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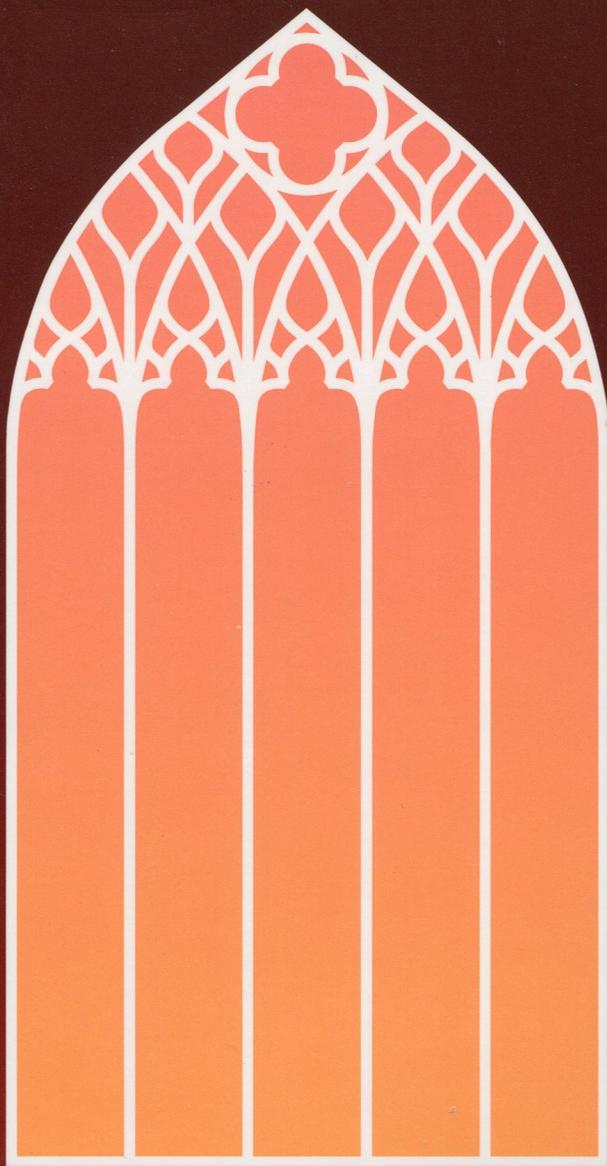
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JOURNAL OF MORMON HISTORY



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

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LETTER

Correction

A recent “Book Notice” that appeared in the *Journal of Mormon History* contained information that was incorrect. The unsigned notice, in describing Gene S. Jacobsen’s *We Refused to Die: My Time as a Prisoner of War in Bataan and Japan, 1942–1945*, stated: “The Tenth Circuit Court of Appeals found that Deseret Book and Hughes infringed Jacobsen’s copyright by copying his experiences verbatim.” The court actually made no such ruling. A federal district

court in Utah dismissed the case and also granted Deseret Book and me a summary judgment in our favor. The Tenth Circuit Court of Appeals in Denver merely remanded the case to the District Court for further consideration, and the matter was ultimately settled out of court.

Mr. Jacobsen died in 2007. He was an impressive and good man and it was an honor for me to know him. I highly recommend his book.

*Dean Hughes
Midway, Utah*

“TEMPLE PRO TEMPORE”: THE SALT LAKE CITY ENDOWMENT HOUSE

Lisle G Brown

THE ENDOWMENT HOUSE, BUILT on the northwest corner of Temple Square in Salt Lake City, was the first building specifically designed for conducting temple rites. Previous structures—Joseph Smith’s brick store in Nauvoo, the Nauvoo Temple, and the Salt Lake City Council House—all contained only temporary modifications to interior rooms for performing the ceremonies, particularly the dramatized ritual called the endowment. This paper examines the pivotal, but largely unrecognized, role of the Endowment House, not only the history of the building itself, but also its role in the development of Mormon temple architecture and interior design.

THE KIRTLAND AND NAUVOO TEMPLES, AND THE COUNCIL HOUSE

The Mormon Church’s first temple, constructed at Kirtland, Ohio, during the 1830s, had two large halls, one for public worship on

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the first floor, and another for educational functions on the second floor, as well as small interconnected offices in the attic. The basement was unfinished. The administration of temple rites occurred primarily in the attic rooms. However, these rooms were not solely reserved for administration of temple rituals; they also served for meetings of various priesthood quorums and councils.¹

Such multi-use rooms also continued in buildings used for temple rituals during the Nauvoo period. When Smith introduced the temple endowment in May 1842, he used the second floor storage room, as well as his adjacent personal office, in his brick store on Water Street.² The storage room also served for meetings of the Nauvoo Female Relief Society, the Nauvoo Masonic Lodge, the Nauvoo Legion, the Nauvoo Seminary, the Anointed Quorum, and various priesthood councils; it also offered a space for drama and talent productions, religious lectures, political speeches, and a classroom. During the 1840s it was literally the center of Nauvoo society.³ While no contemporary description of this upper room prepared for administering the endowment exists, one retrospective account indicated that it “was arranged representing the interior of a temple as much as the circumstance would permit.”⁴ This “arrangement” consisted of dividing the hall into small compartments, using canvas partitions. Nonetheless, Smith recognized the limitations of this modest facility; and according to L. John Nuttall, he told Brigham Young, “This is not ar-

¹For an architectural study of the temple and its construction, see Elwin C. Robison, *The First Mormon Temple: Design, Construction, and Historic Context of the Kirtland Temple* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1997). For a history of the temple’s sacerdotal functions, see Milton V. Backman, Jr., *The Heavens Resound: A History of the Latter-day Saints in Ohio, 1830–1838* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1983), 284–309.

²For a history of Joseph Smith’s store, see Roger D. Launius and F. Mark McKiernan, *Joseph Smith’s Red Brick Store*, WEST ILLINOIS MONOGRAPH SERIES, No. 5 (Macomb: Western Illinois University Press, 1993). For a documentary history of the introduction of Mormon temple rituals in Nauvoo, see Devery S. Anderson and Gary James Bergera, *Joseph Smith’s Quorum of the Anointed, 1842–1845: A Documentary History* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2005).

³Launius and McKiernan, *Joseph Smith’s Red Brick Store*, 19–32.

⁴Lucius N. Scovil, “The Higher Ordinances,” *Deseret Semi-Weekly News*, February 15, 1884, 2.

ranged right but we have done the best we could under the circumstances in which we are placed,” and then he charged the apostle to “organize and systemize” the ceremonies.⁵ After Smith’s death in 1844, Young took this charge seriously; and by the time the Mormons had completed and prepared the Nauvoo Temple for ritual work, he stated, “I understood and knew how to place them there. We had our ceremonies pretty correct.”⁶

Although a revelation concerning the Nauvoo Temple mentioned such rites as washings, anointings, and endowments (D&C 124:39), neither Smith nor the temple architect, William Weeks, identified any particular part of the temple for their administration.⁷ The temple mirrored the Kirtland Temple—two large meeting halls on the ground and second floors, and attic office rooms, as well as a finished basement.⁸ Prior to the temple’s completion, Young indicated that the first floor mezzanine rooms with their large circular windows would be used for the endowment; but when he had men prepare the temple for the ritual, he adopted Smith’s method of using canvas partitions to subdivide a small meeting hall in the temple’s attic. This arrangement included all of the rooms associated with later Utah temples, even using the same nomenclature: creation room, garden room, world room, terrestrial room, celestial room, sealing room, and even a Holy of Holies. Before the Mormons left Nauvoo, they completely stripped the temple’s attic rooms, leaving no evidence of the ritual activities that occurred there—a clear indication that the

⁵L. John Nuttall, Journal, February 7, 1877, in Smith Research Associates, *New Mormon Studies: A Comprehensive Resource Library*, CD-ROM (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1998).

⁶Ibid.

⁷For recent histories of the Nauvoo Temple, see Don C. Colvin, *Nauvoo Temple: A Story of Faith* (American Fork, Utah: Covenant Communications, 2002), and Matthew S. McBride, *A House for the Most High: The Story of the Original Nauvoo Temple* (Salt Lake City: Greg Kofford Books, 2007).

⁸William Weeks, Transverse drawing of the Nauvoo Temple, undated, William Weeks Papers, Library, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City (hereafter LDS Church Library). For a copy of the drawing, see Colvin, *Nauvoo Temple*, 168–69. Unlike the Kirtland Temple, the Nauvoo Temple’s basement was finished with a baptismal font and dressing rooms.

canvas partitions were meant to be only temporary.⁹

Upon reaching the Salt Lake Valley in 1847, Young did not administer any endowments until 1849, when he granted Addison Pratt permission to receive his endowment on Ensign Peak.¹⁰ There are no records of the preparations for conducting the ceremony outdoors. Although it was likely that others also desired the same privilege and Smith had once said that the poor could get their endowments on the mountain tops, obviously Young could not seriously contemplate the continued use of Ensign Peak for administering such rituals.¹¹ He postponed the time until he had a more suitable place—the city’s first public building, the Council House, which was completed in December 1850.¹² Within two months of its completion, he began to administer endowments in the building.¹³ Young had the large hall on the second floor “divided into many little departments by white screens,”

⁹Lisle G Brown, “The Sacred Departments for Temple Work in Nauvoo: The Assembly Room and the Council Chamber,” *BYU Studies* 19 (Spring 1979): 371–73.

¹⁰William S. Harwell, ed., *Manuscript History of Brigham Young, 1847–1850* (Salt Lake City: Collier’s Publishing, 1997), 225. Pratt had been called on a mission to the Pacific islands, from which he planned never to return, so Young granted him a special dispensation and gave him his endowments on July 21, 1849. Brigham H. Roberts, *Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 6 vols. (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1965 printing), 3:386. See also Lynn Arave, “Ensign Peak: Utah’s Mount Sinai,” *Church News*, July 20, 1991, 6, which called it “an outdoor temple.”

¹¹Joseph Smith et al. *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, edited by B. H. Roberts, 7 vols., 2d ed. rev. (1949; rpt., Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1970 printing), 4:608.

¹²The two-story building was forty-five feet square surmounted with a square cupola. Its ground floor was made of hewn sandstone and its second floor was made of adobe with a string course separating them. The interior consisted of a large hall and two offices on each floor. It stood on the southwest corner of South Temple and Main streets until it was destroyed by fire in 1883. Roberts, *Comprehensive History*, 4:13, 420; C. Mark Hamilton, *Nineteenth-Century Mormon Architecture and City Planning* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 136–37.

¹³“Reminiscences of William C. Staines,” *Contributor* 12 (February 1891), on Infobases, *LDS Collector’s Library 2005*, CD-ROM (Orem, Utah:

following the pattern he had used in the Nauvoo Temple.¹⁴ Persons usually referred to these departments as the “endowment rooms.”¹⁵ The building was used for temple rites intermittently until 1855 and the completion of the Endowment House.¹⁶

THE CONSTRUCTION AND DEDICATION OF THE ENDOWMENT HOUSE

Although there are no records giving specific reasons for the construction of the Endowment House, one author speculated that, “realizing the great importance of the Endowment, and realizing, that it would take a long time to build the [Salt Lake] temple, it was decided that a temporary building should be erected where these saving ordinances might be given to the Saints.”¹⁷ While this was likely one of the reasons, there was another, perhaps even more pressing, reason: “There might have been confusion and problems in using rooms in the Council House . . . for the temple ceremonies; or with the influx of gentiles and appointed federal officials, it became expedient for the church to erect an edifice where temple ordinances could re-

Infobases Media Corp., 2004, 2005). Staines wrote, “I was appointed to take charge of the endowment rooms in the Council House in January, 1851. I commenced giving Endowments February 28th, 1851.”

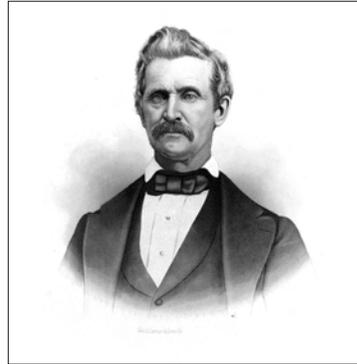
¹⁴John Hyde, *Mormonism: Its Leaders and Designs* (New York: W. P. Fetridge & Company, 1857), 91. Hyde did not use the names “garden room,” “world room,” etc., in his exposé but called the partitioned rooms “compartments.” This does not mean that the typical temple room names for these “compartments” were not used by those who administered the endowment.

¹⁵“Reminiscences of William C. Staines;” see also Journal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (chronological scrapbook of typed entries and newspaper clippings, 1830–present), January 24, 1852, 1, LDS Church Library.

¹⁶There were 2,222 endowments (966 men and 1,256 women) administered in the Council House, between 1851 and 1854. Gil Bradshaw, “The Council House as a House for Sacred Ordinances in the Early Church,” Office of Research and Creative Activities, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, <http://orca.byu.edu/Content/jug/2002reports/2002religion.html> (accessed June 1, 2007).

¹⁷A. Wm. Lund, “The Endowment House,” *Improvement Era* 39 (April 18, 1936): 213.

Photo 1. Engraved portrait of Truman O. Angell Sr. from Orson F. Whitney, History of Utah, 4 vols. (Salt Lake City: George Q. Cannon & Sons, 1892–98), 1:507.



main sacred from the growing non-Mormon community.”¹⁸ Indeed, another author emphasized the difficulty in administering temple rites in such a multi-use building, especially one in which there were offices for federal officers.¹⁹

I have found no indication about who was responsible for the Endowment House’s design. Conceivably, Young would have discussed the building’s function with its architect, Truman O. Angell.²⁰ Young had ample experience in building temples, having worked on both the temples at Kirtland and Nauvoo. So had Angell, who had supervised the final interior finishing work of the Nauvoo Temple after Weeks left with Young for the West.²¹ More importantly, Young had supervised the ordinances; and both Weeks and Angell had received their own endowment, marriage sealing, and second anointing in the Nauvoo Temple. Clearly, they would have understood the physical requirements for administering temple rituals.

Angell commenced working on the plans for the Endowment

¹⁸James Dwight Tingen, “The Endowment House, 1855–1889,” 5, Senior History Paper (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University, Provo, 1974); photocopy of typescript in my possession.

¹⁹Eugene E. Campbell, *Establishing Zion: The Mormon Church in the American West, 1847–1869* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1988), 168.

²⁰Truman O. Angell’s son, Truman O. Angell Jr., appears later in this paper. For clarity, I refer consistently to the father as “Angell” and to the son as “Angell Jr.”

²¹For a biographical sketch of Angell, see David A. Whittaker, “Truman O. Angell: Architect and Saint,” in Donald O. Cannon and David A. Whittaker, eds., *Supporting Saints: Life Stories of Nineteenth-Century Mormons* (Provo, Utah: BYU Religious Studies Center, 1985), 133–68.

House in the spring of 1854. In mid-March he noted in his journal that he “had a plan for a house to give endowments to the saints in.”²² He completed another plan in September of that year.²³ While Angell worked, on April 28, 1854, surveyors laid out the building’s site on the northwest corner of the Temple Block, approximately where the North Visitors’ Center now stands, but the Endowment House ran north and south, while the North Visitors’ Center runs east and west. However, Angell’s ill health during much of 1854, as well as his increased work load on the Salt Lake Temple and other projects, such as the construction of a large bowery north of the first Tabernacle, probably interfered with beginning the Endowment House project. It was not until the fall of 1854 that workmen began laying the foundation of the Endowment House. They completed that phase of their work on September 11. By the beginning of December the building’s walls and roof were up. Workmen commenced plastering the interior walls in February 1855, and painters were at work the following month.²⁴ The building was finished by April 27, 1855. On that day Church Historian George A. Smith wrote, “The Endowment House is finished and is a beautiful building.”²⁵ It reportedly cost \$10,000.²⁶

On May 5, 1855, Young and a party of eleven men assembled in an upper room of the Endowment House and dedicated the building. Heber C. Kimball offered the dedicatory prayer, petitioning the Lord’s approval and calling for his blessing on each room separately, as well as all the materials used in its construction, from the foundation to the chimney top. During the dedicatory services Young stated that the building would be called “The House of the Lord,” and that the Salt

²²Truman O. Angell, Journal, 1851–56, March 18, 1854, LDS Church Library. One of Angell’s drawings of the Endowment House is dated March 1854. See Truman O. Angell, Endowment House Drawings, Drawing 1, LDS Church Library.

²³Angell, Endowment House Drawings, Drawing 2, September 1854. The collection also includes a third undated drawing.

²⁴Journal History, April 28, 1854, 1; September 11, 1854, 1; December 6, 1854, 1; February 6, 1855, 1; February 7, 1855, 1; George A. Smith, Letter to Editor, March 29, 1855, *Millennial Star* 17 (June 23, 1855): 397.

²⁵George A. Smith, Letter to Editor, April 27, 1855, *Millennial Star* 17 (August 11, 1855): 507.

²⁶*Deseret News 1976 Church Almanac* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1976), G34.

Lake Temple would be called “The Temple of our God.”²⁷ Regardless of Young’s assertion on that occasion, the new structure was rarely called the House of the Lord. During its construction it was typically called the “endowment rooms.”²⁸ Angell referred to the building on his plans as the “Temple Pro Tem” or “Temple Pro Tempore.” Near the time of its dedication it became known as the Endowment House.²⁹ Indeed, its function was perfectly represented by this name. Shortly after its completion, English traveler Frederick Piercy observed, “The Endowment House, on the N. W. Corner of [the] Temple Block, [is] used by the L. D. Saints for the purpose indicated by its name.”³⁰

THE ENDOWMENT HOUSE: EXTERIOR APPEARANCE

Angell’s architectural drawings are indispensable for determin-

²⁷Journal History, May 5, 1855, 1. On the day of its dedication, Wilford Woodruff also called it the “House of the Lord.” Scott G. Kenney, ed., *Wilford Woodruff Journal, 1833–1898*, typescript, 9 vols. (Midvale, Utah: Signature Books, 1983–85), 4:316. In a sermon given the day after the dedication, Brigham Young said, “We have completed what some call the Endowment House, though what I call the House of the Lord.” May 6, 1855, *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (London and Liverpool: LDS Booksellers Depot, 1854–86), 3:159. Eight months later, the First Presidency stated in a general epistle that the building “received the name of the ‘House of the Lord.’” “Thirteenth General Epistle,” *Millennial Star* 18 (January 26, 1856), 5.

²⁸The Journal History frequently referred to the building under construction as the “endowment rooms”: April 28, 1854, 1; September 11, 1854, 1; December 6, 1854, 1. This terminology was likely a carry-over from the “endowment rooms,” the term used for the rooms in the Council House. Journal History, January 3, 1852; 1; January 24, 1852, 1. However, as late as August 1855, Thomas Bullock noted that he was writing a letter for Heber C. Kimball in the “Endowments Rooms,” by which he must have meant the Endowment House which had been dedicated three months earlier. Journal History, August 31, 1855, 1.

²⁹Journal History, May 5, 1855, 1, LDS Church Library. As early as March 29, 1855, George A. Smith, Letter to the Editor, *Millennial Star* 17 (June 23, 1855): 397, called the building the “Endowment House.”

³⁰Frederick Piercy, *Route from Liverpool to Great Salt Lake Valley* (Liverpool: Franklin D. Richards/London: Latter-Day Saint Book Depot, 1855), 110. For a discussion of Piercy’s travels, art work, and publication of *Route from Liverpool*, see L. Matthew Chatterly, “Frederick Piercy: English Artist on the American Plains,” *Mormon Historical Studies* 4 (Fall 2003): 77–96.

ing the exterior appearance of the original Endowment House.³¹ Also valuable are photographs of the building, a number of which have been published.³² As useful as these photographs are, they show the building only after the 1856 additions (Photos 2 and 3). They also

³¹Angell, Endowment House Drawings. His three drawings include floor plans, transverse sections, framing details, and plans of the cornice molding.

³²“Endowment House, Temple Block, Salt Lake City,” undated photograph in Charles R. Savage Collection, Mss P 24, Item 420, Perry Special Collections; “Endowment House,” PH 482, photograph, dated ca. 1888, LDS Church Library; “Salt Lake City Endowment House,” undated photograph in Classified Photo Collection, Classification no. 726.18, p. 1, Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City. This photograph has been published in N. B. Lundwall, *Temples of the Most High* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1968), 229; Harold L. Snow, “Dedicating the Old Endowment House,” *Young Woman’s Journal*, 38 (July 1927): 418; Nelson B. Wadsworth, *Set in Stone and Fixed in Glass: The Great Mormon Temple and Its Photographers* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1992), 80; and Douglas F. Tobler and Nelson B. Wadsworth, *The History of the Mormons in Photographs and Text: 1830 to the Present* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1987), 206, reproduced as the third photograph in this article. “Endowment House, Temple Block, Salt Lake City” photograph dated ca. 1880, number PH 500 18 1, LDS Church Library; and “Salt Lake City Endowment House,” n.d., No. 726.18, p. 2, Utah State Historical Society. This photograph was taken on the same date as the one above, but from a slightly different location. Published in *The Salt Lake Temple: A Monument to a People*, based on the research and study of C. Mark Hamilton and written in collaboration with the concept and design of C. Nina Cutrubus (Salt Lake City: University Services, 1983), 198 (hereafter cited as [Hamilton and Cutrubus], *Salt Lake Temple*). “Endowment House,” photograph dated ca. 1875 in C. R. Savage Collection, Mss P 24, Item 716, Perry Special Collections; “Salt Lake City Endowment House,” n.d., classification no. 726.18, p. 3, Utah State Historical Society; “Endowment House,” n.d. PH 1300 154, LDS Church Library. For published copies, see Joseph Fielding Smith, *Essentials in Church History* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1966), 580; William G. Slaughter, *Life in Zion: An Intimate Look at the Latter-day Saints, 1820–1995* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1995), 43; Hamilton, *Mormon Architecture*, Plate 70, reproduced as the second photograph in this article. “Salt Lake Temple Square,” n.d., Classification no. 726.1, p. 2, Utah State Historical Society. This photograph shows the Tabernacle, completed in 1867, with the Endowment House in the background, printed in



Photo 2. Endowment House, photograph by Charles William Carter, n.d. This photograph has a clear view of the eastern side of the building with its windows and blind windows. The northern extension is to the right. Plainly visible is its frame ridge-line passageway running the length of the extension's top, as well as the dark line on the passageway's extreme right, indicating a slit, or vent, opening into the interior. The door beneath the porch opens into the northern extension's interior. Partially hidden on the left is the one-story southern extension with its interior chimney and porch. Stones for the Salt Lake Temple are in the foreground. Photograph (PH 1300 154) courtesy of the LDS Church Library, Salt Lake City.

only show the building's eastern and southern sides. There are no known close-up photographs of its northern or western sides. The following description is based mainly on Angell's drawings and the photographic record. I have also prepared elevations of the building as originally built (Plate 1) and its final appearance (Plates 2 and 3) for the reader's reference.

[Hamilton and Cutrubus], *The Salt Lake Temple*, 195. "Endowment House," n.d., PH 481, LDS Church Library.



Photo 3. Endowment House, ca. 1880s, photograph by Charles R. Savage. This view from the southeast clearly shows the building's southern extension on the left with its two windows and door beneath the porch, as well as its interior chimney. The greenhouse—then under construction—with its sharply downward slanted roof line is on the southern extension's far left. The northern extension is barely visible to the right. Photograph (PH 482) courtesy of LDS Church Library.

The Building's Original Exterior Appearance

As originally built, the Endowment House was a two-story gabled, adobe structure. After entering Salt Lake Valley, Church leaders at Young's direction decided that adobe would be the primary material used for construction.³³ Many of the Saints adopted Young's counsel: "The houses [of Salt Lake City] are built of adobe, and are generally

³³Hamilton, *Mormon Architecture*, 107–8. After the Saints voted to build the Salt Lake Temple with "the best material that America affords," Brigham Young extolled the virtues of adobe, claiming it would outlast stone and endure for thousands of years. Brigham Young, October 9, 1852, *Journal of Discourses*, 1:218–20. In one sense, Young was correct. A guide to Utah stated, "Even in Salt Lake City old adobe houses stand up indomitably to the years, the very earth of their dooryards seem to have crumbled sooner. In smaller towns these houses retain their pioneer flavor of accomplishment; often they are still the best houses in town, despite modern structures of pressed brick, white-painted wood, or stone." *Utah: A Guide to the State*. American Guide Series (New York: Hasting House, 1945), 4.

small and one story.”³⁴ Adobe bricks made of unfired clay were a natural choice for building material because of the ready availability of water, clay, and sand, which was mixed with straw or grass. The bricks could be made in any convenient size, but were commonly six-to-eight inches thick, and eight-to-ten inches wide by twelve- to-eighteen inches deep. One source stated that the adobe bricks used in Salt Lake City structures were typically eight by sixteen inches.³⁵ Often the bricks were made on the building site. However, the relatively soft bricks, with their low load-bearing capacity, required thicker walls than those made with fired bricks. For this reason, adobe buildings like the Endowment House rarely rose more than two stories and required two-foot-thick walls. However, the thick walls proved beneficial, because they were “energy efficient, keeping interiors warm during the severe winters, and cool during the hot summer months.”³⁶

The building was thirty-four feet wide by forty-four feet long, running on a north-south axis, with a twenty-foot-square one-story extension on the northern side. Sandstone footings supported its thick adobe walls. Four tall interior chimneys rose out of its wood-shingled roof, which had a moderate pitch. The main box of the Endowment House’s eastern side consisted of seven windows placed in four ranks, the two central ones containing four windows corresponding to the building’s two interior floors (Plate 1, East Elevation). The southernmost rank (to the left) had a single window at the ground floor and a blind window above it on the second floor.³⁷ The northernmost rank (to the right) had no window on the ground floor and only a blind window above it on the second floor. I will discuss the reason for this curious feature later. The windows and blind windows had stone lintels and sills, probably fashioned out of sandstone or limestone. The win-

³⁴George Ripley and Charles A. Dana, eds., *The New American Cyclopaedia: A Popular Dictionary of Knowledge*, 16 vols. (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1858–63), 14:308.

³⁵Lawrence, Kansas, *Herald of Freedom*, January 27, 1855, quoted in Richard H. Thornton, *An American Glossary*, 2 vols. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1912), 1:6.

³⁶Hamilton, *Mormon Architecture*, 107–8.

³⁷A blind window is one that is filled in, “having the appearance of a window.” Francis D. K. Ching, *A Visual Dictionary of Architecture* (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1995), 24. The Endowment House’s blind windows were filled with adobe bricks.

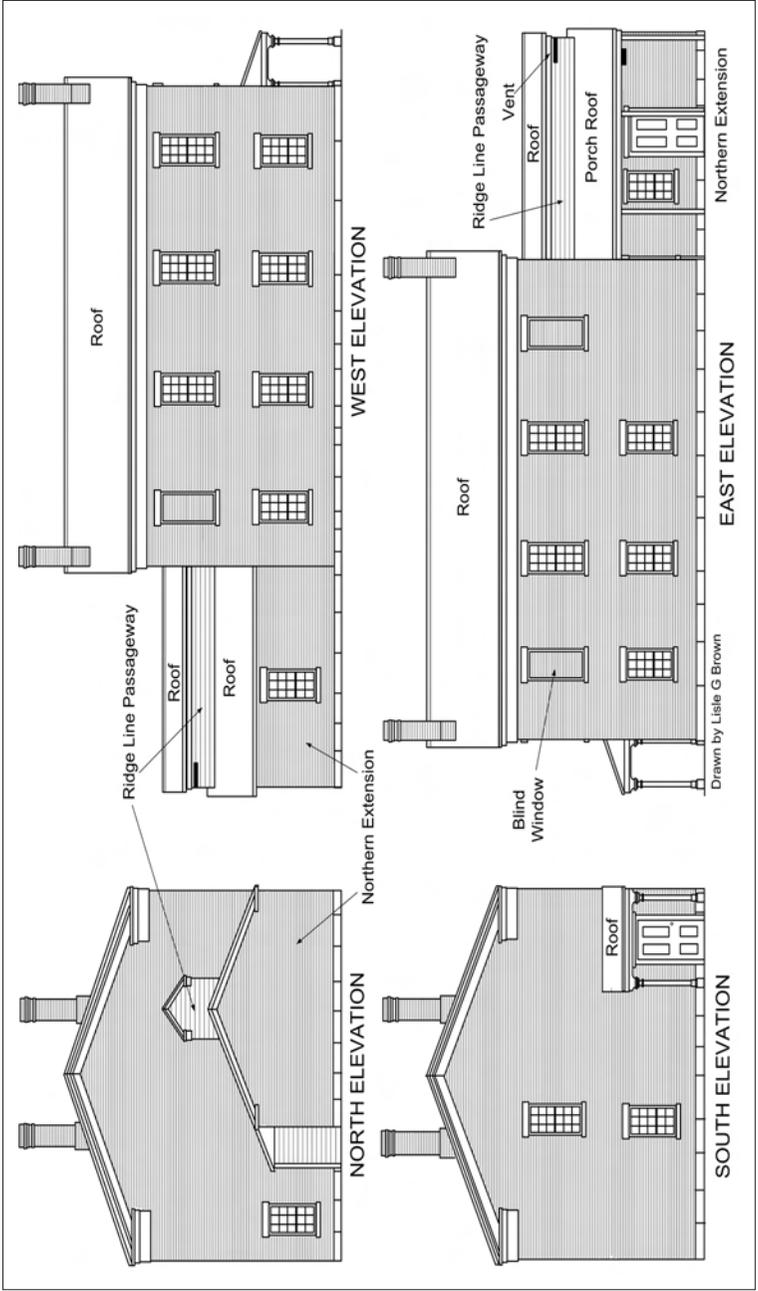


Plate 1. Salt Lake City Endowment House, 1855, elevations of all four sides. Drawn by Lisle Brown.

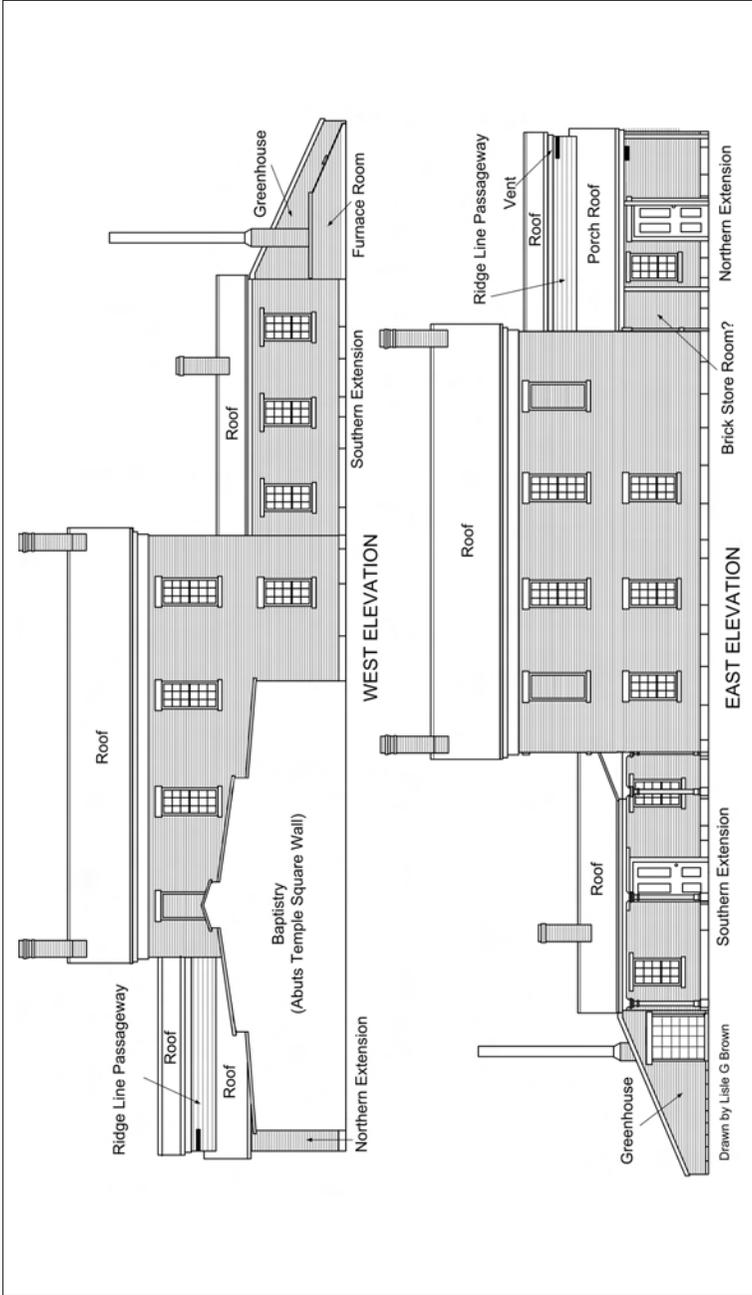


Plate 2. Salt Lake City Endowment House, ca. 1889, east and west elevations. Drawn by Lisle Brown.

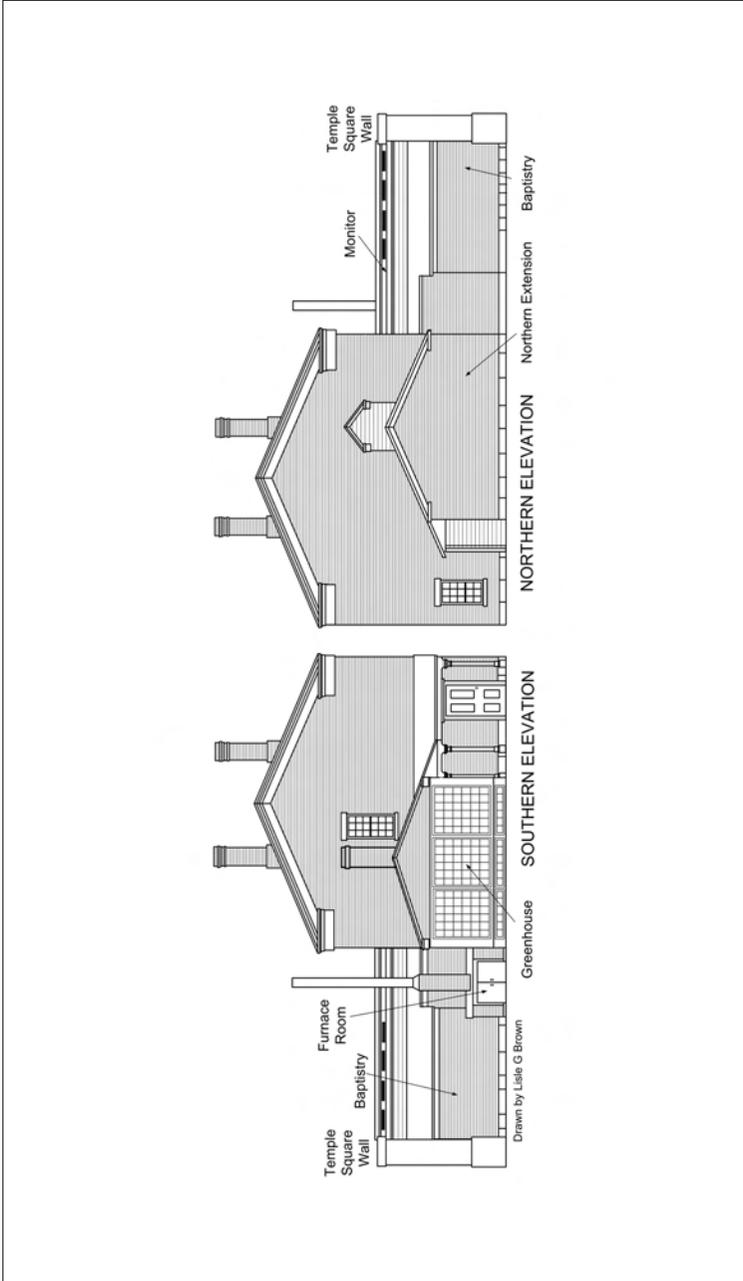


Plate 3. Salt Lake City Endowment House, ca. 1889, north and south elevations. Drawn by Lisle Brown.

dows were double hung—the lower ranks with 9/6 lights and the upper ranks with 9/9 lights.³⁸ The building had a wide, plain continuous cornice.

The box of the western facade basically mirrored the Endowment House's eastern facade: eight windows in four ranks (Plate 1, West Elevation).³⁹ There are no known photographs of the western side of the building, but the windows must have been the same as those on the eastern side; the upper windows were double hung with 9/9 lights and the lower windows were double hung with 9/6 lights. However, the upper window in the northernmost rank (to the left) was a blind window. Again, the reason for this arrangement will be addressed later.

The only known depiction of the building's western side is a drawing, sketched by Sir Richard Burton, the noted world traveler, who visited Salt Lake City in 1860 (Plate 4). His drawing, made looking eastward from outside Temple Square, accurately depicts the building's roof line and chimneys and the upper portion of four windows half-visible over the top of the wall. Burton also left a brief description, "The building of which I made a pen and ink sketch from the west, is of adobe with a pent roof and four windows, one blocked up."⁴⁰ This description agrees with Angell's drawings, which shows that the west side had four windows on each floor, with a blind one occupying the northern rank of the second floor.

³⁸"Lights" refer to glass panes in a window. John Harris and Jill Lever, *Illustrated Glossary of Architecture, 850–1830* (New York: Clarkson N. Potter, 1966), 41. The notations 9/6 and 9/9 refer to the arrangement of the panes in the sash. 9/6 means that the upper sash had nine panes of glass arranged in rows three across and three down and the lower sash had six panes arranged three across and two down. 9/9 means that both the upper and lower sashes had nine panes each, arranged three across and three down. Virginia McAlester and Lee McAlester, *Field Guide to American Houses* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1985), 155–56.

³⁹Angell, Endowment House Drawings.

⁴⁰Richard F. Burton, *The City of the Saints and Across the Rocky Mountains to California* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1862), 220. Burton's sketch is reproduced on page 221. Burton accurately described the blind window but did not depict it in his drawing. His drawing also shows the roof lines of the original northern extension and the later-added southern extension with its chimney.

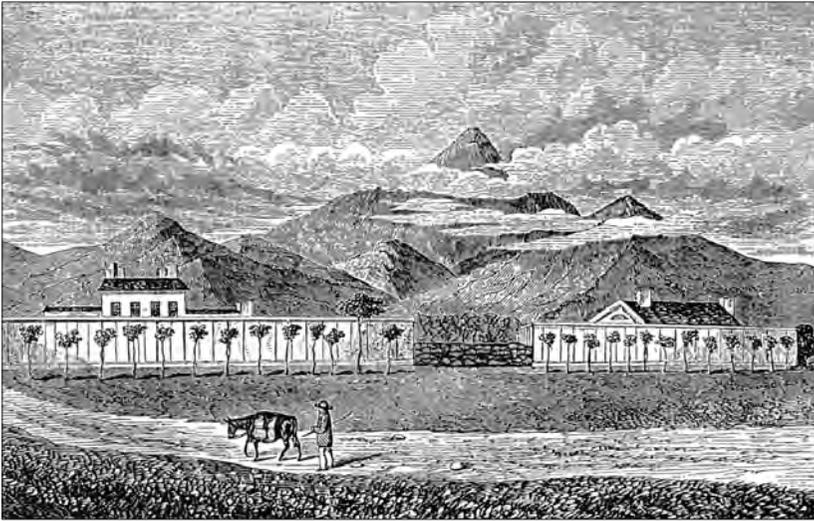


Plate 4. Drawing of the Endowment House (left) and first Tabernacle (right) from outside of the Temple Square wall. Richard F. Burton, The City of the Saints and Across the Rocky Mountains to California (New York: Harper & Bros., 1862), 221.

The southern gable end of the Endowment House had a single door, protected by a wooden porch with two pillars, near its eastern corner (Plate 1, South Elevation). Its two windows (the same design as those on the eastern and western facades) were placed left of center, one for each of the building's two floors. There were cornice returns on the gable ends, but no ornamentation in the gable.

The building's northern extension was an addition to the building, one-story high and twenty feet square. Because it was a single story, its adobe walls were only one foot thick. Its pitched roof extended out over a wooden porch that ran the full length of its eastern side (Plate 1, East Elevation). Three square, plain pillars supported the porch, which appears to have been enclosed on its northern side. The porch's roof protected a doorway and a single double-hung window. On the extension's western side was a single double-hung window (Plate 1, West Elevation).

A narrow covered passageway straddled the ridge of the roof, running the full length of the northern extension (Plate 1, two upper drawings and lower right drawing). This structure was covered with wood cladding and had a pitched roof. The function of this passage-

way will be addressed during the discussion on the interior of the Endowment House.

Photographic evidence suggests that the northern end of the extension, including the ridge passageway, had no windows. A number of photographs, taken from Arsenal Hill, show Temple Square, including the upper part of the Endowment House.⁴¹ Because of the great distance from the camera lens to Temple Square, the photographs of the Endowment House lack detail. However, it is apparent that the northern side of the extension was windowless, and it is so depicted in Plate 1 (North Elevation).

In a photograph (Photo 2) of the northern extension's east side, there is a dark line at the far end of the ridge line passageway. This line suggests that there was a horizontal, narrow opening (actually a vent) in the side of the passageway, and so is depicted on Plate 1 (East Elevation). The photographs taken from Arsenal Hill show that this feature did not extend across the northern side of the passageway. Presumably there would have also been another opening on the western side (Plate 1, West Elevation). These two openings likely served for both lighting and ventilation.

A description in the *New York Times* summarized the building's original appearance, "The Endowment House is a plain two-story structure with an extension and [looks] very much like an ordinary dwelling house."⁴² This was the Endowment House's appearance for about a year and a half until the completion of two additions to the building in the fall of 1856.

The Building's Final Exterior Appearance

Apparently, the lack of a baptismal font in the city proved troubling. Charles Lyon recalled, "Since there was no baptismal found [sic] at the Endowment House at this time, the creek [City Creek]

⁴¹See "Salt Lake Tabernacle," photograph, ca. 1867, in C. R. Savage Collection, Mss P 24, Item 181, Perry Special Collections; "West Side of Salt Lake City," photograph, ca. 1870, in C. R. Savage Collection, Mss P 24, Item 100, Perry Special Collections; and "Salt Lake City from Arsenal Hill," photograph, dated 1875, in C. R. Savage Collection, call no. PH 1778 2 2, LDS Church Library.

⁴²"Mormonism Just As It Is," *New York Times*, May 27, 1887, 6.

nearby was damned off, and people were baptized in this.”⁴³ Church leaders decided to construct a font, or baptistry, on the western side of the Endowment House the year following its completion. By late August 1856, stone carvers had started on a baptismal font.⁴⁴ The work advanced quickly; and on September 3 masons began placing the font’s coping.⁴⁵ A group of brethren dedicated the font on October 2, 1856, with Heber C. Kimball offering the dedicatory prayer.⁴⁶ Three days later, Samuel W. Richards wrote, “A splendid Font of hewn rock has been built near the Endowment-house, inside the Temple Block wall, and dedicated for use.”⁴⁷ Brigham Young summarized the uses for the font: “We have a font that has been erected, dedicated expressly for baptizing people for the remission of sins, for their health and for their dead friends.”⁴⁸

Defects in the font may have led to its repair or replacement. As

⁴³“Charles Lyon,” http://lyon.org/wiki/index.php?title=Charles_Lyon (accessed October 29, 2007). Charles Lyon was born in England in 1847 and was raised by his grandparents. They all came to Utah in 1862 when he was fifteen. He married Mary Ball in 1869, and they had eleven children. In 1975, the family moved to a farm near Basalt, Idaho, in the Snake River Valley, where he was living at the time of his death in 1935. Anonymous, “Charles Lyon,” http://lyon.org/wiki/index.php?title=Charles_Lyon (accessed October 29, 2007).

⁴⁴Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, and Wilford Woodruff visited the workshop on Temple Square where masons were preparing the font. Woodruff, *Journal*, 4:440.

⁴⁵Journal History, September 3, 1856, 1. Coping is the final, top course of stone, indicating the font was nearing completion.

⁴⁶Woodruff, *Journal*, 4:458–61.

⁴⁷Samuel W. Richards, Letter to Editor, October 7, 1856, *Millennial Star* 19 (January 17, 1857): 42.

⁴⁸Brigham Young, September 4, 1873, *Journal of Discourses*, 16:187. Baptisms for the living were also performed in this font. Reed Smoot was baptized in the Endowment House font at age eight, as were Louis G. Hoagland, Ross D. Lyon, John H. Taylor, and Fred Kohler. Andrew Jenson, *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia* (1901; rpt., Salt Lake City: Western Epics, 1971), 1:180; 2:365, 540; 4:72, 416. However, records for living baptisms in the Endowment House were not kept. Ordinance statistics, *1975 Church Almanac*, F4; and Tingen, “Endowment House,” 14. Baptisms for renewal of covenants were administered after the 1856 dedication, but again

early as 1861 Young took note of defective workmanship, seeing a damaged stone that “had been stopped [from leaking water] with mortar, which was a permanent temporary remedy.”⁴⁹ On June 4, 1864, Young with a small party of men and women met to dedicate a “new font,”⁵⁰ an indication of a refurbished or even a newly constructed font. Up until this time, the font had been used almost exclusively for baptizing for the renewal of covenants, but on this occasion it was also rededicated “for Baptism for the dead. President Brigham Young was mouth & he named in his Prayer every thing from the foundation to the Top, and He said that He felt that the Lord Accepted the Dedication.”⁵¹ The first proxy baptisms for the dead took place some two and a half months later, August 19, 1864.⁵²

While the baptistry was under construction, a decision was also made to further enlarge the Endowment House. A. William Lund,

no records were kept. Woodruff, *Journal*, 4:459–61, 465, records numerous occasions when persons, including missionaries, were baptized for renewal of covenants. He also notes: “It was finally moved that all members of the Legislative Body of the Territory of Utah repent of their sins & go to [the] font at 6 o'clock On the Temple Block & be baptized for the remission of their sins which was Carried unanimously.” *Ibid.*, 4:524. Thirty-seven missionaries were also baptized on the same occasion. Baptisms for health were also conducted, but not recorded. Mary Ann Burnham Freeze recorded in her diary that her two children “were Baptized for the restoration of their health” in the Endowment House in 1876. Mary Ann Burnham Freeze, *Diary*, January 12, 1876, photocopy, Perry Special Collections. Bathsheba B. Smith spoke about “many and marvelous healings wrought by the power of God and faith of the Latter-day Saints in the holy [Endowment] House” “Sketch of Sister Bathsheba Smith: Worker in the Endowment House,” *Young Woman’s Journal* 4 (April 1893): 295–96. For additional information on baptisms for health, see Jonathan A. Stapley and Kristine Wright, “‘They Shall Be Made Whole’: A History of Baptism for Health,” in this issue.

⁴⁹Fred C. Collier, ed. *The Office Journal of President Brigham Young, 1858–1864, Book D* (Mona, Utah: Collier Publishing, 2006), 305. Strikeout in original.

⁵⁰Woodruff, *Journal*, 6:173, 240.

⁵¹*Ibid.*, 240. In a synopsis of his labors for 1864, Woodruff wrote, “Attended the Dedication of the Baptismal font for the Dead in the Endowment House President Young was Mouth.” *Ibid.*, 7:101.

⁵²Wilford Woodruff, *Journal*, 6:240, wrote on August 19, 1864: “I Baptized Sister [Mary Woodard] Sprague in the New Font for & in Behalf of

long the Church librarian, gave the following reason: "Because of increased attendance, an addition was built on the south side of the building."⁵³ Work on the Endowment House's southern extension apparently did not start until the font in the baptistry was nearly completed. On September 15, 1856, workmen began to lay the southern extension's sandstone foundation.⁵⁴ The exact date of the completion of the southern extension is not known; it may have been about the same time as the baptistry, although a construction time of less than three weeks seems unlikely. If completed after the baptistry, there is no record that it was ever dedicated.

There are no drawings of the 1856 additions among Angell's plans. While these additions were being constructed, Young sent him to Great Britain on an architectural mission to study its churches and public buildings for his work on the Salt Lake Temple.⁵⁵ During Angell's absence, William Ward, an English convert who was an accomplished architect as well as a talented sculptor and painter, served as Church architect.⁵⁶ Although he may have prepared plans for the expansion of the Endowment House, he was not present for the build-

his [Samuel L. Sprague's] first [wife] Eliza Caroline Everett Sprague. This was the first [proxy] Baptism in the Font." Although the first font dedication (1864) included the phrase, "We now dedicate this Font to Baptize the Living & the Living for the dead," (ibid., 4:459), apparently no proxy baptisms were conducted until after the 1864 dedication. Tingen, "Endowment House," 13-14, dates the first proxy baptisms at July 25, 1867.

⁵³Lund, "Endowment House," 213.

⁵⁴Journal History, September 15, 1856, 1.

⁵⁵Angell departed on his architectural mission on April 1, 1856, met Apostles Orson Pratt, Ezra Taft Benson, and other missionaries in Boston, and arrived in Liverpool with them on July 13, 1856. After visiting various buildings in Great Britain and France, he returned to Boston on March 1, 1857, and arrived back in Salt Lake City on May 29, 1857. Whittaker, "Truman O. Angel," 154-57; Truman O. Angell, "Autobiography," in *Our Pioneer Heritage*, compiled by Kate B. Carter, 20 vols. (Salt Lake City: Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, 1958-77), 10:195-213.

⁵⁶Ward drew the first perspective elevation of the Salt Lake Temple, because of Angell's lesser abilities in such drawing. William Ward, Letter, March 1892, in D. R. Lyon, *Temple Souvenir Album, April 1892* (Salt Lake City: Magazine Printing, 1892), 5-6; and "Who Designed the Temple," *Deseret Weekly News*, April 23, 1892, 10. Brigham Young had the drawing re-



Photo 4. Enlargement of a photograph of the northwestern corner of Temple Square, taken by Charles R. Savage from the roof of the Salt Lake Temple, ca. 1892–93. It shows the southern extension building and its slanted-roof greenhouse, which remained after the demolition of the two-story Endowment House, which had stood where the plowed field is on the right (north). The whitened section on the inside of the west wall of Temple Square (right side of photo) shows where the baptistry had stood. Photograph (MSS P24 Item 496) courtesy of the L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

ing's construction. He suddenly left Salt Lake City in July 1856, apparently because he felt his work on the Salt Lake Temple had not received adequate recognition.⁵⁷ If he prepared any drawings, they have not survived.

Fortunately, the general footprint, rough dimensions, and orientation of the 1856 additions can be determined from two sources. One is a map of "Temple Block, Salt Lake City," prepared in the 1890s, which included an outline diagram of the then-razed Endow-

produced and widely distributed. Ward also carved Utah's memorial stone for the Washington Monument and the recumbent lion for the Lion House. Allen D. Roberts, "More of Utah's Unknown Architects: Their Lives and Works," *Sunstone* 1 (Summer 1976): 47–48.

⁵⁷[Hamilton and Cutrubus], *The Salt Lake Temple*, 52.

ment House in the northwest corner.⁵⁸ The second is an 1889 Sanborn Company fire insurance map of the structures on Temple Square, including the Endowment House.⁵⁹ The outlines of the building on the two maps are similar (Plate 5). There is, however, one major difference between them. The *Sanborn Map* indicates that the western end of the baptistry abutted Temple Square's western wall, whereas the "Temple Block Map" shows a gap of approximately four feet separating the two walls.

Sometime after the completion of the Salt Lake Temple's exterior walls in 1892, Charles R. Savage took a series of photographs from the temple roof, creating an "aerial" panorama of Salt Lake City. One of his photographs focused on the northwestern corner of Temple Square (Photo 4). That photograph clearly shows the white outline of the demolished baptistry on the Temple Square wall.⁶⁰ It appears that the baptistry's western interior wall was also Temple Square's western inside wall. This is good evidence that the *Sanborn Map* reflects the accurate positioning of the baptistry and that the "Temple Block Map" does not.

As noted above, Angell's drawings do not include the baptistry and there are no photographs of the completed western side of the Endowment House, except for Burton's drawing. His sketch did not depict the baptistry, apparently because its roof line was below the

⁵⁸"Temple Block, Salt Lake City," map reproduced in *House of the Lord: Historical and Descriptive Sketch of the Salt Lake Temple* (Salt Lake City: George Q. Cannon & Sons, 1893), 22 (hereafter cited as "Temple Block Map"). Since the map includes the Temple Annex, it must have been prepared in the 1890s, even though the Endowment House no longer stood. The map appears to be a later version of a map of Temple Square drawn before the Endowment House's demolition in 1889. For this earlier map, see [Hamilton and Cutrubus], *Salt Lake Temple*, 192.

⁵⁹*Salt Lake City, Utah, 1889 Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps* (Chicago: Sanborn Co., 1889), Sheet 10 (hereafter cited as *Sanborn Map*).

⁶⁰"Salt Lake City View," photograph, dated ca. 1880–93 in C. R. Savage Collection, Mss P 24, Item 496, Perry Special Collections. Since the Endowment House does not appear in the photograph, it would have had to have been taken after 1889 when the Endowment House was demolished; 1892 is the most probable date for the series of photographs, since it is unlikely that Savage would have been permitted access to the roof after the temple's dedication in April 1893.

Temple Square wall. The general footprint and orientation of the baptistry can be determined from the two maps in Plate 5. The *Sanborn Map* color key indicates that it was built with adobe walls and had a roof.⁶¹ The baptistry with its dressing rooms was approximately twenty-three feet wide and fifty-two feet long. It was connected to the main building on its eastern side (Plate 3). It appears likely that the northernmost window of the original building's four ground-floor windows was remodeled into a doorway to provide an entrance to the baptistry. In my opinion, the second window was likely enclosed as well, because it would be unnecessary and would have likely distracted from the baptistry's decor.

A photograph taken from atop the Tabernacle in 1866 during its construction by Edward Martin shows the southern side of the Endowment House and a part of the baptistry's roof, whose ridge line ran east and west (Photo 5).⁶² The *Sanborn Map* indicates that it had a tin or slate roof with a wooden vent, rising from its ridge line. The ridge vent was probably a small monitor, which is a raised construction that straddles a ridge, providing the room below with light and ventilation through the use of windows or louvers.⁶³ The number and position of windows, if any, in the baptistry and dressing rooms are not known.

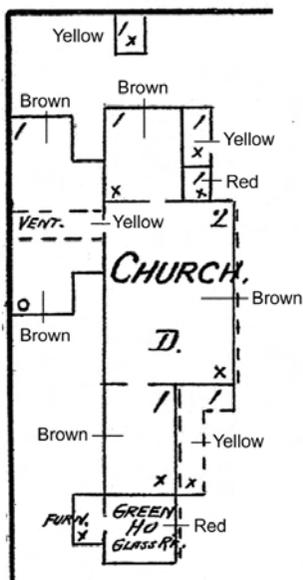
The southern extension was a one-story, gabled structure, also built of adobe (probably with one-foot thick walls like the northern extension), which was longer than its northern counterpart, although

⁶¹One author has speculated that the baptistry was not enclosed but was an "open-air font." Dale Van Boman, "Supplement to 'The LDS Temple Baptismal Font: Dead Relic or Living Symbol?'" (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1985), 8. Such an arrangement seems unlikely because the administration of the baptismal ritual would require privacy, as well as the obvious need for protection from the elements. There was no logical reason to leave it exposed to the open air. Further, the key of the *Sanborn Map* shows that the baptistry was an enclosed adobe building with a roof of tin or slate.

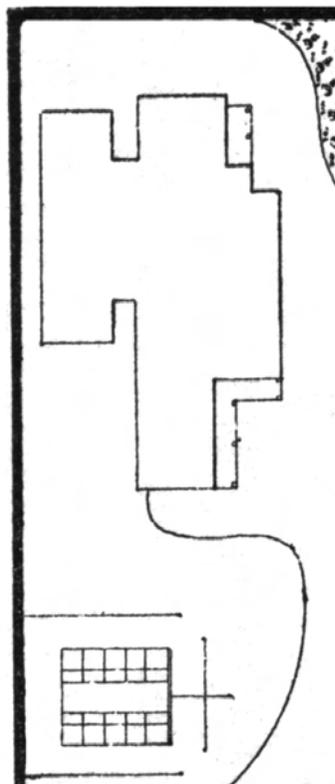
⁶²The date of 1866 can be determined from the exposed Tabernacle's semicircular rafters in the foreground. These were in place by 1866 and the roof "was largely covered" by the spring of 1867. "The Great Mormon Tabernacle at Salt Lake," *Scientific American* 16 (June 8, 1867): 364. The entire Edward Martin photograph can be found in Wadsworth, *Set in Stone*, 51.

⁶³Ching, *Visual Dictionary of Architecture*, 209.

ENDOWMENT HOUSE



SANBORN MAP



TEMPLE SQUARE MAP

KEY

- | | |
|------------------|-----------------------|
| x = Shingle Roof | o = Slate or Tin Roof |
| 1 = Single Story | 2 = Two Stories |
| D = Dwelling | Broken line = Cornice |
| Brown = Adobe | Yellow = Frame |
| Red = Brick | |

Plate 5. Diagrams of the Endowment House, enlarged from maps in House of the Lord (Cannon, 1893), 22, and Sanborn 1889 Salt Lake City Maps, sheet 10. The original Sanborn map is color-keyed; I have added the color names to the plate.



Photo 5. Enlargement of Edward Martin's photograph of the northwestern corner of Temple Square, taken ca. 1866 from atop the Tabernacle. No other known photograph shows any portion of the western side of the Endowment House and its baptistry. The roof of the baptistry can be seen projecting between the Temple Square wall and the four-chimneyed Endowment House. In the photograph's extreme foreground the Tabernacle's exposed rafters are barely visible. Photograph courtesy of the Photo Department, Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, Salt Lake City.

not as wide—nineteen feet wide by twenty-seven feet long.⁶⁴ On the east side its roof extended over a wooden porch (supported by three pillars), which connected to the roof of the porch over the door near the eastern corner (Plate 2, East Elevation). Beneath the new porch was a door and two double-hung windows. Its southern exposure was windowless.⁶⁵ The number and placement of windows on its west side are not known, although there were probably three windows cor-

⁶⁴These measurements are based on the scale used on the *Sanborn Map*. The scale on the "Temple Block Map" is too small to be used for such measurements. The *Sanborn Map* also indicates that it was constructed of adobe, the same as the Endowment House.

⁶⁵See photographs in [Hamilton and Cutrubs], *Salt Lake Temple*, 195; and "Endowment House," photograph, dated ca. 1875, in C. R. Savage Collection, Mss P 24, Item 716, Perry Special Collections. I did not prepare a drawing of the original southern extension's south exposure but only as it

responding to the door and windows in its eastern wall. A large interior chimney rose out of the ridge line of its roof (Plate 2, “West Elevation”).

