortly after the convention gave Wells the assurance of her continuing support against the new Edmunds bill.

In early April 1886, feeling satisfied with her efforts, Wells began the trip home. In her absence Mormon women had called a public rally to respond to the escalating effects of the anti-polygamy crusade, which had been infused with energy and support by the addition of national anti-polygamy crusader Angelia Newman of the Methodist-Episcopal Woman's Home Mission Society.⁸² Newman had visited Utah in 1876 and by the 1880s had become an intense moral crusader with polygamy as her primary target. While Wells was in Washington, Newman had collected 250,000 signatures petitioning Congress to rescind woman suffrage in Utah. The Mormon women composed their own "Memorial" which they hoped would counteract Newman's petition. The final resolution of the Mormon memorial reasserted the female bond that informed all their appeals for relief: "Resolved: That we will call upon the wives and mothers of the United States to come to our help in resisting these encroachments upon our liberties and these outrages upon our peaceful homes and family relations."⁸³ They urged John Taylor to telegraph Wells, requesting her to return to Washington, D.C., to present the memorial to Congress.

Wells was in Kansas City when the telegram reached her; though weary from nearly six months of travel, she agreed to return to Washington where she was joined by Dr. Ellen Ferguson.⁸⁴ Besides lobbying against the Edmunds bill, the two women hoped to

⁸² Theodore L. Agnew, "Angelia Louise French Thurston Kilgore Newman," in *Notable American Women: A Biographical Dictionary*, edited by Edward T. James, Janet Wilson James, and Paul S. Boyer, 3 vols. (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1971), 2:620-22.

⁸³ "The Ladies' Mass Meeting," *Woman's Exponent* 14 (1 March 1886): 149. This document sought relief from the harassment, arrest, and frequent imprisonment of wives who refused to testify against their husbands.

⁸⁴ "'The Rotunda'—Kirtland—The Memorial," *Woman's Exponent* 14 (15 April 1886), 169. Emily Sophia Tanner Richards, wife of the LDS Church's attorney in Washington, Franklin S. Richards, and Josephine Richards Spencer, Emily's sister-in-law, temporarily joined the two women in their lobbying efforts. Ferguson and Wells remained until May, meeting with various congressional committees. Whitney, *History of Utah* 4:589.

dissuade Congress from appropriating money to establish a home for disillusioned or refugee plural wives in Utah, one of Angie Newman's ideas. Wells was particularly incensed over this proposal and predicted correctly that the new home would house few residents. Though the appropriation was approved and a home established that same year, it was indeed sparsely populated during its few years of operation.⁸⁵

Public sentiment favored the new Edmunds Bill, Congress funded Newman's proposal, and American women did not rally in sympathy to Mormonism's beleaguered wives. However, a few pockets of sympathy strengthened Wells's belief that some accommodation could be made to preserve Mormon families if not women's vote. Her appeal evidently touched a responsive chord from the press. The *Christian Union* called for an investigation into the sufferings of Utah women and their families resulting from the 1882 Edmunds Act, and the *Washington Critic* published a letter from a man who publicly renounced his own prior support of popular anti-Mormon lecturer Kate Field, declaring that the Mormon women then in Washington "are better qualified to determine their own fate than anyone else."⁸⁶

While in Washington, Wells and Ferguson also attended a hearing on the constitutionality of the new Edmunds bill before a subcommittee of the House Judiciary Committee, headed by John Randolph Tucker of Virginia. Wells was impressed by his courtliness and "unbiased" demeanor and considered him "a kindly and wise man." Once again her optimism led her to mistake his cordial manner for genuine sympathy, for he became the bill's cosponsor.⁸⁷ By the end of her Washington stay, even Wells's determined hopefulness was hard pressed to find many bright moments. As she and Ferguson continued to visit congressmen and committee members, they found "the prejudice exceedingly strong against the Saints." Wells lamented that everything "done here in presenting facts and seeking to remove prejudice, seems only a drop in the ocean of public sentiment arrayed against a people struggling with the effects of false-

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

⁸⁶ Both were reprinted in the *Deseret News*. See *Journal History*, 14 and 20 April 1886.

⁸⁷ "Notes from Washington," *Woman's Exponent* 14 (1 May 1886): 180; "Washington Jottings," *ibid.*, (15 May 1886): 189.

hood and misrepresentation.” Once more she appealed to the common bonds of womanhood: “Is it not time that woman as a rational being aroused herself to the imperative duties of the age and by every exertion possible maintain the rights of women as a class to self protection?” she asked. “Is there not work enough for women to do among their sisters in the world without reaching away over to Utah to hunt out a few plural wives, who have homes and children around them honorably born?”⁸⁸

However, Angie Newman’s voice in 1886 proved more compatible with the national mood than either Wells’s or that of the suffragists, whose only concern was the loss of a voting stronghold. They particularly disdained those women who claimed to be suffragists but supported disfranchising Utah’s women. “On what tenable and safe grounds can the proposed disfranchisement be brought about,” Clara Colby, editor of the *Woman’s Tribune*, wanted to know. “Is it because they [the Mormons] hold opinions which are different from those of these petitioners that they are to be disfranchised?”⁸⁹ Colby was joined by Matilda Gage, Lily Devereux Blake, Belva Lockwood, and even Henry Blackwell, who denounced the bill’s discrimination, but to no avail. The Edmunds-Tucker Act became law in March 1887, withdrawing the vote from women, escheating most of the Church’s financial holdings, and applying other punitive measures.

Forced to capitulate by the harshness of this act, Wilford Woodruff, who had succeeded John Taylor as president of the Church, issued a manifesto in September 1890 publicly declaring that his “advice to the Latter-day Saints is to refrain from conducting any marriages forbidden by the law of the land.”⁹⁰ The manifesto confirmed the success of both the political and moral crusades against polygamy.

Having lost the battle to legitimize Mormon women on their own terms, Wells worried about the residual effects of the long struggle and whether her efforts achieved anything of worth. Would

⁸⁸ “Notes from Washington,” *Woman’s Exponent* 14 (1 May 1886): 180-81.

⁸⁹ *Woman’s Tribune* 3 (July 1886): 2.

⁹⁰ Quoted in Gustive O. Larsen, “The Crusade and the Manifesto,” in *Utah’s History*, edited by Richard D. Poll, Thomas G. Alexander, Eugene E. Campbell, and David E. Miller (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1978), 272.

their suffragist allies continue to befriend disfranchised Mormon women? Would lingering animosities prevent the association of Mormon women with national and international women's organizations? Would personal friendships endure?

Answers to these questions had already begun to emerge two years earlier in 1888, just a year after the passage of the Edmunds-Tucker Act. The National Woman Suffrage Association had organized an international forum in March to celebrate the fortieth anniversary of the first women's rights convention in the United States. Representatives from many women's organizations, mainly in the western world, attended the eight-day event in Washington, D.C. Though not all of the organizations represented supported woman suffrage, focusing more on temperance, or education, poverty, and charity, the groups found common ground in the united claim that such moral vices as prostitution, the sexual double standard, and sexual slavery and trafficking demeaned and degraded women throughout the world.⁹¹ U.S. representatives added polygamy to this list.

Among the fifty-one organizations represented at the celebration were the three LDS auxiliaries staffed by women: the Primary Association, the Young Ladies Mutual Improvement Association, and the Relief Society. Emmeline Wells did not attend, although she had been invited and later regretted her refusal; she was still grieving over the death of her youngest daughter a few months earlier. Instead, Emily Tanner Richards represented the Relief Society and was

⁹¹ The large and very powerful Woman's Christian Temperance Union under Frances Willard had been a major force in the anti-polygamy fight. At this anniversary meeting, both an International Council of Women and an American National Council of Women were organized. Willard was elected president of the National Council. Kathi L. Kern, "The Cornerstone of a New Civilization": The First International Council of Women and the Campaign for 'Social Purity,'" *Kentucky Law Journal* 84 (1995-96), 1235, discussed the competition between suffrage and social purity as the International Council of Women's flagship issues. Mormon women attended the celebration but were not formally admitted to membership in the National Council until 1891. See minutes and proceedings in May Wright Sewall, comp., *Genesis of the International Council of Women and the Story of Its Growth, 1888-1893* (n.p., n.d.); and in *Report of the International Council of Women* (Washington, D.C.: National Woman Suffrage Association, 1888).

scheduled to speak in one of the sessions.⁹² Facing a curious if not hostile audience, Richards was buoyed up by the support given her by the chair, Harriette R. Shattuck, president of the Massachusetts Woman Suffrage Association, and other suffrage acquaintances, who seemed genuinely pleased to welcome the Mormon representatives.⁹³

Immediately after this gathering adjourned, the National Woman Suffrage Association convened its annual meeting and discussed two controversial issues: (1) merging the two suffrage associations, a goal for many, finally achieved in 1890, and (2) the continued membership of Mormon women. A new organizational structure of the National required that only fully organized associations could be members and send authorized delegates to the annual conventions, a qualification LDS women already met. But the anti-polygamy Woman's Christian Temperance Union was a major force in the National, militating against a congenial relationship. "It is noticeable in almost every instance," Wells observed wryly, "that whenever 'Mormons' are to be admitted, a question arises as to the feasibility of the matter."⁹⁴ Harriet H. Robinson, a Massachusetts delegate, reminded the convention, however, that the NWSA "knows no North, no South, no East, no West, but is cosmopolitan, and welcomes to its membership women of all classes, all races and

⁹² Her address appears in *Report of the International Council of Women*, 107-9 and also "The Women of Utah Represented at the International Council of Women, at Washington, D.C.," *Woman's Exponent* 16 (1 April 1888): 164-65. Dr. Ruth Woods, director of Angie Newman's Industrial Christian Home in Utah, had hoped to represent the anti-polygamy women, but Susan B. Anthony explained that invitations went only to "nationally organized bodies of women," with a few also extended to "distinguished women to speak on various kinds of unorganized work," such as the professions of medicine, law, and journalism. "Fortieth Anniversary of the Woman Suffrage Movement," *Woman's Exponent* 16 (15 February 1888): 140.

⁹³ Initially, Richards's presence was inadvertently skipped over by Shattuck. When the omission was drawn to her attention, she gave Richards a particularly warm and emphatic introduction. The incident was reported by a national observer, C.A.L., "Correspondence," *Woman's Exponent* 16 (15 April 1888): 169-70.

⁹⁴ "Editorial Thoughts," *Woman's Exponent* 16 (1 May 1888): 180.

all religions.” With her support, two Utah women were nominated as delegates and standing members of the executive committee. Isabel Cameron Brown, sister-in-law of long-time suffragist Reverend Olympia Brown, was nominated by Dr. Ruth Woods, while Emily Richards was nominated by a “Mrs. Slautter, of Dakota.”⁹⁵ The executive committee authorized the organization of a Utah territorial suffrage association. Mormon women were thus assured a continuing presence in this rapidly expanding organization.

At the first triennial meeting of the National Council of Women, held in Washington in 1891, the sixty-three-year-old Emmeline B. Wells was on hand to aid the Mormon bid for membership. Since her last visit to Washington in 1886, the Edmunds-Tucker Bill had become law, Utah women had lost the franchise, the two suffrage associations had merged, and Wilford Woodruff had issued his manifesto regarding polygamy. Neither a voting woman nor an advocate for a suspect religious practice, Wells nevertheless still attracted press attention. The *Woman's Tribune* hailed her as “one of the most interesting women at the Council,” and the *Washington Post* reported that “her advocacy of wronged women and the equality of the sex has been particularly fearless.”⁹⁶ While she undoubtedly enjoyed the personal accolades, Wells's primary concern was whether the anti-polygamy members had mellowed enough to allow the LDS women's organizations to become members of the National Council. With some trepidation the Utah delegates presented their credentials to the corresponding secretary, May Wright Sewall, a friend of Wells's, who submitted them first to the Committee on Credentials and then to the executive committee. “We were left in suspense,” Wells noted. Finally, to their great relief and perhaps even surprise, Susan B. Anthony herself brought “the good news that we were admitted without a dissenting vote.”⁹⁷ It was a crucial juncture in Mormon-Gentile relations, facilitated primarily by the Woodruff manifesto, withdrawing support for new plural marriages, but on

⁹⁵ “Women's Council,” *Journal History*, 12 April 1888, 3-4.

⁹⁶ *Woman's Tribune*, 28 February 1891, and *Washington Post*, 23 February 1891, clippings in Susan B. Anthony, Scrapbook, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

⁹⁷ Wells, *Diary*, 21 February 1891; “A Glimpse of Washington,” *Woman's Exponent* 19 (1 March 1891): 132.

the personal level by the longstanding friendship of Wells and officers of the council.

Finally free of the anxieties and frustrations endured during her 1886 Washington trip, Wells enjoyed a sense of unity and collegiality with many of the other delegates. She was openly admiring of these women who were "laboring to unite, in a grand band of sisterhood, the several great organizations," represented at the convention,⁹⁸ an objective that coincided with her own efforts toward unity and accord among women. Moreover, their own disfranchisement may well have strengthened rather than weakened the Mormon women's connection with eastern suffragists; all now endured the same political disability.

Utah women, however, were closer to becoming voters for a second time than their eastern friends were for the first. The Edmunds-Tucker Act's 1887 disfranchisement of Utah's women generated a grass-roots campaign to regain the vote, the first time Utah women waged a suffrage battle in their own behalf. It was largely a Mormon effort, although Charlotte Godbe and several Gentile women joined the newly formed Territorial Woman Suffrage Association in 1889.⁹⁹ Since the Woodruff manifesto had made statehood an imminent reality, Utah suffragists began an intensive crusade throughout the territory to win support for suffrage. They were confident of victory when the Utah state constitutional convention was finally scheduled to convene in March 1895.

Three months earlier, in January, Wells attended the annual National American Woman Suffrage convention as president of the Territorial Woman Suffrage Association, elected in 1893. After she finished giving her report on Utah, she was surprised and emotionally touched when the stately Susan B. Anthony put her arm about the five-foot Wells and commended her to the assemblage for her unstinting service in the long suffrage struggle.¹⁰⁰ This personal af-

⁹⁸ "A Glimpse of Washington," 133.

⁹⁹ After participating in the successful drive to regain the vote, Charlotte remarried and left the Utah scene. The Gentile members of the Territorial Woman Suffrage Association were all friends of Emmeline's who worked with her in preparing a Utah exhibit for the 1893 Chicago Exposition and in other community projects.

¹⁰⁰ She also invited Emmeline to sit by her at public functions during the convention and displayed a genuine affection in her attentiveness

fection was Wells's private reward for that effort. Her public reward was the majority vote in the constitutional convention which awarded women the vote in the new state of Utah, and Mormon and Gentile women were beginning to think of themselves collectively as *Utah* women.

But the struggle to maintain legitimacy was not quite over. When Emmeline Wells, in her seventy-first year, returned to Washington four years later to attend the 1899 National Council of Women meeting, polygamy had once again flared up as a public issue, thanks to the 1898 election of B. H. Roberts, member of the LDS First Council of Seventy and a practicing polygamist. Wells had correctly predicted that his election "would be detrimental in every way."¹⁰¹ He was denied his Congressional seat, and the conflict ignited dormant emotions, placing Mormon women once more on the defensive. "Everyone seems to think we will have a hard time in Washington with all the opposition," Wells worriedly wrote in her diary shortly before leaving for the meeting.¹⁰² A decade of reconciliation between Mormon and Gentile women was shattered by his election; and women's groups across the country, including the National Council of Women, prepared resolutions objecting to his seating.¹⁰³

Many LDS women had their own reasons for dismay at his election. His had been the strongest voice opposing woman suffrage in the Utah constitutional convention four years earlier, and yet some women's votes had obviously been necessary for his victory. Wells had expressed outrage that any Mormon woman "could have been so unscrupulous as to vote for such a man."¹⁰⁴ Now she and the other Mormon delegates faced a cruel dilemma as they met with the National Council: Should they resist the council's resolution protesting his seating to manifest their religious solidarity, or should

and patronage at the meetings and other social functions. Wells, Diary, 30 January, 2, 4, 15 February 1895.

¹⁰¹ Wells, Diary, 10 November 1898.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 24 January 1899.

¹⁰³ Davis Bitton, "The B. H. Roberts Case of 1898-1900," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 25 (January 1957): 27-46; and William Griffin White, Jr., "The Feminist Campaign for the Exclusion of Brigham Henry Roberts from the Fifty-Sixth Congress," *Journal of the West* 17 (January 1978): 45-72.

¹⁰⁴ Wells, Diary, 10 November 1898.

they support the resolution to be in harmony with the women's associations they had eagerly joined just a few years earlier? Moreover, the National Council faced a dilemma of its own. The LDS Relief Society and Young Women's Mutual Improvement Association were faithful, dues-paying members of the council; they did not deserve the offense such a resolution would inevitably give, yet the far more powerful Woman's Christian Temperance Union and several other prestigious council members insisted on the anti-Roberts resolution's passage. Wells had never faced such moral uncertainty on any of her previous missions to Washington.

Almost as soon as Wells arrived, May Wright Sewall, now NCW president, took her aside to urge the Utah delegation to vote for the resolution, claiming that it was "a golden opportunity" for Mormon women to gain wide acceptance among the major women's organizations and using "all her powers of persuasion to convince me it was the only course to pursue."¹⁰⁵ Despite Wells's lifelong gender loyalty and her personal antipathy to Roberts as a long-time foe of woman suffrage, she did not hesitate over her choice. Seeing the issue as a matter of loyalty to her faith, Wells remained the Mormon advocate.¹⁰⁶

In a meeting of the Resolutions Committee, of which she and fellow Utah delegate Ann Mousley Cannon were members, Wells succeeded in convincing a majority of the committee to draft a new resolution that did not pointedly refer to polygamy or to Roberts but simply resolved that only "law-abiding citizens" should be permitted to sit in law-making bodies.¹⁰⁷ With Wells's and Cannon's

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 11 February 1899.

¹⁰⁶ Emmeline had never met Roberts personally, but years later in a public reception he paid tribute to her service to women and the Church, to which she responded with a gracious letter of admiration and appreciation. Emmeline B. Wells, Letter to B. H. Roberts, 20 March 1910, B. H. Roberts Papers, Special Collections, Marriott Library, University of Utah.

¹⁰⁷ This resolution stated: "Whereas the National Council of Women of the United States stands for the highest ideals of domestic and civic virtue, as well as for the observance of law in all its departments, both state and national, therefore, Resolved, That no person should be allowed to hold a place in a law-making body of the nation who is not a law-abiding citizen." The original resolution read: "Whereas the passage of the

effective persuasion, this resolution was presented as the majority resolution while the original one was presented as the minority resolution. Both were presented to the council for discussion and a vote. A day of debate with speeches from six of the ten Mormon representatives resulted in acceptance of the majority resolution. Both Elizabeth Stanton and Susan B. Anthony had opposed any form of resolution against Roberts and expressed approval to Wells of the outcome.¹⁰⁸ Even the *New York Journal* admired the composure of the Mormon delegates and their persuasive appeals, showing “they had the courage of their convictions.”¹⁰⁹

Though Wells made several more visits to Washington, she was no longer obliged to plead the case for Mormonism or Mormon women. Interestingly, in the year of her final official appearance, 1913, when she was eighty-five, like the year of her first, 1879, national women leaders solicited the presence of Mormon

Edmunds Bill (so-called) established the law of monogamic marriage as binding upon all citizens of the United States; therefore, Resolved, That no person shall be allowed to hold a place in a law-making body of the nation who is not in this, and in all other matters, a law-abiding citizen.” Quoted in Susa Young Gates, “The Recent Triennial in Washington,” *Young Woman’s Journal* 10 (May 1899): 204-5. Anti-polygamy agitation arose again over the election of monogamist Apostle Reed Smoot to the U.S. Senate in 1904; he was seated and successfully withstood thirty months of hearings contesting his right to keep it.

¹⁰⁸In a private visit with Elizabeth Stanton in New York after the convention, Emmeline noted that Stanton “thought it [the minority resolution] very bad taste and wrong in principle [and] ridiculed May Wright Sewall and especially her desire for popularity.” Wells, *Diary*, 26 February 1899. Three months before the convention, when the anti-Roberts resolution was being written, Anthony pungently noted that she saw “no reason for protesting against the seating of a Mormon who had violated the law of monogamy and yet never raising a voice against seating in Congress, or any other high official body, Gentile men known to be violators of that law and many others for the protection of women and girls outside of Utah.” Ida Husted Harper, *Life and Works of Susan B. Anthony*, 3 vols. (Indianapolis: Hollenbeck Press, 1908), 3:1150-53; see also “Miss Anthony on Roberts,” *Woman’s Exponent* 28 (15 November and 1 December 1899): 80.

¹⁰⁹*New York Journal*, 18 February 1899.

women.¹¹⁰ In 1913 May Wright Sewall visited Utah to reinterest younger Mormon women in the National and International Councils of Women. Recognizing the years of service Emmeline Wells had rendered in behalf of the women of her Church, Sewall singled her out as the woman “who had done much to create the good feelings” that then existed towards Mormon women. Emmeline Wells, she noted, had been “the connection between the women of the Council and the women of the Church.”¹¹¹ She was in Utah, she explained, to urge younger Mormon women to maintain that tradition.

Besides the good relations Wells had fostered between LDS and Gentile women during her visits to Washington, she had made significant personal connections throughout her many years of advocacy. She had earned the respect of Elizabeth Cady Stanton and the friendship of Susan B. Anthony. Anthony had given her a gold ring as a token of that friendship. Wells had held her own at the highest levels of national female leadership as she expanded her circle of influence and association. One tribute came from a fellow delegate to the National Council, a woman who refused to join a revived anti-polygamy movement in 1915 out of respect for Wells. “I really feel very much attracted to the dear old lady,” she wrote. “She sent me a volume of her poems at Christmas. . . . I never go back on my friends—and while hating polygamy I cannot help admiring the grand old lady who has seen so much.”¹¹² An unusual tribute came from Countess Aberdeen of Great Britain, president of the International Council of Women, whom Wells had met when attending the International Congress of Women in London in 1899 and whom she hosted when the Countess visited Utah

¹¹⁰ Emmeline Wells made at least two intervening personal visits to the East. In 1901 as the guest of Utah’s Gentile governor Thomas Kearns, she attended William McKinley’s inauguration and received a warm welcome afterwards in a private interview with Vice-President Theodore Roosevelt; she visited Roosevelt again in 1902 when he was President.

¹¹¹ Relief Society Minutes, 17 April 1913, LDS Church Archives, Salt Lake City, Utah; typescript copy in my possession, used by permission of the Relief Society.

¹¹² Annalea Carson, Letter to Corinne Allen, 19 January (1915?), Allen Papers, Schlesinger Library, as quoted in Iversen, *The Anti-Polygamy Controversy*, 252-53.

in 1916.¹¹³ In a gathering of women during that visit, the Countess indicated how pleased she was to have had the “honor of being introduced twice in one day by a queen, for in my brief visit here I have quickly observed that ‘Aunt Em’ is the Queen of Utah.”¹¹⁴ The ability of so many women to separate Wells from the cause she represented but which they disdained was perhaps the most eloquent tribute to the force of her character and her ability to forge strong personal relationships.

Wells’s efforts to legitimize Mormon women to their American sisters moved that process far ahead of what it might have been without her. Nor did she ignore opportunities at home to make substantial Mormon/Gentile connections. She developed close relationships with numerous non-Mormon women through their united work on the Utah women’s exhibit for the 1893 Columbian Exposition in Chicago,¹¹⁵ in the Utah Silk Commission, in the Utah Federation of Women’s Clubs, in the kindergarten movement, and in the Republican Party.¹¹⁶ She was a bridge builder on both fronts, her faith in a united womanhood a bit battered but still strong.

While the Manifesto was the key that unlocked the door to a cooperative dialogue between Mormons and Gentiles, Emmeline Wells helped to define the terms of that dialogue, particularly among women. The effectiveness of her writing, her personal charisma, and the strength of her advocacy eased the admission of Mormon women into the larger American society. If there was a touch of parochial pride in the claim made at her eighty-second birthday celebration that “she enjoys the respect—in many instances the intimate acquaintance and affection—of the leading women, not only of America, but of the world,” it was not far from the truth.¹¹⁷ She was also honored

¹¹³ Carol Cornwall Madsen, “‘The Power of Combination’: Emmeline B. Wells and the National and International Councils of Women,” *BYU Studies* 33, no. 4 (1993): 646-73.

¹¹⁴ “Prominent Woman Reaches Majority, ‘Aunt Em’ Wells Nears Important Event,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, 9 January 1916, 10.

¹¹⁵ At the International Woman’s Congress held in conjunction with the exposition, Emmeline was invited to chair an overflow session, a singular honor for her.

¹¹⁶ Carol Cornwall Madsen, “Decade of Détente: The Mormon-Gentile Female Relationship in Nineteenth Century Utah,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 63 (Fall 1995): 298-319.

by her Gentile friends in Utah after her death, who commissioned a bust of her by Cyrus Dallin, now displayed in the Utah State Capitol. The inscription reads simply, "A Fine Soul Who Served Us." Though her idealism of the 1870s was substantially chastened by the realities of the 1880s, Emmeline Wells may well have smiled at this ecumenical gesture. It was in some measure a vindication of her work for—and belief in—women, especially "thinking women."

¹¹⁷"A Noble Woman," *Deseret Evening News*, 5 March 1910, 4.

OTHER MORMON HISTORIES: LAMANITE SUBJECTIVITY IN MEXICO

Thomas W. Murphy

[A] Mormon who was a national Church authority in Mexico attended an academic event on “minority religious groups.” In order to rebut a Marxist anthropologist who asserted that the “sects” erode indigenous cultures, he stood before the public and stated, “I am a Nahua, I have always been and I will not stop being so because anthropologists determine that I am not.”¹

Agrícól Lozano Herrera, president of the LDS temple in Mexico

THOMAS W. MURPHY <tmurphy@edcc.edu> is chair of the Department of Anthropology at Edmonds Community College in Lynnwood, Washington, and a Ph.D. candidate in anthropology at the University of Washington.

Acknowledgements: In addition to the anonymous reviewers for the *Journal of Mormon History*, I would like to thank Richard White, Alexandra Harmon, Armand Mauss, Gary Witherspoon, Anthony Gill, and Kerrie Sumner Murphy for reading and commenting on previous versions of this manuscript. I presented earlier essays at the Society for the Scientific Study of Religion’s 1997 annual meeting in San Diego and at the Latin American Studies brown bag series at the University of Washington.

¹Patricia Fortuny Loret de Mola, “On the Road to Damascus: Analysis of Conversion,” 1997, 222, photocopy of manuscript in my possession. I believe that the person Fortuny refers to is Agrícól Lozano Herrera because Carlos Garma Navarro, who told me the same story in Mexico City in November 1997, identified the protagonist as Lozano.

City from 1993 to 1997, has earned a national reputation among scholars of Mexican religion for public affirmations of his identity as both an indigenous Nahua and as a Mormon. Mexican anthropologist Carlos Garma Navarro, a specialist on religious minorities in Mexico, claims that Lozano is the only leader of a non-Catholic religion in Mexico whom he has ever heard publicly proclaim an Indian identity.² Lozano challenges ethnic categories constructed by anthropologists, drawing scholarly disdain for his approach to history. Raymundo Gómez González, a Mormon who is director of the Museo de Historia del Mormonismo en México in Mexico City, reported encountering in the national archives a prominent Mexican scholar who ridiculed Lozano's *Historia del Mormonismo en México* as not being "real" history because it wove Mormon doctrine into the telling of a Mexican narrative.³ Lozano was not the first Nahua Mormon to provoke controversy by weaving his religion into a retelling of Mexican history. Rather, he followed a path previously blazed by Margarito Bautista Valencía, a prominent figure in a dispute over local leadership that split Mexican Latter-day Saints into opposing camps in the mid-1930s. Together, Lozano and Bautista raise fundamental questions about what constitutes Mormon history.

The complex identities and polemical writings of Bautista and Lozano challenge not only static representations of Indians in Mexican historical and anthropological discourse but also disrupt the dichotomy usually drawn between traditional history and the New Mormon History. Mormon historian D. Michael Quinn places the New Mormon History within a larger movement among American historians to examine the experiences of "common people" and reverse the lack of attention to women, children, families, and ethnic minorities while maintaining rigorous academic standards. The New Mormon History, Quinn contends, "includes all of the ingredients of 'new history' in America at large but has one crucial addition: the effort to avoid using history as a religious battering ram." Consequently, he dates the beginning of the New Mormon History from the publication of Juanita Brooks's *The Mountain Meadows Massacre* (Palo Alto, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1950). Quinn explains his criteria for the New Mormon History, identifying them nega-

² Personal communication, November 1997.

³ Personal communication, July 1997.

tively by praising Brooks for successfully avoiding the “seven deadly sins of traditional Mormon history”: “She did not shrink from analyzing a controversial topic. She did not conceal sensitive or contradictory evidence. She did not hesitate to follow the evidence to ‘revisionist’ interpretations that ran counter to ‘traditional’ assumptions. She did not use her evidence to insult the religious beliefs of Mormons. She did not disappoint the scholarly expectations of academics. She did not cater to public relations preferences. Finally she did not use an ‘academic’ work to proselytize for religious conversion or defection.”⁴

Neither Bautista, an agricultural laborer, nor Lozano, a lawyer, were professional historians, nor do they meet basic academic standards in their use of historical evidence. Their publications, appearing in Spanish, have had very little circulation among New Mormon historians.⁵ Each author employs religious symbols and theologies in provocative and polemical ways. Yet both authors represent viewpoints of the “common people” and ethnic minorities in Mexico and the LDS Church. Both authors selectively use elements of Mormon theology to critique academic representations of Mexican history and anthropology. Most importantly, they draw selectively from Mexican and Mormon pasts to domesticate Mormon theology and history, centering Mormonism’s past, present, and future in Mexico—not in the United States. Consequently, they challenge Mormon history’s “centrifugal” and “unanimity” biases.⁶

Unsettling the ground between traditional and New Mormon

⁴ D. Michael Quinn, “Editor’s Introduction,” in *The New Mormon History*, edited by D. Michael Quinn (Salt Lake City: Signature, 1992), vii-viii.

⁵ For example, both Bautista’s and Lozano’s works are missing from the monumental bibliography of almost 15,000 entries: James D. Allen, Ronald W. Walker, and David J. Whittaker, *Studies in Mormon History, 1830-1997: An Indexed Bibliography, with A Topical Guide to Published Social Science Literature on the Mormons* by Armand L. Mauss and Dynette Ivie Reynolds (Urbana: University of Illinois Press in cooperation with the Smith Institute for LDS History, Brigham Young University, 2000). Other foreign language publications are included, for example, Massimo Introvigne’s *Les Mormons* (Turnhout, Belgium: Collection Fils d’Abraham, 1991), also its Italian translation (224).

⁶ Leonard J. Arrington, “The Search for Truth and Meaning in Mormon History,” in Quinn, *New Mormon History*, 1-11.

History, the writings of Bautista and Lozano expose a paradox in the current trends of Mormon and American historiography. One reason for giving greater attention to common people, women, and ethnic minorities in new history is to try to undo the abuses of America's colonial past. Historians rewrite American history to include groups that previous generations of scholars chose to ignore or whose contributions to a multicultural society they minimized or misrepresented.⁷ A central problem for such revisionist history is that history itself has been one of the most important technological tools of domination employed by powerful elite. Rigid academic training and professional standards keep this power in the hands of a privileged few and deny the validity of alternative voices.⁸ To classify amateur histories by Indians from Mexico as New Mormon History would cloud the criteria which distinguish this genre. Yet to exclude these histories would perpetuate the colonial legacy of the suppression of indigenous voices in Mormon historiography.

WRITING, COLONIALISM, AND INDIANS

The Indian is the product of the establishment of the colonial regime. Before the invasion there were no Indians, but individually identified peoples. Colonial society, on the other hand, rested on a categorical division between two irreconcilable poles: the Spaniards, the colonizers; and the Indians, the colonized. In this scheme of things, the individuality of each of the subjugated peoples passed to a second level and lost meaning. The only fundamental distinction was that which made all of them "the others," that is to say, those who were not Spaniards.⁹

But what is really initiated here is a colonization of the body by the discourse of power. This is *writing that conquers*. It will use the New World as if it were a blank, "savage" page on which Western desire will be written. It will transform the space of the other into a field of expansion for a system of production. From the moment of a rupture between a subject and an object of an operation, between a *will to*

⁷ For a synthesis of this trend in the history of the American West, see Richard White, *"It's Your Misfortune and None of My Own": A New History of the American West* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991).

⁸ Michel de Certeau, *The Writing of History*, translated by Tom Conley (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), esp. 17-113.

⁹ Guillermo Bonfil Batalla, *México Profundo: Reclaiming a Civilization*, translated by Philip A. Dennis (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1996), 76.

write and a *written body* (or a body to be written), this writing fabricates Western history.¹⁰

When the Spanish first arrived in the Americas in 1492, there were no American Indians. Spaniards first applied the term *Indian* to the diverse indigenous peoples they encountered. These peoples had different customs, languages, and political and social organizations; most importantly, they had no common conception of themselves as a distinct group or race. The Spanish made this classification to facilitate the expansion of their colonial system of production. Indigenous technologies and methods of production would be replaced or subsumed within a new world economy that enriched the colonizers at the expense of the colonized.¹¹

One of the most significant of the colonial technologies that European colonizers brought to the Americas was the writing of history.¹² The travelogues, ethnographies, and histories that Spanish and other Europeans wrote in the centuries that followed the initial conquests constituted the “other” as an integral component in narratives that substantiated and confirmed the superiority of Europe. They introduced a new function of writing, making it a means to colonize the memory of subjugated peoples. Europeans systematically destroyed indigenous texts, suppressed indigenous technologies, and rewrote the history of ancient America by incorporating American Indians first into biblical and then into scientific narratives that tended to deny the legitimacy of native voices and technologies in favor of those emanating from the expanding colonial empires.¹³

¹⁰ De Certeau, *Writing of History*, xxv-xxvi; emphasis his.

¹¹ Eric R. Wolf, *Europe and the People Without History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982); Tulio Halperín Donghi, *The Contemporary History of Latin America*, edited and translated by John Charles Chasteen (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1993).

¹² For a comparison with indigenous literary technologies, see Elizabeth Boone Hill and Walter D. Mignolo, *Writing Without Words: Alternative Literacies in Mesoamerica and the Andes* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1994).