At some point a greenhouse (Plate 5, identified as a “GREEN HO” on the *Sanborn Map*) was also attached to the extension’s southern wall. Photographs of the building in the mid-1870s do not show this structure, so it must have been a relatively late addition. Two Savage photographs, usually dated in the 1880s, were taken near the time of its completion.⁶⁶ Although the quality of the photograph makes the details difficult to distinguish, there is a large, almost square opening in the eastern side of the greenhouse, through which it is possible to see its opposite wall, as well as the southern outside wall of the southern extension (Photo 3). The enlargement of the Savage photograph (ca. 1892–93), of the northwestern corner of Temple Square, taken from the temple’s roof (Photo 4), shows the entire southern extension (in the center) and the greenhouse (on its left) in their final state, minus the Endowment House proper, which had stood where the plowed field now appears on the far upper right. The greenhouse was fifteen feet by eighteen feet and its side walls were built of brick, not adobe; it had a sharply sloping roof that was made up entirely of panes of window glass (Plate 5, identified as “GLASS RF” on *Sanborn Map*). The *Sanborn Map* also indicates that a brick furnace room, measuring nine by twelve feet, was attached to greenhouse’s west side (Plate 5, identified as “FURN” on the *Sanborn Map*).⁶⁷

The Savage photograph (ca. 1880s) shows a large, square chimney rising between the greenhouse’s walls (Photo 3). The later Savage photograph (ca. 1892–93), taken from the roof of the Salt Lake Temple (Photo 4), does not show this chimney. Instead a tall chimney pipe

appeared after the addition of the greenhouse on its end (Plate 3, Southern Exposure).

⁶⁶The photographs, the first two listed in footnote 32, suggest that the greenhouse was not completed when Savage took them. Small piles of dirt appear in front of the greenhouse. Through the opening, what appear to be temporary structural members in the interior are visible. Apparently, the earth inside the greenhouse has been excavated. Finally, the glass-pane roof had not been installed, a necessary step if the greenhouse were to provide a suitable environment for plants during winter.

⁶⁷Measurements and building materials based on the *Sanborn Map*.

risers outside the greenhouse's west wall in the location of the furnace room on the *Sanborn Map*. This chimney suggests that the heat source for the greenhouse was initially inside the building proper but was later moved outside the building to a furnace room on the west. When and why this move occurred is not known.

The Endowment House's Architectural Style

Little in its appearance distinguishes the Endowment House architecturally. As will be shown later, its interior was uniquely designed to fulfill particular sacerdotal functions, but its exterior did not convey that role in any meaningful fashion. It was so unremarkable that one non-Mormon visitor to Temple Square dismissed it as "not much of a building to look at," while another stated that it was "a plain and unostentatious adobe structure."⁶⁸ Indeed, the former author was amazed to learn that this plain building was the place where "all the baptisms as well as monogamous and polygamous marriages [were] celebrated."⁶⁹

In 1988 Peter Goss and Thomas Carter published a groundbreaking handbook on Utah's historic architecture.⁷⁰ In it, the authors sought to describe the architectural form and style of Utah's early residential and commercial structures. They provided descriptions and pictorial examples of the buildings, including a number of Mormon and non-Mormon religious structures, but only as examples of various styles. They identified none of the Church buildings as uniquely Mormon in their architectural design. This gap was filled in 1995 with C. Mark Hamilton's thorough study of Mormon architecture and city planning.⁷¹ Carter and Goss did not include the Endowment House in their study, likely because it was no longer available for analysis. Hamilton, however, briefly discussed the Endowment House

⁶⁸W. G. Marshall, *Through America; or Nine Months in the United States* (London: Sampson, Low, Marston, Searle & Irvington, 1881), 169; and Ambrose Bolivar Carlton, *The Wonderlands of the West with Sketches of the Mormons* (N.p.: Author, 1891), 22.

⁶⁹Marshall, *Through America*, 170.

⁷⁰Thomas Carter and Peter Goss, *Utah's Historic Architecture, 1847-1940: A Guide* (Salt Lake City: Utah Historical Society, 1988).

⁷¹Hamilton, *Mormon Architecture*. Joseph H. Weston's *Mormon Architecture* (Salt Lake City: Weston Publishing, 1949), provides photographs of a variety of Mormon-built structures but does not accompany them with any

as one of four special building types that were constructed to meet a specific need.⁷² He described the Endowment House's architecture in these words: "The simple vernacular structure sat on a sandstone foundation, and was surmounted by a medium-pitched roof. Continuous cornice with cornice returns was the only reference to a particular historical period in architecture."⁷³

Although it was a "simple vernacular structure," the Endowment House can still be placed within the penumbra of a particular architectural style. Overall, it exhibited an affinity to the classical styles that were popular in the United States during the nineteenth century. It hearkened back to many of the residences built by the Mormons at Nauvoo, some of which were good examples of the Federal and Greek Revival styles. Some affinities to the classical style, particularly Greek Revival, as expressed in the Endowment House, included a harmonious and basically symmetrically balanced facade in its eastern and western elevations, stone lintels and sills, double-hung windows, interior chimneys, an unornamented entablature with a wide, plain continuous cornice, cornice returns, a moderate pitched roof, and paneled doorways.⁷⁴ It did not, however, incorporate the more fully developed expressions of Greek Revival, such as pediment lintels, a more fully articulated entablature, and pillars of a classical order supporting an entrance porch with a square or triangular pediment. Indeed, the greatest departure from the classical style was the lack of a prominent entrance on the building's exterior, which would have more clearly defined its architectural style.⁷⁵ Angell's relocation of the entrance to the northern extension—through a simple doorway without any elaborated surrounds—was a startling departure from the

descriptive narrative.

⁷²These four specialized types were: the Endowment House, the priesthood hall, the Relief Society hall, and the tithing office. Hamilton, *Mormon Architecture*, 93–100, plates 70–80.

⁷³*Ibid.*, 93.

⁷⁴Carter and Goss, *Utah's Historic Architecture*, 179–80.

⁷⁵Typically, the entrance to a Greek Revival style house, which had three to five ranks of windows in the facade, was through a doorway set in the central rank with elaborate surrounds, often with classical columns supporting the roof's porch. Indeed, it is often the design of the entrance that helps to differentiate the various classical styles. McAlester and McAlester, *American Houses*, 179–81.

Federal and Greek Revival styles.

Yet some of the building's exterior features also seem inexplicable. Angell adopted a classic motif, even adding blind windows to the balance the eastern and western facades when they were not functionally needed (Plate 1). But, it is unclear in that case, why he did not include a ground-floor blind window on the right side in the eastern facade, which would have brought the building into closer harmony to classical symmetry.

As a result, Angell's design for the Endowment House is a simplified expression of the Greek Revival, without extraneous decoration or ornamentation. Overall, Angell's was a functional and practical plan. But, the reaction of those who viewed Angell's work varied in the extreme. An Englishman who visited Salt Lake City in 1880 saw the Endowment House as "a lowering, forbidding-looking building," while another traveler in 1887 observed that it had "an innocent, modest, retiring look."⁷⁶ Perhaps the best description was penned by a writer, who compared it to "a small dwelling house, so as not to attract attention."⁷⁷

THE ENDOWMENT HOUSE: INTERIOR APPEARANCE

Available sources provide quite a detailed picture of the Endowment House's interior. These sources include Angell's drawings of the original 1855 building. In 1879 the *Salt Lake Daily Tribune* published a detailed floor plan of the building, which provides quite a bit of useful information.⁷⁸ Unfortunately, faithful Mormons left few, if any, descriptions of the building's interior. There are, however, several interior descriptions given as incidental comments by apostate

⁷⁶George Augusta Sala, *American Revisited* (London: Vizetelly & Co., 1886), 526; and James Hale Bates, *Notes of a Tour in Mexico and California* (New York: Burr Printing House, 1887), 147. Sala's prejudice towards everything Mormon can be seen in his description of the Tabernacle: "It is a monstrous structure built of timber, with the exception of the twelve huge ugly pillars of sandstone which support the immense dish-cover-shaped roof" (522).

⁷⁷Richard K. Fox, *Mysteries of Mormonism* (New York: Police Gazette, 1881), 42.

⁷⁸Mrs. G. S. R., "Lifting the Veil," *Salt Lake Daily Tribune*, September 28, 1879, 4; and reprinted in its entirety, October 10, 1879, 2. In some details, particularly the number and placement of windows and the size of the

Mormons who wrote exposés of temple ceremonies given in the Endowment House. These comments are consistent with each other and, when compared to Angell's drawings, matched quite closely. Despite the exposés' overall questionable nature, these descriptive comments can be reasonably used.⁷⁹

Based on the above sources, I have prepared the following description of the Endowment House's interior, as well as floor plans of the building after its 1856 remodeling and the addition of a greenhouse in the 1870s (Plates 6 and 7). The benches, desks, and altars on the floor plans reflect the descriptions left in the printed exposés; but other furniture, such as tables, plants, and chairs are items for illustrative purposes only and do not reflect the actual arrangement or number of furnishings. The following sections follow the methodology adopted by James E. Talmage for describing the interior rooms of the Salt Lake Temple in his 1912 edition of *The House of the Lord*.⁸⁰

baptistry, the plan is clearly inaccurate; but overall, the drawing of the building's two floors compares favorably with the Angell's floor plans.

⁷⁹The following exposés provide interior descriptions of the Endowment House: Mrs. G. S. R., "Lifting the Veil," Fox, *Mysteries of Mormonism*, 42–51; Apostate (pseud.), "The Endowments," *Salt Lake Daily Tribune*, December 8, 1878, 4; Anonymous, "Hidden Secrets of the Mormon Church," *The Standard* 53 (May 13, 1911), 12–13; J. H. Beadle, *Life in Utah: or, The Mysteries and Crimes of Mormonism* (Philadelphia: National Publishing, 1870), 486–502; William Jarman, *U.S.A.: Uncle Sam's Abscess or Hell on Earth for U.S.*, *Uncle Sam* (Exeter, England: Leduc's Steam Printing Works, 1884), 67–88; F. E. Bostwick, *As I Found It; Life and Experience in Utah among the Mormons* (St. Louis: Privately Printed, 1893), 72–84; Fanny Stenhouse, *Tell It All: The Story of a Life's Experience in Mormonism* (Hartford, Conn.: A. D. Worthington, 1875), 352–69; and Ann Eliza Young, *Wife No. 19: The Story of a Life in Bondage, Being a Complete Exposé on Mormonism, and Revealing the Sorrow, Sacrifices and Sufferings of Women in Polygamy* (Chicago: Dustin, Gilman & Co., 1875), 349–71. Because of the repetitive nature of these descriptions, I will not cite them unless I quote them.

⁸⁰James E. Talmage, *The House of the Lord: A Study of Holy Sanctuaries Ancient and Modern* (Salt Lake City, Deseret Books, 1912), 181–200, 261–317 (plates 10–27). Bookcraft reprinted a facsimile edition in 1962,

The Reception Room

The entrance to the Endowment House was through a plain doorway on the eastern side of the northern extension, which opened into a reception room. Today it would be called an annex. Angell's drawings indicate that this room was fourteen feet by eighteen feet, with an eight-foot-high ceiling. Two windows, one on the eastern wall and another on the western, provided outside illumination.

Although nineteenth-century public buildings were often painted in colors, sometimes even in intense hues, the sole piece of evidence about the color of the Endowment House's interior is the 1892–93 Savage photograph of the northwest corner of the Temple Square (Photo 4). Where the baptistry had abutted the Temple Square wall, the surface is distinctly white. Since it appears that the Temple Square wall was used as the baptistry's exterior west wall (otherwise why paint it at all?), it seems at least probable that the rest of the building's interior would also have been painted white. However, additional evidence can also be inferred from the precedent of the Endowment House's antecedents—the Church's first two temples. Church leaders selected white as the interior color for the Kirkland Temple, using “a pristine white paint.”⁸¹ Indeed, one author mentioned that the “white reflective surfaces” of the inner courts introduced “a great deal of soft, even light

but omitted Plate 27, the photograph of the Holy of Holies. For a description of the temple's interior updated to the 1960s, see James E. Talmage *The House of the Lord: A Study of Holy Sanctuaries Ancient and Modern* (Salt Lake City: Desert Book, 1968), 152–68, 201–15. This edition omitted the original plates, substituting a few color photographs of the temple's 1960s interior. For a recently expanded reprinted edition, see James E. Talmage, *The House of the Lord: A Study of Holy Sanctuaries Ancient and Modern* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1998), 111–59. This edition includes all the original edition's text and plates, and adds a new foreword by Harvard S. Heath. It also has an appendix with John A. Widtsoe's article, “Temple Worship,” as well a number of photographs not printed in the original edition, including those taken surreptitiously by Gisbert Bossard of the temple's interior, which provided the impetus for the Church to publish the book in the first place. Kent Walgren, “Inside the Salt Lake Temple: Gisbert Bossard's 1911 Photographs,” *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 29 (Fall 1996): 1–43.

⁸¹Backman, *Heavens Resound*, 158.

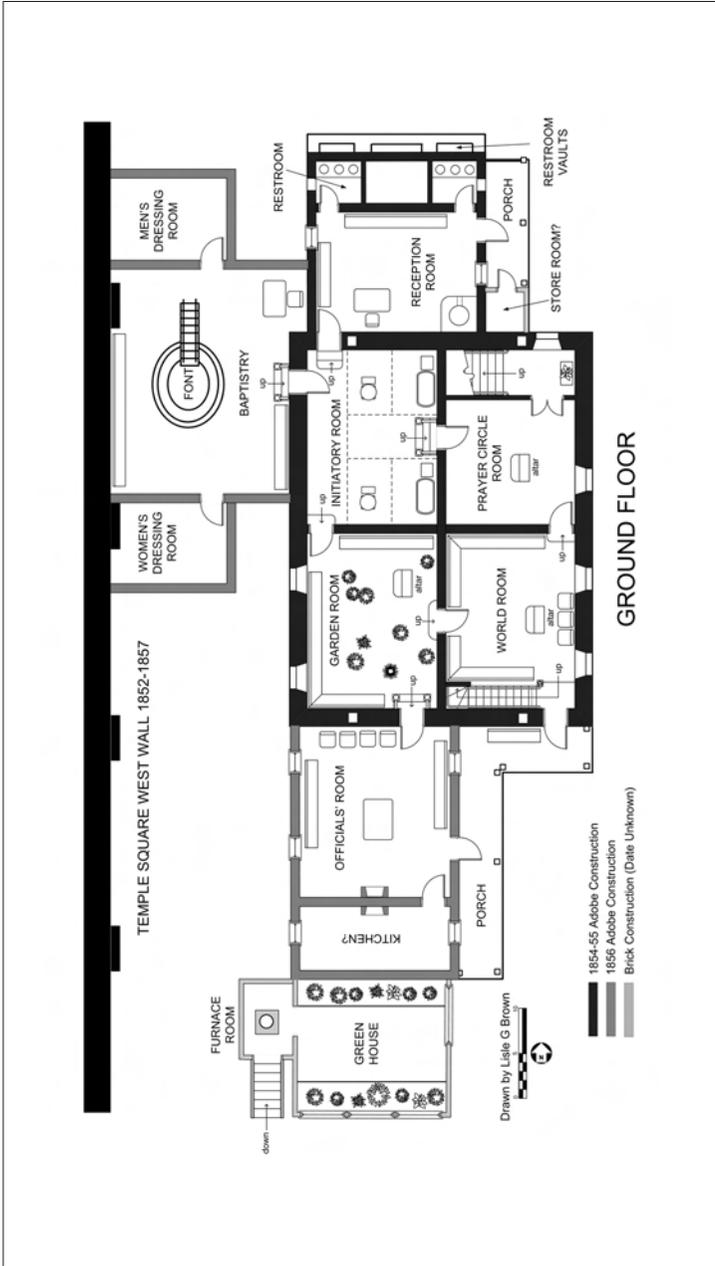


Plate 6. Salt Lake City Endowment House, a ground floor plan of the building's final state before its demolition in 1889. Drawn by Lisle G Brown.

into the space.”⁸² Similarly, the leaders again chose white paint for the Nauvoo Temple. The Temple Committee records include entries for the purchase of linseed oil, turpentine and lead white for making the white paint of the interior.⁸³ Even in the Council House, “white screens” were used to divide the second floor room into compartments for the administering the endowment.⁸⁴ Finally, white is associated with purity, cleanliness, holiness, innocence and light, all concepts associated with temple rituals.⁸⁵ Since the Endowment House was intended for similar rituals as administered in these buildings, particularly those given in the Nauvoo Temple, it is not unreasonable to suggest that Young or Angell would have also selected the same color scheme.

The reception room’s furnishings were minimal and were designed to accommodate persons coming into the Endowment House for ordinance work: “A row of benches was arranged around the west and north sides of the reception room and a large desk was situated in the southwest corner of it.”⁸⁶ A door to the right of the desk opened into the Endowment House proper. In Angell’s drawing, a built-in stove stood in the southeastern corner, a necessary source for heating the room in the winter.⁸⁷ Some accounts mention carpets, and one writer even noted the “patterns of the carpets” in the building’s various rooms.⁸⁸ Heber C. Kimball spoke of “putting down carpets in the Endowment rooms” and of donating a rug of his own to “beautify the Lord’s house.”⁸⁹ So, it is likely that the reception room would have had rugs. Paintings may have also adorned the walls.

Set into the north wall were two narrow doors, which opened

⁸²Robinson, *First Mormon Temple*, 59.

⁸³McBride, *House of the Most High*, 324.

⁸⁴Hyde, *Mormonism*, 91.

⁸⁵Terry John O’Brien, “A Study of Effects of Color in the Utah Temple Murals” (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1986), 62.

⁸⁶Apostate, “The Endowments,” 4.

⁸⁷Since photographs of the building do not show a chimney in the northern extension, the stove was probably tied into one of the flues inside the northern wall, which were indicated on all three of Angell’s Endowment House Drawings.

⁸⁸“The Sealing Ordinances,” *Salt Lake Daily Tribune*, October 5, 1879, 2.

⁸⁹Heber C. Kimball, February 1, 1865, *Journal of Discourses*, 11:83–84.

into two small rest rooms, four feet by five feet in size. Presumably, one was for men and the other for women, although they were not so identified by Angell on his drawings. Angell's drawings do not show any windows in these rooms, but photographs of the northern extension's eastern exterior wall show a small, dark opening near the roof line, suggesting an aperture.⁹⁰ It was likely meant for ventilation and perhaps for lighting the eastern rest room. There was probably a similar opening on the western side for the other rest room, because, as previously mentioned, the northern exterior wall was featureless with no openings. The inclusion of interior rest rooms clearly indicates that people using the Endowment House were intended to remain inside and not to leave the building for the public rest rooms, conveniently placed south of the building.⁹¹ These rest rooms stood north of the Temple Square west gate and not in the location of the current extensive public rest rooms south of the west gate.

Unfortunately, Angell's drawings do not clearly show any method for removing waste from the rest rooms. Indoor plumbing was in its infancy in the 1850s, and it was likely quite an innovation for a public building on the far western frontier to have interior rest rooms. By modern standards, however, any plumbing in the Endowment House's rest rooms in 1855 would have been quite primitive. For example, on an architectural drawing of the period an indoor rest room was still labeled as a "privy."⁹² Typically, 1850s buildings used wood or glazed earthenware pipes to drain effluent into a cesspool, which was simply a hole in the ground, its sides lined with stones and with a covered top. The *Sanborn Map* shows a unidentified wooden structure, approximately five by seven feet in size, some seven feet north of the Endowment House (Plate 5). It is tempting to identify this structure as the Endowment House's enclosed cesspool.

At this time, the toilet had no porcelain bowl like contemporary commodes. These indoor toilets were more like indoor privies. There

⁹⁰See Photo 2. The aperture becomes evident only when the photograph is greatly enlarged for close examination.

⁹¹See "Temple Square Map" in Plate 5. Although not shown on the *Sanborn Map*, the complete sheet shows that a single row of wooden privies stood south of the Endowment House.

⁹²See copy of a residential floor plan in Maureen Ogle, *All the Modern Conveniences: American Household Plumbing, 1840-1890* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1996), 54.

were typically two methods to drain away waste from the toilet. The first used a flared pipe, called a “soil pipe,” that was attached to the hole beneath the seat and dropped directly into a cesspool below. This arrangement allowed gravity to drain the pipe. Since there would have been no running water in the rest room, pitchers of water were commonly provided to help flush away wastes. The second method used the same system of a flared pipe, but the waste dropped to a brick or stone vault directly beneath the toilet. An earthenware pipe from the vault drained the affluent to the cesspool set some distance from the building.⁹³ A feature drawn by Angell along the reception room’s northern wall suggests that there was a lined vault, divided into three sections, beneath each of the building’s three rest rooms. Such a vault would have been connected to a cesspool by pipes, although no pipes are drawn on the plans. A nearly similar representation of rest room, vault, and cesspool appears on the 1856 plan of a Massachusetts residence.⁹⁴ To reduce objectionable odors associated with such a system, a “stench trap” was constructed in the vault, which consisted of a “wooden angle or metal bend in a trough or pipe, to contain unpleasant smells.”⁹⁵

Both the *Sanborn Map* and the “Temple Block Map” indicated that there was a small room beneath the southern end of the northern extension’s porch. The *Sanborn Map*’s color key indicates that it was constructed of brick. Such a structure was not drawn on Angell’s original plans, and its construction of brick instead of adobe is a good indication that it was a later addition. Its date of construction is not known nor is its purpose; it may have been a closet or storeroom and

⁹³Ibid., 48–49.

⁹⁴The 1856 house plan is the work of architect Luther Briggs Jr. for Ephraim Merriam, which shows a nearly identical indication of an interior “privy” with three circles, the same as on Angell’s plan. Briggs’s plan includes a foundation plan which shows the vault beneath the privy, extending beyond the outside walls, similar to Angell’s plan, with a pipe running from the vault to the nearby cesspool. Ibid., 54–55.

⁹⁵Ibid., 51. The stench trap was not wholly successful and some odor often seeped into the building. The modern U-shaped sink trap, which prevents the seeping of sewer gas and odors, was not invented until the 1870s, and it may have been added to the Endowment House plumbing then. Hopefully, as other plumbing improvements were discovered, they would have been added to the building’s original plumbing system.

is so indicated on the floor plans that accompany this paper (Plate 6).⁹⁶

Finally, one woman wrote of the reception room—a comment that she extended to the entire building: “Everything within was beautifully neat and clean, and a solemn silence pervaded the whole place.”⁹⁷

Although the building’s exterior exhibited features typical of the Greek Revival style, that similarity ended with its interior design. Whereas the classical style typically called for a symmetrical division of rooms along a central hallway, the Endowment House proper was divided into four equal quadrants or rooms on the ground level. Each room, except the one in the northeastern corner, was nineteen feet by fourteen feet. Entrance to the main building was through the reception room, by the doorway in the northwestern corner.

The Initiatory Room

After leaving the reception room, patrons immediately descended a stairway of three steps into the initiatory room in the building’s northwest corner. Of the four rooms on the ground floor, this room was the lowest in relation to the other three rooms. Its ceiling was ten feet high.⁹⁸ Before the construction of the baptistry, it had two windows, one of which was likely altered to provide a doorway into the baptistry. The remaining window would have probably also been filled in, since it would have opened into the baptistry and would not have provided any illumination. Without any outside windows after 1856, the light for this room would have had to come from artificial sources, probably oil lamps or candles.

Beginning in the early 1800s, whale oil lamps were often used for indoor illumination, but the fuel was expensive—a gallon cost \$2.00 (about \$200 in present dollars), and it would have been certainly hard to acquire in the American West in the 1850s. Oil made from lard or other rendered fat, as well as a dangerous mixture of turpentine and alcohol, called burning fluid or camphene, was used for

⁹⁶See also “Temple Block Map” in [Hamilton and Cutrubus], *Salt Lake Temple*, 192. The room is also visible in photographs in Slaughter, *Life in Zion*, 43; Smith, *Essentials in Church History*, 580.

⁹⁷Stenhouse, *Tell It All*, 359.

⁹⁸Ceiling height taken from Angell’s transverse drawing. Angell, *Endowment House Drawings*, Drawing 1.

lamps up to the 1860s.⁹⁹ These lamps were not particularly bright and required constant servicing. The camphene lamps were also potentially explosive.¹⁰⁰ Oil lamps or candles were probably the initial lighting source of choice for the Endowment House. The kerosene lamp, introduced in 1853 in Europe, did not become widespread in the United States until the 1860s. In 1865 the *Deseret News* cautioned its readers about the dangers of improperly extinguishing kerosene lamps—a good indication of the use of such lamps locally by that date.¹⁰¹ Such lamps may have been used in the Endowment House.

By the 1880s, natural gas began replacing oil and kerosene lamps, including Temple Square structures. The Assembly Hall's construction in 1880 included beautiful gas chandeliers, which produced "a beautiful and steady flame of light."¹⁰² The Tabernacle was retrofitted with gas lights in 1884.¹⁰³ However, there is no evidence that the Endowment House was ever fitted with gas lights. Probably, the use of kerosene or oil lamps would have continued to be used until its demolition in 1889.¹⁰⁴

The initiatory room had partitions, draperies, and facilities for

⁹⁹Anonymous, "History of Lamps," <http://www.antiquelamps.net/history.html> (accessed April 20, 2008).

¹⁰⁰Jane Nylander, "Two Brass Lamps," *Historic New England Magazine*, Winter/Spring 2003, <http://www.historicnewengland.org/NEHM/2003WinterSpringPage04.htm> (accessed June 21, 2007).

¹⁰¹"Caution," *Deseret News*, June 7, 1865, 1.

¹⁰²"The Assembly Hall," *Deseret News*, April 7, 1880, 8. The lighting included one central chandelier with twelve jets, four smaller chandeliers with six jets each, two pillar lights on the stand, and fourteen bracket lights around the walls.

¹⁰³"Gas and Steam and Tabernacle," *Deseret News*, March 26, 1884, 9.

¹⁰⁴If lamps in a temple were not replaced by electric lights until the early 1900s, it is highly unlikely that the Endowment House's lighting would have been updated. The Logan Temple, built in the 1880s, was illuminated by lamps until 1915–16: "The art of illuminating with electricity being practically unknown when this building was constructed, no provision was made for the lighting of it other than by the oil lamp or tallow candle. It was necessary, therefore, to wire the building, which work was done, under the most modern and approved methods. Most of the wires are strung in conduits to avoid any possible chance of fire, the danger of which is increased without conduits in wiring an old structure. Modern electroliers and lights

administering certain temple rites. Angell had drawn on his floor plans faint lines for the positioning of curtains and tubs in this area.¹⁰⁵ Leading from the reception room door was a hallway, created by a canvas partition, that ran parallel to the outside western wall to a door at the initiatory room's southwestern corner. The rest of the room to the east was divided into four small cubicles, or booths, formed by hanging curtains, with partitions creating a hallway that ran east and west between them. The two booths on the east had large bath tubs, which were "supplied by streams of hot and cold water."¹⁰⁶ A cast-iron stove provided heat for warming the water.¹⁰⁷ The booths adjacent on the west had stools and other ritual implements. These booths were used for the initiatory ordinances commonly called, washings and anointings.¹⁰⁸

At the east end of this hallway created by the booths was a staircase of three steps that terminated at a doorway opening into the building's northeastern room. This was the prayer circle room, but the temple worshiper would not have gone to it next. Instead, he or she would have proceeded to the garden room.

The Garden Room

South of the initiatory room stood the garden room, occupying the floor's southwestern quadrant. The doorway between these

were placed in each room." Edna L. Smith, "Improvements in the Logan Temple," *Improvement Era* 19 (March 1916), on *LDS Collector's Library 2005*, CD-ROM (Orem, Utah: Infobases Media Corp., 2004, 2005). Presumably this was also the situation in the St. George Temple, built in the 1870s. The Manti Temple's dedicatory prayer mentioned "fixtures for ventilating, warming and lighting," which suggests that the light fixtures might have been electric. Manti Temple Centennial Committee, *The Manti Temple* (Provo, Utah: Community Press, 1988), 52. By the 1890s the Salt Lake Temple was wired for electricity, and its rooms were illuminated by electric lights. Lyon, *Souvenir Album*, 26; *House of the Lord* (Cannon, 1893), 15-21.

¹⁰⁵Angell, Endowment House Drawings, Drawings 1 and 2.

¹⁰⁶Stenhouse, *Tell It All*, 359.

¹⁰⁷Hamilton, *Mormon Architecture*, 94, noted, "Double chimneys at either end of the building [Endowment House] serviced the cast-iron heating stoves on [sic] the interior."

¹⁰⁸Donald W. Parry, "Washings and Anointings," *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, 4 vols. (New York: Macmillan, 1992), 4:1551.

rooms was one step higher. Its ceiling was nine feet, four inches high. The room was carpeted and the windows draped. Initially the walls of the room were not decorated; but during the winter of 1855–56, William Ward painted them to represent a garden.¹⁰⁹ His work was probably similar to the pastoral wall paintings that were popular in the United States from colonial times.¹¹⁰ Nearly all accounts of the building's interior mentioned the singular visual impact of Ward's mural and its "beautiful scenes representing the Garden of Eden."¹¹¹ One anonymous source observed: "Probably the most unique feature about the Endowment House was the allegorical painting on one of the interior walls representing Garden of Eden."¹¹² A "Mrs. G.S.R." described:

The four sides of this room were painted in imitation of trees, flowers, birds, wild beasts, etc. . . . The ceiling [sic] was painted blue, dotted over with golden stars; in the centre of it was the sun, a little further along the moon, and all around were stars. In each corner was a Masonic emblem. In one corner is a compass, in another the square; the remaining two were the level and the plumb. On the east side of the room, next [to] the door, was painted an apple tree.¹¹³

Not only were murals on the walls, but a number of evergreen potted plants rested on the floor, enhancing the room's pastoral appearance. One of these plants served as the tree of knowledge of good and evil. Some fruit in season, such as "apples, raisins, oranges, or bunches of grapes" were hung on it and served as the forbidden fruit.¹¹⁴

Around the walls of the room ran long benches, and a small wooden altar stood near the northeastern corner. A small stove stood near the southern wall. Originally the room had three win-

¹⁰⁹Journal History, February 11, 1856, 1.

¹¹⁰Rachel Cope, "John Fairbanks: The Man behind the Canvas" (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 2003), 114.

¹¹¹Anonymous, "Hidden Secrets," 12–13.

¹¹²"The Endowment House Going," *Salt Lake Daily Tribune*, November, 17, 1889, 4.

¹¹³Mrs. G.S.R., "Lifting the Vail," 4. Jarman, *U.S.A.*, 80, also mentioned the depiction of the "Compass, Square, Level and Plumbbob" in the Garden Room.

¹¹⁴Young, *Wife No. 19*, 364.

dows, two on the west and one on the south; but during the construction of the building's southern extension to the officials' room, the southern window was altered into a doorway with two steps ascending to that room. Over all, the garden room with its "gorgeous curtains and carpets, trees and shrubs in boxes, [and] paintings of mountains, flowers, and fountains, all shown in soft light and delicate tints, together [represented] a beautiful and impressive scene."¹¹⁵

The World Room

A doorway, with another step up, in the center of garden room's eastern wall opened into the world room, which was also called "The Lone and Desolate World."¹¹⁶ It occupied the ground floor's north-eastern quadrant. It was nineteen by fourteen feet, with an eight-foot, eight-inch high ceiling. Over the doorway, on the world room side, was a pair of "flaming swords."¹¹⁷ It is not clear if these were actual swords or representations painted on the wall. Other than this decoration, the room had no ornamentation. It was "almost dark, heavy curtains shutting out all but a few rays of light."¹¹⁸ There were benches around the walls and a small wooden altar also stood near the east wall with chairs behind it.

On the room's southern side a narrow, two-foot-wide stairway ascended to the second floor. Near the foot of the stairway was a door that opened to the outside. Another doorway on the south, again with another step higher, opened into the prayer circle room.

The Prayer Circle Room

The prayer circle room occupied the northeastern quadrant of the ground floor. It was nearly square in size—thirteen feet by fourteen feet—with an eight-foot high ceiling. There was only one window on its eastern wall. The room was devoid of furniture, except for its most singular feature—an altar, which was placed in the center of the

¹¹⁵Beadle, *Life in Utah*, 42.

¹¹⁶Anonymous, "Hidden Secrets," 13. It was represented as the "cold, cold world." Apostate, "The Endowments."

¹¹⁷Anonymous, "Hidden Secrets," 12.

¹¹⁸Beadle, *Life in Utah*, 495.

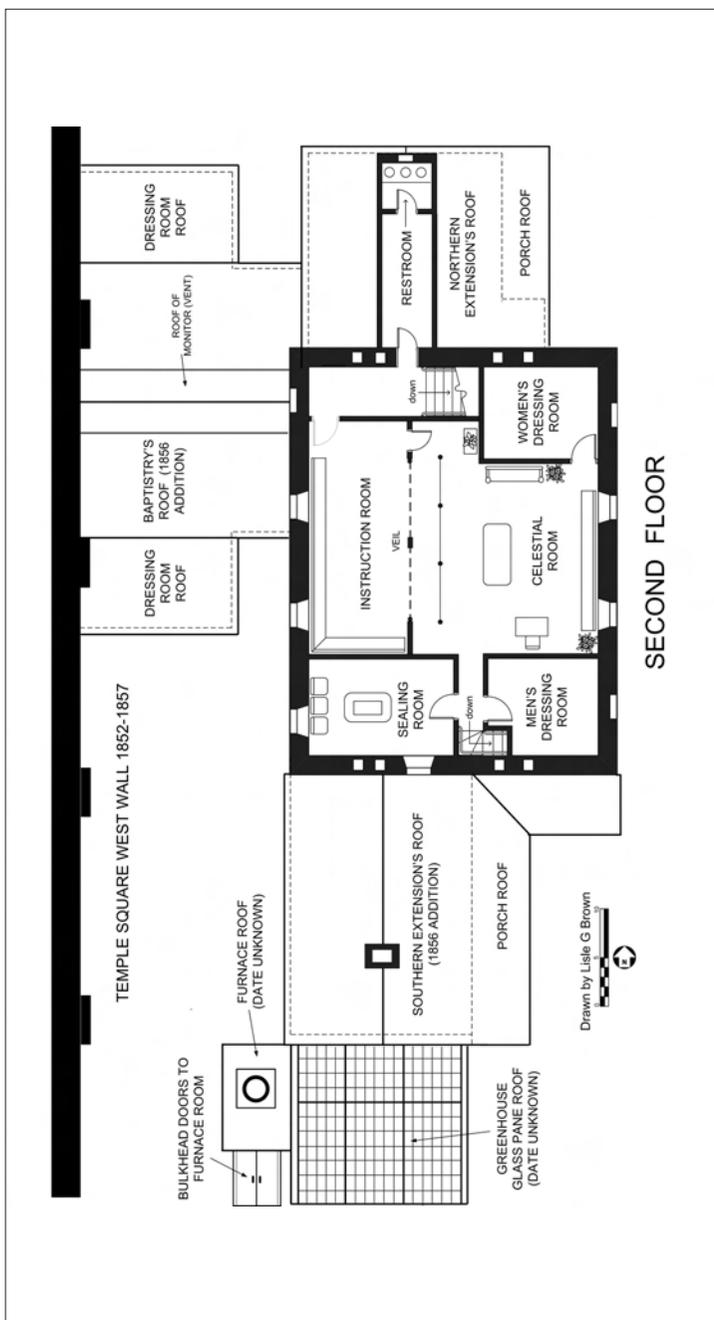


Plate 7. Salt Lake City Endowment House, second floor plan of the building's final state before its demolition in 1889. Drawn by Lisle G Brown.

room.¹¹⁹ The room was likely carpeted. A door on its western wall opened into the initiatory room.

Near the northeastern corner a doorway opened into a landing at the foot of a staircase that rose to the second floor. In order to provide light for the landing and staircase, Angell moved the window from the eastern wall around to the northern wall, because the landing's wall would have bisected a window on the eastern wall.¹²⁰ This need for interior illumination accounts for the lack of a window on the building's outside eastern wall, but it is not clear why Angell did not substitute a blind window as he did in similar circumstances in other parts of the building.

The Second Floor

From the prayer circle room, a broad, five-foot-wide stairway of fourteen steps rose to the second floor (Plate 7). This floor was not divided into quadrants like the ground floor but was divided into five rooms of differing dimensions, their size and placement depending on their functions. Each had its attendant windows and doors. There were also two staircases from the floor descending to the ground floor below.

At the head of the staircase from the prayer circle room was a hallway, ten feet long by five feet wide, running to the western exterior wall. Again, the hallway's wall would have bisected a window at the western wall, which prompted Angell to substitute a blind window on the exterior.¹²¹ On the hallway's northern side was a door that opened into the narrow passage that ran over the reception room below. At the end of this passage was the building's third rest room, situ-

¹¹⁹None of the exposés mention any chairs or benches in this room, nor do the floor plans in the exposé in the 1879 *Salt Lake Daily Tribune* depict any such furnishings, although they are shown in all the other lecture rooms.

¹²⁰Angell's drawings of the ground floor do not show a wall for the landing and staircase. However, a wall must have been erected, otherwise there was no reason for eliminating a window on the eastern side and placing a window on the north side.

¹²¹Again, none of Angell's drawings show an enclosed landing, but the blind window on the west wall strongly indicates the presence of such a wall, which would have bisected an exterior window at the end of the landing.

ated over and between the two rest rooms on the ground floor below. As explained previously, this rest room sat high over a lined vault below and between the vaults for the ground-floor rest rooms. Along the hallway's southern wall was a door that opened into the instruction room.

The Instruction Room

The instruction room occupied most of the western half of the second floor, twenty-four feet by ten feet, with a twelve-foot high ceiling, as were all the ceilings of the second floor rooms. This room would have corresponded to the terrestrial room in present-day temples. Along its western wall ran a long wooden bench; the room had no altar. Two windows on the western wall provided outside light.

Although the room was carpeted, its most distinctive feature was the veil, which occupied most of the room's eastern side. One writer described the area as follows: "Facing [the bench] about midway between floor and ceiling was a wooden beam that went across the room from north to south, and from which [there] was suspended a . . . piece of . . . white calico. This was called 'the Veil.'"¹²² Writers represented the veil as calico, muslin, or linen, always white. There were two veil segments, supported by the "framework of the partition [of the veil]."¹²³ At the side of the veil, was "the door of the veil—the gate of heaven," which opened into the celestial room.¹²⁴ In the door was a hole, covered by a "curtain of muslin," just large enough to pass a hand through.¹²⁵

The Celestial Room

The celestial room, some twenty-four feet by nineteen feet in its largest dimension, occupied the room east of the veil. Two draped windows in the eastern wall provided outside light. It was likely that a screen was placed before the veil, as had been done in the celestial room of the Nauvoo Temple. Doorways opened into two dressing rooms. The floor was carpeted, and the room's princi-

¹²²Mrs. G.S.R., "Lifting the Veil," 4.

¹²³Bostwick, *As I Found It*, 82. One segment may have been used by the men and the other by women. Mrs. G.S.R., "Lifting the Veil," 4.

¹²⁴Apostate, "The Endowments," 4.

¹²⁵Young, *Wife No. 19*, 369; Stenhouse, *Tell It All*, 366.

pal piece of furniture was a large table in the center. Around the walls were chairs and benches. There was also a table or desk for a clerk. Further decorations likely included paintings or portraits of Church dignitaries on the walls, like the decoration of the Nauvoo Temple's celestial room.¹²⁶ The room had a comfortable appearance and "was supposed to be heaven."¹²⁷ A short hallway, ten feet long, ran south from the room to the head of the stairway leading to the world room below.

The Sealing Room

On the western side of the short hallway was a door opening into the sealing room which occupied the southwestern corner of the second floor. This room, ten feet by fourteen feet, was "well carpeted."¹²⁸ It had two windows, one on the southern wall and another on the western. An altar stood in the center of the room, running east and west. One observer described it as "a kind of solid table, nicely cushioned" in red velvet with a convenient padded base upon which to kneel.¹²⁹ At the head of the altar was a large overstuffed chair or sofa, and several chairs were positioned around the walls. While this room may have also had paintings, there was no mention of any mirrors, such as those that commonly adorn the walls in opposing pairs in modern temple sealing rooms.¹³⁰ The sealing room in the Nauvoo Temple was also called the Holy of Holies, but there is no indication that the Endowment House

¹²⁶Jill C. Major, "Artwork in the Celestial Room of the First Nauvoo Temple," *BYU Studies* 41 (2002): 47–63.

¹²⁷Fox, *Mysteries of Mormonism*, 50.

¹²⁸Hyde, *Mormonism*, 108. Although Hyde was endowed in the Council House, he and his wife were sealed in the Endowment House.

¹²⁹*Ibid.* Another wrote that the men kneeled on the south side and the women on the north side of the altar, which is an indication that the altar's long axis was oriented east and west. Annie Thompson, "The Endowment House," *Salt Lake Daily Tribune*, November 10, 1878, 1.

¹³⁰See photograph in *Temples of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Corporation of the President of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1981), 13. Boyd K. Packer, *The Holy Temple* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1980), 4, explained the significance of the paired mirrors: "In some sealing rooms opposite walls are adorned with large mirrors so that one may stand near the altar and view on either side a corridor of diminishing images. It gives one the feeling of looking into in-

sealing room was ever similarly designated.¹³¹

The Dressing Rooms

The two dressing rooms on this floor were both approximately ten feet by eleven feet. Angell's drawings do not show them, but most of the exposés mention them.¹³² The second floor's blind windows, which were on Angell's plans, are good indications that Angell intended to have them. The dressing rooms were probably enclosed during the original construction. The women's room was in the northeastern corner, and the men's room was in the southeastern corner. Obviously lamps were used to illuminate these two rooms, since they had no windows.

Persons left the Endowment House through the door at the south. After completing their endowments or sealings and changing into their street clothes in one of the two dressing rooms, they descended the narrow stairway from the celestial room to the world room below and exited the building without having to pass through the other lecture rooms to the reception room. This was essentially the arrangement of the rooms in the Endowment House until the 1856 additions.

The Baptistry

The 1856 remodeling saw the construction of the font and dressing rooms on the building's western side (Plate 6). Entrance to this baptistry was through a doorway from the hallway adjacent to the initiatory booths. Two steps led down from this doorway to the baptistry's floor, making this room the lowest of all the rooms in the building.¹³³ Using the outline plan of the Endowment House in the "Temple Block Map" and *Sanborn Map* for measurements, the font room was approximately twenty-six feet long by nineteen feet wide.

The font occupied the center of the room. There is no descrip-

finity; into the eternities."

¹³¹Brown, "Sacred Departments," 373.

¹³²They were also included in the Endowment House's floor plan in Mrs. G.S.R., "Lifting the Veil," 4.

¹³³The number of steps is found on the plan of the Endowment House. Ibid.

tion of the font, except that it was made of hewn stone.¹³⁴ One author speculated that the font “was to be temporary and probably was dug in the ground and lined with stone or cement.”¹³⁵ Wilford Woodruff’s diary might support the view that the font was below ground level because he wrote that, after its dedication, Brigham Young “*went down into the water* in the Font.”¹³⁶ This phrase is not, however, conclusive proof that the font was below grade; and I find it most likely that it followed the general configuration of the Nauvoo Temple font, whose base was partially sunk into the ground with the bowl above ground.¹³⁷ The font could have been any shape—square, rectangular, circular, or ovoid. Again, it seems plausible that it followed the oval design of the Nauvoo Temple’s limestone font, the only font the Mormons had built up to that time.¹³⁸ It may have also had the general dimensions of that font: twelve feet by eight feet.¹³⁹ There are no accounts of oxen supporting the font. It is also likely that benches around the room allowed persons waiting to use the font to sit. It is also likely that there was a recorder’s desk, but it is not mentioned in any accounts.

On either side of the font room were dressing rooms, each approximately eleven feet by sixteen feet. The northern room was for the men and the southern room for the women. The diagram of the Endowment House printed in the *Salt Lake Daily Tribune’s* 1879 exposé, shows two windows for each dressing room; but given the overall inaccuracy of the diagram’s number and placement of windows and the

¹³⁴During its construction, Wilford Woodruff started to record its dimension, leaving room for two sets of numbers: “It was ____ feet long & ____ feet wide,” but he never filled them in. Woodruff, *Journal*, 4:440.

¹³⁵Boman, “Supplement to ‘The LDS Temple Baptismal,’” 8. Cement was an unlikely material used for lining the font, because it was not commonly used in construction until the wide dissemination of Portland cement in the United States beginning in the 1880s. “A History of Cement,” <http://www.rumford.com/articlemortar.html> (accessed October 15, 2007).

¹³⁶Woodruff, *Journal*, 4:459; emphasis mine.

¹³⁷*History of the Church*, 4:446.

¹³⁸The floor plan in Mrs. G.S.R., “Lifting the Veil,” 4, has a circle shape for the font.

¹³⁹*Journal History*, June 17, 1875, 1. The original wooden font in the Nauvoo Temple measured sixteen by twelve feet and would have been too large to fit comfortably in the room. McBride, *House for the Most High*, 55, 233.

use of blind windows for the Endowment House's dressing rooms, this detail is probably wrong. A monitor in the ceiling would have provided ventilation as well as illumination to the font room, while the dressing rooms were probably illuminated by artificial means.

There is little information on the source of water for the font. The Nauvoo Temple had a well in its basement to provide its font with water, but there is no record of such a well in the Endowment House baptistry. At first those who used the font "had to fill it with Buckets from the Creek,"¹⁴⁰ meaning City Creek, which then ran through Temple Square just south of the Endowment House.¹⁴¹ While the Endowment House was under construction, Young asked Walter Eli Wilcox to "devise a machine for boring logs to convey water to the Endowment House."¹⁴² Wilcox succeeded in his task and laid about a quarter mile of pipe before Young had him stop. Presumably, Young halted the project when it met its purpose and it became the final method to fill the font. Later, when City Creek was channeled along North Temple Street, just beyond the Temple Square wall, it probably remained the source for the font's water.¹⁴³ When a municipal water system was installed during the 1870s for the city's business district, including Temple Square, it probably also supplied the Endowment House.¹⁴⁴ Similarly, used water from the font could have been flushed through another pipe back to City Creek; the same method that was used to empty the Nauvoo Temple font.

Apparently, the water was not heated. One missionary noted that, before leaving on his mission in December 1856, he was bap-

¹⁴⁰Woodruff, *Journal*, 4:524.

¹⁴¹"One branch of the City Creek flowed across the site of the Temple block, south of the Endowment House." "Chronicles of Utah," *The Contributor* 2, no. 5 (February 1881), in *LDS Collectors Library 2005*, CD-ROM. The course of the creek near the Endowment House is shown on a map of Temple Square in Wallace Allan Raynor, *The Everlasting Spires: A Story of the Salt Lake Temple* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1965), 26.

¹⁴²Leroy W. Hooten Jr., "Salt Lake City's Old Water Conveyance," June 23, 2007, Salt Lake City, Department of Public Utilities, <http://www.ci.sl.c.ut.us/utilities/NewsEvents/news2007/news6272007.htm> (accessed October 6, 2007).

¹⁴³*Sanborn Map* shows the open water channel running west on North Temple Street.

¹⁴⁴Hooten, "Salt Lake City's Old Water Conveyance."

tized for the renewal of his covenants in the font's "chilly water" and was then reconfirmed in one of the Endowment House's upper rooms.¹⁴⁵

There is also no indication of the material used for the baptistry's floor. Whether Young or Angell made the decision, he probably based it on the Nauvoo baptistry. There, the original wooden floor proved inadequate and was replaced in 1845 with a brick floor; at the same time, the wooden font was superseded by a stone font.¹⁴⁶ It is likely, therefore, that the Endowment House baptistry would have had an adobe or brick floor—perhaps similar to the herringbone pattern used in the Nauvoo Temple basement.¹⁴⁷

The Officials' Room and Greenhouse

The 1856 southern extension served a number of functions. There is little description of this area, other than indicating its function as the "Officials Room."¹⁴⁸ It contained a desk and table and probably served as an office as well as for storing records. However, the location of the chimney in the center of the extension suggests that there might have been at least two rooms, separated by a fireplace.

The second room in the extension may have been a cooking area with a fireplace. Shortly after the Endowment House was dedicated, Heber C. Kimball encouraged persons to "bring their eggs, butter, meat, bread, and flour, and the luxuries of life to grace the tables of the House of the Lord, to feed the men and women who administer unto them."¹⁴⁹ The people responded and "often brought food for the full-time workers."¹⁵⁰ Dining-in was necessary for a large company of persons because the endowment services could take up to eight

¹⁴⁵Journal History, December 30, 1856, cited in T. Edgar Lyon Jr., *John Lyon: The Life of a Pioneer Poet* (Provo, Utah: BYU Religious Studies Center, 1989), 244.

¹⁴⁶Colvin, *Nauvoo Temple*, 184–86; McBride, *House for the Most High*, 233–34, 324.

¹⁴⁷Virginia S. Harrington and J. C. Harrington, *Rediscovery of the Nauvoo Temple: Report on the Archaeological Excavations* (Salt Lake City: Nauvoo Restoration, 1971), 25.

¹⁴⁸Floor plan in Mrs. G.S.R., "Lifting the Veil," 4.

¹⁴⁹Journal History, May 19, 1856, 1.

¹⁵⁰Lyon, *John Lyon*, 234. Nearly all exposé writers reported that they

hours.¹⁵¹ The donated food was prepared in a kitchen by women employed for that purpose¹⁵² and was probably eaten in the officials' room in the north extension.

Some time after the 1870s, workmen erected a greenhouse against the southern wall of the extension. It could be argued that it might have been built to house the potted evergreens used in the garden room. Since its windows were draped, there would have been little sunlight to keep the plants alive. The greenhouse could have been used to provide a suitable environment to keep the plants healthy, while they were transferred between it and the garden room as needed. However, at least two decades had passed without the need for such a greenhouse. Although it could have served this purpose, another (perhaps the main) purpose was the landscaping of Temple Square. With the dedication of the Tabernacle in 1875 and the Assembly Hall in 1880, the need for more formal landscaping may have made a greenhouse desirable as the modest beginning of what has since become the elaborate and beautifully groomed grounds. After the dedication of the Salt Lake Temple a spacious conservatory was constructed west of the original annex.¹⁵³

Attached to the greenhouse on the west side was a furnace room. It was nine feet by twelve feet and constructed of brick with a flat roof. Photographic evidence suggests that a brick chimney sur-

brought food with them.

¹⁵¹Hubert Howe Bancroft, *The Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft: History of Utah, 1850–1886*, 39 vols. (San Francisco: History Company, 1889), 26:358. The exposés report that the day's activities typically started at 7:00 A.M. and ended at 3:30 P.M.

¹⁵²The wives of apostle Joseph F. Smith "supplemented their income by cooking at the Endowment House." Francis M. Gibbons, *Joseph Fielding Smith: Gospel Scholar, Prophet of God* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1992), 11.

¹⁵³Talmage, *House of the Lord* (1912), 206. It was called the William C. Staines Conservatory. For a photograph, see Talmage, *House of the Lord* (1998), 158. William Carter Staines (1818–81) was an English convert, an accomplished horticulturalist, and the Temple Square gardener. The conservatory was built ca. 1898. It stood until at least until the 1940s but was razed during a later remodeling of the north gate entrance to Temple Square. Jill Mulvay Derr, Janath Russell Cannon, and Maureen Ursenbach Beecher, *Women of the Covenant: The Story of the Relief Society* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1992), 284, 303.

mounted by a tall metal pipe rose from its center. Access to the room was on its southern side through a bulkhead door—a horizontal or inclined door over a stairway—that led down some steps to the furnace room’s floor. A photograph shows a portion of the furnace room entrance (Photo 4). In the photograph, the large whitish rectangle at the greenhouse’s southwestern (lower left) corner is the bulkhead door swung open; a small portion of the descending steps can also be seen. The *Sanborn Map* shows an opening between the furnace room and the greenhouse. This opening apparently was the greenhouse’s only entrance. The furnace was probably a large coal stove, which would have provided heat during the cold, winter months when sunlight hitting the greenhouse’s glass roof was inadequate to heat its interior.

Such was the exterior and interior appearance of the Endowment House and its baptistry from 1856 until 1889, when it was demolished.

DEMOLITION OF THE ENDOWMENT HOUSE

The Endowment House became a casualty of the anti-Mormon polygamy crusade of the 1880s. The actual events leading up to its destruction began simply enough, with an incident that had taken place repeatedly within its walls: the solemnization of a plural marriage ceremony. On April 8, 1889, Apostle Franklin D. Richards officiated in sealing Hans Jespersen to his second wife, Laura Alice Dean, in the Endowment House’s sealing room. Jespersen returned with his new bride to Goshen, Utah. One of Jespersen’s neighbors became suspicious of Alice and informed the federal authorities in Provo. Jespersen was taken into custody; and on September 26, 1889, he was bound over by the commissioner of the Supreme Court for the crime of polygamy, awaiting the action of a grand jury in Salt Lake City. Jespersen was subsequently found guilty and sentenced to five years in prison on the polygamy charge and three years for adultery. As news of the case spread, it caused a public sensation and gave the Church leaders a good deal of consternation.¹⁵⁴

Two days before Jespersen’s plural marriage, Wilford Woodruff was sustained as Church president on April 6, 1889, at the gen-

¹⁵⁴“A Plain Polygamy Case,” *Salt Lake Daily Tribune*, September 27, 1889, 4; “Jespersen Polygamy Case,” *Salt Lake Daily Tribune*, October 2, 1889, 2; *New York Herald*, October 13, 1889, rpt. as “A Strange Interview,” *Salt Lake Daily Tribune*, October 20, 1889, 2; “How the Country Views It,”

eral conference. After his sustaining, he made a private decision that he would no longer approve any recommends for new plural marriages. This was in response to the federal anti-polygamy legislation, especially the Edmunds-Tucker Law and the threat of the Cullom Bill, the most punitive legislation yet proposed. He kept this decision to himself until September 9, 1889, when he told his two counselors. When the Jespersen case became public that same month, the First Presidency informed the Twelve Apostles of Woodruff's decision at a meeting held on October 2, 1889. After a lengthy discussion the men decided against making the president's decision public.¹⁵⁵ However, in an interview with a *New York Herald* reporter on October 12, Woodruff publicly revealed his decision, stating, "I have refused to give any recommendations for the performance of plural marriages since I have been president." He then referred to the Jespersen case and stated, "It seems incredible if it is true. . . . It is against all of my instructions. I do not understand it at all. We are looking into it and shall not rest until we get at all the facts."¹⁵⁶

Within the week, the First Presidency and some of the Twelve met on October 18 to consider steps to defuse the situation. Charles W. Penrose opened the discussion on the Endowment House; and af-

Salt Lake Daily Tribune, October 1, 1890, 7.

¹⁵⁵D. Michael Quinn, "LDS Church Authority and New Plural Marriages, 1890–1904," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 18 (Spring 1985): 37.

¹⁵⁶*New York Herald*, October 13, 1889, rpt., as "A Strange Interview," *Salt Lake Daily Tribune*, October 20, 1889, 2. Woodruff's remarks seem a little disingenuous. Jespersen claimed that he "did not know who performed the ceremony, as the man stood behind a curtain." "Sentenced for Polygamy," *New York Times*, October 13, 1889, 12. Woodruff could easily have ascertained the facts of the case, since the marriage was recorded in the Endowment House marriage records, to which he obviously had access; furthermore, at any time he could have easily questioned Richards, who performed the sealing. Quinn, "New Plural Marriages," 38. Indeed, he still maintained his ignorance of the details of the Jespersen case when he signed the Manifesto nearly a year later, stating that a "marriage was performed in the Endowment House, in Salt Lake City, in the Spring of 1889, but I have not been able to learn who performed the ceremony." "Official Declaration, October 6, 1890," published as Official Declaration—1, LDS Doctrine and Covenants [1981], 291.

ter deliberation, Brigham Young Jr. “moved that the Endowment House should be taken down, but that the font with its dressing rooms be preserved for baptismal purposes.”¹⁵⁷ Those present approved the motion and decided to “have men employed to remove the Endowment House and erect a small building over the baptismal font.”¹⁵⁸ The decision may have also coincided with one of a number of work projects undertaken by the Church so that hundreds of men could qualify to register to vote against the anti-Mormon party in an upcoming city election.¹⁵⁹

The erection of a small building over the font suggests that the men wanted to enclose the opening between the font room and the Endowment House, since the *Sanborn Map* shows that the font was already covered by a slate or tin roof. With his colleagues’ support Woodruff ordered the building’s immediate dismantling.¹⁶⁰ L. John Nuttall, secretary to the First Presidency, relayed the decision to Robert T. Burton, counselor in the Presiding Bishopric, and to future Church architect Joseph Don Carlos Young. These two oversaw the building’s demolition. By the time the action was taken, Woodruff had apparently also decided to raze both the font and dressing rooms.¹⁶¹

The exact dates of the building’s destruction are not known. The *Salt Lake Daily Tribune* reported in its Sunday, November 17, 1889, issue that the building was “being razed and will be a thing of the past,” which suggests that the demolition had begun the previous week.¹⁶² Its destruction was probably completed the following week. By the end of November 1889, it was no longer standing at northwestern corner of Temple Square.¹⁶³

However, the demolition of the Endowment House and the baptistry did not include the southern extension with its greenhouse;

¹⁵⁷Nuttall, Journal, October 18, 1889.

¹⁵⁸Abraham H. Cannon, Journal, October 18, 1889, Perry Special Collections, quoted in Tingen, “Endowment House,” 25.

¹⁵⁹Quinn, “New Plural Marriages,” 38.

¹⁶⁰“Official Declaration, October 6, 1890,” in *Doctrine and Covenants* (1981), 291.

¹⁶¹Nuttall, Journal, October 22, 1889.

¹⁶²“The Endowment House Going,” *Salt Lake Daily Tribune*, November, 17, 1889, 4.

¹⁶³Andrew Jenson, *Church Chronology* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1889), 179.

both were spared. The 1892–93 photograph (Photo 4) taken by Savage from the temple roof shows not only the white outline of the baptistry on the Temple Square wall but the entire southern extension and its greenhouse. Its porch has been removed, and it also appears that the large brick chimney, seen in Savage’s 1880s photograph (Photo 3), had also been replaced with a furnace room and a tall stove-like pipe. To the north, the site of the Endowment House was only a plowed area. Sometime between 1892 and 1898, the last remnant of the Endowment House, the southern extension/greenhouse, was also razed. All evidence of the building disappeared from Temple Square. An 1898 *Sanborn Map* of Temple Square shows that the southern extension/greenhouse had been replaced by a slightly larger brick greenhouse.¹⁶⁴

For thirty-four years, the Endowment House admirably fulfilled its purpose as a temporary temple: “The primary ordinances performed in the Endowment House included sealings of living couples; sealings by proxy for the dead; sealings between couples in which one partner was living and the other dead; endowments for the living; and second anointings.”¹⁶⁵ The use of the Endowment House is beyond the scope of this paper, but the following number of ordinances were administered in it: 134,053 proxy baptisms for the dead; 54,170 endowments for the living (none were performed for the dead); 31,052 sealings in marriage for the living; 37,715 proxy sealings in marriage for the dead; and 694 second anointings.¹⁶⁶

THE INFLUENCE OF THE ENDOWMENT HOUSE

Scholars who have written about the significance and development of Mormon temple architecture and interior design, have passed over the Endowment House in their examination with little if any comment.¹⁶⁷ Only Hamilton in his *Mormon Architecture* gives it any—and quite cursory—attention. This neglect is perhaps understandable, because this simple and unassuming building was and con-

¹⁶⁴*Salt Lake City, Utah, 1898 Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps* (Chicago: Sanborn Company, 1898), Sheet 2.

¹⁶⁵Campbell, *Establishing Zion*, 168.

¹⁶⁶Tingen, “Endowment House,” 15.

¹⁶⁷See, for instance, David S. Andrew and Laurel B. Andrew, “The Four Mormon Temples in Utah,” *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 30 (March 1971): 51–65; Laurel B. Andrew, “The Nineteenth Century

tinues to be overshadowed by the imposing temples built during its existence—the St. George Temple, Logan Temple, and Manti Temple. Furthermore, by 1893 when its successor on the Temple Square, the Salt Lake Temple, was finished, it had passed out of existence three and a half years earlier. Yet it exerted an influential role in the development of Church temple architecture and interior design.

The Endowment House was used to institutionalize many of the aspects of temple interior design which had only been temporary modifications to earlier structures used for ritual purposes. Indeed, the Endowment House set the pattern of permanent, separate lecture rooms for the endowment ritual, even assigning them the same names that had been used in the Nauvoo Temple (garden room, world room, etc.) But this influence goes far beyond just the names of the various rooms.

The physical arrangement of progressively ascending ordinance rooms, using stairs to emphasize the upward ascent, was first used in the Endowment House. It is not known if Young or Angell was responsible for this innovation, but it was clearly intentional. As persons left the reception room and entered the ground floor lecture rooms, they were required to descend three steps. As they passed through the various ground-floor rooms of the endowment ceremony, they ascended a step into each lecture room. After passing through all the ground-floor rooms, they ascended a wide stairway to the second-floor instruction room. James Dwight Tingen, a student of the Endowment House, astutely observed that this aspect of its interior design was a “physical attempt by the architect to imply to those progressing through the endowment ceremony that as they moved from room to room they were being raised up and were coming closer to our Father in Heaven.”¹⁶⁸ This pattern became standard in later temples, including those at Logan, Manti, and Salt Lake City, as well as in other temples. For example, a description of the Mesa Arizona Temple reads, “From the garden room, a flight of stairs, representing further progress, leads into a room depicting the ‘lone and dreary

Temple Architecture of the Latter-day Saints” (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1973); Laurel B. Andrew, *The Early Temples of the Mormons* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1987); Charles Mark Hamilton, “The Salt Lake Temple: An Architectural Monograph,” Ph.D. diss., Ohio State University, 1978; [Hamilton and Cutrubus], *Salt Lake Temple*.

¹⁶⁸Tingen, “Endowment House,” 11.

world,” and from there “up another flight of stairs in the progressive symbolism of the temple one enters the upper lecture room.”¹⁶⁹

Not only this, but in the Endowment House the participants physically participated in the endowment in an ascending circular pattern. This innovation of ascending circular lecture rooms was not part of the conceptual interior of temples envisioned by Joseph Smith—a pattern that was defined by revelation for the Kirtland Temple and repeated in the Nauvoo Temple—of large assembly halls on the ground and second floors with opposing pulpits.¹⁷⁰ Smith’s pattern was not easily abandoned. In spite of his innovative Endowment House design, Angell’s plans for the interior of the St. George Temple followed the revealed pattern, or in the words of Lorenzo Snow, “the general features of the St. George Temple [were] in conformity to those of the Kirtland Temple”¹⁷¹ One historian further observed that “its original interior arrangement [was] the same as the Nauvoo Temple’s with its two main halls and half stories.”¹⁷² In the St. George Temple the arrangement of the original lecture rooms followed a pattern like the Nauvoo Temple’s; they were constructed with canvas partitions—though in the basement rather than in the attic like the Nauvoo Temple.¹⁷³ Likely the St. George Temple’s interior design was not entirely Angell’s decision, but was probably done at Brigham

¹⁶⁹Ira Judd, “Arizona Temple,” *Arizona Highways* 32 (April 1955): 23–24.

¹⁷⁰For the “pattern” of the Kirtland Temple, see Doctrine and Covenants 94:2–5, 95:14–17; and for the Nauvoo Temple, see Weeks’s transverse drawing of the Nauvoo Temple, showing the framework for the two large halls. [Hamilton and Cutrubus], *Salt Lake Temple*, 68; Colvin, *Nauvoo Temple*, 168–69.

¹⁷¹St. George Stake Historical Record, November 20, 1881, in Smith Research Associates, *New Mormon Studies*, CD-ROM.

¹⁷²Hamilton, “The Salt Lake Temple,” 152.

¹⁷³Wilford Woodruff, *Journal*, 7:292, mentions the partitions in preparing the temple for ordinance work: “I visited the Temple with President Young and we decided how to arrange the Rooms for Endowments.” He later made “arrangements about the Curtains,” probably referring to placing the partitions. *Ibid.*, 7:297. On January 1, 1877, Woodruff dedicated the basement rooms, saying, “We dedicate all the frame petitions with the Curtains and doors thereof,” which he called “the Creation, the Garden, the Telestial [and] the Terrestrial [rooms].” *Ibid.*, 7:305. In the dedicatory

Young's insistence.¹⁷⁴

The revealed pattern was finally abandoned, but not without some resistance by Angell. Because of Angell's work load, his son, Truman O. Angell Jr, was given the responsibility for designing the Logan Temple.¹⁷⁵ The younger Angell followed the general style of his father's temple plans for the exterior of the St. George Temple, "primarily in the center towers," and of the Salt Lake Temple, both of which "made use of the castellated style and east-west tower groupings with the east being higher than the west."¹⁷⁶ He did not, however, have any allegiance to the interior two-hall plan. Instead, he drafted plans for "a series of progressively higher small ritual rooms occupying two floors," likely drawing on the decades of experience with the interior design of the Endowment House.¹⁷⁷ He sent his plans to President John Taylor with a cover letter, "Our late President Young said that it was not required that temples should all look alike, neither in the interior or exterior design and construction. I have the building planned for greater convenience but can easily change the location of said rooms if you see fit to order it so."¹⁷⁸

Within two weeks Taylor gave his enthusiastic approval to

prayer for the completed temple, Daniel H. Wells mentioned "the side rooms, with the partition walls . . . for the administering the Holy Ordinances of thy House." Quoted in Nels B. Lundwall, *Temples of the Most High*, 73. A renovation in 1903 included taking down the "screens" for cleaning. This arrangement endured until the lower court of the building's two courts was divided into lecture rooms in 1937–38. In 1974–75 extensive renovations were made to accommodate the movie version of the endowment. The renovation eliminated the creation room, the garden room, and the world room and replaced them with three new ordinance rooms that all fed into the terrestrial room, which opened through the veil into the celestial room. Hamilton, *Mormon Architecture*, 48; Janice Force DeMille, *The St. George Temple: First Hundred Years* (Hurricane, Utah: Homestead Publishers, 1977), 89, 91–96, 110–18.

¹⁷⁴[Hamilton and Cutrubs], *Salt Lake Temple*, 109.

¹⁷⁵Angell Jr. was not a formally trained architect but learned his craft while assisting his father. Hamilton, "Salt Lake Temple," 80 note 59.

¹⁷⁶Andrew, *Early Temples*, 177; Hamilton, "Salt Lake Temple," 153.

¹⁷⁷Andrew, *Early Temples*, 177.

¹⁷⁸Truman O. Angell Jr., Letter to John Taylor, May 8, 1878, LDS Church Library, as quoted in Hamilton, "Salt Lake Temple," 68. Angell Jr.

Angell Jr.'s proposal, and the Logan Temple became the first temple with permanent progressive lecture rooms.¹⁷⁹ This decision set the stage for a confrontation between the Angells, father and son, over the Salt Lake Temple. After the dedication of the Logan Temple in May 1884, Angell Jr. returned to Salt Lake to assist his father. Within a year he developed similar interior plans for the Salt Lake Temple, which he submitted to Taylor with a cover letter comparing the revealed pattern with its "two large assembly rooms with two stands in each" with his new plans that he had "drawn up from a standpoint of experience and progression," clearly a reference to his experience with the Logan Temple.¹⁸⁰ Angell Jr.'s plans, drawn between February and March 1885, provided for a baptistry with its font and two dressings rooms in the center of the basement. Surrounding the baptistry stood nine washing and anointing rooms. On the eastern side, separated by a hallway, was the lower lecture (creation) room. Using the circular stairway in the southeastern corner tower, participants ascended to the ground floor. In Joseph Smith's model, the first floor contained the first large assembly hall; but here Angell Jr. divided the space into four quadrants, an arrangement similar to the Endowment House. The garden room (southeastern quadrant), the telestial room (southwestern), and the terrestrial room (northwest-

was likely referring to Brigham Young's 1873 remarks when he said that he "asked the Lord what kind of a Temple should we Build & the Answer of the Lord was that He did not Make two things alike & we need not make two Temples alike so we need not look for two Temple alike." Quoted in Woodruff, *Journal*, 7:140-41. If this was not the incident, Angell Jr. might have been referring to a reported 1874 revelation to Young, quoted by Erastus Snow in a talk to the St. George Stake in 1881: "Oh, Lord how unto thy servants if we should build all temples after the same pattern? Do you after increasing your families build after the same pattern used when your family is small? So shall the growth of the knowledge of the principles of the Gospel among my people cause diversity in the pattern of Temples." "Revelations in Addition to Those Found in the LDS Edition of the D&C," quotation from the St. George Stake Historical Record, November 20, 1881, in Smith Research Associates, *New Mormon Studies*, CD-ROM.

¹⁷⁹John Taylor, Letter to Truman O. Angell Jr., May 23-28, 1878, LDS Church Library, as quoted in Hamilton, "Salt Lake Temple," 68.

¹⁸⁰Truman O. Angell Jr., Letter to John Taylor, April 28, 1885, LDS Church Library, quoted in Hamilton, "Salt Lake Temple," 69.

ern) were all equal in size, 39.5 feet by 44.5 feet. The celestial room (northeastern) was the larger: 39.5 feet by 70 feet.¹⁸¹

Although Angell Jr. included his father's name on his plans, Angell did not agree with his son's innovations. Before Angell Jr. even submitted his plans to Taylor, Angell sent his own letter to the president. He pointed out that Brigham Young had seen the temple in vision and that "the house was designed 34 years ago; and as I got the plans ready I took them to President Young and he approved them, both exterior and interior. . . . All we knew of temples then was what we had received through President [Joseph] Smith." He concluded, "It seems to me to alter the plans now would make a bad thing of the house. [But] I know it will do if you consent to the same."¹⁸² It is not clear if Angell Jr. received the same approval for his proposal for the Salt Lake Temple that Taylor had extended to him for the Logan Temple. Even if Taylor agreed with Angell Jr. in principle, apparently he did not approve these specific plans. In 1886 Angell Jr. prepared two more revisions in an attempt to work out a satisfactory arrangement of the lecture rooms.¹⁸³

However, neither the proposals of the father nor the son became the final design. Angell died on October 16, 1887. Angell Jr. continued as temple architect, and he was sustained as Church architect during the October 1889 general conference.¹⁸⁴ There is no indication that he did any further work on the interior design. Instead he turned his attention to the exterior, especially to the final form of the spires. At the April 1890 general conference, he was replaced by Joseph Don Carlos Young, a son of Brigham Young, who brought the temple's interior to completion. In principle Young followed Angell Jr.'s plan but relocated the garden room to

¹⁸¹The plans are reproduced in [Hamilton and Cutrube], *Salt Lake Temple*, 70–71. A sealing room, 39 by 21.5 feet, appears between the garden and celestial rooms, with a hallway on its north side, which allowed passage between the two lecture rooms.

¹⁸²Truman O. Angell, Letter to John Taylor, March 11, 1885, LDS Church Library, quoted in Hamilton, "Salt Lake Temple," 69. Angell Jr.'s plans were submitted to Taylor April 28, 1885.

¹⁸³Hamilton, "Salt Lake Temple," 70; Angell Jr.'s plans, dated May and September 1886, appear on pp. 184–85.

¹⁸⁴"Death of Truman O. Angell, Sr.," *Deseret Evening News*, October 17, 1887, 3; Hamilton, "Salt Lake Temple," 81.

the northeastern corner of the basement. He then “revised the second [ground] floor by resolving the access corridor and dividing the remaining area into quadrant rooms arranged in a counter clock-wise movement.” This arrangement consisted of four quadrants, again reminiscent of the Endowment House. With the garden room in the basement, which provided additional space, he “subdivided the [southeastern] quadrant into sealing rooms, sealing annex, and the Holy of Holies.”¹⁸⁵ To his plans he also included steps when entering each of the rooms to reinforce the upward ascent of those being endowed. One of Young’s plans for this floor even included a heavy directional arrow showing that the circular flow from room to room was an intentional spatial device.¹⁸⁶

Dale Van Boman, who wrote his thesis on the baptismal font, observed that the interior plans for the Salt Lake Temple “were altered [by Joseph D. C. Young] to follow a circular arranged system of Endowment rooms which had been formulated in the Logan and Manti Temples and in the Endowment House,” but neglected to mention that the Endowment House was the primary inspiration for the two temples.¹⁸⁷ Richard O. Cowan more accurately observed, “As early as 1855, the Endowment House . . . had set a new pattern, providing separate lecture rooms where different phases of man’s eternal life might be taught as part of the Endowment presentation. The lower portion of the Logan, Manti, and Salt Lake Temples (all completed during the last two decades of the nineteenth century) followed a similar plan.”¹⁸⁸ Indeed, one might say that the interior design by Angell Jr. and Young reflected the senior Angell’s legacy of the Endowment House’s progressive, circular, ascending lecture rooms.

However, this influence was not the least of the Endowment House’s influence on temple design and furnishings. The temporary lecture rooms in the Nauvoo Temple and the Council House had limited furnishings; only altars are actually mentioned in the accounts. However, there very well may have been some chairs, since the cere-

¹⁸⁵[Hamilton and Cutrubs], *Salt Lake Temple*, 57.

¹⁸⁶See plan reproduced in *ibid.*, 78.

¹⁸⁷Boman, “LDS Temple Baptismal Font,” 9.

¹⁸⁸Richard O. Cowan, *The Church in the Twentieth Century* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1985), 362–63.

mony lasted several hours.¹⁸⁹ If there were chairs, they were loaned for use only as long as they were needed and were returned to the owners along with all the furnishings when ordinance work ceased.¹⁹⁰ The Endowment House, however, was the first building to include planned permanent seating (benches) for participants to use, fulfilling the obvious needs of the participants. Each of the lecture rooms had benches around the walls with enough room to seat those using the rooms. When the St. George Temple was completed in 1877, its partitioned lecture rooms were furnished with benches—probably from the experience gained in the Endowment House. However, instead of being arranged around the perimeter of the room, they were repositioned into rows to accommodate more people.¹⁹¹ The benches were fashioned from red pine and were “curved and shaped from 10 to 12 inch planks, being held together with a groove and spline joint.”¹⁹² Subsequent temples routinely included such seating. Benches were installed in the Logan and Manti temples, and they were also planned for the Salt Lake Temple, but by the time the latter was finished, theater seating was substituted instead.¹⁹³ Benches continued to be used in only a few other temples, such as the Manti Temple to this day; nearly all of the

¹⁸⁹Neither chairs, nor benches were mentioned in the descriptions of the furnishings of the ordinance rooms in the Nauvoo Temple or Council House. Brown, “Sacred Departments,” 367–73; Hyde, *Mormonism*, 91–99. From available sources, it is possible to determine the approximate sizes of the Nauvoo Temple ordinances rooms. The two smallest ordinance rooms, the terrestrial and telestial rooms, were both about 12.5 feet by 20 feet. By computation, you could comfortably place about 18–20 chairs around the partition walls, which would have accommodated most of the members of an average endowment company—if not everyone, at least the women. The garden room, which was about 24.5 feet by 28 feet, obviously would have had enough room for chairs among the potted plants.

¹⁹⁰Brown, “Sacred Departments,” 374.

¹⁹¹In his dedicatory prayer for the basement rooms of the St. George Temple, Wilford Woodruff mentioned the “Benches and all materials which Shall be used in the seating of thy People in the rooms of this house.” Woodruff, *Journal*, 7:305.

¹⁹²Thomas Weston Welch, “Early Mormon Woodworking at its Best: A Study of the Craftsmanship in the First Temple in Utah” (M.A. Thesis, Brigham Young University, 1983), 27.

¹⁹³Benches can be seen in a recent photographs of the Manti Temple

other temples have theater-style seating.

Another element of the Endowment House's interior design was the use of living potted plants in the garden room. This practice began in Nauvoo with the introduction of the endowment in Joseph Smith's store, where potted plants were temporarily placed in the upper room. Brigham Young had potted plants incorporated in the decor of the Nauvoo Temple's attic garden room compartment.¹⁹⁴ He also included dwarf mountain pines in boxes in a similar room in the Council House. The purpose of such decoration was to make the room look "something like a garden."¹⁹⁵ The Endowment House continued the practice. A holdover of this practice may have been continued with the use of artificial plants in the garden room of the St. George Temple, well into the 1970s when the temple was remodeled.¹⁹⁶

Perhaps the Endowment House's greenhouse reflected, in part, Young's fondness for the greenery of living plants in the temple. Even if this was not the case, he obviously wanted to expand the use of actual plants in the garden room, because he asked Angell to include a full conservatory as the garden room for the Salt Lake Temple. The architect explained, "President Young said all along he meant to have a real garden and a house suitable to the accommodation of the same in connection within the [Salt Lake] Temple. This he urged on my mind for quarter of a century."¹⁹⁷ Angell responded by designing a free-standing conservatory, attached to the temple on its southern

lecture rooms. Manti Temple Centennial Committee, *The Manti Temple*, 100–101; *Temples of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Church Curriculum Department, 1999), 46–47. Both Angell Jr and Joseph Don Carlos Young's plans for the Salt Lake Temple included benches in the lecture rooms. Plans in [Hamilton and Cutrubs], *Salt Lake Temple*, 70, 71, 75. However, "permanent adjustable seats" were installed instead. *House of the Lord* (Cannon, 1893), 15. Also see photographs of lecture rooms with benches in the Cardston Alberta Temple. Ensign, *Temples of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Ensign of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1988) 3–5.

¹⁹⁴Brown, "Sacred Department," 370.

¹⁹⁵Hyde, *Mormonism*, 93.

¹⁹⁶Paul L. Anderson, personal communication, April 4, 2008.

¹⁹⁷Angell, Letter to John Taylor, March 11, 1885, LDS Church Library, quoted in Hamilton, "Salt Lake Temple," 69.

side and reached through a short passageway.¹⁹⁸

Angell Jr.'s design for the temple interior did not include a conservatory, which was one of Angell's principal objections to his son's proposal. Angell Jr.'s plan placed the garden room on the ground floor and his only concession to greenery in the garden room was a single potted plant in a front corner.¹⁹⁹ Joseph Don Carlos Young restored Brigham Young's desire for "a real garden" by relocating the garden room to the basement and attaching a narrow conservatory along the temple's exterior southern wall. As originally completed, the Salt Lake Temple had two "large doorways opening directly into a conservatory of living plants" from the garden room.²⁰⁰ This conservatory functioned until the late 1920s or the early 1930s, when it was torn down and the doorways enclosed.²⁰¹

If the Endowment House was the final building to have a garden room of potted living plants, it was the first to have a mural to enhance its pastoral setting. This wall painting was an innovation, which had not been used before.²⁰² It is not known who was responsible for this decision. Perhaps it was the suggestion of William Ward, the artist who was then serving as Church architect. Ward's mural became the inspiration for murals in subsequent temples. The St. George

¹⁹⁸See plan in [Hamilton and Cutrubus], *House of the Lord*, 64. Patrons entered the garden room conservatory through a doorway from the creation room and left through a doorway to an intermediate landing on the stairway leading to the next floor.

¹⁹⁹Plan in *ibid.*, 71. The single potted plant was probably meant to represent the tree of knowledge of good and evil with its forbidden fruit.

²⁰⁰Talmage, *House of the Lord* (1912), 186.

²⁰¹Paul C. Richards, "The Salt Lake Temple Infrastructure: Studying it Out in Their Minds," *BYU Studies*, 36 (1996–97): 209.

²⁰²There is archaeological evidence that a wall painting, pastoral in color scheme, once existed in the northwestern corner of the second floor room in Joseph Smith's Nauvoo store. However, there is no evidence that it was connected with the temple ceremonies conducted in the room, and it may have even been painted after the Mormons left Nauvoo. David Hyrum Smith, Joseph Smith's artistic son, lived for a time in the store and may have painted it. Nevertheless, it is suggestive that a pastoral mural existed on the walls of the very room where the endowment was initially administered. Robert T. Bray, *Archaeological Investigation at the Joseph Smith Red Brick Store, Nauvoo, Illinois* (Columbia: University of Missouri, 1973), 73–74.

Temple was the first temple to have the walls of its garden room in the basement covered with a mural; three artists—Dan Weggeland, C. C. A. Christensen and Samuel Jepperson—were commissioned to create these murals in 1881.²⁰³ One author recognized that Ward’s Endowment House mural was the “forerunner” to the St. George Temple murals, because it had inspired these artists, “who without doubt had seen them.”²⁰⁴ The pattern was continued when Weggeland, William Armitage, and Reuben Kirkham painted murals in the Logan Temple in 1883–84.²⁰⁵ Weggeland and Christensen also painted murals in the Manti Temple.²⁰⁶ In 1892 Weggeland, John Hafen, and John B. Fairbanks completed the murals for the Salt Lake Temple.²⁰⁷ When temples were constructed beyond Utah, murals continued to be part of the interior decoration, including those located at Laie, Hawaii

²⁰³O’Brien, “Utah Temple Murals,” 14–15. Weggeland and Jepperson were likely chosen for this commission, because of their work in painting the ceiling and cornice in the Logan Temple. Cope, “John Fairbanks,” 114. The original St. George Temple murals no longer exist, having been painted over in 1937–38 when the lecture rooms were moved to the next floor in order to make more room in the basement. Andrew Karl Larsen, *I Was Called to Dixie* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1961), 592. Joseph A. F. Everett and Peter M. Kamps painted murals in the new lecture rooms. When the temple was remodeled in 1974–75, these lecture rooms were altered for the film endowment, so that “long-time patrons [would] notice many changes, such as the absence of the murals.” DeMille, *St. George Temple*, 115. Some murals on canvas were saved; and some, though not all, have been reinstalled in the St. George Temple. Paul L. Anderson, personal communication, April 4, 2008.

²⁰⁴O’Brien, “Utah Temple Murals,” 14.

²⁰⁵A newspaper article also recognized a “Brother Hurst” for his “ceiling decorations.” “The Event at Logan,” *Deseret News*, May 28, 1884, 8. See also, O’Brien, “Utah Temple Murals,” 13–14. When the Logan Temple was entirely gutted to incorporate the film version of the endowment in 1976–77, the Garden Room mural, which was painted directly on the plaster, was destroyed. The Creation Room and World Room had canvas-mounted murals that were removed and preserved by the Church Historical Department. But the renovated building had “no beautiful murals on the walls as formerly.” Nolan Porter Olsen, *Logan Temple: The First Hundred Years* (Providence, Utah: Keith W. Watkins and Sons, 1978), 109–13, 218. See also, O’Brien, “Utah Temple Murals,” 14–21.

²⁰⁶O’Brien, “Utah Temple Murals,” 18–19.

²⁰⁷*Ibid.*, 21.

(1919); Cardston, Alberta, (1923); Mesa, Arizona (1927), Idaho Falls (1945); and Los Angeles (1956). With the adoption of the filmed endowment in the Bern Switzerland Temple in the 1950s and the abandonment of progressive lecture rooms for a single ordinance room, the use of murals temporarily ceased. Indeed, the use of film “replaced the painted murals on temple walls, and single projection rooms replaced a series of themed rooms through which patrons normally made procession.”²⁰⁸ It was not until the reconstruction of the temple at Nauvoo, Illinois (2001), the first temple to have progressive ordinance rooms since the 1950s, that murals were once again painted on lecture room walls. The response to the pleasant and dramatic effect of the Nauvoo Illinois Temple murals resulted in a resurgence of murals being included in subsequently constructed temples.²⁰⁹ The beautiful murals in Mormon temples are the legacy of William Ward’s mural in the Endowment House’s garden room.

The Endowment House also contained the first sealing room specifically designed for marriages. During Joseph Smith’s lifetime, marriage sealings occurred in a variety of places, usually private homes. Brigham Young’s private office in the Nauvoo Temple, in which an altar was installed, doubled as a sealing room. Young’s room opened directly into the celestial room. Before the construction of the Endowment House, sealings continued to be administered in a number of localities, including the upper room of Brigham Young’s office, the Council House, and private residences.²¹⁰ Angell included a sealing room adjacent to the Celestial Room in his original plans. However, the Endowment House sealing room was not equivalent to a sealing room in a temple. In a discourse given in 1873, Brigham Young observed: “There are many ordinances of the house of God

²⁰⁸Randy Castle and Gideon O. Burton, “A History of Mormon Cinema,” *BYU Studies* 46, no. 2 (2007): 72.

²⁰⁹A search of the online archive of the *Church News*, 1988 to the present, shows that the following recently dedicated temples have ordinance room murals: Palmyra New York, Columbia River Washington, Snowflake Arizona, Hague Netherlands, Brisbane Australia, Accra Ghana, Manhattan New York, Copenhagen Denmark, Newport Beach, and Aba Nigeria, <http://www.desnews.com/cn/> (accessed May 15, 2008).

²¹⁰Notes on ordinances administered outside the temple, 1854–56, from microfilm 25165, pt. 9, LDS Family History Library, Salt Lake City, Utah.

that must be performed in a Temple.” He used as an example, “We also have the privilege of sealing women to men, without a Temple. This we can do in the Endowment House; but when we come to other sealing ordinances, ordinances pertaining to the holy Priesthood, to connect the chain of the Priesthood from father Adam until now, by sealing children to their parents, being sealed for our forefathers, etc., they cannot be done without a Temple. But we can seal women to men, but not men to men, without a Temple.”²¹¹ Yet the inclusion of a sealing room in the Endowment House largely curtailed the practice of non-temple marriage sealings, insuring the inclusion of such rooms in all subsequent temples. Indeed, nearly all temples now have more than one sealing room.²¹²

The Endowment House was also the first to have its own cooking facilities. The practice of providing meals had begun in the Nauvoo Temple, where a pantry was located just outside the attic lecture rooms, but there were no cooking facilities. Members simply brought food for themselves and those who officiated in the ceremonies.²¹³ As noted earlier in this study, this practice was also adopted in the Endowment House and was expanded by providing cooking facilities to prepare food, probably in the building’s southern exten-

²¹¹Brigham Young, September 4, 1873, *Journal of Discourses*, 16:186. In the same discourse he said, “Neither will children be sealed to their living parents in any other place than a Temple,” and “No one can receive endowments for another, until a Temple is prepared in which to administer them.” *Ibid.*, 167-87. The sealing of men to men was the principle of adoption. For a discussion of rise and fall of this practice, see Gordon I. Irving, “The Law of Adoption: One Phase of the Development of the Mormon Concept of Salvation, 1830–1900,” *BYU Studies* 14 (Spring 1974): 291–314.

²¹²All Mormon temples (over fifty in number) built before the smaller temple program began in 1997, had multiple sealing rooms. The first of the smaller temples (in Monticello, Utah; Anchorage, Alaska; and Colonia Juarez, Chihuahua, Mexico) dedicated in 1998, had only one sealing room. Beginning with the Columbus Ohio Temple in 1999, all the smaller temples were enlarged, including an additional sealing room. The Monticello Utah Temple was remodeled in 2002 and a second sealing room was added. The Anchorage Alaska Temple was also enlarged in 2003–04, but no sealing room was added, leaving it and the Colonia Juarez Temple as the only temples with single sealing rooms. *2008 Church Almanac* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Morning News, 2008, 505–73.

²¹³Brown, “Sacred Departments,” 367.

sion. Kitchen facilities for feeding those engaged in temple work continued with the construction of the Utah temples. A kitchen was provided in the Logan Temple annex when it was enlarged in August 1884 to include a dining room and bedrooms for two cooks.²¹⁴ The Salt Lake Temple annex included “kitchen and dining facilities for temple workers and patrons.”²¹⁵ This practice continued for temples until October 1997, when President Gordon B. Hinckley announced his innovation of smaller temples, which excluded cafeterias in those under a certain size. The Endowment House institutionalized permanent cooking facilities, which has continued and expanded into the well-equipped cafeterias in larger temples today.

Other features were also first seen in the Endowment House. The use of more than one veil segment was first introduced in the Endowment House, undoubtedly as a means to expedite the endowment ceremony. Multiple veil segments were adopted generally thereafter. For example, the Salt Lake Temple first had four such segments, and it was later extended to the present twenty-four.²¹⁶ Moreover, the Endowment House was the first building used for temple ordinances which had its own annex-foyer with rest rooms, where patrons presented their recommends, had their names and other information recorded, and assembled before entering the sacred precincts proper. Earlier structures temporarily used rooms adjacent to the lecture rooms for such purposes. Annexes have become a standard architectural design of many temples. Additionally, it was the first building to provide for permanent dressing rooms for the convenience of patrons, a feature later incorporated into all temples or their annexes.

Although the Endowment House lacked any exterior symbolism, symbols were incorporated into part of the building’s interior decoration. They included representations of the square, compass, level, and plumb on the garden room walls, the depiction of sun, moon and stars in the same room, and flaming swords over the door in the world room. Although rare today, interior symbols painted on the walls continue to be used in some current temples, such as the

²¹⁴“Logan Temple,” *Contributor 5* (June 1884), Infobases, *LDS Collectors Library 2005*, CD-ROM; Olsen, *Logan Temple*, 184.

²¹⁵Talmage, *House of the Lord* (1968), 202.

²¹⁶Talmage, *House of the Lord* (1912), 189; Talmage, *House of the Lord* (1968), 207.

grip of fides (or fraternal handclasp) and the all-seeing eye, on the ceiling coping in the garden room of the Salt Lake Temple.²¹⁷

In sum, the influence of the Endowment House on future temples was considerable. Church leaders and architects drew, perhaps unconsciously, on the experience gained through this temporary temple when designing and furnishing the four Utah temples, and that influence continued with those built during the early twentieth century. It is unfortunate that the Endowment House was demolished, which largely masked this influence. If it still stood, it would be a constant reminder of that legacy.

CONCLUSION

The Endowment House has been largely overlooked and unappreciated. In this paper I have attempted to reclaim the importance of the building by recreating for the reader its exterior and interior appearance, as well as briefly describing its influence on the development of later Latter-day Saint temple architecture and interior design. However, it was a “Temple Pro Tempore” in many respects, principally as a place for conducting sacerdotal rites while actual temples were under construction, and as a vehicle for advancing temple interior design. It fulfilled both of these purposes admirably. However, the real significance of the building was not so much in its physical structure or interior furnishings, but as a sacred edifice of spiritual enlightenment and blessings for the thousands of Latter-day Saints who passed through its precincts during its brief existence. Matthias F. Cowley praised it: “It would be difficult even to estimate the sacred influence which that building has exercised upon the lives of untold thousands who felt themselves within its sacred precincts in the presence of their God.”²¹⁸ To them the Endowment House was literally the House of the Lord.

²¹⁷A photograph showing these symbols in the garden room appears in [Hamilton and Cutrubus], *Salt Lake Temple*, 92.

²¹⁸Matthias F. Cowley, *Wilford Woodruff, Fourth President of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints: His Life and Labors* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1909), 372.

“THEY SHALL BE MADE WHOLE”: A HISTORY OF BAPTISM FOR HEALTH

Jonathan A. Stapley and Kristine Wright

SHORTLY AFTER HER HUSBAND returned home from a British mission in 1890, thirty-six-year-old Eleanor Cannon Woodbury Jarvis entered the St. George Temple font. This mother of eight sought a miracle. She remembered: “In the spring of 1884 my health failed and I had very poor health for the next 17 or 18 years. I was very near deaths door several times, but by the power of Faith my life was spared. . . . I was taken to the Temple in a wheel chair, was carried into the Font, baptized for my health & walked out & dressed myself, the first time for six months.”¹ Reports of baptism for the restoration of health are generally overlooked by Mormon historians, yet baptism for health was a widespread Latter-day Saint practice. Such accounts stand in striking contrast to modern Mormon healing ritual, which is limited to Melchizedek Priesthood holders anointing and laying hands on the head of the afflicted. Rebaptism

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¹Eleanor C. W. Jarvis, *Diary*, 3, typescript, Marriott Library, University of Utah, Salt Lake City. See also Eleanor W. Jarvis, “Biographical Sketch of George Frederick Jarvis,” transcribed by Rose S. Bell, April 21, 1966; photocopy in our possession.

or “baptism for the renewal of covenants”² was normative in nineteenth-century Mormonism and has been treated by several authors.³ Although baptism for health was perhaps more common, modern scholars have given it only tangential treatment.⁴ Historically, the liturgy of Mormon healing is ritually diverse. This study chronicles the development, application, and cessation of baptism for health, an integral part of that history.

Like many other aspects of Mormon Restorationism, healing by immersion has biblical precedent. The story of Elisha instructing Naaman to “wash in the Jordan seven times” and the miraculous New

²Baptism for health and baptism for the renewal of covenants are both technically “rebaptism.” As the term “rebaptism” has historically referred to baptism for the renewal of covenants, we do not, in this study, apply it to cases of baptism for health. Early Mormons also called baptism for the renewal of covenants rebaptism (or baptism) “for the remission of sins.” For a fuller treatment of the sacramental differences between these activities, see the section “Rebaptism and Baptism for Health” in this paper.

³While the definitive and complete history of rebaptism has yet to be written, several authors have engaged the subject: D. Michael Quinn, “The Practice of Rebaptism at Nauvoo,” *BYU Studies* 18 (Winter 1978): 226–32; Paul H. Peterson, “The Mormon Reformation of 1856–1857: The Rhetoric and the Reality,” *Journal of Mormon History* 15 (1989): 59–88; and Stephen C. Taysom, “Divine Resistance and Accommodation: Nineteenth-Century Shaker and Mormon Boundary Maintenance Strategies” (Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, 2006), 376–77. Fundamentalist historian Ogden Kraut has also produced a history, *Re-Baptism* (Dugway, Utah: Pioneer Press, n.d.), but its discussion on baptism for health is seriously flawed. For treatments of rebaptism by twentieth-century LDS Church leaders, see Joseph F. Smith, “The Repetition of Sacred Ordinances,” *Juvenile Instructor* 38 (January 1, 1903), 18–20; Joseph F. Smith Jr., “Editor’s Table,” *Improvement Era* 20 (August 1917): 917–18; James E. Talmage, *Articles of Faith: A Series of Lectures on the Principal Doctrines of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1899), 144–48.

⁴Quinn, “The Practice of Rebaptism at Nauvoo,” 229–31; Thomas G. Alexander, *Mormonism in Transition: A History of the Latter-day Saints, 1890–1930* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986), 290–91; Gregory A. Prince, *Power from On High: The Development of Mormon Priesthood* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1995), 90–92. The most complete treatment to date is Lester E. Bush Jr., *Health and Medicine among the Latter-day Saints: Science, Sense and Scripture* (New York: Crossroad, 1993), 82–84.

Testament waters of Bethesda appear to have informed Latter-day Saint practice (2 Kgs. 5:1–15; John 5:2–4). Early Christians inhabited a mystical world in which the sacraments of the Church secured and restored life.⁵ Even the great pioneer of orthodoxy, Augustine, embraced baptism for physical healing.⁶ The Church developed formal baptismal rites for health, but this association did not generally persist beyond the first millennium.⁷ However, there are isolated examples of later communities finding healing through baptism; for example, Native Americans in the Great Lakes region viewed baptism by Jesuit missionaries as a healing ritual.⁸ There is, however, no evidence that post-biblical associations of baptism with healing were known to early Mormons.

The formalization of baptism for health as an explicit rite of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints follows a developmental trajectory similar to other healing rituals of the Restoration.⁹ Healing rituals were generally viewed as anathema by Protestant reformers.

⁵Amanda Porterfield, *Healing in the History of Christianity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), esp. 60–62; John Halliburton, “Anointing in the Early Church” in *The Oil of Gladness: Anointing in the Christian Tradition*, edited by Martin Dudley and Geoffrey Rowell (Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 1993), esp. 82–83.

⁶Augustine, *Confessions*, translated by F. J. Sheed and edited by Michael P. Foley, 2d ed. (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, 2006), 12–13 [1.11.17–18].

⁷Scattered instances of formal baptism for health are seen as late as the Carolingian Renaissance. For example, Frederick S. Paxton, *Christianizing Death: The Creation of a Ritual Process in Early Medieval Europe* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1990), 187–88, shows that the sacramentary which Pope Hadrian I sent to Charlemagne included a ritual baptism for health. Cyrille Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy: An Introduction and Sources*, translated by William Storey and Niels Rasmussen (Washington, D.C.: Pastoral Press, 1986), 165–66 documents other medieval baptismal rites for the sick.

⁸Michael P. Gueno, “Baptism and Humanity: Native American-Jesuit Relationships in New France” (M.A. thesis, Florida State University, 2004), 29–49.

⁹Records of LDS temples in Utah codified the ritual in their records under the label “baptism for health.” We have chosen to maintain this appellation throughout this treatment to prevent confusion with other forms

And although Calvinism's influence in American religion was waning, the Book of Mormon's publication functioned as an iconoclasm against ritual proscription, claiming that "the work of miracles and of healing did cease because of the iniquity of the people" and that if people lack faith sufficient for miracles, then they also lack faith sufficient for salvation (Mormon 1:13, 9:7-9; Moro. 7:37-38). In mocking the extreme unction of the Roman Catholic Church, Calvin had asked why the Church did not establish a modern pool of Siloam where the sick could be healed.¹⁰ In Joseph Smith's lifetime, the Latter-day Saints established their temple fonts as sacred pools for the restoration of health.

Early Mormons viewed healing, along with glossolalia and prophecy, as important evidence of the Restoration's validity; and miraculous healings were a common hallmark of early Mormon conversions. Often, converts were healed upon their baptism or confirmation. Jane Snyder Richards's brother had converted to Mormonism and experienced such a healing. Jane resisted baptism; but when she fell quite ill and experienced a partial paralysis, her brother blessed her. She wrote:

As my brother rose from his knee, I showed him my restored arm and hand and begged for baptism. He remonstrated for it was now midwinter and Ice would have to be broken and the exposure might be fatal. But death I was not afraid of. Only I must be baptized. In consequence of my persistence I was carried to the Lake the next day where Ice a foot thick had been broken. The people had congregated in great numbers. Some had told us that my brother would be arrested if he should immerse me in the critical situation I was in. However it was done. And I was well from that time. My disease was

of baptism. While there is some fluidity of the ritual formulation, as this paper makes clear, baptism for health was a discrete healing rite within the Mormon liturgy. For a comparison, see our "Baptism for Healing and Women as Healers: Twin Trajectories of Early Mormon Ritual," Paper presented at the Mormon History Association Conference, May 2007, Salt Lake City; see also Jonathan A. Stapley and Kristine Wright, "The Forms and the Power: The Development of Mormon Ritual Healing to 1847," under review.

¹⁰John T. McNeil, ed., and Ford Lewis Battles, trans., *Calvin: Institutes of the Christian Religion*, 2 vols. (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1960), 2:1466.

cured.¹¹

Similar healing baptisms were experienced by prominent early Mormons like John Smith,¹² while missionaries like David W. Patten¹³ and Heber C. Kimball¹⁴ were known to make healing pronouncements contingent upon baptism. In one instance, a missionary promised healing to a woman if she would consent to baptism; her hearing was restored but she later left the Church, attributing the “*apparent* miracle” to the effect of cold water or other natural causes.¹⁵ Healings that resulted from convert baptisms and subsequent Church inactivity were so common in the missionary labors of Addison Pratt that he lamented being asked to baptize a woman whom he suspected of only desiring a miraculous cure.¹⁶

¹¹Jane Snyder Richards, *Autobiography*, n.d., 6–7, microfilm of holograph, Historical Department Library, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City (hereafter cited as LDS Church Library).

¹²Irene M. Bates and E. Gary Smith, *Lost Legacy: The Mormon Office of Presiding Patriarch* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1996), 109.

¹³The following is related in Lycurgus A. Wilson, *Life of David W. Patten: The First Apostolic Martyr* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1900), 8–9: “In administering the healing ordinance David had a method of procedure peculiarly his own. On reaching the bedside, he would first teach the principles of the Gospel and bear his testimony to their truth, when he usually made a promise that the invalid should be healed if he would agree to accept baptism. President Abraham O. Smoot, of Utah Stake, once said he never knew an instance in which David’s petition for the sick was not answered, and this was also the testimony of President Wilford Woodruff.”

¹⁴Stanley B. Kimball, *Heber C. Kimball: Mormon Patriarch and Pioneer* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986), 48; Orson F. Whitney, *Life of Heber C. Kimball, an Apostle: The Father and Founder of the British Mission* (Salt Lake City: Kimball Family, 1888), 178–79.

¹⁵Nelson Winch Green, *Fifteen Years among the Mormons: Being the Narrative of Mrs. Mary Ettie V. Smith, Late of Great Salt Lake City: A Sister of One of the Mormon High Priests, She Having Been Personally Acquainted with Most of the Mormon Leaders, and Long in the Confidence of the “Prophet,” Brigham Young* (New York: H. Dayton, 1859), 19; emphasis Green’s.

¹⁶S. George Ellsworth, ed., *The Journals of Addison Pratt* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1990), 442. While the journal entry occurred

NAUVOO: RITUAL FORMALIZATION

Beginning in the earliest days of the Church, Joseph Smith sought to endow members of the Church with charismatic power, including the power to heal. From the proto-endowment of 1831 to the pentecostal events in the Kirtland Temple 1836, Joseph insisted that the elders receive the heralded gifts that follow true believers.¹⁷ As one regional newspaper observed in the months before the Kirtland Temple was finished, “they assure you, with the utmost confidence that they shall soon be able to raise the dead, to heal the sick, the deaf, the dumb, and the blind[.]”¹⁸ Further, the common Mormon ritual of anointing the sick exists as an adaptation of the Kirtland Temple anointing ritual.¹⁹ In Nauvoo, Joseph expanded his vision of the tem-

in 1850, Pratt was reflecting on the converts of his first mission during the mid-1840s; it thus suggests the regional expectations associated with baptism during Joseph Smith’s lifetime.

¹⁷Stapley and Wright, “The Forms and the Power.”

¹⁸Anonymous, Letter, March 18, 1836, in the reprint of the *Ohio Atlas* in Anonymous, “Mormonism,” *Painesville Telegraph* 2 (May 20, 1836): 768. Consider the editor’s response to this quotation, in [Oliver Cowdery?], “The ‘Atlas’ Article,” *Latter-day Saints’ Messenger and Advocate* 2 (April 1836): 303: “That this church professes to believe, that by faith the pure in heart can heal the sick, cast out devils, &c. we do not deny; in fact, it is an item in our articles of faith, and one we find in the apostles’; but, that we profess to be able to raise the dead, or ever expect to be, or in fact, have a wish to call back, to this scene of suffering, those who are freed from it, is utterly and unequivocally false. Having been in the church from its organization, we have overheard this item preached; and that a man, a stranger, who was here a few hours, to have heard any thing of the kind, is not very unaccountable to us, when we consider what else he has written.” See also Joseph’s November 12, 1835, teachings to the Twelve. Dean C. Jessee, ed., *The Papers of Joseph Smith*, 2 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1989–92), 2:77.

¹⁹Stapley and Wright, “The Forms and the Power.” Joseph Smith performed the only reliable extant accounts of anointing for healing before the administration of the Kirtland rituals. Fred C. Collier and William S. Harwell, eds., *Kirtland Council Minute Book* (Hannah, Utah: Collier’s Publishing, 2002), 58–59; Jessee, *The Papers of Joseph Smith*, 2:91–92, 104–5. After the Kirtland Temple ceremonies, anointing for healing became commonplace. The form of modern healing anointings retain the steps out-

ple to establish it as a special space for healing.²⁰ Later when the new rituals of the Nauvoo Temple were administered to the body of Church members, they were immediately adapted by Church leaders for healing. The prayer circle was used to consecrate oil and, in conjunction with the laying on of hands, to heal the sick, and the sick were washed and anointed for their health. In a desire to equip the Saints with the instruments of God's power, Joseph and his contemporaries engaged in ritual expansion and developed healing rites from rituals of salvation and empowerment.²¹

In 1841, Church leaders announced that the traditional salvific ordinance of baptism was to be extended, not only for the salvation of

lined for the Kirtland Temple: anointing with consecrated oil, followed by a prayer of "sealing."

²⁰Th. Gregg, *History of Hancock County, Illinois, Together with an Outline History of the State, and a Digest of State Laws* (Chicago: Chas. C. Chapman & Co., 1880), 374–75, for example, printed an account of "I. R. Tull, Esq., of Pontoosue," who related: "In the fall of 1843 I went to Nauvoo to buy calves, and called on a blind man who had one to sell. I bought his calf, and being curious to learn his history, went in and saw his wife, with two little twin infants in a cradle, and great destitution. He told me that he had a nice home in Massachusetts, which gave them a good support. But one of the Mormon elders preaching in that country called on him and told him if he would sell out and go to Nauvoo, the prophet would open his eyes and restore his sight. And he sold out, and had come to the city, and had spent all his means, and was now in great need. I asked why the prophet did not open his eyes. He replied that Joseph had informed him that he could not open his eyes until the temple was finished, and then when the temple was finished he would open them, and he should see better than before! And he believed, and was waiting patiently for the last stroke to be made on the temple." Joseph took his wife, Emma, to the temple for her health (see note 32), and after the temple was finished people were known to seek healing there. E.g., Gregory R. Knight, ed., "Journal of Thomas Bullock (1816–85) 31 August 1845 to 5 July 1846," *BYU Studies* 31 (Winter 1991): 70. This movement was not completely new. Eliza R. Snow remembered that after the dedication, "the sick and the lame came [to the Kirtland Temple] to be healed. . . . [They] would throw away their crutches and go home whole." Anonymous, "Quarterly Conference of the Primary Associations of Weber Stake of Zion, opened at 10 a.m., June 11," *Ogden Daily Herald* June 11, 1881, 2.

²¹For a detailed discussion of this ritual development, see Stapley and

the dead, but also for the benefit of health. In an October 12 epistle designed to encourage the members to finish the temple, the Twelve wrote: "The time has come when the great Jehovah would have a resting place on earth, a habitation for his chosen, where his law shall be revealed, and his servants be endued from on high, to bring together the honest in heart from the four winds; where the saints may enter the Baptismal Font for their dead relations . . . a place, over which the heavenly messengers may watch and trouble the waters as in days of old, so that when the sick are put therein they shall be made whole."²² By invoking the angels that troubled the waters at Bethesda, the Twelve situated the new ritual of baptism for health within the biblical narrative. John C. Bennett reflected this perspective when he mentioned baptism for health in describing the temple font, which was "constructed in imitation of the famous brazen sea of Solomon," and W. W. Phelps claimed in the Church newspaper that baptisms for health were performed in "Soloman's temple, and all temples that God commands to be built."²³ This vision of healing rituals being performed by the ancients highlights the early Mormon particularity of connecting themselves with great figures, places, and activities of the Bible.²⁴

On November 8, 1841, Joseph Smith dedicated the original wooden font in the Nauvoo Temple. After the first baptism,²⁵ Smith instructed Samuel Rolfe to wash his finger, afflicted by an acute and

Wright, "The Forms and the Power."

²²Brigham Young et al., "An Epistle of the Twelve, Nauvoo, October 12, 1841," *Times and Seasons* 2 (October 15, 1841): 569. This is the first known record of Church leaders teaching about a formalized ritual of baptism for health.

²³John C. Bennett, *History of the Saints; or, an Exposé of Joe Smith and Mormonism* (Boston: Leland & Whiting, 1842), 190; W. W. Phelps, "The Answer: Letter to William Smith, Nauvoo, 25 December 1844," *Times and Seasons* 5 (January 1, 1844): 759.

²⁴Jan Shippy, *Mormonism: The Story of a New Religious Tradition* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987), esp. 54–56.

²⁵Alexander L. Baugh "Blessed Is the First Man Baptised in This Font': Reuben McBride, First Proxy to Be Baptized for the Dead in the Nauvoo Temple," *Mormon Historical Studies* 3 (Fall 2002): 253, reviews the extant documentation of McBride's baptisms. Baugh does not consider any ordinances besides proxy baptisms. The evidence he presented does not rule out the possibility that McBride was also either baptized for his health

painful inflammation called a felon, in the font, which he did; within the week, it was healed. William Clayton, in a retrospective journal entry, noted: "After this time baptisms were continued in the font, and many Saints realized great blessings both spiritually and bodily."²⁶ The first official day of baptism was November 21. According to Wilford Woodruff, after a meeting, the Twelve "repaired to the Baptismal Font in the Temple for the purpose of Baptizing for the dead, for the remission of Sins & for healing."²⁷ Thus, the Twelve administered three different rituals: proxy baptism; baptism for health; and rebaptism and/or convert baptisms, which Nauvoo-era accounts frequently distinguished from other baptismal rituals by the qualifier "for the remission of sins." Three weeks later, the Twelve noted that Church members were giving significant attention to baptism for the dead and for healing.²⁸ Henry Caswall and Reverend George Moore, both non-Mormon visitors to Nauvoo in 1842, viewed the font and were informed that it was used for baptisms for health, suggesting widespread awareness of the ritual.²⁹

Whereas the early convert baptisms that resulted in healing reflected individual or community charisma, baptism for health was very much an institutional and liturgical development. Church leaders preached the practice and were at the vanguard of its implementation.³⁰ Although baptism for the remission of sins (and likely rebaptism) had been performed in the temple, Joseph Smith further clarified the proper location of various baptismal rituals at the April

or for a renewal of covenants.

²⁶George D. Smith, *An Intimate Chronicle: The Journals of William Clayton* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1995), 532.

²⁷Scott G. Kenney, ed., *Wilford Woodruff's Journal, 1833-1898*, typescript, 9 vols. (Midvale, Utah: Signature Books, 1983-85), 2:138.

²⁸Brigham Young et al., "Baptism for the Dead: An Epistle of the Twelve to the Saints of the Last Days, Nauvoo, December 13, 1841," *Times and Seasons* 3 (December 15, 1841): 626. Joseph Fielding wrote to Orson Pratt the following month with similar observations: Letter to Orson Pratt, Nauvoo, January 1842, *Millennial Star* 3 (August 1, 1842): 78.

²⁹Henry Caswall, *The City of the Mormons; or, Three Days in Nauvoo, in 1842* (London: J. G. F. & J. Rivinton, 1842), 16; Donald Q. Cannon, "Reverend George Moore Comments on Nauvoo, the Mormons, and Joseph Smith," *Western Illinois Regional Studies* 5 (Spring 1982): 6-16.

³⁰Besides the other materials cited in this section, see also Woodruff,

conference of 1842, where he proclaimed that “baptisms for the dead, and for the healing of the body must be in the font, those coming into the Church, and those re-baptized may be baptized in the river.”³¹ Despite his own injunction, during his wife’s illness five months later Joseph ushered in further ritual development by administering the rite outside the temple and by employing repeat immersion. Joseph’s diarist wrote: “Sister E[mma]. is worse, many fears are entertained that she will not recover. She was baptised twice in the river which evidently did her much good.”³² It is unclear why Joseph took Emma to the river; but the wooden font was reportedly difficult to keep sanitary, was perhaps not always filled, and was later replaced with stone.³³ However, it is certain that, after this time, baptisms for health in the river were common; and Mormons carried their infirm to the

Journal, 2:175; Helen Mar Whitney, “Scenes and Incidents in Nauvoo,” *Woman’s Exponent* 11 (September 15, 1882): 57.

³¹Joseph Smith, “Conference Minutes,” *Times and Seasons* 3 (April 15, 1842): 763.

³²Jessee, *The Papers of Joseph Smith*, 2:486. Emma initially got worse but, two days later, was reportedly much better. *Ibid.*, 487. The following month Joseph apparently baptized his wife again, this time at the temple: “[November 1] President & sister E. rode up to Temple for the benefit of her health she is rapidly gaining,” and “[November 3] Rode out with E. to the Temple.” *Ibid.*, 490. Alexander L. Baugh “‘For This Ordinance Belongeth to My House’: The Practice of Baptism for the Dead Outside the Nauvoo Temple,” *Mormon Historical Studies* 3 (Spring 2002): 53–54, notes several instances of baptism for the dead being administered outside of the temple during this period as well.

³³On the font’s condition, see Brigham Young, “Speech,” Nauvoo, April 6, 1845, *Times and Seasons* 6 (July 1, 1845): 956. There was some concern among Church members that replacing the font after Joseph’s death was a deviation from his teachings. Perhaps for this reason the wooden font was retrospectively labeled as temporary. Apparently, the Twelve decided to replace the font in the winter of 1843–44, before Joseph’s death. William Clayton, *Journal, Journal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (chronological scrapbook of typed entries and newspaper clippings, 1830–present), December 31, 1844, LDS Church Library, in *Selected Collections from the Archives of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 2 vols., DVD (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, [Dec. 2002]), 2:1. The best chronology of temple construction is Lisle G Brown,

water, sometimes great distances in blankets or on chairs.³⁴ One apostate colorfully claimed that “it has been a caution to see the river foam with [Mormons] on Sundays after meeting in warm pleasant days.”³⁵ On August 10, 1845 John Taylor recorded Sunday events that are perhaps indicative of such activities: “I baptized my mother, and my nephew, John Rich and his sister Elizabeth for their health; and John and Jerusha Smith, son and daughter of the late Bro. Hyrum Smith, Patriarch for their sins.”³⁶

While several accounts of baptisms for health involve Joseph Smith,³⁷ a recollection that best highlights Joseph’s feelings about the ritual’s virtue, actually proved inefficacious. Lucy Walker Kimball, one of Joseph’s plural wives, recorded Joseph’s baptism of her younger sister when she fell ill. Joseph took responsibility for the child because he had sent the father on a mission and their mother was dead, and explained:

[“I am under the greatest obligations to look to her welfare and have come to take her home with me, where I can look after her myself, [”] instead of taking her into the house he told the boys to drive down to the Mississippi River, then took her in his arms and baptized her, then brought in Sister Emma, Noble woman that she was, helped change her clothing—and all that loving hearts and willing hands could do,

“Chronology of the Construction, Destruction and Reconstruction of the Nauvoo Temple,” <http://users.marshall.edu/~brown/nauvoo/nt-parent.html> (accessed October 30, 2007). The controversy surrounding the temple font construction appears to have lasted late into the Utah period. Abraham Cannon, Diary, April 10, 1892, photocopy of holograph, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

³⁴E.g., Two Friends, “Elder John Brush.—No. IV,” *Autumn Leaves* [Lamoni, Iowa] 4 (April 1891): 175; Charles B. Petty, *The Albert Petty Family: A Genealogical and Historical Story of a Sturdy Pioneer Family of the West, Based on Records of the Past and Knowledge of the Present* (Salt Lake City, Deseret News Press, 1954), 163.

³⁵Oliver H. Olney, *The Absurdities of Mormonism Portrayed* (n.p., ca. 1843), 8.

³⁶Dean C. Jessee, “The John Taylor Nauvoo Journal,” *BYU Studies* 23 (Spring 1983): 238.

³⁷See, e.g., Mary Jane Thompson, “Joseph Smith, the Prophet,” *Young Woman’s Journal* 17 (December 1906): 54.

was done but a few days only she lingered, then joined her dear mother in the spirit world and we were left more lonely than before.³⁸

Joseph's repeat baptism of Emma also foreshadowed the practice of immersing individuals seven times when baptizing for health. While there is no explicit extant explanation for the seven-fold baptism, it is likely derived from the biblical account of Elisha bidding Namaan to wash seven times in the Jordan. Various Christian groups have practiced baptism by trine immersion,³⁹ however, multiple immersions are associated only with baptism for health in the Mormon liturgy. In December 1842, for example, Horace S. Eldredge "cut holes in the ice seven morning[s] running" to baptize a sick friend; and four months later, Willard Richards baptized his wife Jennetta seven times in four days over two weeks.⁴⁰ Being immersed seven times persisted as a regular, though not universal, form of baptism for health.

Although several early accounts make it clear that baptism for health commonly occurred, they do not clarify the precise ritual formulation nor the relationship between early baptism for health and confirmation.⁴¹ However, confirmation appears to be associated with baptism for health from the earliest moments. Wilford Wood-

³⁸Lucy Walker Kimball, *Autobiography*, n.d., 7, microfilm of typescript, LDS Church Library. For Brigham's feelings toward the ritual, see "History of Brigham Young," *Deseret News*, March 17, 1858, 9, in which Church historians wrote that Young "was attacked with the most violent fever [he] ever experienced" and after days of suffering and being administered to he "desired to be baptized in the river."

³⁹In America, contemporary with early Mormons, the Old German Baptist Brethren (called the Dunkers or Tunkers at the time) practiced trine baptism (also called triune or baptism by triple immersion).

⁴⁰Horace S. Eldredge, *Journal*, undated paragraph following daily entries for June 1842, holograph, LDS Church Library; Willard Richards, *Journal*, April 15, 16, 27 and 28, 1843, on *Selected Collections*, 1:31.