¹³ See De Certeau, *Writing of History*; Anthony Pagden, *European Encounters with the New World* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1993); Anthony Pagden, *The Fall of Natural Man: The American Indian and the Origins of Comparative Ethnology*, 2d ed. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986); Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage

Policy makers in the United States and Mexico, who revolted in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries against the abuses of European colonial power they had personally endured, nonetheless maintained relationships with indigenous populations that perpetuated centuries of colonial domination. In both cases, they expected Indians to disappear, either through annihilation or assimilation. In the United States, nineteenth-century reformers lobbied for schools that would “kill the Indian and save the man.”¹⁴ Civilizing crusaders promoted legislation that distributed reservation land into small farms. These policies, however, had unintended consequences. Rather than eliminating American Indians, assimilation policies in the United States actually facilitated the emergence of a new pan-tribal American Indian identity. Boarding schools led to a common language, intertribal connections, and educated leadership for an emerging group of pan-tribal American Indians. Allotment laws created legal distinctions between who was an Indian and who was not. In Mexico, on the other hand, social- and class-based distinctions dominated, but no legal distinctions emerged between those who were Indian and those who were not. Diverse indigenous peoples in the United States and Mexico adopted not only new technology, ideas, and religions but, critically, many also adopted a common pan-Indian identity. Indians began employing colonial technologies of writing to tell different versions of their varied and collective pasts. In these writings, indigenous authors moved Indians from a position of “other,” an object of history to be overcome, to a “self,” a trium-

Books, 1979); Timothy Mitchell, *Colonising Egypt* (1988; reprinted Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991); Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (New York: Verso, 1983); Nicholas Dirks, *Colonialism and Culture* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1992); George W. Stocking, ed., *Colonial Situations: Essays on the Contextualization of Ethnographic Knowledge* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1991); Claude Lévi-Strauss, *Tristes Tropiques*, translated by John and Doreen Weightman (New York: Penguin Books, 1992); Ronald Sanders, *Lost Tribes and Promised Lands* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1978); and Thomas W. Murphy, “Laban’s Ghost: On Writing and Transgression,” *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 30 (Summer 1997): 105-26.

¹⁴ Hazel W. Hertzberg, *The Search for an American Indian Identity: Modern Pan-Indian Movements* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1971), 16.

phant subject of history. In this transformation, a new supratribal identity articulated through colonial discourses of power emerged despite, and partially because of, attempts to erase distinctions between the colonizers and colonized.¹⁵

LAMANITE SUBJECTIVITY

Just as there were no American Indians in 1492, there were no Lamanites in 1830 when Joseph Smith published the Book of Mormon in New York. Converts to Mormonism found the images of Nephites and Lamanites in the Book of Mormon believable because the representations resonated with conceptions that they already held about themselves and the people they called Indians. Like the colonial histories and ethnographies that preceded it, the Book of Mormon employed Indians as literary objects within a historical and teleological framework that confirmed the superiority of Old World Christianity to the indigenous traditions Europeans encountered and sought to displace in the New World. Mormons quickly applied the label *Lamanite* to the American Indians from the United States and Latin America, groups that were still quite diverse and lacked any common conceptions of themselves as a distinct supratribal or national group. Although the

¹⁵ See Bonfil, *México Profundo*; Edward H. Spicer, *Cycles of Conquest: The Impact of Spain, Mexico, and the United States on the Indians of the Southwest, 1533-1960* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1962), 567; Sally J. Mcbeth, *Ethnic Identity and the Boarding School Experience of West-Central Oklahoma American Indians* (New York: University Press of America, 1983), 150; Tsianina Lomawaima, "Domesticity in the Federal Indian Schools: The Power of Authority over Mind and Body," *American Ethnologist* 20 (1993): 227-40; David W. Adams, *Education for Extinction: The American Indians and the Boarding School Experience, 1875-1928* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1995), 336; Helen Jaskoski, ed., *Early Native American Writing* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Michael C. Meyer and William L. Sherman, *The Course of Mexican History* (New York: Oxford University, 1995); Luis Villoro, *Los Grandes Momentos del Indigenismo en México* (México, D.F.: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1996); and Marjorie Becker, *Setting the Virgin on Fire* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995). For an excellent example of a new identity born out of opposition to Christian colonialism, see Viñe Deloria Jr., *God Is Red: A Native View of Religion* (Golden, Colo.: Fulcrum Publishing, 1994).

narrator(s) of the Book of Mormon predicted that Christianized Lamanites would become white and in essence vanish, the spread of Mormonism has, perhaps unintentionally, promoted the emergence rather than the disappearance of a new supratribal and supranational Lamanite or Amer-Israelite identity.¹⁶

In Book of Mormon and Latter-day Saint images, the Lamanite has remained primarily an obstacle to be overcome. This sacred text unequivocally advocates the superiority of Christianity and the written word over indigenous religions and oral traditions.¹⁷ During the nineteenth century, Mormons in the United States considered Lamanites to be uncivilized, degraded, and ignorant peoples who had lost the true knowledge of their privileged status as heirs to the covenant of Abraham. Mormons believed that Lamanites were cursed with a dark skin because of the disobedience of their fathers, who, like the Jews in the Old World, rejected Christ. They saw Lamanites as aggressors, harassing white settlers who were simply trying to protect their lives, land, family, and liberty. As a scourge to the Lord's people, Lamanites served a divine purpose in reminding Mormons of the duty to fulfill God's commandments. One of these duties consisted of converting and civilizing the Lamanites. Once converted, the Lamanites were to join the Mormons in an effort to eliminate class and racial differences. This goal could be accomplished, however, only when Lamanites accepted Christ, adopted farming, and began living the Christian gospel.¹⁸

While the Book of Mormon represents Lamanites as the colonial "other," Bautista and Lozano reverse that position. The Book of Mormon presents the perspective of white colonizers, thereby

¹⁶ Thomas W. Murphy, "From Racist Stereotype to Ethnic Identity: Instrumental Uses of Mormon Racial Doctrine," *Ethnohistory* 46, no. 3 (Summer 1999): 36-54.

¹⁷ See a more detailed discussion in Murphy, "Laban's Ghost."

¹⁸ This summary, of course, obscures some of the diversity of Mormon views regarding Lamanites. Because Mormons frequently conflated Lamanites with Hebrews, a good source on the diversity of Mormon views is Steven Epperson, *Mormons and Jews: Early Mormon Theologies of Israel* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1992). See also Murphy, "Laban's Ghost." I have listed and dealt extensively with primary sources for each of the stereotypes outlined in this paragraph in Murphy, "From Racist Stereotype."

masking and justifying disparate power relations between American Indians and European colonizers. It objectifies Lamanites as a degraded yet covenant people, a scourge to civilization yet, more positively, as potential converts. Bautista and Lozano adopted a Lamanite identity and thereby moved Lamanites to the central position as the subjects of their narratives. The passive objects of the Book of Mormon constituted active subjects in both Nahua accounts. Bautista and Lozano used negative stereotypes from the Book of Mormon to explain deficiencies they saw in their own culture, but they also emphasized the positive attributes, the divinely ordained potential of Lamanites. In essence, the Book of Mormon's "other" became a "self" in their histories.

The movement of the Lamanite from object to subject disrupts social and racial hierarchies in the Book of Mormon and the LDS Church; likewise, the movement of ethnic minority from object to subject disrupts social and racial hierarchies in the New Mormon History. After conquests, Europeans wrote colonial histories about Native America. For the most part, Euroamericans continue to write new histories about ethnic minorities. The content of the new history has shifted but the relationship between the subject and object has generally not changed. In the twentieth century, Mormonism entered an era in which Lamanites are now writing their own histories. These "Other Mormon Histories" remain marginalized in New Mormon History for reasons much like those that motivated Christian colonists to suppress and destroy indigenous histories. These Other Mormon Histories are not written according to the terms dictated by New Mormon historians and violate several of their seven virtues. Neither author confronts much contradictory evidence, adequately documents sources, or upholds basic academic standards. Both use their evidence to insult Catholic religious beliefs and use their work to proselytize. On the other hand, both offer interpretations that run counter to traditional assumptions of U.S. Mormons. Just as European colonists and the Book of Mormon prophets demanded that those they called Indians and Lamanites abandon their own traditions in favor of enlightened European and Nephite technology and religion, New Mormon Historians demand that ethnic minorities abandon their traditional methods of narrative in favor of enlightened historical methodology. In this case, the colonization is double. Bautista and Lozano have already subsumed most of their indigenous traditions under the Book of Mormon's Christianity. To

become New Mormon Historians they would once again need to abandon familiar categories of self-understanding as they submit to new historical methodologies.

Margarito Bautista and Agrícola Lozano accepted the Book of Mormon as the word of God and shared many basic interpretations with their counterparts from the United States. They believed that America was a promised land originally settled by Hebrews, a covenant people from the Old World. They applied *Lamanite* to the indigenous peoples of North, South, and Central America. Each one accepted that the Lamanites, while a covenant people, suffered a period of degradation from which they would be redeemed.

Bautista and Lozano differed critically from their counterparts in the United States in their interpretations of which country played a central role in the gospel. For these Mexicans, the place they knew as Mexico played the primary role in the gospel in the past and was destined for an even greater role in the future. Bautista believed that, as Lamanites, Mexicans of indigenous heritage were literal heirs to the covenant of Abraham while their North American counterparts were only adopted into the covenant. He conflated the Aztec god Quetzalcoatl with Jesus Christ, legitimating both the Book of Mormon and legends from the Mexican past. While Mormons in the United States saw their founding fathers as principal forerunners of the restoration, these Mexican authors recognized the principal role of Mexicans like Benito Juárez, the Zapotec president of the republic of Mexico who initiated liberal reforms in the mid-nineteenth century that curbed the power of Catholicism and began to sever the ties between church and state. Based upon prophecies in the Book of Mormon, Bautista along with many of his fellow Mexicans in the early part of the twentieth century, fully expected to rise to leadership roles within the church and displace the powerful Gentile (Euroamerican) leadership.

MARGARITO BAUTISTA

Margarito Bautista Valencia was born 10 June 1878 in San Miguel Atlautla, a Nahuatl pueblo approximately two kilometers southeast of Ozumba in the state of Mexico. Ozumba sits at the base of the volcano Popocatepetl along the southeast margins of the central valley of Mexico. While Bautista's parents were native speakers of Nahuatl, he grew up in an era of dramatic change for the peasants of San Miguel. Prominent among the transitions was the replace-

ment of Nahua with Spanish as the first language for most children of subsequent generations. The railroad, a key catalyst for change, reached nearby Ozumba in 1882, increasing contact with the cities of México and Cuautla, Morelos, bringing new types of labor, new commodities, and, most significantly for Bautista, missionaries.¹⁹

Protestant missionaries found a particularly fertile region for evangelization in the Chalco-Amecameca-Ozumba region of the state of Mexico. Anti-clericalism, resistance movements, and radical liberalism had characterized this region for several decades leading up to the expansion of the railroad and textiles industries. Plotino C. Rhodakanaty, an influential socialist, anarchist, and Protestant activist and publisher (as well as the first LDS convert in central Mexico in 1879), played a key intellectual role in linking anti-Catholic agrarian rebellions to the spread of Protestantism in the region. Methodists, Presbyterians, Congregationalists, and Latter-day Saints would make a significant impact on the religious make-up of this region.²⁰

¹⁹ Juan Dominguez Balderas, interviewed by Thomas W. Murphy, 15 August 1996, Colonia Alzate, Ozumba, México, audiocassette; Carlos Hector Gonzalez, *Monografía Municipio de Ozumba* (Toluca, México: Gobierno del Estado de México, 1973), 17. See also Rosalía Vidal Zepeda, *Estudio Geográfico del Municipio de Ozumba y de la Villa de Ozumba de Alzate Estado de México* (México, D.F.: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1976), 12; and Sandra Kuntz Ficker, "Ferrocarriles y Mercado: Tarifas, Precios y Tráfico Ferroviario en el Porfiriato," in *Ferrocarriles y Vida Económica en México (1850-1950)*, edited by Sandra Kuntz Ficker and Paolo Riguzzi (Zinacantepec, Estado de México: El Colegio Mexiquense: Universidad Metropolitana Xochimilco: Ferrocarriles Nacionales de México, 1996), 99-165.

²⁰ Jean-Pierre Bastian, *Los Disidentes: Sociedades Protestantes y Revolución en México, 1872-1911* (México, D.F.: El Colegio de México, 1989), 65-69; Jean-Pierre Bastian, "Las Sociedades Protestantes y la Oposición a Porfirio Díaz, 1877-1911," in *Iglesia y Religiosidad*, edited by Alicia Hernández Chávez and Manuel Miño Grijalva (México, D.F.: El Colegio de México, 1992), 172-215; Jean-Pierre Bastian, "Heterodoxia Religiosa y Cambio Social. El Impacto Regional de las Sociedades Religiosas No Católicas en México," in *La Política y el Cielo: Movimientos Religiosos en el México Contemporáneo*, edited by Rodolfo Moran Quiroz (Guadalajara, Jalisco: Editorial Universidad de Guadalajara, 1990), 23-42; and Raymundo Gómez González and Sergio

At age twenty-two, Margarito Bautista began discussing “spiritual things” with pastors and missionaries of various denominations. Bautista found the message of the Methodist minister most appealing; but after four months of serious discussion, he declined a paid position as a Methodist preacher because he still did not consider himself a believer. During this time, Ammon M. Tenney, the Mormon mission president, visited Bautista. Tenney was rebuilding ties with convert families whom LDS missionaries had abandoned when they were recalled to the United States in 1888 in response to strained church-state relations in Utah Territory. Bautista, seriously ill, accepted Tenney’s offer to administer to him. After the blessing, Bautista reported nearly two decades later, “I felt as if I were in a new world.” After much study, prayer, and discussion with Tenney, Bautista made a harrowing journey on foot to Cuernavaca, eighty miles from his home, to participate in a conference over which Tenney was presiding. Arriving shortly before the conference, he found Tenney reading a letter to fellow members that Bautista had written. Impressed by the teachings of the gospel and the fellowship of other members, Bautista accepted baptism and the Aaronic Priesthood from Pedro Prios, a local elder.²¹

In 1920, Margarito Bautista published the story of his conversion in the *Improvement Era*. The heading to the article identified him as “M. Bautista, a Descendant of Father Lehi.” Through this expression of kinship with Lehi, Bautista claimed authority as a member of the chosen House of Israel. Bautista identified his con-

Pagaza Castillo, “*El Aguila Mormón o El Anarquista Cristiano: Plotino Constantino Rhodakanaty, Primer Miembro de la Iglesia de Jesucristo de los Santos de los Últimos Días en México* (México, D.F.: Museo de Historia del Mormonismo en México, A.C., 1997) and review by Thomas W. Murphy, *Journal of Mormon History* 25, no. 2 (Fall 1999): 210-14.

²¹ Margarito Bautista, “A Faith Promoting Experience,” *Improvement Era* 23 (September 1920): 978-84; David Dominguez Balderas, interviewed by Thomas W. Murphy, 14 August 1996, Colonia Industrial, Ozumba, Mexico, audiocassette. Bautista’s encounter with Tenney probably occurred during the mission president’s visit with Simon Páez in San Miguel Atlautla. Abel Páez, of whose relationship to Simon I am unsure, was a nephew of Bautista’s. For more information on Tenney’s mission, see F. LaMond Tullis, *Mormons in Mexico: The Dynamics of Faith and Culture* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1987), 78-79.

version with the restoration of an ancient religion of his forefathers, claimed a kinship with peoples of the Book of Mormon, and found solace in future glory despite present suffering. Bautista wrote:

As a literal descendant of our Father Lehi, I feel in my soul that the gospel which was once known among my people but [was] taken away on account of transgression, has been restored again to mankind. I feel that the Book of Mormon is one of the most glorious books on earth, because from that holy book, I have become acquainted with my ancestry, the dealings of the Lord with them, and the glorious promises to them in the near future, although, because of transgression, we have suffered the wrath of the Almighty for centuries until the present day. The nations of the world should profit from our experiences.²²

Two years after his conversion, Bautista moved to Chihuahua where he worked as an agricultural laborer. In 1913 he left the Mormon colonies to join other LDS colonists fleeing from the Mexican revolution. Bautista had learned English in the colonies and developed a strong interest in Mormon theology. He moved to Utah where he continued work as an agricultural laborer and served as an ordinance worker in the Salt Lake Temple. Bautista expanded his knowledge of LDS theology as a Sunday School teacher in the Spanish-American branch of the Church in Salt Lake City.²³

Bautista's fervent nationalism and love of Mormon theology merged in his monumental effort to write a theological treatise. Rey Pratt, a former mission president in Mexico, encouraged Bautista to write a book integrating the Old Testament and Book of Mormon with Mexican history. Bautista labored for several years on this project, continuing after Pratt's death in 1931. When he proudly presented his book to Salt Lake City authorities in 1934, they were both surprised and unimpressed. Harold W. Pratt (Rey Pratt's brother) reviewed the manuscript and recommended that the Church not publish it because of its polemical tone, its use of apocryphal literature, and its mapping of Book of Mormon locations onto the American continent in ways that he found inconsistent with Church doc-

²² Bautista, "Faith Promoting," 983-84.

²³ Margarito Bautista, *La Evolucion de Mexico: Sus Verdaderos Progenitores y su Origen, El Destino de America y Europa* (Mexico, D.F.: Apolonio B. Arzate, 1935); D. Dominguez B., interview; Tullis, *Mormons in Mexico*, 122.

trine. Deeply disappointed, Bautista returned to Mexico hoping to find a more receptive audience there.²⁴

The First Two Conventions

When Bautista returned to Mexico in the mid-1930s he encountered heightened tensions within the LDS Church which were fueled in part by serious efforts of Mexico's President Plutarco Elías Calles's administration to enforce anticlerical reforms under Mexico's Constitution of 1917. Among other initiatives, the government expelled all foreign clerics and closed all private religious schools, provoking a response from rural Catholics that has become known as the Cristero rebellion.²⁵ Although the regulations were directed towards the Catholic Church, they also had a dramatic impact on Mormonism, temporarily closing Church schools in Chihuahua in 1926 and resulting in an exodus of U.S. Mormon missionaries from central and northern Mexico.²⁶

After Rey Pratt died on 14 April 1931, Antoine R. Ivins was appointed to replace him. Ivins devoted little time or attention to the Mexican portion of his mission, focusing the attention of Mexican members on the problems created by this weak leadership. Mexican Mormons met in late 1931 or early 1932 to discuss the problems created by Ivins's absence from Mexico, the lack of missionaries in Mexico, and the shortage of Church literature in Spanish. This group, which became known as the First Convention, wrote a letter expressing their concerns to authorities in Salt Lake City and requesting the appointment of a leader who was a Mexican citizen

²⁴ Tullis, *Mormons in Mexico*, 122-23. Citing an interview of Julio García Velázquez by Gordon Irving, Tullis claims that Bautista returned to Mexico between April and June 1934. Juan Dominguez Balderas, whom I interviewed on 15 and 16 August 1996, claimed that Bautista did not return until 1935. I am not sure which account is accurate.

²⁵ Jean A. Meyer, *The Cristero Rebellion: The Mexican People Between Church and State, 1926-1929* (Cambridge, Eng.: Books on Demand Series, Cambridge Latin American Studies, 1976).

²⁶ Clark V. Johnson, "Mormon Education in Mexico: The Rise of the *Sociedad Educativa y Cultural*" (Ph.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1977), 45; Agrícola Lozano Herrera, *Historia del Mormonismo en Mexico* (Mexico, D.F.: Editorial Zarahemla, 1983), 54; and Tullis, *Mormons in Mexico*, 111.

and could legally function in Mexico. Neither Ivins nor any other authorities responded to the letter.²⁷

The lack of a response led Mexicans to assemble a Second Convention in 1932 and prepare a petition to send to Salt Lake City. They renewed their request for a mission president of their own nationality. This time they got the leaders' attention but hardly the response they wanted. Antoine R. Ivins and Apostle Melvin J. Ballard traveled to Mexico City to meet with the Latter-day Saints involved with the two conventions. Ivins reprimanded the assertiveness, the extra-official meetings, and petitions. Church government, he explained, operated from top down, not from the bottom up.²⁸

Bautista's Book

Meanwhile, Margarito Bautista found an LDS printer willing to publish his manuscript, *La Evolucion de Mexico: Sus Verdaderos Progenitores y su Origen, El Destino de America y Europa*. Mexican Mormons from the state of Puebla and people like Bernabé Parra, a counselor in the district presidency, helped finance the publication, which was dedicated to the heroes of the Mexican revolution. The book circulated quickly and widely among Mexican Mormons, finding an audience ripe for Bautista's message. One missionary claimed that Mexican Mormons soon preferred to quote Bautista's book rather than the Book of Mormon.²⁹

In his book, Bautista explained secrets of the Mexican past that he claimed were indiscernible to those he called skeptical Mexican intellectuals. Historians and archaeologists sought the truth of the

²⁷ Tullis, *Mormons in Mexico*, 109-17. The best source on the Third Convention is Tullis's *Mormons in Mexico*, but even Tullis acknowledges that his data are partial and incomplete. See also Lozano, *Historia del Mormonismo*, 61-94; and Steven L. Shields, *Divergent Paths of the Restoration* (Los Angeles: Restoration Research, 1990), 138-39. All three sources are incomplete, especially in their failure to acknowledge the continuation of independent branches of Mormonism in Mexico after the partial reunification in 1946. For limited attempts to correct this oversight, see Thomas W. Murphy, "'Stronger Than Ever': Remnants of the Third Convention," *Journal of Latter Day Saint History* 10 (1998): 1, 8-11 and Thomas W. Murphy, "Fifty Years of United Order in Mexico," *Sunstone* 20 (October 1997): 69.

²⁸ Tullis, *Mormons in Mexico*, 117-18.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 123.

past but failed to find it, he contended, because they dismissed legends and scriptures. Intellectuals offered only mysteries and confusion. In contrast, Bautista offered a secure knowledge of Mexico's past, present, and future. Using the Book of Mormon as a bridge, Bautista integrated Mexican history into that of the Old Testament. As Mexico was emerging from a tumultuous period of revolution and civil war, Bautista provided a framework within which Mexicans could explain their recent upheavals and bask in the glow of a glorious past, while preparing for an even greater future. Bautista explained the recent difficulties of "aborigines" as an act of providence. The same providence, however, promised Mexicans a future leading role in the world.

Drawing from the Book of Mormon, Bautista saw the world as divided between Hebrews and Gentiles.³⁰ He identified the aborigines of the Americas as Hebrews, a chosen people or promised seed. He called the "white bearded men" of Europe Gentiles. Although Anglo-Americans in the United States liked to think of themselves as part of the promised seed, Bautista cast them as members of Gentile nations and a scourge to the Lamanites. He stigmatized the lineage of Euroamericans and Spanish, whom he classified together as Gentiles. Mexicans, on the other hand, could claim direct descent from Abraham and thereby special status as literal, rather than adopted, children of the promised seed.³¹

Bautista's use of *Gentile* to refer to Europeans and their descendants reflected Book of Mormon terminology, rather than Doctrine and Covenants language.³² While the Book of Mormon distin-

³⁰ Bautista referred to the Hebrews variously as "the sons of Jacob," "the sons of Joseph," "the sons of Judah," and "the sons of Lehi."

³¹ Differing interpretations fueled by the Book of Mormon usage of *Gentile* persist within the LDS Church. See, for example, "The Lee Letters," *Sunstone* 13, no. 4 (1989): 50-55; "Press Coverage of Lee's Excommunication Ambivalent," *Sunstone* 13, no. 4 (1989): 47-49; Elbert E. Peck, "Ambivalent and Ambiguous," *Sunstone* 13, no. 4 (1989): 7; Mike Carter, "Mormon Officials Excommunicate General Authority," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 2 September 1989, B-1, B-2; Mario S. De Pillis, "The Persistence of Mormon Community into the 1990s," *Sunstone* 15, no. 4 (1991): 28-49; and Thomas W. Murphy, "Reinventing Mormonism: Guatemala as Harbinger of the Future?" *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 29, no. 1 (1996): 177-92.

³² Even though Bautista could read English and cited several sources

guished the House of Israel (Lamanites and Nephites) from the Gentiles, the earliest Mormons in the United States quickly began referring to themselves as Israelites while referring to non-Mormons as Gentiles.³³ Joseph Smith taught that Gentiles who received the gospel covenant could be “grafted” into the chosen family.³⁴ The Doctrine and Covenants identifies European and Euroamerican converts as “the children of Israel” and the “seed of Abraham” (D&C 84:34, 103:17, 132:31), while Saints were “heirs” to the covenant of Abraham either “according to the flesh” or through “adoption.”³⁵

In Bautista’s reading of the Book of Mormon, North and South America collectively, not just the United States, constituted the promised land. He identified its inhabitants with various Book of Mormon groups, for example, choosing the Nephite label for his own ancestors, the Nahua, and for the Toltecs to whom the Nahua traced their claims of political legitimacy.³⁶ He identified the

in English, it is important to note that in 1935 only selected portions of the Doctrine and Covenants had been translated into Spanish. Tullis, *Mormons in Mexico*, 122.

³³ The different uses of *Gentile* in the Book of Mormon and other LDS scriptures and writings are anachronistically outlined and rationalized in the quasi-canonical Bible Dictionary (included with LDS editions of the Bible since 1979) under the heading of *Gentiles*: “As used throughout the scriptures (*Gentiles*) has a dual meaning, sometimes to designate peoples of non-Israelite lineage, and other times to designate nations that are without the gospel, even though they might have Israelite blood therein. This latter usage is especially characteristic of the word as used in the Book of Mormon.” For additional discussions of the different meanings of the Abrahamic covenant and its relationship to Gentiles, see entries on “Covenant Israel, Latter-day,” by James B. Mayfield; “Gentiles, Fullness of,” by Monte S. Nyman; and “Law of Adoption” by V. Ben Bloxham in *The Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, 4 vols. (New York: Macmillan Publishing, 1992), Infobases, *Collectors Library*, CD-ROM, 1998. See also Epperson, *Mormons and Jews*, 59.

³⁴ Joseph Fielding Smith, ed., *Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1938), 15.

³⁵ D&C 86:9; Smith, *Teachings of the Prophet*, 149-50. See also John A. Widstoe, comp. *Discourses of Brigham Young* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1978), 121-22.

³⁶ Bautista, *La Evolucion*, 24, 37. For the role of Toltec ancestry in

Chichimecas and Aztecs, relatively recent migrants to the Valley of Mexico from the north, as Lamanites.³⁷ According to Bautista, Lehi's family landed in South America, and his descendants slowly migrated north, until they occupied most of northern South America and Central America. In the final destruction of the Nephites, Bautista contended, the Nephites were driven north and the final battle of extermination occurred in what is now upper New York, site of the Hill Cumorah where Joseph Smith reported unearthing the Book of Mormon plates. The Lamanites returned to the south as various waves of Chichimecas. The few Nephites who survived the great genocide became the ancestors of the indigenous peoples of North America and the Pacific Islands.

Bautista assigned *Lamanite* to Mexicans of indigenous ancestry (i.e., Mestizos and Indians). Bautista believed that Mexicans as Lamanites were kin to all the indigenous peoples of the Americas and the Pacific Islands.³⁸ Although Anglo-American Mormons frequently used *Lamanite* to refer to the same groups of people, Bautista's writings were some of the earliest publications that clearly expressed a Lamanite self-identification. Although *Lamanite* was originally used in the Book of Mormon and by Anglo-American Mormons as a term of opprobrium, Bautista focused on the importance of Hebraic lineage and proudly wore the title of Lamanite. In Bautista's world-view, Lamanites were not the scourge that plagued God's chosen people; rather the Christian nations of Europe were the scourge of the Lamanites, the promised seed.³⁹

Nahua claims of political legitimacy, see David Carrasco, *Quetzalcoatl and the Irony of Empire: Myths and Prophecies in the Aztec Tradition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982).

³⁷ Bautista, *La Evolucion*, 25. Octavio Paz, *The Labyrinth of Solitude and Other Writings*, translated by Lysander Kemp, Yara Miles, and Rachel Phillips Belash (New York: Grove Press, 1985), 89, defines Chichimeca as "a generic term, without national distinctions, that was applied to the [northern] barbarians by the inhabitants of the Central Plateau." Guillermo Bonfil Batalla, *Mexico Profundo*, 76, noted that "the term *chichimeca* was undeniably pejorative. Nevertheless, even in this case, the fact that the Aztecs themselves were of nomadic origin made it difficult to conceptualize the *chichimeca* as naturally inferior."

³⁸ Bautista, *La Evolucion*, 504-38.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 53.

Book of Mormon Nephites claimed that a dark skin was a curse from God. Bautista accepted that position but reminded Mexicans that Lamanites who converted to Christianity became white again.⁴⁰ From conversion accounts, he reported, we have “authentic testimony for us that when we have the truth, that Lamanite blood, or that of the Aztecs, demonstrates the power and frightening ability that by good fortune or nature accompanies it.”⁴¹ Mexican destiny, as Bautista understood it, transcended skin color. Bautista cited Book of Mormon promises that the Lamanites will once again become a “white and delightsome people” (2 Ne. 30:3-6). The Christianity which would save the Lamanites was not, however, that offered by the Spanish conquistadors.

According to Bautista, Jesus Christ brought primitive Christianity to the Americas after his resurrection in Jerusalem: “The owner of the vineyard came here because the people are from the main branch of the natural olive tree.” One could see in the legends of the Aztecs and Mayas, he claimed, stories about a divine figure who is called Quetzalcoatl, Kukulcán, or Gucumatz, all of which translate to Plumed Serpent. While some referred to the legends of the Aztecs as fairy tales, Bautista found truth in them. Regarding Quetzalcoatl, he proclaimed: “That personage considered like a divinity, like a true God, was authentic, and was really a God, and naturally his prophecies will be strictly fulfilled.”⁴² That is, Quetzalcoatl’s prophesied return which led Moctezuma to mistake Hernando Cortez for Quetzalcoatl would be literally fulfilled.⁴³ In this interpretation, Az-

⁴⁰ Members of *El Reino de Dios en su Plenitud*, the organization founded by Margarito Bautista after his expulsion from the Third Convention, still believe that Lamanites who adopt the gospel will eventually become white. On 14 August 1996 David Dominguez Balderas told me that his father was “*más blanco que tú, Tomas.*” His brother, Juan Dominguez Balderas, confirmed on 16 August 1996 that they believed that their skin color would literally change to white someday but that we cannot know when that will occur because the Lord’s sense of time is not the same as ours.

⁴¹ Bautista, *La Evolucion*, 89. Unless otherwise noted, all translations are mine.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 20, 27-28.

⁴³ See Miguel Leon-Portilla, *The Broken Spears: The Aztec Account of the Conquest of Mexico*, translated into English by Lysander Kemp, translated

tecs predicted the same return that Christians heralded as a second coming. For Bautista, Quetzalcoatl was none other than Jesus Christ.⁴⁴

Bautista distinguished between modern European Christianity and the pristine Christianity that he claimed existed both in ancient America and in the Old World during the apostolic era of the New Testament. Bautista described European Christianity as a poor copy of original Christianity, one of the most abominable churches on the earth, based on mutilated scriptures. He claimed that “modern Christianity cannot cultivate a noble spirit.” Bautista denounced anyone who thought that the Gentiles could civilize the covenant people as “deprived of logic or having a head of tin.” He concluded that while “ancient Christianity was invigorating and refining among our ancestors,” many Indians under Spanish domination “preferred death over modern Christianity.”⁴⁵

In Bautista’s narrative, ancient America had thrived. Archaeological discoveries, he claimed, “testify of the glorious splendor that once existed among the aborigines.” Drawing from the Book of Mormon, he reported that Christ’s/Quetzalcoatl’s appearance in ancient America initiated an era in which all things were owned in common and when the Lamanites and Nephites were united as one. Bautista described that period as “the supreme perfection that humanity is able to obtain.”⁴⁶ This golden age terminated after two centuries.

According to Bautista, Quetzalcoatl’s prophecies of the fall of the Aztec empire, substantiated by similar predictions in the Book of Mormon, had spelled doom for their Mexican forebears. “Our ancestors,” Bautista told the Mexicans, “transgressed the laws of God and fell from the splendid level at which they lived” during the reign of Quetzalcoatl. “Our forefathers for many generations lived in the

into Spanish by Angel Maria Garibay K. (Boston: Beacon Press, 1962); Bernal Díaz del Castillo, *The Conquest of New Spain*, translated by J. M. Cohen (New York: Penguin, 1963); and Hernando Cortés, *Five Letters of Cortés to the Emperor*, translated by J. Bayard Morris (New York: W. W. Norton, 1969).

⁴⁴ Bautista, *La Evolucion*, 31-36. Juan Dominguez Balderas confirmed for me on 15 August 1996 that members of *El Reino de Dios en su Plenitud* continue to believe that Quetzalcoatl was “unequivocally” Jesus Christ.

⁴⁵ Bautista, *La Evolucion*, 52, 54, 61, 140-41, 380.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 87, 504.

light, like fish in fountains of water; however, voluntarily they rebelled and turned to idolatry, drowning in iniquity, developing the repugnant practice of human sacrifice." Bautista told his Mexican readers: "The conquest, then, was not accomplished by *San Hipólito* or the *Virgen de Covadonga*, nor much less by the bravery and valor of our conquerors. It was only decreed and formulated by the seers of the past."⁴⁷ This fatalism was similar to that described by Mexican author Octavio Paz, who won the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1990: "No other people have felt so completely helpless as the Aztec nation at the appearance of omens, prophecies and warnings that announced its fall."⁴⁸

Bautista told Mexicans that because of their ancestors' transgression, they fell to "savagery." They broke their covenants and lost their rights. The Gentiles stole their birthright; but, he warned, the principles and decrees by which the Aztecs were judged were still valid. Mexicans were not the only ones who had been conquered and humiliated. The Book of Mormon decreed that God had punished the white Nephites with equal or greater severity when they transgressed against God. The fall of the chosen seed, Bautista observed, made possible the rise of the Gentile nations. While the supremacy of the Gentiles deprived the Semitic nations of their rights, lands, and heredity, Bautista reminded the Mexicans that the Americas rightfully belonged to Joseph and his posterity, i.e., the Lamanites. Just as Quetzalcoatl and Book of Mormon prophets predicted the fall of the Aztecs, so, too, they prophesied the rise of the Lamanites in the Book of Mormon. To restore peace, he proclaimed, the Gentiles cannot share the prize they have captured but must return land, liberty, and rights to the promised seed.⁴⁹

Bautista drew a partially sympathetic portrait of the United States. Based upon the Book of Mormon's predictions of the rise of a powerful Gentile nation in the Americas, Bautista saw America's dominant role as foreordained. Just as some Spanish decried the abuses of the Indians, so, too, some Gentiles would complete a special mission on this continent as a powerful nation in which the Book

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 23, 42-43.

⁴⁸ Paz, *Labyrinth of Solitude*, 93.

⁴⁹ Bautista, *La Evolucion*, 43, 62, 87, 189-92. Paz noted a similar cyclical conception of time with Mexican fatalism in his classic *Labyrinth of Solitude*, 93-94.

of Mormon would be recovered and translated.⁵⁰ He warned that this ascendancy was temporary. To support such a claim, he cited Book of Mormon passages foretelling the failure of this Gentile mission and the future ascendancy of the house of Israel:

And that day when the Gentiles shall sin against my gospel, and shall reject the fullness of my gospel, and shall be lifted up in the pride of their hearts above all nations, and above all the people of the whole earth, and shall be filled with all manner of lyings, and of deceits, and of mischiefs, and all manner of hypocrisy, and murders, and priestcrafts, and whoredoms, and of secret combinations; and if they shall do all those things, and shall reject the fullness of my gospel from among them. . . .

And I will show unto thee, O house of Israel, that the Gentiles shall not have power over you, O house of Israel, and ye shall come unto the knowledge of the fullness of my gospel. (3 Ne. 16:10, 12)⁵¹

Foreign capitalists, speculators, and land owners from the United States drew Bautista's strongest criticism. He decried foreign capitalists who took precious metals from Mexico for their private gain and denounced the land speculator as the "most lethal gangrene to prey upon the human body." He recalled the pitiful wages he received as an agricultural laborer in the American colonies during the *Porfiriato*, Mexico's so-called "era of peace" under the dictatorship of Porfirio Díaz. He highlighted the hypocrisy in the cry of land owners that any grain not shipped to the coast was wasted, a complaint that irritated and demeaned the very laborers who harvested the crops. A father, Bautista reported, had to sell his soul to feed his family.⁵²

Using Book of Mormon theology, Bautista expressed strong support for agrarian reform. He displayed no sympathy for those Americans or others who lost land to redistribution measures:

The fulfillment of the mission of the "white men" was completed

⁵⁰ Bautista, *La Evolucion*, 207-8.

⁵¹ Rather than retranslating this portion, I use the English version. Juan Dominguez Balderas, Bautista's former personal secretary, told me on 16 August 1996 that Bautista was fond of pointing out that the verb for *sin* in the Spanish translation of the Book of Mormon (*pecar*) is in subjunctive form, suggesting doubt, rather than in the affirmative "shall sin" as in English.

⁵² Bautista, *La Evolucion*, 74, 105-6.

to the letter of the law. The posterity of said people for generations propounded the same principles and system established for the exploitation of the people. They continued in their apogee until the moment of the trembling that commenced in the memorable year of 1810 and assumed once again the same work in the glorious year of 1910.

All those that were or were not the direct posterity of said conquerors, but through some other means were made owners of those vast properties and perpetuated precisely the same horrible system—they are just as responsible for the same crime.

Undoubtedly, in the moment of restoration, the consequences will be just as painful as they were the first time.⁵³

Bautista used the generally anticapitalist themes of the Book of Mormon to harshly censure the practices of Spanish colonialists, the Mexicans who inherited their wealth, and the Anglo-Americans who moved into Mexico under the Porfiriato to take their place.⁵⁴

Bautista's treatise emphasized a central theme of restoration. Lamanite or indigenous "sovereignty in its entirety will be restored," he confidently proclaimed. Lamanite redemption in its fullness and splendor was coming in the near future. "Mexico," Bautista triumphantly avowed, "will be the principal place and Mexicans the principal people playing the most important role in these the last days." He charged Mexico with finding and gathering the remnants of Israel. America's aborigines, he reported, would build the Holy City, a New Jerusalem, in America. The House of Israel would succeed the "bearded white men." "The time of the Gentiles," he warned, "is over; that is to say, their commission expired. Do not doubt any longer, we have to banish that repugnant scourge."⁵⁵

Bautista found a hero of biblical stature in Benito Juárez, a Zapotec Indian from Oaxaca who rose to national prominence and

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 100.

⁵⁴ For a superb yet cynical and pessimistic portrait of the transference of exploitative power in Latin America from the Spanish crown to the British empire and then to the United States, see Tulio Halperín Donghi, *The Contemporary History of Latin America*, edited and translated by John Charles Chasteen (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1993).

⁵⁵ Bautista, *La Evolucion*, 41, 44-45, 51, 53, 72. Bautista's use of "America" should be read to mean the continent, not the United States of America.

eventually the presidency in Mexico's liberal revolt of 1854. He likened Juárez to Moses; as Moses led the children of Israel out of captivity in Egypt, Juárez freed Mexicans from the "diabolic" control of Catholicism by loosening the ties between church and state through *La Reforma*. "Juárez was not only a great Legislator or the real Protector of that which was GIVEN directly from heaven. He gave to man to know FREE WILL. This precious gift makes a man, MAN."⁵⁶ He also likened Juárez to King Mosiah, the "Great Reformer" in the Book of Mormon. In his comparisons of Juárez and Mosiah, Bautista found analogues for the liberal program of *La Reforma* in the Book of Mormon much as Anglo-Americans had found analogues for democracy and republican constitutions.⁵⁷

Bautista declared that the Mexican revolution was the beginning of Lamanite vindication. Europeans, Bautista stated,

did not know that this land was given forever to the sons of Joseph, he who came from Egypt, represented by Lehi, the grand Patriarch of the Americas.

For everyone who claimed to be worthy of the commission received by the "bearded white men," this mission was only a temporary one. It was divine judgment against us for our sins.

Bautista predicted that "Mexico and the rest of the world will look with amazement at the rebirth of another Hidalgo, another Morelos, another Matamoros, etc., etc., to defend us with the same valor and boldness, not from material slavery but from a spiritual one." The conquest of Mexico was a great iniquity for which the perpetrators would be punished, a castigation that was decreed in heaven. Bautista lamented that the price which the Gentiles must pay would be a heavy one:

Woe to you, Christianity and your sister civilization of our "era of peace"! Woe to all of those that have the same greedy desires in our day, because you and your children will reap the same sooner or later. Your misery will be double and your humiliation will be bitterer than the worst bile.⁵⁸

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 55; emphases his.

⁵⁷ Bautista did not reconcile his praise of Juárez's anticlerical policies with Juárez's procapitalist policies. Bautista directed his critiques of capitalism towards Porfirio Díaz's policies.

⁵⁸ Bautista, *La Evolucion*, 78, 53, 49, 141, 106.

The Third Convention

Mexican Mormons who read Bautista's book were enthralled. The book fit well with post-revolutionary Mexican nationalism, wrapping Mexican nationalism under a new Lamanite identity. Its emphasis on Book of Mormon promises for Lamanites legitimated a nationalistic pride that had already begun to compete with the similar pride that U.S. Mormons felt for their country. Coincidentally, the book's popularity coincided with the decision of the First Presidency in April 1936 to divide the Spanish-American Mission into a Mexican Mission and a Spanish-American Mission. Many Mexicans, who had twice requested a Mexican mission president, hoped that their desire would now be granted.⁵⁹

They were sorely disappointed when the First Presidency named Harold W. Pratt, the same person who had reviewed Bautista's manuscript so discouragingly, as the new mission president. Harold Pratt, a native of the Mormon colonies in Chihuahua and a Mexican citizen, certainly was not culturally Mexican nor was he a Lamanite. Nor did Pratt pursue a conciliatory policy. Despite Bautista's overwhelming endorsement of the Mormon gospel, the new mission president continued to find his book's pro-Mexican sentiments and harsh criticisms of the United States unpalatable. Fearing that it might drive a wedge between Mexican and Anglo-American Mormons, Pratt publicly denounced the book and discouraged Mormons from buying it or quoting from it.⁶⁰ Facing a substantial loss of money because they had funded the printing, Mexican Mormons found an additional reason for despair.

Rumors of another convention began to circulate soon after news of Pratt's appointment reached Mexico City. Fearing further castigation, some Mexicans like Isaías Juárez, president of the mission's Mexican District, discouraged another meeting and published a circular advising against participation in the convention. Nonetheless, approximately 120 Mexican Mormons convened. This time the *convencionistas* petitioned explicitly for a mission president who would be Mexican "*de raza y sangre*" (of race and blood),⁶¹ and named Abel Páez, Bautista's nephew, as a candidate who they thought would meet the needs of both the Church and the Mexican membership.

⁵⁹ Tullis, *Mormons in Mexico*, 127.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 125-27.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 138-39; Lozano, *Historia*, 64-69.

(Bautista had been offered the candidacy but had declined it.) When Páez met with Pratt prior to submitting the third petition, Pratt placated Páez and some of the other *convencionistas* by promising that he would take them with him to Salt Lake City so that they could personally present their petition to Church leaders, possibly at the approaching October general conference.⁶²

The promised trip never materialized. Pratt delivered the petition alone. By November 1936, First Counselor J. Reuben Clark, writing for the First Presidency, returned a harsh reply. Clark, former U.S. ambassador to Mexico, declared the *convencionistas* out of order once again, reminded them that Church leaders are not to represent their flocks to higher-level authorities, told them that all missions were supervised by men from the bosom of the Church, and claimed that Mexicans already held a number of positions. In particular, he objected to the importance they placed on having leadership from the house of Israel. He claimed that Book of Mormon promises to the sons of Joseph applied to North American Mormons as well as Mexicans.⁶³ By May 1937, Margarito Bautista found himself among the leaders of the Third Convention excommunicated for rebellion, insubordination, and apostasy.⁶⁴

Approximately eight hundred Mexican Mormons—about one-third of the Mexican Mormons in 1936—followed Bautista and his nephew into a separate Mexican church known as the Third Convention. As F. LaMond Tullis tells the story, Bautista soon stirred up doctrinal division in the newly formed Third Convention by advocating a restoration of polygamy and the United Order. The convention expelled Bautista who returned to Ozumba, Mexico, where he established his own “New Jerusalem” and “kept in touch with other Mormon fundamentalist and apostate groups.” Meanwhile, the Third Convention grew and operated independently of but parallel to the LDS Church from April 1936 until May 1946 when a reconciliation negotiated by the new mission president, Arwell L. Pierce, and presided over by Church President George Albert Smith brought approximately twelve hundred *convencionistas* back into the

⁶² Margarito Bautista, “*Wilt Thou Restore the Kingdom . . .*” to Israel? (Ozumba, Mexico: Colonia Industrial Mexicana, 1952), 206-11; Lozano, *Historia*, 67-71; Tullis, *Mormons in Mexico*, 139-41.

⁶³ Tullis, *Mormons in Mexico*, 142.

⁶⁴ Bautista, “*Wilt Thou*”, 205-11; Tullis, *Mormons in Mexico*, 142-46.

LDS fold. Bautista, one of the “few malcontents,” Tullis reports, “remained in Ozumba, appearing only occasionally to hurl epithets—”Gentiles! Sons of Egyptians! Fathers of obscurantism!”⁶⁵ With that characterization, Bautista disappears from Tullis’s account.

In his history of the Third Convention compiled from fragments in the LDS Church archives and oral histories collected in Mexico, Tullis weaves a narrative of rupture and healing. In this New Mormon History, Church leaders in Salt Lake City struggle to come to terms with the Church’s newly emerging status as an international religion. Most of the demands of the Mexicans appear as premature but legitimate, because the LDS Church in the late twentieth century provides for local leadership, translation of doctrinal materials, in some cases access to schools, and increasing access to temples. The errors appear as individual failings, eventually reconciled by a Prophet of God. Tullis marginalizes the critique of protagonists like Margarito Bautista and minimizes their long-term impact. Expelled from the Third Convention and portrayed as a name caller, Bautista is objectified as a fading, peripheral sore loser. Absent altogether is Lorenzo Cuautli who led a congregation of *convencionistas* in San Gabriel Ometoxtla that refused to reconcile with the LDS Church and, after a brief alliance with Bautista, created an independent organization, *La Iglesia de Jesucristo de los Santos de la Plenitud de los Tiempos*, which had approximately 300 members in 1997.⁶⁶

Juan Dominguez Balderas, former personal secretary to Bautista, told me a different story in 1996. He confirmed that, by the end of 1937, the Third Convention had expelled Bautista for proposing a restoration of polygamy and the United Order but added more details. Bautista spent the next fourteen months living with Pilar Paéz, another Third Convention excommunicant, in Mexico

⁶⁵ Tullis, *Mormons in Mexico*, 147-59.

⁶⁶ Murphy, “Fifty Years”; Murphy, “Stronger than Ever”; Raymundo Gomez Gonzalez, interviewed by Thomas W. Murphy, in Mexico City, 14 January 1997; notes in my possession. Perhaps the absence of Cuautli was an oversight on Tullis’s part but clearly he had evidence available to him that Cuautli had refused to reconcile along with his fellow *convencionistas*. See Lozano, *Historia*, 81. Tullis may also have accepted Lozano’s claims that Bautista’s colony was a shame and embarrassment that never prospered and that had, by 1983, almost disappeared. See Lozano, *Historia*, 88-89.

City where he wrote a novel, *El Origen de Alma*.⁶⁷ He then returned to Ozumba but maintained contact with other *convencionistas*. After most of the *convencionistas* had reunited with the LDS Church, fifty-nine Mormons under the direction of Margarito Bautista, Lorenzo Cuautli, Leonardo Belmont, Francisco Sandoval, and Candido de la Cruz founded Colonia Industrial in the *municipio* of Ozumba and began gathering there in January 1947. The majority of this community's founding members, including Lorenzo Cuautli, left after difficulty finding employment. Those who stayed faced numerous challenges but succeeded in building a small but thriving community that survived Bautista's death on 4 August 1961 and has continued to expand under the legal name of *El Reino de Dios en su Plenitud*. In 1996, they claimed approximately nine hundred members, seven hundred of them in Colonia Industrial. Colonial Industrial is a beautiful community with numerous homes, clean streets, a temple or endowment house, communally managed agricultural land, and a large new meeting house under construction in 1996 and 1997. Juan Dominguez's son, Abel Dominguez Hernandez, told me that the followers of Bautista were "stronger than ever."⁶⁸

AGRÍCOL LOZANO HERRERA

Yet another image of Margarito Bautista Valencia appears in Agrícola Lozano Herrera's *Historia del Mormonismo en México* (1983). Agrícola Lozano Herrera was born in 1926 in Tula, Mexico, to Agrícola Lozano Bravo and Josefina Herrera de Lozano, both converts to the LDS Church. Lozano's life-long service in the Church has included the distinction of being the first Lamanite to be named stake presi-

⁶⁷ I have not been able to determine the kinship, if any, among Simon, Pilar, and Abel Paéz.

⁶⁸ J. Dominguez B., interview, 15 August 1996; D. Dominguez B., interview, 14 August 1996; Abel Dominguez Hernandez, interviewed by Thomas W. Murphy, 15 August 1996, Colonia Alzate, Ozumba, Mexico; notes in my possession; Vidal, *Estudio Geografico*, 34; Margarito Bautista Valencia, et al., untitled (first line reads "El día 11 de Noviembre de año de 1946, en Asamblea General, en la casa del compañero Casildo Santamaria . . ."), photocopy in my possession, courtesy of Juan Dominguez Balderas, 15 August 1996. This four-page typescript confirming the agreement to found Colonia Industrial is signed by thirty-five people and dated 10 October 1952.

dent when he accepted that position in Mexico City in 1967. He has also served as president of the Argentina Bahia Blanca Mission, president of the temple in Mexico City, regional representative, high councilor, branch president, and elders' quorum president. Despite not finishing grade school until age sixteen, Lozano earned a law degree from Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, represented some of Mexico's most prominent unions, and then began working primarily for the LDS Church. In 1993, he played a key role in negotiating formal registration for the Church with the Mexican government. In 1997, Church President Gordon B. Hinckley singled out Agricol Lozano for his contributions to the Church in Mexico and publicly proclaimed, "He is my friend." Lozano died in Mexico City on 29 July 1999, age seventy-two.⁶⁹

In Lozano's writings, Bautista plays a key but negative role. Lozano casts him after the model of Laman, the father of the Lamanites, Lehi's rebellious eldest son who squandered his heritage and potential for a shameful path of poverty and wickedness. Bautista and his followers sowed confusion and iniquity among the Mexi-

⁶⁹ Erin K. Moreno, "Mexico City Temple Leader Devoted Lifetime to Church," *Church News*, 23 October 1993, 1, Infobases, *Collectors Library*, CD-ROM, 1998; "Church Welcomes Mexican Legislators," *Church News*, 15 May 1993, 5, *ibid.*; "Mexico Formally Registers Church," *Church News*, 17 July 1993, 3, *ibid.*; "New Temple Presidents," *Church News*, 26 June 1993, 5, *ibid.*; John L. Hart, "Mexico Milestone: 100th Stake Created," *Church News*, 1 July 1989, 3, *ibid.*; John L. Hart, "Put Arms Around Converts, Prophet Urges," *Church News*, 15 November 1997, *ibid.*; John L. Hart, "Early Church Leader in Mexico Is 'Humble, Spiritual Man'," *Church News*, 12 August 1995, 5, *ibid.*; Hart, *1997-1998 Church Almanac*, 355-57; "Death," *Church News*, 14 August 1999, 13; and Abraham Menes, "An LDS Mexican Pioneer Died Yesterday," <http://www.ldsgems.com/archive/news/articles/990730.mexico>. For discussions of the Salinas reforms that allowed for legal recognition of churches in Mexico, see Anthony Gill, "The Politics of Religious Regulation in Mexico: Preliminary Observations," paper presented at the 1995 meeting of the Latin American Studies Association, Washington D.C., photocopy in my possession; "Bienes, Voto y Acceso a la Educación para las Iglesias," *Epoca*, 27 (9 Diciembre 1991), 9; Victor Manuel Juarez, "El Estado Debe Permanecer Laico y la Iglesia Católica Apolitica," *Epoca*, 27 (9 Diciembre 1991), 10-11, "Ni Estado Sacristán, ni Iglesia Partidista," *Epoca*, 27 (9 Diciembre 1991), 15-16.

can saints, who because of their Lamanite heritage were particularly vulnerable to such temptations. Lozano employs this Bautista as a protagonist whose great potential is destroyed by the depth of his fall. "This apostate," Lozano reports, "was a man of great intelligence, of vast knowledge of doctrine and theology, a man of powerful words and an attractive personality." Lozano laments that in the end Bautista "did more evil than good when he could have been such a giant."⁷⁰ By recounting Bautista's gifts and his weaknesses, Lozano can warn Mexican Lamanites that each of them carries this dangerous propensity for both good and evil in his or her own blood lines.

Despite his exemplary Church service and his portrayal of Bautista, Lozano's account cannot easily be classified as traditional Mormon history. Lozano contends that it was in Mexico "where the history of the Church must have been made yesterday, is being made today, and will be made tomorrow."⁷¹ Lozano proudly identifies himself and Mexicans as Lamanites.⁷² Addressing his account specifically to Lamanites, he emphasizes their promised destiny, including prosperity and Church leadership but warns that rebellion, non-conformity, unhealthy and destructive criticism, and opposition to authority are deep rooted among the Saints in Mexico.⁷³ Mexicans, or more specifically Lamanites, take the central role in this account even though Lozano frequently casts them in self-denigrating terms drawn from the Book of Mormon.

To establish a pivotal role for Mexico, Lozano claims that the events described in the Book of Mormon took place in ancient Mexico. Calling Mexico City "the city of the Messiah and navel of the

⁷⁰ Lozano, *Historia*, 81-84, 89-90.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 5.

⁷² When the *Church News* announced Lozano's death on 14 August 1999, the editor(s) replaced previous identifications in 1989 and 1995 of Lozano as the "first Lamanite Stake President in Mexico and the Church" with that of "the first Latin Stake President in Mexico." In 1993 Erin K. Moreno identified Lozano as "the first native of Mexico City to serve as stake president." I wonder if this inconsistency in identification is a reflection of an emerging trend to deemphasize Lamanite identities or just the preferences of individual authors. See John L. Hart, "Mexico Milestone"; Moreno, "Mexico City Temple Leader"; Hart, "Early Church Leader"; "Death," *Church News*.

⁷³ Lozano, *Historia*, 48, 98-99.

world," he likened Book of Mormon cultures to the civilizations of Toltecs, Mayas, Mixtec-Zapotecs, and Aztecs. He adopted *Lamanite* or "sons of Laman" to refer to Mexicans and claimed kinship with Indians of North and South America and "the Lamanites of the Pacific Islands." Lozano used eighteenth-century Dominican Friar Gregorio García's thesis that Mexicans descended from the lost tribes of Israel to argue that the word *México* derived from the Hebrew term for Messiah, making Mexico City, "the City of Jesus Christ, not of Huitzilpochtli."⁷⁴

Lozano thus placed Mormonism within the larger framework of Mexican history while simultaneously giving a Mormon twist to Mexican history. Lozano allied Mormonism with the anticlerical reforms of Benito Juárez and the classic liberal tradition. He decried the "diabolic alliance between church and state" which blinded Mexicans with "fanatical" Catholicism. In this account, the arrival of Mormonism in Mexico initiated an "Era of the Lamanites" or a "Day of the Indians" in which Mexicans would rise once again to lead this religion restored from the fountains of ancient Mexico. Lozano Herrera, though, also found the roots of Mexican rebellion and opposition to authority in their Lamanite heritage.⁷⁵ Unlike Bautista, Lozano did not call Europeans and Euroamericans Gentiles and he avoided any strident attacks on capitalism. Nonetheless, his assertions of a Lamanite identity and a central role in the Church for Mexicans have an affinity with Bautista's.

In contrast to Bautista, however, Lozano portrays his Lamanite heritage in primarily negative terms which he contrasts with the liberating potential of the gospel. He credits "Brother Ephraim" with bringing good news to the "Lamanite seed . . . the descendants of Father Lehi . . . who were kept under false and diabolic beliefs." He equated Catholicism with "fanaticism" and "apostate doctrines," calling it "the whore of the Churches." He attributed local opposition to Mormon missionaries to "satanic rage," "satanic fury," and "Middle Age" mentality. He criticized Mexicans for their informality, improvisation, rebelliousness, opposition to authority, and lack of punctuality. While he acknowledged that one can find these types of spirits anywhere in the world, he claimed that they are more common among "the sons of Laman."⁷⁶ Citing Dale F. Beecher as

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 1, 4. Huitzilpochtli is the Aztec god of war.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 1, 8, 20, 29, 48, 58-60, 98.

“a distinguished historian from the University of Utah,” as an authority, Lozano claimed that Mexican Mormons fell dramatically into apostasy following the abandonment of the first mission in 1888 as a result of their peculiar psychology when deprived of paternalistic leaders to direct them and in whom they might confide.⁷⁷ In his preface to his account of the Third Convention, Lozano laments that “Laman in Mexico had not yet moved away from many of his dark traditions.” He describes the Third Convention’s letter to the First Presidency as expressing a “spirit of audacity, ingenuity, passion, and maybe ignorance of the significance of what they were doing.” Judging Mexicans by standards for contributions set in the United States, Lozano repeatedly expresses his frustration that Mexican tithes are thin, inconsistent, and insufficient to support the Church.⁷⁸

While Bautista portrayed Euroamericans in primarily unsavory terms, Lozano lavished praise on North American missionaries and Mormon colonists in northern Mexico, reminding his Mexican readers of the “sacrifices and deprivations of [the first] North American missionaries when in our Mexico there were no paved roads, there were no homes like those of today, [and] no food such as we eat today.” He devoted an entire chapter to memorializing missionaries who lost their lives to illness and conflict in Mexico. He saw significance in the observation that the first LDS missionaries to Mexico City, like Father Lehi, Quetzalcóatl, and Hernando Cortez all arrived “by sea and from the east.” He cited such authorities as LDS Apostle Moses Thatcher to support his contention that the arrival of the Spanish signified the fall of the Indian, while the arrival of the LDS missionaries signified their liberation. Not only missionaries but Anglo-Mormon colonists in northern Mexico also drew praise

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 3, 8, 98-100, 210, 214, 216, 223.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 46. See also Dale F. Beecher, “Rey L. Pratt and the Mexican Mission,” *BYU Studies* 15, no. 3 (Spring 1975): 306. This article was reprinted in Spanish in the *Liahona*, but Lozano is confused in identifying Beecher as a faculty member at the University of Utah; Beecher received his Ph.D. from that institution, but he was never on the faculty and his dissertation, “Incentive to Violence: Political Exploitations of Lawlessness on the U.S.-Mexican Border, 1865-1886,” has no connection to Mormonism. My thanks to Dale F. Beecher for providing this clarification.

⁷⁸ Lozano, *Historia*, 61, 63, 72, 101, 125, 223.

from Lozano who credited them with being “messengers in the service of truth and light come to rescue the scattered seed of Jacob.”⁷⁹

Lozano’s portrayals of LDS Church policies are not always salutary. He blames the “anarchy” that he observes in the use of classroom manuals on the repetitive materials from increasingly centralized Church publications. Likewise, he laments the disappointingly thin character of recent issues of the periodical *Liahona*. He expresses his disappointment at the closure of primary and secondary Church schools in Mexico in 1981 while criticizing those members who opposed the move and complained against the First Presidency. In one instance, he recorded the surprise of the Saints in Mexico when they encountered a brother “of Anglo-Saxon origin” who spoke clearly and frankly, suggesting that Mexicans expect Anglo leaders to speak less than straightforwardly. Lozano outlined in detail the difficulty of translating the design and proportions of the Mexico City temple from English to Spanish language, measurements, and symbols. He recorded the disappointment of Mexican members when Church leaders rejected their offer to donate labor to the construction of the temple. Overall, he acknowledged that the tremendous growth of the LDS Church in Mexico had created difficulties such as the need to learn and assimilate a novel ecclesiastical administration, the need to avoid bringing worldly habits into religious administration, and the necessity of calling members without much experience to positions of authority.⁸⁰

Lozano also praises Mexicans who have embraced the gospel and non-Mormons who facilitated its growth in Mexico. He associates the arrival of the gospel with the indigenous movement away from ancestral poverty toward industriousness, self-sufficiency, and independence. Because of the Church, he contends, “the Mexican Mormon far more than respects Institutions, he honors them; he has conviction and faith in them.” Intriguingly, Lozano devotes a portion of one chapter to mini-biographies of non-LDS Mexicans who have been instrumental in the spread of the gospel, including prominent Mexicans revolutionaries Francisco Madero and Pancho Villa and Mexican presidents Lázaro Cárdenas, Manuel Avilo

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 2, 29, 33, 41, 85-86.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 104, 123, 170, 172, 194.

Camacho, and Adolfo Lopez Mateos. Lozano repeats rumors suggesting that López Mateos may have been an inactive Mormon.⁸¹

ON SUBJECTS AND OBJECTS

Bautista's domestication of Mormon theology and his deployment of a Lamanite identity provoked hostility from Church leaders but that of Lozano fifty years later did not. Neither book attacked the LDS Church or its doctrines, but the two accounts have striking differences. Bautista, in contrast to Lozano, claimed that Lamanites were literal descendants of Abraham while Gentiles (including Mormons of European descent) were not. While Bautista accepts the concept that a dark skin was a curse from God, his portrayal of Lamanites primarily emphasizes their superiority rather than their inferiority. Lozano, on the other hand, avoids discussion of skin color while internalizing the negative characteristics that the Book of Mormon and Anglo-Mormons projected onto those they called Lamanites.

Bautista's writings threatened power relations within the LDS Church because the other not only became a self, but because the original subject also became a stigmatized object. The Lamanite author objectified Euroamericans as Gentiles in much the same way that the gaze of Nephite authors had objectified the Lamanites. By including Mormons of European descent among the Gentiles, Bautista's reversal of the gaze threatened the social and racial hierarchy in the church in much the same way that Samuel the Lamanite's discourse challenged Nephite elites (Hel. 13-16). Harold W. Pratt, as mission president, attempted to reassert dominance by censorship and eventually excommunication. Ideologically, Church leaders such as J. Reuben Clark sought to undermine the connection between the Book of Mormon and the new Lamanite subjectivity by adopting terminology from the Doctrine and Covenants. By claiming that there was no difference between the Lamanites and white North Americans in God's eyes, Church leaders could protect their own privileged positions of power while undermining the assertions made by Bautista and the Third Convention.⁸²

⁸¹ Ibid., 140-149, 218, 220; capitalization of "Institutions" his. This claim is politically significant because the Mexican government was ruled by the PRI (*Partido Revolucionario Institucional*) from 1929 to 2000.

While Lozano did not stigmatize Anglo-Americans in the same manner as Bautista, he moved them from the position of subjects of their own accounts to romanticized objects of his account. Although he did not shy away from all criticism, most of his remarks about North Americans avoided linking shortcomings to racial or cultural origins. Instead, he offered romantic portraits of North American missionaries that failed to capture the complexity of their experience. He internalized negative characterizations of Lamanites and used this imagery to warn Mexicans to avoid strident challenges to the Church hierarchy. Nonetheless, he maintains a central role for Lamanites as the primary protagonists in his account and claims a pivotal role for Mexicans in the past, present, and future history of the Church.

CONCLUSION

But now as the smoke clears do we not discover this very analysis to be a magical rite too—albeit one adorned in the garb of science? Is it not the case that the very analysis of the magic of the shaman was no less magical than its subject matter? The controlling figure here is that of the anthropologist or critic ordering meaning into the disordered, passive, and forever female vehicle of the text—so as to “permit” the release of a new meaning rescued from the blockage of disorder.⁸³

Alphonse Dupront has said, “The sole historical quest for ‘meaning’ remains indeed a quest for the Other,” but, however contradictory it may be, this project aims at “understanding” and, through “meaning,” at hiding the alterity of this foreigner; or in what amounts to the same thing, it aims at calming the dead who still haunt the present, and at offering them scriptural tombs.⁸⁴

Other Mormon Histories, those narratives in which the formerly passive objects of history become active subjects, draw attention to the power relationships at play in the production of Mormon history. The Book of Mormon and traditional Mormon history imagine and then subjugate the Indian as a Lamanite in a narrative of Christian triumphalism. Nahua authors, adopting the

⁸² Murphy, “Racist Stereotype.”

⁸³ Michael Taussig, *Shamanism, Colonialism, and the Wild Man: A Study in Terror and Healing* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 390.

⁸⁴ De Certeau, *Writing of History*, 2; Alphonse Dupront, “*Langage et histoire*,” *XIII Congrès international des sciences historiques* (Moscow, 1970).

label of a Lamanite other, domesticate Mormonism through narratives of Mexican peculiarity. New Mormon historians tame ethnic minorities through secular narratives of a new American history. Authors in each genre claim to represent the truth but the methodologies employed fail to meet minimum standards for truth in competing systems of production. The boundary crossing I attempt here appears inherently contentious without escaping the dilemma posed by Other Mormon Histories. While Bautista and Lozano constitute active subjects in their own accounts, they remain objects in my account. By drawing attention to their historical productions, I hope to expose the contradictions underlying various productions of history.

History appears in a form that anthropologist Michael Taussig calls "sorcery." Each author aggressively imposes meaning on disorder. The ordered product, in each case, is a commodity in a larger system of production. Whether one is producing traditional Mormon history, New Mormon History, or Other Mormon History, one "aims at calming the dead who still haunt the present, and at offering them scriptural tombs."⁸⁵ Rather than permitting the dead to deconstruct "the conscious categories of the living," Mormon historians domesticate the other to obscure its alterity and, thereby, to produce order out of chaos.⁸⁶ While one might want to claim a special status for New Mormon History, Other Mormon Histories suggest that the New Mormon historian's search for meaning perpetuates inequity. The unsettling reversals of the objectifying gaze by Lamanites both challenge and reveal power relations built upon a colonial heritage. "The dear departed find a haven in the text *because* they can neither speak nor do harm anymore. These ghosts find access through *writing* on the condition that they remain *forever silent*."⁸⁷ Ultimately, inherent limitations in historiographic quests to construct meaning out of traces of death render any attempt to write Mormon history biased and incomplete. At best, scholars might tell Mormon histories rather than Mormon history.

⁸⁵ De Certeau, *Writing of History*, 2.

⁸⁶ Taussig, *Shamanism, Colonialism and the Wild Man*, 372.

⁸⁷ De Certeau, *Writing of History*, 2; emphasis his. See also Murphy, "Laban's Ghost."

SETTING THE RECORD STRAIGHT

*Richard Neitzel Holzappel
and Paul H. Peterson*

MOST PROBLEMS ENCOUNTERED in reproducing historic photographs can be avoided if authors and publishers are willing to work closely with informed professional photo-archivists or photo-historians to verify their interpretation of the images they have chosen before going to press. In this installment of “Setting the Record Straight,” we reproduce three images published during the past few years where authors and publishers used mistaken information, instead of checking with Bill Slaughter, photo specialist at the Historical Department Archives of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS Church Archives), who had the correct information. “The beauty of our interface with patrons is that it’s synergistic,” Slaughter explained. “We learn from them, and they learn from us. That’s our job. We’re here to help,

RICHARD NEITZEL HOLZAPFEL <richard_holzappel@byu.edu> is an associate professor of Church History and Doctrine at Brigham Young University. He is the author of numerous articles and books, and co-author of the recently released *Brigham Young: Images of a Mormon Prophet* (Salt Lake City and Provo: Eagle Gate and BYU Religious Studies Center, 2000) and *Joseph F. Smith: Portrait of a Prophet* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2000). PAUL H. PETERSON <paul_peterson@byu.edu> is an associate professor of Church History and Doctrine at Brigham Young University and currently serves as chair of the department. Paul was the recipient of the *Journal’s* “Best Article of the Year” Award in 1989.



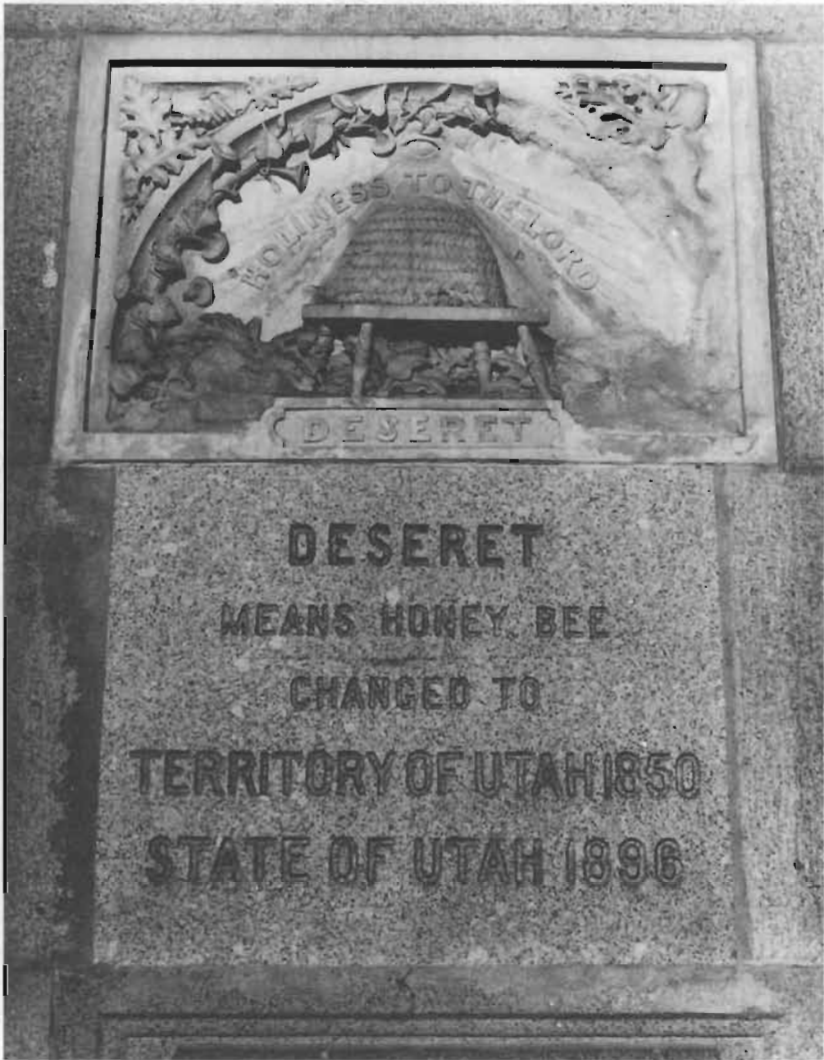
Original Caption: *Cornerstone of the Salt Lake Temple, photographed by Cannon or W. Smith before being set into place in 1853.*

Correction: *The “Deseret Stone,” placed in the George Washington National Monument in Washington, D.C., photographed by Marsena Cannon, 19 March 1853. Courtesy LDS Church Archives.*

and rarely do we come up short in tracking an answer down.”¹ Ironically, the authors and publishers not only provided wrong information in their book about the images but, in one case, even invented information to justify their interpretation.