⁴¹Joseph Grafton Hovey, *Reminiscences and Journals*, 13, microfilm of holograph, LDS Church Library, wrote, "My wife Martha was sick Even abortion took plaise and she was very low But she was healed By going to the Baptizemal Font an immersed for helth"; see also Margaret Gay Judd Clawson, "Rambling Reminiscences of Margaret Gay Judd Clawson," quoted in Carol Cornwall Madsen, ed., *In Their Own Words: Women and the Story of Nauvoo* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1994), 216. A cursory reading

ruff recorded that on April 29, 1842, “with Br C. C. Rich I Baptized about one hundred for the remission of Sins the healing of the Body & the dead while Elder Young & others confirmed them as they came out of the water.”⁴² James Palmer remembered the summer 1842 healing of his wife at the temple: “[She was] taken to the Baptismal font in the basement of the temple and there to be baptized for her health and that with the laying on of hands and prayer of faith she was that hour restored to health.”⁴³ The laying on of hands in this case seems to have been part of a confirmation ritual. The first explicit account of baptism for health confirmation that we have found in our research is that of Norton Jacob who was baptized for his health while on the trail with the vanguard pioneer company of 1847. After being baptized he described having the ritual “confirmed upon” him by several leaders in the company.⁴⁴

Once baptism for healing was no longer limited to the temple font, the practice proliferated geographically. In late 1842, Edson Whipple, a convert from Philadelphia, moved to Nauvoo and his wife was baptized for her health shortly thereafter. He testified of the practice’s efficacy to family and friends in Philadelphia and Boston: “There have been hundreds baptized in the font and in the river for their health and in every case it has proved useful.”⁴⁵ One non-Mormon in Boston noted that missionary George J. Adams mentioned baptism for health in his preaching.⁴⁶ Later that year, Adams and Jedediah M. Grant, then presiding in Philadelphia, baptized several

of these accounts suggests that they occurred in 1841, but their location in the temple makes 1842 the more likely date.

⁴²Woodruff, *Journal*, 2:175.

⁴³James Palmer, *Reminiscences*, 70, microfilm of holograph, LDS Church Library.

⁴⁴Ronald O. Barney, ed., *The Mormon Vanguard Brigade of 1847: Norton Jacob’s Record* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 2005), 193–94.

⁴⁵Edson Whipple, Letter to Philadelphia, December 17, 1842, Nauvoo; see also Edson Whipple, Letter to Bro. Hess [temporary presiding elder in Philadelphia], n.d., Nauvoo; and Edson Whipple, Letter to Boston, May 7, 1843, Nauvoo, all in Edson Whipple Record Book, microfilm of typescript, LDS Church Library.

⁴⁶Henry Larkin Southworth, *Journal*, 14, microfilm of holograph, LDS Church Library.

branch members for their health.⁴⁷

The expansion of baptism for health outside the temple did not, however, lessen the potency of or desire to perform the ritual within the temple. Following the removal of the wooden font,⁴⁸ Brigham Young announced at the April 1845 General Conference: "We will have a fount that will not stink and keep us all the while cleansing it out: and we will have a pool wherein to baptise the sick, that they may recover. And when we get into the fount we will show you the priesthood and the power of it: therefore, let us be diligent in observing all the commandments of God."⁴⁹ Three years earlier Daniel Kidder evidenced baptism for health as a simple incentive to finish the temple,⁵⁰ but later temple practice illustrates the Latter-day Saints' commitment to performing the ritual in their holy temples.

That baptism for health was viewed as separate and distinct from other baptismal rituals in Nauvoo is illustrated by the scattered references to administering the ritual to children under the age of eight, a practice not extant in later periods. Abraham Hunsaker had his three-year-old son baptized in the temple font in the spring of 1842, and Seymour B. Young told a 1921 general conference that his

⁴⁷Maurine Carr Ward, "Philadelphia Pennsylvania Branch Membership: 1840–1854," *Mormon Historical Studies* 6 (Spring 2005): 69, 74, 90.

⁴⁸"An Epistle of the Twelve, to the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in all the World," *Times and Seasons* 6 (January 15, 1845): 779, states: "There was a font erected in the basement story of the Temple, for the baptism of the dead, the healing of the sick and other purposes; this font was made of wood, and was only intended for the present use; but it is now removed, and as soon as the stone cutters get through with the cutting of the stone for the walls of the Temple, they will immediately proceed to cut the stone for and erect a font of hewn stone."

⁴⁹Brigham Young, "Speech," Nauvoo, April 6, 1845, *Times and Seasons* 6 (July 1, 1845): 956. The *Times and Seasons* 6 (January 20, 1846): 1096, announced that the font was almost finished, but Virginia S. and J. C. Harrington, *Rediscovery of the Nauvoo Temple: Report on the Archaeological Excavations* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1971), 33, note that the font was probably used in late 1845. The extent of its use before the Mormons left Nauvoo is uncertain.

⁵⁰Daniel P. Kidder, *Mormonism and the Mormons* (New York: G. Lane & P. P. Sandford, 1842), 205, 214.

father had baptized him for his health before he turned eight.⁵¹ Bathsheba Smith wrote to her missionary husband about their three-month-old son: “George Albert was sick last saterday and sunday. He had quite a feavor. I was vary uneaseey about him . . . I took him to the fount and had him baptised and sinse then he has not had any feavor. He is about well now.”⁵² Furthermore, while baptism for health had become a formalized rite for Church members, healings associated with convert baptisms also continued, although records of them became less frequent with the passage of time.⁵³

EXODUS AND EARLY UTAH

When the Saints were expelled from Nauvoo, they carried their healing rituals with them. Baptisms for health were performed along the trail and beyond. Eliza R. Snow, likely using her diary as source material, wrote in the voice of her brother and future prophet Lorenzo, describing the dangerous fever that consumed him at Garden Grove: “While in this condition, Elder Phineas Richards, the father of Apostle F. D. Richards, assisted by other kind brethren, took me from my bed, wrapped in a sheet—placed me in a carriage, drove to a stream of water, and baptized me in the name of the Lord, for my recovery. The fever immediately abated, and through kind, unwea-

⁵¹Abraham Hunsaker, Journal, in Q. Maurice Hunsaker and Gwen H. Haws, *History of Abraham Hunsaker and His Family* (Salt Lake City: Hunsaker Family Organization, 1957), 28–29; Seymour B. Young, *Report of the Semi-Annual Conference of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, April 4, 1921 (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, semi-annual), 114 (hereafter cited as *Conference Report*).

⁵²Bathsheba B. Smith, Letter to George A. Smith, October 2, 1842, LDS Church Library, quoted in Kenneth W. Godfrey, Audrey M. Godfrey and Jill Mulvay Derr, eds., *Women’s Voices: An Untold History of the Latter-day Saints, 1830–1900* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1982), 122. Another possible example of such a baptism is Mary E. B. Jones, “Some Recollections of the Prophet Joseph Smith,” unnumbered pages, 1, microfilm of holograph, LDS Church Library.

⁵³For examples of healings associated with convert baptisms in the post-Nauvoo era, see Woodruff, *Journal*, 3:403; James Bell, Letter to Orson Pratt, Wolverhampton, January 29, 1850, *Millennial Star* 12 (May 1, 1850): 153; John Thomas Giles, Diary, 1890–91, May 16, 1891, 48–49, digital copy of holograph, Perry Special Collections.

ried nursing and attention . . . I was delivered from suffering and restored to health.”⁵⁴ It is clear from contiguous entries in Eliza’s journal that Lorenzo was sick, but the casual reader might not realize that his baptism was specifically a baptism for health. Helen Mar Whitney similarly expanded her father’s Nauvoo diary, which had little to suggest that several baptisms in Nauvoo were for health. In his July 12, 1845, entry, Heber C. Kimball wrote, among other things, that “Sister Sarah [Sarah Ann Whitney] was very sick at Brother Winchesters. I stade thare Most of the night.” Four days later, after discussing the travails of his day, he noted: “At 6 Ockock Wm. Geen was buried most of the Twelve present. After dark I went to the River and Baptized Sarah [Ann Whitney] and Si[s]ter Winchester.”⁵⁵ Helen Mar’s account, published in Utah in 1883, explains: “Sarah Peeke, was very sick at Brother Stephen Winchester’s, and he [Heber] sat up with her most of the night. The evening of the 16th, after witnessing the death of Brother William Gheen, who died at 7 o’clock in the evening, father took Sarah and Sister Winchester to the river and baptized them for their health. He was paying them for the board of his wife and two daughters, whom he had adopted.”⁵⁶

While baptism for health was sufficiently commonplace that

⁵⁴Eliza R. Snow Smith, *Biography and Family Record of Lorenzo Snow* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Company, 1884), 89–90. Historians writing in the voice of their subjects was a staple of early Mormon historiography as notably exemplified in the histories of Joseph Smith and Brigham Young. See Howard Clair Searle, “Early Mormon Historiography: Writing the History of the Mormons 1830-1858” (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1979). This 1884 account spells out the rite’s context in more detail than contemporary records. Eliza’s diary entry for June 17 reads simply, “L. was baptiz’d—I return’d to Col. M’s in the eve.” Lorenzo’s journal during this period, a retrospective summary of events, does not mention his baptism at all, although he noted: “About that time was taken sick with fever, (25th of May), I never had such a severe fit of sickness before since my recollection. My friends and family had given up most all hopes of my recovery.” Maureen Ursenbach Beecher, ed., *The Personal Writings of Eliza Roxcy Snow* (1995; rpt., Logan: Utah State University Press, 2000), 136. Lorenzo Snow, Journal, 1841–47, MS 3187 1, LDS Church Library.

⁵⁵Stanley B. Kimball, *On the Potter’s Wheel: The Diaries of Heber C. Kimball* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1987), 130; brackets his.

⁵⁶Helen Mar Whitney, “Scenes in Nauvoo after the Martyrdom of the

details in accounts are frequently omitted, records of its occurrence during the immediate post-Nauvoo era are explicit and numerous. The first pioneers performed baptisms for health directly across the Mississippi from Nauvoo, along the overland trail and in the Omaha Nation territory.⁵⁷ Members of the Mormon Battalion administered the ritual, and baptism for health expanded to wherever Church members were located, including to branches outside of the Great Basin, to the Pacific Islands, and to Britain.⁵⁸ Adaptation to the informal circumstances of migration and rudimentary settlements led to performing such baptisms in streams, springs,

Prophet and Patriarch,” *Woman’s Exponent* 11 (April 15, 1883): 170. It is evident that Stanley Kimball and Helen Mar Kimball drew different interpretive conclusions while editing Heber C.’s diary. Another example is an 1850 entry in Samuel Whitney Richards, *Diary . . . 1824–1909*, 3 vols. (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Library, 1946), 1:96: “At the Council House 3/4 of day went up and baptized my Wife in the Warm Spring.” Maurine Carr Ward, *Winter Quarters: The 1846–1848 Life Writings of Mary Haskin Parker Richards* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1996), 36, concluded from surrounding entries and the lack of any baptismal record that it was a baptism for health; Maurine Carr Ward, email to Jonathan Stapley, September 10, 2007, printout in our possession. Our thanks for her explanation.

⁵⁷See, for example, Edmund Ellsworth and A. Galloway, “A Brief Record of the First Handcart Company,” *Utah Genealogical and Historical Magazine* 8 (1927): 17: “[June 19, 1846] We camped at ten minutes to twelve p.m. Plenty of wood and water. Several were baptized by Elder John Oakly for their health.” See also their entry for June 20, 1846, pp. 17–18. Robert Lang Campbell, *Diary*, September 27, 1847, 44, digital copy of holograph, Perry Special Collections, noted: “[Across the river from Nauvoo] Got baptized for my health.” Woodruff, *Journal*, 3:68, recorded on August 15, 1846, at Cutler’s Park, Omaha Nation: “I Baptized Phebe in the evening for the restoration of her health. It seemed to be a benefit to her.”

⁵⁸Henry W. Bigler, “Extracts from the Journal of Henry Bigler,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 5 (April 1932): 37; Daniel Tyler, *A Concise History of the Mormon Battalion in the Mexican War, 1846–47* (Salt Lake City: n.pub., 1881), 140; Union Branch, Iowa, Records, 1851–52, September 19, 1851, internally dated, microfilm of holograph, LDS Church Library; Francis Asbury Hammond Sr., *Journal*, September 15, 1856, microfilm of holograph, LDS Church Library (we thank John J. Hammond for kindly sharing this reference); S. George Ellsworth, *The History of Louisa Barnes Pratt: Mor-*

and even at sea in the Atlantic while immigrating to the United States.⁵⁹ When the first pioneers arrived in the Salt Lake Valley, Church leaders dammed City Creek and used the resulting pond for rebaptisms and baptisms for health.⁶⁰ In the winter, breaking ice for such rites was not uncommon, demonstrating members' commitment to them.⁶¹

Several individuals recorded the form in which baptism for health were administered in the early pioneer era. Warren Foote wrote of his experience crossing the plains in 1850: "I was impressed to be baptized for my health; and requested brother Mulliner to perform the ordinance; which he did; and was then administered to by the brethren."⁶² William Snow, who was on the trail the same year, recorded several baptisms: "we found Br John Moon on the prarie So bad he could not walk to his waggon we laid hands on him helped him to his wag[on] & baptised him 7 times anointed him & he was much

mon Missionary Widow and Pioneer (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1998), 144; Ellsworth, *The Journals of Addison Pratt*, 478; Edmund F. Bird, Letter to President Wells, August 31, 1864, Southampton, *Millennial Star* 26 (September 24, 1864): 622; "Local and Other Matters," *Deseret News*, April 9, 1873, 151; Milton H. Hardy, Letter, Canterbury, March 29, 1875, *Millennial Star*, reprinted in *Deseret News*, May 26, 1875, 271.

⁵⁹John Lyon, *Dairy [sic] of a Voyage from Liverpool to New Orleans: On Board the Ship International, Commanded by Capt. David Brown, with a Crew, 26 in Number, and a Company of 419 Members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Later [sic] Day Saints, under the Presidency of Elders Arthur, Lyon and Waddington* (Keokuk, Iowa: 1853), 5. This eight-page diary was published without a colophon; however, according to Lyon's biographer, it was published in Keokuk and distributed in 1853. T. Edgar Lyon Jr., *John Lyon: The Life of a Pioneer Poet* (Provo, Utah: BYU Religious Studies Center, 1989), 190–91 note 10.

⁶⁰Journal History, August 7, 1847, 1, in *Selected Collections*, 2:1; George A. Smith, "Memoirs of George A. Smith," 361, in *Selected Collections*, 1:32; Barney, *The Mormon Vanguard Brigade of 1847*, 238.

⁶¹See for example: James Amasa Little, "Biography of Lorenzo Dow Young," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 14 (January, April, July, October 1946): 121.

⁶²Warren Foote, Journal, excerpted in Carol Cornwall Madsen, ed., *Journey to Zion: Voices from the Mormon Trail* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1997), 419.

better[.]”⁶³ While Snow administered the seven-fold baptism for health in one day, in December of that same year Azariah Smith broke ice on a body of water in Sanpete County and was baptized for his health once, then, three weeks later, rebaptized on six successive days for a total of seven.⁶⁴ Single and sevenfold baptisms for health were the most common forms of the ritual, though records of other numbers of immersion are extant.⁶⁵ Additionally, these accounts illustrate how Mormons administered several types of healing rituals at the same time, a phenomenon that persisted into the twentieth century.

Part of the relationships that Mormons established with Native Americans involved baptism, often multiple times. In 1851, Bishop Aaron Johnson baptized Ammon (also Ammornah or Amorah), the brother of Ute Chief Walker, for his health.⁶⁶ Ammon apparently did not consider himself a Mormon, since he later participated in the Walker War against Mormon settlements.⁶⁷ Mormon missionaries had no hesitation in holding mass baptisms for many tribes, including Walker’s band.⁶⁸ George Hill recorded the baptism of hundreds of Shoshones in 1876. Many of these individuals also received baptism

⁶³William Snow, Autobiography, ca. 1850, 6–7, digital copy of holograph, Perry Special Collections. Snow baptized seven other people that day and, two days later, baptized John Moon for his health a second time.

⁶⁴Azariah Smith, Journal, December 17, 1850, 51–52, microfilm of holograph, LDS Church Library.

⁶⁵For a triple immersion, see Sarah Jane York Tiffany, Autobiography, 1859–1932, 6, microfilm of typescript, LDS Church Library. Joseph Lee Robinson, Journal, June 6–7, 1853, 58, microfilm of typescript, LDS Church Library, baptized his wife twice in two days. This repetition is probably not a ritual prescription but simply a repeat administration. It was not uncommon to repeatedly administer healing rituals, such as anointing several times.

⁶⁶Luke William Gallop, Journal, April 27, 1851, microfilm of holograph, LDS Church Library.

⁶⁷Howard A. Christy, “The Walker War: Defense and Conciliation as Strategy,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 47 (Fall 1979): 415, 417.

⁶⁸Ronald W. Walker, “Wakara Meets the Mormons, 1848–52: A Case Study in Native American Accommodation,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 70 (Summer 2002): 226; W. Paul Reeve, *Making Space on the Western Frontier: Mormons, Miners, and Southern Paiutes* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2006), 76; Journal History, July 13, 1854, in *Selected Collections*, 2:2.

for health, and at least one woman was apparently healed from possession by an evil spirit.⁶⁹ Since nineteenth-century Mormons often believed that sickness was caused by Satan's influence, healing rituals had power in physical and spiritual spheres.⁷⁰ Several records attest to the use of baptism for health and anointing as a means of exorcism.⁷¹

RETURN OF THE TEMPLE FONT

Several years before the dedication of the Manti Temple, one Church leader told members in Sanpete about "a promise made by the Prophet Joseph in regard to the baptismal fonts for the benefit of those who had not faith to be healed by the ordinance of the laying on of hands, that God would send His angel to sanctify the waters, that in them they might be baptized for their health and through that be restored."⁷² No contemporary records show Joseph teaching this precise formulation, and it is likely an expansion of the Twelve's 1841 epistle (note 22). At the 1856 general conference, Brigham Young directed a private dedication of the Endowment House font. The First Presidency and other men knelt around the sacred pool, and Heber

⁶⁹George W. Hill, Letter, October 1, 1876, *Journal History*, October 1, 1876, 2, in *Selected Collections*, 2:7. Compare to George W. Hill, "Cases of Miraculous Healing" in *A String of Pearls: Second Book of the Faith-Promoting Series*, edited by George Q. Cannon, 2d ed. (Salt Lake City: Juvenile Instructor Office, 1882), 90–92. See also Charles E. Dibble, "The Mormon Mission to the Shoshoni Indians," *Utah Humanities Review* 1 (July 1947): 279–93.

⁷⁰See for example Bush, *Health and Medicine among the Mormons*, 44–45; Paul Reeve "The Devil Was Determined to Kill the Babies': Matters of Communal Health in a Nineteenth-Century Mormon Town," paper presented at the Communal Studies Association Conference, St. George, Utah, September 25, 1999, photocopy in our possession.

⁷¹For examples of baptism for health exorcisms, see John Pulsipher, *A Short Sketch of John Pulsipher* (n.p., 1970), 62–63; Edmund F. Bird, Letter to President Wells, Southampton, August 31, 1864, *Millennial Star* 26 (September 24, 1864): 622. For examples of anointing exorcisms, see Jedediah M. Grant, March 11, 1855, *Journal of Discourses*, 2:276–77; Rachel Elizabeth Pyne Smart, *Autobiography, 1870–1930*, 4–5, microfilm of typescript, LDS Church Library.

⁷²C. H. Wheelock, Sermon summary, in (No author), "Sanpete Stake Quarterly Conference," *Deseret News*, March 1, 1882, 85.

C. Kimball dedicated it, conceptualizing the font and its purpose in language reminiscent of the same epistle: “Let thine Angel O Lord touch this water & this Font with his Finger that it may be holy unto Thee Lord.” Further, he dedicated it for the living and the dead and “that the sick may be healed of evry infirmety that we may be renewed in body & spirit in all things.”⁷³ The original font was defective and the following decade, Brigham Young dedicated either a new or repaired font “for the remission of sins for the Healing of the sick & for Baptism for the dead.”⁷⁴

Though the font was used for baptisms for health, no formal records of living baptisms were kept for the Endowment House.⁷⁵ Mary Ann Freeze recorded one example: “Went to the Endowment House with Jane Sophia & Lillie. Sophia & Lillie were Baptized for the restoration of their health they were blessed by Jos F Smith & John Taylor.”⁷⁶ The fact that Church leaders participated in these rites highlights the institutional commitment to the pattern set by Joseph Smith that temples be centers of ritual healing.⁷⁷

⁷³Woodruff, *Journal*, 4:459. He lists other participants as Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, Jedediah M. Grant, Edward Hunter, Joseph Young, Daniel H. Wells, Albert Carrington, Leonard W. Hardy, James C. Little, and Gilbert Clements. In other words, participants were apparently attending at Young’s invitation, not the Twelve or another official group.

⁷⁴*Ibid.*, 6:173. On the original font’s conditions see Lisle G Brown, “‘Temple Pro Tempore’: The Salt Lake City Endowment House,” in this issue.

⁷⁵James D. Tingen “The Endowment House, 1855–1889,” 1974, 15, typescript, Perry Special Collections, summarizes the Endowment House records and states that no living baptisms were performed. That is demonstrably incorrect. The font was frequently used for rebaptisms and baptisms for health. On September, 4, 1873, Brigham Young preached in the Tabernacle: “We can, at the present time, go into the Endowment House and be baptized for the dead, receive our washings and anointing, etc., for there we have a font that has been erected, dedicated expressly for baptizing people for the remission of sins, for their health and for their dead friends.” *Journal of Discourses*, 16:187.

⁷⁶Mary Ann Freeze, *Diaries, 1875–99*, January 12, 1876, photocopy of holograph, Perry Special Collections.

⁷⁷For other healings in the Endowment House, see Jedediah S. Rog-

The first baptisms in both the Logan⁷⁸ and Salt Lake⁷⁹ temples were for the recipients' health. The events surrounding the dedication of the Logan Temple font are particularly illustrative. After Franklin D. Richards was baptized for his health, Rachel Ridgeway Grant, mother of Heber J., was immersed in the font. Heber described the rite: "She was baptized seven times for her health and hearing. Prests Taylor and Cannon, Apostles Erastus Snow, Moses Thatcher and H. J. Grant confirmed mother. Prest Geo. Q. Cannon being mouth. Bishop David Cannon of Saint George officiated in baptizing. I never felt better in my life than while assisting in my mother's confirmation[.]"⁸⁰ Thus, even before proxy work for the dead began, Church members sought special healings in the temple fonts.

While baptisms for health were common and were administered as needed outside the temples, the ritual also figured prominently in efforts to rally community faith for special cases of healing. For example, baptisms for health were known to occur in conjunction

ers, ed., *In the President's Office: The Diaries of L. John Nuttall, 1879–1892* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2007), 22; "Sketch of Sister Bathsheba Smith: Worker in the Endowment House," *Young Woman's Journal* 4 (April 1893): 295–96.

⁷⁸Woodruff, *Journal*, 8:251. Although Woodruff writes that F. D. Richards was the first to be baptized and that the baptism was for his health, L. John Nuttall recorded that it was a baptism for the dead. However, Nuttall also notes that Richards was confirmed "for the renewal of his covenants." Rogers, *In the President's Office*, 145–46. Nuttall was probably mistaken. See also Donald G. Godfrey and Kenneth W. Godfrey, eds., *The Diaries of Charles Ora Card: The Utah Years, 1871–1886* (Provo, Utah: BYU Religious Studies Center, 2006), 521–22.

⁷⁹Frederick Kesler, Diary No. 9, May 23, 1893, University of Utah Special Collections, quoted in Kimberly Day, "Frederick Kesler, Utah Craftsman," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 56 (Winter 1988): 35. Baptisms for health were also performed on the first day of baptisms at the St. George Temple. John D. T. McAllister, "Temple Manifestations," *Contributor* 16 (January 1895): 147.

⁸⁰Heber J. Grant, Diary, May 21, 1884, typescript excerpts in D. Michael Quinn Papers, Special Collections, Beinecke Library, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut, quoted in Rogers, *In the President's Office*, 145–46 note 47.

with ward fast meetings.⁸¹ These regular meetings were a time for members of the community to gather in the spirit of fasting and prayer, often for a specific purpose. In one such meeting Celia Owen, who suffered from a long-term affliction, was baptized seven times and then walked for the first time in two years.⁸²

With the return of temple fonts as a location for healing, a hierarchy of healing rituals developed. The story of Levi Mathers Savage and his wife, Hannah Adeline Hatch Savage, is particularly instructive. Adeline was ill for much of her married life.⁸³ Following a complicated childbirth in September 1887, she was confined to her bed. After four difficult months, she was baptized for her health in a river near her home in Mexico. She continued to suffer, finding little relief; and nine months later, she was baptized yet again. Still suffering ill health, she and her husband resolved to make the great effort of a pilgrimage to the Logan Temple:

On account of poor Adeline's tedious sickness, she became very anxious to go to Utah, enter the Temple and undergo medical treatment. . . . She would not rest contented without making an effort to enter the Temple. So later in the fall or winter of 1888 I with Adeline and her little daughter Alvenia left Diaz by wagon in company with some of our neighbors and started for Utah. . . . This was a very tedious trip for us, as Adeline was helpless; I was obliged to carry her in my arms like a babe every time we changed cars or every time she was moved

⁸¹K. A. Burnell, "Ten Days as the Guest of the Latter-Day Saints," *Chicago Advance*, rpt., *Deseret News*, August 11, 1869, 223. This account reports baptisms for health at the Tabernacle. Even though temples became the general location of such rituals, they still occurred outside temples into the twentieth century. Life Story of John Ivan Andrus (ca. 1970), in *Milo Andrus, Junior—the Man and His Family: Genealogical Records and Life Sketches*, edited by Leone Andrus Taylor (Provo, Utah: J. Grant Stevenson, 1971), 342, describes an inadvertently comical 1910s baptism for health performed by a young priest in the Tabernacle.

⁸²Hannah Adeline Savage, *Record of Hannah Adeline Savage, Woodruff Arizona, and Journal* (Pinedale, Ariz.: Petersen Publishing, 1976), 24.

⁸³Levi S. Peterson, "A Mormon and Wilderness: A Saga of the Savages," *Sunstone*, December 1979, 69. See also Savage, *Record of Hannah Adeline Hatch Savage and Journal*, and Levi Mathers Savage, *Journal of Levi Mathers Savage* (Provo, Utah: Mimeographed by the Brigham Young University Extension Division, ca. 1955).

from one place to another. . . . Adeline's relatives were very kind and good to us. She entered the Temple and was baptized for her health several times this was repeated several times during the winter of 1888 and 1889.⁸⁴

Joseph Smith had proclaimed that baptisms for health were exclusive to the temple but soon afterward performed the rite outside of the temple. Since that time, Mormons employed all of their healing rituals as needed, regardless of location. The return of the temples did not constrain healing rituals to within their walls. However, Church members did conserve Joseph Smith's vision of the temple as a place of physical healing and Church leaders set the example.

UTAH TEMPLE PRACTICE

Mormons commonly sought multiple healing rituals within the walls of the temple. Helen Mar Kimball Whitney wrote in her journal, "Received a letter from Flod—She'd been baptized in the Manti Temple 7 times for her health once for remission of sins—then ^washed &^ anointed that she might obtain the desire of her heart—was promised that she should. Was also administered to by the brethren[.]"⁸⁵ Mary Ann Burnham Freeze of Salt Lake City poignantly described meeting with close friends and Church leaders in a special prayer meeting in the Salt Lake Temple, Zina Diantha Huntington Jacob Smith Young leading the circle. Mary Ann was then baptized for her health, confirmed, and then administered to by the male temple healers in the garden room.⁸⁶ This pattern of multiple rituals was mirrored outside the temple. Before the Logan Temple was finished, Charles Ora Card wrote that he "went to the Temple block & assisted in Baptizing Bro Wm Sant for his health & washing & anointing him & laying hands on him for the restoration of his health according to the instructions of

⁸⁴Savage, *Journal of Levi Mathers Savage*, November 7, 1892, 39–41; compare to Savage, *Record of Hannah Adeline Hatch Savage and Journal*, May 4, 1904, 3. Also see entry for December 1888, replicated on May 8, 1907, pp. 10–11.

⁸⁵Charles M. Hatch and Todd M. Compton, eds., *A Widow's Tale: The 1884–1896 Diary of Helen Mar Kimball Whitney* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 2003), 489. Helen was herself the recipient of a similar combination of temple healing rituals (pp. 204–5).

⁸⁶Freeze, *Diaries*, September 19, 1893.

Pres. F. D. Richards & G. Q. Cannon.”⁸⁷ One missionary in Tennessee wrote of a woman to whom he administered, “I re Baptized her and for the restoration of her helth after I had re confirmed her in the Church I then anointed her with oil and then lade my hands on her head and prayed over her and rebuked the desease in the name of the Lord.”⁸⁸

The Manti Temple required temple recommends from patrons desiring baptism for health.⁸⁹ It is uncertain whether this was a universal rule for all temples, but such a requirement is consistent with maintaining the temple’s ritual purity and likely reinforced the special character of healing ordinances practiced therein. After receiving a call from Wilford Woodruff to labor as a missionary in Scandinavia, C. T. Nelson sought a special blessing before leaving his wife and four children. “Having been bothered for years with a skin disease on my legs and Back, I asked the Bishop of our little town of Redmond, to reckemend me to the House of the Lord, ar [our] Temple at Manti, to recive Baptism for my health, this he did. [A]nd on the fifth of July I was Baptised in the Holy Temple of our Lord, for my helth and the promise was made by thous [w]ho seald the Ordenance on me that I should be heald and be able to walk and perform my labor and that the desease should leave me[.]”⁹⁰

Temples facilitated these rituals by having special days for healings and also for all types of baptisms. Mary Ann Freeze wrote that the day before her experience, she went “to the Temple to record my name for baptism for my health.”⁹¹ After receiving a mission call to the Southern States Mission, James Duffin of Toquer-ville made a special trip to the St. George Temple to receive healing rituals. The evening in which he arrived, Duffin spoke with the tem-

⁸⁷Godfrey and Godfrey, *The Diaries of Charles Ora Card*, 135.

⁸⁸Joseph Argyle, Journal, 80, microfilm of holograph, LDS Church Library.

⁸⁹*Manti Temple Historical Record*, April 24, 1902, quoted in David John Buerger, *The Mysteries of Godliness: A History of Mormon Temple Worship* (Salt Lake City: Smith Research Associates, 1993), 129.

⁹⁰Christian Theodore Nelson, Journal, 1897–1901, 3–4 of unnumbered pages, microfilm of holograph, LDS Church Library. It is not clear whether this blessing was fulfilled, although he successfully completed his mission.

⁹¹Freeze, *Diaries*, September 18, 1893.

ple president who indicated that “he would have the font filled and the water warmed for me, in the temple, this being necessary, as this will not be the regular baptizing day.” He was baptized for his health the next morning.⁹² As baptism days were for both healing rituals and proxy work, individuals were often baptized for their health and then would stay at the temple to participate in proxy ordinances, sometimes for days.⁹³

Yearly statistics of temple ordinance work, while not reflective of extra-temple baptisms for health, are an important metric of the practice.⁹⁴ Living ordinances in the nineteenth century were a small fraction of total temple work; but for many years, baptism for healing was the most common living temple ordinance. The first years of the Manti Temple’s operation had very high rates for baptism for health and proxy baptisms, with thousands seeking healing at the temple each year. Women were the recipients of 73.6 percent of all the nineteenth-century temple baptisms for health (varying between 60 and 77 percent annually). They accounted for 51.9 percent of other temple ordinances (varying between 51 and 57 percent annually).⁹⁵ (See Figure 6.) At this time, women’s health was complicated by maternity; and although the reasons have been debated, for centuries women have had higher religious participation rates than men.⁹⁶ Glossolalia appears to have been more common among Mormon women and

⁹²James G. Duffin, Diary, June 16–17, 1887, digital copy of holograph, Perry Special Collections.

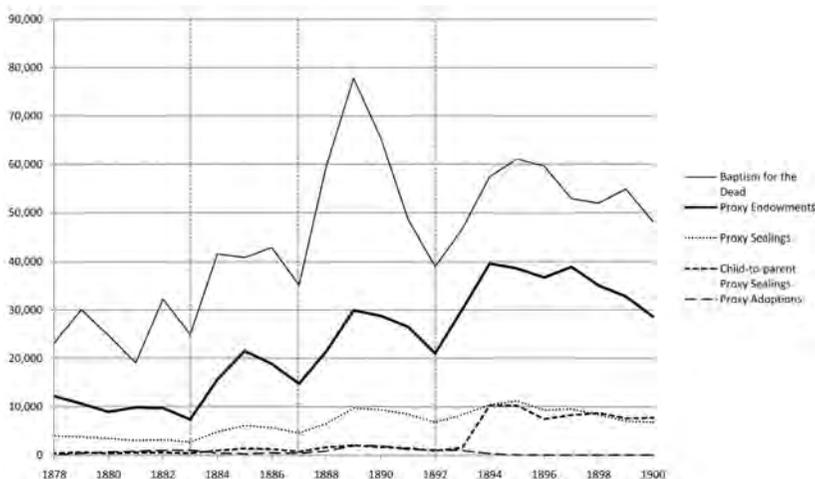
⁹³See, for example, Lucinda Haws Holdaway, *Biographical Sketch of Lucida Haws Holdaway* (Provo, Utah: n.pub., n.d.), 18; Jane Wilkie Hooper Blood, Diaries, February 23, 1892, microfilm of holograph, LDS Church Library.

⁹⁴See Figures 1–5. Unless otherwise indicated, temple statistics as discussed in this paper are based on the annual reports of the various temples as included in Samuel Roskelley’s holograph record book, Samuel Roskelley Papers, Box 1, Book 1, Special Collections, Merrill Library, Utah State University, Logan. We thank Utah State University for their kind facilitation of the batch analysis of these records and J. Nelson-Seawright for his consultation.

⁹⁵Excluding the years of 1877 and 1900, for which baptism for health data by sex is not available.

⁹⁶Michael P. Carroll, “Give Me that Ol’ Time Hormonal Religion,” *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 43 (June 2004): 275–78; Rodney

Figure 1. Proxy Temple Ordinances Performed 1878–1900



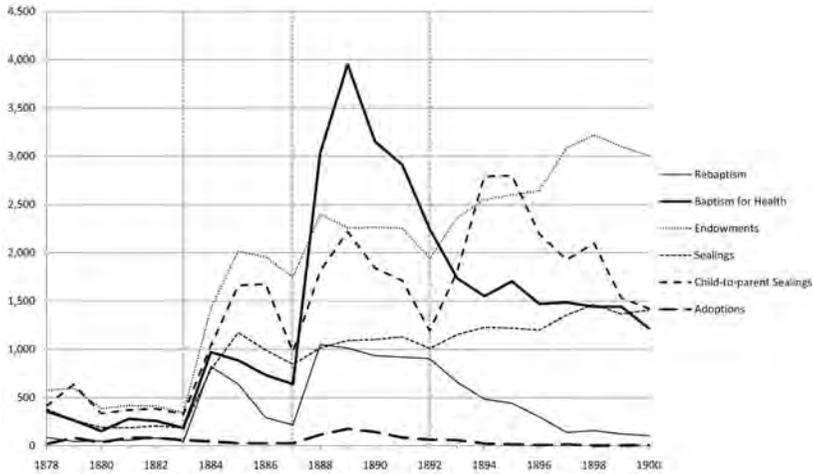
was practiced by them for a longer duration.⁹⁷ It is likely that women participated in healing rituals at a greater rate than men, just as they participated in other aspects of their religious experience. Furthermore, the temple acted as an anchor for female ritual healing, likely increasing female participation in temple healings generally.⁹⁸ The disparity between female participation in temple healing and other temple rituals highlights the need for sex parity in sealings and consequently endowments. Further, genealogical data generally has close to an equal sex ratio.

Stark, “Physiology and Faith: Addressing the ‘Universal’ Gender Difference in Religious Commitment,” *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 41 (September 2002): 495–507.

⁹⁷No quantitative study has been conducted comparing the incidence of glossolalia by sex; however, minutes and records of Relief Society meetings in the late nineteenth century frequently note manifestations of the practice. For the extended practice of female glossolalia, see Alexander, *Mormonism in Transition*, 294.

⁹⁸The removal of women as healers in the temple was perhaps the greatest impetus for the end of female ritual healing in the Mormon liturgy. See Stapley and Wright, “Baptism for Healing and Women as Healers.”

Figure 2. Living Temple Ordinances Performed 1878–1900

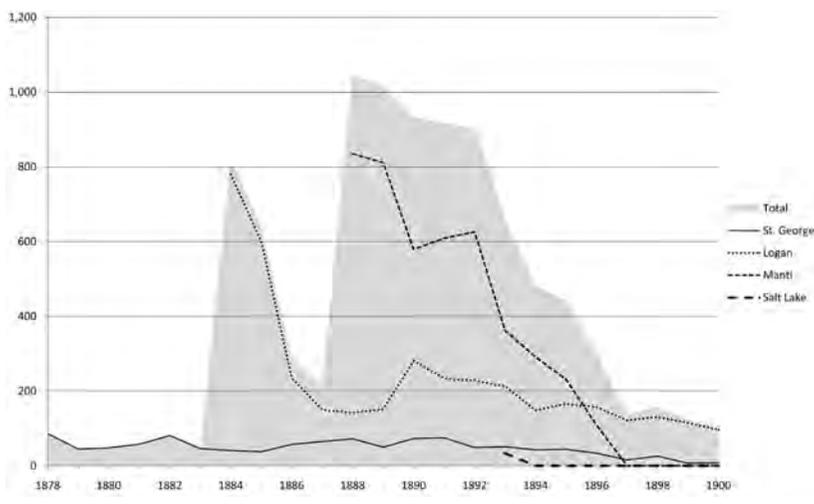


REBAPTISM AND BAPTISM FOR HEALTH

In 1888, the office of the First Presidency reaffirmed the “universal rule” of the Church that, upon arrival in the Great Basin, all emigrants were to be rebaptized.⁹⁹ Such rebaptisms had, in fact, been instituted within days of the vanguard company’s arrival in the Salt Lake Valley. Rebaptism for the renewal of covenants was also required, among other things, as a preparation to attend the temple and was frequently recommended as the verdict of Church discipline. In the 1890s Church leaders began to reevaluate the various ritual forms for baptism. While baptism for health was distinct from rebaptism, on some occasions a combined ritual was administered and the termination of rebaptism deeply influenced the ritual of baptism for health. In 1892 the First Presidency, then consisting of Wilford Woodruff, George Q. Cannon, and Joseph F. Smith, discussed with the Twelve “the correct form to be used by the person who administers the ordinance of baptism, and President Woodruff expressed himself in favor of adhering to the words used in the revela-

⁹⁹George Reynolds, on behalf of the First Presidency, Letter to Arthur Eroppe, March 9, 1888, typescript, Scott Kenney Research Collection, Special Collections, Marriott Library, University of Utah, Salt Lake City. Compare Orson Pratt, July 18, 1875, *Journal of Discourses*, 18:160.

Figure 3: Temple Baptisms for the Renewal of Covenants, Frequency by Temple, 1878–1900



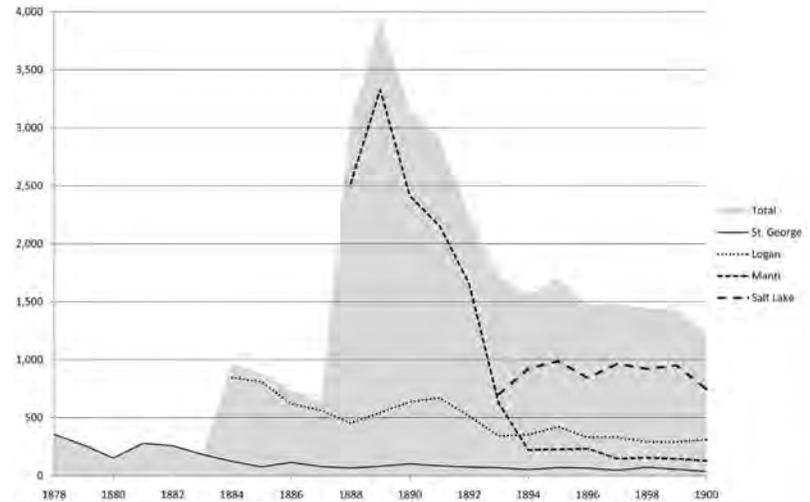
tions of the Lord as contained in our Church publications, except in the case of baptism for the health, when the object of the ordinance might be mentioned.” A formal decision was, however, not made until 1893 when more members of the Twelve were present.¹⁰⁰ Despite this ruling, the matter was still being discussed in 1894 when Abraham Cannon noted: “Pres. Young was led to use several forms of baptism during his administration, but it was for a special purpose. We should adhere to the form given in the revelations of the Lord, except as we are instructed otherwise by the man who stands at the head of the Church.”¹⁰¹

On May 7, 1896, the First Presidency and Twelve again discussed the forms of baptism. Lorenzo Snow, then president of the

¹⁰⁰The First Presidency apparently formalized the rule during their November 29, 1893, joint meeting with the Twelve. Abraham H. Cannon, *Diary, 1879–95*, February 11, 1892, and November 29, 1893, photocopy of holograph, Perry Special Collections.

¹⁰¹*Ibid.*, April 6, 1894. Savage, *Journal of Levi Mathers Savage*, 15, recorded an example of a modified baptismal prayer used in 1875: “Having been commissioned of Jesus Christ, I baptized [sic] you for the remission of your sins; for the renewal of your covenants with God and your brethren,

Figure 4: Baptism for Health, Frequency by Temple, 1878–1900



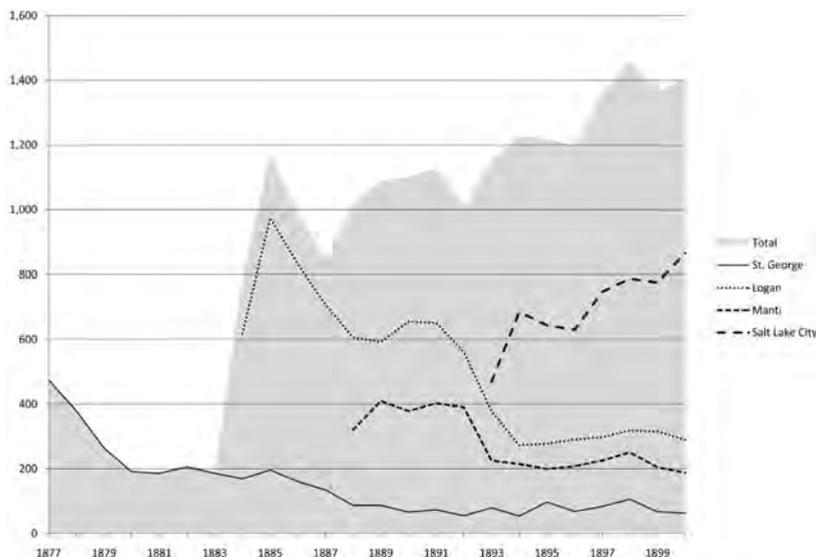
Twelve, called attention to the form used when administering for the dead and Joseph F. Smith noted variations which he had observed in the baptism for health prayer.¹⁰² The following day George Q. Cannon drafted a First Presidency letter to temple presidents that, as part of the discussion, described differences between baptismal prayers for the living and dead. One example included the statement that the ordinance was “for the remission of your sins, for the renewal of your covenant, and for the restoration of your health.”¹⁰³ After recognizing that there had been times when Church leaders required such

and for the observance of the rules that have been read in your hearing in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; Amen.”

¹⁰²Minutes of weekly meeting of the First Presidency and Twelve, Journal History, May 7, 1896, 2–4, in *Selected Collections*, 2:19.

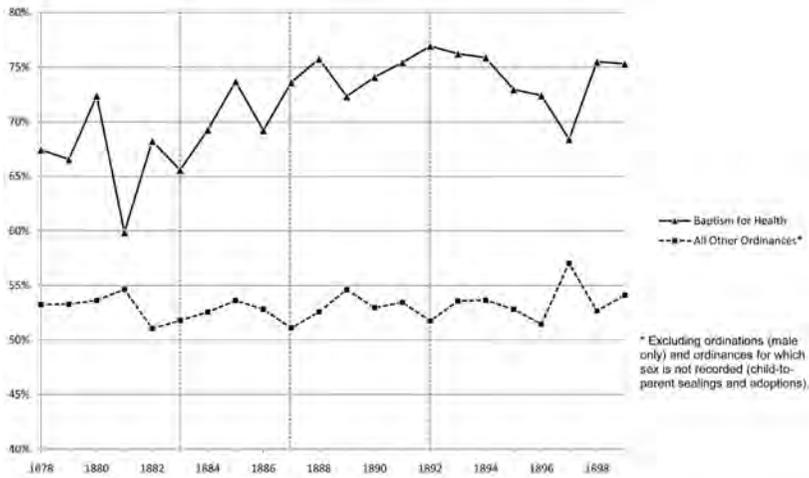
¹⁰³During the St. George Temple’s first year of operation, workers may have administered a combined ritual of baptism for health and renewal of covenants. Temple records during the first year do not distinguish between the ordinances, and several journals note receiving or administering a combined ordinance. See for example, L. John Nuttall, Diary, transcript, 4 vols., 1:42–43, Perry Special Collections. The practice was apparently widespread. Francis W. Kirkham recorded a similar baptism while serving a mission in New Zealand. Diary, October 26, 1897, 37, digital copy of holograph, Perry Special Collections.

Figure 5: Living Sealings, Frequency by Temple, 1877–1900



variation, Cannon noted that the governing quorums “think it improper, speaking generally, for the words ‘for the remission of sins’ or ‘for the renewal of your covenant’, to be used in administering the ordinance of baptism.” The letter spelled out the proper formula for the prayers, but added this variation for baptisms for health:

In cases where people are baptized for their health, we see no impropriety in using the words “for the restoration of your health” in the ceremony. There is a difference between baptism for such a purpose and baptism for admission into the Church. One is an ordinance of salvation—the door provided by the Lord through which his children must enter into his Church, and become entitled to the blessings of the new and everlasting covenant; the other, while it may be termed in some respects an ordinance, is not imperative upon the members of the Church. If they have faith and believe, when they have some ailment, that the administration of baptism in that form will be beneficial to them, the privilege is granted to them. But there is a clear distinction between that form of baptism and the form of baptism which the Lord requires His children to obey to become

Figure 6: Percentage of Temple Ordinances Performed by Women, 1878–99

members of His Church.¹⁰⁴

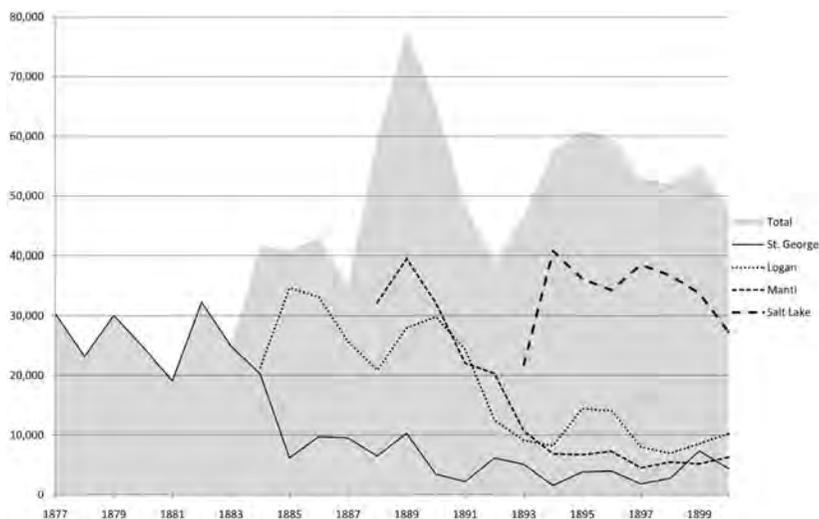
This letter highlights the liturgical distinction made by late nineteenth-century Mormon leaders between salvific baptism and baptism for health. Cannon situated baptism for health as a ritual, like anointing the sick, that was to be administered only according to the faith of participants. Conversely, he made it clear that baptism for the remission of sins was a requirement for salvation and for participation in the Church.

For the dedication of the Salt Lake Temple in 1893, the First Presidency instructed stake presidents that attendees need not be rebaptized, even though this ordinance had probably been required with the opening of the Logan, St. George, and Manti temples.¹⁰⁵ The opening of these earlier temples had seen dramatic increases in

¹⁰⁴First Presidency, Letter to Temple Presidents, Journal History, May 8, 1896, 2-4, in *Selected Collections*, 2:19.

¹⁰⁵James B. Allen and Glen M. Leonard, *The Story of the Latter-day Saints*, 2d ed. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1992), 431. Allen and Leonard quote from the letter but do not provide a citation for it. See also Joseph F. Smith, Letter to Oliver G. Snow, November 18, 1881, Joseph F. Smith Letterpress Copybooks, in *Selected Collections*, 1:29.

Figure 7: Proxy Baptisms, Frequency by Temple, 1877–1900



the frequency of temple rebaptisms for renewal of covenants and baptisms for health. (See Figures 3, 4.) Besides thirty-four during its first two months of operation, the Salt Lake Temple maintained a policy of not performing baptisms for the renewal of covenants, although it still allowed baptisms for health.¹⁰⁶ Still no rise in frequency of baptisms for health occurred as had been typical after other temple dedications. Baptisms for health continued at the same rate as previous years in the Logan and St. George temples. The Manti Temple’s rate, however, dropped significantly, from being the most common living temple ordinance to below the rate of the Logan Temple. It seems likely that these trends are related to the policy change regarding baptism for the renewal of covenants. Even though baptism for health and rebaptism were separate rituals, baptism for health was technically a form of repeat baptism. Any statement discouraging or prohibiting temple rebaptism likely led the Saints to conflate it with a deemphasis on baptism for health.

Six months after the dedication of the Salt Lake Temple, the First Presidency and Twelve decided that “frequent baptisms will not be al-

¹⁰⁶Samuel Roskelley Papers, Box 1, Book 1, 60–73, 168, 169.

lowed,” giving as a reason “that this sacred ordinance is becoming too common.”¹⁰⁷ At the April 1895 general conference priesthood meeting, Charles O. Card of Alberta recorded notes on George Q. Cannon’s sermon: “There has grown up among many who baptized for every little thing. It is improper. Confess our sins. There has been a rule that those going to Temple or coming home from our native lands but this is not required. It is not necessary except he or she has sinned especially.”¹⁰⁸ Apostle Mariner W. Merrill also preached against such baptisms in Cache Stake conference in July 1897.¹⁰⁹ In the October general conference three months later, George Q. Cannon delivered what several historians have viewed as the official end of baptism for the renewal of covenants in the Church.¹¹⁰ Members viewed this policy shift as a serious change, with one disaffected member testifying to the U.S. Congress during the Smoot hearings that the Manifesto and this policy change were his reasons for leaving the Church.¹¹¹ Baptism for the renewal of covenants persisted in the St. George and Logan temples; but by 1907 the Logan Temple was the only temple where baptism for the renewal of covenants was still performed (thirty-three

¹⁰⁷Abraham H. Cannon, Diary, November 29, 1893.

¹⁰⁸Donald G. Godfrey and Brigham Y. Card, eds., *The Diaries of Charles Ora Card: The Canadian Years 1886–1903* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1993), 286. There is some evidence that not all Church authorities agreed with this direction. Over a year later and after a regular Church meeting, Apostle John W. Taylor baptized six individuals, including four for the renewal of covenants. *Ibid.*, 355.

¹⁰⁹J. E. Wilson, Stake Clerk, “Cache Stake Conference,” *Deseret Weekly*, July 17, 1897, 148.

¹¹⁰George Q. Cannon, October 6, 1897, *Conference Report*, 68. For examples of historians citing this discourse as the official end of rebaptism, see Allen and Leonard, *The Story of the Latter-day Saints*, 431; H. Dean Garrett, “Rebaptism,” *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, 4 vols. (New York: Macmillan, 1992), 3:1194.

¹¹¹August W. Lundstrom, Testimony, in *Proceedings before the Committee on Privileges and Elections of the United States Senate in the Matter of the Protests against the right of Hon. Reed Smoot, a Senator from the State of Utah, to Hold His Seat*, 4 vols. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1906), 2:155. It is also notable that rebaptism is a *cause célèbre* of fundamentalist Mormon schismatics.

that year).¹¹² During the 1910s, the First Presidency (then comprised of Joseph F. Smith, Anthon Lund, and Charles Penrose), repeatedly instructed, in response to the specific cases on which they were giving counsel, that baptism for “the renewal of covenants” was appropriate in some cases of Church discipline that had not involved excommunication.¹¹³

It is important to note that this policy change on rebaptism for renewal of covenants did not include baptism for health, which remained a regular part of the Latter-day Saint liturgy. Although there was a decline in the annual rate of baptisms for health after the Salt Lake Temple opened, all of the temples, including Salt Lake, remained loci of special healing. In 1894 and 1895 the *Contributor* and *Millennial Star* carried a regular column that, among other things, recounted miraculous ritual healings in the temples, including those which happened following baptism for health;¹¹⁴ and the *Juvenile Instructor* frequently included accounts of baptism for healing into the twentieth century.¹¹⁵ Both men and women acted as temple heal-

¹¹²Duncan M. McAllister, “Ordinances Performed in Each of the Temples during the Year Ending Dec 31st, 1907,” photocopy of holograph, Kenney Research Collection. For Logan Temple ordinance statistics for 1901–07, see Roskelley Papers, Box 1, Book 1, 14–15.

¹¹³Office of the First Presidency, Letter to Lewis S. Pond, October 30, 1913, typescript, and Office of the First Presidency, Letter to William H. Smart, May 5, 1915, typescript, Kenney Research Collection. See also John P. Hatch, ed., *Danish Apostle: The Diaries of Anthon Lund, 1890–1921* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2006), 517. In these three cases, the disciplined member had not been excommunicated.

¹¹⁴The *Millennial Star* reprinted the following columns, which originally appeared in the *Contributor*: John D. T. McAllister, “Temple Manifestations,” *Millennial Star* 57 (January 24, 1895): 59–60; M. F. Farnsworth, “Temple Manifestations,” *Millennial Star* 57 (June 6, 1895): 356–59; M. F. Farnsworth, “Temple Manifestations,” *Contributor* 16 (November 1894): 63; John D. T. McAllister, “Temple Manifestations,” *Contributor* 16 (January 1895): 147; J. V. Williams, “Temple Manifestations,” *Contributor* 16 (March 1895): 312.

¹¹⁵See, e.g., Annie Pearl Madsen, Letter, Lake View, Utah, in “Our Little Folks,” *Juvenile Instructor* 34 (May 15, 1899): 318–19; Maud G., Letter, Provo, Utah, in “Our Little Folks,” *Juvenile Instructor* 34 (October 15, 1899):

ers¹¹⁶ and special days were set apart for healing rites.¹¹⁷ Individuals continued to make pilgrimages to the temple for healing, and baptism for health was a regular part of this temple activity for decades.¹¹⁸

In the first years of the twentieth century, such LDS Church leaders as Heber J. Grant, Marriner W. Merrill, and Anthon H. Lund facilitated baptisms for health.¹¹⁹ In 1902, the First Presidency and the Twelve approved Apostle Reed Smoot's request for the baptism

639; Alice L. Reynolds, "A Little Boy's Faith," *Juvenile Instructor* 36 (July 15, 1901): 441–42; Annetta Gunderson, Letter, Mill Creek, Utah, in "Our Little Folks," *Juvenile Instructor* 39 (March 1, 1904): 159; Maria Housley, Letter, Mapleton, Idaho, in "Our Young Folks," *Juvenile Instructor* 41 (June 1, 1906): 351.

¹¹⁶Many of the regular temple workers administered to the sick as part of their other duties. See, for example, Anonymous, "Sketch of Sister Bathsheba Smith: Worker in the Endowment House," *Young Woman's Journal* 4 (April, 1893): 295–96. However there were also individuals who had specific duties as healers in the temples. Though not publicly available, at least one extant document records the activity of three temple healers in the Salt Lake Temple. Salt Lake Temple, Administration to the Sick Record, 1893–99, CR 306 63, LDS Church Library. One of the healers described in the register for this item, Adolphus Madsen, was actively healing in the 1910s and figures prominently in the 1914 temple healing narrative of LaVern McLellan Lloyd. Oral History, interviewed by her daughter Zitelle, February 1931, in Jefferson Ward, Grant Stake, *Gleaners' Treasures of Truth 1932*, LDS Church Library. Austin and Alta Fife collected an account of this healing from a friend of the family. Folk Collection 4, FMC, no. 1, ser. 1, vol. 1, item 44, Special Collections, Merrill Library, Utah State University, Logan. Subsequently the Fifes corresponded with LaVern directly, who supplied a copy of her daughter's interview. LaVern's account appears in Folk Collection 4, FMC, no. 1, ser. 2, vol. 10, item 2.

¹¹⁷Hatch, *Danish Apostle*, 568. This was standard practice in the temples of the era. See, e.g., Christina Willardson, "Sketch of Christina Willardson: Worker in Manti Temple," *Young Woman's Journal* 4 (April 1893): 304.

¹¹⁸For examples of pilgrimages, see Savage, *Journal of Levi Mathers Savage*, 39–41; T. R. Gledhill, M.D., in George C. Lambert, ed., *Gems of Reminiscence: Faith-Promoting Series, No. 17* (Salt Lake City: Juvenile Instructor Office, 1915), 169–70.

¹¹⁹Alexander, *Mormonism in Transition*, 291. Alexander cites Marriner W. Merrill, *Journal*, June 12, 1900, and Heber J. Grant, *Diary*, March 10,

for health of a young deaf girl whose parents were not Mormon.¹²⁰ While temple records are not publicly available for this period, one can estimate ordinance frequency. The Manti Temple averaged 152 baptisms for health per year in the first quarter of the twentieth century. This average is slightly higher than the rate for 1897–1900, for which records are available. Live sealings at the same temple (average of 197 per year) and other Manti live ordinance rates also remained constant during this period.¹²¹ Logan Temple records for the years between 1900 and 1907 are public and show only a slight decline over the period, with an average of 298 baptisms for health per year.¹²²

CONTROVERSY AND CESSATION, 1910–22

Uncertainty about baptism for health arose in the second decade of the twentieth century. With improvements in modern medical science and Mormonism's more general integration into the larger society, Church leaders began to avoid ritualistic practices that, in turn, appeared increasingly magical.¹²³ Consequently, the therapeutic use of oil, notably manifest in repeat anointings, anointing the area of affliction, and drinking consecrated oil fell out of fa-

1903, LDS Church Library; they are not publicly available. See also Anthon Lund, Journal, February 14, 1905, LDS Church Library; Marriner W. Merrill, Journal, May 14, 1901, typed excerpts on Smith Research Associates, *New Mormon Studies*.