In 1833, a committee chaired by U.S. Supreme Court Chief Justice John Marshall, began efforts to raise money for the erection of a monument honoring George Washington. It was a lengthy project. The cornerstone-laying ceremonies occurred on 4 July 1848,

¹ William W. Slaughter, interviewed by Richard N. Holzapfel, 21 August 2000.



Original Caption: *The word “Deseret” appears twice on the Utah stone at the Washington Monument (1978; replica of the cornerstone of the Salt Lake Temple, 1853).*

Correction: *Utah’s 1853 Washington Monument Stone, known as the “Deseret Stone” with a second stone below interpreting the 1853 stone for visitors. The second stone was placed in the monument in 1951. Courtesy LDS Church Archives.*

but it was not dedicated until 21 February 1885. During this almost thirty-seven year period, several groups, organizations, and agencies attempted to move the project along. During the process, an invitation was sent to each state and territory, inviting each to contribute a stone from its region. In response, the General Assembly of the provisional State of Deseret passed a resolution on 10 February 1851, approved by Utah Territorial Governor Brigham Young a few days later, to provide a block of marble to the Washington Monument. When a good specimen of marble could not be located, oolitic limestone quarried near Manti, Sanpete County, Utah, was substituted. William Ward prepared the stone, measuring three feet long, two feet wide, and six and a half inches thick.

When completed, Church leaders asked Marsena Cannon to photograph the stone before sending it off to Washington, D.C. The Historian's Office Journal notes: "Saturday 19 [March 1853] Clear fine da[y]. . . Mr. Cannon took a daguerreotype picture of the Deseret block of sculptured marble intended for the Washington Monument."² T. W. Ellerebeck, a clerk in the office, also noted in his diary, "19 March 1853. Bro. Cannon taking Daguerotype [sic] of the Tithing Store and of the Stone for the Washington Monument."³ There is no indication that the stone had any relationship to the Salt Lake Temple's cornerstone laid on 6 April 1853. There is no contemporary reference to the temple cornerstone as being anything but simple cut stone without any symbolic inscriptions or designs.

Three months later, the Deseret Stone was transported to Washington, D.C., partly by wagon, in June 1853, under the direction of Philemon C. Merrill.⁴ The Washington National Monument Society received the stone on 27 September 1853. The stone was still in a storage shed in early 1885.⁵ It was placed at the 200-foot level

² Historian's Office Journal, 19 March 1853, typescript (January 1853-April 1854), LDS Church Archives.

³ T. W. Ellerebeck, Diary, 19 March 1853, typescript, LDS Church Archives.

⁴ Merrill (1820-1904) was called to serve as a missionary in Europe and left Salt Lake City with twenty-six other elders on 23 June 1853. Philemon C. Merrill, *Autobiography*, ca. 1890, LDS Church Archives.

⁵ "Schedule of Memorial Stones in Store House at Washington Monument, March 16, 1885," Washington Monument Collection, RG 42, Box 1, 418, National Archives, Washington, D.C.



Original Caption: *A stonemason prepares the base of the obelisk erected in 1905 at Joseph Smith's birthplace in the township of Sharon, Vermont. The inscription is taken from the Title Page of the Book of Mormon and emphasizes the Prophet's role as translator of the book.*

Correction: *J. S. McDonald, stonemason, works on the Oliver Cowdery Monument inscription at the Marr & Gordon shed in Barre, Vermont. Photograph taken 10 October 1911 by George Edward Anderson. Courtesy LDS Church Archives.*

of the monument some time later. (Work continued on the monument after it was dedicated.)

Over the years, visitors wondered who donated the stone and what "Deseret" meant. As a result, a few prominent Utah citizens and political leaders decided to place a second, explanatory stone below the original stone which visitors can view from the inside as they climb the stairs in the interior of the monument. In March 1951, a special service was held at the Washington Monument to dedicate

this second stone, positioned below the original Deseret Stone. It reads: "Deseret Means Honey Bee. Changed to Territory of Utah 1850. State of Utah 1896."⁶

Basing their interpretation on the misinformation found in the caption of the earlier publication of the photograph of the "Deseret Stone," the author and publisher of the second photograph invented a new story to explain why the stone in the Washington Monument looked like the stone identified as the Salt Lake Temple cornerstone—it was a replica!

During a visit to western Missouri in 1910, LDS First Presidency counselor John Henry Smith was unable to locate Oliver Cowdery's unmarked grave in Richmond, Ray County, Missouri. Resolved to identify the exact location and erect an appropriate monument, Smith approached Junius F. Wells about the possibility of erecting the monument in Richmond. Wells had already successfully purchased in the Church's behalf the birthplace of Joseph Smith in Sharon, Vermont, and had erected there a 38.5 foot granite monument honoring the Prophet in 1905. Wells immediately contacted R. C. Bowers, president of R. C. Bowers Granite Company in Montpelier, Vermont, which had made the 1905 Joseph Smith monument. Before John Henry Smith died on 13 October 1911, he asked Wells to ascertain the grave's location. Wells met with A. K. Rayburn, a local gentleman ninety-two years old who had been present at Cowdery's burial in 1850. Additionally, an excavation of the graves in the locale identified the graves of two children north of an adult's grave, identified as Cowdery's, with another child's grave to the south. As final confirmation, Wells found the crumbling footstone and base stone for the headstone at the adult grave, measuring six and a half feet between them.

As work neared completion in Vermont, George Edward Anderson, the famous Mormon photographer from Springville, Utah, went to Vermont to photograph the monument. Anderson often wrote identification information on the outer edge of the glass-plate negative. This particular negative is inscribed, "#57 Oliver Cowdery Monument Inscription on Marr & Gordon Shed Barre, Vt. Oct. 10,

⁶ See *Utah State Memorial Stone: Proceeding Held in the Washington Monument, Washington, D.C., at the Dedication of a Memorial Stone Placed in the Monument by the State of Utah* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1951).



Oliver Cowdery Monument, 21 November 1911, Richmond, Ray County, Missouri, photographed by George Edward Anderson. Courtesy LDS Church Archives. One side of the monument is inscribed with the text of the title page of the Book of Mormon from its first edition, printed in Palmyra, New York, in 1830. Taken just a day before the dedication service (Anderson provided the exact date on the original glass-plate negative as he had done on the previous image), this photograph demonstrates that it and the disputed image are both of the same stone.

1911. Tue. J.S. McDonald [illegible]." The number fifty-seven refers to Anderson's private numbering system. "Tue" means Tuesday, the day on which 10 October 1911 fell. When reproducing the print, however, Anderson did not include the writing on the negative's outer edge.

Work on the Cowdery monument was completed in late October and shipped to Richmond, Ray County, Missouri, where it was installed in the Richmond Cemetery. Heber J. Grant of the Quorum of the Twelve dedicated it on 22 November 1911.

CONCLUSION

Research by photo-archivists and photo-historians provide authors and publishers help with historic photographs. Instead of hurriedly finding "something" with which to illustrate a well-written article or book, authors and publishers need to consider photographic needs early in the manuscript stage, study the image carefully, and research its provenance and content just as they would any other nineteenth-century document.

REVIEWS

D. Michael Quinn. *The Mormon Hierarchy: Origins of Power*. Salt Lake City: Signature Books in association with Smith Research Associates, 1994. xv, 685 pp. Notes, illustrations, appendices, index. Cloth: \$29.95 ISBN 1-56085-056-6

D. Michael Quinn. *The Mormon Hierarchy: Extensions of Power*. Salt Lake City: Signature Books in association with Smith Research Associates, 1997. xii, 928 pp. Notes, illustrations, appendices, index. Cloth: \$44.95 ISBN 1-56085-060-4

Reviewed by Mario S. De Pillis

D. Michael Quinn began this study more than twenty years ago in the outstanding prosopographical study of Mormonism's hierarchy that became his dissertation for Yale University. He was then the brightest young light in Mormondom, the best of the first wave of Ivy League Mormons. He publishes these books as the best and most prolific scholar in Mormonism's historical literature and the most prominent Mormon historian after Leonard J. Arrington, to whom he dedicates the second volume (along with mentors Davis Bitton and Howard R. Lamar and his former wife, Jan Darley Quinn).

Out of Quinn's many encyclopedic and exhaustive works, it is certainly this pair that will stand as his magnum opus among Mormon readers and researchers.¹ They constitute an indispensable reference work on the history, organization, and techniques of the government of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and the personalities of its leaders. As such, they proceed, not agilely, but with a kind of juggernaut inevitability along their path which is, as Quinn defines it, "to examine the evidence of Mormonism's social realities" (*Origins*, x). Whole bibliographies appear in his endnotes (pp. 266-462 in *Origins*; pp. 409-630 in *Extensions*); the dozen appendices are tightly packed compendia on specialized subjects. Quinn's

¹ Some non-Mormon readers of the Quinn corpus would rather give the *magnum opus* palm to *Early Mormonism and the Magic World View* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books in association with Smith Research Associates, 1998), because it comes nearest to escaping the centripetal forces of Mormon in-group writing. It begins in early modern Europe and uses the historical principle that the greatest prophets, saints, and heroes must be understood in the context of their local beliefs and practices, which they inevitably take on.

penchant for overdocumentation does not serve to clarify his purpose. What does he mean by “social realities”? I think he means doctrines and actions that have negated the spiritual dimensions of Mormonism.

Origins of Power is organized chronologically. It begins with an analysis of the evolution of authority (chap. 1), continues with a description of the emergence of the first five presiding priesthood quorums during Joseph Smith’s lifetime (First Presidency, Presiding Patriarch, Quorum of the Twelve, the Seventy, and the Presiding Bishopric), and a chapter on “theocratic beginnings” in which he explores the controversial topics of Mormonism’s attempt to bring theocratic unity out of American pluralism. Included in that attempt is the beginnings of militarism as manifested in the rise of the Danites of Far West, Missouri. Chapter 5 describes the flourishing of that theocracy in Nauvoo and its international outreach with the emergence of “kingdom” theology (Joseph Smith was literally crowned king by the Quorum of the Twelve and also launched a campaign for the U.S. presidency), blood atonement, Freemasonry, and the transformation of the Danites into policemen. Vividly Quinn describes Smith’s achievement: “[He] gave Mormonism a prophetic message, a theocratic world view, an authoritarian social structure, an embattled community, and the will to change the world” (*Origins*, 262). With Smith’s murder, the Church faced a succession crisis, discussed in chapters 5 and 6, that is one of the most fascinating periods of Mormon history. The book’s final chapter deals with the evolution of apostolic succession to the present, including the surprisingly gradual emergence of succession by seniority.

The seven appendices, together with the extensive footnotes, take up well over half the text. The appendices include: (1) the Church’s General Authorities from 1830 to 1847; (2) the development of external defenses and, separately, internal defenses, not excluding armed response, between 1833 and 1847; (3) a “partial” list of Danites in Missouri in 1838, including some biographical and family information; (4) a chronology of the meetings and initiations of Joseph Smith’s inner circle in Nauvoo, called the Anointed Quorum or Holy Order, between 1842 and 1845 (with sources); (5) a heavily documented list of another of Joseph Smith’s inner circles, the Council of Fifty, during 1844-45, a group largely ignored by Brigham Young; (6) an invaluable file of biographical material on the general officers identified in the first appendix, including, where known, dates and places of vital events, parents, marriages, relatives also in the hierarchy, education, occupations, social affiliations, political/civic activities, former religion, and notable experiences as a Mormon; and (7) a “selected chronology” of 1830-47 events that provide a broader focus of “the diversity, the continuities, and the discontinuities of the Mormon experience for both its leadership and its rank-and-file” (*Origins*, x). Here, for instance, Quinn supplies much informa-

tion about Mormon women that would not otherwise fit into the text's focus on the male hierarchy. For instance, on 8 October 1845, Lucy Mack Smith "is the first woman to speak at general conference. Church authorities do not invite another woman to address conference for 143 years" (*Origins*, 653). The index covers all of the appendices and the substantive notes.

Extensions of Power, in contrast, is organized thematically. Although each chapter deals with its topic chronologically, some focus primarily on one period while others survey from Brigham to 1995, requiring attentiveness from the reader. Quinn begins by analyzing the "twin charges" given to newly ordained apostles: first, the requirement that they be witnesses of Christ (and the shift in the early twentieth century from the expectation that they could testify to a vision of Christ to the less rigorous contemporary requirement that they have a testimony by the Spirit); and second, that the quorum present not only a public face of unanimity but also manage its internal affairs so that decisions eventually are made unanimously. Chapter 2 is an intriguing inside history of the tensions inevitable in any governing body—between the president and his counselors, between the counselors themselves, between the presidency and the Quorum of the Twelve, and within the quorum. Against this backdrop, a separate chapter deals with Ezra Taft Benson, long at odds with the Twelve for his conservative political views.

The history of the presiding quorums that ended in 1844 in the first volume picks up in chapter 4 to document the demise of the Presiding Patriarch's office, the changing duties of the Presiding Bishop, the great expansion and redefinition of the Seventy, and the tremendous growth in both hierarchy and bureaucracy after World War II. A crucial window on both the selection process and the governance procedures is Chapter 5 on family relationships among Church leaders. Quinn's analysis of General Authorities appointed between Joseph Smith (died 1844) and Heber J. Grant (died 1945) shows that the total of men who were kin to at least one other General Authority within three generations was, for the first seven presidents, below 50 percent for only two generations (Brigham Young's and Wilford Woodruff's appointees) and as high as 66 percent (Heber J. Grant) (*Extensions*, 176). For a non-Mormon reader, this chapter is illuminating—even astonishing.

The final five chapters go from controversy to controversy: the Church and its money; the "culture of violence" that continued from the Joseph Smith period and flourished until 1890, producing not only the Mountain Meadows Massacre but also, as Quinn amply documents, numerous murders; church "shadow governments," including the bizarre role of the Council of Fifty; the Church's efforts to control politics in its heartland from Brigham Young until the present; and its ven-

ture onto a national stage during the Equal Rights Amendment campaign in which it played a possibly decisive role. Quinn presciently ends this chapter with the first signs of the anti-gay rights campaign in which the Church has, under Gordon B. Hinckley's administration, emerged as a full-blown and well-financed lobbyist.

This volume's five appendices parallel those of the first volume: (1) General Authorities between 1845 and 1996, (2) biographical sketches for those appointed between 1849 and 1932, (3) appointments to the Council of Fifty to 1884, (4) a 1996 "snapshot" of family relationships among the 101 General Authorities and their wives then serving, and another equally interesting "selected chronology" covering 1848-1996. A charming entry is J. Reuben Clark's 1960 criticism of a quartet at a funeral for "leaving out verse concerning Mother in Heaven during their singing of 'O My Father'" (*Extensions*, 847). In this volume, alas, the index covers only the text.

It is an unavoidable irony that the publication of this gigantic work found Quinn still a devoted believer but excommunicated in September 1993 for his historical publications. His introduction to *Origins* explains that "history can (and should) examine what others say about metaphysical experiences, but history cannot demonstrate, prove, or disprove otherworldly interaction with human experience." He continues: "For most Mormons this book should be informative without being disturbing" while "nonbelievers will discover the fundamental religiosity in the Mormon hierarchy's world view" (*Origins*, x-xi). He is probably too optimistic on both counts, for this two-volume reference work on the Mormon hierarchy is also a critique of the Mormon Church. It chronicles in relentless detail the moral, economic, and political derelictions of Church leaders, or what Quinn calls "the stark evidence of their human qualities" (*Extensions*, vii). Oddly, as he confessed elsewhere, it is a task he had begun at the age of eighteen.

Yet the work is not sensationalized or driven by the bitterness that many will assume inevitable from an ex-member who is further marginalized as a gay man in an uncompromisingly heterosexual religious tradition. Quinn is not disgruntled or hateful. He has repeatedly, passionately, and publicly borne public "testimony" of his full and unequivocal belief in the truth of Joseph Smith's doctrines, the authenticity of Smith's visions, and the validity of the Book of Mormon. But his view of his "dynamic religion whose leaders may be more human than previously understood" (*Origins*, xi) will almost certainly disquiet many.

This monumental compendium of research raises a deeper historiographical question. From my perspective, which is as an interested and, I hope, sympathetic observer of Mormon history since the 1960s from my own (lapsed) Catholic tradition, I must say that much of the Mormon history being done has meaning only in relation to itself, that is, to the Church.

Even the best works can barely escape the force of centripetal interpretation. This perspective has a fascination of its own, of course, since the surface manifestations (the scholarly works themselves) are signs of a deeper morality play in which liberals and conservatives are engaged in maneuvers, the consequences of which are not the acceptance or rejection of scholarly historical presentations but status in the Church and even, at least from the conservative perspective, the status of one's soul.

Even more subtle are the cases in which the author has engaged in conscious self-censoring; the omissions are known to the author but not usually to the audience; yet rare indeed are books on sensitive Mormon topics that have escaped the twin sins of omission and irrelevance. Such history is not scholarship that serves truth and humanity, but scholarship that caters to the emotional needs and scholarly expectations of the internal audience: defining terms, framing questions, and seeking meanings that have only in-group implications. Whether excommunicated or apostate, scholars like Quinn are just as in-group as temple recommend-holding BYU faculty—of which Quinn was one until January 1988.

I certainly am not implying that the work of leading LDS historians is insignificant, unimportant, or lacking in meaning, but simply that it is primarily other Latter-day Saints who find it significant, important, and meaningful. This intense inward scrutiny and the resultant intense inward debate are, in themselves, historically important. But the work that will interpret this debate in a context accessible to an increasingly friendly and increasingly broader audience still waits to be done.

MARIO S. DE PILLIS <depillis@history.umass.edu> is professor emeritus of social and religious history at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst and a former president of the Mormon History Association.

Garold N. Davis and Norma S. Davis, compilers and translators. *Behind the Iron Curtain: Recollections of Latter-day Saints in East Germany, 1945-1989*. Provo, Utah: BYU Studies, Brigham Young University, 1996. xiv + 354 pp. Photographs, index. \$15.95. ISBN 0-8425-2322-7

Thomas S. Monson. *Faith Rewarded: A Personal Account of Prophetic Promises to the East German Saints*. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1996. ix + 182 pp. Photographs (two in color), index. \$14.95. ISBN 1-57345-186-X

Howard L. Biddulph. *The Morning Breaks: Stories of Conversion and Faith in*

the Former Soviet Union. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1996. xi + 212 pp. Photographs, bibliography, index. \$15.95. ISBN 1-57345-152-5

Reviewed by Steven L. Shields

These three books are among the first of what will probably be a series of new materials dealing with the growth and impact of the LDS Church in former Soviet-bloc countries. Not only has the LDS Church made significant inroads into these many nations, but the people coming into the Church have unique, yet similar, stories to tell of how their faith gave them hope and courage.

Two of the three are more closely related because they consider the LDS Church in East Germany where the Church had existed for many years prior to the division of that country into eastern and western segments. In East Germany, the LDS Church continued to exist throughout the Communist era, under the leadership of many of the old-time members. The third book, dealing with former Soviet Union nations, begins to tell the stories of the Church in new territory, where the LDS Church did not previously have units or members. The stories are thus, by their very nature, from quite different perspectives yet similar in that the faithful can see that God continues to move throughout time and place through the ministrations of the Holy Spirit.

The Davis book presents its material in three formats: first-person stories, interviews, and narratives that quote from interviews. The first and third forms are the strongest narratives. The straight interviews are interesting and oftentimes moving but are historical material in raw form and make for somewhat difficult reading. The East German Saints range from recent converts to long-time members. Although this range provides diversity, the stories they tell and the presentation of the material in the entire book itself seems very uneven. The stories are grouped into four thematic sections: "The Bombing of Dresden" (four accounts), "Rebuilding Zion" (eleven), "Living with the Communists" (thirteen), and "A Brighter Day" (three); but the stories within those sections are not always relevant to the proposed theme.

The reader can get a feel for the struggles of the Church trying to function in a Communist state where oppression of thinking and censorship were tools in the heavy hand of government by reading the stories in this book. I find it quite moving to read such passages as:

Suddenly one day I received a message from our mission president that all of the manuals, books, tracts, etc., we had smuggled into the country . . . could be harmful to the Church. . . . I sat down in front of our open stove with a big pile of books and kept telling myself, "You have to keep that one" and "You have to keep that one" and "You can't burn that one," but for two days we kept the fire going without coal, just paper. It was pretty warm. (159)

Such first-person material is essential. Garold Davis, a professor of German at Brigham Young University, and his wife, Norma, wanted to preserve some of the memories of those who lived through the 1945-89 period. Despite the unevenness of the presentation, they accomplish their goal; but even they would admit that the work of gathering raw historical information about LDS members in the former East Germany has but begun with their efforts.

The Monson book consists of journal excerpts, beginning in 1968 when he was first assigned to oversee the Church in Eastern Europe and continuing through 1995 as the manuscript was being prepared for publication. The material is arranged in nine chronological chapters, the journal entries being presented without additional commentary. President Monson is one of the greatest storytellers among modern LDS General Authorities. He has a great gift of narrative description, and his eloquence is evident even from the pages of his journal. In describing a journey in August of 1995, Monson writes:

It was here in Goerlitz that I made a sacred promise many years ago that if the Saints remained true and faithful to the commandments of God, every blessing any member of the Church enjoyed in any other country would be theirs. That night so long ago, as I realized what I had promised, I prayed fervently that the promise would be fulfilled in the lives of those noble people. How grateful I am for the goodness of our Heavenly Father to his faithful Saints. (175)

One of the difficulties in reading this book, though, is that the journal is excerpted. One paragraph will be written on a specific date, and the next paragraph may be weeks or months later. As a result, the narrative sometimes seemed disjointed and I had to constantly and consciously form mental bridges between episodes. Although the missing time period naturally covered assignments not related to East Germany, some connecting commentary would have been helpful in smoothing these transitions. The Monson book is not a history, but the raw ingredients of history. This material will be very useful when a history of the LDS Church in East Germany is finally written.

Of the three books, Biddulph's is the most consistent in its presentation. The author, an academic, gives his material a professional presentation. Drawing on interviews, first-hand experiences, and other documents, Biddulph has written a smooth-flowing narrative that is organized very systematically. He begins with his first visit to the Soviet Union in 1961, a visit that he ties prophetically to his later call as the first LDS mission president in the Ukraine. He concludes the book with the scene of him and his wife flying back to the United States after completing their three years of service.

Biddulph's book is essentially his personal memoir of that experi-

ence, a well-written and captivating first-person account. The style lends itself well to the material and purpose of the book and contains many personal experiences, which enhance its readability. Writing from a faith-filled perspective, Biddulph sees the hand of God in virtually every event and almost every person's conversion to the LDS Church: "These are a few of the many experiences I have recorded that show how the Holy Spirit connects those seekers who are ready with the missionaries who are spiritually prepared to teach them the gospel of Jesus Christ. The Lord is the Good Shepherd who knows and gathers his sheep" (96).

Historians will look at these three books as small elements in the larger task of dealing with the history of the LDS Church in these nations. They will quickly realize that other stories need to be heard—for example, the problems, the interpersonal arguments and fallings out among Church members, etc. They will also need to understand the nonstandard practices that crept into the Church, account for them, and explain how they were dealt with by Church authorities. For example, the cover picture of the Davis book has a wonderful old photograph of an LDS chapel in East Germany. The centerpiece of worship in the chapel is a painting of Christ on the cross, definitely not standard artwork in LDS chapels. The task of preparing professional, academic religious histories has not yet begun.

Faithful LDS members will see these three books as proof that theirs is God's only authorized church. They will gain great inspiration from how "their" church and "their" missionaries, and "their" members are blessed. Those of other faiths will look at these books and say, "Members of our denomination experienced the same things." For the stories that are true of the LDS members in East Germany are also true of the RLDS members who survived the Communist era, holding faithful to a religious community and way of life. The stories that are true of LDS converts in the former Soviet Union are also true of the RLDS converts in the former Soviet Union. Both would testify that the Holy Spirit guided them through seeming miracles to find the institution that is now their spiritual home. And, of course, the many other Christian communities in former Communist regimes in Eastern Europe can share the same kinds of stories. The same will be true in China, where there are many, many Christian communities who are working and existing just outside the law, trying to provide for the spiritual needs of a people seeking greater meaning in their lives. It will be very interesting to hear those stories at some time in the future.

STEVEN L. SHIELDS is president of the RLDS Korea Church. He resides in Seoul, Korea.

Ronald D. Dennis, trans. and ed. *Prophet of the Jubilee*. Religious Studies Center Specialized Monograph Series, No. 10. Provo, Utah: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 1997. [712 pp.] Illustration, annotated table of contents, notes, index. ISBN 1-57008-296-0

Reviewed by Bert J Rawlins

Nothing is more frustrating for a family historian than to come across a source that you know contains information about your family yet be unable to read the language. In the case of Welsh, the problem is multiplied because translators are so rare. This situation captures the welcome achievement of Ronald D. Dennis in translating and editing two nineteenth-century Welsh Mormon newspapers: *Prophwyd y Jubili* (Prophet of the Jubilee) and the *Ugdorn Seion* (Zion's Trumpet).

Prophet of the Jubilee, founded by the legendary Welsh missionary Dan Jones in July 1846, was published monthly through December 1848. Its successor, *Ugdorn Seion*, began publication in February 1849, two months after *Prophet's* last issue, under the direction of John S. Davis. I was also published monthly until 1852, then twice monthly (1852-56), and then monthly (1856-62). Both publications contain reports by missionaries primarily in Wales (it also published reports from Welshman William Howells serving a mission in France), including their expressions of faith, descriptions of healings and other miracles, inspirational dreams, reports of persecution, minutes of local conferences, reports from the various districts, and letters from those who had emigrated to the United States. English materials translated into Welsh for the benefit of the local Saints included instructions from Salt Lake City to the Saints in the British Isles, reports on conditions in Utah, treatises on gospel subjects, and responses to attacks, such as those by W. R. Davies, a Baptist minister in Merthyr Tydfil, who was using his own denominational magazine for that purpose.

It seems appropriate that Ronald Dennis, translator and editor of these periodicals, is a descendant of the amazing Dan Jones, founder of the LDS mission in Wales. I first met Dennis at the University of Wales, Aberystwyth, in 1976 where I was doing graduate work in Welsh history. He was taking a sabbatical from Brigham Young University where he was a professor of Portuguese, to learn Welsh—a laborious but necessary step in his goal of

understanding the life and work of his ancestor. He has been a fervent student of Welsh and the early Mormon mission in Wales since that time.

He published *The Call to Zion: The Story of the First Mormon Emigration* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Religious Studies Center, 1987), an account of the first Welsh emigrants to Utah, followed by *Welsh Mormon Writings from 1844 to 1862: A Historical Bibliography Tracts* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Religious Studies Center, 1988), giving a synopsis of each LDS pamphlet published in Welsh. These painstaking works were preparations for his translation of *Prophet of the Jubilee*.

Geraint Bowen, former Archdruid of Wales, authored the book's foreword. The Archdruid of Wales is a title synonymous with the language and the culture of Wales, and he does not comment on the translation, which he almost certainly would have done if he had felt that it was substandard or did not represent the documents accurately. Dennis's introduction gives a short background of Jones's mission call to Wales and his publication of *Prophwyd y Jubili*. A facsimile of the broadside in Welsh, announces the forthcoming publication of *Prophet of the Jubilee*, with English translation on a facing page. A very helpful "Annotated Contents" section summarizes the main topics in each month of *Prophet*, from July 1846 to December 1848. Translation of the full run of papers follows. *Ugdorn Seion* has not yet been translated.

Although many of the religious terms are not familiar to me, I can read the more historical documents and can say that the translation is well done. I have no hesitation in recommending it to those with Welsh ancestry or, more broadly, to anyone with an interest in nineteenth-century Mormon missionary work in the British Isles.

BERT J RAWLINS is a Products Management User Specialist for the LDS Family History Department. He attended the University of Wales, Aberystwyth (1973-76). He is the only Accredited Genealogist in Welsh genealogical research and has been a professional genealogist for twenty-five years.

D. Michael Quinn. *Early Mormonism and the Magic World View*. Rev. and enl. Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1998. xxxiv, 646 pp. Illustrations, notes, index. Paper: \$19.95. ISBN 1-56085-089-2

Reviewed by Kenneth G. Godfrey

In this eleventh anniversary revision of *Early Mormonism and the Magic World View*, D. Michael Quinn seeks to "include the suggestions of helpful readers"

(ix). Therefore he switches from a citation/bibliography format to endnotes, drops an eighty-page bibliography, “streamline[s] stodgy prose and simplify[s] the analysis” (ix). He also adds new information that comes from previously overlooked documents such as Grant Palmer’s statement that he was shown three “seer stones in [the] First Presidency vault” by Church librarian-archivist Earl Olson (245). Quinn also refers to selected sources “published during the last eleven years” such as William H. Hamblin’s 1996 article on Joseph Smith and the Kabbalah and C. Houtman’s assertion that the Urim and Thummin are one object.¹

In addition to these corrections, Quinn “respond[s] to critical reviewers” by “often quot[ing] my critics”; “each quote reflects the context of their articles or book reviews” (ix). He differentiates explicitly between “apologists” and “polemicists.” Apologists “take special efforts to defend their cherished point of view. . . . It is not an insult to call someone an ‘apologist’ (which I often do), nor is ‘apologist’ an unconditional badge of honor. Like drivers on a highway, some apologists are careful, some are careless, some unintentionally injure the innocent, some are Good Samaritans, and a few are sociopaths” (x). Quinn says that he has “always seen myself as a Mormon apologist”: “I go wherever the evidence seems to lead and . . . present it in the best way I can. I’ve tried to be faithful to evidence and faithful to faith” (xi). In contrast, to polemicists, “defending a point of view becomes less important than attacking one’s opponents. Aside from their verbal viciousness, polemicists often resort to any method to promote their argument. Polemics intentionally destroys the give-and-take of sincerely respectful disagreement. . . . LDS polemicists furiously (and often fraudulently) attack any non-traditional view of Mormonism” (x). He also designates a third category as “constructive revisionists,” among whom he includes Howard J. Booth, Wayne Ham, Marvin S. Hill, Jan Shipp, Donna Hill, Richard P. Howard, James B. Allen, Glen M. Leonard, and Ronald W. Walker (44, 65) who have accommodated a view of the Smith family’s cultural environment that includes magical elements.

Because of Quinn’s attempts to refute his detractors, frequently point by point, the book’s prose often seems defensive. Although the detailed quotations from critics and refutation of their arguments gets his specific perspective on the record, it often detracts from his overall argument. For example, he challenges both apologists and polemicists by proving that the

¹ William J. Hamblin, “‘Everything Is Everything’: Was Joseph Smith Influenced by Kabbalah?” *FARMS Review of Books* 8, no. 2 (1996): 268ff.; C. Houtman, “The Urim and Thummin: A New Suggestion,” *Vetus Testamentum: Quarterly of the International Organization for the Study of the Old Testament* 40 (April 1990): 230ff.

Lawrence translation of the Book of Enoch was advertised and sold in Palmyra as early as the 1820s, which is contrary to apologist Hugh Nibley's assertion that "nobody in the learned world paid much attention to Lawrence's Enoch" (191). Although a useful point, readers may grow tired of these counterattacks unless they are familiar with the arguments used by hostile reviewers when the first edition appeared or unless such criticisms continue to be made.

Quinn asserts that most Mormons will not find a story in his book with which they are familiar because they will discover "that the LDS prophet certainly participated extensively in some pursuits of folk magic" (xxxviii). The portrait that Quinn paints regarding Mormon beginnings looks something like this:

Joseph Smith, Oliver Cowdery, and their fathers were well versed in magic and believed in astrology. They possessed divining rods, seer stones (Joseph Jr. had five), talismans, serpent-canes, pouches that held magical parchments, and magic daggers. They used these objects in treasure-digging, to ward off witches, ghosts, and goblins, to obtain revelations, and to draw magical circles. According to Quinn the angel Moroni came on a day, Sunday evening, which was the only night of the week ruled by Jupiter, Joseph Smith's governing planet. The night of 21-22 September was thus a valued date on which "to commune with some kind of messenger," and Moroni's triple delivery of his message was consistent with "thrice-repeated dreams in the treasure-quest," as well as proving the magical theory of "heavy punishment in case of disobedience" (141). Finding something "like a toad" or a salamander with the golden plates,² Smith assumed it to be the treasure's guardian (147-48). This reptile then transformed itself into human form and instructed Smith. Quinn believes that Smith's knowledge of toads (which had evil connotations) and salamanders (which had positive connotations) as treasure guardians came from M. G. Lewis's *Tales of Wonder* and from Walter Scott's *Poetical Works*, which were sold in both Palmyra's and Canandaigua's bookstores. Smith contributed a five-volume edition of Scott's works to the Nauvoo library (154, 468). Quinn cites both non-Mormon neighbors and early convert Joseph Knight as agreeing that Moroni told Joseph to bring Alvin, his oldest brother, to Cumorah in 1824 to obtain the plates (158). Alvin died ten months before this next visit; and rumors circulated that the Smiths exhumed the body so that Joseph could take it to Cumorah, a view that Quinn argues is consistent with Pseudo-Agrippa's *Fourth Book of Occult Philosophy* (1783) which prescribes that "the

² Willard Chase and Benjamin Saunders are the sources of this story. See E. D. Howe, *Mormonism Unveiled* (Painesville, Ohio: Author, 1834), 276).

Souls of the dead are not to be called up without blood, or by the application of some part of their relict Body” (161). Following the “uproar” in Palmyra “over the possibility of desecrating Alvin’s body,” Joseph believed that he must bring the “right person” with him on 21 September 1824 to Cumorah—perhaps Samuel Lawrence, a neighbor who believed in magic, or Emma Hale, who became his wife (161). On the night of the final visit in September 1827, Joseph dressed in black, darkened his palm with lamp black purchased at Gain Robinson’s store, and, accompanied by Emma, drove a “black horse” borrowed from Joseph Knight. (These details come from a variety of sources: Willard Chase, Joseph Sr., and Robinson’s account books. Black was the color associated with “Smith’s birth sign of Capricorn”) (165-66). After obtaining the plates, he hid them, according to Martin Harris, in the hollow top of a “black oak” (168). According to Quinn’s reconstruction of the translation process from descriptions by David and John Whitmer, Smith primarily used a seer stone (perhaps more than one) placed in a black hat over which he then bent his face (173). The Church was organized, not on Sunday but on a Tuesday, “a day which was significant in the astrological world view” because it was governed by Jupiter. April 6 was, according to folk beliefs, “always a beneficial day to transact important business” (176). Quinn traces astrological influences in Joseph’s life after the Church’s organization. Seventeen of his plural marriage dates had astrological correlations, while the birth dates of six of his nine children by Emma indicated that they were conceived “in either February or September when their father’s ruling planet of Jupiter governed sexual generation” and the other three were possibly “premature births” (76, 79). While incarcerated in Carthage Jail, Smith wore a Jupiter talisman, indicating that he believed in magic to the very end of his life.

Even apologists and polemicists will probably agree with Quinn that this story is not a familiar one to most Latter-day Saints.

Though the story may be unfamiliar and strange sounding, *Early Mormonism and the Magic World View* contains important information. For example, Chapter 6 contains a thorough, even comprehensive, discussion of rural New York intellectual life, the reading habits of country folk, and the holdings of libraries and bookstores close to Manchester. Because of Quinn’s work, the intellectual life of Palmyra’s citizenry can no longer be downgraded, nor can it be truthfully asserted that Joseph Smith “was barely literate with no intellectual curiosity” (181). As Quinn points out, the book/resident ratio in rural New York was three to one. Not even the British Museum’s library had so high a ratio in the early 1800s (180). This chapter alone makes an important contribution to American intellectual history, regardless of its implications for Mormonism.

Likewise, Quinn’s discussion of seer stones is the most thorough yet in

print. That Joseph Smith may have possessed five seer stones, excluding the Urim and Thummim, probably will surprise most readers (242-47). Furthermore, they were not only “relics of his youth.” Brigham Young described Joseph finding two small seer stones on the beach near Nauvoo, one “a little larger than a black walnut without the shock on” (246).

Careful readers will learn much about magic and its history in Europe and America. Quinn shows that people who often faced sickness and death and who were at the mercy of the elements as they tried to make their living by farming would readily use magic to help them achieve good health, good crops, and perhaps a buried treasure or two. Even today, well-educated, highly intellectual people wear copper bracelets because they believe such items help curb arthritic pain. We all wish our associates good luck when they face challenges, a term which has its roots in magic. Quinn tries to assure his LDS readers that there is nothing wrong with the magical view of Mormonism he presents.

Yet after reading *Early Mormonism and the Magic World View* three times, in both the first and the revised edition, I remain unconvinced that Joseph Smith and his family, especially young Joseph himself, were as swept up in magic as Quinn would have us believe. The evidence he uses to link the Smiths to magic is often rooted in hearsay or comes from known enemies trying to belittle Smith. Sometimes Quinn’s evidence is based on statements made years after the events reportedly occurred. There is little direct proof from Joseph Jr. or his father of extensive involvement in magic.

Indeed, researcher Larry E. Morris has amassed impressive evidence that William Cowdery, Oliver’s father, was never actually identified as a rodsman or as a participant in the Wood Scrape incident, as Quinn asserts.³ Morris also points out that Quinn’s allegations that Joseph Sr. participated in the Wood Scrape run counter to several historical documents and rest entirely on speculation. Moreover, Morris asserts that Joseph Sr. cannot be linked with Winchell, the alleged Vermont rodsman-mentor of William Cowdery and Joseph Smith Sr. in New York because there is no evidence that Winchell lived in the Palmyra area and nothing links Winchell to New York money-digging activities.

Many faithful Latter-day Saints who read this book may come to the conclusion that Quinn is undermining the divine origin of the Book of Mormon, despite his statement of faith in the introduction: “I have a personal ‘testimony’ of Jesus as my Savior, of Joseph Smith, Jr., as a prophet,

³ Larry E. Morris, “Oliver Cowdery’s Vermont Years and the Origins of Mormonism,” *BYU Studies* 39, no. 1 (2000): 107-29. See Quinn’s discussion of these events, pp. 35-37.

of the *Book of Mormon* as the word of God, and of the LDS Church as a divinely established organization through which men and women can obtain essential priesthood ordinances of eternal consequence. I also believe that no historical documents presently available, or locked away, or still unknown will alter these truths. I believe that persons of faith have no reason to avoid historical inquiry into their religion or to discourage others from such investigations" (xxxviii). Others may not feel so confident. Perhaps Quinn would have better served his readers if he had spent less time doing a point-by-point refutation of his critics and had instead expressed understanding of why his views are difficult to accept and then even more carefully shown why he believes his arguments are the only ones consistent with the most reliable documents.

A trove of evidence would have to be discovered directly linking the Smiths to the world of magic before polemicists or apologists—or I—am convinced that important events in early LDS history come directly from a magical world view. Therefore, until more proof surfaces, I still prefer the story Joseph told about the beginnings of Mormonism to the version explicated in *Early Mormonism and the Magic World View*.

KENNETH G. GODFREY, a past president of the Mormon History Association and long-time teacher and administrator in the LDS Institute of Religion system, is currently serving a mission at the Joseph Smith Academy at Nauvoo with his wife, Audrey M. Godfrey.

Stan Larson and Patricia Larson, eds. *What E'er Thou Art, Act Well Thy Part: The Missionary Diaries of David O. McKay*. Salt Lake City: Blue Ribbon Books, 1999. xlviii, 298 pp. Photographs, map, notes, appendices, bibliography, index. \$24.95 cloth. ISBN 0-9634732-9-8

Reviewed by Polly Aird

David O. McKay (1873-1970), president and prophet of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints from 1951 to 1970, is known to Church members as having been a kind and wise spiritual leader, one of the most outstanding in the history of the Church. The diaries of his mission in Scotland provide a treat for those who knew and loved him, as well as for those with little knowledge of him.

This volume helps one understand the man McKay became. It consists of four introductory essays, three diaries, and three appendices. The diaries cover from August 1897 to July 1899. Eugene England's excellent introduc-

tory essay establishes a context for the diaries and describes McKay's place in Mormon culture. Marion D. Hanks's pietistic essay from the *Improvement Era* (September 1968, 3-5) detracts from seeing the real man; the volume would have been better without it. Leonard Arrington's short excerpt from his book *Adventures of a Church Historian* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1998, 41-42) shows balance, but would have been better placed in an appendix, thus reducing the introductory material to two pieces. The editors' introduction, in addition to explaining their editorial methods, deals extensively with the lore relating to McKay, particularly the stone inscribed "What E'er Thou Art, Act Well Thy Part" and the "vision of angels." These topics were covered adequately in England's essay and in footnotes to the diary entries and did not need to be emphasized.

With the diaries themselves, the reader finds the treasure of the volume. McKay wrote with freshness and frankness. One empathizes with McKay's shock over the filth, poverty, and drunkenness in Glasgow: "Women with bleeding faces reeling through the streets, sometimes carrying an innocent babe, whose face is also besmeared with the vile blood of its besotted mother! . . . little children running around barefooted at eleven o'clock at night; fights right under policemen's nose[s]; men wheeled away in a wheelbarrow" (39). Things were surely bad enough in Glasgow, yet one also wonders how well prepared McKay was for his mission in knowledge of British culture and history and how much of his reaction to such sights was the inevitable provincialism of a farmboy from a small country town whose months at the University of Utah were his only exposure to a larger city.

McKay found Glasgow dark and miserable after sunny Utah and never overcame homesickness. One finds many such entries: "After eating a good supper, we retired to dream of home and happy days gone by: such has been my experience nearly every night since coming here; but with the morning comes disappointment and loneliness" (21). Nevertheless, McKay eventually came to enjoy the theater, the scenery, and the famous historical sites. He waxed sentimental over the heroes of Scotland and was poetic in describing the countryside. He even admitted that "beautiful scenes are found *outside of Utah*" (94).

The reader also sees McKay grow in dedication to duty and in his ability to take on new tasks and handle difficult situations. As president of the Glasgow conference, he worked long days, fasting frequently. During one of several episodes of discord, a Brother Neilson complained about losing influence in the branch. Revealing his increasing wisdom, McKay "told him to do his duty and never mind influence and authority" (150). He also found a way to deal with troublemakers: "Decided to continue in a course of kindness, yet using a firm hand" (193). In the midst of such problems, McKay did not hide his times of discouragement. After several months, he

wrote, "I felt as though I could give up everything!" (76), and later as conference president, "I often feel that the responsibility is too much!" (171).

The most poignant episode illustrates McKay's dedication to his religion. He became smitten by a Miss Annie Sharp, his landlady's daughter: "I spent four of the happiest hours that I have seen in Scotland. . . ; Miss Sharp, of course, made them so. We became mutually confidential. . . She is a *noble* young woman, *refined, attractive, and intelligent*" (89-90). But after some months of such entries, he wrote her a letter (123); three days later, he exclaimed, "Gloomy!! sad!! homesick!!! discouraged!!! angry!!!! sorry!!!! and whatnot!" (124). After that, the references to Miss Sharp, though still caring, are much subdued. The evidence is inconclusive, but quite likely her reply revealed a lack of interest in Mormonism. Since McKay's dedication to it was complete, he could see no future for them together.

Besides insight into McKay's growth, one gets a glimpse of an earlier era of missionary work. The problems missionaries face today are evident in McKay's diaries as well: lack of education about the culture in which they are working, homesickness, loneliness, and tedium in some aspects of the work. About tracting, McKay lamented, "Although the people treated me courteously and with few exceptions accepted the tracts, yet I never felt so gloomy in my life. I have heaved a *thousand* sighs!" (13). At one point, he concluded that "missionary life is made up of changes and disappointments, mingled with seasons of true pleasure and rare enjoyment" (77). Such sentiments are tempered by his sense of humor. He wrote about one open-air meeting, "Our singing (?) failed to bring anyone around; in fact, it drove them away. Brother Edward spoke first. He had two men, a lamppost, and the wind as an audience!" (138).

The editors have modernized the spelling, capitalization, and paragraphing in the diaries. Although frustrating to scholars, it is an acceptable choice for a work intended for a general audience. What the writing loses in impromptu flavor, it gains in accessibility. The footnotes reassure one as to how the editors handled the material; several, for example, tell of a word crossed out and another written above it. A photograph of a page from the diaries would have given the reader an idea of what the editors had to work with.

The format of dates for each entry includes the day, month, and year, making tracking easy. The footnotes are generally useful. Background on most missionaries mentioned in the diaries is included. A commendable feature in the footnotes is passages from fellow missionaries' diaries and McKay's letters home. Many of the explanatory notes such as about tracting (13) are helpful.

The footnotes on Glasgow include several errors: "Clutha" (a small steam ferry), is Gaelic, not Latin, for the River Clyde (32); the subway in Glasgow

opened in 1896, not the mid-nineteenth century (33); “cars” meant tram-cars—vehicles on tracks pulled by horses—not carriages (26); “low-level train” refers to a local railroad line, not the subway (67); and the Free Church of Scotland was formed by those wanting a voice in choosing a minister, not just by evangelicals (80).

The map is inadequate. It fails to show the River Clyde, down which emigrants and returning missionaries left and up which new missionaries arrived. It includes Motherwell, Alloa, and Coatbridge, all of which were peripheral to McKay’s mission, but omits Lanark where he labored for twenty-two days and Newarthill which he visited more than a dozen times. In addition, Paisley is incorrectly shown as closer to Glasgow than Cambuslang. A second map showing Glasgow and such suburbs as Cambuslang, Blantyre, Bridgeton, Springburn, and Rutherglen, all of which McKay visited frequently, would have helped.

The illustrations, many from old post cards, are excellent in conveying Scotland of that era. The photograph of David O. and Jeanette McKay (xxxiv) looks so like a wedding photograph that Jeanette appears to be his wife rather than his sister; a better caption would have avoided this misconception. The glossary of Scottish terms is a pleasant addition and the index is excellent. This handsomely made book includes a blue ribbon as suggested by the publisher’s name, Blue Ribbon Books. Though useful as a bookmark, the ribbon calls to mind a Bible or other religious volume.

The ribbon and the essays emphasizing McKay’s spiritual experience with angels illustrate the reverence the editors and publishers hold for this remarkable man. The heart of the volume, however, is in the lively diaries themselves, which reveal the development, the single-mindedness, and the dedication of a man who rose, in time, to the highest office of the Church.

POLLY AIRD <pollyaird@earthlink.net>, an independent historian living in Seattle, is the author of “Why Did the Scots Convert?” *Journal of Mormon History* 26, no. 1 (Spring 2000): 91-122.

Scott R. Christensen. *Sagwitch: Shoshone Chieftain, Mormon Elder, 1822-1887*. Logan: Utah State University Utah Press, 1999. xvii, 254 pp. Foreword by Brigham D. Madsen, photographs, maps, notes, index. \$19.95 paper. ISBN 0-87421-270-7

Reviewed by Audrey M. Godfrey

This book joins a growing number of articles and books on various Native

American bands and individuals who called Utah Territory home in the 1900s. It focuses on Sagwitch, a Shoshone chieftain born in about 1822 near present-day Bear River City. Sagwitch is a significant figure to study because he, unlike other native leaders in Utah, led his people in accommodating to Euroamerican domination by engaging in an agricultural cooperative and uniting with the Mormon Church.

The first part of the book sets the stage for discussing the transformation of Sagwitch's Shoshone from a free-ranging band to confinement on Church-owned land. Many of his people were killed at the Bear River Massacre on 29 January 1863 after years of growing conflict between whites and Indians as the settlers expanded in numbers and the natural food sources the Indians depended upon diminished. After the massacre Sagwitch threatened to steal "every horse" he could from settlers or travelers and commenced making good on his promise. But an eventual treaty brought an unsteady peace.

The remainder of the book describes the cooperative agricultural endeavors of Sagwitch's band at various sites in Cache and the Bear River valleys. Under the mentoring of missionaries assigned by Brigham Young, the Indians learned the joys and frustrations of farming. Their experiments suffered from lack of water, the continuous distrust of nearby citizens, and crop failures due to weather, bad soil, and a continual legal fight to keep the land.

Through it all, Sagwitch did not lose faith in the Mormon leaders and missionaries who assisted in the project. George Washington Hill's assistance cannot be underrated in whatever success was achieved. Largely through his influence, Mormonism reaped a colony of Native American converts who became stalwart members of the Church.

Anyone writing about Utah Native Americans finds primary sources very limited. Brigham Young served as Indian agent for Utah for the federal government beginning in 1850 and chose to dampen discontent with chronic problems of food shortages and disturbances by making gifts of food and livestock when events became dangerous. Thus, there are few official federal records from which to glean information. Most of the Native Americans were illiterate. Sagwitch signed his homestead document with an "X" and left no personal writings. Though he was known as a talented orator, few of his words survive, again limiting original sources.

Christensen has dealt with this lack of written history by interviews with Sagwitch's relatives, taking advantage of the Native American oral tradition. Some newspaper articles, words of trappers, descriptions of a few people who came in contact with the leader, Church minutes and directives, and, later, correspondence from federal Indian agents help flesh out the story.

However, the reader never fully comes to know Sagwitch. We know he

wanted peace and yearned to be allowed to farm but was mystified by the uneven treatment he received from the white man. He was known for his fine counsel and negotiating skills. An exceptional hunter, he once saved his people from starvation and shared his knowledge of the northern Utah environment with trappers and settlers. A reporter described him in pejorative terms as “a dark, heavy set, greasy-looking son of the mountains about sixty years old, and five feet eight inches in his moccasins” (10). With only these few hints at his personality and appearance, it is difficult to get a feel for the real person.

The whole book has a sense of tragedy to it. We see the continual decline of the Indians’ hunting, gathering, and campsite grounds. We learn of promises unkept by the Euroamerican settlers and the federal government. We witness unsatisfactory attempts by the Native Americans to adopt the ways of the settlers. We suffer with the survivors of the bloody Bear River Massacre who are chased down and imprisoned or driven out of the area. The promise of a more settled life if the Indians will accept the Mormon Church’s efforts to teach them subsistence farming leaves the reader waiting for the other shoe to fall, as things just don’t ever work out as promised.

The strongest part of Christensen’s volume is his discussion of this farming effort. After many of Sagwitch’s people joined the Mormon Church in the early 1870s, Young determined to assist the new converts in the way he deemed best. He sent George Washington Hill, who spoke Shoshone and who treated the Indians with much greater respect than others, to help the Indians adapt to “civilized” ways. Young told Hill, “There has been a load resting on my shoulders for some time. . . . Now I am going to give it to you. . . . You know the Indian language. You are acquainted with [them]. . . . I suggest that you find some way of getting [them] located . . . where you can establish a central gathering place where they can be taught . . . to cultivate the soil and become self-supporting” (88-89).

First, Sagwitch’s band located near Franklin, Idaho, where they spent the summer of 1874 digging ditches and learning how to farm. They hauled logs for homes. But without support forthcoming from the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, the Church decided to look for a better place the next spring. They found thousands of acres of land near present-day Bear River City needing only water diverted from the Malad River to make it productive.

Here, in what was known as Lemuel’s Garden, the Indians again worked hard to plant and cultivate crops. Hearing of the endeavor, many other Shoshone gathered to the site asking for baptism and participation in the farm effort. So many came that in nearby Corinne, a movement began among its largely non-Mormon inhabitants to remove the Indians before

they could become a threat to the town. At a meeting with the military, the Corinne mayor, Hill, and the Indian leaders, Sagwitch made an impassioned plea for his people. He asked "what he had done, who he had killed, or what he had stolen that he must come with his soldiers to Drive him from the Bread he had been working for all Summer" (127). His words had little effect, and soldiers from Fort Douglas descended on the settlement. It was deserted. The Indians, fearing another massacre, had fled.

In the spring of 1880, the group relocated to the Church's Brigham City Cooperative farm, four miles south of Portage in Box Elder County. They homesteaded land and had some success for several years. With the growth in number of the Mormon Indians and their devotion to the Church, Washakie Ward was created, named to honor the Eastern Shoshone chief of that name. Indian priesthood holders were called to act as leaders which further solidified and gave permanence to the settlement, as did their efforts in building the Logan Temple and participation in the temple ordinances.

However, several events contributed to the gradual demise of the town. Fires, crickets, and land disputes which threatened Indian title to the land were just the beginning of the shoe's fall. Early in the twentieth century, Indian residents became dissatisfied with their limited economic opportunities and began moving away. Others left for military service and jobs in the defense industry during World War II. As the older members died off, few younger ones wanted to stay. The land still belonged to the Mormon Church, and the Church's interest in the settlement dwindled until, by 1965 with only ten members remaining, it dissolved the branch. (Its status had been changed from a ward to a branch in 1960.) By the mid-1970s most of the land had been sold to private parties.

Some of my questions focused on the influence of Mormonism on the Shoshone converts. How did it compare to that of missions established by other religious groups among the Indians, such as that of the Episcopal Church in the Wind River Basin? What kinds of native rituals did the Shoshone give up? Were the Mormon temple rituals that some participated in a satisfactory replacement? And how did the Shoshone really feel about becoming part of Anglo civilization?

A Navaho medicine man whose people also engaged in agriculture in the Southwest observed: "We have made weapons that kill more game than we need. We have farmed land that should have been left wild. We have dug ditches and built dams. All these things have changed the life around us, and in the end have changed us too."¹ Scott Christensen is to be

¹ Quoted in Lori Arviso Alvord and Elizabeth Cohen Van Pelt, *The Scalpel and the Silver Bear* (New York: Bantam Books, 1999), 57.

commended for depicting the change that came to Sagwitch and his Northwestern Shoshone people.

AUDREY M. GODFREY, a historian in Logan, Utah, is now serving a mission at the Joseph Smith Academy at Nauvoo, has served on the board of editors of the *Utah Historical Quarterly*, and has presented papers at numerous historical conferences. She contributed two essays to *Native American Women: A Biographical Dictionary*, edited by Gretchen M. Bataille (New York: Garland, 1993).

Valeen Tippetts Avery. *From Mission to Madness: Last Son of the Mormon Prophet*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1998. xii, 357 pp. Photographs, selected bibliography, index. Paper: \$19.95, ISBN 0-252-06701-0. Cloth: \$49.95, ISBN 0-252-02399-4

Reviewed by Richard L. Jensen

The fact that a notebook of David Hyrum Smith's poems is found in the Wilford Wood Collection at Woods Cross, Utah, hints that Saints in America's Mountain West, as well as Saints of the Reorganization in the Midwest, maintained an interest in this "son of promise" of the martyred prophet. Avery's biography explains the fascination David held for both factions, and her work has much to offer students of both movements and, more broadly, of religion in nineteenth-century America. It won both the Ella Larsen Turner Award for the Best Biography in Mormon History and the 1998 Evans Biography Award.

A pithy preface encapsulates the book effectively enough to whet the appetite of almost any reader who wonders what the book offers. Then in the introduction, Avery deftly paints with quick, confident strokes the backdrop for her subject's life, covering key developments in Mormonism, 1830-44. Subsequent chapters focus chronologically on the aftermath of Nauvoo's exodus; David's growing-up years in the Smith/Bidamon family in the little town that remained; his affiliation in the 1860s with the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints; his career as preacher, poet, essayist, singer, and artist; his religious missions, including three "raids" on Utah; the mental illness that removed him from public activity at age twenty-eight; and his subsequent life in the Northern Illinois Hospital and Asylum for the Insane where he died at age fifty-nine.

The legacy of David's father included a confusing array of blessings and promises about Mormonism's future leaders. Under ensuing circumstances that brought misunderstanding, resentment, and distrust, a degree of

fragmentation seemed inevitable. Yet at first the relationships among prospective leaders were somewhat fluid and unexplored, influenced by the temperament and tactics of these individuals. After Brigham Young and the Twelve led about 60 percent of the Mormons to Utah, according to Avery (305 n. 29); and after Joseph III accepted the presidency of the Reorganized Church, speculation in both movements focused on prophecies Joseph II had made about a leading role for his posthumous son David after having blessed Joseph III to become his successor. Self-effacingly, David solved most of the problem for fellow members of the Reorganization early on by pointedly acknowledging his acceptance of his elder brother's leadership and even declaring that next-elder brother Alexander—who had not been the subject of any particular blessings or promises—would precede David in succession. Yet for Utah Mormons, who clung more tightly to Joseph II's prophecies, the solution was not necessarily so simple. Brigham Young held out to them the hope that David might yet play a leading role in the LDS Church—if first he accepted the leadership of the Twelve.

However, polygamy created a chasm between the Josephites and the Brighamites that could not be bridged. As Avery points out, it also ironically created communication gaps separating Emma, Joseph III, and David. Although each was eventually faced with substantial evidence that Joseph II had taken plural wives, none of the three was willing to discuss the question openly with any of the others. Each had to cope with the problem individually.

High drama characterizes Avery's narrative of David's missions to Utah. She examines the 1869 confrontation of David and Alexander with Brigham Young and a roomful of former Nauvoo Mormons; the effects of the Godbeite movement on these RLDS efforts; and David's anxious research about Nauvoo polygamy. David eventually concluded, sadly, that his father must have been involved in plural marriage, but David apparently did not confide this discovery to his family, except for a brief outburst to his mother when he returned to Nauvoo: "Mother, why have you deceived us?" (213). His findings did not apparently weaken his commitment to the RLDS movement but did convince him that his father had sinned. Soon he was struck by a debilitating mental illness.

The loss was keenly felt. "Articulate, charismatic, loyal, well-grounded in the gospel," writes Avery, David "had become the Reorganized Church's most effective representative" (212). She makes a strong case for that notion. California RLDS members had fond and vivid memories of him thirty-five years after he visited them. David's writings provide a rich source for an empathetic biographer, and Avery weaves them into her narrative and her perceptive analysis in such a way that the reader gets a good feel for his personality and interests, as well as the nature of his contributions

in sermons, published articles, poetry, and hymns. She gives voice to David through his writings, in a tasteful mix of quotation and commentary. In the process, she provides a sensitive and insightful view of the nature of the RLDS endeavor in the 1860s and 1870s.

A man of modest education but wide-ranging interests, keenly observant of nature, David Smith eventually developed a particular interest in the relationship between science and religion. Avery suggests that his association in Utah with Amasa Lyman and the Godbeites may have influenced the evolution of David's thought in the direction of transcendentalism by late 1872, though he rejected the Godbeites' spiritualism.

Avery's exploration of relationships is an important contribution of the biography. Although thousands liked David, she finds that he had only one close friend, Charles Jensen, a Danish immigrant who had left the LDS Church in favor of the Restoration. An entire chapter is devoted to their relationship. Attentive to and appreciative of his son Elbert, David seemed uncertain how to relate to his wife, Clara. Avery argues that David saw Joseph III as a father figure, yet points out how the more diplomatic and flexible David could negotiate challenges involved in dealing with strong-willed Joseph. She delineates David's seeking approval and support from his mother and finds him relatively accepting of and affectionate toward stepfather Lewis Bidamon. Her coverage of contacts with Smith relatives in the LDS Church and other Western Mormons shows varied shades of mutual understanding, acceptance, and antagonism.

The biography's coverage of David's mental illness is frank, extensive, and sensitively nuanced, benefitting from David's letters and journal from this period as well as reports of numerous visitors and the hospital staff. The reader thus shares with David's family and friends the tantalizingly lucid moments that drifted in and out of his writings, often mixed in with incongruities and confusion. One can thus better appreciate the agonizing tension that persisted between the hope for his eventual recovery and the recognition that it was not likely. One can also better empathize with Joseph III, who kept David as counselor through twelve years of his mental illness and, even after his release from that position, did not replace him for another nine years. The insights provided into David's condition and the nature of his writings heighten the poignancy of his wife's devoted waiting and of visits to the hospital by his son and daughter-in-law. Avery provides a helpful explanation of mental health care in the nineteenth century, showing that David Smith benefitted from recent major advances. Still, she purposefully avoids attempting to provide specific diagnoses of David's mental illness, preferring instead to convey a sense of the perplexing situation in which his family and others found themselves as they observed symptoms without the benefit of later developments in psychiatry. I appreciate this as

one of the many ways in which Avery respectfully and sensitively lets the material speak for itself rather than speculating or imposing analyses that were inaccessible to the participants. However, some readers will wish to have learned more about David's illness from a current perspective.

A very few lapses have crept into the biography. Avery asserts (4) that Joseph and Emma Smith stayed in Harmony, Pennsylvania, until the Book of Mormon translation was completed; it was finished at the Peter Whitmer home in Fayette, New York, after the Smiths moved there. She estimates Nauvoo's population at 12,000 to 15,000 at the time of Joseph Smith's death (1, 2), and 20,000 (29) at its peak; the latter figure seems unrealistically high. She writes of an "influx of immigrant converts from England and the Continent" to Nauvoo (18). She is correct about the immigration from the British Isles, but there could have been only a handful from the Continent before systematic Mormon proselytizing began there in 1850, well after the exodus from Nauvoo. Avery assumes that David and Alexander Smith climbed off the railroad train at or near Corinne, Utah, in 1869, and gives an excellent description of the town and of their thirty-five-mile stagecoach ride to Salt Lake City (94). Because Corinne was about sixty miles from Salt Lake City, they must have disembarked at Ogden instead.

Avery has been remarkably assiduous in locating documentary material relevant to her subject. Many of her endnotes contain significant substantive information that scholars will find helpful.

Although there is a fine sense of balance and apt characterization in much of what Avery writes, one suspects a tendency to occasionally overstate or oversimplify. In her discussion of David and Alexander's mission to Utah in 1869 she states: "It was unthinkable to Brigham Young that Joseph's sons would not see his church as Joseph's church and someday join him" (89). That may have been true during the 1840s or 1850s, but soon after Joseph III accepted the presidency of the Reorganization in 1860, Young abandoned hope for him as a prospective LDS leader in favor of David.¹ Since Young was well aware of Emma's antagonism and the possibility that she had passed it along to her sons, it would have been out of character for him not at least to have had other scenarios in the back of his mind. Understandably, his rhetoric would still focus on bringing the Smith "boys" into the fold until its impossibility became obvious. Avery claims that in 1869, "With equanimity David and Alexander expected to change the direction of the Mormon vision" (96), but it seems just as likely

¹ Brigham Young Office Journal, 15 August 1860, cited in D. Michael Quinn, "Joseph Smith III's Blessing and the Mormons of Utah," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 15, no. 2 (Summer 1982): 90 note 72.

that they simply hoped to win a substantial number of LDS converts to the Reorganization.

This volume is most satisfying not for breaking new ground in any given topic—though it benefits from the most recent scholarship in several areas—but as a full-bodied biography that thoughtfully illuminates a remarkable life from which much can be learned.

RICHARD L. JENSEN <jensenr@byu.edu> is research associate professor of Church History at the Joseph Fielding Smith Institute for Latter-day Saint History, Brigham Young University.

Dan Vogel, ed. *Early Mormon Documents, Vol. 2*. Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1998. vii, 592 pp. Map, photographs, notes, index. \$44.95. ISBN 1-56085-133-3

Reviewed by Thomas G. Alexander

Continuing the project begun in 1996, Dan Vogel has published the second collection of documents relating to the early history of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. As in Volume 1, he has grouped the documents either under the names of those who collected them, those who published them, or those whom they concern.

Vogel organized the first section under the name of Doctor (his given name) Philastus Hurlbut. A native of Vermont and a Mormon excommunicant, Hurlbut visited Palmyra, New York, in 1833-34 at the behest of anti-Mormon editor Eber D. Howe. Grandison Newell, Orrin Clapp, and Nathan Corning of Ohio financed the project “to,” in the words of Howe, “obtain affidavits showing the bad character of the Mormon Smith family” (13). In fact, according to one of his potential interviewees, Benjamin Saunders, since Hurlbut “could not get out of me what he wanted,” he “went to others” (14).

What is the value of such “affidavits”? Vogel believes that Rodger I. Anderson was correct when he argued that the affidavits were accurate representations of the author’s views. By contrast, Richard L. Anderson raised serious questions about the reliability of the affidavits. Richard Anderson argued that “Hurlbut heavily influenced the individual statements from Palmyra-Manchester,” because similar phrases regularly recur in these affidavits and because the structure of the affidavits appears quite similar. Hurlbut apparently prepared the community statements in advance, then he asked the people to sign them.¹

Two conclusions seem reasonable: that Hurlbut selected witnesses whom he knew would give negative testimony and that he put his words in the mouths of many of them. Most historians would not deny that many people in the Palmyra-Manchester area disliked Joseph Smith and his family, nor that many local people believed that Joseph Smith's translation of the Book of Mormon and his revelations were fraudulent. Nevertheless, the preponderance of the evidence seems to show that Hurlbut slanted his interviews and selected his interviewees to fit his and Howe's intentions to discredit the Smith family. Thus, readers will not be surprised to learn that the affidavits are uniformly negative and that they contain similar adjectives such as "lazy," "indolent," and "intemperate," and nouns like "drunkard" and "liar."

The affidavits also verify something that historians have long known, that the Smiths engaged in money digging. Given Hurlbut's intentions it should not surprise us that the interviewees were people who neither believed in the practice nor saw it as related to authentic religious experience.

Brothers William H. Kelley and Edmund L. Kelley collected the second set of documents. Officials in the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, they went to the Palmyra-Manchester area in March 1881 to conduct interviews. They took notes in a "terse, fragmentary fashion" (82). William Kelley fleshed them out into finished pieces which he published in the *Saints Herald*. In 1884 the Kelleys visited Lorenzo and Benjamin Saunders in Hillsdale, Michigan. They took notes on the interviews but never published them. Not surprisingly, the Kelly interviews reveal the Smith family in a much more favorable light than do Hurlbut's.

Some of the interviews were quite controversial. For instance, Lorenzo Saunders said that he saw Sidney Rigdon speaking with members of the Smith family in the spring of 1827. Such charges were often made in an attempt to demonstrate that Rigdon, who was relatively literate, instead of Joseph Smith, who was admittedly uneducated, had written the Book of Mormon. Rigdon, Smith, and others in a position to know, denied that the two had met before the publication of the Book of Mormon. (See *History of the Church* 1:122-23.)

The Chester C. Thorne Collection produced similar understandable contradictions. Thorne, minister of the First Presbyterian Church in Shortsville, New York, published a letter to the *Cadillac Weekly* in 1880 which included his own statements and statements from Dunford Booth, Orin Reed, and William Bryant about the Smith family. The Kelleys

¹ Rodger I. Anderson, *Joseph Smith's New York Reputation Reexamined* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1990); Richard L. Anderson, "Joseph Smith's New York Reputation Reappraised," *BYU Studies* 10 (Spring 1970): 286-87.

contacted those parties or their relatives and secured interviews with them denying the statements that Thorne made. Following the Kelleys' interviews, Thorne secured affidavits contradicting the Kelleys' claims.

The Arthur B. Deming Collection which follows is a series of affidavits similar to the Hurlbut documents. Next follows a group of clippings from Palmyra area newspapers. Some report events fairly accurately. Others use such pejorative terms as "pretended," "imposition," and "priestcraft." Some stories credit Martin Harris as having an excellent reputation before Joseph Smith allegedly deluded him.

The longest collection in the book consists of documents about Harris. Born in Easttown, New York, in 1773, Harris moved to Palmyra in 1792 where he became a substantial landowner and a respected citizen. He had declared himself a religious seeker long before Joseph Smith introduced him to his revelations and the Book of Mormon. Most Latter-day Saints know of Harris's efforts to verify the authenticity of the Book of Mormon by taking copies of characters to Professor Charles Anthon and others. He guaranteed the publication of the Book of Mormon with a mortgage on his farm and lost the farm when book sales failed to repay his investment. Harris's marriage to Lucy Harris, a first cousin, eventually failed because of Harris's support of Joseph Smith and his conversion to Mormonism. The documents provide information on such events as Harris's testimony of the Book of Mormon and his reasons for failing to join the Saints in Utah until 1870.

A major controversy in this collection relates to Harris's meaning when he told interviewers that he had seen the golden plates through "the eye of faith" (255). Readers can generally guess whether the reporter was sympathetic or antagonistic to the Mormons by how he interpreted that statement. Those who wanted to discredit the Mormons believed that Harris meant that he did not really see the plates. Mormon partisans interpreted the statement as confirmation that his faith allowed him to see them. As with many other documents, interpretations by the interviewers provide the contradictions.

The next collection consists of documents about Oliver Cowdery. Again, many are contradictory. Especially problematic is the authenticity of a story about Cowdery's justifying or repudiating (depending on the document) his connection to Mormonism as a defense of himself during a court trial in which he served as attorney.

The final collection, that of typesetter John H. Gilbert, details problems with the publication of the Book of Mormon. They give descriptions of the manuscript and references ad nauseam to Oliver Cowdery's misspelling of the word "travail."