¹²⁰Stan Larson, *A Ministry of Meetings: The Apostolic Diaries of Rudger Clawson* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1993), 439.

¹²¹Only the 1888–1900 and 1907 records for the Manti Temple are publicly available. However, *Manti Temple Golden Jubilee, 1888–1938* (n.p., 1938), includes ordinance totals to the time of the book's printing. As baptism for health ended in 1922, we assume that the total did not change after that date. We calculated the average by subtracting the values for publicly available years from the 1922 total and dividing the value by twenty-one years. We used a similar method for calculating the average of sealings, though the total was considered to be that of 1938 and not 1922.

¹²²Roskelley Papers, Box 1, Book 1, 12–15.

¹²³The perspective that healing rituals were essentially magical was inherent in their proscription during the early Christian Reformation. Mormons at this time appear to be transitioning away from the pioneers' magical worldview. For the modernization of medical practice, see Charles E. Rosenberg, ed., *The Structure of American Medical Practice, 1875–1941* (Phila-

vor.¹²⁴ These rationalizations of the healing liturgy spilled over into a debate surrounding baptism for health; and Joseph F. Smith and Anthon H. Lund, both of the First Presidency, emerged as defenders of the practice. In 1912 Lund wrote of an exchange that he had with Joseph F.'s son Alvin, a temple sealer:

I went to the Temple. Bro. Alvin spoke. He said he thought it was not good to be baptized for health. I spoke to him and told him while it is true that baptism has not been mentioned in the revelation for healing[.] Jesus said to the Jews which is easier to say thy sins are forgiven thee, or be thou healed? Baptism is for remission of sins, but sickness is often the effect of violation of the law of nature or of God, and therefore when faith accompanies it, baptism may be for the restoration of health. I told him when persons have faith in baptism for health we may not knock the props away from them.¹²⁵

When faced with questions about baptism for health's validity, Lund thus departed from George Q. Cannon's explicit separation of baptism for health and baptism for the remission of sins to conceptualize the ritual within the Bible's healing framework. Early Christians viewed deliverance from both sickness and sin as part of the same healing process (James 5:14-15). The interplay between healing and forgiveness of sin has been debated by Christians for millennia and figures prominently in the evolution of early Christian anointing from a healing ritual to a ritual of penance and death, as well as in the early Christian associations of baptism with healing.¹²⁶ As Mormons anchored their ritual practice in the Bible and modern revelations, they did not consider liturgical commentaries from the rest of the Christian tradition even as they experienced similar developments.

Beyond considering how baptism for health functioned as a healing ritual, the younger generation of Church leaders questioned the historical validity of the practice. When Joseph F.

delphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985), 1-36.

¹²⁴Bush, *Health and Medicine among the Latter-day Saints*, 78-80, 100-103.

¹²⁵Hatch, *Danish Apostle*, 490.

¹²⁶The liturgical history of Christian unction is a complex topic which has received attention from several international scholars. The most accessible treatment is Paxton, *Christianizing Death*. For an example of such debate in Mormon liturgical development, see Rulon S. Wells, April 6, 1915, *Conference Report*, 135-36.

Smith's son and apostle Hyrum Mack Smith inquired about the origin of this healing ritual during a meeting with the First Presidency and Twelve, President Smith "remarked that it had been customary to baptize for health from the early rise of the Church, and he related specific incidents showing the good effects resulting therefrom. Prest. Lund also related incidents of a like character which had taken place in the Manti temple [where he had been temple president], and remarked that there evidently exists some connection between forgiveness of sin and healing." Perhaps sensing a shift in the hierarchal zeitgeist, Lund followed these remarks with a twofold recommendation: "While he felt that we should not encourage the idea of baptism for health, he felt that we should not discourage it when the desire was prompted by those asking permission to be baptized for their health."¹²⁷ Lund appears to be taking a position that created a balance between competing perspectives. A decade earlier, the First Presidency had similarly vacillated when "the question of women anointing came up and was discouraged."¹²⁸ While female ritual healing had been a consistent part of Mormon healing liturgy since Kirtland, some began to question the practice. After considering the debate, the First Presidency affirmed female ritual healing in 1905 and even wrote a circular letter to all Church leaders in 1914 describing the various rites in which women could participate.¹²⁹

Some believed that healing in the temple was simply an unnecessary inconvenience. For example, in 1918 Lund lamented, "Alvin Smith [the son of Joseph F. Smith and temple sealer mentioned earlier] was the speaker. Instead of encouraging the Saints to have faith in

¹²⁷Minutes of the regular meeting of the First Presidency, Twelve Apostles and Patriarch, September 11, 1913, *Journal History*, September 11, 1913, 6–7, in *Selected Collections*, 2:31.

¹²⁸Hatch, *Danish Apostle*, 130. For another example of such discouragement, see Joseph F. Smith, Letter to John D. Chase, August 13, 1901, Joseph F. Smith Letterpress Copybooks, in *Selected Collections*, 1:30.

¹²⁹Joseph F. Smith, John R. Winder, and Anthon H. Lund, Letter to William A. Hyde, October 3, 1905, typescript, Scott G. Kenney Research Collection; First Presidency to Stake Presidents and Bishops, October 3, 1914, Salt Lake City, quoted in James R. Clark, *Messages of the First Presidency of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 6 vols. (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1965–75), 4:314–15.

the ordinances for healing, he told the people that they could just as well have asked the Elders at home to administer as to come to the Temple. Maybe they had come a long way and should have been encouraged to have faith.”¹³⁰

After President Smith died in November 1918, the Grant administration maintained the status quo for several years.¹³¹ For example, in 1920, one young girl who had traveled to the temple to be baptized when she turned eight later remembered: “Because of a damaged heart from a severe case of red measles I was immersed twice—the second time for my health.”¹³² However, in 1921 and following the death of President Lund, the First Presidency approved George F. Richards’s proposal to extricate the healers from the temple.¹³³ Richards had replaced Lund as the new Salt Lake Temple president and consequently was responsible for all temple affairs. This change in praxis was the first

¹³⁰Anthon Lund, Journal, May 21, 1918, LDS Church Library. For another example of shifting attitudes toward baptism for healing in the temple, see Lund’s journal entry for February 12, 1915 in Hatch, *Danish Apostle*, 568: “F[rancis]. M. Lyman spoke in the Temple meeting. He insisted that those attending the temple should be physically perfect and also spiritually so. They should not seek the Temple for health. I explained to him afterwards that on Tuesday we attend to ordinance work for health. He knew this but his talk was more in regard to endowments.”

¹³¹Several authors have simply assumed that baptism for health ended during Joseph F. Smith’s administration. This is not the case. An example is the 1919 baptism for health of Faye Davis, recorded in Annie Isadore Davis, “Sketch of the Life of Annie Isadore Roundy Davis,” digital copy of holograph, 4a, <http://aeb.buchananspot.com/histories/AIRoundyLife/viewer.html>, (accessed January 14, 2008). We thank Joseph F. Buchanan for supplying this reference.

¹³²Jenny Linda Myrup Brown, Autobiography, n.d., not paged, holograph in possession of Linda Lundstrom, Roosevelt, Utah, typed excerpt in our possession, courtesy of Lisle G Brown.

¹³³Dale C. Mouritsen, “A Symbol of New Directions: George F. Richards and the Mormon Church, 1861–1950” (Ph.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1982), 201–2; George F. Richards, Diary Excerpts, June 22, 1921, in D. Michael Quinn Papers. In October 1921, this recommendation became official: “We, the Presidency of the Salt Lake Temple, respectfully recommend the following for your approval: First: that people coming to the temple to be administered to for their health are to receive that ordinance in the assembly room of the annex, rather than in the Garden Room

of several developments that included reforming the endowment, calling the wives of temple presidents as temple matrons,¹³⁴ and in 1922 ending baptisms for healing altogether. The First Presidency, then comprising Heber J. Grant, Charles Penrose, and Anthony Ivins, wrote to temple presidents: “We feel constrained to call your attention to the custom prevailing to some extent in our temples of baptizing for health, and to remind you that baptism for health is no part of our temple work, and therefore to permit it to become a practice would be an innovation detrimental to temple work, and a departure as well from the provision instituted of the Lord for the care and healing of the sick of His Church. And in this connection we desire to say that the practice of Church members going to temples to be administered to is a departure from the way instituted of the Lord.”¹³⁵

This official statement marks a significant contrast to the previous eighty years of healing praxis and seems to directly contraindicate not only Joseph Smith’s early teachings on baptism for health and temple healing but also the personal experience of many members of the governing quorums. This repositioning of healing rituals represents a profound shift in the configuration of the boundaries between public and private religiosity and also represents a redefinition of the nature and function of the temple’s sacred space. Church leaders apparently sought to remove conceptions of hierarchal healing and also felt that temple healings constrained temple resources.¹³⁶ A report of temple work in 1924 and 1925 shows a dramatic increase in temple ac-

of the temple, where such ordinances have heretofore been administered regularly on Tuesday of each week.” George F. Richards, Joseph Fielding Smith, and Albert W. Davis of the Salt Lake Temple Presidency, Letter to Heber J. Grant, Charles W. Penrose, and Anthony W. Ivins, October 11, 1921, typescript, David John Buerger Papers, Special Collections, Marriott Library.

¹³⁴Mouritsen, “A Symbol of New Directions: George F. Richards and the Mormon Church, 1861–1950,” 203–10.

¹³⁵First Presidency, Letter to Temple Presidents, December 15, 1922, quoted in First Presidency, Letter to Stake Presidents, January 18, 1923, Salt Lake City, in Clark, *Messages of the First Presidency*, 5:224. Readers should note that Clark’s commentary on the letter is ahistoric.

¹³⁶Alexander, *Mormonism in Transition*, 291, wrote: “There was concern that some members believed that going to the temple for an administration was superior to an ordinance given by a priesthood holder outside.

tivity with the Salt Lake Temple averaging 17,754 endowments per month compared to 2,209 per month in 1907.¹³⁷

Further, the Church had constructed several new temples, and there is no question that temple resources were attenuated by this high level of activity. Church leaders also desired to limit charismata and special cases of healing.¹³⁸ This decline in the use of spiritual gifts exemplifies sociologist Max Weber's description of "the routinization of charisma"—or the transformative change in which institutional imperatives supersede charismatic origins, thus making possible the group's survival. Another example is the manifestation of glossolalia. Although the exercise of such spiritual gifts fulfilled the communal needs of early Mormons, they eventually became areas of debate, received the disapprobation of Church leaders, and were eventually abandoned.¹³⁹ This trend is seen as late as the 1940s, when Church leaders issued the instruction that healing rituals administered by patriarchs, a tradition that had existed and had been viewed as exceptionally potent since the time of Joseph Smith Sr., were of "no higher order than, nor are they to be distinguished from" blessings by any other priesthood holder.¹⁴⁰

In addition, the use of the temple for performing vicarious work for the dead had increased greatly, and the pressure for baptism and administrations for health occupied temple facilities." The footnote for this paragraph includes "First Presidency to B. H. Roberts, June 2, 1924, FP, letters sent," a document that is not currently available to researchers.

¹³⁷No author, "Report of Temples for the Six Months Ending June 30, 1925," in Anthony W. Ivins Papers, 1875–1934, Utah State Archives, Salt Lake City; McAllister, "Ordinances Performed in Each of the Temples during the Year Ending Dec 31st, 1907."

¹³⁸Joseph F. Smith, "Editorial Thoughts: The Master of the House," *Juvenile Instructor* 37 (January 15, 1902): 50–51. At the turn of the century, the governing quorums repeatedly dealt with one individual who persisted in holding blessing meetings for the sick. See, e.g., Larson, *A Ministry of Meetings*, 263, 366, 762; "Editorial Thoughts: Professional Healing," *Juvenile Instructor* 41 (December 15, 1906): 752–53.

¹³⁹See Dan Vogel and Scott C. Dunn, "'The Tongue of Angels': Glossolalia among Mormonism's Founders," *Journal of Mormon History* 19 (Fall 1993): 34.

¹⁴⁰*Handbook of Instructions: for Stake Presidents and Counselors, Bishops*

Although the topic merits further study,¹⁴¹ it seems that the members' view that the temple was a special place for healing, coupled with the younger leaders' lack of familiarity with the liturgical history of baptism for health suggests the presence of a significant generation gap in the Church, manifest in inconsistent conceptions of ritual healing. The result of this shift, magnified by the period's logistical exigencies, is a separation between temple and healing liturgies—and baptism for health was left without a place in either.

CONCLUSION

Five years before the termination of the baptism for healing ritual, Hannah Adeline Hatch was finally released from her constant suffering through death. Although she had been baptized for her health at least twelve times between 1888 and 1910, she never found permanent respite from her unspecified chronic disease.¹⁴² Adeline's journey seems to mirror many of the trends related to baptism for health's rise and fall within the Church. Like the majority of those seeking physical healing in the temple during this time, she was a woman; and like many of her contemporaries, Adeline made her attempts at healing by immersion most frequently during the last decades of the nineteenth century. After the turn of the century, she and many others began to broaden their search for healing therapies and remedies. Like many of the sick, Adeline incorporated hospital care, surgery, and trips to California for curative antidotes. Although the attitudes of rank-and-file Mormons toward medicine seemed to be shifting, it was more in the direction of combination than elimination. For example, in 1902 after experiencing blood clots, erratic pulse rates, and digestive difficulties, George Brimhall decided to go to California "for my health." On the same day, he recorded, "Went to

and Counselors, Stake and Ward Clerks and other Church Officers, No. 17 (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1944), 23.

¹⁴¹When and if the Heber J. Grant and George F. Richards diaries become available to researchers, there will no doubt be additional insights into the cessation of baptism for health as a rite of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

¹⁴²Savage, *Journal of Levi Mathers Savage*, 39–40, 50, 56; Savage, *Record of Hannah Adeline Hatch Savage and Journal*, 11, 18, 24, 44, and 75.

temple. Baptised. Attended M.I.A.”¹⁴³

Despite such accommodation and as with its origin, the ultimate demise of healing by immersion was a top-down phenomenon, originating among the upper echelons of Church leadership. Early Mormons lived in a dynamic period of literal restoration: new scripture, charismata, a biblical exodus, and the return of the healing pools of old. As their healing liturgy became separated from the temple, Latter-day Saints did not completely forsake the curative nature of these edifices but sought the temple as a place of spiritual, not physical, healing and renewal. Although not part of modern LDS praxis, baptism for healing is an integral feature of Mormon history and played an important role in the development of the modern Church's rituals and conceptualizations of healing. It was born of Mormonism's charismatic restoration, received Joseph Smith's revelatory support, and was promoted by generations of Church leaders. Although it was ultimately eliminated from the lexicon of the faithful, it provides an illuminating window through which historians can view the health, life, and death of Mormon men and women.

¹⁴³Alsina Elizabeth Brimhall, ed., *Diary of George H. Brimhall*, 2 vols. (Salt Lake City: Alsina Elizabeth Brimhall Holbrook Family, 1990), 1:299.

“CHEAT THE ASYLUM OF A VICTIM”: GEORGE ALBERT SMITH’S 1909–12 BREAKDOWN

Mary Jane Woodger

ON APRIL 12, 1910, DR. HEBER J. SEARS wrote briskly to his nephew: “A letter from your mother brings the sad intelligence that you are down with nervous frustration. . . . For Heaven’s sake George—‘Side step or step backward not forward.’ Cheat the asylum of a victim. Dump your responsibility for a while before the hearse dumps your bones.”¹ His nephew was George Albert Smith, then a forty-year-old apostle who was almost totally incapacitated, physically and emotionally. But he survived to become Church president at

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¹Heber J. Sears, M.D., Chicago, Ill., Letter to George Albert Smith, April 12, 1909, George A. Smith Papers, Ms 36, Box 32, fd. 11, Special Collections, Marriott Library, University of Utah, Salt Lake City (hereafter cited as Smith Papers). Unless otherwise noted, all Smith family correspondence and George Albert Smith diaries, cited by box and folder number,



*George Albert Smith as an apostle. Photo (PH490fd29it016)
courtesy of the LDS Church History Library.*

age seventy-five, led the Church for six years, and died on his eighty-first birthday, April 4, 1951.

Though many LDS General Authorities have struggled with

are in this collection.

physical challenges, George Albert's nervous collapse, as it was called, reached its nadir in February 1909, leaving him so impaired that he was unable to work or even to deliver a public address.² A decade later, he recalled in a conference address, "I have been in the valley of the shadow of death in recent years, so near the other side that I am sure that for the special blessing of our Heavenly Father I could not have remained here. . . . The nearer I went to the other side, the greater was my assurance that the gospel is true."³

George Albert wrestled with both physical and emotional health issues throughout his life, but this article focuses on conditions leading to an episode of nervous exhaustion that lasted from 1909 to 1912, then describes an experience George Albert had in the spring of 1911 that changed his approach to both physical and emotional limitations. The story of his triumph over these maladies, is documented in surprising detail in his correspondence and journals, much of it quoted here for the first time, and in related papers of those close to him. His story deserves telling for the hope it conveys to individuals likewise suffering from physical illnesses that often bring in their wake emotional distress and the inability to serve in Church callings despite their desire to be healed, faith manifested in seeking priesthood blessings, and earnest prayer. Although it is possible from a modern perspective to offer appropriately tentative diagnoses of the organic cause of his ailment and also his mental depression, Smith felt that prayer was his main resource in dealing with his condition.

GENERAL HEALTH CONDITIONS

Although usually "very energetic and active," George Albert was never robust. He stood six feet tall and usually weighed about 160 pounds.⁴ He was the oldest son of John Henry Smith, an apostle and future counselor in the First Presidency, and Sarah Farr Smith. When he was born on April 6, 1870, his namesake grandfa-

²George Albert Smith, Journal, January 24, 1909, p. 20, Ms 36, Box 67, Book 6; Letter to President Samuel O. Bennion, May 9, 1911, Box 35, fd. 2. Because of the intimate nature of the subject addressed, it seems appropriate to use President Smith's given name throughout this article.

³*Report of the Semi-Annual Conference of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, October 1921, 42 (hereafter cited as *Conference Report* by date and page).

⁴Lisle G Brown, "Introduction to Unpublished Journal," Smith Pa-

ther, George A. Smith, also an apostle and counselor to Brigham Young, reportedly could slide his ring over the infant's hand and up to his elbow.⁵ When Church President Joseph F. Smith called him as an apostle on October 8, 1903, at age thirty-three, his father, who had not been consulted about the calling, feared, "He's not healthy. He won't last long."⁶

George Albert had already suffered numerous problems, but perhaps the most serious concern was his eyesight. At age eighteen in 1888, he took a University of Deseret class in "plain surveying," then joined a surveying crew line at Green River, Utah, with the Denver & Rio Grande Western Railroad. The intense summer sun and glare from desert sands permanently damaged his eyes, and he returned to Salt Lake before the summer was over.⁷ This condition left him unable to read for extended periods, thus ending his formal education.⁸ Additionally, in early 1900, Smith suffered an unspecified accident to one eye, which further impaired his eyesight and which was not corrected by operations in 1901, 1902, and 1907.⁹ In later photographs, the left eye focuses outward; when his portrait appeared on the cover of *Time* magazine for the Church's centennial

pers, Box 38, fd. 96.

⁵Susan Easton Black, Unpublished notes, George Albert Smith Lecture, ReligionC-343 Brigham Young University, Fall 1999, p. 1.

⁶Quoted in Truman G. Madsen, *The Presidents of the Church* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2004), 211.

⁷"Early Life Just Like That of Ordinary Boy," *Deseret News*, April 8, 1951. Although never diagnosed, this condition may have been "pinguecula," a common malady for those who work in the sun, especially in dry climates. It begins as a small lesion that seems to be exacerbated by exposure to sunlight and eye irritation. See Healthline: Connect to Better Health, <http://www.healthline.com/adamcontent/pinguecula?utm> (accessed May 20, 2007). Though usually relieved today by artificial tears or mild steroid eye drops, these remedies were not available in 1888, and George Albert never records receiving any treatment.

⁸Heidi S. Swinton, *In the Company of Prophets: Personal Experiences of D. Arthur Haycock with George Albert Smith* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1993), 20.

⁹Merlo J. Pusey, *Builders of the Kingdom: George A. Smith, John Henry Smith, George Albert Smith* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1981), 221.

in 1930, the errant eye was airbrushed straight.¹⁰ George Albert frequently laments his eye fatigue in his journal and correspondence. He often had to pause in writing a letter to rest his eyes. His wife, Lucy, often read his work aloud to him to spare his eyes. These diary excerpts after the third operation give some indication of his ongoing struggle:

Dec. 4, 1907, El Paso, Texas. Eyes very weak.

Dec. 7, 1907, Colonia Juarez, Mexico. Awoke feeling very well but my right eye is somewhat disabled. It pained me all day.

Dec. 8, 1907. Awoke feeling splendid except for my eyes.

Dec. 12, 1907. Awoke feeling well, my eyes still affected. [W]rote a letter to Lucy until my eyes were tired.

Dec. 23, 1907, Salt Lake City. Awoke feeling well but my eyes were tired.

Dec. 24, 1907. My eyes are quite weak.

March 6, 1908. My eyes are tired.

March 10, 1908. My eyes quite weak.

May 14, 1908. Moab, Utah, My eyes are somewhat tired and weak.

June 22, 1908. Salt Lake City. Awoke with tired eyes.¹¹

George Albert's work as an apostle was strenuous. He averaged thirty thousand miles a year as a young apostle, usually traveling by train.¹² However, long stretches also had to be navigated by horse and buggy (or later by early automobiles) over rough roads. Apostles almost always stayed in members' homes, and sleeping in unfamiliar beds caused anxiety for the young apostle. In an effort to provide their best, hostesses often prepared rich foods that upset George Albert's delicate digestive system, yet he feared to offend by rejecting their menus. He frequently brought his own "grain concoction" for a

¹⁰Kirk Gilmore, M.D., interviewed by Mary Jane Woodger, October 10, 2006, Salt Lake City, transcription in my possession. Dr. Gilmore extensively researched George Albert Smith's maladies while serving on an LDS Church Curriculum Committee. I express my appreciation for his professional insights. He suggests that George Albert may have suffered paralysis of the left cranial nerve.

¹¹George Albert Smith, Journal, December 4, 1907-September 24, 1908, 49, 181, Book 2, Box 67.

¹²Richard Neitzel Holzapfel and William W. Slaughter, *Prophets of the Latter Days* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2003), 108-9.

mild breakfast.¹³ In the second year of his apostleship, Dr. Stephen Richards treated him for excessive “uric acid” but apparently without much success.¹⁴

In 1906, during George Albert’s third year of his service, he weakened still further. At a stake conference at Raymond, Alberta, he was so ill that he did not eat a full meal for two days, then suffered a prolonged nosebleed, and unspecified but racking pain. Although he attended the conference held in Raymond, he was not well enough to speak. The next weekend he attended the conference at Cardston, Alberta, then caught a train for Great Falls, Montana. The train was so crowded that he had to ride on the roof of a boxcar.¹⁵ Such strenuous experiences would have taxed a healthy man, but for one with such diminished stamina as George Albert, they were debilitating.

In September 1908, while visiting Whiterock Spring, Nevada, George Albert and Apostle Anthon W. Ivins ended up spending a night in a wagon. It rained the entire night, soaking through the leaky wagon cover. Even the next morning, a cold wind prevented them from building a fire, so they traveled on without food or dry clothes. George Albert spoke at two meetings, but the next night had “a violent attack . . . of dysentery.”¹⁶ His problems continued for the next two months; and by mid-November, he obtained relief from an upset

¹³Francis M. Gibbons, *George Albert Smith: Kind and Caring Christian, Prophet of God* (Salt Lake City, Deseret Book, 1990), 235.

¹⁴George Albert Smith, Journal, October 23, 1904, Box 73, Book 2, p. 181. Uric acid, a normal by-product of digestion, was, in excess, thought to be a major “cause of many physical and mental troubles as well” that would actually destroy body tissues and make the blood lose its ability to pass between the arterial system into veins. Eustace Miles and C. H. Collings, *The Uric Acid Fetish* (London: Eustace Miles, 1915), 14. Treatment included “strict diet, hydrotherapy, curative gymnastics, massage, manipulation and homeopathic medication.” Henry Lindlahr, M.D., *Nature Cure: Philosophy and Practice Based on the Unity of Disease and Cure* (Chicago: Nature Cure Publishing Company, 1922), 1–6.

¹⁵George Albert Smith, Journal, August 1906, 43–44, Box 5, fd. 4.

¹⁶George Albert Smith, Journal, September 24–27, 1908, 178–80, Journal 4, Box 73, Book 5. Some years of journals contain more than one “book.”

stomach only by vomiting and purging.¹⁷ In December, he experienced severe bowel pain.¹⁸

A month later on January 24, 1909, he catalogued the ailments he had to deal with while attending a stake conference outside Salt Lake City:

Suffered all the balance of the day with indigestion. . . Went to home of John L. Smith for dinner but was too sick to enjoy it. . . Stomach bad today. . . Quite tired and miserable with a cold. . . My voice is so husky I can hardly speak [a]loud. . . My back is quite lame. . . Had a bad spell with my stomach. . . I talked on the first principles of gospel and having fasted felt strong spiritually but weak physically and was about played out with the heat when I sat down. . . My heart seems to be weak this morning. . . I am afraid I have overdone during the last year.¹⁹

A doctor reassured him that his heart was sound but that he needed rest. Ignoring this advice, he continued at a feverish pace, driving through a series of “raging blizzards” to stake conferences. By February 24 his throat was causing him much trouble. The next night, he woke, racked with pain from head to foot. A doctor summoned the next day diagnosed it as *la grippe* (influenza).²⁰ This was George Albert’s fifth attack of *la grippe*, but he suffered more with this recurrence and the effects lingered on.²¹

RELATIONSHIP WITH LUCY

George Albert was the first LDS Church president to be a monogamist. He married Lucy Emily Woodruff, a daughter of Wilford Woodruff, on May 25, 1892, and they had three children. They had a close and affectionate relationship, as their letters show; and Lucy,

¹⁷Ibid., November 26, 1908, 196.

¹⁸George Albert Smith, Journal, December 11, 1908, 6.

¹⁹Smith, Journal, January 24, 1909, 20, Journal 5, Smith Papers, Box 73.

²⁰George Albert Smith, Journal, February 24–25, 1909, 30, Box 73, Book 6, fd. 5.

²¹George Albert Smith, Letter to George B. Lowrie, March 4, 1909, Smith Papers, Letterpress Book #2, cited in Glen R. Stubbs, “A Biography of George Albert Smith, 1870 to 1951” (Ph.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1974), 101.

Emily Lucy Woodruff Smith. Photo (P0036N0892) courtesy of Marriott Library, University of Utah.



who had lived with George Albert's fragile health for ten years previous to his call to the Quorum of the Twelve, worried constantly about him. For instance, on April 13, 1902, she wrote: "Don't overwork your frail body I warn you so much about this but I don't know if the warning is heeded at all."²² Although her constant concern about his health showed caring, she may have simultaneously been suffering from her own unmet needs. She wrote in late 1908, "I hope you are taking care of yourself." She added, "You know I must have you. I am not good without you."²³ The next day, she added, "Remember I have some claim on you as well as the children and public," followed by, "I can remember once in my life that I thought I never wanted to be de-

²²Lucy Emily Smith, Ocean Park, Letter to George Albert Smith, April 13, 1902, Smith Papers, Box 22, fd. 13.

²³Lucy Emily Smith, Salt Lake City, Letter to George Albert Smith, December 10, 1908, Box 31, fd. 21.



Lucy Woodruff Smith and her children, in December 1906: Emily (left), age eleven or twelve, seven-year-old Edith, and baby George Albert Jr., age one year. Photo (P0036N0945) courtesy of Marriott Library, University of Utah.

pendent on a man and now I wish I could ask you about ever[y] move I make. The days are all wrong and the nights are worse when you are not with me.”²⁴ A few months earlier, she had confided, “I am growing old or weak or nervous or something because I am not brave anymore and I can’t carry my worries alone at least the last week you were home I know you were worried nearly to death and I feel very bad to think you went away so worried.”²⁵

Lucy constantly wished that her husband could be with her more. Insisting that “men [n]ever know how women’s nerves are tried,” she castigated herself as a “poor manager,” was easily upset by the children’s noise, saw herself as on the “verge of nervous prostra-

²⁴Lucy Emily Smith, Salt Lake City, Letters to George Albert Smith, December 10 and 17, 1908, Smith Box 31, fd. 21.

²⁵Lucy Emily Smith, Salt Lake City, Letter to George Albert Smith, November 10, 1907, Box 31, fd. 7.

tion,” “mentally unbalanced,” and suffering from “nervous disorders,” and lamented that she was “getting old and her nerves were nearly gone.” She wished she had “no heart and no temper,” asked George Albert to “just tear these letters up and throw them away,” and insisted that she would “never be a sweet old lady.” (In fact, she died November 5, 1937, at age sixty-nine after a lingering illness.)²⁶ For his part, George Albert told his wife that her “patience and loyalty are of more of strength to my ministry than you could imagine,” and constantly expressed his love for her.²⁷ Unquestionably, he longed to be home more himself and found the constant travel debilitating.

After reading these excerpts from Lucy’s letters, Ford McBride, a clinical psychologist, characterized Lucy as being “demanding and histrionic,” and suggested that Lucy’s neediness might well have “exacerbated” George Albert’s condition.²⁸ Given modern models for LDS women of independence, self-reliance, and competence, especially while supporting husbands with difficult Church callings, Lucy may seem self-centered and clinging. Such a conclusion, however, does not acknowledge the cultural models available to Lucy in which fragility and “clinging vine” emotional dependence were seen as manifestations of adorable femininity. Nor does it acknowledge the social role played by all kinds of illnesses, especially for middle- and upper-class women.

Furthermore, love letters, including those between husbands and wives, in the early twentieth century were filled with “crisis and the emotional swings from agony to joy which usually accompanied the drama of romantic doubt,” according to historian Karen Lystra, who has done extensive work on such American missives. She quotes an example that Lucy herself could have penned: “Oh, what happiness, when we shall be able to look forward to an illimitable time in each other’s society—when a day or two of absence will be far more infrequent than the days which we spend together now. Then a quiet will settle down upon us, a passionate quiet, which is the consumma-

²⁶Lucy Emily Smith, Letters to George Albert Smith, July 11 and November 11, 1907, December 3, 1908, Box 34, fds. 7, 19, and Box 31, fd. 21.

²⁷George Albert Smith, Moab, Letter to Lucy Emily Smith, Salt Lake City, May 14, 1908, Box 31, fd. 3.

²⁸Ford McBride M.D., Interviewed by Mary Jane Woodger, March 26, 2008, transcription in my possession.



Lucy and George Albert Smith pose before a painted ocean backdrop in a photographer's studio. Photo courtesy of Marriott Library, University of Utah.

tion of happiness.”²⁹ According to Lystra, men in that period found “their own happiness in seeking to give pleasure, comfort and joy to

²⁹N. Hawthorne to S. Peabody, January 3, 1840, quoted in Karen Lystra, *Searching the Heart: Women, Men and Romantic Love in Nineteenth Century*

their lovers and wives.”³⁰ In short, drama, sentimentality, worry, and expressions of extreme need on Lucy’s part—to which George Albert responded with “manly” concern, protectiveness, and his own expressions of sentiment—seem to have been the vehicles by which husband and wife expressed their mutual expression and supportiveness, however far they may be from the tone of a contemporary ideal relationship.

THE EMOTIONAL/MENTAL HEALTH COMPONENT

George Albert’s difficulties were certainly not all physically based, although mental or emotional instability was seldom given much attention except for outright insanity in the early twentieth century. Those close to George Albert Smith were aware of some emotional problems. Grandchild George Albert Smith V suggests that his grandfather struggled with depression, feeling incompetent, and being overwhelmed. There were times when “he just could not pull it all together.”³¹ Another granddaughter, Shauna Lucy Stewart Larsen, who lived in George Albert’s home for twelve years as a child, remembers that “when there was great, tremendous stress, mostly [of] an emotional kind, it took its toll and he would literally have to go to bed for several days.”³² Grandson Robert Murray Stewart remembers, “There were problems associated with his mental health, just maintaining control of himself.”³³ Given what seems to be George Albert’s emotional fragility, physical illness may have been a socially acceptable way for him to retreat, rest, and regroup before tackling his responsibilities again with renewed determination.

Well known for his sensitivity and compassion, he too-easily took on others’ burdens. At one point he confided to a stake president, “[Even] when things are normal my nerves are not very strong and when I see other people in sorrow and depressed I am easily af-

America (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 205.

³⁰*Ibid.*, 20, 205, and 237.

³¹George Albert Smith V, Morris Plain, New Jersey, Phone interview by Mary Jane Woodger, August 16, 2007, transcription in my possession.

³²Shauna Lucy Stewart Larsen, Orem, Utah, Interviewed by Mary Jane Woodger, August 23, 2007, transcription in my possession.

³³Robert Murray Stewart, Ames, Iowa, Phone interview by Mary Jane Woodger, August 8, 2007, transcription in my possession.

fect.”³⁴ One of his grandchildren observed that George Albert “took everything so much to heart”; others’ problems “became such a part of him” that when associates experienced difficulties it just “wiped him out” and he would go to bed for days at a time.³⁵ Obviously his ready concern and sensitive sympathy drew those in trouble to him, which must also, at times, have been a drain on his emotional reserves. In contrast to the present when General Authorities are somewhat shielded from the general public, George Albert’s office was accessible to anyone who walked in off the street.

DIAGNOSIS WITHOUT A PATIENT

Although many have speculated about the cause of George Albert’s persistent health problems, there can be no definitive diagnosis. In the early twentieth century, specializations and consultations were comparatively rare, circumscribing diagnostic expertise. Furthermore, it is important to avoid presentism, or reading back contemporary understandings into a historical situation. Antibiotics were not yet part of the doctor’s repertoire. Although stroke, heart disease, and diabetes were well understood, little was known about their prevention, and insulin did not become available until 1921. Fretful children were regularly dosed with laudanum, which contained opium. Psychiatry was then in its infancy and was primarily confined to upper-class Europeans. Until 1933, none of the physicians at the Utah State Mental Hospital were psychiatrists.³⁶ As late as the 1950s, the only counseling available in Utah was Freudian psychoanalysis, and very few people participated.³⁷ Probably the most useful intervention was psychiatric medications, as manifested by the fact that residential patients in 1950 at the Utah State Mental Hospital exceeded 1,300, but dropped to about 300 after psychotherapeutic medications were employed.³⁸ Such anti-depressants, coupled with counseling, could probably have greatly helped patients like George Albert Smith, but such treatment modalities were simply not avail-

³⁴George Albert Smith, Letter to President Ralph E. Woolley, Honolulu, February 6, 1937, Box 69, fd. 19.

³⁵Larsen, interview.

³⁶Lester E. Bush Jr., *Health and Medicine among the Latter-day Saints* (New York: Crossroad Publishing, 1993), 120.

³⁷McBride, Interview, 4–5.

³⁸Bush, *Health and Medicine*, 120; Louis G. Moench, “Notes on the

able. Historic terminology is not always synonymous with contemporary definitions, and some ailments are now extinct. Therefore, symptoms described in George Albert's journals and correspondence can lead to some medical deductions but should be considered the professional opinion of a current practitioner rather than an accurate diagnosis.

Kirk Gilmore, an emergency room physician and diagnostician at LDS Hospital in Salt Lake City and a student of George Albert's prolonged illnesses, hypothesizes that the combination of George Albert's affliction of the left eye may have been hepatitis curitis disorder, a herpes simplex complication in the cornea of the left eye. This simple virus has a relationship to heat and sunlight, and physical symptoms resemble malaria. Emotional stress also aggravates this virus.

Another possibility is hyperthyroidism. George Albert was tall, thin, and nervous, could not keep weight on, and experienced recurrent and extreme fatigue. All are symptoms of hyperthyroidism, but its symptoms sometimes diminish on their own "over time," according to Dr. Gilmore. Dr. Vin Rees, who practiced at the LDS Hospital in the 1950s, explains that "thyroid disease was considered endemic in this area [Salt Lake City]" due to lack of iodine in the diet. (Iodine is now routinely added to processed table salt.) Dr. Rees recalled that the condition was geographically correlated, with those living in the Salt Lake Valley being virtually free of thyroid disease because it was "the low sea level of old Lake Bonneville," while those living in the Avenues and foothills (like George Albert) did "because the soil had been leached of this iodine, when Lake Bonneville evaporated." As late as the 1950s, doctors were routinely operating on the "huge thyroids" and goiters that resulted.³⁹ But in the 1910s such diagnosis and treatment were nonexistent.

A third possibility, Dr. Gilmore postulates, is mercury or lead poisoning from cookware. He speculates that George Albert's eye condition may have been "neuron palsy" resulting from lead poisoning. Multiple sclerosis is yet another possibility that would account for the physical symptoms George Albert describes most frequently. As

History of Psychiatry in Utah," *Utah State Medical Association Bulletin* 33, no. 5 (May 1985): 3-5.

³⁹Dr. Vin Rees, Interviewed by MaryJane Woodger, January 25, 2007, Salt Lake City, transcription in my possession.

discussed below, Dr. LeRoy Kimball was finally able to diagnose George Albert's illness in March 1951 through blood samples that had been sent to a lab on the East Coast as lupus erythematosus, a rare disease that affects all the tissues of the body and produces chronic weakness.⁴⁰ But by then, George Albert was on his deathbed, and it is not clear whether this disease accounted for all of his earlier symptoms or just his final, fatal illness. The possible role of a genetic-related condition is also a consideration but impossible to determine.⁴¹

Complicating a physical diagnosis is the mental component. Apparently debilitating fatigue without an obvious cause and depression can be traced back as far as Asael Smith, Joseph Sr.'s father, and coming forward to John, Joseph Sr.'s brother.⁴² Of course, diagnosis becomes increasingly murky and uncertain, the further back in time one goes. Clinical psychologist Ford McBride corroborates the genetic component in psychological diagnosis. While "situational depression" may be triggered by a traumatic event (such as a death or divorce), the absence of such an episode suggests "clinical depression" in which "you'll find typically some kind of a genetic history of a mother depressed or a cousin, etc." He stressed that a family history "is very, very pertinent" in diagnosing clinical depression.⁴³

Dr. Gilmore likewise feels certain that George Albert experi-

⁴⁰George Albert Smith, Journal, March 21–31, 1951, 914–17, Box 75, Book 4.

⁴¹Grandchild Martha Ray June Stewart Hatch, Socorro, New Mexico, Telephone interview by Mary Jane Woodger, August 16, 2007, transcription in my possession, reports suffering lengthy periods of weakness and over-sensitivity that she attributes to an adrenal gland condition. Grandchild Shauna Larsen points to stomach ailments, some of them requiring surgery, that have appeared in her own life, that of her mother, Edith Smith Elliot, and that of her uncle, George Albert Smith Jr. The symptoms of tricky digestion, exacerbated by any form of stress, are typical of those suffered by George Albert. Larsen interview.

⁴²Richard Lloyd Anderson, *Joseph Smith's New England Heritage: Influences of Grandfathers Solomon Mack and Asael Smith* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1971), 92, 143.

⁴³McBride, Interview, 5. Grandson George Albert Smith V identified symptoms of depression in himself and his father that he believes parallel those of his grandfather, George Albert Smith. George Albert Smith V, In-

enced depression, although he leans toward seeing it as “secondary depression” caused by his lengthy “chronic illness” and complicated by his “frail constitution” and oversensitivity to diet. He discounts “emotional or mental illness” because George Albert “was not irrational, hallucinatory, nor delusional. However, he could have had some sort of neurosis, which manifests itself in ‘hyper-strung people.’”⁴⁴ Some support for Dr. Gilmore’s hypothesis of hypersensitivity appears in George Albert’s biography by Francis M. Gibbons, a First Presidency secretary. He describes George Albert as “fastidious in his grooming and cleanliness. . . . At home, for instance, he insisted on having separate towels for his face, feet, and body. . . . He was also sensitive about odors, and he often carried breath sweeteners to make sure he was not offensive to others. It was difficult to accommodate habits such as these to the realities of frontier living, where running water was considered the ultimate in personal luxury and where bathrooms were a rarity.”⁴⁵

Almost certainly, George Albert, a conscientious young man, took his religious responsibilities seriously. His patriarchal blessing at age thirteen assured him: “Thou wast called and chosen of the Lord from before the foundation of the earth was laid to . . . become a mighty prophet in the midst of the sons of Zion. . . for none of thy father’s family shall have more power with God than thou shalt have, for none shall excel thee.”⁴⁶ When George Albert slowed down, he simply picked up the alternative stress of feeling guilt at shirking his duty; doctors’ orders to rest did not relieve his overdeveloped sense of responsibility.⁴⁷ It was a vicious cycle. Biographer Merlo J. Pusey concludes that George Albert’s “life became a constant struggle against physical weakness.” In contrast, he did not suffer guilt for sins of commission or spiritual conflict. “As a child, he had come to believe that swift retribution would follow disobedience to the laws of God. As a man, he had learned to think of the divine commandments as ‘the

terview.

⁴⁴Gilmore interview.

⁴⁵Gibbons, *George Albert Smith*, 54; see also Swinton, *In the Company of Prophets*, 32.

⁴⁶George Albert Smith, Patriarchal Blessing Given by Zebedee Coltrin, January 16, 1884, Smith Papers, Box 96, fd. 13.

⁴⁷Francis M. Gibbons, *Dynamic Disciples, Prophets of God: Life Stories of the Presidents of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1996), 178–79.

loving and tender advice' of an all-wise Father. Adherence to them was not a hardship but a joyous privilege." In contrast, however, "no feat of mind or will could indefinitely drive jaded muscles and jangled nerves beyond their endurance."⁴⁸

The most common diagnosis George Albert received during his lifetime of "nerve problems" was a general umbrella term. For example, Heber J. Grant, George Albert's immediate successor as Church president, also complained of overwrought nerves, reportedly suffered a physical breakdown as Tooele Stake president, and was alarmed at a doctor's warning that if he "did not slow his pace he should certainly experience a softening of the brain."⁴⁹ As European Mission president, Grant relieved his tension by playing tennis and, later still, golf, therapies so successful that he could report that "for the first time since his physical breakdown in Tooele almost twenty years earlier, [he could] pass a couch or chair without wanting to rest."⁵⁰ George Albert does not seem to have benefited from such an outlet.

As a result of his illness at the end of February 1909, George Albert finally took a week of bed rest with an osteopathic treatment daily. On March 4, he was well enough to sit up and dictate his first letter since that awful night of influenza on February 25. He continued the osteopathy for another week, fellow apostles administered to him, Lucy hovered over him, and group prayers were offered in his behalf; but far from rebounding, he simply felt depressed and discouraged

⁴⁸Pusey, *Builders of the Kingdom*, 244.

⁴⁹Heber J. Grant, Letter to W. H. Harrington, February 18, 1890, Heber J. Grant Papers, Grant Letterpress Copybook, 8:186, LDS Church Library. See also Heber J. Grant, Letter to Brown, Craig and Company, December 18, 1890, Grant Letterpress Copybook, 9:178; Grant Typed Diary, November 1, 1887; and Francis M. Lyman, Diary, January 7, 15, 16, and 23, 1892, as cited in Ronald W. Walker, *Qualities That Count: Heber J. Grant as Businessman, Missionary and Apostle* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 2004), 95.

⁵⁰Heber J. Grant, Letter to Rachel Ivins Grant, October 11, 1905, Grant Letterpress CopyBook, 40:365; Heber J. Grant to Rachel Ivins Grant, October 17, 1905, Grant Letterpress CopyBook, 40:400; Heber J. Grant to Grace Grant Evans, April 12, 1925, Grant Letterpress CopyBook 63:146. Heber J. Grant Papers, LDS Church Archives, cited in Walker, *Qualities That Count*, 266, 277.

because he was unable to do any work.⁵¹ His “general collapse” and nervous exhaustion continued unabated.

In appraising George Albert’s symptoms since 1907, Ford McBride suggests that George Albert may have experienced a panic attack or a major depression. George Albert’s “good work ethic” exposed him to additional pressures because of an apparent “personality style that lent itself to hypersensitivity,” manifest in a preoccupation with “what he ate along with a lot of pressure he seems to have felt to measure up to other’s expectations.”⁵² Although George Albert’s “physical pains” were real, they seem excessive were the diagnosis to be either thyroid or lupus. The “extreme impairment” George Albert experienced “seems to be an overreaction” to his physical maladies and symptomatic of a panic attack or depressive episode.⁵³

McBride points out George Albert’s “double bind”: “He wanted to serve the Lord, he wanted to work hard, and he wanted to do what he was supposed to do but the harder he worked the sicker he got.” Yet when he relaxed his efforts and followed the doctor’s orders to rest, he would not get better. No matter what he did, it didn’t work; and this “double bind” intensified “his anxiety, the tension, the depression, all the psychiatric kinds of problems he was experiencing.”⁵⁴

In contemporary psychotherapy terms, McBride suggests that George Albert’s symptoms met a majority of the diagnostic criteria for three broad problems: anxiety, mood disorders, and somatoform disorders (physical problems like fatigue, infections, etc). For instance, George Albert either slept poorly or slept constantly. This abnormal pattern is one of the nine criteria for diagnosing mood disorders. (See Table.)

Although George Albert reproached himself for his inability to work, his friends and family were supportive. Samuel O. Bennion, then president of the Central States Mission, wrote with concern that he “was not much surprised” to hear of George Albert’s illness “because I think that you are overtaxing your strength. Some say it is better to wear out than to rust out. I believe it is, but if you would lay

⁵¹George Albert Smith, Journal 5, February 25, 1909–March 28, 1909, 31–33, Box 73, Book 6.

⁵²McBride, Interview, 2.

⁵³Ibid., 3–6.

⁵⁴Ibid., 5.

quiet until you began to rust then go to work, I think your physical anatomy would be much better.”⁵⁵ Another friend, M. G. Morgan observed, “I have felt for a long time that your spirit, your enthusiasm and your determination to accomplish great things in the work in which you are engaged were a little more than your physical being could stand.”⁵⁶

George Albert attended the first session of April 1909 general conference but was too fatigued for the rest of the meetings. He and Lucy decided, no doubt in consultation with the president of the Twelve, that he would rest better if he were completely away from Church headquarters. It is not clear who suggested Ocean Park, California (near Santa Monica), to recuperate; but for at least a generation, California had been a site for recuperating Latter-day Saints; and in the 1940s, the Church bought a house at Ocean Park as a rest and recuperation site for ailing General Authorities. The day before their departure, Dr. Heber J. Sears of Chicago, George Albert’s uncle, wrote a long letter that combined both professional and personal concern. In addition to encouraging George Albert to “cheat the asylum of a victim,” he warned in vivid prose:

For years I have seen the necessity of a period of complete relaxation and have endeavored to warn you of the consequences that are sure to follow such a period of prolonged tension. Nature is now giving you a warning which you will do well to take. When the nervous system is once broken down that patient is too often a wreck for life. No class of diseases resist so stubbornly the effects of the physician as nervous diseases. In fact there is but little hope after they reach a certain stage. Their manifestations cover a wide range—from slight nervous instability to insanity . . . and let me whisper a very significant fact in your ear: it is only a step from nervous frustration to insanity. For Heaven’s sake George—“Side step or step backward not forward”—Cheat the asylum of a victim. Dump your responsibility for a while before the hearse dumps your bones. Once more I will make the plea. If you are doing all this for humanity stay with humanity as long as you can. . . . If the Church requires your life give it to the Church in a thinner layer spread over 30 or 40 more years instead of 3 to 5. Could you not

⁵⁵Samuel O. Bennion, Letter to George Albert Smith, March 9, 1909, Box 32, fd. 7, Smith Papers.

⁵⁶M. G. Morgan, Washington, D.C., Letter to George Albert Smith, St. George, Utah, March 25, 1910, Smith Papers, Box 34, fd. 14.

TABLE

Adapted from American Psychiatric Association, *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders: DSM-IV-TR*, 4th ed. rev. (Washington, D.C.: American Psychiatric Association, 2000), 327, 435–36, 366–67, 451–52.

DIAGNOSTIC CRITERIA FOR MAJOR DEPRESSIVE EPISODE

A diagnosis of depression required the presence of at least five symptoms out of nine daily in the same two-week period, and had to include either the first or second items. Excluded were such alternate causes as drugs, a medical condition like hypothyroidism, delusions or hallucinations, or an event like bereavement. The symptoms also had to cause “clinically significant distress or impairment” in functioning, “morbid preoccupation” (including suicidal thoughts), and had to last longer than two months. George Albert experienced the following six symptoms:

1. “Depressed mood most of the day,” either by his own report or by others’ observations.
2. Significant weight loss.
3. “Markedly diminished interest or pleasure in all, or almost all, activities most of the day, nearly every day.”
4. Sleep disturbance, either “insomnia or hypersomnia.”
5. “Fatigue or loss of energy nearly every day.”
6. “Feelings of worthlessness or excessive or inappropriate guilt . . . not merely self-reproach or guilt about being sick.”

George Albert did not exhibit three of the nine symptoms: (5) observable physical restlessness or lethargy; (8) “indecisiveness” or “diminished ability to think or concentrate”; (9) “thoughts of death” up to and including “a specific plan for committing suicide.”

DIAGNOSTIC CRITERIA FOR GENERALIZED ANXIETY DISORDER

This diagnosis looked at symptoms that occurred “more days than not” for “at least six months.” George Albert experienced five symptoms (one of them with six parts) out of six:

1. “Excessive anxiety and worry (apprehensive expectation).”
2. The worry was “difficult to control.”
3. “The anxiety and worry are associated with three or (more)” of six symptoms. George Albert had three: “being easily fatigued,” “mus-

cle tension,” and disturbed sleep. He did not exhibit the other three: “restlessness” or being “on edge,” “difficulty concentrating or mind going blank,” and “irritability.”

Two of the criteria did not apply: (4) The “anxiety and worry” are not focused on a disorder (such as being afraid of having a panic attack, being afraid of falling ill, being afraid of leaving home, etc.) and do not occur “exclusively during Posttraumatic Stress Disorder,” and (6) The anxiety was not caused by a drug, a medical condition like hyperthyroidism, or by another disorder.

DIAGNOSTIC CRITERIA FOR MOOD DISORDER DUE TO A GENERAL MEDICAL CONDITION

George Albert Smith manifested the following five criteria:

1. “A prominent and persistent disturbance in mood predominates, . . . characterized by . . . depressed mood or markedly diminished interest or pleasure in all, or almost all, activities.” He did not exhibit the alternative and/or supplementary characteristic of an “elevated, expansive, or irritable mood.”
2. The patient’s “history, physical examination, or laboratory findings” demonstrate an underlying “general medical condition.”
3. The mood disorder was not better explained “by another medical disorder”—for instance, feeling depressed about being physically ill.
4. It did not occur exclusively during “a delirium.”
5. The patient experienced “clinically significant distress or impairment in . . . important areas of functioning.”

DIAGNOSTIC CRITERIA FOR SOMATOFORM DISORDER

George Albert manifested these symptoms:

1. “One or more physical complaints” (e.g., fatigue, loss of appetite, gastro-intestinal or urinary complaints).
2. The symptoms aren’t “fully explained” either by a medical condition or by drugs; in the case of a medical condition, the “complaints” or “impairment” exceed “what would be expected from history, physical examination, or laboratory findings.”
3. The symptoms “cause clinically significant distress or impairment.”
4. The symptoms have lasted for at least six months.
5. They are not “better accounted for by another disorder.”

do more good in this way? There are more ways of keeping the Word of Wisdom than by abstaining from tea, coffee, beer. . . . Now George! Wake up—We can't afford to lose you. Give the "other fellows" an inning while you drink lemonade in the shade. Call "Casey to the bat" and you watch the game while the others run the bases for a while or you'll be hauled off in the ambulance before the game is half over. . . . I remain, Your affectionate Uncle.⁵⁷

CALIFORNIA REPOSE

Accompanied by Lucy's uncle and aunt, John and Lucy Acomb, George Albert reached Ocean Park, California, on April 13, where they rented a beach cottage for twenty-five dollars a month. Lucy Smith apparently stayed in Salt Lake City with the children. Even though George Albert had spent much of his time in bed in Salt Lake City, there had still been visitors, conversations, news, and emotional engagement in his apostolic tasks. Here, there were no meetings, no visitors, and no speeches. Instead, he spent his time sleeping and walking on the beach. He was examined by an unnamed doctor in Los Angeles who was unable to find a source for his nervousness and fatigue. The only thing the doctor found was that his "twelfth rib was out of place under the eleventh rib." The doctor instructed him to rest, relax, and receive some kind of "treatments" once a week.⁵⁸

This prescription left George Albert feeling depressed and inadequate, and also feeling that he was letting everyone down. If he wasn't really sick, then he was doing wrong by resting. His strong sense of duty burdened him with feelings that he was neglecting his responsibilities. With nothing to distract him but mild recreation and "rest," he must have continued to brood intolerably. At the same time, he must have tried to put a good face on his concerns, for Lucy called him sharply to account after he had been in California for a week: "I just hope you can rest and rest and rest. You've never told me yet one word about the pain in your side. I always feel better when you tell me all about yourself and I never feel worse when you tell me all when you

⁵⁷Heber J. Sears, M.D., Chicago, Ill., Letter to George Albert Smith, April 12, 1909, Smith Papers, Box 32, fd. 11.

⁵⁸Joseph Eldridge Robinson, Journal, June 7, 1909, 52, MS 7686, reel 2, item 9, LDS Church Library.

write and say I feel fine. I don't believe it."⁵⁹

Friends and family sent a flood of notes and letters, both to George Albert and to Lucy, urging him to rest and assuring him that they were praying for him.⁶⁰ Apparently his stay was open-ended, to continue until the prescribed "rest" had the desired effect, since he was still there in August. President Joseph F. Smith wrote on May 8, 1909, "We were all glad to hear from you but sorry you did not seem to be making better progress in regaining your health. We sincerely hope and pray that you may soon start out for rapid recuperation and recovery of your perfect health and vigor. We remember you earnestly in our prayers from week to week and daily our petitions ascend to the great giver of all good for His blessing to descend upon you."⁶¹ Although George Albert must have appreciated their concern and good wishes, answering the letters became another burden. Being seated at a desk was "the most trying position," and he recorded in his diary that "writing seems to distress me more than anything else."⁶²

As the days passed without improvement, it must have seemed that the Lord was turning a deaf ear to the petitions sent heavenward in his behalf. Never before had George Albert experienced a lack of response to his most fervent and sincere prayers, and presumably this situation must have increased his emotional stress. On April 28, Lucy received some spiritual assurance: "Last night . . . I had such a comforting influence come to me which told me that you were to use wisdom in the care of yourself and I know you will. What a comfort the gospel is. You know the Lord makes me come to him and rely on him

⁵⁹Lucy Emily Smith, Salt Lake City, Letter to George A. Smith, April 18, 1909, Smith Papers, Box 32, fd. 12.

⁶⁰See, e.g., Lafayette Holbrook, Provo, Utah, Letter to George Albert Smith, April 11, 1909, Joseph A. McRae, Amarillo, Texas, Letter to George Albert Smith, April 12, 1909, Ellice Woodruff, Independence, Missouri, Letter to Lucy Emily Smith, April 18, 1909, Florence S. Sears, Letter to Lucy Emily Smith, July 19, 1909, Clarissa S. Williams, Letter to Lucy Emily Smith, July 29, 1909, all in Box 32, fd. 11.

⁶¹Joseph F. Smith, Office of First Presidency, Letter to George Albert Smith, May 8, 1909, Box 32, fd. 14.

⁶²George Albert Smith, Journal 5, May 4, 1909, Box 73, Book 6, p. 37.

for which I am grateful.”⁶³

Other ailments continued to surface over the next several weeks in addition to George’s disturbed sleep and strained nerves. The treatment for the “misplaced” rib evidently involved some kind of caustic plaster that badly blistered his skin. He complained of weakness, and a solid week of “trouble with my stomach. . . . It distresses me very much.”⁶⁴

As the school term ended, Lucy replaced the Acombs on June 12, bringing with her fourteen-year-old Emily, ten-year-old Edith, and four-year-old George Albert.⁶⁵ According to his biographer, their presence was “a tonic.” Lucy comforted him with her “sunny disposition and quiet efficiency,” and the children lifted George’s spirits to the point that he flew kites, took them for rides, and took the “big plunge” (as he called it) of swimming in the ocean.⁶⁶

In July, Dr. Samuel Allen of Salt Lake City visited and reassured him that he “was getting along fine and must continue to rest.”⁶⁷ By August 1 he took his family “to a fast-day service in Los Angeles,” apparently his first attendance at a Church meeting since April. He addressed the congregation briefly but was exhausted by the effort; and his “old stomach ailment” flared up again.⁶⁸ Even going to one meeting seemed to be too much for him. A week later, Lucy wrote in his journal at his dictation: “I don’t see any change in my condition.”⁶⁹

He went swimming alone in the ocean on August 24, in retrospect a risky action for someone who was not in good physical condition. As he started back, a “double-header” wave struck and submerged him. He swam to the surface, was sucked him down by an undertow, and surfaced again, his strength gone. He struggled to the

⁶³Lucy W. Smith, Letter to George Albert Smith, April 28, 1909, Smith Papers, Box 27, fd. 11.

⁶⁴George Albert Smith, Journal 6, May 30, June 12, June 14, July 4, August 16, 1909, Box 73, Book 6, pp. 43–46.

⁶⁵George Albert Smith, Journal 5, June 12, 1909, Box 73, Book 6, p. 45.

⁶⁶Gibbons, *George Albert Smith*, 63–64.

⁶⁷George Albert Smith, Journal 5, July 15–17, 1909, Box 73, Book 6, p. 47.

⁶⁸Pusey, *Builders of the Kingdom*, 248–52.