Now, what of these documents? Readers should understand that histo-

rians have come to expect contradictions when multiple sources report on the same events or characterize the same people. Any practiced historian understands that eyewitnesses see things in different ways. Such differences provide ample fodder for attorneys in controversial cases. Most people will remember the phrase from the O. J. Simpson trial, "If the glove won't fit, you must acquit." Unfortunately, the lay public often does not realize that *how* a researcher, reporter, or oral history interviewer asks questions may influence the responses to a survey or an oral history interview. Interviewers do not have to ask such loaded questions as "are you still beating your wife?" to elicit the response that they want. They merely have to frame the question in such a way as to invite a particular reply. In many cases, the interviewees will respond as they do because the answer seems to follow from the question. Often the interviewer provides a context in statements prefacing the question to lay the groundwork for a particular answer. In some cases people will answer as they do because they do not wish to create ill will with interviewers, or they not wish to contradict the interviewer's obvious point of view. Surveys are particularly suspect when questioners have a clear agenda as Hurlbut, Thorne, the Kelleys, and Deming obviously did. That the responses were sworn affidavits may make absolutely no difference.

More seriously, interviewers with different agendas can secure contradictory responses from interviewees. The contradictory interviews secured by Thorne and the Kelleys provide ample evidence for this condition. More to the point, a careful reading of the Harris interviews shows that he generally responded much more positively if he knew that the interviewer was sympathetic to the Church than if he knew that the interviewer was an anti-Mormon.

Can we learn anything from the results of these interviews? German physicist Werner Heisenberg proposed the uncertainty principle which states that both the position and the momentum of a subatomic particle cannot be accurately measured at the same time. I would suggest that historians should also recognize a historical uncertainty principle which states that a researcher or historian with a preconceived point of view cannot make an accurate assessment of the documents or the subject.

In practice, the historical uncertainty principle applies in nearly every case since historians generally approach a topic with a particular point of view. Since their results are nearly always uncertain, they have an obligation to make their point of view clear to readers as they write their narratives. In this connection, readers should approach the work of those who protest that they are simply writing objective history with particular suspicion.

Most importantly, readers have a right to expect honesty from a historian, which, in my estimation, is the highest attribute of good history. Moreover, honesty is not a synonym for objectivity.

On reflection then, the reports and interviews that Vogel has reproduced here frequently tell more about the interviewers and reporters than they do about the interviewees or subjects.

THOMAS G. ALEXANDER is Lemuel Hardison Redd Jr. Professor of Western American History at Brigham Young University.

Noel A. Carmack and Karen Lynn Davidson, eds. *Out of the Black Patch: The Autobiography of Effie Marquess Carmack: Folk Musician, Artist, and Writer*. Volume 4 in the Life Writings of Frontier Women Series. Logan: Utah State University Press, 1999. xviii, 398 pp. 47 illustrations, notes, appendices, bibliography, index. \$59.95 cloth, \$29.95 paper. ISBN 0-87421-279-0

Reviewed by Kristen Smart Rogers

Deena Metzger, speaking once at the University of Utah, had the audience members spend four minutes writing the stories of their lives. She then had them write their histories again, using only the outtakes of the first writing. The questions each writer confronted was this: What did I leave out of the first, "official" version, and why?

One wonders how Effie Marquess Carmack's "outtakes" memoir would read. Not that the manuscript she did produce as "something of value . . . better than riches" (345) for her posterity is impoverished. On the contrary; it is a wonder of memory and full-hearted life. Her account of her childhood in Kentucky is saturated with details so vivid that readers may ache for that lost world. There was the thin, white-haired grandma, as "active as a cricket" (63); the "nutty flavor the wind had in its breath, when it came across those old fields" (79); partridge chicks "talking in tiny little languages to each other as they moved about looking for weed seed" (56); the old dogwood "that had been climbed so many times its limbs were worn slick as a button" (85); the times spent with her mother after milking, with "the clear view of the sunset sky across the old fields, the talks as we walked slowly home in the twilight" (85); a pappy who "liked to spring pleasant surprises on us, like bringing a hat full of mulberries, or eggs, or the first early bluebells" (132); the "moonlights"—evening parties lit by Japanese lanterns ("If any grand ballroom ever caused a greater thrill in anyone's heart than the sight of rows of these lights and the sound of a fiddle and banjo stirred in me I don't see how they ever lived through it" [134]); the dance at "our place" when "I was almost bursting with excitement when [Pappy and William] tuned their instruments up in that big, clean, empty room, with a bright

fire crackling. When they swung into the stirring tune of ‘Eighth of January’ it was just about more than I could contain” [137]); and the “grueling” and “nasty” work of tobacco fields, when the “loathsome, sticky, strong smelling gum” on the leaves would get on the clothes, hands, and hair of the family as they pulled worms from plants (149).

More than two-thirds of the book is about her childhood, detailing the people and the land of Effie’s memory and providing a wealth of information about folkways of the time and place. The book also gives an insider’s view of Mormon missionaries and branches in Kentucky’s “Black Patch” during the 1890s as Effie fervently reminisces about her family’s conversion. Later, Effie lived in Utah, Arizona, and California, and she also describes these landscapes and cultures.

Several themes run through the book, but a major one is the value of work. Effie is proud, and rightly so, of her ability to work hard and survive any situation. In fact, her closing words are a quotation that work will breed “a hundred virtues which the idle never know” (345). The starch in her spine is shown most poignantly in the account of the winter of 1899, when six in her family came down with yellow fever, four of them unconscious. Thirteen-year-old Effie cared for them day and night; her brother, meanwhile, worked full time chopping wood and feeding stock in temperatures that dropped to thirty-two degrees below zero. Their mother died.

Other important themes include art (Effie was a self-taught, accomplished painter), music (she knew hundreds of folk songs, sang as an entertainer at Knotts Berry Farm, and recorded many of her songs for Austin and Alta Fife), and faith (she once prayed and massaged her son, who had been pronounced dead, back to life).

But what of the outtakes? Effie’s account of adulthood is considerably less detailed (and, frankly, less interesting) than that of her childhood—and the largest hole is her marriage. After discussing in detail the beaux she and her sisters had, she mentions her future husband, Edgar Carmack, almost in passing, then a couple of pages later says, “Edgar went to work for Evert, and we were soon married” (242). Though he was not at all a monster, Edgar was apparently less than a perfect husband, a fact that he acknowledged to Effie before he died. Certainly he did not measure up to the pedestal on which Effie placed her adored Pappy.

For whatever reason, she chose not to write much about her husband. A sketch of Edgar’s life appears in an appendix; she says, “I must not forget that while we were in Utah, we took our three children and went to the temple in Salt Lake” to be sealed (369). But she *did* forget to mention this event, one that would be significant to most Mormons, in her main narrative. Edgar’s main weight in that manuscript is as an invalid needing nursing.

Another absence is self-doubt. As Effie stresses her own can-do attitude

toward her adult trials she seems to gloss over negative emotions. Perhaps this is why, paradoxically, the series editor can call her a “bright rainbow, this cheerful, affable, resourceful, honest, diligent achiever” (xii), while the book editors point to the “sad voice that whispers through Effie’s writing [that] may not be always apparent” (29). That voice is most apparent only in its absence and in such remarks as this about her childhood family: “I think our love for each other must have been a little unusual. It doesn’t seem to me that people love each other now as we did then” (63).

The outtakes and the repression of the sad voice make the narrative a poignant and fascinating study of the nature of memory, narrative, and voice. Jacques Lacan asserted that history is constructed through narrative, both the told and the untold. Although “speech and language make possible the subject’s truth,” Lacan showed that the unconscious and the unspoken are part of that construction.¹ The “subject’s truth” is, of course, an interpretation of selected memories, imbuing them with a meaning that will create or sustain a coherent world-view for the narrator.

The narrative issues raised by the manuscript, combined with its literary liveliness, its vivid characters and stories, its in-depth descriptions of folkways, its look at Mormonism in the turn-of-the-century South, and its insightful introduction, make *Out of the Black Patch* a wonderful addition to Utah State University Press’s Life Writings of Frontier Women series. The book’s faults, which are few, include some incompleteness in the index, some editing glitches (like a caption that identifies “Tabitha Sue Marquess, wife of Edward Pettypool and her son Samuel”—both polyandry and incest in just two lines!), and footnotes that, although well-done and helpful, are occasionally uncritically Mormon in viewpoint (“The Book of Mormon gives the history of the Lamanite people, from whom the modern-day Indians on the American continent are believed to be descended”) (67, 322). In general, though, this is a volume well worth reading.

KRISTEN ROGERS <krogers@history.state.ut.us> is the associate editor of the *Utah Historical Quarterly* and a fiddler who is also fond of “The Eighth of January.”

Newell G. Bringhurst. *Fawn McKay Brodie: A Biographer’s Life*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999. xviii, 350 pp. Photographs, notes, chrono-

¹ Quoted in Jonathon Scott Lee, *Jacques Lacan* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1990), 43, 44.

logical publication list of Fawn McKay Brodie, selected bibliography, index. \$29.95. ISBN 0-8061-3181-0

Reviewed by Brigham D. Madsen

Fawn McKay Brodie remembered having “an idyllic childhood” in Huntsville, Utah, a Mormon village in a narrow canyon above the metropolis of Ogden. Growing up in a fourteen-room house, too often brimming with relatives, she very early came under the influence of Mormon doctrine and religious practices. As Bringhurst points out, however, she was more strongly influenced than she realized by the independent streak in her mother, Fawn Brimhall McKay, who in later life would experience, in Fawn’s phrase, a “delightful blossoming of courageous heresy” (75). Her father, Thomas E. McKay, on the other hand, was steadfast and unquestioning in his Mormon faith and very much influenced, as was young Fawn, by his older brother, David O. McKay, LDS apostle (1906) and Church president (1951).

Leaving the somewhat cloistered life in Huntsville, Fawn enrolled in the Mormon-operated Weber College in Ogden (1930-32), and then for the last half of her undergraduate work at the University of Utah (1932-34). Here, “a secular open institution” (46) had a profound and disturbing effect on Fawn’s Mormon religious beliefs. As an English major, for instance, she learned from John Milton’s *Paradise Lost* that, as she put it, “Satan, wrong-headed and vulnerable, had heroic qualities and was far more likable than the omnipotent Jehovah. The impact on my religious faith was subtle but indelible” (50).

After a year of teaching at Weber State (1934-35), Fawn enrolled in a graduate program at the University of Chicago where she earned a master’s degree in English literature on 28 August 1936 and married Bernard Brodie, a Jew, the same day. Their union lasted forty-two years, until Bernard’s death on 24 November 1978. The couple had a daughter and two sons.

Both Fawn and Bernard were inveterate readers and writers of considerable eloquence. In the early years of their marriage and during their children’s younger years, Fawn was a housewife and mother, doing her research and writing whenever she could find time; but they later shared the life of academics, finally at UCLA. While still at Chicago, she came to realize, in Bringhurst’s words, “the preposterous nature of the story” of the angel picking up the Book of Mormon gold plates and returning them to heaven. Also, her contacts with Native Americans at the university convinced her that “‘the whole *Book of Mormon* story was false,’ a conclusion that brought ‘great bitterness’ over the deceit of her childhood” (63).

At that point, Fawn started on a journey of scholarship and writing that

finally produced the five major biographies which brought her fame and some controversy. Her first book, *No Man Knows My History: The Life of Joseph Smith* (1945) resulted in her excommunication from the LDS Church and brought some personal animosity from her uncle, David O. McKay, then counselor in the First Presidency and president of the Quorum of the Twelve. Fawn believed, as Bringhurst puts it, "that he would be condemned if she were treated leniently. And his anger at her personally would have moved him to take drastic action against her" (113). Although emotionally touched because of her parents' unhappiness, Fawn thought that Church action "might almost be considered a compliment" (113). Today her biography of Smith is still in print and sold in bookstores everywhere, including the Church-owned Deseret Books. It may still, after more than fifty years, be the best biography of the Mormon prophet.

Mormon reaction to *No Man Knows My History* before the excommunication ranged from an uncle's declaration that Brodie "would have no place to hide" (104) in the hereafter to Apostle John A. Widtsoe's deunucation that the biography was "of no interest to Latter-day Saints who have correct knowledge of the history of Joseph Smith" (109). The explicit Mormon objection, of course, stemmed from Brodie's declaration that Joseph Smith was a "conscious fraud" (52) and that the Book of Mormon was of "an unmistakable fraudulent nature" (192). Such a forceful denunciation of Mormonism's foundational truth claims quite naturally left the orthodox rejecting both the message and the messenger.

In her other most famous and controversial biography, *Thomas Jefferson: An Intimate History* (1974), the three most famous historians in the field of Jefferson scholarship took definite exception to her claim, based on the evidence she unearthed, that the American patriot and president had fathered at least one child and perhaps several children by his slave mistress, Sally Hemings. Although Brodie admits that the three scholars had been "gracious" (196) in their criticism, they nevertheless denounced her conclusion as "dirty graffiti" and claimed that her evidence "was as remote from the truth as when she began," and that "among the whole chorus of adulatory notice of Mrs. Brodie's book not a single Jefferson scholar was to be found" (219). To the dismay of these critics and perhaps others, the recent scientific analysis of DNA has supported Brodie's conclusions, bringing her admirers some satisfaction after all.¹

Fawn Brodie, not shrinking from controversial topics, continued her

¹ See Lucian Truscott IV, "Tom and Sally and Frank and Me: A Jefferson Descendant on Luck, Ancestry, and the recent DNA Findings," *American Heritage*, February/March 1999, 82-87.

career with three other biographies: *Thaddeus Stevens: Scourge of the South* (1959), *The Devil Drives: A Life of Sir Richard Burton* (1967), and her final work, *Richard Nixon: The Shaping of His Character* (1981). She held strong views of her subjects, for instance writing to her editor that she loathed Nixon and found his life “a total obscenity” (238).

Fawn McKay Brodie was awarded the Ella Larsen Turner Award for the Best Biography in Mormon History by the Mormon History Association for 1999. Unquestionably, Newell Bringhurst has produced an admirable book, based on research in depth, with seventy interviews, a number of unpublished sources, the usual available secondary works, and an impressive list of twenty-four newspapers, which, as any serious investigator knows, takes gritty industry to examine. He was also blessed with a precious trove of personal correspondence between Brodie and her publishers, favorite uncle (Dean Brimhall), and fellow historian Dale Morgan. Not all biographers are so fortunate.

Biographer Brodie is also fortunate in her biographer. He understands the need for clarity in his prose, gives penetrating insights into the somewhat driven personality of Fawn Brodie, and treats her lifelong problems with her own sexuality in a very sensitive yet revealing way. Although overused, the phrase, “I couldn’t put the book down” describes my reaction to reading it, perhaps partly because Fawn Brodie was a personal acquaintance and I introduced her when she lectured on Nixon at the University of Utah.

As with a number of readers of her books, Brodie’s tendency to use loaded terms, especially in her Nixon biography, leads Bringhurst to assert that her penchant for this type of evaluation tended to discredit psychobiography. Also the 1980s approach to American history did not fit well with Brodie’s “fundamental assertion that Nixon represented a deviant departure from the norms of American society” (265).

Apart from that caveat, a reader of *Fawn McKay Brodie* can only come away with a feeling of having enjoyed learning about one of the twentieth century’s interesting and important American biographers. Bringhurst is very skillful in portraying Brodie as very much alive, unlike the stick figures of too many lives of the famous. The reader shares in her depressions and periods of elation, her defeats and her triumphs, her silences and her candor, and the likes and dislikes she felt about her subjects. Bringhurst is as good a biographer as his subject.

BRIGHAM D. MADSEN is a former administrative vice president and emeritus professor of history of the University of Utah.

BOOK NOTICES

The Journal of Mormon History invites contributions to this department, particularly of privately published family histories, local histories, biographies, other publications of limited circulation, or those in which Mormonism is dealt with as a part or minor theme.

Paul K. Conkin. *American Originals: Homemade Varieties of Christianity*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997. xv + 336 pp. Chapter reading guides, index. Paper: \$18.95, ISBN 0-8078-4649-X

Paul Conkin, who is Distinguished Professor of History at Vanderbilt University, has prepared a lucid, literate, and conscientiously impartial history of six major forms of American religion. Mormonism, fourth on the list, is the only chapter that treats a single denomination or group. The other five are: restoration Christianity (Christians and Disciples of Christ are the denominations studied), humanistic Christianity (Unitarians and Universalists), apocalyptic Christianity (Adventists and Jehovah's Witnesses), spiritual Christianity (Christian Science and Unity), and ecstatic Christianity (the Holiness and Pentecostal movements).

Conkin, who says he has "had warm personal relationships with Mormons" but is a member of none of the churches "within any of the six original groups" (xiv-xv), has undertaken the ambitious task of presenting a coherent history of Mor-

monism, within which is embedded the main doctrinal developments to the present—all within sixty-four pages. This structural approach is very difficult to do without losing a grip on what is, essentially, the history of Mormonism between 1829 and 1844; but Conkin is remarkably successful, and this chapter may be the single best short scholarly treatment of Mormonism currently available.

He terms Mormonism a "story of belated success," with its impressive current status as the "external story" contrasted with the "very distinctive doctrines and practices that still set Mormons apart from all other Christians" (162-63). He lucidly places Mormonism within the six-group landscape of American religion he has constructed:

The early Mormon movement seemed, to converts, an Adventist sect otherwise quite similar to the Methodists and the Disciples. . . . Guided by revelations as well as the Book of Mormon, Smith became a complete Arminian. He rejected the whole array of Calvinist doctrines. . . . He was not a universalist but learned from God that punishment,

for most, would terminate and that God fitted the punishment to the crime. . . .

With a vengeance Smith was a restorationist. The LDS was a purified church, the only one consistent to the true gospel and the only one organized correctly. . . .

His church was pentecostal in the sense that it emphasized all the gifts of the Spirit. . . .

Finally, the early Mormons were Adventists, millenarians, and corporealists. In this they were close to the Seventh-day Adventists but with some unique twists. (175-76)

Conkin treats Mormonism's truth claims respectfully and matter-of-factly: Joseph Smith's first vision is "part of a story believed and esteemed by all Mormons. Of course, being entirely private and based on a supernatural experience, it is beyond any historical vindication. Skeptics later interpreted the visions, if they even occurred, quite differently" (164).

He summarizes the coming forth of the Book of Mormon, describes its content, briskly surveys external supportive evidences, and comments: "Clearly, the Book of Mormon was much more believable in 1831, before a whole series of findings in several fields by scholars and scientists, than it is today. Several portions of the Christian Bible were also more believable then" (172). He describes the development of priesthood offices, the importance of the temple and its rituals, the Word of Wisdom and its development, Nauvoo theological

developments, plural marriage, the succession crisis (including a concise history of the RLDS Church), Brigham Young's leadership during the great trek and settlement of the Great Basin, twentieth-century meetings (he correctly describes the block program), missionary work to the present, the contest with the federal government (he correctly notes that plural marriage had nothing to do with a surplus of women), the Woodruff Manifesto, contemporary public relations sophistication, and the 1978 revelation granting priesthood ordination to worthy black males.

Conkin evidently designs his book for the classroom, since he supplies no reference notes and only a critical reading guide for each chapter. He has obviously read both widely and deeply in Mormon literature, far beyond the sources he recommends. He makes remarkably few errors of fact: He understood baptism as conferring the Aaronic Priesthood on Joseph Smith and Oliver Cowdery (173); apparently confuses Reed Smoot with B. H. Roberts in saying that Smoot (a monogamist) "formerly had plural wives" (220), incompletely identifies Joseph F. Smith as "Joseph Smith (Hyrum's son)" (221), and thinks Fawn Brodie was "a daughter of a member of the presidency" (224); actually, her father, Thomas E. McKay, was an Assistant to the Twelve; her uncle, David O. McKay, was a counselor

in the First Presidency when she was excommunicated.

While some readers will almost certainly differ with some of Conkin's interpretations, they are, given the available evidence, both reasonable and moderate. "The Mormon religion is governmental and humanistic and, in its own terms, sensual and joyful," he summarizes. "People have a divine heritage in a previous life and are born into the world not resentfully, not as a curse or because of any depravity (a very alien doctrine to Mormons), but as a challenge and an opportunity" (201). Given such a reliable introduction to Mormonism, this book promises equally illuminating and inviting presentations of the other "American original" religions Conkin discusses.

Lorin K. Hansen and Lila J. Bringham, with special sections by Sorena DeWitt, Nanette Dunford, Marylyn Eyer, Myrtle Jibson, and Ross Westover. *Let This Be Zion: Mormon Pioneers and Modern Saints in Southern Alameda California*. Salt Lake City: Printed by Publishers Press for the Fremont California and Fremont South California Stakes, 1996. vii + 280 pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliography of oral histories, name index. Order copies (\$33.27 apiece, includes tax and shipping) from Lila Bringham, P.O. Box 3041, Fremont CA 94539, (510) 656-5056, aJB@aol.com

This 8.5 x 11" hardback book (two

columns of text per page) provides a history of Saints and Church units in the Fremont and Newark California area—Washington Township of Alameda County about twenty miles south of Oakland. The book was published as part of the sesquicentennial celebration of the *Brooklyn's* landing at Yerba Buena in 1846. Lorin Hansen is a leading authority on the *Brooklyn* voyage and Saints.

The first section, about Saints in Washington Township from 1846 to 1857, needs telling because "these early Saints made important contributions to the community and to California as a whole, and the details of their story are not well recorded or recognized" (v). In eighty well-documented pages, the authors deal with four Mormon groups: *Brooklyn* Saints, Mormon Battalion members, gold miners, and missionaries. Northern California had two Mormon pools—at San Francisco and across the bay in this Washington Township.

We read about Parley Pratt, George Q. Cannon, Amasa Lyman, Charles C. Rich, Sam Brannan, John Horner, the Cheney family, and members named Tomkins, Riser, Fisher, Goodwin, Nichols, Mowry, Green, Nash, and others. Mormons provided many "firsts" for Alameda County—in schools, farm products, roads, and businesses. John M. Horner founded Centerville. Chapters 5 and 6 contain new information about the early Saints of Washington Town-

ship and the closing of the branch in 1857.

The second section, five chapters, deals chronologically with the twentieth century. Interwoven with U.S. events and Church changes, these chapters note the return of members to the area, followed by the formation of a dependent Sunday School (1950), Niles Branch (1942), Centerville Ward (1954) of the Oakland Stake, four more wards, and then the Fremont Stake (1966)—an impressive story of “sacrifice, devotion, and accomplishment” (v). Some of the history concentrates on chapel construction with local financing and then the “extensive organizational programs.” The ward and then stake were involved with BYU’s plans for a junior college in Fremont, its purchase of 156 acres for the campus, farming those acres, and selling the property (109-10, 115-16, 126). Included are descriptions of Fremont stakes’ programs and activities during the 1970s, and ward and stake highlights and officer lists and growth facts to 1996.

Chapters in Section 3, “The Mormon Way of Life,” again deal with twentieth-century activities but thematically. Included are the Relief Society, Mutuals (the 1950s and 1960s are slighted), Primary, missionary and welfare work, and cultural activities and sports. The twentieth-century chapters draw heavily from twenty transcribed oral histories. An important contribution this history makes is describ-

ing how major changes in Church operations and programs translated locally from the 1950s to the 1990s—welfare farms, the block plan, auxiliaries, etc.

Throughout, the book employs a pleasant layout. It is a treasury of superbly reproduced priceless photographs and snapshots, of invaluable maps and charts, and of lists (officers, missionaries, Eagle Scouts, Young Women award recipients, etc.) This is a thoughtful, carefully crafted, attractive, useful, first-class stake history.

Ray R. Canning. *My Continuing Quest: Sociological Perspectives on Mormonism*, edited by Stan Larson. Salt Lake City: Freethinker Press, 1996. xii + 147 pp. Preface by Lamar Petersen. Notes, bibliography, index. \$12.95. ISBN 0-9634732-4-7

Ray R. Canning (1920-94), a Mormon sociologist, left no autobiography; but he left his papers to the University of Utah, and this collection of essays and papers partially fills that gap. He grew up in Star Valley, Wyoming, during the Great Depression and used to joke that he had grown up in “Starve Alley.” He was awarded three Purple Hearts, the Bronze Star, and the Silver Star with Oak Leaf Clusters for bravery in combat in France and Germany during World War II, an experience which decisively shaped his credo: “Try for a little honesty, a little courage, and a little love” (x). He earned his master’s in sociology

from Brigham Young University where he taught for thirteen years, and his Ph.D. from the University of Utah, where he taught for twenty-seven, receiving its Distinguished Teaching Award in 1971 and its Professor of the Year Award in 1980-81.

The ten essays selected for publication are among Canning's personal writings ("What I Believe: My Continuing Quest" and "Experiences at Brigham Young University") or on topics where he applies his professional tools to Mormonism: "Joseph Smith and the Origin of Mormonism," missionaries' mental health and handling of stress, birth control, modern occurrences of Three Nephite stories, reports of Mormon near-death experiences, and comparisons of these experiences with cross-cultural accounts. The final essay, "Like a Bridge over Troubled Water," was the 1971 convocation address for the College of Social and Behavioral Sciences at the University of Utah.

Canning's memories of his BYU experiences are colorful. After the opening faculty conference with addresses by General Authorities, he comments, "The air would be thick with self-righteousness and studied humility" (69). He explains his own feelings about academic freedom. As a World War II combat veteran he had "the firm conviction that the democratic approach to life was by far superior to anything else I had seen. and that called for freedom and responsibil-

ity. But you must have freedom in order to develop or show responsibility. If everything is decided for you, where is your chance of becoming responsible? So obedience does not become goodness by juxtaposition" (68).

Laura L. Vance. *Seventh-day Adventism in Crisis: Gender and Sectarian Change in an Emerging Religion*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999. and, 261 pp. Notes, bibliography, index. Cloth: 39.95. Paper \$18.95, ISBN 0-252-06744-4

This historical and sociological examination of Seventh-day Adventism has many interesting parallels to Mormonism. Both religious movements emerged from the same period and the same location, experienced an early succession/identity crisis, survived and thrived to the present, have approximately equal memberships (11 million for Mormonism, 9 million for Adventism), are ardent proselyters, have inflicted institutional punishment of scholars of the movement's history that have propounded views differing from the traditional faith-promoting history, and currently hold conservative views about the role of women that constitute upstream swimming in light of contemporary American trends. The first four chapters describe Adventist history, theology, organization, and contemporary crises.

The next five chapters focus more closely on how gender issues

have been influenced by and responded to Adventism's current success in the modern world. The issue is a complex one given the crucial role played by Ellen White in redefining Adventist theology when the expected Second Coming prophesied by William Miller failed to occur in 1844. She had urgently encouraged women, as well as men, to spread the gospel of preparing for Christ's advent and insisted that women were to be seen as equal co-workers, although she was personally modest about advancing her own claims or addressing the issue of ordination. Mormonism has no historical parallel to White; but many of the social consequences sound familiar.

Vance's analysis is based on gender prescriptions promulgated through the official *Adventist Review*, participation in four Adventist congregations in two research locations including "worship services, prayer meetings, vespers, camp meetings, work parties, potlucks, student activities, community service, and women's meetings" (7-8), supplemented by formal interviews with "fifty active Adventists" selected by quota sampling methods to reflect U.S. Adventist demographics (8), and a "survey of all women and a random sample of men serving in pastoral capacities in North America" (8). Here the parallels to Mormon women's history reemerge. Beginning about 1900, Adventists increasingly subscribed to a post-Vic-

torian view of home as a woman-created "haven" for men and children from materialistic competition during which the rates of women employed by the church in leadership positions plummeted to zero (ca. 1900-40), brief conformity to national norms during World War II to the need for women to replace men in production, a "retrenchment" period (1950-70) assigning women exclusively to child-rearing and home-making and blaming employed mothers for juvenile delinquency, material values, and the climbing divorce rate, the 1970s as a decade of resistance to feminism, and what she calls "rethinking gender," covering the 1980s and 1990s. This twentieth-century pattern supports Vance's application of Max Weber's hypothesis that "religion of the disadvantaged" tends to "allot equality to women" (2).

In carefully documented chapters that weave together official statements, observations, and interview data, Vance documents the history and current status of Adventist teachings about the family, appropriate gender roles, partnership and authority in marriage, appropriate sexual expression (including definition of homosexuality as "perversion"), the perils of employment for mothers balanced against the need for two-income families to support Adventist goals of educating children in Adventist schools, and the current status of the question of ordaining women,

a dialogue which is much further advanced in Adventism than Mormonism. Because numerous paid positions are available in congregations without requiring ordination, women can and do prepare themselves for the pastorate at the religion's Andrews Seminary but report a variety of barriers to acceptance there and employment after graduation. Vance concludes: "Although Adventist women were pivotal in launching the Seventh-day Adventist movement . . . contemporary Adventists are largely unaware of this history . . . and thus attribute attempt to increase women's involvement . . . to secular forces (the world) while at the same time identifying more narrowly defined ideals of womanhood (especially those promulgated between the 1920s and the 1960s) as being both (1) divinely inspired and (2) historically consistent" (215).

James B. Allen and John W. Welch, eds. *Life in Utah: Centennial Selections from BYU Studies*. Provo, Utah: BYU Studies, 1996. xviii + 334 pp. Illustrations, notes, contributors, index. \$13.95. ISBN 0-8425-2341-3

In celebration of Utah's statehood centennial in 1996, the editors have selected "the best articles from *BYU Studies* on Utah history" and arranged the chosen fifteen in roughly chronological order. Given *BYU Studies'* focus, it is no surprise that most of these essays—an exami-

nation of the "thin soil and thick politics [which] challenged everyone as Utah grew toward statehood in 1896" (back cover)—have a strong Mormon component and would be of interest to readers of the *Journal of Mormon History*.

The contributions easily reflect the important work done on women in the past two decades with five essays on this topic. Particularly impressive is Ronald W. Walker's lead essay, "Native Women on the Utah Frontier," a much-neglected subject on which Walker displayed much creativity and persistence in locating research sources. The status and contributions of a number of Utah women are explored in four strong articles: Sherilyn Cox Bennion's "Sisters Under the Skin: Utah's Mormon and Non-Mormon Women and Their Publications," Jill Mulvay Derr's "Eliza R. Snow and the Woman Question," Carol Cornwall Madsen's "Emmeline B. Wells: 'Am I Not a Woman and a Sister?'" and Thomas G. Alexander's "Cooperation, Conflict, and Compromise: Women, Men, and the Environment in Salt Lake City, 1890-1930," which emphasizes women's contribution in the early movement to clean up and preserve the natural environment.

Two essays concentrate on Wilford Woodruff: William G. Hartley's editing of a poignant letter, "In Order to Be in Fashion I Am Called on a Mission': Wilford Woodruff's Parting Letter to [his wife] Emma as He Joins the Under-

ground," and the more light-hearted "Wilford Woodruff, Sportsman," by James B. Allen and Herbert H. Frost, a look at one of Utah's earliest devotees of fly-fishing and other outdoor pursuits.

The other eight essays cover a variety of topics, examining some important issues during the territorial and early statehood periods: Edwina Jo Snow's "British Travelers View the Saints, 1847-1877," Lawrence G. Coates, "Brigham Young and Mormon Indian Policies: The Formative period, 1836-1851," Peter Crawley, "The Constitution of the State of Deseret," Madeleine B. Stern, "A Rocky Mountain Book Store: Savage and Ottinger of Utah," J. Keith Melville, "Theory and Practice of Church and State," Richard D. Poll, "The Move South," Gustive O. Larson, "Federal Government Efforts to 'Americanize' Utah before Admission to Statehood," and James B. Allen, "Personal Faith and Public Policy: Some Timely Observations on the League of Nations Controversy in Utah."

Jennifer Eastman Attebery. *Building with Logs: Western Log Construction in Context*. Moscow: University of Idaho Press, 1998. xiv + 147 pp. Three maps, nine tables, 70 photographs, notes, bibliography, index. \$39.95. ISBN 0-89301-208-4

Jennifer Eastman Attebery, author of *Building Idaho: An Architectural*

History, focuses on what she calls the "grammar" and "vocabulary" of log construction during the nineteenth century and early twentieth century in Idaho, attempting to answer these questions: "Who were the builders . . .? Where did they come from and what brought them to Idaho? Where did they learn log construction? What communities did they belong to? Once in Idaho, how did they use log construction? What roles did the log building fill? How did builders use the vocabulary—the array of log construction features—that they brought with them? Did they see log buildings as primitive and rustic, as we tend to today, or did the log building have other meanings for builders, viewers, and users 130 years ago?" (3)

Attebery first explains her critical methodology and sample: 1,047 log buildings on private land which she personally examined between 1979 and 1983, supplemented with federal surveys. She defines and describes specific features (notching can be square, round, v-shaped, or dovetailed), illustrating them lavishly with carefully analyzed black and white photographs and associating them with particular regions and even particular builders (chaps. 1-2). She identifies two major periods of log construction in Idaho: before 1900 (the transition zone was 1890-1910) when such construction was part of the frontier American tradition, and after 1907 when mountain resort cabins and especially the U.S. Forest Service deliberately chose to create a "rustic" alpine look.

Of particular interest to *Journal* readers are Chapter 3, which contrasts how log buildings were used "as habitation" in the south-eastern Mormon counties, and Chapter 4, which studies the log building "as tool" in the northern mountains. She points out that Mormons who began moving into the Cache, Bear Lake, and Malad valleys in the 1860s, had learned log-building techniques from their Utah families and neighbors, were constructing chimneys for stoves rather than fireplaces by the 1880s, and used gable-front construction to accommodate pitched roofs covered with shingles—all of these techniques considered signs of careful craftsmanship. Mormons did not usually abandon or discard their log houses, but moved them, remodeled them, and reused them in other ways, even when frame and brick houses replaced them. In contrast, milled lumber was readily available in mining camps because "it was needed for mining equipment and for large structures . . . such as stamp milling . . . rockers, sluices, and riffles" (99). Buildings were a secondary use, and these "thin-walled and uninsulated" structures were much less comfortable than "well-chinked" cabins.

The squarish format of the book provides generous outside margins and considerable flexibility in posi-

tioning the interesting and well-reproduced photographs.

Irwin Altman and Joseph Ginat. *Polygamous Families in Contemporary Society*. Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press, 1996. xv + 512 pp. Foreword by Sterling M. McMurrin, notes, tables, appendix on methodology, appendix on demographics, references, index. \$27.95. ISBN 0-521-56731-9

Janet Bennion. *Women of Principle: Female Networking in Contemporary Mormon Polygyny*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1998. ix, 178 pp. Tables, glossary, notes, bibliography. \$29.95. ISBN 0-19-5120

Both of these excellent social anthropological works examine contemporary polygamy among fundamentalists with just enough history to show that the roots of these movements are undeniably Mormon. B. Carmon Hardy's *Solemn Covenant: The Mormon Polygamous Passage* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992) and D. Michael Quinn's, "LDS Church Authority and New Plural Marriages, 1890-1904," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 18 (Spring 1985): 9-105, showed how the groundwork for such continuations was laid by the ambiguous and conflicting messages given to members by Church leaders themselves from 1890 to 1904 and beyond, while Richard Van Wagoner's *Mormon Polygamy: A History* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1986) devotes a section to modern manifestations of polyg-

any. However, the two works here join Martha Sonntag Bradley's *Kidnapped from That Land: The Government Raids on the Short Creek Polygamists* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah, 1993), in building back from contemporary polygamy toward its historical roots. They are social anthropology rather than history, but they will provide crucial information for a thorough, scholarly history of the transitional period after 1904 to the present that is yet to be written. Meanwhile, both books identify contemporary patterns that either shed light on historical practices or can be identified as twentieth-century innovations in this evolving form of religious marriage.

Altman, a professor of psychology and family and consumer studies at the University of Utah, and Ginat, a professor of social and cultural anthropology at the University of Haifa, collected data from field studies, observations, and interviews of twenty-six polygamous families with Mormon roots between 1987 and 1992. Although they conceal the identity of their respondents with first-name pseudonyms and mask the two primary locations of the groups as "Red-rock" and "Metropolitan City," they maintain the same pseudonyms throughout and seldom quote anonymously, thus allowing fairly well-rounded pictures to emerge of the families they worked with.

They devote two chapters to the history of Mormon polygamy. Chapter 2 provides an overview of

the 1830-90 period, while Chapter 3 traces the post-Manifesto origins and developments since 1890. It is as succinct and clear a discussion as any available with the possible exception of Van Wagoner's treatment of the same topic. Almost all of their information is drawn from secondary sources. In addition to those listed above, the standard scholarly sources are also heavily tapped: Linda King Newell and Valeen Tippetts Avery, Larry Foster, Ken Cannon, Stanley Ivins, Dorothy Solomon, Kimball Young, Kenn Driggs, Jessie Embry, and the essays in Claudia Bushman's *Mormon Sisters*. Very little historical data is supplied by their informants. Virtually the only exception is the report that converts to fundamentalism increased sharply in the late 1970s as a result of disgruntlement over the 1978 revelation granting priesthood ordination to worthy black men (54).

They estimate the population of fundamentalist polygamists as approximately eight to ten thousand. Appendix B, a demographic analysis, is particularly helpful in answering questions about frequency and number of marriages, age at first and subsequent marriage, divorces, sororal marriages, fertility, socioeconomic class, converts vs. lifelong members, etc. They make a consistent effort to embed their discussion in a context of nineteenth-century Mormon polygamy and contemporary polygamy among other cultures around the world as

they move through such dyadic and communal dynamics as deciding to add a new wife, courtship, weddings, honeymoons, adjustments, living arrangements, household duties, schedules, budgets, celebrations, and interpersonal relationships.

Each point is heavily illustrated with interesting case studies. For example, in a discussion of where a husband keeps his clothes, they report that "Seymour," though now ill and therefore more or less located with one of his eight wives, used to keep clothes at the (separate) home of each wife. "One of his daughters remembers seeing Seymour all dressed up for a wedding in a nice suit, but wearing dirty work shoes because he didn't know which wife had his dress shoes" (268).

There is much repetition among the introduction, their overview chapters, the historical chapters, the historical comparisons within each chapter, the appendices, and the details of each family. The authors omit Jeffery O. Johnson's definitive study of Brigham Young's wives, thus producing an inaccurate figure (39). They also incorrectly cite the "One and Mighty" prophecy (60). The correct phrase is "One Mighty and Strong" (D&C 85:7). Seymour, who has eight wives throughout the book, has seven on p. 264. Except for such details, the work is illuminating and valuable for those interested in contemporary Mormon polygamy.

Janet Bennion, assistant professor of sociocultural anthropology at the University of Maine, bases her analysis of networking among plural wives in the Allred group at a community she calls Harker. Her data is drawn from her 1996 dissertation data on male and female converts to the same group. She argues that convert women to the Allred group are attracted by their marginalization in the mainstream society and the broader LDS Church and that such women (and also daughters of polygamous families) can be easily integrated and achieve full participation easier and faster than convert males and younger plural sons (6). In fact, she points to a de facto abandonment of less-favored sons who are not encouraged to stay in the community "as they are in direct competition for the valuable community resources with their own fathers and brothers, as well as all the other men" (87).

Women are encouraged to have numerous children but are given almost complete responsibility for their upbringing and financial support; economic status or stability is not required for a man to add a plural wife. As a result, the wives are drawn together in networks of support. Bennion documents that they share that work surprisingly well, although she also reports husbands withholding even meager assistance as punishment and one wife who was reduced to shoplifting to feed her children. (Women's

names and life details are altered to protect their confidentiality.) Divorce ends about 35 percent of all marriages (37, 89).

The book also covers the extent to which the Allred church is patriarchal, constituents of female status and satisfaction, economic challenges, courtship, marriage, sexual activity, living arrangements, "sickness, barrenness, aging, and death," and networking. The quantitative data and analysis are enlivened by examples and case studies.

In contrast to the careful presentation of the Altman/Ginat book, the editing and proofreading in Bennion's are distinctly substandard. The charts, useful for their content, have arrows that run into boxes, fall short of boxes, or are off-center from boxes. There are at least eighteen blatant typographical errors. "To apostate" (118) is used as a verb in nonquotations without explanation whether this is an Allred neologism but Bennion also correctly uses "apostasy" and "to apostatize." She says "Smith" where she means "Allred" (144). Bennion uses author-date citation style, and the indexer bizarrely indexes (surnames only) of these in-the-text names but omits from the text full names such as George M. Cannon and Israel Bennion, Janet Bennion's ancestors. Coverage on other topics is spotty. The tables are not listed in the contents or indexed.

Liz Lemon Swindle, art and commentary. Text by Susan Easton Black. *Joseph Smith: Impressions of a Prophet*. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1998. viii + 107 pp. Notes, 31 illustrations (25 full color), bibliography, index. \$34.95. ISBN 1-57345-316-1

Gracia N. Jones. *Priceless Gifts: Celebrating the Holiday with Joseph and Emma Smith*. American Fork, Utah: Covenant Communications, 1998. 92 pp. Illustrations by Liz Lemon Swindle, bibliography. \$11.95. ISBN 1-57734-342-5

Inspired by a Kenneth Cope song, "Brothers," that made the relationship between Hyrum and Joseph Smith "real to me in a way I had never felt before" (viii), artist Liz Lemon Swindle launched on a project of portraying intimate moments in the life of Joseph Smith using filmed reenactments staged by friends, relatives, and models. Cliff Cole, Jennifer Hohl, and Richard Wilson were the models for Joseph, Emma, and Hyrum throughout.

The elaborately designed coffee-table-sized book is organized chronologically, beginning with Smith's boyhood and continuing through the martyrdom. Whether pencil study or full-color illustration, each image is in an easily recognizable ultra-realistic style that has made Swindle's work immensely popular in the last few years. The themes of the paintings include: (1) famous and oft-depicted moments (the First Vision,

the Restoration of the Melchizedek Priesthood, the martyrdom), (2) scenes for which there is reliable historical documentation but for which few illustrations exist (Joseph bidding a last farewell to Emma and his children before riding to Carthage; Joseph dictating corrections for the Bible to Sydney Rigdon at the John Johnson home in Ohio; and Joseph rebuking the foul-mouthed guards at Liberty Jail during his imprisonment with others in the winter of 1838-39); and (3) scenes of such common humanity that no historical documentation is required. In this third category are some of the paintings of strongest sentiment: Joseph tenderly brushing Emma's abundant dark hair; Joseph, eyes brimming with tears, encircling Emma in his arms while she holds the tiny body of Joseph Murdock Smith; and Joseph squirting water through his cupped hands at his children as they all splash laughing in a brook.

Swindle breaks new thematic ground by a dual focus on Emma including, in addition to those mentioned, a full-face portrait; Emma walking arm in arm with Lucy in intense conversation; and Emma, quill in hand, preparing her hymnal.

Only occasionally does Swindle take liberties with the historical record. In a moving illustration of the baptism of Joseph Sr., the two men,

standing waist deep in the Seneca River, embrace each other with tears of joy. The textual source given for this scene is Lucy Mack Smith's. Lucy does not say who performed the baptism, and there is at least some evidence that it may have been performed by Oliver Cowdery. Furthermore, Joseph Jr.'s exclamation of joy, "Praise to my God! that I lived to see my own father baptized into the true Church of Jesus Christ!" differs from Lucy's own record: "Joseph stood on the shore when his father came out of the water and as he took him by the hand he cried out Oh! my God I have lived to see my father baptized into the true church of Jesus christ."¹

Susan Easton Black's clearly and gracefully written text strikes a good balance between enough detail for accuracy but without bogging down in extraneous detail. In addition to the usual and well-known stories, she also includes little-known quotations and events. In a passage describing Joseph's care of Emma when she was sick and his waiting on tables with her when they hosted a dinner party of twenty-one, Black adds:

One Latter-day Saint, observing Joseph doing "woman's work" to relieve the burdens of his wife, concluded that mismanagement of home chores by Emma was the root of the domestic problems. "I said to

¹ Lucy Mack Smith, rough draft, 1844-45, n.p., LDS Church Archives.

him, 'Brother Joseph, my wife does much more hard work than does your wife.' [He] replied . . . that if a man cannot learn in this life to appreciate a wife and do his duty by her, in properly taking care of her, he need not expect to be given one in the hereafter.' The judgmental advisor wrote, "His words shut my mouth as tight as a clam. I took them as terrible reproof. After that I tried to do better by the good wife I had and tried to lighten her labors." (90-91)

Those who enjoyed Swindle's paintings will also applaud their reappearance in Jones's book, including a new cover painting of Joseph and Emma, each holding a twin, Emma leaning toward Joseph and smiling as he bends his head to kiss the baby he is holding. The three interior sepia drawings include one not part of *Impressions*: Emma stooping over the seated Joseph, her arms around him, her cheek pressed against his.

Jones explains that her text is "written to provide inspirational reading" but "is not intended as an historical resource" (ii). She assigns a "gift" to each of the years of Joseph and Emma's married life. For instance, 1831 is "the gift of healing" for Joseph's healing of Elsa Johnson's arthritic arm. Although the introduction makes it clear that this book is designed for the Christmas market (it decries "trees, lights, chocolate-covered marshmallow Santas," 1), Jones concedes that the *History of the Church* says "very little of . . . traditional holidays," includ-

ing only occasional comments on Christmas. She quotes no mention of birthday celebrations, wedding anniversaries, or other holidays, although she lists "an opal ring, a cameo brooch, [and] the necklace of gold beads" that Joseph gave Emma, implying that they were holiday gifts (3).

Jones's bibliography includes letters from Emma to Joseph, 1837-39 and letters from Joseph to Emma, 1832-40, both cited as "copies in possession of author." She does not give the location of the original, which seems self-aggrandizing since the letters themselves have long been available to researchers at the RLDS Library-Archives.

An interesting opening essay, though not strictly on the topic, quotes a memoir by Vida (Jones does not give her married name), a daughter of Alexander Hale Smith, son of Joseph and Emma and Jones's great-grandfather, about family Christmas celebrations, while a closing essay describes Jones's conversion to Mormonism at age eighteen.

[No editor.] *The Essential Joseph Smith*. Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1995. 266 pp. Index. ISBN 0-941214-71-0

With a preface by the publisher and a foreword by Marvin S. Hill, *The Essential Joseph Smith* is a collection of what the publisher con-

siders "unquestionably Smith's." "Though often recorded by fallible scribes," they are offered "in their original manuscript or early published forms" (xiv). The documents include some editorial clarifications but no annotations. Arranged chronologically, the documents span from pre-Church organization in 1829 until just before Smith's death in 1844. Correspondence, sermons, general instructions, autobiographical information, and diary entries provide both public and private views of the Prophet. An intimate glimpse is a letter to Emma in which he says he daily goes to a "grove which is just back of the town almost every day where I can be secluded from the eyes of any mortal and there give vent to all the feelings of my heart in meditation and pray" (22).

Building on these insights into the mind and character of Smith are the theological summations and revelations that are most prominent among his works. These include "the Vision" (LDS D&C 76) which reveals the glories that await humankind in the life beyond, and an amalgamated version of "The King Follet Discourse." Containing the doctrines of human origins and ultimate destiny, many consider this sermon to be Joseph's greatest theological discourse. Furthermore the book contains a spectrum of doctrines wide enough to include Smith's "Views of the Powers and Policy of the Government of the U.S." (213).

Some of the materials are

gleaned from sources that are not readily available; but of the fifty entries included in *The Essential Joseph Smith*, many can be found in their entirety in such works as Andrew F. Ehat and Lyndon W. Cook, eds., and comps., *The Words of Joseph Smith: The Contemporary Accounts of the Nauvoo Discourses of the Prophet Joseph* (Provo, Utah: Religious Studies Center Brigham Young University, 1980); Dean C. Jesse, ed., *The Papers of Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1989-), 2+ vols.; Dean C. Jessee, ed., *The Personal Writings of Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1984); and Scott H. Faulring, ed., *An American Prophet's Record: The Diaries and Journals of Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books in association with Smith Research Associates, 1987).

Lawrence H. Maddock. *John Maddock: Mormon Pioneer*. Pensacola, Fla.: New South Press, 1996. 41 pp. Four photographs, notes, bibliography. \$5 from author, 1012 Gerhardt Drive, Pensacola, FL 32503.

Although short, this biographical sketch is handsomely produced with leather cover and heavy, cream-colored paper that displays the generously proportioned text. The narrative itself shows ingenuity in overcoming the problems of documenting the life of an ancestor who did not leave a diary or extensive letters. John Maddock emi-

grated from England with his mother and nineteen relatives who had also joined the Church in 1857. The author, John's grandson, quotes extensively from diaries kept by several other passengers on the same ship, including Francis Kerby, which "found it 'quite amusing' to see bottles and cans racing each other up and down the decks" during a spell of rough weather (7) and Amos Musser, who records that, in addition to staple provisions, such supplies as "oranges, lemons, red herring, preserves, and jams" were also available (9). Ann Taylor Dee recorded that John, a flutist, provided music at nightly campfires while crossing the plains (19).

In Utah, Maddock settled in Ogden where his first wife died after childbirth. He married Elizabeth Gurney who, though "small" and "frail," bore eleven children, "made it a rule never to go to bed with a chair out of place," and was a true helpmeet to her husband, "a Victorian gentleman who never tied his own necktie" (33-34).

Susan Easton Black. *Who's Who in the Doctrine and Covenants*. Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1997. 364 pp. Notes, illustrations, key to abbreviations. \$21.95. ISBN 1-57008-292-8

Beginning with Major Noble Ashley and ending with Joseph Young, this work is an encyclopedia-style listing of every named individual in the Doctrine and Covenants. Some, like Peter Whitmer,

Oliver Cowdery, and Sidney Rigdon, are virtually household words to students of Church history, while others, like Selah J. Griffin, Eden Smith, and Amos Davies, are much less familiar. There are 137 sketches altogether, usually between two and four pages long.

Only three are of women: Vivenna Jacques, Ann Lee, and Emma Hale Smith. The total also includes such modern figures as Spencer W. Kimball, Nathan Eldon Tanner, and Marion G. Romney, thanks to the inclusion in the Doctrine and Covenants of Official Declarations 1 and 2.

Each biographical sketch includes a portrait where available, the D&C reference about the subject, a headnote giving the date and place of his birth, his parents, and the date and place of his death, followed by an engagingly written biographical sketch. For example, Zera Pulsipher's sketch begins with an account of a vision of his deceased wife who sat beside him and sang a hymn with him about "Zions Light Shall Shine," an experience that he felt prepared him to accept the gospel. Enduring the persecutions of Ohio, Missouri, and Illinois, he helped make road across Iowa in 1847, was reawakened to new zealotry as one of the presidents of a Seventies quorum during the Reformation of 1856, was released as a General Authority in 1862 for "transcend[ing] the bounds of the Priesthood in the ordinance of sealing" (a reference that could certainly bear more ex-

planation), served as a patriarch in southern Utah, "pioneered" the town of Hebron, and died in 1872 at age eighty-two. The notes refer the reader to standard histories and also to primary sources.

An index would have increased the usefulness of this already helpful book in tracking individuals who are not the main subject of a sketch or main subjects who play a different role in the sketch of another individual.

Jerald R. Johansen. *After the Martyrdom: What Happened to the Family of Joseph Smith?* Bountiful, Utah: Horizon Publishers & Distributors, 1997. 174 pp.; illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$14.95. 0-88290-596-1

After reviewing the martyrdom of Joseph and Hyrum Smith, this book then spends a chapter summarizing what is known of the other siblings: the stillborn first child of Joseph Smith Sr. and Lucy (Johansen identifies this child as a daughter; other family records and memories identify it as a son),¹ Alvin, Hyrum, Sophronia, Samuel Harrison, Ephraim, William, Catherine, Don Carlos and Lucy. Only four of these

siblings were alive by the fall of 1844: the three sisters and William, none of whom affiliated with the Utah Church. Since the least is known about Joseph's sisters in their later lives, this section is perhaps the most interesting; unfortunately, it is quite brief and severely underdocumented.

Separate chapters deal with Emma Hale Smith and the succession crisis, the departure from Nauvoo, Emma's remarriage to Lewis Bidamon, and the subsequent careers of the four surviving sons (Joseph III, Alexander Hale, David Hyrum, and Frederick Madsen, who died as a young man).

Rather confusingly, the author discusses Joseph III's death (chap. 7) before recounting his mission activities in Utah with his brothers, and Emma's death. This departure from chronology, however, allows Johansen to use Emma's final interview with Joseph III affirming that Joseph Jr. had never practiced plural marriage as a transition to the last sixty pages, a discussion of polygamy focused on the question: "How then can the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints justify practicing plural marriage from at least 1843 (maybe 1831) to 1905 and today excommunicate mem-

¹ Joseph Sr., at a family blessing meeting on 9 December 1834, listed his losses: "The Lord, in his just providence has taken from me, at an untimely birth, a son: this has been a matter of affliction; . . . My next son, Alvin, as you all are aware, was taken from us. . . . Another [Ephraim] has been taken in his infancy" Dan Vogel, comp. and ed., *Early Mormon Documents* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1996), 1:469.

bers who practice plural marriage?" (128) After an extensive review of the scriptural precedents and examples of plural marriage (this discussion includes Johansen's published rebuke of a *Newsweek* reporter who described the Mormon belief in an anthropomorphic God as "literally a procreating father and that he is married to a Mrs. God, or divine mother" [131-33]), the author reviews the federal pressures against nineteenth-century polygamy, the 1890 manifesto of Wilford Woodruff, and the 1904 Second Manifesto of Joseph F. Smith. This overview, while a succinct introduction, is probably too sketchy for the needs of most students of Mormon history. Johansen concludes that the Church's differential policies about plural marriage are actually unified by an underlying principle: "Follow the living prophet" (158).

Davis Bitton. *The Martyrdom Remembered: A One-Hundred-Fifty Year Perspective on the Assassination of Joseph Smith*. Salt Lake City: Aspen Books, 1994. xvii + 124 pp. Illustrations, notes, appendix, bibliography, index. \$16.95. ISBN 1-56236-213-5

In the tradition of commemorative volumes, extra pains have been lavished on this anniversary book. The squarish design, ragged right type, ample white space, bound-in ribbon bookmark, and generous-size type have created an appealing vis-

ual effect. A regrettable typographical error ("clammering") is jarring when the rest of the book is so carefully done.

Davis Bitton narrates the deaths of Joseph and Hyrum Smith on 27 June 1844, then in five chapters describes the reaction in (1) diaries and letters, (2) poetry, (3) non-Mormon writings, (4) later prose and poetry, and (5) visual images. An epilogue captures the imaginative reaction of Bitton, a graceful stylist, in dialogue with the dead Joseph, while Willard Richards's recollection, "Two Minutes in Jail," appears in an appendix.

In addition to well-known accounts such as Brigham Young's immediate conviction that the keys had not been taken from the earth with Joseph's life, are many other statements, including the simple grief of Jacob Gibson: "I cant describe the sean no, no, no" (5). Many retrospective accounts reported a sense of foreboding, visions of the slain bodies, and unexplained depression. James Holt, preaching in Tennessee, prophesied by the spirit of revelation that Joseph had been killed, even though his own father and missionary companion did not believe him (13). Helpfully, Bitton hypothesizes that "whatever feelings people had—or remembered having—on that night it was to project back onto them an extraordinary significance" (12).

Poets who wrote about the martyrdom immediately after the

event, expressing communal grief, included Eliza R. Snow, An anonymous "Lamentation" apparently by Alexander Neibaur, and W. W. Phelps's strong text, "Praise to the Man." Bitton also includes unpublished poems by William Hyde and William Appleby.

The chapter on non-Mormon reaction is illustrated by a powder horn inscribed "Warsaw regulators, the end of the polygamist Joseph Smith kilt at Carthage June 27, 1844" (40). Bitton does not give the location of this remarkable artifact. According to his evenhanded treatment, the anti-Mormon reaction in Illinois is that the assassinations were a necessary evil, while most other newspapers denounced the murders as "a cowardly, lawless act" despite reservations about the merits of the victims (57).

The chapter on "later prose and poetry" begins with a treatment of William M. Daniels's embellished account published in 1845, B. H. Roberts's various accounts (1900-1930), and N. B. Lundwall's popular but wildly exaggerated *Fate of the Persecutors of the Prophet Joseph Smith* (1952) whose account of their "horrible fate" was "decisively exploded by Dallin H. Oaks's and Marvin S. Hill's *Carthage Conspiracy* in 1975" (66). Other narratives were Henry Smith's *The Day They Martyred the Prophet* (1963) and Reed Blake's *24 Hours to Martyrdom* (1973). He also summarizes martyrdom accounts by Fawn Brodie (1945), Donna Hill (1977), Vardis Fisher (1939), Ted

Gibbons's one-man show "I Witnessed the Carthage Massacre" subsequently published in 1988, S. Dilworth Young (1967), Clinton F. Larsen (1966), and Sandra Petrie (1975).

Visual representations include the death masks of the brothers and a variety of illustrations from pamphlets, paintings, filmstrips, and statues.

Reed H. Blake and Spencer H. Blake. *The Carthage Tragedy: The Martyrdom of Joseph Smith*. Provo, Utah: LDS Book Publications, 1994. 147 pp. Bibliography. \$16.95. ISBN 1-56236-231-5

A "major revision" of Reed H. Blake's 1973 *24 Hours to Martyrdom*, *The Carthage Tragedy* offers "new material" (2). Interesting background material includes vignettes of Nauvoo and a description of the local militia units with some biographical background on their commanders. The chronology is not always clear, since the authors bridge lapses of time with "the next day," "at nine o'clock that night," "at 6:30 A.M." and the like, with the result that there is no day or date given between the first appearance of the *Nauvoo Expositor* on 7 June and the "morning of Tuesday, June 25" (17-24).

Told in a fast-paced, conversational narrative, studded with quotations, this book is suitable as a young people's story or the equivalent of a novel; but its lack

of engagement with important historical questions limits its usefulness for scholars. Because the approach is that of "journalists and not as historical scholars" (2), there are no notes, thus greatly reducing the usefulness of the bibliography. For example, the Blakes quote Governor Thomas Ford assuring the colonel of the Fountain Green militia that he will not interfere "until you are through" (41) and state that Porter Rockwell, while fetching his hat from his room at the Mansion House in Nauvoo on the afternoon of the assassinations, heard a member of Ford's party say, "The deed is done before this time" (99).

The Blakes have apparently modernized spelling in their quotations, so expressions like "wounded . . . in the check" and (121) and "call out for him to descent" (128) are proofreading flaws.

Richard T. Hughes. *The Primitive Church in the Modern World*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1995. xviii + 228 pp. Notes, contributors notes, index. \$34.95. ISBN 0-252-06492-5

A 1991 conference, "Christian Primitivism and Modernization: Coming to Terms with Our Age," was underwritten by the Pew Charitable Trusts, which also helped sponsor the publication of the papers. The editor and Martin E.

Marty set the context with "The Meaning of the Restoration Vision" and "Primitivism and Modernization: Assessing the Relationship" respectively. The first part deals with the relationship between primitivism and fundamentalism in essays by R. Scott Appleby and George Marsden," while essays by Franklin H. Littell, John Howard Yoder, and James William McClen-don Jr. add "Perspectives on the Meaning of the Restoration Vision."

The third section presents five case studies of Christian primitivism that have encountered the demands of modernism, including a provocative essay by Mormon senior scholar Thomas G. Alexander. (The other essays deal with the Stone-Campbell movement by David Edwin Harrell Jr., the Wesleyan/Holiness movement by Susie C. Stanley, pentecostalism by Grant Wacker, and Mennonites by Theron F. Schlabach.)

Alexander argues that early Mormons "lived in a psychically undifferentiated secular and religious world" (170) that did not change until "conflict drove the process of modernization through the reconsideration of doctrines and practices in both the temporal and spiritual arenas" (182). He lucidly summarizes:

Like the . . . scientist-philosophers who envisioned theistic physics as a way out of the chaos of the Thirty Years' War, a group of Mormon General Authorities, theologians, and scientists fashioned Mormon-

ism's accommodation with modernity. Most important in this regard were President Wilford Woodruff, First Counselor George Q. Cannon, journalist and publicist Charles W. Penrose, legal counsel Franklin S. Richards, academics James E. Talmage and John A. Widtsoe, and self-taught theologian Brigham H. Roberts. Thoroughly bloodied by sixty years of conflict, these men shepherded Mormonism into accommodation with the United States, enthroning modernization [which Alexander distinguishes from secularism in the Mormon world-view], revising the apocalypse as an event in the distant future, and at the same time leaving the church's primitivist doctrines substantially intact. The church leadership accomplished this process by separating two previously inseparable spheres—the temporal and the spiritual—into reasonably distinct fields and by defining the content of each arena in ways generally acceptable to a hostile American society. (169)

The body of Alexander's essay deals with the conflicts that required the waves of successive reconsiderations, resulting in modern Mormonism.

Readers not attracted to the discussions of theory that begin the book may well enjoy Alexander's clear and compact essay, followed by browsing among the other case studies and consideration of some of the historical and terminological expositions—particularly attempts to distinguish between primitivism and restorationism, and the claim

that primitivism essentially rejects history (x).

Emerson Roy West. *Latter-day Prophets: Their Lives, Teachings, and Testimonies with Profiles of Their Wives*. American Fork, Utah: Covenant Communications, Inc., 1999. x, 255 pp. + CD of biographical highlights about all fifteen Church presidents, including a rare recording of the voice of Joseph F. Smith. Photographs, notes, charts, bibliography, index. \$15.95, ISBN 1-57734-555-X

Prefatory material explains "Jesus Christ and His Church," "Role of the President," and "Succession in the Presidency," followed by substantive biographical summaries of each president drawn mainly from secondary sources supplemented, for the later presidents, with interviews and correspondence with relatives. Each chapter is organized with a (1) standardized outline describing vital events, ordinations, temples dedicated, length of service, hobbies, appearance, personality, etc., (2) biographical highlights, (3) testimony, and (4) teachings.

Following the section on the presidents is a profile of their wives, including photographs where available. While all wives are listed with biographical sketches for presidents from Heber J. Grant on, only Emma Hale Smith is listed for Joseph Smith, only three wives for Brigham Young, and two each for John Taylor, Wilford Woodruff,

Lorenzo Snow, and Joseph F. Smith.

After additional resource material ("How to Live a More Christ-Centered Life," "Thoughts about Jesus Christ by Our Church Presidents," and "Major Events in Church History," a thirteen-page supplement on Joseph F. Smith follows. (Smith's teachings are the subject of study for Melchizedek Priesthood quorums and Relief Societies for 2000-02.) In addition to supplemental biographical information on Smith himself, West includes biographical sketches of all six wives, and some portraits.

Ouida Blanthorn. *A History of Tooele County*. Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society and Tooele County Commission, 1998. Cloth, xii + 396 pp. Map, photographs, notes, bibliography, index. \$19.96. ISBN 0-913738-44-1.

A talented local historian and writer, Ouida Blanthorn has ably presented the history of Utah's second largest—and perhaps most oddly named—county with a happy mix of facts, anecdotes, and data. (The county may have been named for a Goshute leader, a black bear, or "tules.")

This volume follows the outline laid down for the series: geography (including the Great Salt Lake), Native Americans (including one of Utah's least-known tribes, the Goshutes), the incursions of color-

ful fur traders, explorers, and overlanders, early settlement, and the major impact of mining. Separate chapters describe agriculture, industrialization, and the defense industry in the county's economic development, and describe its culture, education, transportation, and community evolution.

Mining and the defense industry, the county's economic mainstays, have made Tooele more religiously diverse than most Utah counties, but LDS readers will find Mormons playing an active role in virtually every element of the county's history. Two of the Mormon Church's most influential twentieth-century leaders, Heber J. Grant and J. Reuben Clark, had roots in Grantsville.

Blanthorn's book is full of surprises, from the archaeological wonders of Danger Cave to John Muir's visit to the Oquirrh in 1877 to Utah's unlikely scuba diving mecca at Sea Base. Two of the county's early settlers, Porter Rockwell and Bill Hickman, became Western legends, and General Patrick Edward Connor launched the silver bonanza that altered Utah's economic destiny with the cooperation of Mormon bishop Archibald Gardner. The author misses a few excellent sources (especially Dale Morgan's first published history, "Historical Sketch of Tooele County" and Harold Schindler's definitive biography of Porter Rockwell), but her command of local material and tradition is first rate. The wonder-

ful selection of photographs alone is worth the price of the book.

Edward A. Geary. *A History of Emery County*. Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society and Emery County Commission, 1996. viii + 448 pp. Photographs, maps, selected bibliography, index, \$19.95. ISBN 0-913738-050-0

In 1880 the Utah Territorial Legislature established three new counties—one of which was Emery County, named in honor of George W. Emery, who had just completed a five-year term as governor of the territory. Emery had been on relatively good terms with the Mormon-dominated territorial legislature and was “the only Utah governor to have a county named in his honor” (75).

The first Mormons passed through in 1855, a colonizing company of forty-one men under the direction of Alfred A. Billings en route from Manti to found the Elk Mountain Mission near Moab, Grand County. Clerk Oliver B. Huntington called Huntington Creek “a fine creek with plenty of feed” (37).

In 1865 the first settlement effort was interrupted by the Black Hawk War but resumed after its successful conclusion. As early as 1867 Mormon Apostle Orson Hyde urged his fellow Mormons to search for “new grazing lands” (48), a call that made Emery County appealing. Sixteen-year-old Tom Sim-

per and fifteen-year-old Israel Benion herded their family’s cattle for over a year in the mid-1870s near Ferron and Muddy Creek, drifting the cattle “south-eastward as far as Green River” (49).

When LDS Apostle Francis M. Lyman visited the Green River settlements in 1880 he found “a post office, store, ferry and three families” (73). Lyman was favorably impressed by the region, declaring there was enough good land there “to make homes and farms for one hundred men.” That same year the Emery LDS Stake was created with Christian Grice Larsen as the first stake president. LDS wards were founded at Castle Dale, Orangeville, Muddy Creek, Molen, Cleveland, and Wellington.

Emery County was visited “periodically” between 1884 and 1890 by U. S. marshals “bent on enforcing the antipolygamy laws” (129), even though “a cursory survey” indicates that “no more than two dozen early settlers” of Emery County lived the principle. Of these, only one, O. J. Anderson of Castle Dale, seems to have served any prison time for illegal cohabitation.

With the passing of the pioneer generation, the early twentieth century saw the “declining influence” of the LDS Church in the county. By the 1920s, “Mormons were a minority in Green River and in Mohrland” (221). But by the last quarter of the twentieth century, the LDS Church in Emery County was once again prospering. Emery

Stake became the Castle Dale Utah stake in 1974, joined by two more: the Huntington Utah (1977) and the Ferron Utah (1981) stakes. (388).

Linda Sillitoe. *A History of Salt Lake County*. Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society/Sevier County Commission, 1996. xii, 370 pp. Map, photographs, notes, bibliography, index. \$19.95. ISBN 0-913738-04-2

Nineteenth-century British traveler Sir Richard Burton observed that any event in Utah has three explanations: "that of the Mormons, which is invariably one-sided; that of the Gentiles, which is sometimes fair and just; and that of the anti-Mormons which is always prejudiced and violent" (61). While such a mixture makes for turbulent politics, it makes for fascinating history. Sillitoe's lively narrative maintains a balance among all three. She also resists the pull of making the city history into the county history and of making either into Mormon history.

The 1900 census showed that Mormons constituted 40 percent of the county population, but stood at 64.3 percent in 1990 and 92 percent white (129, 5, 313). Sillitoe documents that ethnic diversity was greatest in the county during the 1920s when Jewish, Basque, Japanese, Greek, Swedish, German, Italian, and Syrian neighborhoods provided community services and even

newspapers (135-36). World War I brought more than 200 Serbian volunteers "from Bingham alone," remarkably almost 10 percent of the community's population (147). The German-language *Beobachter*, voice of the German LDS community, added the slogan to its masthead: "American in everything but language" (146). A charming photograph shows the Japanese-American baseball team, posing in uniform before the Salt Lake Buddhist Church, their bats spread out in an attractive fan design (187).

She documents the development of religious diversity in the state (Methodist, Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish congregations were all established during the 1860s [70-72]) and includes a substantial section on county communities outside Salt Lake City proper in each of her chronological chapters. Murray in the 1890s could count "forty-seven saloons, breweries, gambling establishments, dance halls, and brothels." Its town motto was "If Anybody Went Dry on State Street in Murray It Was Their Own Fault" (105). Midvale was named in 1909 when it incorporated to resolve a triple identity crisis: "The post office was West Jordan, the town was East Jordan, and the railroad was Bingham Junction" (151). Sillitoe admits that the west side "tended to be a dumping ground for the rest of the valley" and points to laggard services offered in that sector: Granger and Hunter had no zoning ordinances

until 1965; Utah Power and Light did not install streetlights in Granger until 1962 (210).

By 1920, Utah was the second largest silver producer in the world, third in lead, and fourth in copper. Nationally it produced 38 percent of total zinc, 14 percent of its lead, and for percent of its gold for a total of "20 percent of the national's mineral wealth" (153-54, 129). A surprising amount of this mining and processing took place within the county. Communities in the southwest part of the valley remained tied to the defense industry, which employed 20 percent of the state's population, making Utah's economy the "third most oriented toward defense in the nation" by 1963 (211).

Mormon readers will be particularly interested in Sillitoe's account of weekly Tuesday breakfasts during the 1950s and 1960s among David O. McKay, Gus Backman, executive director of the Chamber of Commerce, and *Salt Lake Tribune* publisher John F. Fitzpatrick and his successor John W. Gallivan:

Between them, these men linked the interests and resources of religion, the capital city, and the media in a locus of power fused entirely outside democratic channels. The importance of this triad in affecting development and policy in the valley cannot be overstated though their decisions were informal and largely undocumented. . . . An LDS general authority, a Salt Lake City commissioner, and a state senator individually bemoaned the end of the break-

fasts as the loss of a single group that could "consistently get anything done."