⁶⁹George Albert Smith, Journal, August 1–8, 1909, Box 6, p. 48.

pilings underneath the pier, rested for a few minutes, and then tried to swim from pile to pile but found himself exhausted. The sharp barnacles on the pilings were cutting into his flesh. He called out to a neighbor walking on the beach and, with the man's help, made it to shore. He went directly to bed with a "nervous chill," recording in his journal: "That was as near drowning as I ever want to be." The trauma of this narrow escape haunted him for days.⁷⁰

A few days later after a "bad sinking spell," he sent for a doctor who along with the local missionaries stayed with him all night. Although he was so weak he "nearly collapsed three times en route," he insisted that they return to Salt Lake City on August 28, 1909.⁷¹ He was no better.

A YEAR OF BED-REST

Although California's sea breezes had not had the desired effect, George Albert's doctor in Salt Lake City prescribed a variation: the "fresh-air" cure. The Acombs put up a borrowed tent in their yard for him. Although Lucy and the children had begun as a "tonic," apparently their presence had become another source of strain; and except for frequent visits, they stayed in the Smiths' Salt Lake City house. "In September he dictated his first letter in over four months," noted his biographer, "and he also dictated his journal to Lucy rather than trying to keep it himself."⁷² President Joseph F. Smith, seeing George Albert's distress at not being able to resume his apostolic duties, sent him a comforting letter on September 7, 1909: "I do not want you to worry about anything. . . . Please remember what the Lord said to his apostles—'Take no thought of what ye shall eat and etc. . . .' I say this to you. The Lord will provide for you, therefore don't worry."⁷³ But George Albert could not help himself. His father, fellow apostles, and other priesthood bearers gave George Albert blessings. After one blessing, he felt encouraged but fell out of bed during a nightmare and relapsed. Receiving Heber J. Grant's cheery assurance of faith must have made him feel more inadequate: "Always praying the Lord to bless you and assuring you that I have faith for your recov-

⁷⁰George Albert Smith, Journal 5, August 20–24, 1909, p. 49.

⁷¹Pusey, *Builders of the Kingdom*, 250–52.

⁷²Stubbs, "A Biography of George Albert Smith," 104.

⁷³President Joseph F. Smith, Letter to George Albert Smith, September 7, 1909, Box 34, fd. 4.

ery, as I have more than once been healed when in a bad and even a worse condition of health than yours.”⁷⁴

On September 13, Dr. Samuel Allen concluded that George Albert must have “strained a heart muscle” and prescribed “a full year of absolute rest.”⁷⁵ George resolved not to follow the doctor’s instructions and attended a meeting of Council of the Twelve, his first in more than five months. Although he had to leave early because he was “tired out,” a few days later, he witnessed a procession in honor of President William Howard Taft, then went to the Tabernacle to shake the dignitary’s hand. He attended parts of two October 1909 general conference sessions and spoke for a few minutes, opening with the sentence: “There is no one here today more grateful than I am for the privilege of being here.” A scant five paragraphs later, he closed by asking the audience, “Have I done what the Lord has required of me?”⁷⁶ Though certainly applicable to the entire congregation, it must also have weighed on George Albert’s mind as he struggled with his physical limitations. When he sat down, he started perspiring heavily, his whole body trembling. He went home with a “nervous chill,” then returned to the Acombs and spent the next month in the tent.⁷⁷ It was his last conference address for two years. The “nervous chills” continued, accompanied by heart pains, despite an administration from his father and Anthon H. Lund of the First Presidency.⁷⁸

SIX MONTHS IN ST. GEORGE

Concerned about George Albert’s high blood pressure, Dr. Allen recommended that he again go to a lower altitude.⁷⁹ George Albert had no interest in returning to Ocean Park. Instead the family chose St. George in southern Utah, named for his paternal grandfather. They packed three trunks and many extra bundles and went as

⁷⁴Heber J. Grant to George Albert Smith, October 23, 1909, Smith Papers, Box 36, fd. 22.

⁷⁵George Albert Smith, Journal, September 13–14, 1909, Box 73, fd. 6, p. 53.

⁷⁶*Conference Report*, October 1909, 78.

⁷⁷Pusey, *Builders of the Kingdom*, 250.

⁷⁸George Albert Smith, Journal, October 3, 6–7, 1909, Box 73, fd. 6, pp. 55–56.

⁷⁹George Albert Smith, Letter to R. S. Campbell, September 27, 1909, Smith Papers, Letterpress Book #2.

far south on the railroad as Modena where they met friend Joseph Farnsworth who transferred their belongings to two spring wagons, making a bed in the back of one for George Albert. Accompanied by George Albert's twenty-six-year-old brother Nathaniel, they reached their destination on November 6. Lucy and the children occupied the "Rose Jarvis cottage" while George again occupied a tent in the back yard.⁸⁰ Nathaniel built a wooden floor and sides and installed a stove for warmth. Every night, he gave his brother a massage.

Five months later, George Albert was still in a pitiable condition. For five months, he had not left his bed or worn anything but night clothes. Even arranging his blankets brought on a nervous chill. He fainted frequently. These "sinking spells" were accompanied by deeper depression, although he tried to be grateful for friends, for "the necessities of life" which were provided, and for the temple workers who came twice a week to administer priesthood blessings.⁸¹ His father assured him that "you were not forgotten, in the prayers and hopes of the thousands," and his fellow apostle and cousin Hyrum Mack Smith added that the General Authorities "fervently remembered" him in their prayer circle.⁸² At Dr. Allen's request, a local physician analyzed George Albert's urine and found it "was abnormal one time and that we thought was due to nervousness, you know a nervous condition will sometimes cause very profuse and almost colorless urine." Dr. Allen, in writing to Lucy, continued the same prescription: fresh air, sunshine, and stop worrying.⁸³

George Albert's local prayer circle in Salt Lake City robustly advised: the "Lord seems to take care of those best who do all in their

⁸⁰"Your Good Name," *Improvement Era*, March 1947, 139, and Stubbs, "A Biography of George Albert Smith," 105–6.

⁸¹George Albert Smith, Journal 5, May 3, 1910, George A. Smith Papers, Book 6, 62.

⁸²John Henry Smith, Office of the First Presidency, Salt Lake City, Letter to George Albert Smith, St. George, Utah, April 12, 1910, Box 34, fd. 15; Hyrum [Mack Smith], Office of the First Presidency, Salt Lake City, Letter to George Albert Smith, St. George, Utah, January 10, 1910, Box 34, fd. 14.

⁸³Samuel H. Allen, M.D., Salt Lake City, Letter to Lucy Emily Smith, December 20, 1909, Box 34, fd. 9. The local doctor was surnamed Woodbury.

power to intelligently use wisdom of their own selves.”⁸⁴ While true, George Albert must have felt stung. George Albert’s father even took the unusual step of sending him “a dozen bottles of Basses Pale Ale,” a British beer, assuring him that he had Joseph F. Smith’s “endorsement” to drink it in the hopes that it would “tone up your stomach and put you in a condition to receive and assimilate food.”⁸⁵ George Albert did not record whether he tried this treatment. During the long night hours, he wondered what the Lord’s purpose was in afflicting him with this lengthy, undiagnosable, apparently incurable illness.⁸⁶ George Albert’s “nervous exhaustion” was exacerbated by depression, discouragement, and boredom. His impaired eyesight made reading impossible for any length of time, even if the light in the tent had been adequate. He followed Allen’s orders scrupulously, yet felt just as weak, just as nervous, and just as useless in his calling.⁸⁷

A DREAM AND A PRAYER

In December 1909 during one of his repeated sinking spells, George Albert had a powerful dream. As he related the details more than thirty-seven years later, he thought he had died. As he walked through a wood, a large man, whom he recognized as his namesake grandfather, approached him, stopping a few feet away:

Then . . . he looked at me very earnestly and said:
 “I would like to know what you have done with my name.”
 Everything I had ever done passed before me as though it were a

⁸⁴J. E. Opueshant, Secretary of Committee of the Prayer Circle, Salt Lake City, to George Albert Smith, St. George, February 16, 1910, Box 34, fd. 13. Professor Willard Bean, Salt Lake City, Letter to George Albert Smith, St. George, Utah, March 12, 1910, Box 34, fd. 14, acknowledged that his “nervous breakdown” was “a stubborn case” and that it was “discouraging to say the least” that it would not respond to treatment. “But you are a young man yet and if you can keep from losing hope there is still a chance for you to get started on the uphill.”

⁸⁵John Henry Smith, Office of the First Presidency, Salt Lake City, to George Albert Smith, St. George, 12 April 1910, Smith Papers, Box 34, fd. 14.

⁸⁶George Albert Smith Letter to C. L. French, April 26, 1926, Smith Papers, Box 52, fd. 17, cited in Stubbs, “A Biography of George Albert Smith,” 315.

⁸⁷“Your Good Name,” *Improvement Era*, March 1947, 139.

flying picture on a screen—everything I had done. Quickly this vivid retrospect came down to the very time I was standing there. My whole life had passed before me. I smiled and looked at my grandfather and said:

“I have never done anything with your name of which you need be ashamed.”

He stepped forward and took me in his arms, and as he did so, I became conscious again of my earthly surroundings. My pillow was as wet as though water had been poured on it—wet with tears of gratitude that I could answer unashamed.⁸⁸

During morbid moments, George Albert must have wondered if he had committed some fault which had brought the illness upon him.⁸⁹ This dream reassured him that he was free from transgression and acknowledged his worth. It gave him solace and relieved one worry. Although George Albert readily admitted to weaknesses, faults, and shortcomings, the dream communicated powerfully that his conscience was free of any offense that might have caused divine disapproval.

Although many have seen this dream as the turning point in his recovery, in reality it served only as a precursor. I argue that the real impetus toward improvement was his decision to begin praying for a release from life if recovery was not possible. According to two of George Albert's granddaughters, Patriarch Zebedee Coltrin, after concluding the formal part of his patriarchal blessing, told him that he “would live as long as he chose to live and [when] the time came

⁸⁸George Albert Smith, “Your Good Name,” *Improvement Era*, March 1947, 139. Among those who have used this dream as part of their general conference addresses are Boyd K. Packer, N. Eldon Tanner, Charles Didier, Jeanette Beckham, and O. Leslie Stone.

⁸⁹Lester E. Bush Jr., a physician and historian, in *Health and Medicine*, 116, comments that nineteenth-century Americans, including Latter-day Saints, frequently believed that “intemperate, immoral or undisciplined habits, and hereditary factors” underlay “most mental and some physical disorders” and that insanity could be caused by “shock, grief, fear, anxiety, disappointment, shame, brooding over slights, and religious and political excitement. Eleven percent of admissions at the Utah State Mental Hospital between 1885 and 1910 were for “worry” or “trouble.” Dr. Ford McBride, Interview, 7, confirms that even at present many ascribe depression to sin, thinking, “This is really a punishment from God, that he doesn’t love me, or I’m not good enough.”

when he chose not to live any longer . . . that he could . . . decid[e] to go.”⁹⁰ George Albert understood that his illness might be impeding the Church’s progress. His inability to carry his share of responsibility created more work for his brethren; but as long as he still lived, no one could be called to replace him. And perhaps he was resisting a new call to the other side of the veil.

George Albert did not know whether his work was completed or not. Writing of his experience to a friend he confided years later: “When I was in my serious condition I did not know whether my work was completed or not, but I told the Lord that if it was complete and He was preparing to call me home, that I would be ready to go, but if there was more work for me to perform, I would like to get well. I placed myself in his hands to do as he saw fit, and soon after I began to recover.”⁹¹ Lucy later shared their experience with Bishop K. J. Fetzer who recorded it as follows:

[She said:] “My husband had been ill for many years and he longed to know what our Father in Heaven had in mind about him. One night [he] confided in his wife that “he was going to ask the Lord to release him from his position as an Apostle of the Lord, take him home and put someone else more suitable in his place.” The next morning Apostle Smith told me that he had talked with the Lord in the night and had asked the Lord to release him from his position whereupon the Lord told him he should come with his wife before him in prayer to petition him. Over tears I said I could never consent to pray with him for such a purpose. However, Apostle Smith had the same advice again a few nights later. We discussed this matter again and I finally consented to pray with him for his release from this life. No one knows what a strain it was on my feelings and my great love for my husband and children to accept such a resignation. To the astonishment of many, this was the turning point of his betterment in health. Apostle Smith recuperated from his long illness from this time on. He received a testimony that he was to live as he was one of

⁹⁰Martha Ray June Stewart Hatch, Socorro, New Mexico, Telephone interview by Mary Jane Woodger, August 16, 2007, transcription in possession of Mary Jane Woodger; and Shauna Lucy Stewart Larsen, Orem, Utah, Interview by Mary Jane Woodger, August 23, 2007, transcription in possession of Mary Jane Woodger.

⁹¹George Albert Smith, Letter to C. L. French, April 26, 1926, Box 52, fd. 17. See also Gibbons, *George Albert Smith*, 68.

the chosen to lead his people sometime in the future.⁹²

While acknowledging the role of faith, Dr. McBride suggests that George Albert's resolution to pray for release, accompanied by the validation of Lucy's support, constituted a major shift that he sees as paralleling the famous Alcoholics Anonymous motto: "Let go and let God." McBride suggests why it was so advantageous for the Lord to have Lucy pray with her husband: "It galvanized his position to have his wife's support . . . when she finally agreed to go along, with that particular direction."⁹³ When Lucy joined her husband in prayer asking he be released from mortality, something happened. There was a shift, McBride explains,

in his thinking. I would call it a cognitive shift. The way he prayed was very, very different; in other words he said, "Lord, it's up to you. If you want to take me, take me. Essentially it's in your hands." And I think with that shift and change in thinking it just kind of freed him up. In psychological terms, turning the matter of his life or death over to God was a critical point: Essentially, he continued to have health problems forever but there wasn't the depression, there wasn't the anxiety.⁹⁴

Although more months of slow recovery followed, George Albert's hopelessness and depression were alleviated. Submitting to the Lord's will in this way was the great turning point in George Albert Smith's health and apostleship.

TOWARD RECOVERY

On May 1, for the first time in five months, George Albert dressed in street clothes; and on May 4, he, Lucy, and the children headed for home. In Salt Lake City, he continued to sleep outside, and reports sleeping well except for interruptions from the neighborhood cats and dogs. His digestive distress seemed to respond well to a new

⁹²Lucy W. Smith as related to Bishop K. J. Fetzer and contained in a letter from Bishop Fetzer to the Smith children, August 7, 1953, Smith Papers, Box 151, fd. 3.

⁹³McBride, Interview, 5.

⁹⁴Ibid., 5-6.

treatment with a “salt solution.”⁹⁵ On June 14, a dip in the Great Salt Lake was so refreshing that, on Dr. Allen’s advice, he moved into a large room on Saltair’s north pier for a few days and took two or three dips each day.⁹⁶ Although he reported on June 25 that “my nerves are somewhat upset,” he added, “but I expect to feel better tomorrow.”⁹⁷ This cheerful expectation demonstrates the change from the nadir of depression in St. George. When he was a passenger on a boat that got caught in a squall on the Great Salt Lake, he was sure that the excitement would “use most of him up” and was pleasantly surprised to discover that the anticipated nervous chill did not develop and that he fell quickly asleep. By August 28 he could walk two miles a day.⁹⁸

He next spent five weeks at Gray’s Sanatorium in downtown Salt Lake City, to take a course where treatment consisted of spending several hours daily in the fresh air, eating a moderate and nutritious diet, and receiving “daily hand and electric massage treatments. At the treatment’s end, he had gained fifteen pounds, bringing his weight up to 160, almost ideal for his height and bone structure.”⁹⁹ By December 19, 1910, he could walk up to six miles a day, though his nerves were still “quite unsteady,” and he still could not talk or converse with visitors without discomfort.¹⁰⁰ He spoke briefly during April 1911 general conference and addressed another congregation on May 11 for ten minutes.¹⁰¹ Finally, he attended all of the October 1911 general conference sessions and gave a full-fledged sermon. Part of what George Albert had learned during his two years’ absence from

⁹⁵George Albert Smith, Journal, May 3, 1910, Box 73, fd. 6; and Stubbs, “A Biography of George Albert Smith,” 105–6.

⁹⁶George Albert Smith, Journal, May 3– June 14, [He starts out in his journal with the date May 3, then in the text of the entry he goes to May 1 then May 4, then June 14,] 1910, Box 73, fd. 6, pg 63–65; Stubbs, “A Biography of George Albert Smith,” 105–6.

⁹⁷George Albert Smith, Journal, June 25, 1910, Box 73, fd. 6, pg.. 66.

⁹⁸George Albert Smith, Journal, July 1–August 28, 1910, Box 73, fd. 6, pp. 67–74.

⁹⁹Gilmore, Interview; Gibbons, *George Albert Smith*, 72. Gray’s Sanatorium, on the corner of Wilson Avenue and 800 East, was also known as the Osteopathic Sanitarium owned by Dr. G. A. Gamble.

¹⁰⁰George Albert Smith, Journal, November 28, 1910–January 22, 1911, Box 73, fd. 6, pp. 80–83.

¹⁰¹George Albert Smith, Journal, May 11, 1911, Box 73, Book 6, p. 85.

Church headquarters is implied in that sermon:

It is not hard for me to comply with the requirements that are made of me by my heavenly Father. . . . I may have felt that the Lord had so arranged affairs and so ordained matters in this life that I must obey certain laws or swift retribution would follow. But as I grew older I have learned the lesson from another viewpoint, and now to me the laws of the Lord, so-called the counsels contained in the Holy Scriptures, the revelations of the Lord to us in this day and age of the world, are but the sweet music of the voice of our Father in heaven in His mercy to us. . . . [T]hat which at one time seemed to bear the harsh name of law to me is now the loving and tender advice of an all-wise heavenly Father.

. . . I must carry that part of the load the Lord places upon me, and if I shirk, then I realize I forfeit the blessing that would come to me by obedience to the commandments of our Father.¹⁰²

Only a few days after conference, while George Albert was in bed nursing a cold, his younger brother Winslow delivered the news that their father had died of a heart attack at age sixty-three. George Albert's response to his brother after the shock was, "Well I better get out of this bed and look after the family."¹⁰³ Just a few weeks after his father's funeral, George Albert gave a missionary some counsel that he must have been giving himself at the same time:

If you feel discouragement at any time, . . . go to some quiet place and kneel down and pray to the Lord and ask him to rebuke the evil spirit, for you may always know that discouragement and despondency are the result of an evil influence. Some of the best men in the world have been attacked by it and only by persistent prayer and faith have they been able to rebuke it. . . . A man cannot be unhappy while the spirit of the Lord is burning in his bosom.¹⁰⁴

He probably underestimated the dimensions of his father's loss; for by January 5, 1912, he was "out of commission."¹⁰⁵ He spent February in Ocean Park where he rested, then went to Tucson, Arizona, for several weeks where the dry desert air and the ample meals let him

¹⁰²*Conference Report*, October 1911, 43-44.

¹⁰³George Albert Smith quoted in Pusey, *Builders of the Kingdom*, 253.

¹⁰⁴George Albert Smith, Salt Lake City, Letter to Elder Andrew Smith, Switzerland, November 28, 1911, Box 35, fd. 4.

¹⁰⁵George Albert Smith, Journal, January 9, 1912, Box 73, Book 6, p. 112.



George Albert and Lucy on one of their travels, n.d. Photo (PH-490fd29it016) courtesy of the LDS Church History Library.

gain four pounds.¹⁰⁶ He seems not to have resisted either his illness or the slow steps toward recovery. He gave a short address at October general conference, in which he testified that prayer “will be the panacea for all our ills” and that “our prayer will not be unanswered.”¹⁰⁷

At April 1913 general conference, he suggested, “May the lessons that we learn [from] . . . commotion in this world, from time to

¹⁰⁶George Albert Smith, Letter to Senator Reed Smoot Washington, D.C., April 9, 1912, Box 37, fd. 15.

¹⁰⁷*Conference Report*, October 1912, 118.



George Albert Smith as Church president in Hawaii. Photo (Ph-490fd61it007) courtesy of the LDS Church History Library.

time, be lessons that shall turn our hearts heavenward.”¹⁰⁸ Although he still struggled with inadequacy about his limited ability to carry out his apostolic responsibilities, his feelings did not send him spiraling downward into depression.¹⁰⁹ He continued to be vigilant about his own health and feared, though not to a debilitating extent, a return of the three-year collapse he had suffered. In 1937 he wrote to his son, who received his doctorate of commercial studies from Harvard Business School that same year: “You are approaching the age when I had my breakdown from which I have never recovered. I do hope that you will safeguard your health. . . . You must not take any chances of wrecking your nerves.”¹¹⁰ He confided to his journal in 1941:

I do know that I cannot continue to work as long hours as I am now and I am trying to find some way to ease up so that my health will not break. My brethren are considerate of me but the fact is that there is so much more work than we can do properly that all are working beyond their strength and I would not like to be the one to fail when the others are busy. I am grateful for all my blessings and will be pleased to work as long as the Lord gives me strength.¹¹¹

FINAL YEARS

After influenza in 1918 followed by pneumonia, George accepted newly ordained President Heber J. Grant’s call in January 1919 to preside over the European Mission. The announcement, made public in March, came with President Grant’s promise that “a mission abroad will prolong your life.”¹¹² Despite Lucy’s apprehensions about the damp climate and the rigors of being a mission president, George Albert willingly accepted the call; and President Grant set him apart on May 29, promising him “increased vigor of body.” President Grant continued: “He has preserved your life, that He has healed you and made you sufficiently well that you are able to go on this mis-

¹⁰⁸*Conference Report*, April 1913, 30.

¹⁰⁹Robert T. Hill, Los Angeles, Letter from George Albert Smith, August 30, 1913, Box 38, fd. 13.

¹¹⁰George Albert Smith, Letter to Dr. George Albert Smith Jr., Boston, December 8, 1937, Box 69, fd. 13.

¹¹¹Pusey, *Builders of the Kingdom*, 305.

¹¹²Heber J. Grant, Letter to George Albert Smith, January 27, 1919, Box 41, fd. 12.

sion and we promise you that you shall have increased health.”¹¹³ George did not weather the voyage well and had to be “carried to and from means of transportation,” as he admitted to his son-in-law Robert Murray Stewart. But despite intermittent spells of poor health, he confirmed, “I am just about as well as I was when I left home.”¹¹⁴

For the remainder of his life, he was never robust; but he was never an invalid either. During the 1930s, three stressful situations were so upsetting that he had to seek bed rest. The first was the release of his daughter Emily from the Primary General Board under controversial circumstances at the insistence of David O. McKay, then the Primary’s advisor. Although George Albert did not intervene to stop the release, he wrote in his journal, “I was so hurt at the injustice of this action that my nerves went to pieces and I didn’t sleep at night.”¹¹⁵ A brother and son-in-law were convicted of mail fraud, which put him in bed for a month; and Lucy’s death in November 1937 also required bed rest for several weeks.¹¹⁶

Despite his fragile health, he succeeded Heber J. Grant at Church president in 1945 at age seventy-five. He led the Church creditably from 1945 to 1950. After the 1950 October general conference, he left the Tabernacle feeling ill and went home to bed. He had apparently recuperated when he fainted during dinner on October 20. He remained at home for seven weeks convalescing. By December 14 he could spend a few hours in the office. He attended some Christmas festivities and addressed the Church employees at their annual Christmas party. January 9 was the last day he went to his office. He took to his bed again, lost his appetite, and suffered from an intermit-

¹¹³“Setting Apart Blessing of George Albert Smith by First Presidency and Council of the Twelve, 29 May 1919,” Smith Papers, Box 100, fd. 15.

¹¹⁴George Albert Smith, Letter to Robert Murray Stewart, March 18, 1920, Box 173, fd. 9.

¹¹⁵George Albert Smith, Journal, November 22, 1934, n.p., Book 1, Box 74.

¹¹⁶George Albert Smith, Letters to Don McCombs, Steilacoom, Washington, June 16 and December 20, 1937, Box 67, fd. 29; George Albert Smith, Letter to George Albert Smith Jr., February 2, 1937, Box 62, fd. 3.

tent fever for the next three weeks.¹¹⁷

On February 3, his condition worsened to the point that he was hospitalized for three weeks.¹¹⁸ On February 4, he dictated a diary entry to his private secretary, Arthur Haycock: "Last evening and last night were the hardest for me. I felt like perhaps my time had come. If it has, it's all right; if not I'd appreciate the continuing faith and prayers of the people. Tomorrow is the regular meeting in the temple, and I would like the Brethren to lay the matter before the Lord."¹¹⁹ Concerned that helpless lingering could impede the Church's progress, he once again turned the matter over to the Lord, telling Haycock, "I feel perfectly quiet and at peace. I am willing to stay or willing to go, whatever the Lord says. There is a lot in the world to do, and we should all do our part."¹²⁰

He convinced the doctors to let him go home on February 26, 1951. At that point, his symptoms included great weakness and a feeling of semi-paralysis in his hands and feet. He slept intermittently and sometimes was confused about the time of day. Plagued by increased weakness, pain, and the returning fever, he still assured President J. Rueben Clark, counselor in First Presidency, on March 15: "I only want the Lord to do what is best for the Church in this critical period and the Lord knows how willing I am to do the work and how much there is to do. If He desires me to be of service I shall like to have health and strength to do it and if not, I'm not pleading for life, but will be willing to step aside and let someone else carry on. I've always said to the Lord, 'Thy will be done.'"¹²¹

On March 20, George Albert suffered a light stroke that paralyzed his right arm and slightly impaired his speech. About this time, Dr. LeRoy Kimball at last diagnosed George's illness through blood

¹¹⁷Gibbons, *George Albert Smith: Kind and Caring Christian, Prophet of God*, 365–66; Stubbs, "A Biography of George Albert Smith," 396; Robert Murray Stewart, Ames, Iowa, Telephone interview by Mary Jane Woodger, August 8, 2007, transcription in my possession.

¹¹⁸"President Smith Is Hospitalized," *Deseret News*, February 3, 1951.

¹¹⁹Quoted in Swinton, *In the Company of Prophets*, 41.

¹²⁰*Ibid.*, 41–42; see also Pusey, *Builders of the Kingdom*, 355–61.

¹²¹George Albert Smith, Journal, March 1951, 913–16, Box 75, Book 4. This entry is dictated in the first person but recorded by (probably) either Haycock or one of George Albert's daughters.

samples sent to an East Coast laboratory: lupus erythematosus, a rare disease that affects all the tissues of the body and produces chronic weakness.¹²² He continued to slip downhill, losing more functions and contracting new fevers. On April 1, he calmly told his family that he felt the end was approaching and repeated his gratitude for his blessings.¹²³

On April 4, 1951, he wrote his last journal entry: "Today is my 81st birthday. The day dawned clear and beautiful."¹²⁴ David O. McKay, his first counselor, administered a blessing of release. Surrounded by his children and grandchildren and with Dr. Kimball in attendance, he died peacefully and without pain in the early evening.¹²⁵

CONCLUSION

A bedfast invalid for three years during his thirties, George Albert lived into his eighties. Although no clear-cut diagnosis of his ailments can be made from this distance, surely a better diagnosis, more sophisticated medical treatment, anti-depressants, and counseling would have alleviated some of his distress. Still, his response to his disabilities has much to teach others.

First and foremost, for George Albert the turning point in his ability to deal with his particular limitations came from accepting in submissive prayer whatever outcome resulted. Second, although his personality seemed overanxious and even guilt-ridden, leading to debilitating depression, after 1911 those tendencies never again controlled his life. Third, although he resigned himself to death, if that was God's will, he concluded from the fact that his life was prolonged that it had a purpose. This attitude sustained him during repeated episodes of weakness. And fourth, he learned to seek respites from the stresses of his duties. By occasionally "dumping his responsibility," George Albert Smith had "cheated the asylum of a victim," and continued to make his contributions, including service as president of

¹²²George Albert Smith, Journal, March 21-31, 1951, 914-17, Box 75, Book 4.

¹²³George Albert Smith, Journal, April 2, 1951, 918, Box 75, Book 4.

¹²⁴George Albert Smith, Journal, April 3-4, 1951, 918, Box 75, Book 4.

¹²⁵Bill Kimball, Telephone interview with Mary Jane Woodger, April 5, 2007, transcript in my possession.

the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Despite his lack of physical health, he developed traits that made him, in many ways, a model for emotional and spiritual health.

APPROPRIATING THE SECULAR: MORMONISM AND THE WORLD'S COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION OF 1893

Konden Rich Smith

I am glad to know that the world's religions are to be represented at the World's Fair. Were they to be omitted, the sense of incompleteness would be painful.

—Boston University President W. F. Warren, 1892¹

THE COLUMBIAN WORLD'S Fair of Chicago in 1893 was one of the most publicized events of the nineteenth century. Its announced intentions were to represent the beginning of a new age, one of cultural awareness and also technological advancement. The World's

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¹John H. Barrows, *The Parliament of Religions at the World Fair* (New York: Funk and Wagnalls Company, 1892), 452.

Fair, which ran from May to October 1893, had three components, the “White City,” the “Midway Plaisance,” and the massive “Congress Auxiliary.” The White City celebrated the glories of “secular” government, commerce, and manufacture; the Midway exploited cultural as well as racial differences; and the Congress Auxiliary (which included 224 General Divisions in twenty departments) was devoted to even more diverse interests, ranging from the fine arts to the latest developments in surgery.

Despite the seemingly secular focus of the fair, one of the congresses, the “Parliament of Religions (housing forty-six General Division²),” received more media attention and applause than any of the other congresses.³ According to Charles Carroll Bonney, general president of the World’s Congresses and originator of the religious congress, its purpose was to bring together into “brotherly sympathies any who are groping, however blindly, after God.”⁴ Bonney, a Chicago lawyer and Swedenborgian, presided over the seventeen-day-long event (September 11–27, 1893) with an estimated seven hundred thousand visitors. Divided into four parts, the “presentations” section of the parliament alone focused upon the “distinctive faith and achievements” of the “great Historic Religions of the world.” Columbus Hall, housed in the newly constructed Memorial Art Palace (now the Art Institute of Chicago) in downtown Chicago, was the location where these presentations were to be given “to the world.” The event represented, in Bonney’s eyes, the real crescendo of the entire Congress Auxiliary and even of the fair itself.⁵ The other three divisions of the religious congress were given at the

²Charles C. Bonney, *World’s Congress Addresses* (Chicago: Open Court Publishing, 1900), iii.

³Richard H. Seager, ed., *The Dawn of Religious Pluralism: Voices from the World’s Parliament of Religions, 1893* (La Salle, Ill.: Open Court Publishing, 1993), 4; John P. Burris, *Exhibiting Religion: Colonialism and Spectacle at International Expositions, 1851–1893* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia), 98–99.

⁴John H. Barrows, ed., *The World’s Parliament of Religions: An Illustrated and Popular Story of the World’s First Parliament of Religions, Held in Chicago in Connection with the Columbian Exposition of 1893*, 2 vols. (Chicago: Parliament Publishing, 1893), 1:36, 56.

⁵Charles Bonney, *World’s Congress Address*, 6–7; Barrows, *The World’s Parliament of Religions*, 1:18; Seager, *The Dawn of Religious Pluralism*, 4.

same time outside the main hall and were limited to more parochial and denominational concerns, such as missions, "Sunday Rest," and ethics.⁶

On behalf of the Auxiliary Committee, Bonney had sent out preliminary proposals as early as June of 1892 and received widespread interest, with the exception of the Sultan of Turkey and the Archbishop of Canterbury who flatly rejected the committee's invitation. At the same time, many groups remained underrepresented such as the religions and churches of Native Americans and African Americans, while the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints was simply uninvited.⁷

John Henry Barrows, pastor of the prestigious First Presbyterian Church of Chicago, was brought in by Bonney as the parliament's chair. According to Barrows, this parliament was to demonstrate the "supremacy of evangelical Christianity." It was also to bring forth, as explained in the *New York Times*, the divine means by which the "Kingdom of Christ in America" was to be engaged.⁸

Though the parliament was an attempt by white evangelicals to clarify and reestablish what they understood to be a proper understanding of American Christianity, other issues emerged from the parliament. Despite the euphoria and providential expectations surrounding the parliament, it appears that what it ultimately produced was an awareness of the religious insecurities and prejudices that many Americans carried with them. Also, as this study will examine, both the Parliament of Religions and the secular aspects of the fair highlight how the secular world was encroaching on the religious. Still, the religious could appropriate the secular in important and dynamic ways, as the Mormon example shows.

This look at the Parliament of Religions at the 1893 World's Fair begins with an overview of the history and context of the Parliament of Religions, followed by an examination of its failures and the understandings that these failures produced about the changing religious landscape in America. In this context, the LDS Church's participa-

⁶Bonney, *World's Congress Address*, 5-7.

⁷Seager, *The Dawn of Religious Pluralism*, 6-7.

⁸Barrows, *The Parliament of Religions*, 458; "Religious Forces at the Fair," *New York Times*, July 11, 1892, p. CEE11.

tion in the World's Fair will be examined, with particular attention to the public response to the Mormon Tabernacle Choir. The concluding discussion will explore implications of how the Columbian World's Fair of 1893 and its issue-laden Parliament of Religions exemplifies the complex ways in which the secular appropriated religion while, in turn, religion appropriated the secular.

Because of the thematic importance of the religious use of aspects of the secular world and its implications for Mormonism's role in the World's Fair, the concept of "appropriation" is crucial. The term refers to the act of authorizing the use of seemingly adverse conditions for a specific purpose. In this specific case, the LDS Church (religion) "appropriated," or legitimated, the act of engaging the secular, and did so for largely religious ends.

PARLIAMENT OF RELIGIONS AT THE WORLD'S FAIR

The Columbian Fair honored Christopher Columbus in its title, and the speakers at the Parliament of Religions paid homage to the "daring voyage of Columbus across an unknown sea." On the sunset of the parliament, September 26, Julia Ward Howe effectively connected the metaphorical significance of this voyage to the expectations of many Americans at the close of the nineteenth century. This Parliament of Religions, as she put it, symbolized a new type of voyage, one of "unknown infinite of thought, into the deep questions of the soul between men and God—oh what a voyage is that! O, what a sea to sail!" She continued, "After many wanderings, we shall have come to the one great harbor where all the fleets can ride, where all the banners can be displayed."⁹

However optimistic Howe's words were and no matter how well they captured the Christian belief in the kingdom of God and Christ's millennial reign, they were uttered in a time and in a country increasingly diverse, increasingly secular, and plagued by increasing disagreement over the modes and methods of creating this kingdom. The vision of the kingdom of God had long served as a national myth, giving Americans a sense of purpose, outlining both national origin and ultimate destiny and, as a result, spelling out current obligations toward that destiny. This nationalistic myth set the tone and direction

⁹Julia Ward Howe, "What Is Religion?," in Barrows, *The World's Parliament of Religions*, 2:1250.

of many who exhibited at the religious congress and who spoke at the Parliament of Religions, at which nearly 80 percent of the speeches were white evangelicals. As historian Richard Seager pointed out, speakers at the parliament carried with them the spirit of mission, not dialogue.¹⁰ For the most part, this parliament seemed an attempt by evangelicals to clarify and reestablish what they took to be a proper understanding of American Christianity.

However lofty its goals, the Parliament of Religions failed notably in inclusiveness and actually highlighted evangelical Christianity's growing inability to control the social and religious world around them. The final message of the parliament was not the triumphalism of the Christian message but the limitations and sectarian divisions of the Christian nation. Some church groups were excluded, and some of those included made clear their criticisms of Christianity. Julia Ward Howe decried the religious support of sexism; Japanese and East Indian representatives uttered forceful critiques of Christianity's failings to live by the teachings of Jesus; and Richard T. Ely, director of the School of Economics, Political Science, and History at the University of Wisconsin, rebuked the popular notion that America was a Christian nation by pointing out that it prized materialism over human life. Evangelical historian and minister Philip Schaff, professor of theology and church history at New York's Union Theological Seminary, reiterated a common theme by calling all denominations to repent for their schismatic tendencies, warning that, if Christianity did not progress, it would be left behind. Obviously, even though Christianity was being extolled as the greatest example of religion, it was being weighed and found lacking. In the words of the Honorable W. H. Fremantle, canon of Canterbury, it was full of "discord and confusion," vitiating its national influence through "the evils of disunion."¹¹

Obviously, this was not the outcome hoped for by the architects of the Parliament of Religions. Originally, it seems to have set the goal of countering the strong current bearing American society toward materialism and sectarianism. It was also crafted to support a liberal Protestant viewpoint of religion and articulated a Christian paradigm within which world religions could be positioned as meaningful. It

¹⁰Seager, *The Dawn of Religious Pluralism*, xv.

¹¹Burris, *Exhibiting Religion*, 109, 138; Barrows, *The World's Parliament of Religions*, 2:1251, 1193, 1196, 1202, 1060, 999.

was also an attempt by more liberal evangelical Protestants to challenge a significant and growing perception that religion obstructed peace and progress in America and the world. While partially achieving all of these goals, its most notable achievement was inadvertent: forcing participants in the parliament and many other Americans to look at other religions, as well as their own, in ways not previously done.

Nearing the end of the parliament itself on September 25, Philip Schaff reminded those assembled in the congress's Hall of Washington that Christian unity "has been marred and obstructed," yet foundational unity was "never entirely destroyed." Unity would certainly come at last; it had to if Christ's millennial kingdom was to be realized. Still, in the face of growing pessimism about Christianity's ability to bring it forth, Schaff admitted that current resources were inadequate to effect the necessary transformation: "We must expect providential events, new Pentecosts, new reformations—as great as any that have gone before." Schaff's address powerfully laid out the problems that had afflicted the Christian churches for over a thousand years—namely, prejudice, schism, and sectarianism. Schaff pled for Christians to forgive and forget each other's many sins and errors and instead focus on what he called the "one invisible church" in which they could find a common "soul which animates the divided visible churches." He concluded: "There is room for all these, and many other churches and societies in the Kingdom of God, whose depth and length and breadth, variety and beauty, surpass human comprehension."¹²

This philosophy underscores an interesting point about the Parliament of Religions: Though seeking to promote Christianity as a protection from and balance to secularized science, the parliament borrowed a scientific strategy of comparative study to make sense of Christianity and other religions. Representatives from Eastern religions were invited, and Schaff's presentation on Christian unity generously allocated a place in the American kingdom for various Christian groups, such as the Anabaptists and the Waldensians. He even made room for "Romanists" (Catholics) and the Salvation Army.¹³ However, by its marginalization of the LDS Church and African American churches, among others, this com-

¹²Barrows, *The World's Parliament*, 2:1192, 1198–99, 1201.

¹³*Ibid.*, 2:1201.

parative approach, as employed by the parliament, brought with it the inescapable baggage of condescension and Anglo-centrism. *Puck*, a British weekly known for its cutting-edge literature, social commentary, and humor, featured on its October 1893 cover a caricature of the “privileged” Anglo-Saxon race visiting the fair. It shows two white women with erect posture and elaborate coiffures, dressed in fancy Victorian garb, regarding with disgust three scantily dressed and awkward African women. In its caption, Anabel remarks, “Just look at those African women! I should think they’d hate to go out with such scanty clothing,” to which Madge replies, “Well, you know, people with their complexions don’t tan easily.”¹⁴ Although this caricature seems to be poking fun at the vanity of late nineteenth-century American women, its exaggeration of how white Americans perceived themselves and those who visited the fair is telling. The juxtaposed women sharpen the contrast between civilization and savagery in what people believed, how they dressed, and the moral judgments they formed. Religious studies scholar John P. Burris notes that African Americans, together with Native Americans, “fell entirely outside the scope of white ideological projections about progress and a rose-colored future.” As a result, both groups were largely ignored at the parliament and at the World’s Fair in general.¹⁵

Such exclusion was simply part of the social environment. During the 1890s when the idea of social evolution was at its height, comparative models that depicted Chinese, Native Americans, Inuits, Gypsies, and Africans as less evolved met with little criticism from the predominant white popular culture. David Chidester, a scholar of colonial conflict and religion, further explains failures of religious comparisons: “The discipline of comparative religion emerged . . . not only out of the Enlightenment heritage but also out of a violent history of colonial conquest and domination.”¹⁶ Jonathan Z. Smith, a theoretical scholar of religion, explained that the

¹⁴“A Privileged Race,” cover cartoon, *Puck*, October 1893.

¹⁵Burris, *Exhibiting Religion*, 97.

¹⁶David Chidester, *Savage Systems: Colonialism and Comparative Religion in Southern Africa* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1996), xiii.

comparative study of religion was “by no means an innocent endeavor.”¹⁷

It is not surprising that, while this form of scientific thought became actualized in the very makeup of the parliament, more was at stake for the organizers than simply fulfilling their curiosity about the world and its religions and modeling their liberal tolerance. “I express a deep personal conviction,” wrote John Barrows in an 1892 promotional tract, “in saying that I believe that the Parliament of Religions, in connection with the whole series of religious congresses, will bring into glorious conspicuity the supreme power and attractiveness of the cross of Christ.” He added that the methodology of comparing religions was key in accomplishing this goal: “Undoubtedly the Committee believed that the best representation possible by the ethnic religions would tend to the exaltation of Christianity.”¹⁸

Despite the tone of patronage, this comparative model was not altogether self-serving and egotistical. Twenty years earlier in 1871, Colonel Thomas Wentworth Higginson, Civil War veteran and an influential Boston publisher, wrote an important essay, “The Sympathy of Religions,” in which he argued that religious unity lay not in condescending to other religions but rather in extending a form of sympathy toward all religions. The article’s fame spread throughout New England and by 1880 had reached Chicago. Higginson’s thesis became a standard for the creation of the parliament itself; and by the time Higginson presented his ideas at the parliament, “sympathy for religions” had become an international sentiment and something of a motto for religious reformers.¹⁹

The concept of sympathy, however, had the unintended consequence of bringing about a new ambivalence toward other religions. Americans could now approach religions that had previously been considered un-American and unacceptable—such as Buddhism, Shintoism, Islam, and Hinduism—with new interest and even respect. Yet this new acceptance did not remove accusations of idolatry and heathenism among conservatives; and among liberals, it often took the form of an eclecticism that focused on the ro-

¹⁷Quoted in *ibid.*, xiii.

¹⁸Barrows, *The Parliament of Religions*, 452.

¹⁹Quoted in Leigh E. Schmidt, *Restless Souls: The Making of American Spirituality, From Emerson to Oprah* (New York: Harper San Francisco, 2005), 106–7.

matic and exotic qualities of various religions. Nevertheless, the major goal of the religious congress was to unite Christians and to position non-Christians within the schema of a Christian worldview. The “unity” was definitely designed to favor Christian goals, one of which was proselytism. As Barrows explained, “Whatever can be done to make the non-Christian peoples less unreal to the Church generally will be an enormous gain to Christian evangelism.”²⁰

Clearly, a conflict existed between Schaff’s ideal of Christian “unity” and Higginson’s model of “sympathy,” but the conflict was less clear in 1893 than it is in retrospect. Indeed, the parliament can now be seen as something of a reaction against the growing crisis of confidence caused by internal divisions within the Protestant main-line churches and between conservatives and liberals. It represents a significant attempt to regain and reestablish Christianity’s past respectability, hegemony, and civil dominion—and the fact that the parliament’s organizers perceived this need is a confession that such control was slipping from its grasp. The parliament did not create this philosophical conflict within American religious thought; it merely exposed it.

It might be said that the parliament was a manifestation of a significant transitional period within American culture from evangelical hegemony to what Richard Seager calls “the dawn of religious pluralism.”²¹ This national shift represented, according to Christian Smith, a sociologist of religion, not so much an evolutionary progression within American public life as a “contested revolutionary struggle” over power and authority between the secular and the religious.²² The implications of such contestations were great, establishing for all Americans the role of religion in society and articulating a model of what was appropriate and what was not. Indeed, this struggle over the national soul was one of great interest and ambivalence, one filled with great confusion and sometimes unbridled emotion on all sides. Sarah Barringer Gordon, a Constitutional law and history professor, has shown

²⁰Barrows, *The Parliament of Religions*, 455.

²¹Seager, *The Dawn of Religious Pluralism*.

²²Christian Smith, ed. *The Secular Revolution: Power, Interests, and Conflict in the Secularization of American Public Life* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 1, 4, 62.

that Mormonism had long been central to this struggle between secularists and religionists, particularly on the question of marriage and how it should be defined within American law and society. In some respects, she argues, the battle over polygamy, though seemingly a triumph for the “Christian nation,” was decisive in defining a diminished role that religion would play in American society from that point on.²³ By 1893, a sizeable number of conservative evangelicals were separating themselves from what they saw as an increasingly godless world, but the majority still felt that secularism merely needed to be controlled within a Christian framework rather than being abandoned or avoided. Indeed, one of the central purposes of the religious congress and the Parliament of Religions was to counteract such fears with the expectations that Christianity would, according to the *New York Times*, “assert its kingship over human life” during this new “age of materialistic pride.”²⁴ In other words, religion was expected to appropriate the secular.

However, certain aspects of the World’s Fair might be described as representing the reverse movement: the secular appropriating the religious. Following London’s 1851 Great Exhibition, the World’s Fair in Chicago demonstrated a grand attempt to elevate the nation’s prestige by reinforcing national and international stereotypes in the context of national progress. As in London, Chicago’s fair was both nostalgic and magical—in some respect, downright holy. When U.S. President Grover Cleveland opened the World Columbian Exposition on May 1, 1893, by merely pushing an electric button, it was as if he waved a “magic wand” and opened a new epoch of time. Describing this presidential feat, an enthusiastic front page in the Chicago *Daily Inter-Ocean* marveled: “Prometheus was unbound; before him new vistas of life were spread open; with the divine fire of genius in his soul he seemed to stand where fresh springs of inspiration welled up from a virgin soil.” Indeed, according to the reporter, all inner doubts, hopes, questions and

²³Sarah Barringer Gordon, *The Mormon Question: Polygamy and Constitutional Conflict in Nineteenth-Century America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002), 142.

²⁴“Religious Forces at the Fair,” *New York Times*, July 11, 1892, p. CEE11.

immense aspirations “seemed here to find new elements of expressions.”²⁵

This view paralleled the attitudes of mainstream Protestants who saw the fair, not only as a response to the growing challenges against their past dominance of society, but also in the words of this reporter, the celebration of an inner “self-conscious spirituality” that had been in preparation since the Protestant Reformation in the sixteenth century.²⁶ The president of Dartmouth College, S. C. Bartlett, linked the Parliament of Religions with the main Columbia Exposition, calling the parliament “perhaps . . . the most important and noteworthy aspect of the most noteworthy gathering of our generation.”²⁷ Popular Congregationalist minister Josiah Strong echoed him. Great though the nineteenth century had been, it merely served as a forerunner, a type of John the Baptist, for the next great century.²⁸ Here the appropriation by religion of the secular is very clear.

MORMON EXCLUSION FROM THE WORLD'S FAIR

The LDS Church was deliberately excluded from the Parliament of Religions even though, ironically, it was a “purely American” religion. The LDS First Presidency (Wilford Woodruff, George Q. Cannon, and Joseph F. Smith), wrote to the parliament’s president, Charles Bonney, on July 10, 1893, to inquire about the neglected invitation and to express an interest in participation. After all, Mormonism should be of “special interest in such a religious parliament as that proposed.”²⁹ However, perhaps not surprisingly, given the parliament’s assumptions of Protestant hegemony, the LDS Church was

²⁵“Our Day of Triumph,” *Daily Inter-Ocean* (Chicago), May 2, 1893, 39.

²⁶“Our Day of Triumph,” (*Chicago*) *Daily Inter-Ocean*, May 2, 1893, 39.

²⁷Quoted in Barrows, *The World’s Parliament*, 1:39.

²⁸Josiah Strong, *The New Era, or the Coming Kingdom* (New York: Baker and Taylor, 1893), 16.

²⁹First Presidency, [Wilford Woodruff, George Q. Cannon, and Joseph F. Smith], letter to Charles C. Bonney, July 10, 1893, in James R. Clark, ed., *Messages of the First Presidency of the Church of Jesus Christ of Lat-*

considered by the general committee a “disturbing element,” and thus out of place in the congress itself.³⁰

Just how “out of place” the LDS Church was considered is clearly seen in the fact that over forty thousand documents and ten thousand letters were sent to thirty countries, yet not one came to the LDS Church in Utah. From 1891 when the sixteen-member general committee was appointed until the summer of 1893, Chairman Barrows had personally seen to it that both appropriate literatures about the congress and also official invitations were extended to all deemed worthy of such an event. The Church had been aware of the upcoming parliament as early as 1891; but ambivalence among the leaders postponed serious inquiry until the First Presidency sent its July 1893 letter to Burrows, which he ignored. Ten days later the First Presidency sent thirty-six-year-old B. H. Roberts, a member of the Church’s First Council of Seventy, to Chicago to inquire in person. Roberts learned that the committee had given some thought to including the LDS Church but agreed it was unwise to invite LDS representatives “because,” in Roberts’s words, “of the great prejudice that existed against the Church on account of its plural marriage system.”³¹ (The Woodruff Manifesto had been issued in 1890.)

The LDS First Presidency saw “value and importance” in “such a parliament,” and Roberts actively pressed the Church’s case for inclusion with parliament officials.³² After several interviews and “much correspondence on the subject,” the increas-

ter-day Saints, 1833–1964, 6 vols. (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1965–75), 3:249.

³⁰Brigham H. Roberts, *A Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saint, Century I*, 6 vols. (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1965), 6:238.

³¹Barrows, *The World’s Parliament*, 1:44. According to Roberts, Charles C. Bonney, president of the religious congress, admitted to him that the Mormon Church had been ignored because the committee felt that the Church would, “doubtless prove to be a disturbing element in the parliament.” Roberts attributed this position to the “great prejudice” against the Church, specifically its belief in and supposedly continued practice of plural marriage. Roberts, *Comprehensive History of the Church*, 6:238.

³²Davis Bitton, “B. H. Roberts at the World Parliament of Religion 1893 Chicago,” *Sunstone*, January–February 1982, <http://www>.

ingly annoyed parliament's managers sent Roberts a letter on August 28 stating the parliament's willingness to receive a "statement of its [the LDS Church's] faith and achievements." The reluctant invitation thus extended to Roberts, however, failed to say exactly when and where he would be allowed to represent the Mormon religion, or even if he himself would be allowed to read it. Perhaps this lack of clarity reveals uncertainty within the committee itself, but Roberts had been sure his invitation implied a spot "in the full parliament before all the world, having full time (half an hour) allotted to her [Mormonism], as to other religions, in which to proclaim what to her were the great truths of her faith."³³ However, well into the event, Barrows verbally explained to Roberts that no other hearing than "Hall 3" in the "Scientific Section" on September 25 had been allotted for him. In Roberts's own account, this assignment represented a "very unworthy effort" by Barrows and Bonney to "side-track" his already prepared speech.³⁴ Thus, as Roberts quotes Barrows, the great parliament would hear of the "Mormon faith and church either not at all, or else only as in a corner and darkly."³⁵

The indignant Roberts rejected this proposal as an insult, left the parliament deeply embittered, and, in his official history, cast Barrows's compromise as rejection: The LDS Church had "the distinction of being refused a hearing in the World's Parliament of Religions."³⁶ The committee was already uncomfortable about Roberts's presence, but unfolding events gave them a public opportunity to justify their exclusion of Mormonism.

On Wednesday September 20, Mohammed Alexander Russell Webb presented a paper entitled "The Spirit of Islam." Webb, an American convert to Islam, was requested (though it is not

sunstoneonline.com/magazine/searchable/mag-text.asp (accessed March 1, 2008). The following details of Roberts's negotiations come from this source.

³³Roberts, *History of the Church*, 6:240.

³⁴Brigham H. Roberts, *Defense of the Faith and the Saints*, 2 vols. (1907, 1912; rpt., Provo, Utah: Maasai Publishing, 2002), 1:2.

³⁵Roberts, *History of the Church*, 6:237, 239; Truman G. Madsen, *Defender of the Faith: The B. H. Roberts Story* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1980), 205.

³⁶Roberts, *Defense of the Faith and the Saints*, 1:2.

known by whom) to make a brief statement of polygamy. According to the official summary of the morning session during which Webb spoke, Webb's defense of polygamy was greeted by a "sudden" and "unpremeditated" outburst—not against polygamy as an Islamic doctrine, but because it represented "an attack on a fundamental principle of social morality."³⁷ Interestingly, in the officially recorded version of the speech, Barrows omits this part of Webb's explanation of polygamy with the brief assurance: "The few words omitted here opened a subject requiring more than a bald statement in five lines to be at all rightly understood."³⁸ The Mormon-owned *Deseret News* made an issue of the omission, reporting that Webb had attempted to represent Islamic polygamy as more of a cultural than a religious practice. Webb had said: "Polygamy is no curse. A man can be a good, honest gentleman and yet be a polygamist. But I do not accept him as such if he be a sensualist." At this point, the crowd erupted in hisses and cries of "Shame!" and "No, no; stop him."³⁹

After this exceptional "outcry" the officials of the Congress felt justified in declaring Mormonism, with its well-known belief in polygamy, too controversial to take part in the main parliament. Roberts's "paper was on the program all right enough, but he is a Mormon," explained the *Chicago Herald*, "and after Mohammed Alexander Russell Webb's paper on polygamy," the congress committee decided to cancel Roberts's paper, giving as a reason that Mormonism was simply "out of place."⁴⁰

As the heated letters continued to be exchanged over the next few days between Roberts and Barrows, it was clear that Webb's speech played a direct role in how Roberts's exclusion would have been perceived publicly. Following the September 24 announcement by Barrow's secretary, Merwin Marie Snell, who was also president of the scientific section of the parliament, that Roberts would not be presenting, the *Chicago Herald* on September 26 made note of the "decided opposition to a free discussion of polygamy" at the parliament,

³⁷Barrows, *The World's Parliament*, 1:127.

³⁸*Ibid.*, 2:989.

³⁹"The Religious Congress," *Deseret Semi-Weekly News*, October 3, 1893, 9; Barrows, *The World's Parliament*, 1:127.

⁴⁰"The Religious Congress," *Deseret Semi-Weekly News*, October 3, 1893, 9.

adding that members of the congress clearly felt that “an apostle of Mormonism would be out of place in the congress.” Far from being supportive of this decision, the *Herald* criticized “the managers of the religious congress,” asserting that “Elder Roberts, of Salt Lake City, had good ground of complaint. . . . The gathering at the Art Institute [housing the Columbus Hall] is a parliament of religions—not a parliament of Christians or a parliament of monogamists.”⁴¹ This mutual rejection underscored the deep divisions within the Protestant world.

Fortunately, Roberts had already written out his speech, although it remained undelivered, and published it himself. In it, he, as a representative of the LDS Church, sought to advance Mormonism as an important American religion, having a “claim upon the respect and thoughtful considerations of mankind.” Mormonism was being recognized “as one of the potent religious forces of the age, and as such claims the right to be heard in this Parliament.”⁴² Mormonism had the answer for many of the current problems plaguing Christianity, including the growing disaffection toward Christianity and the challenge of growing sectarianism; as a “progressive” faith, it “is destined to become the religion of the age.” If evidence is what a skeptical, increasingly scientific age needs to believe in God then “‘Mormons’ have double the amount of evidence of God and the truth of the gospel than other people possess.” The Book of Mormon provides additional evidence of the divine authorship of the Bible and the miracles of Christ and hence should be seen as a defense against biblical criticism. “‘Mormonism’ has an especial mission,” he maintained, “to prepare the earth for the coming and reign of Messiah.” The kingdom was not to be brought forth in opposition to the belief of other Christians, but according to the “fundamental truth of all religions,” namely “faith in God.” The main thrust of Roberts’s speech was to explain how Mormonism established this faith with greater clarity, power, and authority than any other religion.⁴³ In short, Roberts declared the kingdom of God to be a Mormon engagement—an appropriation, as it were, of Christianity itself. As such, Mormonism challenged the underly-

⁴¹*Chicago Herald*, September 26, 1893, as reprinted in “The Religious Congress,” *Deseret Semi-Weekly News*, October 3, 1893, 9.

⁴²Roberts, *Defense of the Faith*, 1:3.

⁴³*Ibid.*, 1:7, 11-13. Roberts consistently put “Mormon” and “Mormonism” in quotation marks.

ing purpose of the parliament: the imposition of a Protestant evangelical understanding of the kingdom.

The omission, reluctant inclusion, and final exclusion from Columbus Hall of the LDS Church is particularly ironic in light of one of the congress's declared aims: to create a "Christian brotherhood." Mormon exclusion reveals that the parliament's proposed objective was sidelined by definitions. Seeking to hear from all the "great Historic Religions of the world," they did not recognize the Mormon Church as either a historic religion or even as Christian. Mormonism did not fit their definition of Christianity or find a place in any other "great historic" tradition.⁴⁴ Also, since the Parliament's hope was to unite the various sects of Christianity, Mormonism presented an irreparable division that was better kept sidelined.⁴⁵

The rejection of the LDS Church reflected some of the unintended consequences of the Parliament of Religions. Most Americans, even though dealing with a variety of faiths and unfamiliar theological issues, were not ready to give the LDS Church a place in the spectrum of American (or even world) religious diversity. The sidelining of the Church defined the failures of the parliament and certainly challenged its liberalness.

⁴⁴Barrows, *The Parliament of Religions*, 1:18.

⁴⁵The major distinction between Mormonism and the rest of American Christianity was that Mormons had focused on the principle of restoration rather than reformation. As such, although Mormons accepted the basic canon of scripture, namely the KJV Bible, they went further: "But to this testimony," wrote Roberts in his parliamentary speech, "the common inheritance of all Christendom, 'Mormonism' adds special evidences of its own." He expounded on this idea of evidence, further demonstrating the division between Mormons and Protestants: "By accepting the records of the ancient peoples of America the 'Mormons' have double the amount of evidence for the existence of God and the truth of the gospel that other people possess; and since faith must ever have its foundation in evidence, the enlarged evidences accepted by 'Mormons' must account for that mightier faith which both their sufferings and their works proclaim they possess." Roberts, *Defense of the Faith*, 1:5, 7. It was this claim to further evidence, along with the complete rejection of past creeds and philosophies, that made Mormonism so un-Christian to Protestants.

UTAH'S INCLUSION IN THE WORLD'S FAIR

In an ironic image, Roberts was banished from the Great Hall of Religion into the secular world of the fair; but in parallel fashion, the LDS Church gained entrance to the fair and into mainstream America through the Utah exhibit. The Utah exhibit was grand, large, and centrally located. It functioned as a secular back door by which the LDS Church entered upon the stage of national legitimacy.