. . . Unrepresented at the power breakfasts were "the county" as opposed to "the city," particularly the southwest sector, labor, ethnic, and racial minorities and women. Together these groups comprised a majority of valley residents. (206).

Sillitoe also turns in a lively account of the J. Bracken Lee (mayor) vs. W. Cleon Skousen (public safety commissioner) feud during the 1960s that ended with the fired Skousen's founding of the Freeman Institute which was instrumental in Senator Orrin Hatch's 1976 election (216-18). She also notes that "events in Salt Lake County between 1974 and 1990 inspired at least eighteen non-fiction books and a half dozen television feature films" (270) including several crimes with Mormon connections (serial killer and Mormon convert Ted Bundy, the Ervil LeBaron-ordered murders, and Mark Hofmann) along with the Equal Rights Amendment, the International Women's Year, the ex-communication on the East Coast of Logan native daughter Sonia Johnson, and the Church's blocking of the MX missile-siting project (251-300).

M. Guy Bishop. *A History of Sevier County*. Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society/Sevier County Commission, 1997. xii, 321 pp. Map, photographs, notes, appen-

dix of Sevier County officers, index. \$19.95. ISBN 0-913738-07-2

Illustrating his point of the "human tenacity" (6) required in Sevier County, Guy Bishop begins this history with a catalog of earthquakes (twenty-nine "noticeable" in the last century), droughts, floods (some possibly caused by too-successful cloud-seeding experiments during the 1950s), cricket infestations, and other natural disasters (1-6). The county's name is a corruption of "Rio Severo," a Spanish description of the county's largest turbulent stream (59). First settled by Mormons in 1864, the nascent villages were immediately disrupted by the Black Hawk War, which was not fully resolved for five years (70-71).

One of the most interesting conflicts of early settlement, preceding the formal establishment of LDS units, was a land dispute between "self-appointed stake president William Morrison and unofficial bishop Nelson Higgins" who spent four years alternately calling each other into ecclesiastical courts and refusing to recognize the authority of the other. Brigham Young resolved the dispute by organizing a formal stake over which his son Joseph A. was called to preside, and both men remained active in ward and stake activities (75-77). The stake's experiment with the United Order did not outlast Joseph A. Young's death (92), and polygamy prosecutions also took their toll (119).

Chronically poor, politically conservative, and crowded into a

narrow settlement corridor between mountain ranges that are now Fishlake National Forest, the county suffered during the Great Depression. Bishop makes good use of censuses and surveys to provide snapshots through time of its status. In 1930 "only twenty" of its 653 farms had tractors and only sixty-four "had trucks," although they also reported 693 automobiles, 530 radios, 436 electricity for lighting, 189 had indoor plumbing, and 174 had telephones" (157). In 1928 a school nurse examined 2,438 students and reported 349 cases of "bad tonsils," 612 were "underweight," and 1,143 had "defective teeth" (160). This last finding is particularly interesting since the county in 1935 had six dentists, "one of the higher number of dentists in the rural counties" (208). In 1934, two years before the construction of the first county hospital, "only 10.5 percent of the babies born in the county were born in a hospital" compared to a state average of 35.8 percent (187).

Twenty-four percent of the county residents received federal assistance in 1934-35, the depths of the Great Depression, and Koo-sharem benefited directly from a WPA project that resulted in new privies for every home in the town (188, 178).

During World War II, 250 German prisoners of war were brought in as farm labor, one of twelve POW camps in Utah. A photograph shows seven, smiling shyly beside a

truck piled high with sugar-beets (199). Generally cordial relations were tragically marred when a guard from New Orleans began firing at the tents of the sleeping Germans with a machine gun, killing six and fatally wounding another three (200). This deplorable incident is somewhat balanced by the experience of native son Wilford Barney, who volunteered to be part of the first assault wave in Normandy. "Once in France he was assigned to guard German prisoners of war. For more than twenty years after the war's end he continued to correspond with one of the prisoners" (197).

James Kimball, with cartoons by Pat Bagley. *Mormonism's Colorful Cowboy: J. Golden Kimball Stories*. Salt Lake City: White Horse Books, 1999. 115 pp. \$8.95. ISBN 1-56684-549-1

This compilation of J. Golden Kimball anecdotes by grandnephew James Kimball provides evidence of the enduring appeal of J. Golden Kimball as a maverick—a Mormon of unquestionable devotion with rough-hewn views and a salty vocabulary. A son of Heber C. Kimball, he was a member of the First Council of Seventy from 1892 until his death in 1938. Nephew James Kimball, who has given one-man shows of J. Golden on award-winning PBS Specials, *Remembering Uncle Golden* and *On the Road with Uncle Golden*, reports that "even now,

sixty years after his death, people still come up with stories about Uncle Golden, told and preserved in their families, that are new and delightfully surprising to me" (1). The range of informants—"family members, cowboys, farmers, housewives, college professors, bricklayers, nurses, vegetarians, veterinarians and a myriad of other kind people"—accurately reflects the range of people who loved J. Golden Kimball as their "cowboy Christian who preached the Gospel with wit, compassion, and a sometimes colorful vocabulary" (4).

These eighty-one stories are roughly grouped according to chronology, following main stages in his biography from cowboy youth, to Southern States Mission, to General Authority, with subsections on "swearing," "Word of Wisdom," and "Classic Golden." A section called "Golden's Straight Men" consists of stories involving other General Authorities.

This compilation includes such well-known favorites as Golden's reaction when a reckless driver barely missed him crossing a street near Temple Square. The irate Golden "shook his cane at them" and yelled: "'You sons of perdition! Have you no respect for the priesthood? Can't you tell the difference between a common gentile and one of the Lord's anointed?'" (89)

Less well-known are such tales as J. Golden's appearance at Keely's Restaurant where he bought a cup of coffee, another addiction left over from his cowboy days. A

woman passing the booth “stopped, came back and peered closely at Golden. ‘Aren’t you J. Golden Kimball of the First Council of Seventy?’ she probed, ‘And isn’t that coffee you’re drinking?’” He looked at her for a moment and said, ‘Sister, you’re the third woman today to mistake me for that old son of a bitch!’” (75).

Bagley’s sparkling cartoons, including caricatures of James Kimball and another of J. Golden posing for the feverishly sketching Bagley, add to the fun.

Laurie Teichert Eastwood, ed. *Letters of Minerva Teichert*. Provo, Utah: BYU Studies, 1998. 8 x 11 format. xiii + 229 pp. Illustrations, notes, index. \$29.95. ISBN 0-8425-2356-1

Elaine Cannon and Shirley A. Teichert. *Minerva! The Story of an Artist with a Mission*. Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1997. xiv + 156 pp. Illustrations, including eight pages of full-color reproductions of Teichert paintings, “addenda,” chronology, sources, index. \$19.95. ISBN 1-57008-377-0

John W. Welch and Doris R. Dant. *The Book of Mormon Paintings of Minerva Teichert*. 12 x 9 format. Copublished: Provo, Utah: BYU Studies/Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1997. Full-color reproductions of paintings, appendix of excerpts of letters in which she mentions the Book of Mormon project, no index. \$39.95. ISBN 1-57008-378-9

Mormon artist Minerva Bernetta Kohlhepp Teichert (1888-1976) felt driven to tell the story of her people’s beliefs and achievements in art. A student of Robert Henri at the Art Students League of New York in 1916, she married rancher Herman Teichert in 1917, raised their five children on his spread at Cokeville, Wyoming, and painted hundreds of paintings and murals in oils, drawing her themes from the settlement of the West, the Mormon pioneer past, and scriptural stories. The only woman to paint temple murals, she created a 4,000-square foot wall mural for the Manti Temple in just twenty-three days.

These three books all rode the crest of new interest in Teichert’s art that included a major show of her Book of Mormon paintings at BYU’s Museum of Art in 1997. Of interest to students of Mormon history is her lineage: her grandparents were William A. (“Wild Bill”) Hickman and Minerva Wade Hickman, a convert from New York who married Bill at age nineteen as his third wife.

Teichert wrote letters to her children twice a week and numerous other correspondents, producing hundreds of letters now made available in *Letters of Minerva Teichert*. Eastwood, Teichert’s only daughter, has selected and organized them, including a few letters from her correspondents, in four chronological sections: “Markets for the Art,” “Grand Projects and Great Expectations,” “Acceptance from

the Gentiles,” and “Unrealized Dreams.” Eastwood commendably follows standard editing procedures: reproducing original spelling and punctuation, indicating insertions by angle brackets, showing strikeovers and underlined words, and showing omissions by ellipses. She comments that she deleted repetitive material and “sensitive information about people who are still living” (xiii).

These letters, written in a clear and legible hand (holograph reproduced actual size pp. 35-37) recount the daily life of a devout Mormon mother, concerned about her children, competent at her multitudinous tasks, possessed of vigorous and conservative political opinions, and invigorated by a seamless vision of her art and her faith. In 1953, she wrote Laurie and her husband: “I have three murals to make as quickly as possible so I can’t write much. . . . Dad cut a sage chicken’s wing off with the mower, so I boiled the old bird then roasted him. It made a delicious dinner. I have to talk at Genealogical meeting tonight so will stop here and prepare a bit. . . . Every morning and night we are with you and while we have our prayers. . . . The gospel is first to us at all times. Nothing can take its place” (150).

This larger pattern gave her life significance and coherence despite her disappointment that Church leaders generally did not share her concept of art’s relationship to the gospel. An important letter, written

to J. Reuben Clark Jr., first counselor in the First Presidency, expresses some of these ideas:

The Church must save civilization. There should be a Latter Day Saint Art gallery near the temple block for all the world to see. In it should go the lovely things that have been purchased in past years that have been huddled out of the way in the state capitol.

Most of the authorities of the Church will say, “I am no judge of art” and so excuse themselves from such service. There is not one of you who hasn’t a decided opinion of what is not good—cull it out.

There are only two excuses for bringing a painting into being. It must be either “a thing of beauty” or it must tell a wonderful story. When it does neither—cull it out. . . .

This evil painting under WPA funds is the biggest racket of all. . . .

Sounds like I’m making a plea *for me*. No, I have enough to eat and all the work I’m able to do if I never paint again. I’m just incensed that Utah had so poor an offering for the World’s Fair. No one did anything to stop the horrible things from going. They were not representative of Zion and will do the Church no good. (35, 38).

The second book, *Minerva!*, is a popularly written biography cast in first person, as though Teichert were speaking. For this reason, although it is based on Teichert’s letters, it is probably the least satisfactory of the three books for historians. Although daughter-in-law Shirley Teichert is listed as co-author on the title page, “About the Author” on the inside back flap

deals only with Cannon and the unsigned "Preface" is clearly by Cannon only. According to Cannon, this book is "an enhanced abridgement of some of her [Teichert's] countless, colorful adventures" (xi). John W. Welch, editor of *BYU Studies*, coauthor of *The Book of Mormon Paintings of Minerva Teichert*, and author of this volume's foreword, calls it a "semi-autobiography" (vii). According to Cannon, she wrote this book at Welch's request (xiii).

Certainly Teichert's life, lived always at top speed, provided enough incidents for engaging reading: her poverty-stricken girlhood, her studies in New York, the variety of jobs she took to earn a little money (including dressing as an Indian to perform rope tricks and native dances), studying in New York, her protracted engagement to Herman Teichert (both families were opposed to the match because of religious reasons, but Herman joined the Church after they had been married about fifteen years), ranching first in the Snake River Valley and next in Cokeville, Wyoming, and her painting commissions. The ten-page "Addenda" records personal reminiscences and tributes by several relatives and friends.

Cannon quotes Minerva's son as saying of the manuscript: "It's as if Mother were speaking to me again!" (xiv) However, the phrases assigned to Teichert, especially by comparison with the directness and chattiness of her letters, seem

stilted: "Heartbroken. That is what we were as we wended our way from our beloved little ranch house. . . . I turned back for one more look. A sob caught in my throat as I said, 'Herman, Herman! Look, there go our dreams! Hope is around the corner, I know, but our work and our dreams. . . . Oh, cabin,' I mused, after the manner of Edna St. Vincent Millay, 'I cannot hold thee close enough'" (73).

The most specialized of the three volumes is Welch and Dant's *The Book of Mormon Paintings of Minerva Teichert*, which reproduces 112 plates, the first twelve in black and white, the rest in full color. Prefatory material provides biographical material about Teichert, emphasizing her faith in the Book of Mormon and analyzing the themes, techniques, and details of paintings in this series. A separate essay reports Teichert's relationship with BYU, beginning in the fall of 1935 when she sold a painting to the university, the money to be credited against her oldest son's tuition. She continued a formalized scholarship arrangement for her own children and others until 1962; "but under President Ernest L. Wilkinson the tuition arrangement was apparently phased out" (25). An essay by Marian Eastwood Wardle, "That He Who Runs May Read," also provides biographical and critical material on the artist and the paintings.

Presentation of the plates includes the scripture upon which

Teichert based her scene, critical commentary on the painting, and sometimes additional material, such as a detail or another version of the same scene.

Larry R. King. *The Kings of the Kingdom: The Life of Thomas Rice King and His Family*. 8 x 10 3/4" format. Maps, illustrations, photographs, reproduced documents, notes, 10 appendices, bibliography, index. xiv + 224 pp. \$35 if picked up at 581 S. 630 E., Orem, UT 84058 or \$39.95 for mail orders. (801) 224-0241

New York converts Thomas Rice King (1813-79) and his wife, Matilda Robison King (1811-94) were among the thousands of converts who streamed into Nauvoo, their zeal urging no delay even though Matilda gave birth en route in Ohio, bringing their family to five children under the age of seven. They reached Nauvoo in August 1841, settled in Zarahemla Stake near Montrose, Iowa, and participated in the life of Nauvoo, including missions for Thomas, endowments, and sealings in January 1846. They took their seven children to Utah in 1851 and immediately went to Fillmore where they lived for twenty-five years and prospered to the point that the extended family reputedly controlled "everything in Millard County worth owning" (70). Brigham Young called them to settle Circleville in Piute County and start a United Order, leading to the sharp

criticism of one grandson that "had Brigham taken him out and had him shot it would have been an act of charity, but at that age [Thomas was sixty-three and suffering from heart disease] to send him away to that Godforsaken country at the request of jealous church members in old Fillmore was a shame" (71).

One family story relates how the women and children were left at Cove Fort while the men were in the canyon for wood. The gates had been left unbarred, and several hostile Indians stalked in and demanded food at Matilda's table, then demanded, "You sing now." Matilda hesitated until the other women, frightened for their safety, begged her to sing. She began singing W. W. Phelps's hymn, "Oh, Stop and tell me, Red Man / Who are you, why you roam, / And how you get your living; Have no you God, no home?" The Indians listened with intense interest, insisting that she continue after the first verse. The hymn relates that the Red Man, "decked in native pride, / With feathers, paints and brooches," explained, "I once was pleasant Ephraim" but his race has now "dwindled to idle Indian hearts." Their only hope is to learn the gospel and "live in pure religion" (49-50). After the song was over, the Indians quietly left, and the other women admiringly told her that she had sung the entire hymn, without knowing that she did so, in tongues. According to the Fillmore Ward records, Matilda was called as a counselor in the Relief Society presi-

dency in 1868 but was not set apart because she was "not living the Word of Wisdom." She "smoked a corn-cob pipe most of her life" (66).

The five sons (William Rice II, Culbert, John Robison, Thomas Edwin, and Volney), also all settled in Circle Valley where they industriously participated in the United Order, served missions, and reared large plural families—except for John who remained monogamous and refused to serve a mission but paid tithing, joined the Order at the village of Kingston, which they founded, and supported his brothers' families while they served missions. After seven years in the order, the brothers "came out . . . with less than they had when they joined" (109).

The narrative traces the further history of each brother and competently analyzes the probability (slim to nonexistent) that Josephine Henry King, daughter of Andrew Henry and Margaret Creighton Henry, was actually the daughter of Joseph Smith (145-47). Notable King descendants have included William Henry King, U.S. Senator (1916-40), Culbert Olson, Democratic governor of California (1940-44), and Murray Edwin King (1874-40), prolific socialist editor of the *Intermountain Worker* (1910-15) and later of the weekly *American Appeal* published in Chicago.

Appendices include family records for Thomas and Matilda King's children and grandchildren, a list of Fillmore's original settlers,

maps of Fillmore, the Circleville/Kingston United Order Articles of Incorporation, its members, officers, and directors, family demographics, LDS Church activity ratio (activity is defined as "endowed or married in the temple," 196), maps of Antimony, where some of the brothers moved after the break-up of the order, and patriarchal blessings for Thomas and Matilda.

Restoration Studies V: A Collection of Essays about the History, Beliefs, and Practices of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints. Edited by Paul M. Edwards (series editor) and Darlene Caswell (issue editor). Independence: Herald Publishing House/Park College Graduate School of Religion, 1993.

Restoration Studies VI: A Collection of Essays about the History, Beliefs, and Practices of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints. Edited by Paul M. Edwards (series editor) and Wayne Ham (issue editor), and Joni Wilson (assistant editor). Independence: Herald Publishing House/Park College Graduate School of Religion, 1995.

Restoration Studies VII: A Collection of Essays about the History, Beliefs, and Practices of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints. Edited by Joni Wilson and Ruth Ann Wood. Independence: Herald Publishing House/Temple School, 1998.

Like the earlier volumes in this series, these three most recent volumes explore broadly within the topics outlined in the subtitle. All of these articles—for instance, theological examinations of the peace mission of the RLDS movement and W. Paul Jones's influential presentation, "Demythologizing and Symbolizing the RLDS Tradition" (vol. 5)—have historical importance in defining how some topics are viewed at this moment in time, although readers of the *Journal of Mormon History* probably have a more direct interest in the historical articles.

Ronald E. Romig and John H. Sieberg, "Contours of the Kingdom: An RLDS Perspective on the Legions of Zion" (5:25-40) describe themes of militarism in the thought of Joseph Smith, particularly in Missouri, and conclude: "When viewed as a whole, examples from various periods of church history appear to delineate an emerging militaristic pattern. Struggling to develop appropriate methodologies and short on resources, Joseph felt justified using all means at his disposal. . . . This is no indication of a militant rabble. But rather it is a reflection of the frustration of a movement whose path placed them at an excruciating disadvantage within the larger society" (31).

Enid Stubbart DeBarthe, "Bonds of Tradition: Concepts of God and Gender Roles" (5:77-92), presents a historical overview of gender roles that begins with prehistoric goddess worship and pro-

gresses to the Restoration movement. DeBarthe documents "traditions" that have both included and restricted RLDS women: the earliest document allowing women to vote on ecclesiastical matters dates to 1864. For about sixty years, women were not allowed to meet or pray together without a male elder present. As early as 1935, however, President Frederick M. Smith opened a discussion on expanded roles for women; activism through 1960s and 1970s resulted in a series of legislative motions that culminated in the 1984 revelation granting priesthood ordination to women.

Roger D. Launius, in "Second among Equals: The Reorganized Church, Black Americans, and the American Mainstream" (5:126-38), examines the history of RLDS race relations in the context of trends toward greater tolerance in the larger society, including the bitter-sweet story of devout but marginalized black convert Amy Robbins.

Donald J. Breckon, "The Issue of Homosexuality and the Priesthood Reexamined" (5:139-44) begins with the "fairly liberal" 1982 document on homosexuality adopted by the Standing High Council and examines the three most common arguments against full participation by homosexuals. The article does not explore the historical roots of the 1982 document.

Wayne Ham's "Comment on the Book of Abraham: A Personal Reflection" (5:189-94), despite its ti-

tle, includes a solid overview of the historical background of the Book of Abraham and its status in the RLDS Church ("shaky at first, followed by disengagement, followed by rejection") (191).

Kenneth M. Walker Jr., "John J. Cornish: Study of a Missionary, 1872-1937" (5:197-215) documents the activities of the Reorganization's most effective missionary who baptized more than 1,500 in Michigan, Indiana, Ontario, and Saskatchewan in a sixty-five-year period during which "he served the church as a full-time and self-sustaining minister" (197). He was also a prolific writer, an enthusiastic preacher, and a skilled debater. Appendices provide data on a field assignments, baptisms, ordinations, debates, and missionary companions.

Richard Neitzel Holzapfel and T. Jeffery Cottle, "Capturing the Past: G[eorge] E[dward] Anderson's 1970 Photographic Mission to Missouri" (5:216-39) describes Anderson's systematic effort to photograph sites important in Mormon history with a heavy 8x10 view camera. In Missouri, he took sixty-two photographs, including the temple site, David Whitmer's grave, and Haun's Mill. Eleven photographs illustrate this article. An appendix lists 130 total photographs that Anderson took in Missouri over a seven-year period.

Steven L. Shields, "The Latter Day Saint Movement: A Study in Survival" (6:11-24), identifies "at

least ten identifiable movements" that challenged Joseph Smith's leadership during his lifetime, though none survived him, and "six Latter Day Saint denominations" that emerged from the "period of fragmentation stretching some twenty years after Smith's death" (11).

Kenneth L. McLaughlin, "Doctrine and Covenants Section 111: Another Look" (6:35-40) is interesting because, apparently authored by Oliver Cowdery and unanimously accepted by an 1835 Kirtland conference for inclusion in the Doctrine and Covenants, it has been retained by the RLDS Church ever since but was dropped by the LDS Church in 1876 and replaced with LDS D&C 132. McLaughlin traces the history of this section, including the fact that it was written to defend the Church against charges of "the crime of fornication and polygamy."

Barbara J. Hands Bernauer, "Strangers in the Flesh, But One in the Spirit: George Morey and the Pleasanton, Iowa, RLDS Branch" (6:41-52) reconstructs the life of George Morey, a convert during the Kirtland period, a supporter of Joseph Smith, possibly a Danite in Missouri, and a constable in Nauvoo who became disaffected over polygamy and finally settled in Iowa where a cluster of former Mormons accepted RLDS missionaries in 1859.

Isleta L. Pement traces "Early RLDS Missionary Attitudes To-

ward Native North Americans" (6:53-62) between 1868 and the 1920s, describing the ways in which they both were liberal than and paralleled attitudes of the larger society.

Jack Imrie documents the history of RLDS reunions, beginning in the 1880s in the United States, before continuing with the four "Reunions—A Continuing Tradition of the Saints Church in Australia" (6:63-74) between 1923 and the present, especially the main site of Tiona in New South Wales.

David Irving Cook, "The Early Sunday School Movement in the Life of the RLDS Church" (6:75-86) looks at how the international movement influenced its RLDS counterpart from its formal organization in 1888 until 1930.

Roger D. Launius, in "An American Prophet Abroad: Joseph Smith III's Missionary Trip to the British Isles, 1903" (6:87-100), examines how his unique venture overseas (except for one trip to Hawaii) was influential in the Church's internationalization and also how Joseph III's counselors, Frederick Madison Smith and R. C. Evans, "used the trip in different ways to strengthen their positions within the movement."

Jean-Christophe Bouissou examines the "Evolution of Institutional Purpose in the Restoration Movement" (6:101-6), with particular attention to Joseph Smith III's success in "gently bring[ing] the Reorganization into the twentieth

century." He then explains the objectives of each president, including another major redefinition of identity during W. Wallace Smith's administration.

Ronald E. Romig carefully reconstructs the "Law of Consecration: Antecedents and Practice at Kirtland, Ohio" (6:191-206), a more complex practice than simply beginning with D&C 42 would suggest.

M. Virginia Bruch, "The Nature of the RLDS Church's Commitment to World Peace since World War II" (7:31-46), catalogs World Conference legislation related to peace from 1947 to 1998, plus the Church seal, World Church committees, social ministries, peace conferences and studies, *Saints Herald* articles, and other initiatives, culminating in the temple ministry.

Danny L. Jorgensen, "RLDS Women's Lives: Less Known and Historically Unimportant?" (7:63-72), argues that the dominant definition of RLDS history is male but that viewing "her-stories from the perspective of his-stories is like looking into a mirror: what we see is his reflection." He presents the stories of three "historically unimportant" women, asking, "What . . . could be more important than the untold stories of the vast majority of people who constitute the body of the church of Christ?"

R. Ben Madison, "Beginning at the Rebellion of South Carolina': Joseph Smith's 1832 'Civil War Prophecy'" (7:73-86), asserts that,

contrary to the two current interpretations of this prophecy, "Joseph Smith never wavered in his belief that the Nullification Crisis of 1832 was the 'Rebellion of South Carolina,' and that it was the opening act . . . that would bring about fulfillment of the remainder of the prophecy."

Shelby M. Barnes, "The Higher Powers: Fred M. Smith and the Peyote Ceremonies" (7:87-94), reports Smith's scientific interest in peyote's possibilities in producing heightened consciousness and his participation in peyote ceremonies in 1918 and 1919.

Michael S. Riggs, "From the Daughters of Zion to 'The Banditti of the Prairies': Danite Influence on the Nauvoo Period" (7:95-108), documents that "Danite practices and teachings" from the Missouri war "did not end when they crossed the state line into Illinois" and that several former Danites continued similar activities in Illinois because they could "act without much concern of losing their church membership (at least for any extended period of time)."

Steven L. Shields in "The Latter Day Saints and the Restoration: An Exploration of Some Basic Themes," posits a closer connection between the Mormon "restoration" and the larger American restoration movement commonly called "Campbellite." His overview proposes, among other things, that the First Vision was Joseph Smith's personal conversion, not the found-

ing of a new church, that the Book of Mormon had little to do initially with the Church, that Joseph Smith organized "a church and not a denomination," that his views of authority were drawn from Alexander Campbell, and that the "RLDS Church is closely connected philosophically to Campbellism."

Robert A. Gunderson, in exploring "Historical Influences on the Moses Revelations Presented by Joseph Smith Jr." (7:171-79), concludes that Joseph Smith's environment is inadequate to explain "such radical theological ideas" as a pre-creation plan of salvation, the war in heaven, God's work as the immortality and eternal life of humanity, a spiritual creation preceding physical creation, and the necessity of Jesus Christ in effecting a reconciliation that humans can freely choose.

Kenneth W. Godfrey, Audrey M. Godfrey, and Jill Mulvay Derr. *Women's Voices: An Untold History of the Latter-day Saints, 1830-1900*. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2000. viii, 448 pp. Notes, index. \$16.95. ISBN 0-87579-484-X

This classic volume, the first to tell the story of Mormonism exclusively through the writings of women, was first published in 1982, then issued in a paperback edition in March 1991, to be followed by this redesigned paperback in January 2000. The slightly tinted matt-finished pa-

per somewhat resembles newsprint, although it is not flimsy, and the quality of photographic reproduction is poor. However, the contents remain indispensable for Mormon historians.

Selections from a personal writings of twenty-five women are arranged in nine sections: "Becoming a Mormon" (Sarah Studevart Leavitt and Mary Ann Weston); "Kirtland" (Caroline Barnes Crosby, Mary Fielding Smith, and Hepzibah Richards); "Missouri" (Drusilla Dorris Hendricks, Sarah De Armon Pea Rich, and Elizabeth Haven Barlow); "Nauvoo" (Bathsheba Wilson Bigler Smith and Sally Carlisle Randall); "The Trek Westward" (Eliza Roxcy Snow, Mary Haskin Parker Richards, and Patty Barlett Sessions); "Immigration" (Jean Rio Griffiths Baker Pearce and Patience Loader Rozsa Archer); "Colonization of the Great Basin" (Eliza Marie Partridge Lyman, Lucy Meserve Smith, and Martha Cragun Cox); "The 1870s: A Decade of Collective and Personal Achievement" (Emmeline B. Wells, Mary Jane Mount Tanner, and Susa Young Gates); and "Persecution, the Manifesto, and Statehood" (Julina Lambson Smith, Nancy Abigail Clement Williams, Ruth May Fox, and Rebecca Elizabeth Howell Mace).

Newell G. Bringhurst, ed. *Reconsidering No Man Knows My History: Fawn M. Brodie and Joseph Smith in*

Retrospect. Logan: Utah State University Press, 1996; xiii, 241 pp.; endnotes, notes on contributors, index; \$17.95 paper, \$34.95 cloth. ISBN 0-87421-214-6

This compilation of seven essays is drawn from the papers presented at a symposium held in August 1995, under the joint sponsorship of the Utah Endowment of the Humanities and the University of Utah fifty years after the publication of Fawn McKay Brodie's influential *No Man Knows My History* by Alfred A. Knopf, with a revised edition following in 1977.

The appreciative foreword is by William Mulder, English professor emeritus of the University of Utah, whose library now possesses the Brodie papers—twenty-five linear feet. He quotes Brodie as calling herself "an accidental historian" and also quotes the analogy she used for her students. She compared writing a biography, not to a jigsaw puzzle, where the pieces are precut and must fit together exactly, but to a mosaic in which the biographer selects some out of "millions of small pieces of historical evidence, some of them fraudulent." She stressed that the biographer "does not create the mosaic pieces. If he [sic] invents a single conversation he has become a novelist" (xi-xii).

Newell G. Bringhurst, organizer of the symposium and biographer of Fawn Brodie (since published; see review this issue by Brigham D. Madsen), provides an introduction

to the volume and "Applause, Attack and Ambivalence: Varied Responses to *No Man Knows My History*."

The other six essays are Marvin S. Hill, "Secular or Sectarian History? A Critique of *No Man Knows My History*"; Mario S. De Pillis, "Fawn McKay Brodie: At the Intersection of Secularism and Personal Alienation"; Lavina Fielding Anderson, "Literary Style in *No Man Knows My History: An Analysis*"; Todd Compton, "Fawn Brodie on Joseph Smith's Plural Wives and Polygamy: A Critical View"; and Roger D. Launius, "From Old to New Mormon History: Fawn Brodie and the Legacy of Scholarly Analysis of Mormonism."

Compton, who has since published his own study of the thirty-three women whom he feels there is strong evidence for accepting as Joseph Smith's plural wives (*In Sa-*

cred Loneliness: The Plural Wives of Joseph Smith [Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1997]) commends Brodie for her pathbreaking attempt to identify these women but finds the list of forty-eight "frequently unreliable and . . . somewhat inflated" and her tendency "to view Smith's sexuality as his only motivation" as "reductionist" (173, 158).

Launius measures Brodie's success by "the amount of effort made in the post-World War II era by Mormon historians to take exception to her conclusions." He finds unfortunate their tendency to respond to "the questions she framed rather than pushing into other areas of investigation." Because "Brodie set the agenda" for the New Mormon history, in his terms, "the result . . . has been a stunting of Mormon studies" (196-97).

Great Mormon History!

DESERT BETWEEN THE MOUNTAINS



Desert Between the Mountains

Mormons, Miners, Padres, Mountain Men, and the Opening of the Great Basin, 1772-1869

By Michael S. Durham

"Durham is a skillful writer with an eye for colorful anecdotes. . . . This is a well-written history of the Great Basin at its most easygoing."—*Publishers Weekly*

56 b&w illustrations & 5 maps

\$18.95 Paper *New*



Fawn McKay Brodie

A Biographer's Life

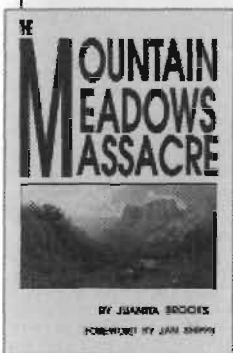
By Newell G. Bringhurst

In this much awaited biography, Bringhurst portrays the life and career of Fawn McKay Brodie, author of some of the most widely read biographies of the twentieth century.

Works by Brodie include biographies of Joseph Smith, Richard Burton, Richard Nixon and Thomas Jefferson.

17 b&w illustrations

\$29.95 Hardcover *New*



The Mountain Meadows Massacre

By Juanita Brooks

"This book remains the definitive work of that dark day in the history of Utah when an emigrant wagon train crossing southern Utah was attacked by Indians and Mormons, and all of the emigrants, with the exception of a few children, were slaughtered."—*Library Journal*

Illustrated and including maps

\$17.95 Paper

University of Oklahoma Press

4100 28th Avenue N.W. • Norman, OK 73069-8218

405.325.2000 or 800.627.7377 • Fax: 405.364.5798 or Fax: 800.735.0476

www.ou.edu/oupres • AMEX • Visa • MasterCard

Printing in Deseret

Mormons, Economy, Politics,
& Utah's Incunabula, 1849-1851

A HISTORY AND DESCRIPTIVE BIBLIOGRAPHY



Richard L. Saunders



Cloth \$35.00

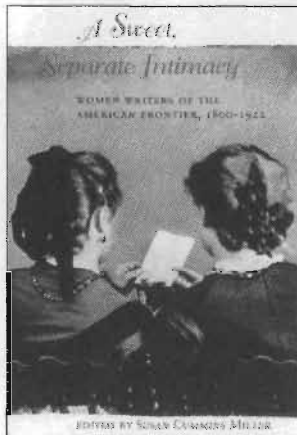
Printing in Deseret

MORMONS, ECONOMY, POLITICS, AND
UTAH'S INCUNABULA, 1849-1851

Richard L. Saunders

"Thoughtful, wide ranging in scope, and painstakingly detailed, *Printing in Deseret* makes a notable contribution to the study of printing's evolution in the nineteenth century American West. . . . [The] accompanying descriptive catalogue of early Utah imprints undoubtedly will become a much valued tool for collectors and scholars."

—Peter J. Blodgett, Huntington Library



Paper \$21.95

Also available in cloth for \$59.95

A Sweet, Separate Intimacy

WOMEN WRITERS OF THE
AMERICAN FRONTIER, 1800-1922

Susan Cummins Miller

"In its range of selections and in its unifying themes *A Sweet, Separate Intimacy* is an ambitious and significant piece of historical and literary excavation that makes a real contribution to our understanding of western women writers."

—Susan Armitage,

Washington State University



THE UNIVERSITY OF UTAH PRESS
(800) 773-6672; fax (801) 581-3365
info@upress.utah.edu; www.upress.utah.edu

UNIVERSITY OF

ILLINOIS

PRESS

Sojourner in the Promised Land

Forty Years among the Mormons

JAN SHIPPS

"Shippo is an ingenious creator, a discover and inventor of illuminating conceptual categories, and a thorough scholar."

— Philip Barlow, author of *Mormons and the Bible*

Illus. Cloth, \$34.95

The Village Enlightenment in America

Popular Religion and Science in the Nineteenth Century

CRAIG JAMES HAZEN

"Well written and informative. . . .

An important contribution to an understanding of antebellum popular science and religion."

— Klaus Hansen, author of *Quest for Empire: The Political Kingdom of God and the Council of Fifty in Mormon History*

Illus. Cloth, \$34.95
Paper, \$19.95



NOW BACK IN PRINT!

The History of the Saints

or, An Exposé of Joe Smith and Mormonism

Third edition

JOHN C. BENNETT

Introduction by Andrew F. Smith

This inflammatory history from 1842 is a titillating concoction of indignation, revelation, and vituperation which, nevertheless, correctly reported on Smith's polygamy and predicted the rise of a Mormon theocracy.

Illus. Cloth, \$34.95

(800) 545-4703



www.press.uillinois.edu