In contrast to the Church's rejection from the Great Hall, Utah Territory (it would not achieve statehood for another three years) was granted the coveted "Lot 38" in the Congress of States and Territories. Lot 38, one of the largest lots, was double the size of the Idaho and Arizona lots (and even the lots of at least two of the original thirteen states: Delaware and Massachusetts). It was centrally located, making it the most convenient for the curious passerby. Utahns were understandably thrilled over "one of the best, if not the best lot [being] assigned to any state or territory."⁴⁶ Other states were surprised that Lot 38 was given to Utah and demanded that the Utahns be dispossessed; at least one unnamed state commissioner resigned. Utah was granted this lot for secular reasons: The officiators did not want the younger states and territories to be disadvantaged by the older states.⁴⁷

Accordingly, the Utah exhibit effectively steered away from religious controversy that could negatively influence presentation and acceptance. Its central objective was to make a good impression on visitors, creating an image of Utah characterized by great potential as a valuable future state with exemplary citizens.⁴⁸ With the opportunity before them to demonstrate their material and artistic abilities and potentials, both Mormons and non-Mormons throughout the territory "insisted that Utah must, under no condition, fail to be represented at the Exposition."⁴⁹ Participation in the fair became a cause in which all Utahns could unite. Although there were intense political and religious struggles within Utah at this time, few doubted the benefits of state-

⁴⁶E. A. McDaniel, *Utah at the World's Columbian Exposition* (Salt Lake City: Press of the Salt Lake Lithographing Co., 1894), 11.

⁴⁷*Ibid.*, 11.

⁴⁸*Ibid.*, 27, 41.

⁴⁹*Ibid.*, 14.

hood. Even outside Utah, many Americans could see Utah's significant potential in agricultural, mineral, and developmental speculation, now that the "Mormon question" seemed to be on the way to being solved.⁵⁰ Despite continuing distrust, "Utah" was being conceptualized as an entity separate from Mormonism, and a growing number were speaking up for Utah's statehood, which was seen as inevitable. "A.K.P.," a reporter for the *New York Times*, wrote dismissively of the "Mormon threat" in Utah as much overblown. Brigham Young's "reign" had been reduced merely to a "Mormon quarter—a curiosity to be visited, but no longer part and parcel of the life of the place." Also, because of its growing mineral wealth, Salt Lake City's identity was that of a marketplace. Mormonism and polygamy had given way "to mammon and plutocracy"—meaning that Mormonism had succumbed to worldly influences and was thus being brought "into line."⁵¹ The *Times* later reported that the only opponents of Utah statehood were non-Mormon ministers, who were, by implication, overreacting, because polygamy and Mormon peculiarities were "undoubtedly dead and cannot be revived. It was doomed from the time the civilization of the country closed around the Mormon community in Utah and began to pervade it with the social, educational, and industrial influences of modern progress."⁵² This attitude clearly signaled that American secularism had appropriated and tamed the Mormon religion. It communicated national confidence in the irresistible power of technological and economic progress. As railroads moved through Salt Lake City and telephone wires connected the desert-surrounded metropolis to the rest of the country, the Mormons were no longer engaging in such primitive and un-Christian activities.

Headed by Robert Craig Chambers, non-Mormon president of the Utah World's Fair Commission, organizers of the Utah exhibit set out to demonstrate Utah's strengths and its progress by exhibits of its agriculture, mines, manufacturing, fine arts, ethnology and archaeology, education, women's work, and a bureau of information to address and answer many questions posed by curi-

⁵⁰Ibid., 44.

⁵¹"Notes of a Winter Trip," *New York Times*, May 2, 1892, 10.

⁵²"Is Utah Fit for Statehood?," *New York Times*, February 16, 1893,

ous spectators.⁵³ The display gave pride of place to Utah's mineral and agricultural wealth, for these two items were obviously points on which the state could be seen as desirable, with the power to attract potential settlers and spur continued growth. Dominick Maguire (1852–1933), knowledgeable mineralogist and Catholic from Ogden, Utah, speaking on “Utah Day” (Friday evening, September 9), extolled Utah's mineral wealth as unique. Within its boundaries, he claimed, “the territory of Utah contains . . . a greater variety of minerals than any other state or territory in the Union.”⁵⁴ He thus steered the audience's attention away from Utah's religious (and undesirable) peculiarities to highly secular (and desirable) peculiarities. This strategy positioned Utah as an integral and vital addition to the republic.

To overcome the previous thirty years of opprobrium attached to Utah as a center of religious fanaticism and conspiracy, Mormons and non-Mormons together sought to remove the “Mormon stigma,” or at least to reduce it. The Ladies Board, a subset of the Utah World's Fair Commission, worked especially hard to reposition Utah's women as secular, political beings. Because Utah could claim to be one of the first territories to grant women the vote, Utah women were credited as an important element in the national feminist movement and a vital support to the feminist cause.⁵⁵ This was a thoroughly political argument familiar to the residents of the entire nation, regardless of the status of female suffrage in their individual state, and it undeniably cast the allure of “progressivism” about the women's participation.

Utah's non-Mormon Governor Caleb W. West (1886–89, 1893–96), speaking to a large crowd on Utah Day, diminished Utah's religious distinctiveness and distanced the secular contemporary territory from its religious past: “In times past there have been struggles and differences, and I mention these only to say that they exist no more. They have been buried and now we bespeak for Utah simply

⁵³Hubert Howe Bancroft, *The Book of the Fair: An Historical and Descriptive Presentation of the World's Science, Art, and Industry, As Viewed through the Columbian Exposition at Chicago in 1893* (Chicago: Bancroft Company, 1893), 832.

⁵⁴McDaniel, *Utah at the World's Columbian Exposition*, 14, 20–23, 29.

⁵⁵*Ibid.*, 23, 37.

justice.”⁵⁶ Notably, in describing the settlement of Utah pioneers, he ignored their religious motivations and presented them secularly. They were loyal patriots, archetypal developers of the American West. He was not making a point about religious liberty but one about secular progress. “These pioneers of Utah blazed the way for the westward course of empire, and at the time of their first entrance into the valley of the Great Salt Lake planted the flag of the union on foreign soil.” This was a bloodless conquest of what was then part of Mexico, but a conquest nonetheless, and West made sure that Utah received due recognition for its national contributions to Manifest Destiny. This tactic was surely to allay concerns that Mormons were building an independent kingdom in the West. By assuring Americans that Mormons were fellow nation builders, he was appropriating Mormons into the secular nation. The rebellion of which Utahns had been accused (the Utah Expedition of 1856–57) he dismissed as an error of perception, “for our flag has never ceased to float over the land that was then taken possession of, from that day until now.”⁵⁷

Even more tellingly, President Wilford Woodruff also spoke on Utah Day, but he did so as Utah’s oldest living pioneer, not as a Mormon prophet. He refrained from taking polygamy or persecution as his text, speaking rather of the faith of the pioneers.⁵⁸ The *Deseret Weekly News* reported: “President Woodruff, Cannon and Smith, the heads of the Mormon Church, made speeches. If anybody attended with the expectation of hearing the Mormon faith expounded they were disappointed, as the great exponents of Mormonism were full of other subjects relating to what they had seen since their arrival in Chicago.”⁵⁹

In significant ways, the Utah exhibition’s approach in bringing Mormonism into national acceptance was successful. Mormons had much to gain in calming popular fears against them, but Utah’s non-Mormon citizens also stood to benefit because a stigma against “Mormon Utah” was a stigma against them as well. Hence, Utah’s participation in the fair represented the finding of—even the creation of—common ground that had not previously existed. And that ground was thoroughly secular. The (*Chicago*) *Sunday Herald* reported

⁵⁶“Mormon and Gentile: Join Hands Heartily on Utah Day,” 8.

⁵⁷McDaniel, *Utah at the World’s Columbian Exposition*, 53.

⁵⁸*Ibid.*, 56.

⁵⁹“Utah’s Day at the Fair,” *Deseret-Weekly*, September 16, 1893, 29.

the day after Utah's celebration that it "was unique. Mormons and gentiles came together as friends. It may have been the music of the big choir from the tabernacle, or the satisfying solos of Tenor Easton, or perhaps it was Governor West's oratory—something made all the people from Utah friends and all their guests happy."⁶⁰

As this newspaper noted, in addition to the judicious and cooperative tactics of speakers representing Utah, the Mormon Tabernacle Choir was an important element in the territory's achievement. It is possible to argue that the choir may have been the most important and effective tool used to gain national respect for Utah. Standing on the middle ground of art and culture,⁶¹ it was between religious interests and secular interests but lent itself to use by both. For example, the Church considered it as "a great auxiliary to the cause of Zion" with its musical artists playing a double role as "missionizers."⁶² "It has often been remarked since the choir left here," remarked George Q. Cannon upon his return from the fair, "that their visit would be productive of greater good than almost any number of missionaries."⁶³

The over-four-hundred voice choir performed on September 8, the day before Utah Day, as part of the Columbian Exhibition's choir

⁶⁰"Mormon and Gentile: Join Hands Heartily on Utah Day," (*Chicago Sunday Herald*, September 10, 1893, 8. It described R. C. Easton as a "tenor of rare training." At the closing of Utah Day activities, Easton sang an encore, "Annie Laurie." He was then followed by the entire Mormon Tabernacle Choir singing Handel's "Hallelujah Chorus."

⁶¹Clearly music occupied a special status, which makes the choir's success particularly significant. Chicago's own Apollo Choir closed the Parliament of Religions on September 27 by singing Handel's "Hallelujah Chorus" from *Messiah*. "To the Christians who were present," noted Barrows, *The World's Parliament*, 172–73, "it appeared as if the Kingdom of God was descending visibly before their eyes." Reporting the same concert, the *Chicago Daily Tribune* termed response to the Apollo Choir as a greater "storm and uproar" than had "never before shaken the Hall of Columbus." It then added, "The great Parliament of Religions had come, and dying, like a swan it kept its sweetest music to the last." "In Word of Praise," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, September 28, 1893.

⁶²Clark, *Messages of the First Presidency*, 3:267–68.

⁶³"Remarks by President George Q. Cannon, at the Tabernacle," *Deseret Semi-Weekly News*, October 3, 1893, 1.

contest. It competed against three other choirs, coming in second. This judgment, though accepted peaceably, prompted partisan expressions by those who felt the Utahns had been discriminated against. President Wilford Woodruff observed, "I think without Doubt that our Quire was the Best & should have had the first Prize But the Quire that took the first Prize was Welsh and the Welsh furnished the Money And it Could hardly be Expected that they would give it to a Mormon Quire Though one of the Judges said the Salt Lake Quire ought to have it."⁶⁴ The *Deseret News* recorded proudly that a noted organist, one Professor Radcliffe of the Congregational Church, had also given it as his opinion to an unnamed reporter that the Mormon Choir should have won first place.⁶⁵ The (*Chicago*) *Sunday Herald* enthusiastically reported: "Festival Hall has echoed with the music of many famous organizations, but it never witnessed more enthusiasm than followed the Mormon choir's 'Star-Spangled Banner' at the opening of the exercises. The three Mormon leaders glowed with pride as the audience burst into applause when their pet choir finished."⁶⁶

The choir repeated its success the next day on Utah Day, following Governor West's patriotic speeches about the Utah pioneers and remarks by Woodruff and Cannon. Performed before a cautious but curious audience of between three and four thousand, the choir melted its reserve. As on the previous day, the audience went "wild with enthusiasm" and demanded an encore, with some shouting, "Three cheers for the Mormons!"⁶⁷

In speaking before the large crowd assembled on "Utah Day," one fair official candidly confessed that he had visited the Utah Exhibit out of duty, rather than desire, because "deep down in my heart there was a strong prejudice against the people of Utah." However, "after listening to the music of your great choir I have changed my mind." He emphatically explained that this change of heart was not mere "enthusiasm of the moment." Rather, he could "not find it in my

⁶⁴Susan Staker, *Waiting for the World's End: The Diaries of Wilford Woodruff* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1993), 397.

⁶⁵"Utah's Big Choir," *Deseret Semi-Weekly News*, September 22, 1893.

⁶⁶"Mormon and Gentile," 8.

⁶⁷McDaniel, *Utah at the World's Columbian Exhibition*, 51; "The Great Contest," *Deseret Semi-Weekly News*, September 12, 1893, 6.

heart to mistrust a people possessed of such musical ability, which is certainly the outgrowth of refinement and noble aspirations." He added that his feelings were not unique as "I am only one of thousands here to-day whose sentiments in regard to Utah and her people have changed."⁶⁸

The Utah Commissioner's report stated that for the Tabernacle Choir "to be almost if not quite equal to the best talent the country could produce was something for the west to be proud of."⁶⁹ Governor West expressed great optimism that "widespread prejudice against Utah and her citizens" was now past. Thanks to the effects of the Utah exhibit and the Mormon Tabernacle Choir, the negative "feeling among the masses of the people" had been obliterated, "and the good seed sown will continue to bear fruit for years to come."⁷⁰

In fact, mistrust against Utah and its inhabitants was far from obliterated, but these optimistic expressions demonstrate new expectations of public acceptance and respect that were indeed positive for Mormons to the extent that they were identified with the larger, secularized image of "Utah." The very fact that "Utah" was accepted at the exposition while "Mormons" were publicly excluded from the Parliament of Religions demonstrates the dynamic at work. Nor were Mormon leaders slow to appropriate this secular success in the interests of their faith. George Q. Cannon, speaking to the Saints after his return from the exposition, ignored the affront from the Parliament of Religions to focus on acceptance in the White City. "At Chicago everything went off in the most pleasant manner," he emphasized. He positioned Mormonism squarely in the progressivism that characterized American secular society. "I am thankful," he continued, "to see people free from prejudice; to see them look at the Latter-day Saints as they truly are; to see us in our true light, and recognize the fact that we are struggling, with them, in our way, to advance the human family and to make progress."⁷¹

In October general conference, Apostle Lorenzo Snow remarked: "A great change had come over the feelings of the people

⁶⁸McDaniel, *Utah at the World's Columbian Exhibition*, 52.

⁶⁹Ibid., 59.

⁷⁰Ibid., 42-43.

⁷¹"Remarks by President George Q. Cannon," *Deseret Semi-Weekly News*, October 3, 1893, 1.

of the world in reference to us—especially with the people of our nation.”⁷² Eighty-five-year-old President Wilford Woodruff recorded with satisfaction in his journal: “There has been the Greatest Changes taken place Concerning the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints during the year 1893 Ever known since its Organization.”⁷³ Apostle Heber J. Grant, then age forty-six, said, “The prejudice, the bitterness, and the animosity that a few years ago existed in the hearts of the people of this country against the Latter-day Saints, because of the outpouring of the blessings of the Lord upon us had almost entirely disappeared.”⁷⁴ Grant indicated that this new era was therefore a time for renewed vigor in accomplishing the goals of the kingdom, of admitting past follies, and of moving forward in both progress and humility. “If these things were not foremost in our hearts,” said fifty-three-year-old Apostle Francis M. Lyman, “then all Israel had need of reformation in this regard.”⁷⁵

Clearly, the World’s Columbian Exposition of 1893 had significant and unexpected consequences for the Mormons and other Americans, both in how they saw each other and in how they perceived themselves. Much of this effect stemmed from how Mormons and non-Mormons decided to present themselves and their religions at the Utah exhibit. This effort can and should be examined as the religious appropriating the secular.

Mormon efforts to re-present themselves in a secular light, and the success attending these efforts, exemplify the ideas of religious scholar David Chidester regarding the negotiation of the sacred. In his thinking, Americans have been able to negotiate what is traditionally understood to be sacred ground for non-religious purposes. For example, he argued, by looking at American football or even Coca-Cola, we find the secular “doing real religious work in forging a community, focusing desire, and facilitating ex-

⁷²Lorenzo Snow, “General Conference,” *Deseret Semi-Weekly News*, October 10, 1893, 2.

⁷³Staker, *Waiting for the World’s End*, 399.

⁷⁴Heber J. Grant, “General Conference,” *Deseret Semi-Weekly News*, October 10, 1893, 2.

⁷⁵Francis M. Lyman, “General Conference,” *Deseret Semi-Weekly News*, October 10, 1893, 3.

change in ways that look just like religion.”⁷⁶ The Utah exhibit demonstrated how the LDS Church could negotiate the secular in similar ways. Mormons were not primary organizers of the Utah exhibit, but they took full advantage of it. After the crushing severity of the anti-polygamy crusades throughout the 1880s, the Mormons effectively tapped into the secular realm for primarily religious purposes and successfully re-presented Mormon Utah in a way that most Americans could appreciate and respect. They too joined in praise of Columbus and avoided accusations of oppression and constitutional injustices. They avoided proselytizing and stirring up controversies, seeking instead to bridge differences and assuage enmities. By 1893, the Mormons seemed to realize that, if they hoped to accomplish their goals as a people—namely social progress and the building of the kingdom of God—they could not do so when “all hell” raged against them. Rather, Mormons, by finding acceptance as American citizens who believed in progress and social reform, would move to a position of equality, rather than marginalization and oppression. Roberts, in his undelivered address, seemed to demonstrate this secular agenda when he stated that Mormonism was not only “progressive,” but “destined to be the religion of the age.” Nevertheless, when he attempted to achieve this end under a purely religious banner, he was rejected.

However, success at the fair did not mean complete success at home and religiously, nor did such rejection imply absolute failure. As Protestant evangelicals found their unity lacking and their religious failures rebuked, Mormons likewise returned home with a significant feeling of inadequacy and equally significant concerns about the secular world. In addition to the rebuff of Roberts at the Parliament of Religions, other parliament speeches, and the congresses dedicated to scientific progress induced some concerns and reevaluations. George Q. Cannon, while basking in the new level of national approval, simultaneously cautioned the Saints about how they should receive the world both outside and inside Utah. The Asian religions, such as Buddhism and Confucianism, were worthy of Mormon respect; and, as he told the Saints, “they are not so imperfect and hea-

⁷⁶David Chidester, *Authentic Fakes: Religion and American Popular Culture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), viii, 19.

thenish as we have been in the habit in this country of believing.”⁷⁷ Cannon likely had the Hindu reformer Vivekananda’s speech in mind—that if the Parliament of Religions proved anything, it was “that holiness, purity, and charity are not the exclusive possessions of my church in the world, and that every system has produced men and women of the most exalted characters.”⁷⁸

This correction brought the LDS Church into alignment with similar emerging national sentiments. However, though advising respect for other religions, Cannon warned against uncritically accepting popular scientific theories of social evolution—but not for religious reasons as much as for a secular concern. Social evolution implied a superiority of the rising generation over past generations, which ran counter to Mormonism’s social order and generation-linked authority: “This generation should not lift itself up in pride and think that it embodies all knowledge and is superior to every preceding generation.” As science and progress threatened the social order of Mormon society, particularly in respect to parents and grandparents, the limits of evolution became clear. “Too many of our scientific men and religious teachers are puffed up with this kind of pride. . . . It is the fashion now to extol science; and many ministers of religion almost worship it.”⁷⁹ Though considering himself a leading proponent of progress, Cannon firmly rejected it when progress conflicted with religious principles. There was a limit to how much the religious should appropriate the secular—and definitely limits on allowing the religious to be appropriated by the secular.

But the World’s Columbian Exposition represents something of a tipping point in Mormonism’s modernization. Mormons, like other

⁷⁷Remarks by President George Q. Cannon,” *Deseret Semi-Weekly News*, October 3, 1893, 1.

⁷⁸Quoted in Seager, *The Dawn of Religious Pluralism*, 82.

⁷⁹*Ibid.* An example of this late nineteenth-century religious fascination with science is a statement by Congregationalist minister Josiah Strong (1893) that science was the “new revelation of God’s will” and that scientists were “new prophets of his truth.” In quoting the eminent American philosopher and historian John Fiske, Strong explained, “The modern prophet, employing the methods of science, may again proclaim that the kingdom of heaven is at hand.” In other words, if Americans and Christians hoped to help God bring forth this “new era,” “our methods must be scientific.” Strong, *The New Era*, 11, 12, 22, 30, 37.

Americans, were exposed to the strengths and weaknesses, the success and failings, the prejudices and liberal acceptance, and the great challenges and opportunities that were ahead of them as the nineteenth century came to a close. The Columbian Exposition was a vivid showcase of this pivotal transition period for the Mormon people, and for all Americans.

**CONCLUSION:
IMPLICATIONS OF MORMON APPROPRIATION**

Considering the Mormon absence, as well as its presence at the Columbian Exposition, yields a deeper understanding of Mormonism and the World's Fair and the "successful dilemma" of the secular and the religious. A consideration of both the acceptance and exclusion of the Church reveals the deep religious prejudices and Eurocentric practices that dominated the parliament (and by extension the United States). Yet it also reveals successful attempts to overcome these tendencies—though ironically, in the speech defending Islam, the Mormon Church was rejected. The Mormons were primarily successful in their campaign to be accepted as fellow Christians and Americans in the Progressive Era by furthering their goals through secular methods. Their efforts at the fair hint at the variable angles from which religion can approach and appropriate science and secular thought. Indeed, religion's powerful use of the secular not only prompts a rethinking of what it means to be secularized, but also suggests new possibilities of religious participation within the secular sphere.

The strategy of secular appropriation allowed the Mormon Church to position itself within the national realm of being acceptable. Thus, it successfully entered a deeply contested national arena. Through the parliament, Protestant groups were seeking to contain and control national expression of religion. Clearly, much was at stake both religiously and secularly at the 1893 fair, both for Mormons and the nation. Many groups were competing for dominance and leadership over the religious and secular branches of the fair, and the dynamic of Mormonism is only one illustration of these contestations. Despite these efforts, Americans were increasingly accepting of the new values represented by scientific progress and religious pluralism. The old religious paradigms that once shaped the national culture were, as Philip Schaff predicted, being

left behind.⁸⁰ Such realizations, then and now, illuminate the significant struggles for power between the secular and the religious, and between the religious and the religious, to dominate the historical narrative of American religious history. Although the Parliament of Religions is credited for opening the doors of religious pluralism in America, it was also through appropriating the secular and through Utah's presence at the World's Fair that the dawning of that new era becomes visible.

⁸⁰According to Burris, *Exhibiting Religion*, 139, 176, the fair's attempts "to separate religious concerns from secular ones proved unfeasible. The secular encroached upon the religious determinedly in the exposition setting, finally leaving even the Sabbath in its wake."

UNDER THE GUN AT THE SMOOT HEARINGS: JOSEPH F. SMITH'S TESTIMONY

Michael Harold Paulos

SHORTLY AFTER APOSTLE REED SMOOT'S election to the U.S. Senate in January 1903,¹ the *Salt Lake Tribune* headlined: "Ministers Getting Arguments Ready for Smoot."² The ministers in question were Protestant clergymen advising various senators, rather than LDS ministers, while Smoot himself was receiving advice from LDS President Joseph F. Smith and others in the Church hierarchy. The newspa-

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¹"Smoot Is Now a Real Senator," *Deseret News*, January 20, 1903. Articles cited from the Salt Lake papers appear in the Journal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (chronological scrapbook of typed entries and newspaper clippings, 1830–present), LDS Church Library.

²"Ministers Getting Arguments Ready for Smoot," *Salt Lake Tribune*, January 20, 1903.

per headline presaged the impending collision between churches beneath a veneer of legal and political issues. Recently, historians Harvard Heath and Kathleen Flake have plumbed the circumference of this fascinating controversy, exploring its impact on modern Mormonism.³ Heath specifically described the Smoot hearings as the Mormon Church's "quest for legitimacy."⁴ The quest implied taking certain calculated risks, and the game plan seems to have been laid out by the Church president himself.

Outsiders detected unprecedented effrontery in the Church's sending a member of its second-ranked quorum to the U.S. Senate. After Smoot's election by the Utah Legislature in January 1903, achieved with President Smith's blessing,⁵ the *Deseret News* reported that Congressman John Jenkins (R-Wisconsin) had introduced a Constitutional amendment that would bar polygamists from holding public office.⁶ Two weeks later on the Senate floor, Senator Chauncey Depew (R-New York)⁷ issued a diatribe against what he considered interference by Mormons in Arizona and New Mexico. He reported, more or less incorrectly as it turned out, that polygamy was spreading throughout the

³Harvard S. Heath, "Reed Smoot: First Modern Mormon" (Ph.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1990); and Kathleen Flake, *The Politics of American Religious Identity: The Seating of Senator Reed Smoot, Mormon Apostle* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004).

⁴Heath, "Reed Smoot," 84.

⁵President Smith provided Smoot with unwavering support before and after his successful election to the U.S. Senate. Four years later, President Smith and Presiding Bishop Charles W. Nibley privately discussed Smoot's political future. When Nibley commented that it would not be wise for Smoot to run for reelection in 1908, President Smith listened "with some impatience. Finally, bringing his fist down on the railing between us he stated in these emphatic terms: 'If I have ever had the inspiration of the spirit of the Lord given to me forcefully and clearly it has been on this one point concerning Reed Smoot, and that is, instead of his being retired, he should be continued in the United States Senate.'" Charles W. Nibley, "Reminiscences of Charles W. Nibley," holograph, LDS Church Library, 85-86, as quoted in Thomas G. Alexander, *Mormonism in Transition: A History of the Latter-day Saints, 1890-1930* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986) 30.

⁶"Anti-Polygamy Amendment," *Deseret News*, January 31, 1903. Jenkins served seven terms in Congress, 1895-1909.

⁷Depew was elected to two terms, 1899-1911, and served on the Privi-



“The Modern Sisyphus.” The Smoot hearings represented one iteration of the long-standing feud between the federal government and the Mormon Church. In this Greek myth, Sisyphus labors to roll a huge boulder up a hill only to be forced to repeat the task the next day. The boulder, bearing Joseph F. Smith’s face, represents the recalcitrant “Mormon question” that a sweating Uncle Sam strains to roll up the hill (“Congress”) toward “political settlement.” The Salt Lake Tribune, December 27, 1904, 1, reprinted this cartoon from the Brooklyn Eagle. Courtesy Family History Center, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah. Unless otherwise noted, all cartoons are from this center.

West and asserted that the Mormon Church’s plan in sending Smoot to Congress was to “prevent any amendment which would completely ex-

leges and Elections Committee during the entire Smoot hearings.



"Whom the Lord Loveth, He Chasteneth." Shortly after Smoot's election in 1903, New York Republican Senator Chauncey Depew attacked him verbally on the Senate floor. Though initially opposed to Smoot, Depew eventually voted in his favor. In the background, an unnamed senator calls, "I'll have his head" while Senator Eugene Hale cautions, "Don't hurt your foot, Chancy [sic]." Salt Lake Herald, February 13, 1903, 1. Courtesy Perry-Casteneda Library, University of Texas at Austin.

clude polygamy."⁸ Given the level of emotion embodied in Depew's explicit misgivings, Smoot was extremely apprehensive as he prepared to travel East to assume office. He turned to President Smith for a blessing, which the president readily bestowed.⁹ Reassured by this support, Smoot boarded a train in late February 1903 for the capitol, where he would remain for the next thirty years.

⁸"Rawlings Replies to Depew," *Deseret News*, February 13, 1903.

⁹"Meeting of the First Presidency and Apostles," *Journal History* of

Given this swirling controversy, Smoot was pleasantly startled by the warm reception he received from several fellow Senators. Even though formal protests had accumulated to prevent his seating, the Senate swore him in with the proviso that they would then consider the challenges to his election.¹⁰ This small victory must have given the apostle some optimism about the future. Responding to the welcome news, President Smith and his counselors (John R. Winder and Anthon H. Lund) wrote: "It is of course very gratifying to us to know that you have made so many friends, and especially so that the President [Theodore Roosevelt] is so kindly disposed towards you. We have pleasure in believing that your friends will increase in number, and that their friendships will grow stronger to you, and that your enemies will not only be worsted in the fight they are making against you but that they will be looked upon with contempt by the honorable people of the nation."¹¹

In retrospect, this optimistic assessment seriously miscalculated the storm about to burst over the ambitious attempt to place an apostle in the nation's highest deliberative body. Nor did Smoot himself foresee that in exactly one year, his prophet-president would be sitting next to him in a Capitol hearing, under a national spotlight, enduring the slings and arrows of an unfriendly Senate committee. Although Smoot continued to make friends in Washington to some degree, the corollary that his enemies would be worsted was not fulfilled. Perhaps the most crucial political friend Smoot had in Washington was U.S. President Theodore Roosevelt. Although initially opposed to Smoot's election, Roosevelt made a quick about-face after meeting

the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (chronological scrapbook of typed entries and newspaper clippings, 1830-present), February 12, 1903, LDS Church Library, Salt Lake City.

¹⁰"Mr. Smoot's Seat in the Senate," *Deseret News*, March 4, 1903. Approximately five years previously, B. H. Roberts was blocked from taking his seat in the House of Representatives after being elected to that office. Roberts, however, was a polygamist, while Smoot was a monogamist. Gary James Bergera, *The Autobiography of B. H. Roberts* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1990), 199–219.

¹¹First Presidency, Letter to Smoot, March 9, 1903, Reed Smoot Papers, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah. Unless otherwise noted, all correspondence cited in this article is from the Smoot Papers.

the obviously moral and thoroughly Republican Smoot in person, Roosevelt stated, "Mr. Smoot, you are a good enough American, or Gentile, for that matter for me."¹²

Eager to put the best possible face on the ambiguous situation, Smoot reported to Salt Lake all of the positive interactions he had enjoyed with colleagues. This collegiality would not necessarily translate into favorable votes, as he would learn, but it gave him hope. The Senate committee investigating Smoot voted 7–5 against his retaining his senate seat. The seven crossed party lines, comprising five Democrats and two Republicans. In the larger Senate, Redfield Proctor (R-Vt.) and Marcus Hanna (R-Ohio) assured Smoot that they personally "took no stock whatever in the charges filed" against his seating. Senator Nelson Aldrich (R-R.I.) had "received a great many petitions" urging the Utah's dismissal but "paid no attention to them." Aldrich had "received a great many letters from [Protestant] ministers," which had likewise "all gone into the waste paper basket."¹³ Similarly warm sentiments of support were expressed by Senator George Hoar (R-Mass).¹⁴ In the cloak room, Senator Eugene Hale (R-Maine) joked that Smoot claimed never to have "cohabited with any woman other than [his] wife" and that, if true, he was making the other senators look bad.¹⁵ Smoot also received "hundreds of letters," he reported to the LDS First Presidency, "denouncing this unwarranted, religious and political fight being made against me." His situation gave him something of celebrity status in the nation's capitol: "Scarcely a day passes but what some Senator introduces me to some friend or con-

¹²Reed Smoot, Letter to Joseph F. Smith, November 10, 1903.

¹³Smoot, Letter to Joseph F. Smith, November 10, 1903. Proctor served three terms, 1891–1908, and died in office. Hanna served two terms, 1897–1904, and died in office. Aldrich served five terms, 1881–1911. None of the three served on the committee investigating Smoot.

¹⁴Hoar was elected to five terms, 1877–1904, and died in office. He served on the Committee on Privileges and Elections until his death. For Smoot's report of Hoar's support, see Smoot, Letter to Joseph F. Smith, November 14, 1903.

¹⁵Smoot, Letter to Joseph F. Smith, January 11, 1904. Hale served five terms, 1881–1911; he did not serve on the Senate Committee investigating Smoot.

stituent, with a remark that the person had desired to meet me.¹⁶

These sanguine reports may have given Joseph F. Smith a false impression about the welcome he might expect to find in Washington. Smoot failed to emphasize the equally striking number of hostile colleagues he encountered, many of whom dispensed with any facade of friendliness. At the time of Smoot's election, the Republican Party controlled the House, Senate, and presidency; so Smoot, a Republican, should have theoretically enjoyed the majority support of Congress.¹⁷ However, so many GOP senators were avowedly adversarial, including some committee members who would hear Smoot's case, that he admitted being "a little afraid of" of them and realized that "any serious opposition" would come from members of his own party—most probably from Republicans appointed to sit on the committee.¹⁸ In fact, by January 1904, he was claiming that "every Republican anti-Mormon Senator" in Congress was placed on the Committee on Privileges and Elections that heard his case.¹⁹ The most strident and powerful of his critics was the committee's unrelentingly hostile chairman, Julius Caesar Burrows (R-Mich.)²⁰ Facing reelection in the fall of 1904 and knowing that public sentiment was against the Mormon apostle, Burrows grandstanded for headlines throughout the hearings. Apprising the First Presidency of Burrows's pugnacious position, Smoot wrote:

Please do not have this letter read at council [of the Twelve] meeting, as it is intended for you and your council [counselors]. I feel it my duty to inform you just how things stand politically in Washington, and . . . [to have] this letter [carried] direct to you, for I do not wish to trust it by mail. . . . I have had several conversations with the President [Roosevelt] . . . I believe that the President is doing all that he can consistently do to help me in my fight. I know he had Burrows at the White House last Saturday in relation to the case; but Roosevelt expressed to me after the interview, as he has done several times before, that he was

¹⁶Smoot, Letter to Joseph F. Smith, February 5, 1904.

¹⁷At Smoot's election, there were fifty-eight Republicans (including Smoot) and thirty-two Democrats in the U.S. Senate.

¹⁸Smoot, Letter to Joseph F. Smith, November 18, 1903.

¹⁹Smoot, Letter to Joseph F. Smith, January 4, 1904.

²⁰Burrows was elected to three terms as senator, 1895–1911, and served as chairman of the Committee on Privileges and Elections.

very doubtful that anything could be done to change the course mapped out by Burrows. Burrows reelection comes this fall, and last Saturday he expressed to me that he has the fight of his life before him, and that it is very doubtful whether he will be successful [in being reelected].²¹

President Smith responded soothingly but somewhat unrealistically that Burrows would have no long-term effect: "Has he caught the Anti Mormon rabies? He seemes [sic] to have caught it bad. What good will it do him? For 75 years every man who has fallen a prey to that disease has died with it. I could give him a long list of fierce Anti Mormon monomaniacs who have spent their rage in furious attacks upon Mormonism, and now where are they? They may be sought for in vain on earth and in Heaven! To Stephen A. Douglas may be pointed as a lurid example of this fact."²²

In point of fact, Smith had expressed a more accurate grasp of the situation a few months earlier when he learned that the hearings would likely focus, not on Smoot's personal qualifications, but on the LDS Church itself. The First Presidency presciently stated, "We have thought a great deal about your case, and are deeply impressed with the gravity of the situation. While the right to your seat should be determined solely by the constitution and laws of the United States, it is very apparent that a determined effort will be made to arraign the Church."²³ Much to the presidency's chagrin, this prediction proved dismayingly accurate.

Smoot's first year in the Senate passed in a flurry of paperwork but without a public meeting of the committee. But as the March 1904 opening of the hearings approached, Smoot became uncomfortably aware of the degree of hostility that existed toward Mormons. Newspapers published malicious editorials and cartoons caricaturing Joseph F. Smith and Reed Smoot.²⁴ Much of the outrage was generated by the erroneous assumption that Smoot was a secret polygamist. This charge was formally presented to the Senate committee who promptly dismissed it, but which continued to haunt the pro-

²¹Smoot, Letter to Joseph F. Smith, February 5, 1904.

²²Smith, Letter to Smoot, April 20, 1904.

²³First Presidency, Letter to Smoot, November 17, 1903.

²⁴Michael H. Paulos, "Political Cartooning and the Reed Smoot Hearings," *Sunstone*, December 2006, 36-40.

ceedings for the next three and half years.²⁵ Better founded was public anger against the Church because of continued rumors of plural marriage. The hearings established post-Manifesto polygamist activities by Apostles Matthias Cowley, Heber J. Grant, John Henry Smith, George Teasdale, and John W. Taylor, naturally fueling the suspicion that there were many other undiscovered cases.²⁶

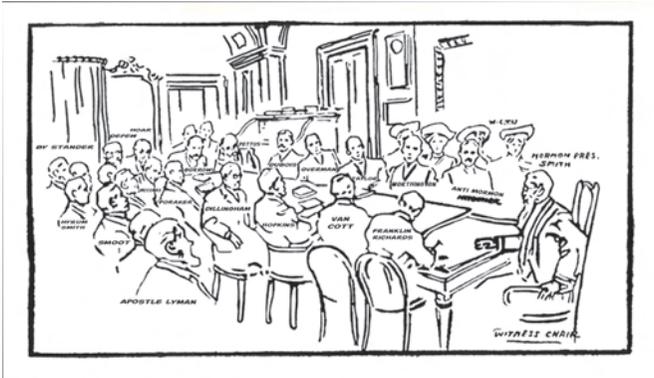
In addition to the pressure Smoot was receiving from unfriendly Senate colleagues, he acknowledged that some of his apostolic colleagues found his political ambitions unseemly and dangerous. Smoot had been an apostle only since 1900, called by Joseph F. Smith, who was and remained Smoot's staunchest supporter. In 1903, he was still only forty-one, younger than all of the other apostles except two sons of Church presidents: Abraham O. Woodruff (ordained in 1897 at age twenty-four, making him senior in the quorum to Smoot) and Hyrum Mack Smith (the thirty-one-year-old son of Joseph F. Smith, who was just junior in the quorum to Smoot). Smoot admitted to President Smith that he knew "some of the brethren have taken the position that I was to blame for all this unpleasantness and trouble brought upon the Church." He "never worried one second over myself or what may happen to me in this investigation, but I have laid awake nights thinking how I could protect you and your counselors from being brought into the fight."²⁷ Heavily involved in business and politics and residing in Provo, Smoot had not socialized with many of his colleagues in the Twelve prior to his election. He was therefore

²⁵*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* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1906), 1:27; hereafter cited as *Smoot Hearings*.

²⁶Kathleen Flake, *The Politics of American Religious Identity: The Seating of Senator Reed Smoot, Mormon Apostle* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004); Victor W. Jorgensen and B. Carmon Hardy, "The Taylor-Cowley Affair and the Watershed of Mormon History," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 48 (Winter 1980): 4–36; B. Carmon Hardy, *Solemn Covenant: The Mormon Polygamous Passage* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992); D. Michael Quinn, "LDS Church Authority and New Plural Marriage, 1890–1904," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 18, no. 1 (Spring 1985): 1–105; Kenneth L Cannon II, "After the Manifesto: Mormon Polygamy, 1890–1906," *Sunstone*, January–April 1983, 27–35.

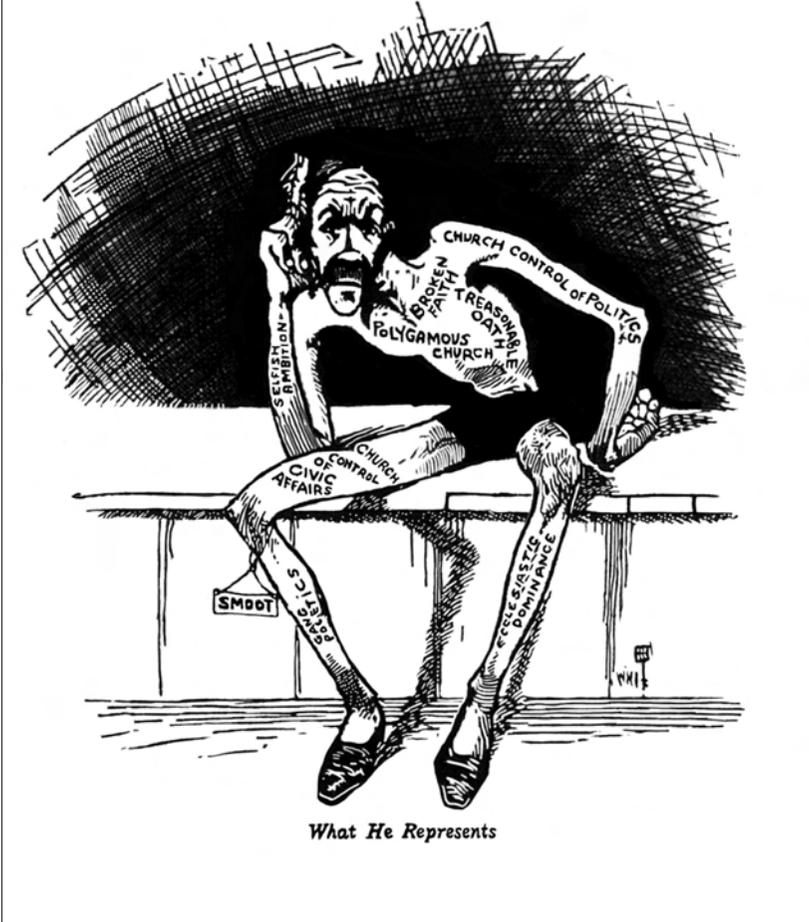
²⁷Smoot, Letter to Joseph F. Smith, February 5, 1904.

REED SMOOT, WHO IS ON TRIAL FOR HIS SENATORIAL LIFE, AND HIS BACKER, THE MORMON PRESIDENT



“Reed Smoot, who is on trial for his senatorial life, and his backer, the Mormon president.” Scenes from the first week of testimony at the Smoot hearings. The bottom drawing lists the following Smoot hearing attendees, beginning with President Smith in the witness chair and moving counterclockwise: “W.C.T.U representative (Woman’s Christian Temperance Union), Anti Mormon (unidentified name), Smoot Attorney Worthington, Protestant Attorney Taylor, Senator Overman (D-North Carolina), Senator Dubois (D-Idaho), Senator Pettus (D-Alabama), Chairman Burrows (R-Michigan), Senator Hoar (R-Massachusetts, Senator Depew (R-New York), Senator McComas (R-Maryland), Senator Foraker (R-Ohio), Senator Dillingham (R-Vermont), Senator Hopkins (R-Illinois), Smoot Attorney Van Cott, Smith Attorney Franklin Richards, unidentified By Stander, Hyrum Smith, Senator Smoot (R-Utah), Apostle Lyman. Some names have been extrapolated and may not be accurate. New York World,” May 10, 1904, 1. Courtesy Perry-Casteneda Library, University of Texas at Austin.

THE TATTOOED MAN



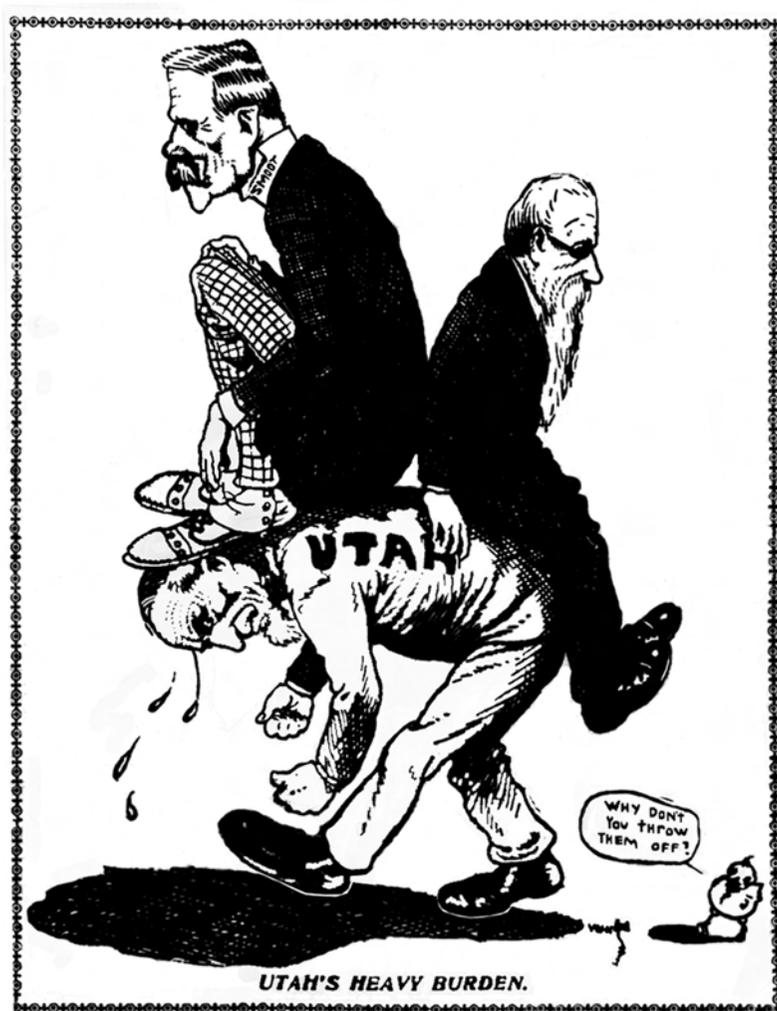
“The Tattooed Man: What He Represents.” The Salt Lake Tribune, June 9, 1906, 1, depicted Smoot as tattooed by the many allegations leveled against Smoot and the LDS Church. Joseph F. Smith’s testimony covered most of these symbolic tattoos, e.g., “Church control of politics, broken faith, treasonable oath, selfish ambition,” etc.



“Let President Smith Get This Revelation.” While the Tribune at times praised President Smith for his candor, this cartoon mocked him for hypocrisy and listed elements of the “revelation” he should have received: “No domination of the affairs of the state by the Church, loyalty to its nation, obedience to its law, no commercialism, free speech, [and] apostles out of politics.” Salt Lake Tribune, March 16, 1905, 1.

not privy to the surreptitious post-Manifesto plural marriages being performed²⁸ nor to the brotherly “understandings” that facilitated such arrangements. It is possible that, sensing some duplicity among his colleagues, he intentionally avoiding learning such inconvenient facts. Moreover, he clearly wanted to retain both positions, possibly, as I read it, giving the edge to keeping his senate seat. At least three times in writing to President Smith, he offered to resign, either from the apostleship or from the senate (though he never went as far as announcing that he *would* resign or insisting that he be allowed to resign

²⁸D. Michael Quinn, “LDS Church Authority and New Plural Marriage,” and B. Carmon Hardy, *Solemn Covenant*, have documented at least 220 of these new clandestine marriages.



"Utah's heavy burden." The Tribune constantly lampooned Smoot (in the checked trousers) and his close relationship to Smith (wearing dark glasses), a relationship that the newspaper saw as crippling the state. A tiny figure on the right representing an innocent babe asks the apparently naive question, "Why don't you throw them off?" Salt Lake Tribune, April 5, 1905, 1.

as apostle).²⁹ In these ways, Smoot tried to compromise with and placate his detractors. A further complication of the dynamic is that the lack of bonding worked both ways. Probably at least some of the other apostles did not feel close to Smoot and begrudged him his political ambitions, which appeared more important than his commitment to his apostolic calling.

By early 1904, the press was reporting the wish lists of Smoot's opponents about potential witnesses. The most prominent among the suggested names was that of Joseph F. Smith. Smoot well understood that polygamy's sexual details would be a magnet for journalists, eager to purvey prurient details about the private lives and practices of the Mormon leaders to their readers. "Of course," Smoot reassured Smith in a preview of his tactics, "I can testify that I do not know of any of the First Presidency or Twelve Apostles having sexual intercourse with more than one woman. I can even testify that I do not know that a child has been born to President Joseph F. Smith, or any of the First Presidency, or the Quorum of Twelve Apostles by their plural wives since the manifesto."³⁰ While Smoot's willingness does him credit, it hardly seems likely that such testimony would be found credible. Smith's reaction brushed aside Smoot's qualms. Irritated, Smith told Smoot he had nothing to hide and claimed that he would, in fact, welcome such exposure:

We are and always have been open to investigation with regard to our religion and our religious practices. . . . We are pleased to have another opportunity of presenting the doctrines of the Church of Jesus Christ before the world. This we have been striving to do for the last seventy years. Thousands of our elders have gone forth from nation to nation . . . endeavoring to get the people to understand what "Mormonism" is, and we have spent hundreds of thousands of dollars in endeavoring to expose it and bring it to the notice of the world. Don't shrink from the issue, tell them to come ahead, invite them to make a most thorough investigation, the more thorough the better in all and

²⁹Smoot, Letter to Joseph F. Smith, February 5, 1903; Carl Badger, *Journal*, March 22, 1904, in Rodney J. Badger, *Liahona and Iron Rod: A Biography of Carl A. Badger and Rosalia Jenkins Badger* (Bountiful, Utah: Family History Publishers, 1985), 210; Smoot, Letter to Joseph F. Smith & Counselors, December 8, 1905.

³⁰Smoot, Letter to Joseph F. Smith, January 26, 1904.

everything that belongs to us.³¹

By late February, the *Salt Lake Tribune* reported that twenty-two witnesses had been subpoenaed, with President Smith heading the list.³² The Church president dutifully took the train to Washington and became the first witness to testify when the hearings opened on March 2, 1904. Reporting from Washington, *Harper's Weekly* explained that "six Methodists, two Congregationalists, two Presbyterians, an Episcopalian, a Baptist, and a Unitarian compose the tribunal before which the Mormon Church is on trial at Washington."³³

A New York newspaper noticed that President Smith sported a "scraggly beard" that dropped "well down on his chest"; also that "in the lapel of his coat is a button an inch in diameter, on which is his own picture." His eyes were "small and shifty," the reporter added, no doubt pandering to the readers' expectations. More informative was the observation that "Smith speaks like a preacher. His voice is sonorous. His words are well chosen. It is evident that he has had much practice in talking to the public. His temper is not well in hand, for at times he flares up and answers questions sharply. He rarely moves when other witnesses are on the stand. He watches each man closely, but betrays neither satisfaction at nor disapproval of the testimony. He looks like the solemn personage he is, impressed with his own authority, and evidently given to impressing others so far as he is able."³⁴

Unquestionably, President Smith would have been anxious about being grilled under the national spotlight in a forum where all topics had been ruled fair game. Certainly he anticipated that he must meet difficult questions about his domestic situation. However, he seems to have entered the chambers intent on being utterly candid about his personal situation while preserving considerable reticence about the behavior of others. The predictable result of this approach was that his remarks attracted national attention, newspapers run-

³¹Smith, Letter to Smoot, January 28, 1904.

³²"Subpoenas for Smoot Witnesses," *Salt Lake Tribune*, February 25, 1904.

³³Philip Loring Allen, "The Mormon Church on Trial," *Harper's Weekly*, March 26, 1904, 469–71.

³⁴*New York Sun*, March 9, 1904.

ning front-page stories as shocking new disclosures came out of each day's testimony. President Smith may have miscalculated the goodwill to be generated by his transparency. To his detractors, far from appearing upright and honorable, his answers seemed brazen and flip-pant, as if he were defying the nation to take action against his continued embrace of plural marriage.

He was under the gun for six days; his testimony spanned more than sixteen hours and filled a total of 262 published pages.³⁵ Representative excerpts from his testimony show the breadth of the questions asked him and his openness in responding about himself while deflecting questions involving others. The first exchange occurred in the morning session of the committee's first day of questioning. The committee had first asked about the Church's business dealings, including ownership of the *Deseret News*, and about LDS doctrinal concepts.

* * *

Wednesday, March 2, 1904; 11:30 A.M.³⁶

Senator Hoar. Is the doctrine of the inspiration of the head of the church and revelations given to him one of the fundamental or non-fundamental doctrines of Mormonism?

Mr. Smith. The principle of revelation is a fundamental principle to the church.

Senator Hoar. I speak of the revelations given to the head of the church. Is that a fundamental doctrine of Mormonism?

Mr. Smith. Yes, sir.

Senator Hoar. Does or does not a person who does not believe that a revelation given through the head of the church comes from God reject a fundamental principle of Mormonism?

Mr. Smith. He does; always if the revelation is a divine revelation from God.

Senator Hoar. It always is, is it not? It comes through the head of the church?

Mr. Smith. When it is divine, it always is; when it is divine, most decidedly.

³⁵He testified Wednesday through Saturday, March 2–5, Monday, March 7, and Wednesday, March 9.

³⁶*Smoot Hearings*, 1:98–100. I have standardized the formatting of the quoted testimony.

The Chairman [Julius C. Burrows]: I do not quite understand that—"when it is divine." You have revelations, have you not?

Mr. Smith. I have never pretended to nor do I profess to have received revelations. I never said I had a revelation except so far as God has shown to me that so-called Mormonism is God's divine truth; that is all.³⁷

The Chairman. You say that was shown to you by God?

Mr. Smith. By inspiration.

The Chairman. How by inspiration; does it come in the shape of a vision?

Mr. Smith. "The things of God knoweth no man but the spirit of God;" and I can not tell you any more than that I received that knowledge and that testimony by the spirit of God.

Mr. Tayler.³⁸ You do not mean that you reached it by any process of reasoning or by any other method by which you reach other conclusions in your mind, do you?

Mr. Smith. When I have reached principles; that is, I have been confirmed in my acceptance and knowledge of principles that have been revealed to me, shown to me, on which I was ignorant before, by reason and facts. . . .

Senator Bailey.³⁹ Before we proceed any further, I assume that all these questions connected with the religious faith of the Mormon Church are to be shown subsequently to have some rela-

³⁷Smith later clarified that "while he had never received from God a revelation on some new doctrine or commandment, to be written and preserved and handed down as a law to the Church, he had been guided, from the day of his baptism to the present, by divine influence, and had been aided time and again by the spirit of God in his work in the ministry, and strongly expressed the wish that if, in his day, some new revelation should be needed by the Church, he might be worthy to receive it." Salt Lake High Council Minutes, March 19, 1905, excerpt in my possession.

³⁸Robert Walker Tayler (1852-1910) was elected to four terms as a Representative from Ohio (1895-1902). He had led Congress's successful resistance against seating B. H. Roberts. In Smoot's case, he served as lead counsel for the Protestants. He should not be confused with Apostle John W. Taylor.

³⁹Joseph Weldon Bailey (1862-1929), a Democrat from Texas, was elected to two terms as U.S. Senator (1901-13) and served on the Committee on Privileges and Elections investigating Smoot.

- tion to civil affairs. Unless that is true I myself object to going into the religious opinions of these people. I do not think Congress has anything to do with that unless their religion connects itself in some way with their civil or political affairs. . . .
- Mr. Tayler. . . . Mr. Smith, in what different ways did Joseph Smith, jr., receive revelations?
- Mr. Smith. I do not know, sir; I was not there.
- Mr. Tayler. Do you place any faith at all in the account of Joseph Smith, jr., as to how he received those revelations?
- Mr. Smith. Yes, sir; I do.
- Mr. Tayler. How does he say he got them?
- Mr. Smith. He does not say.
- Mr. Tayler. He does not?
- Mr. Smith. Only by the spirit of God.
- Mr. Tayler. Only by the spirit of God?
- Mr. Smith. Yes, sir.
- Mr. Tayler. Did Joseph Smith ever say that God or an angel appeared to him in fact?
- Mr. Smith. He did.
- Mr. Tayler. That is what I asked you a moment ago.
- Mr. Smith. He did.
- Mr. Tayler. Did Joseph Smith contend that always there was a visible appearance of the Almighty or of an angel?
- Mr. Smith. No sir; he did not.
- Mr. Tayler. How otherwise did he claim to receive revelations?
- Mr. Smith. By the spirit of the Lord.
- Mr. Tayler. And in that way, such revelations as you have received, you have had them?
- Mr. Smith. Yes, sir. . . .

* * *

Despite Joseph F. Smith's claim that he was "pleased to have another opportunity of presenting the doctrines of the Church of Jesus Christ before the world," as this testimony shows, he was actually vague and cursory, sometimes misunderstanding questions—apparently deliberately—and passing up numerous opportunities to deliver short sermons on Mormon doctrine, the First Vision, the nature of revelation, and prophetic authority. And despite the *New York Sun's* comment on his flashes of "temper," hindsight makes it obvious that Smith was surprisingly equitable, not a trait he was particularly known

for in his early life.⁴⁰ The fact that he did not vary from impeccably genteel deportment is some measure of his control during this ordeal. Clearly, this testimony required his most concentrated effort and rigorously gentlemanly etiquette.

Significantly, rather than perceiving this line of theological questioning to be a missionary opportunity, Smith made little extra effort to clarify the misunderstandings that would have been inevitable in any case as the attorney and witness tried to communicate the philosophical underpinnings of their differing religious assumptions. This line of questioning was of great interest to Latter-day Saints back home in Utah but probably less so to average Americans, many of whom doubtless considered the possibility of conversing with God an absurdity, whether in the physical or spiritual realm. Subsequent witnesses questioned on theological points—among them future apostle James E. Talmage—were also uncooperative with the committee.⁴¹ They seem to have been offended by prying and somewhat voyeuristic questions into Church teachings, apparently feeling, like Bailey, that these matters had no business in a senatorial hearing.⁴²

Whether by instinct or design, Smith's approach acted to Smoot's benefit. Smith had called the Provo businessman to the Quorum of the Twelve in part because of Smoot's business acumen and political activism—not because of his Church experience.⁴³ When discussions turned to theology, Smoot was in over his head, a fact rather painfully evident from Smoot's confused testimony toward the end of

⁴⁰Bruce A. Van Orden, "Joseph F. Smith," *Encyclopedia of Mormonism* (New York: Macmillan, 1992), 3:1350. Scott Kenney, "The Trials of Young Joseph F. Smith," Sunstone Symposium address, <http://www.saintswithouthalos.html.jfstrials1.phtml> (accessed July 17, 2005).

⁴¹For Talmage's lengthy testimony, see *Smoot Hearings*, 3:4–129; 400–436.

⁴²After the Smoot hearings, Smoot's friend Senator Albert Jeremiah Beveridge (R-Indiana) expressed a similar negative reaction on the Senate floor: The hearings, he said, had been held "at enormous expense to the American people . . . over \$26,000 of the people's money has been spent on the attempt to ruin this man." *Congressional Record*, February 20, 1907, 3410.

⁴³Heath, "Reed Smoot," 70–73.

the hearings.⁴⁴ By making himself a target, Smith allowed the perception of some distance to emerge between the two of them. The genius of Smoot's appointment to the Twelve was that the Church needed someone to represent its interests in the nation's capital, and Smoot was the ideal candidate. Unassuming and likeable, he was deferential to authority, usually allowed insults to pass by without a public response and put his energy into building coalitions.⁴⁵ As a result, when issues emerged that were of critical importance to Utah, he was in a position to call in favors.⁴⁶ He genuinely liked the trappings of power, which gave him motivation to campaign vigorously and to think in

⁴⁴After the first day of Smoot testimony, Talmage confided in his diary, "Senator Smoot himself took his place in the witness chair. . . It is the general feeling that Bro. Smoot did his case much good by his own testimony. His greatest uncertainty was manifest in connection with questions on the doctrinal and theology of the church. This we all regret, because in view of the testimony long ago made part of the record in this case, that the First Presidency and Twelve are to the people 'prophets, seers, and revelators,' any statement from one of these officials on doctrinal points would appear to the Committee in the nature of an authoritative exposition, so that any variation expressed by a layman would be of little worth to them, except to show conflict of opinion and confusion in evidence. An early adjournment was taken this afternoon owing to Bro. Smoot's indisposition." Talmage, Diary, January 20, 1905, Talmage Papers, Perry Special Collections. Smoot testified for ten hours (128 published pages) on three different days. *Smoot Hearings*, 3:182–309.

⁴⁵Smoot biographer Milton R. Merrill, *Reed Smoot: Apostle in Politics* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1990), 400–401, stated that Smoot "was not an architect, he was a builder. To this kind of building process he brought inhuman physical energy, a colossal industry, personal honesty and integrity, a prodigious memory, a remarkable eclecticism in the accumulation of statistical facts, and a fabulous loyalty to those at the head of the enterprise."

⁴⁶*Ibid.*, 105–76. Smoot can best be explained as the opposite of his father, Abraham Owen Smoot, who was a polygamist, slave owner, Democrat, and fully committed Mormon. Smoot was one of the territory's first Republicans, monogamous, pro-Union, and more or less secular. He followed his father's example in business but otherwise seemed to have different views than his father. George D. Smith, "Nauvoo Roots of Mormon Polygamy, 1841–46: A Preliminary Demographic Report," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 27, no. 1 (Spring 1994): 21, 29–30; Lester E. Bush Jr. and

terms of fostering popular approval.

President Smith, as I read the record, took a calculated risk, betting he could appeal to the better natures of Smoot's senatorial colleagues rather than angering them by evasion. When Salt Lake Stake president Angus M. Cannon testified a month and a half later, he relied on the Fifth Amendment and asked to be exempted from answering questions that he thought might incriminate him. He took this approach, at least in part, because "in the public press . . . my president [Smith] has been caricatured and his family has been caricatured throughout the United States and throughout the world." and intended to avoid this upshot.⁴⁷ There had been enough hiding, President Smith seemed to be saying, and he was presenting himself as docilely cooperative in facing the music. The results of this approach, however, provided less success than he must have hoped.

Immediately after this segment of his testimony, the hearings adjourned for a two-hour lunch break, then resumed on the feverishly exciting topic of plural marriage.⁴⁸

* * *

Mr. Tayler. The revelation [1890 Manifesto] which Wilford Woodruff received, in consequence of which the command to take plural wives was suspended, did not, as you understand it, change the divine view of plural marriages, did it?

Mr. Smith. It did not change our belief at all.

Mr. Tayler. It did not change your belief at all?

Mr. Smith. Not at all, sir.

Mr. Tayler. You continued to believe that plural marriages were right?

Mr. Smith. We do. I do, at least. I do not answer for anybody else. I continue to believe as I did before.

Armand L. Mauss, *Neither White Nor Black: Mormon Scholars Confront the Race Issue in a Universal Church* (Midvale, Utah: Signature Books, 1984), 34.

⁴⁷Although Cannon copped a plea, he proceeded to admit that he maintained conjugal relations with his plural wives after the Manifesto, had fathered three children since then, and agreed that he had thus violated "the law of [my] church and the law of the land." The committee and press appear to have soft-pedaled his admissions in part because Cannon meekly noted that he was "only mortal." *Smoot Hearings*, 1:775-94.

⁴⁸*Ibid.*, 1:107-9.

Mr. Tayler. You stated what were the standard inspired works of the church, and we find in the Book of Doctrine and Covenants the revelation made to Joseph Smith in 1843 respecting plural marriages. Where do we find the revelation suspending the operation of that command?

Mr. Smith. Printed in our public works.

Mr. Tayler. Printed in your public works?

Mr. Smith. Printed in pamphlet form. You have a pamphlet of it right there.

Mr. Tayler. It is not printed in your work of Doctrine and Covenants?

Mr. Smith. No, sir; nor a great many other revelations, either.⁴⁹

Mr. Tayler. Nor a great many other revelations?

Mr. Smith. Yes, sir.

Mr. Tayler. How many revelations do you suppose—

Mr. Smith. I could not tell you how many.

Mr. Tayler. But a great many?

Mr. Smith. A great many.

Mr. Tayler. Why have they not been printed in the Book of Doctrine and Covenants?

Mr. Smith. Because it has not been deemed necessary to publish or print them.

Mr. Tayler. Are they matters that have been proclaimed to the people at large?

Mr. Smith. No, sir; not in every instance.

Mr. Tayler. Why not?

Mr. Smith. Well, I don't know why not. It was simply because they have not been.

Mr. Tayler. Is it because they are not of general interest, or that all of the people need to know of?

Mr. Smith. A great many of these revelations are local.

Mr. Tayler. Local?

Mr. Smith. In their nature. They apply to local matters.

Mr. Tayler. Yes, exactly.

⁴⁹The Manifesto was issued as a press release and subsequently published in newspapers, including the *Deseret News*. It first appeared in the Doctrine and Covenants in 1908. Robert J. Woodford, "The Historical Development of the Doctrine and Covenants" (Ph.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1974), 3:1825–33.

Mr. Smith. And these, in many instances, are not incorporated in the general revelations, and in the Book of Doctrine and Covenants.

Mr. Tayler. For instance, what do you mean by local?

Mr. Smith. Matters that pertain to local interests of the church.

Mr. Tayler. Of course the law or revelation suspending polygamy is a matter that does affect everybody in the church.

Mr. Smith. Yes.

Mr. Tayler. And you have sought to inform them all, but not by means of putting it within the covers of one of your inspired books?

Mr. Smith. Yes.

Mr. Tayler. The various revelations that are published in the Book of Doctrine and Covenants covered twenty-five or thirty years, did they not?

Mr. Smith. Yes, sir.

Mr. Tayler. And as new revelations were given they were added to the body of the revelations previously received?

Mr. Smith. From time to time they were, but not all.

Mr. Tayler. No; but I mean those that are published in that book?

Mr. Smith. Yes, sir.

Mr. Tayler. You have, I suppose, published a great many editions of the Book of Doctrine and Covenants?

Mr. Smith. Yes, sir.

Mr. Tayler. And as recently as 1903 you have put out an edition of that book?

Mr. Smith. Well, I can not say that from memory.

Mr. Tayler. No; but within the last year, or two, or three?⁵⁰

Mr. Smith. Yes; I think, likely, it is so.

Mr. Tayler. As the head of the church, have you given any instruction to put within that book of Doctrine and Covenants any expression that the revelation of Joseph Smith has been qualified?

Mr. Smith. No, sir.

⁵⁰Ibid., 1:92, specifies that between 1882 and 1920 there were “no less than 28 printings,” but he does not identify them by year. Woodruff’s 1890 Manifesto was added to the 1921 edition, not as a section, but as an “official declaration.” This action was taken three years after President Smith’s death, under the presidency of his successor, Heber J. Grant.

Mr. Tayler. The revelation of Joseph Smith respecting plural marriages remains in the book?

Mr. Smith. Yes, sir.

Mr. Tayler. And in the last editions just as it did when first promulgated?

Mr. Smith. Yes, sir.

Mr. Tayler. And it remains now without expurgation or note or anything to show that it is not now a valid law?

Mr. Smith. In the book?

Mr. Tayler. In the book; exactly.

Mr. Smith. Yes, sir.

Mr. Tayler. And in connection with the publication of the revelation itself.

Mr. Smith. But the fact is publicly and universally known by the people.

The Chairman [Julius C. Burrows]. There is one thing I do not understand that I want to ask about. This manifesto suspending polygamy, I understand, was a revelation and a direction to the church?

Mr. Smith. I understand it, Mr. Chairman, just as it is stated there by President Woodruff himself. President Woodruff makes his own statement. I can not add to nor take anything from that statement.

The Chairman. Do you understand it was a revelation the same as other revelations?

Mr. Smith. I understand personally that President Woodruff was inspired to put forth that manifesto.

The Chairman. And in that sense it was a revelation?

Mr. Smith. Well, it was a revelation to me.

The Chairman. Yes.

Mr. Smith. Most emphatically.

The Chairman. Yes; and upon which you rely. There is another revelation directing plural marriages, I believe, previous to that?

Mr. Smith. Yes.

The Chairman. And I understand you to say now that you believe in the former revelation directing plural marriages in spite of this later revelation for a discontinuance?

Mr. Smith. That is simply a matter of belief on my part. I can not help my belief.

The Chairman. Yes; you adhere to the original revelation and dis-

card the latter one.

Mr. Smith. I adhere to both. I adhere to the first in my belief. I believe that the principle is as correct a principle to-day as it was then.

The Chairman. What principle?

Mr. Smith. The principle of plural marriage. If I had not believed it, Mr. Chairman, I never would have married more than one wife.

The Chairman. That is all. . . .

* * *

Some senators on the committee perceived a contradiction between belief and action, between stated intent and actual behavior, as well as an implicit suggestion that God through his prophets would succumb to political pressure. These themes were recurring points of emphasis throughout the hearings as the prosecution hammered home its view that Mormon leaders had not acted in good faith. In fact, it appeared to some skeptical outsiders that the LDS hierarchy was blatantly insincere about its belief in revelation,⁵¹ using the doctrine as convenient means of self-justification. Again, President Smith took the higher ground, as he viewed it, by acknowledging the ambiguities in God's laws—gray areas where principles come into conflict. Again, he passed up several opportunities to provide fuller and more nuanced answers, with the result that, the more forthcoming he tried to be, the more contrived his answers appeared to be to the opposition. His answers fell explosively among the skeptical committee members, exploded again on the front pages of the nation's newspapers—and from there settled disturbingly into the public consciousness.

When the day's session closed, President Smith's testimony was the sensation of the capital. Some measure of the public interest is a paragraph in one paper on the following day commenting that "it was necessary . . . to post a policeman at the door of the room of the committee. . . . All persons except those directly interested were kept out of the room, though outside the door it was impossible almost to

⁵¹For a spirited discussion of these topics, see *Smoot Hearings*, 1:312–19.

maintain a passageway through the corridor of the Capitol.”⁵² On Thursday, March 3, President Smith again took the witness stand to be bombarded by questions about his private life. This testimony was the most controversial testimony yet. This exchange still remains problematic among scholars looking at the matter as dispassionately as possible yet still disagreeing about what it means or what motivated it. Most think the president’s answers fell along a spectrum of possible motives that ranged from technically accurate to honest misunderstandings of the terms used to subtly misleading to outright lies. “Lying for the Lord” is how one historian summed up the president’s testimony,⁵³ while others have labeled it “sensational”⁵⁴ or “concealing.”⁵⁵ Kathleen Flake, an attorney who provided the most detailed analysis of the Smoot hearings, explained her view of the legal dynamics of that part of the hearing:

[My analysis] comes from the law and how it works, particularly in trials. . . . I didn’t believe that Joseph F. Smith did lie, that what problems I have with the phrase “lying for the Lord” are largely that it now obscures as much as it illuminates to use that phrase. People tend to use it as an accusation rather than as a way to understand a particular dynamic. . . . He’s tough, he is very tough. I mean, you read this hearing and I just think you’ll walk away respecting him. But he sits there for four and a half days and is pistol whipped. That’s not easy—to be cross-examined, not only by counsel, but by the lawyers who were sitting on that panel, who are Senators and who freely intervene, and question him, and he holds his own, which astounded the nation because they’re reading the transcripts throughout. So on the one hand I see him as . . . a hostile witness. . . . The other thing he does that I think is so disconcerting to a lot of people is . . . phrases he uses. . . . He’s very careful in his language. . . . Did he lie? No. Did he mislead? You betcha. But that’s the way the game is played.

She explained, “A good lawyer is trained not to ask any question that she does not already know the answer to. And when you ask your question, you give the witness two choices: You can either make an admission against your interest or you can perjure yourself. That’s

⁵²“Now Has Five Wives,” *Evening Star*, March 3, 1904, clipping in Journal History.

⁵³Hardy, *Solemn Covenant*, 363–80.

⁵⁴Merrill, *Reed Smoot*, 47, 50–51.

⁵⁵Quinn, “LDS Church Authority,” 97–98.

the only choice a good lawyer will give you on the witness stand—unless you're a very smart witness and you'll split the difference." She concluded admiringly, "And you see Joseph F. Smith doing this for four and a half days. It's incredible to read. And he's obfuscating, he's misleading, he's [using] every possible way to get around that and he does it."⁵⁶

Judgment about President Smith's veracity may depend on exactly which elements of his testimony one emphasizes. As I read the proceedings, he appears to have been strictly honest—even willing to be a sacrificial lamb when speaking of himself.⁵⁷ In many ways, it was his unexpected candor that led to further misunderstandings. Certainly he hedged to the point of prevarication about the status of new plural marriages. Even so, it is striking how unflinchingly he admitted that he had fathered eleven children by five wives since the Manifesto. This aspect of his testimony must be seen as a reflection of his personal character, the weight of his office, and to some degree as a probable strategy worked out with legal counsel about the degree to which he should cooperate with the committee's probing. I assume, however, that his own preference carried the greatest weight in such a hypothetical discussion. He would surely have sought inspiration in prayer, but I have found no public statements in which he claimed that he was inspired in taking the approach he chose.

The Thursday morning session on March 3, 1904, opened at 10:45 A.M. This was one of the most important sections of testimony from any witness. In it, President Smith makes a careful but probably obscure distinction between his acts as an individual Latter-day Saint and the acts, knowledge, or authorization of "the Church." The opening distinction he made between a "law" and a "rule" of the Church was probably useful primarily as a time-consuming and attention-diverting quibble to distract the committee, whose frustration at the cir-

⁵⁶Kathleen Flake, response during question and answer session after her paper, "Does It Matter How We Remember the Abandonment of Plural Marriage?" Salt Lake Sunstone symposium, August 2004, SL-0426, transcribed from mp3 in my possession.

⁵⁷My conclusion is based on Kathleen Flake's assessment: "A close reading of the [Smoot Hearings] record permits the conclusion that Joseph F. Smith was sufficiently concerned for his personal integrity and skilled in casuistry to avoid lying outright." Flake, *Politics of American Religious Identity*, 75.

cular action shows in a couple of places.⁵⁸

* * *

Mr. Tayler. Is the law of the church, as well as the law of the land, against the taking of plural wives?

Mr. Smith. Yes, sir; I will say—

Mr. Tayler. Is that the law?

Mr. Smith. I would substitute the word “rule” of the church.

Mr. Tayler. Rule?

Mr. Smith. Instead of law; as you put it.

Mr. Tayler. Very well. Then to take a plural wife would be a violation of a rule of the church?

Mr. Smith. It would.

Mr. Tayler. Would it be such a violation of the rule of the church as would induce the church authorities to take it up like the violation of any other rule would do?

Mr. Smith. It would.

Mr. Tayler. Is the cohabitation with one who is claimed to be a plural wife a violation of the law or rule of the church, as well as of the law of the land?

Mr. Smith. If the committee will permit me, I could not answer the question yes or no.

Mr. Tayler. You can not answer it yes or no?

Mr. Smith. No, sir. I should like to explain that matter.⁵⁹ . . .

The Chairman [Julius C. Burrows]. Certainly; but be as brief as you can. You have a right to make your own answer.

Mr. Smith. In regard to the status of polygamists at the time of the manifesto, it was understood for some time, according to the investigation before the master in chancery,⁶⁰ that they would abstain from associations with their families, and I think as a rule—of course I am not familiar with it [in all instances] and

⁵⁸*Smoot Hearings*, 1:128–33.

⁵⁹On October 19–20, 1891, when questioned by the Master in Chancery in Utah Territory, Smith testified: “Q. Do you understand that the manifesto applies to cohabitation of men and women in plural marriage where it had already existed? —A. I can not say whether it does or not. —Q. It does not in terms say so, does it? —A. No. I think, however, the effect of it is so. I don’t see how the effect of it can be otherwise.” *Smoot Hearings*, 1:22.

⁶⁰President Woodruff, testified at the same time as Joseph F. Smith,

could not say from my own knowledge—that was observed. But at the time, at the passage of the enabling act for the admission of the Territory as a State,⁶¹ the only provision that was made binding for the admission of the State was that plural marriages should cease, and there was nothing said in the enabling act prohibiting the cohabitation of a man with his wives at that time.

Senator Hoar. I do not want to interrupt you, but you mean, I suppose, with wives previously married?

to the Master in Chancery: “Q. Did you intend to confine this declaration [the manifesto] solely to the forming of new relations by entering new marriages? —A. I don’t know that I understand the question. —Q. Did you intend to confine your declaration and advice to the church solely to the forming of new marriages, without reference to those that were existing—plural marriages? —A. The intention of the proclamation was to obey the law myself—all the laws of the land—on that subject, and expecting the church would do the same. —Q. Let me read the language, and you will understand me, perhaps, better: ‘Inasmuch as laws have been enacted by Congress forbidding plural marriages, I hereby declare,’ etc. Did you intend by that general statement of intention to make the application to existing conditions where the plural marriages already existed? —A. Yes, sir. —Q. As to living in the state of plural marriage? —A. Yes, sir; that is, to the obeying of the law. —Q. In the concluding portion of your statement you say: ‘I now publicly declare that my advice to the Latter Day Saints is to refrain from contracting any marriage forbidden by the law of the land.’ Do you understand that that language was to be expanded and to include the further statement of living or associating in plural marriage by those already in the status? —A. Yes, sir; I intended the proclamation to cover the ground—to keep the laws—to obey the law myself, and expected the people to obey the law. . . . Q. Your attention was called to the fact that nothing was said in the manifesto about the dissolution of existing polygamous relations. I want to ask you, President Woodruff, whether, in your advice to the church officials and the people of the church, you have advised them that your intention was and that the requirement of the church was that polygamous relations already formed before that should not be continued—that is, there should be no association with plural wives—in other words, that unlawful cohabitation, as it is named and spoken of, should also stop, as well as future polygamous marriages? —A. Yes, sir; that has been my view.” *Smoot Hearings*, 1:21.

⁶¹Congress passed the enabling act Smith mentions in July 1894, and Utah became a state in January 1896.

Mr. Smith. That is what I mean. It was understood that plural marriages had ceased. It has been the continuous and conscientious practice and rule of the church ever since the manifesto to observe that manifesto with regard to plural marriages and from that time till to-day there has never been, to my knowledge, a plural marriage performed in accordance with understanding, instruction, connivance, counsel, or permission of the presiding authorities of the church, or of the church, in any shape or form; and I know whereof I speak, gentlemen, in relation to that matter.

Mr. Tayler. That is all of your answer?

Mr. Smith. What was your question?

The Chairman. Now let the reporter repeat the question.

Mr. Smith. Excuse me; I think I have the thread: Was it contrary to the rule of the church? It was.

Mr. Worthington.⁶² What was?

Mr. Smith. That is, the association of a man, having married more than one wife previous to the manifesto, abstaining from association with them.

The Chairman. I do not think you understand the question. Let the reporter read it.

The reporter read as follows: "Mr. Tayler. Is the cohabitation with one who is claimed to be a plural wife a violation of the law or rule of the church, as well as of the law of the land?"

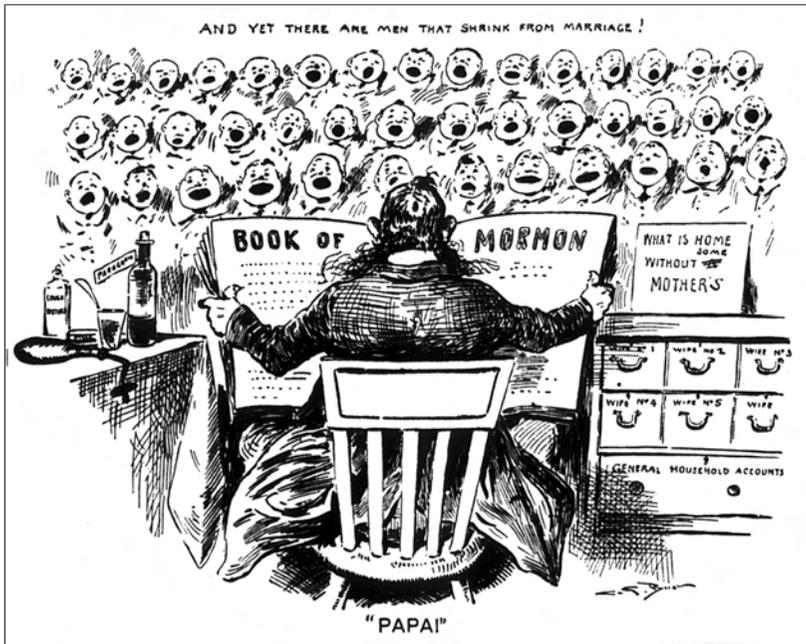
Mr. Smith. That was the case, and is the case, even to-day.

Mr. Tayler. What was the case; what you are about to say?

Mr. Smith. That is contrary to the rule of the church and contrary as well to the law of the land for a man to cohabit with his wives.

But I was placed in this position. I had a plural family, if you please; that is, my first wife was married to me over thirty-eight years ago, my last wife was married to me over twenty years ago, and with these wives I had children, and I simply took my chances preferring to meet the consequences of the law rather than to abandon my children and their mothers; and I have cohabited with my wives—not openly, that is, not in a manner that I thought would be offensive to my neighbors—but I have acknowledged them; I have visited them. They have borne

⁶²Augustus S. Worthington, a non-Mormon, served as lead counsel for Smoot.



"And yet there are men that shrink from marriage!" is the label on this chorus of wailing children calling "Papa!" while a figure representing President Smith reads from the Book of Mormon. On his left are bottles of cough syrup and paregoric. On his right is a cabinet with separate drawers for the five wives (and a provocatively unnumbered one, suggesting that Smith might marry again), while a huge bottom drawer holds "General Household Accounts." A poster spoofing a popular Victorian slogan reads: "What is Home without a [crossed out] Some Mothers." This cartoon appeared in the New York World, March 6, 1904, 1, during President Smith's testimony. Courtesy Perry-Casteneda Library, University of Texas at Austin.

me children since 1890, and I have done it knowing the responsibility and knowing that I was amenable to the law.

Since the admission of the State there has been a sentiment existing and prevalent in Utah that these old marriages would be in measure condoned. They were not looked upon as offensive; as really violative of law; they were, in other words, regarded as an existing fact, and if they saw any wrong in it they simply winked. In other words, Mr. Chairman, the people of Utah, as a rule, as well as the people of this nation, are broad-minded and liberal-minded people, and they have rather

condoned than otherwise, I presume, my offense against the law. I have never been disturbed. Nobody has ever called me in question, that I know of, and if I had, I was there to answer to the charge; or any charge that might have been made against me, and I would have been willing to submit to the penalty of the law, whatever it might have been.⁶³

Mr. Tayler. So that obedience to the law is perfectly satisfied, according to your view of it, if one is ready to pay the penalty for its violation?

Mr. Smith. Not at all. I should like to draw a distinction between unlawful cohabitation and polygamy. There is a law prohibiting polygamy, plural marriages.⁶⁴

Senator Hoar. You mean now a law of the State of Utah?

Mr. Smith. I mean the law of the State, and I mean that this is in the constitution of our State. It is required by the enabling act. That law, gentlemen, has been complied with by the church; that law has been kept by the church; and there never has been a plural marriage by the consent or sanction or knowledge or approval of the church since the manifesto.

The law of unlawful cohabitation is another law entirely, and relates to the cohabitation of a man with more than one

⁶³More than a month following this testimony, President Smith clarified these comments in a letter to Smoot, "You may tell Senator Hoar for me, if you chose, that I have never broken a law of God to my knowledge in my life, and that I did not testify that I had. And I never to my knowledge broke but *one* law of my country. And that law is against my conscience and against good morals, so far as *I* am concerned. That is the law against living with my family, whom I took before the law was enacted. I never said in my testimony that for disregarding that law I expected to ask for or receive mercy. I plainly said that I would rather face the penalties of that law than the more dreadful consequences of abandoning my children and their mothers." Smith, Letter to Smoot, April 9, 1904.

⁶⁴President Smith fumed: "It is astonishing how the mind of man, of ordinary intelligence, cannot grasp the situation out here, and see the difference between the offense under the law called 'unlawful cohabitation,' and the graver offense, under the law, called 'polygamous marriage.' 'There are none so blind as those who will not see, nor so deaf as those who will not hear.' When men pronounce the 'Mormon' people insincere, they simply lie or are deceived." *Ibid.*

wife. That is the law which I have presumed to face in preference to disgracing myself and degrading my family by turning them off and ceasing to acknowledge them and to administer to their wants—not the law in relation to plural marriage. That I have not broken. Neither has any man broken it by the sanction or approval of the church.

Mr. Tayler. You say that there is a State law forbidding unlawful cohabitation?

Mr. Smith. That is my understanding.

Mr. Tayler. And ever since that law was passed you have been violating it?

Mr. Smith. I think likely I have been practicing the same thing even before the law was passed. . . .

Mr. Tayler. You have not in any respect changed your relations to these wives since the manifesto or since the passage of this law of the State of Utah. I am not meaning to be unfair in the question, but only to understand you. What I mean is, you have been holding your several wives out as wives, not offensively, as you say. You have furnished them homes. You have given them your society. You have taken care of the children that they bore you, and you have caused them to bear you new children—all of them.

Mr. Smith. That is correct, sir.

Mr. Tayler. That is correct?

Mr. Smith. Yes, sir.

Mr. Tayler. Now, since that was a violation of the law, why have you done it?

Mr. Smith. For the reason I have stated. I preferred to face the penalties of the law to abandoning my family.

Mr. Tayler. Do you consider it an abandonment of your family to maintain relations with your wives except that of occupying their beds?

Mr. Smith. I do not wish to be impertinent, but I should like the gentleman to ask any woman, who is a wife, that question. . . .

Mr. Tayler. Mr. Smith, how many children have been born to your several wives since the manifesto of 1890?

Mr. Worthington. I object to that. He professes that he has been living with them. What difference does it make whether it is one child or three?

Mr. Tayler. Of course it will be important as showing how continu-

ous, how notorious, how offensive, has been his conduct in this respect.

Senator Foraker. The committee must necessarily infer from what the witness stated that this cohabitation has been continuous and uninterrupted.

Senator Beveridge. He so stated.

Mr. Tayler. Precisely; but not how well advertised, how offensive, how instructive it has been to his people; how compelling.

Senator Beveridge. I understood the witness to say that he had children born to him since that time.

Mr. Tayler. Precisely.

Senator Beveridge. That has already been stated.

Mr. Tayler. But it makes a great difference whether it is 2 or 22.

The Chairman. Mr. Smith, I wish to ask you a question preliminarily. I understood you, in response to a question of counsel, to state that you married your first wife at such a time, and the second wife at such a time, both before 1890?

Mr. Smith. Yes, sir.

The Chairman. The last wife, I mean. Were there any intermediate marriages?

Mr. Smith. Yes, sir.

The Chairman. How many?

Mr. Smith. There were three besides the first and the last.

The Chairman. Then you have five wives?⁶⁵

Mr. Smith. I have.

The Chairman. Mr. Tayler, what is your question?

Mr. Tayler. My question is, How many children have been born to him by these wives since 1890?

The Chairman. The chair thinks that question is competent.

Mr. Smith. I have had 11 children born since 1890.

Mr. Tayler. Those are all the children that have been born to you since 1890?

Mr. Smith. Yes, sir; those are all.

Mr. Tayler. Were those children by all of your wives; that is, did all of your wives bear children?

⁶⁵President Smith had actually married six women. In 1859 at age twenty-one, he had married his cousin, Levira A. Smith. He married his first plural wife, Julina Lambson, in May 1866. His marriage to Levira ended in divorce without children.

Mr. Smith. All my wives bore children.

Mr. Tayler. Since 1890?

Mr. Smith. That is correct.

The Chairman. I understand, since 1890.

Mr. Smith. Since 1890. I said that I have had born to me 11 children since 1890, each of my wives being the mother of from 1 to 2 of those children.⁶⁶

The Chairman. Mr. Tayler, proceed.

Mr. Tayler. None of them has borne more than two children to you?

Mr. Smith. None that I recollect now. I could not tell you without I referred to the dates.

The Chairman. I do not think that is material.

Mr. Tayler. That was not intended for information so much as it was for my guidance with respect to another question which I do not care to ask.

Senator Foraker. It is very evident that there must have been two children by four of the wives, and three by one, which would make eleven.

Mr. Tayler. That is very true. You of course understand that I might have difficulty in locating the mother of some of the children, as Mr. Smith himself is not quite sure—

Mr. Smith. You will not have any difficulty so far as I am concerned.

Mr. Tayler. I have no doubt if you could recall the particular situation, but you said you were not sure but that one might have borne you three children.

⁶⁶At the end of the day's testimony, the *Deseret News*, editorialized: "President Smith's frankness seemed to surprise several members of the committee, who seemed prepared to expect evasions and excuses. It is probable that counsel for the protestants will get all the information they could possibly desire about the 'Mormon' Church before President Smith leaves the stand. Early this morning Mr. Tayler told the 'News' correspondent he expected to finish questioning him today, but at the noon recess he said he will probably continue until tomorrow. . . . At times, the trend of questions indicated that counsel for the protestants proposed to lift the bed curtains in the homes of every official of the Church, but this line of questioning was stopped for the time being, at least. The indications are that the testimony will fill several volumes. In transcribing the notes of yesterday's hearing the stenographers filled 106 large pages with type written characters." "A Frank, Honest Declaration," March 3, 1904.

Mr. Smith. I rather think she has.

Mr. Tayler. You rather think?

Mr. Smith. Yes. I could tell you a little later by referring. I can not say that I remember the dates of births of my children—all of them.

...

* * *

President Smith, despite his imperturbable composure during his startling testimony, apparently realized its negative impact. Smoot's personal secretary, Carl Badger, reported that "when President Smith had concluded his testimony," he left muttering, "I am sorry for Reed, I am sorry for Reed."⁶⁷ Smith knew that these details about his personal life would be damaging to Smoot's case, yet he had told the committee what they wanted to know. The senators were obviously startled, not only by Smith's confession of cohabitation, but especially by his nonchalant assumption that, once statehood had been achieved, Mormons assumed that all had been forgiven and forgotten and that those who had previously married more than one wife could resume living with them. This description flatly contradicted both what Church president Wilford Woodruff and Smith himself had assured the master in chancery in 1891. On the other hand, it was not the first time (or would it be the last) that local "arrangements" in the United States would vary from what politicians and others promised to a national audience. Was President Smith duplicitous, or was he simply stating the reality of this dichotomy as it existed in Utah and Washington at the time?

Smith reiterated throughout his testimony that "the Church" had not officially permitted any new plural marriages after the Manifesto.⁶⁸ Given incontrovertible evidence to the contrary, his denial has been considered by some to be a clear equivocation. Contravening this interpretation through legalistic and semantic analysis, Kathleen Flake has suggested that, by stressing that he was speaking for "the Church," Smith eliminated his own personal knowledge, as well as that of any other Church member or leader, thereby technically

⁶⁷Badger, quoted in Badger, *Liahona and Iron Rod*, 213.

⁶⁸Smith made the assertion five times. *Smoot Hearings*, 1:130, 143, 177, 360, 485.



SENATOR SMOOT HEARS PRESIDENT SMITH'S TESTIMONY.

“Senator Smoot Hears President Smith’s Testimony.” In this cartoon, Senator Smoot reacts with consternation to some aspects of President Smith’s testimony. Salt Lake Herald, March 4, 1904, 1.



A voice calls "You're next!" to the shivering Smoot who is "Waiting for the Plunge" in a Roman toga about to enter the frigid bath of the "Committee Rooms" where the "Senatorial Investigation" will occur. Despite the "Welcome" mat, icicles adorn the door, the thermometer on the wall reads zero, and the small slogan on the wall reads: "What are the cold waves saying, Brother?" Salt Lake Herald, March 5, 1904.



"Ready for Shipment." After the committee voted against Smoot's retaining his seat, many thought Smoot would be shipped back to Utah. Kansas Senator Joseph R. Burton resigned from the Senate in 1906 in disgrace, convicted of receiving kickbacks from a federal agency. The cartoon thus depicts Smoot as guilty by association. Chicago-Inter-Ocean, Monday, June 4, 1906. Courtesy Perry-Casteneda Library.

telling the truth.⁶⁹ By employing a pettifogging strategy well familiar to that of the seasoned politicians on the committee, Smith cagily deflected telling the truth in actual fact. In that sense he was perhaps being wise as a serpent rather than harmless as a dove (Matt. 10:16).⁷⁰

Given Smith's background, he probably viewed his religious heritage through the prism of persecution. For more than seventy years, Mormons had been under attack from the United States, at least in his mind. He knew that Burrows and a few others were gladly exploiting the hearings to push an anti-Mormon populist platform for political gain. It is possible that, in the case of post-Manifesto polygamy, which Smith was then actually trying to curb, he engaged in some one-upmanship, matching his opponents' spin-doctoring with his own. Readers of his full testimony will notice that he sometimes seems to be scrapping like a crafty pugilist. When he detected a feint in the opponent's jab, he responded with a swift counter-punch. At other times, he apparently let down his guard with startling and disarming candor. These moments may represent his true nature shining through because he detected genuineness on the part of his accuser; but it may also be that he saw some advantage in the ebb and flow of the testimony. He must have noticed how his candidness caught his questioners unawares and earned at least their fleeting respect, stunning them into momentary silence.

Reflecting on his grueling testimony two years after the fact, President Smith referred to the event as "the crucial test to which I was subjected."⁷¹ His unvarnished truthfulness about himself flabbergasted the country and dismayed Smoot's colleagues. After being initially stymied by the disclosures, those who were so inclined made use of the new information to Smoot's disadvantage with the result that, as Smoot wrote to Smith in early April 1904, it had been difficult

⁶⁹Flake, *Politics of American Religious Identity*, 76.

⁷⁰One month after his testimony, President Smith explained to a group of priesthood holders, "The press reports are such that it shows that lies and misr[e]presentation are abroad and they are doing all they can to injure us as a people therefore we should be discreet in our utterances and be as wise as serpents but harmless as doves." Thomas A. Clawson, *Diary*, April 5, 1904, Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City.

⁷¹Joseph F. Smith, quoted in Joseph Heinerman, "Reed Smoot's 'Secret Code,'" *Utah Historical Quarterly* 3 (Summer 1989): 263.

“to keep some of my former friends from deserting me.”⁷² They told him privately that they had been “shocked more over the admission made by” President Smith than by the prior assumption that some Church members had broken the law. It was because some of Smoot’s adversaries felt Smith had all but bragged about having disregarded not only the “law of the land” but the “law of God,” as well (meaning the Manifesto) that had led them to believe he was “insincere and untruthful.”⁷³

Smoot returned to the topic in his next day’s letter to Smith, expressing regret that

thousands of editorials are appearing now branding the Mormon leaders as liars, covenant breakers . . . and the Mormon people as dupes and religious fanatics. It is this class of articles that has a great deal of weight with the Senators My particular friends in the Senate have stated to me over and over again that the testimony that has been given in my case can have but one effect . . . to show to the American people and the world that the Mormon people are not sincere and are not honest when it comes to a question of religion. . . . This sentiment of insincerity has permeated the whole Senate, and a great many Senators have brought me the testimony and asked for an explanation, and I must admit that it is the hardest thing that I have had to meet in life.⁷⁴

Eventually the Senate voted to confirm Smoot, and he served concurrently as an apostle and senator for thirty years. Joseph F. Smith’s testimony had been instrumental in the cascade of effects that ultimately distanced the Church decisively from polygamy. Motivated by the pressure from Washington, President Smith issued the “Second Manifesto” at April 1904 general conference, only a month after his ordeal in Washington. This official statement warned that excommunication would be the punishment of “any officer or member of the Church” who “assume[d] to solemnize or enter into . . . [plural] marriage.”⁷⁵ It may be that Joseph F. Smith went to Washington to school the U.S. Senate in the ways of righteousness and

⁷²Smoot, Letter to Smith, April 9, 1904.

⁷³Smoot, quoted in Heath, “Reed Smoot,” 125; Smoot, Letter to E. H. Callister, March 22, 1904.

⁷⁴Smoot, Letter to Smith, March 23, 1904, quoted in Heath, “Reed Smoot,” 126.

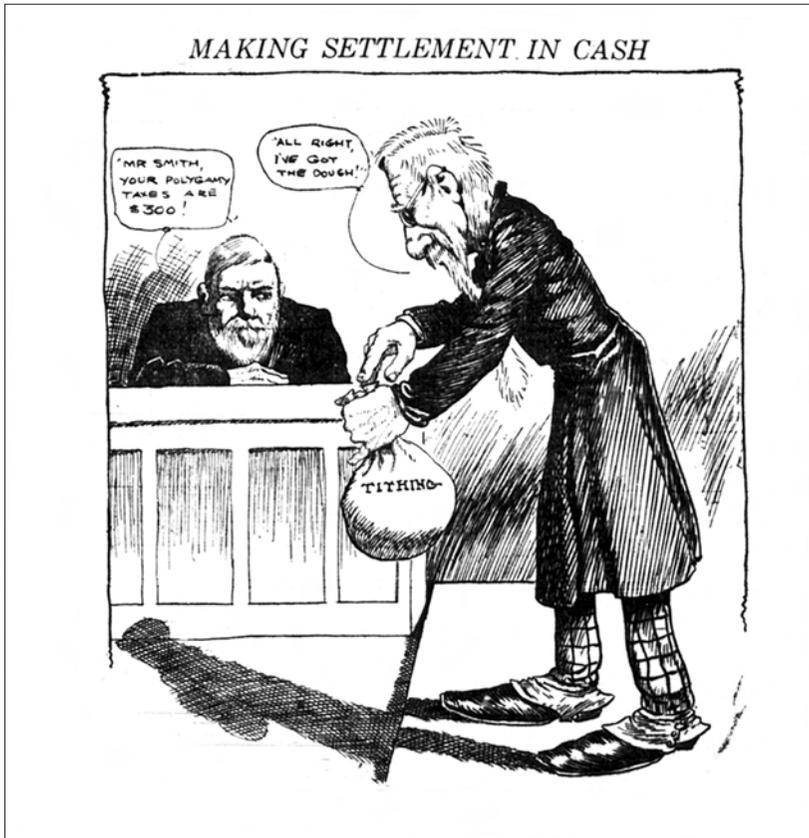
⁷⁵James R. Clark, ed., *Messages of the First Presidency of the Church of Je-*



"We're Both Getting Hades, Aren't We?" Reed Smoot (left) and Matthias Cowley are depicted here as commiserating over their similar plights—being locked out of the U.S. Senate and the LDS hierarchy respectively. A cloud comments, "We are not rolling by much" while a little bird chirps, "Cheer up." Salt Lake Tribune, February 21, 1905, 1.

ended up feeling the sting of their reasonable criticism, leading him to finally take serious action to put an end to polygamy once and for all.

Bound by the Second Manifesto, the Church forced Apostles John W. Taylor and Matthias F. Cowley to resign from the Quorum of Twelve based on their non-compliance with the 1904 declaration. Tay-



“Making Settlement in Cash.” Based on his testimony at the hearings, Joseph F. Smith was later convicted in Utah and fined (“Mr. Smith, your polygamy taxes are \$300!”) for polygamous cohabitation. Unruffled, Smith hefts a money-bag labeled “tithing” and announces: “All right, I’ve got the dough!” Salt Lake Tribune, Sunday, November 25, 1906, 1.

lor and Cowley had also flouted senate subpoenas, putting Smoot in a difficult position. Their refusal to testify made their resignations an unavoidable requirement for Smith, who was determined to save Smoot and, by extension, the reputation and standing of the Church. The two renegade apostles had become the poster children for Mormon malfeasance in the national consciousness, forcing the Church president to action. Taylor and Cowley were also later excommunicated and disfellowshipped respectively as their intransigence became

more entrenched.⁷⁶ These punitive steps provided exclamation marks to the two Manifestos, convincing both members and outsiders that polygamy was indeed finished as a way of life, and beginning the long-awaited process of assimilation into the American mainstream.⁷⁷

President Smith's candor in Washington brought personal legal repercussions. Approximately a year and a half after his testimony, he found himself in court where he pled guilty to the charge of unlawful cohabitation and "was fined \$300," which he defrayed with a personal check. The fine was "the largest permitted by the law." Fortunately for Smith, the judge "declin[ed] to impose [a] jail sentence" but warned Smith that the next time he would exact a more "severe penalty."⁷⁸

In addition to the effects on President Smith and within Mor-

⁷⁶Victor W. Jorgensen and B. Carmon Hardy, "The Taylor-Cowley Affair and the Watershed of Mormon History," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 48 (Winter 1980): 16–36.

⁷⁷For a full discussion of this process, see Flake, *Politics of American Religious Identity*.

⁷⁸"Joseph F. Smith Pleaded Guilty before Judge Ritchie," November 23, 1906, *Salt Lake Tribune*, in *Journal History*, President Smith made the following statement: "I desire respectfully to present a brief statement in my behalf. My first marriage was contracted in 18[6]6, and my last in 1884, more than 22 years ago. These marriages were all entered into with the sanction of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, and, as we believe, with the approval of the Lord. According to our faith and the law of the Church they were eternal in duration. In the tacit general understanding that was had in 1890 and the years subsequent thereto regarding what were classed as the old cases of cohabitation, I have appreciated the magnanimity of the American people in not enforcing a policy that in their minds was unnecessarily harsh, but which assigned the settlement of this difficult problem to the onward progress of time. Since the year 1890, a very large percentage of the polygamous families have ceased to exist, until now the number within the jurisdiction of this court is very small and marriages in violation of the law have been and now are prohibited. In view of this situation, which has fixed with certainty a result that can be easily measured up, the family relations in the old cases of that time have been generally left undisturbed. So far as my own case is concerned, I, like others who had entered into solemn religious obligations, sought to the best of my ability to comply with all requirements pertaining to the trying position in which we were placed. I have felt secure in the protection of that magnanimous sentiment which was extended as an olive branch in 1890 and subsequent years

monism, the Smoot hearings persuaded the nation, as Flake has noted, that they had “finally solved the Mormon Problem” with which they had been dealing for more than forty years. The hearings were “the forge,” Flake continued, “in which the Latter-day Saints, the Protestants and their senators hammered out a twentieth-century model for church-state relations.”⁷⁹ It was also a crucible for President Smith, who in some ways proved his mettle and in other ways learned useful lessons for the future, as he had to deal personally with the Eastern establishment that he and others had for so long dismissed in sermons and writings as the Great Babylon. It was the beginning of *détente* for both the Church president and the Church itself.

to those old cases of plural family relationships which came within its p[u]rview, as did mine. When I accepted the manifesto, issued by President Wilford Woodruff, I did not understand that I would be expected to abandon and discard my wives. Knowing the sacred covenants and obligations which I had assumed, by reason of these marriages, I have conscientiously tried to discharge the responsibilities attending them, without being offensive to any one. I have never flaunted my family relations before the public, nor have I felt a spirit of defiance against the law, but, on the contrary, I have always desired to be a law abiding citizen. In considering the trying position in which I have been placed, I trust that your honor will exercise such leniency, in your sentence, as law and justice will permit.”

⁷⁹Kathleen Flake, “Mr. Smoot Goes to Washington: The Politics of American Religious Identity, 1900-1920” (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 2000), 3-4.

BUCHANAN'S THRUST FROM THE PACIFIC: THE UTAH WAR'S ILL-FATED SECOND FRONT

William P. MacKinnon

General Scott yields to the prayers of the Administration and has made up his mind to go to California, there to organize a campaign against Utah. . . . The General is a grand old fellow, too old for the fatigue and exposure of such an expedition. It's not likely he will ever return.

—George Templeton Strong, January 25, 1858¹

Their purses shall be open for their means to be used in the fitting out of men for [service against] the Territory of Utah, and they will come from the north and from the south and from the

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¹Allen Nevins and Milton Halsey Thomas, eds., *The Diary of George Templeton Strong: Young Man in New York* (New York: Macmillan, 1952), 383, entry for January 25, 1858.

east and surround this people by thousands and by tens of thousands, until we are wiped out.

—Apostle Ezra T. Benson, January 24, 1858²

THE UTAH WAR OF 1857–58—NEARLY TEN YEARS in the making—was the armed confrontation over power and authority between the civil-religious leadership of Utah Territory and the administration of President James Buchanan. It pitted the Nauvoo Legion, Utah's large territorial militia, against nearly one-third of the U.S. Army and was the nation's most extensive and expensive military undertaking during the period between the Mexican and Civil wars. Although the Utah War has been poorly understood for decades, its sesquicentennial has stimulated a growing familiarity with the decision making in Washington, D.C., the army's march across the plains and into the Rockies, and Brigham Young's response, directed from Salt Lake City and a series of mountain bivouacs. But the conflict's ill-fated Pacific Coast dimension—significant, ambitious, but aborted—remains wholly unknown. Consequently, this article examines the story of the Buchanan administration's brief, quirky, and mysterious plans to reinforce the U.S. Army's Utah Expedition, beleaguered at Fort Bridger, by launching a massive pincers movement from California and Oregon designed to enter Salt Lake Valley from the south and north. In the process, this study aims to shed light on the proposition that the Utah War, like the Mormon experience of which it was part, was a regional phenomenon—a conflict that unfolded in the American West of California, Oregon, New Mexico, Nebraska, and Kansas rather than being one confined to Utah and Washington, D.C.³

²Ezra T. Benson, January 24, 1858, *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (Liverpool and London: Latter-day Saints Book Depot, 1854–86) 6:177–84.

³This premise is at the heart of my *At Sword's Point, Part 1: A Documentary History of the Utah War to 1858* (Norman, Okla.: Arthur H. Clark Company, 2008) (Part 2 forthcoming in 2009–10), as well as that of the twenty-volume study of which it is part: The Arthur H. Clark Company's series KINGDOM IN THE WEST: THE MORMONS AND THE AMERICAN FRONTIER. SEE ALSO NORMAN F. FURNISS, *The Mormon Conflict, 1850–1859* (1960; rpt., New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1966).

MORMONS AND THE WEST: BEGINNINGS

From the LDS Church's earliest days, the West and westering loomed large in Joseph Smith's thinking. Under the combined stimuli of persecution, theology, and restlessness, Mormon headquarters moved successively from New York to Ohio, Missouri, and Illinois with the allure of possible additional havens in the Far West. With the assassinations of Joseph Smith and his brother Hyrum in 1844, the escalation of harassment from Illinois neighbors, and Brigham Young's rise to supreme leadership, the westering urge became an imperative. Young did not share Joseph Smith's attraction to the Republic of Texas, and so colonization negotiations with President Sam Houston atrophied as did an early Mormon interest in Great Britain's Vancouver Island.⁴ By the spring of 1847, Brigham Young had instead targeted Mexico's eastern Alta California as the principal place of Mormon refuge; and by the end of the Mexican War in 1848, he had established a burgeoning settlement in its Salt Lake Valley. Simultaneously, Mormon elder Samuel Brannan had established a colony of some two hundred seaborne Mormons at San Francisco Bay. With the discovery of gold in John Sutter's millrace on the American River by a construction crew of Mormon Battalion veterans, Salt Lake City was serendipitously transformed into the principal emigrant way-station between the Missouri River and California's goldfields.

What went with all of this Mormon involvement in various parts of what had been Mexican Alta California was a high degree of ambivalence by Brigham Young. Young accurately foresaw that California's coast and its alluvial mining districts were destined to be crowded with non-Mormons, many of them engaged in what he, but not Brannan, viewed as inappropriate mining activities. Young also harbored suspicions about the potential hedonism and distractions of a benign climate. Notwithstanding these reservations, Young's Salt Lake Valley was cash strapped, so he briefly encouraged Mormon Battalion veterans and a limited number of other Latter-day Saints to

⁴Michael Scott Van Wagenen, *The Texas Republic and the Mormon Kingdom of God* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2002); Ronald K. Esplin, "A Place Prepared": Joseph, Brigham and the Quest for Promised Refuge in the West," *Journal of Mormon History* 9 (1982): 85-111; Richard Bennett and Arran Jewsbury, "The Lion and the Emperor: The Mormons, the Hudson's Bay Company, and Vancouver Island, 1846-1858," *BC Studies* 128 (Winter 2000/2001): 37-62.

prospect in California as “gold missionaries.” In other ways, expediency continued to force Young into a problematic involvement with things Californian, most of them relating to the acquisition of a huge ranch in San Bernardino, political maneuvering over the possibility of a Mormon State of Deseret, and hopes for a western boundary at San Diego Bay to facilitate trade and emigration.⁵ Nonetheless, Brigham Young remained wary if not queasy about adventures beyond the Sierras, where Congress set Utah’s western boundary as a territory in the fall of 1850. California was to be used episodically for Brigham Young’s purposes but not to be embraced.⁶

If Brigham Young was ambivalent about California, some, if not many, of its residents reciprocated. Among them were gold rushers from New York, Ohio, Missouri, and Illinois who brought with them a well-developed history of hostility to Mormonism. Still other Californians harbored grudges about their treatment at the hands of Mormon settlers developed while passing through the Salt Lake Valley.⁷ Accompanying these attitudes was a persistent attempt by non-Mormons in western Utah’s Carson Valley to separate from Utah, either by establishing a breakaway territory or by having the region annexed to California. Throughout the 1850s, clarity about the marked boundary between eastern California and western Utah Territory remained elusive, an ambiguity caused by congressional imprecision, disputed

⁵Kenneth N. Owens, *Gold Rush Saints: California Mormons and the Rush for Riches* (Spokane, Wash.: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 2004); Edward Leo Lyman, *San Bernardino: The Rise and Fall of a California Community* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1996); Frederick A. Culmer, “‘General’ John Wilson, Signer of the Deseret Petition,” *California Historical Society Quarterly* 26 (1947): 321–48; Edward Leo Lyman, “‘Larger than Texas’: Proposals to Combine California and Mormon Deseret as One State,” *California History* 80 (Spring 2001): 18–33, 75; Dale L. Morgan, *The State of Deseret* (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society/Logan: Utah State University Press, 1987).

⁶Kenneth N. Owens, “Not Quite Zion: California’s Gold Rush Saints,” unpublished paper, Mormon History Association, May 2008 annual conference, Sacramento.

⁷Among the more jaundiced views of Mormon hospitality, if not exploitation, for emigrants passing through Utah is David L. Bigler, ed., *A Winter with the Mormons: The 1852 Letters of Jotham Goodell* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Tanner Trust, 2001).

surveys, and the impact of anti-Mormon separatist movements along the border—wherever it was.⁸

Here then were mutual animosities and suspicions that came home to roost with a vengeance in the late 1850s and the Utah War.

MORMON ACTIONS AND CALIFORNIA FEARS

Long before the active phase of the Utah War began in the late spring of 1857, California played a role in its run-up, mainly as a source for the Mormons' principal military need—arms and munitions. For example, as early as January 8, 1857—two months before James Buchanan's presidential inauguration—Nauvoo Legion Brigadier General Peter W. Conover wrote from Provo to Jefferson Hunt in California to make an extraordinary plea for one thousand pounds of gunpowder to supply his brigade. Hunt had been a company commander with the Mormon Battalion and had stayed in California after discharge. With the establishment of a Mormon settlement at San Bernardino, he had become a member of the California legislature and a brigadier general in the state militia.⁹ Conover's plan was that Hunt would covertly ship California gunpowder to him through the U.S. mail in kegs, the same secretive arrangement that Brigham Young would soon try to make with Horace S. Eldredge, his business agent in St. Louis. Significantly, Conover alerted Hunt five months before the war started: "We are expecting some U.S. troops in here next summer. . . . [W]e will need powder and caps before long."¹⁰ Although Hunt apparently did not respond immediately, he attempted to do so once the Utah War had commenced. In October 1857, a correspondent for a San Francisco newspaper wrote warningly from

⁸William P. MacKinnon, "Like Splitting a Man Up His Backbone': The Territorial Dismemberment of Utah, 1850–1896," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 71 (Spring 2003): 100–124.

⁹Tom Sutak, "Jefferson Hunt: California's First Mormon Politician," Paper presented at the Mormon History Association annual conference, May 2008, Sacramento; notes in my possession.

¹⁰Conover, Letter to Hunt, January 8, 1857; and Young, Letter to Eldredge, June 30, 1857, both in Historical Department Library, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (hereafter LDS Church History Library). For an overview of the intensive Mormon quest for arms and munitions before and during the Utah War, see MacKinnon, *At Sword's Point, Part 1*, 45–46, 139–40, 142, 148–50, 257–75.

southern California of perceptions that Hunt was attempting to channel state-owned rifles and ammunition from San Bernardino to Salt Lake City.¹¹

With Brigham Young's decision in the summer of 1857 to roll up the Mormon settlements in California and western Utah, he ordered Conover to travel from Provo with a small detachment to organize a shut-down of the Mormon settlements in the Carson Valley along the California border.¹² While supervising this withdrawal from western Utah to the Salt Lake Valley, Conover crossed the nearby Sierras and traveled to San Francisco, where he and his agents bought wagonloads of weapons and a thousand pounds of gunpowder. This large purchase was legal but provocative. It triggered controversy, accusations of improper Mormon gun-running, and California vigilante action to intercept shipments of arms and munitions destined for Utah.¹³

By the fall of 1857, these tensions exploded in outrage in both southern and northern California as news of the September 11 Mountain Meadows Massacre reached first San Bernardino and then Los Angeles and San Francisco. The response in California to Mountain Meadows, perceptions of gun-running, and preparations for the mass Mormon withdrawal to the Salt Lake Valley was the spontaneous, non-governmental formation of independent volunteer military companies throughout the state. These were pick-up units typically organized after indignation meetings to march on Utah if necessary or to protect key mountain passes from an anticipated Mormon assault. Californians, it seemed, could not quite decide whether they were to be invaders, the invaded, or both.

For example, on November 16, 1857, seventy-one presumably non-Mormon residents of San Bernardino County sent a florid peti-

¹¹"Yo Mismo" (pseud.), [n.d.] October 1857, "Later from the South," San Francisco *Alta California*, October 27, 1857, 1/2-5. (This designation means: page 1, cols. 2-5.)

¹²Eugene E. Campbell, "Brigham Young's Outer Cordon—A Reappraisal," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 41 (Summer 1973): 220-53; Ardis E. Parshall, "Sealing the Borders: The Mormon Return to Utah at the Beginning of the Utah War," Paper presented at the Mormon History Association annual conference, May 2008, Sacramento; photocopy in my possession courtesy of Ardis Parshall.

¹³Owens, *Gold Rush Saints*, 328-41.

tion to the U.S. Army's commanding general in San Francisco reciting accusations that Mormons were disloyal to the U.S. government, had tampered with the allegiance of the Indians, were amassing arms, and were threatening arson through sinister Danite bands. It was virtually the whole litany of Mormon "sins" except polygamy. The petitioners requested the presence of two companies of dragoons in San Bernardino even as the Mormons prepared to leave the area, a demand that the U.S. Army met by transferring companies from two southern California posts, Fort Yuma and Fort Tejon.¹⁴

If Californians had mixed opinions on "the Mormon problem" and an appropriate remedy, Brigham Young was clear and focused in his views: He wanted Mormons out of San Bernardino; and while preparing to migrate to Utah, they were to gather as much military intelligence and gunpowder as possible. For example, on October 1, Young told Mormon leaders at San Bernardino:

Your diligence in procuring teams, animals, arms and ammunition is highly proper and commendable, and should by all means be continued to the utmost of your faculties, since the time appears to be near at hand when you will either have to abandon your faith or your present locality and escape to Utah as best you can. You are correct in furnishing all the reliable intelligence concerning certain movements, so far as you can obtain it by using all reasonable exertions, and it is expected that you will continue to do so and forward it by every opportunity.¹⁵

William Matthews, a Mormon leader in San Bernardino, informed Young in a letter that crossed his own:

The news of the murder of the train of emigrants [at Mountain Meadows] is beginning to cause an excitement against us as they say the Mormons are the cause of it, and from every appearance your predic-

¹⁴Citizens of San Bernardino, California, Petition to Brevet Brig. General N. S. Clarke, November 16, 1857, Records, U.S. Army Department of Pacific (RG 393), National Archives, Washington, D.C.

¹⁵Young, Letter to William I. Cox and William J. Crosby, October 1, 1857, LDS Church History Library. Brigham Young's instructions on intelligence gathering in southern California reflected his interest and skill in directing such activity, a focus matched by his demands for information levied on eastbound Mormons leaving Utah to cross the plains. MacKinnon, *At Sword's Point, Part 1*, 252–56.

tions will shortly be verified, as they are making threats to stop the Salt Lake mail and blockade the Cajon Pass to prevent any one from passing, they have also made threats to send companies to the [Salt] Lake to inquire into this matter, but we heard from the Mento [?] and Los Angelos last night that they would wait until they heard the truth of the matter and then pitch in. However in case of any thing of this kind we will send an express in time to give you the necessary information. In regard to the matters we talked of in counsel, I will proceed to let you know how they are getting along, the guns are considerably scattered but I think we can get them together shortly. Have to work exceedingly careful to avoid suspicion.¹⁶

Stoking non-Mormon fears of ecclesiastical arsonists in southern California as well as prospects for Indian massacres was a growing awareness that Mormons were threatening to incinerate non-Mormon cities and unleash tribal allies. On September 13, 1857, two days after Mountain Meadows, Brigham Young himself had alluded pointedly to the consequences of a possible volunteer invasion from California in a conversation with Captain Stewart Van Vliet, a U.S. Army quartermaster visiting Salt Lake City: "If the Government Calls for volunteers in California & the people turn out to come to destroy us they will find their own buildings in flames before they get far from home & so throughout the United States. Again if they Commence the war I shall not hold the Indians Still by the fist any longer for white men [emigrants] to shoot at them but I shall let them go ahead & do as they please and I shall Carry the war into their own land and they will want to let out the Job before they get half through."¹⁷ Unfortunately the Nauvoo Legion's medical director, Dr. John L. Dunyon, indiscreetly repeated these threats to travelers, and they found their way into eastern and presumably California newspapers. Californians paid attention to inflammatory Utah talk, and William S. Warren lamented, "I wish the good folks up there would not write any more than they actually know, down here to their Apostate friends, tell them that . . . they can order such [military] things as [they] wish through President Cox, and not write to such men as W. McDonald &

¹⁶William Mathews, Letter to Young, October 7, 1857, LDS Church History Library.

¹⁷Scott G. Kenney, ed., *Wilford Woodruff's Journal, 1833-1898*, 9 vols. (Midvale, Utah: Signature Books, 1983-85), entry for September 13, 1857, 5:96-97.

like [about] killing for powder & lead revolvers & &.”¹⁸

This volatile atmosphere greatly complicated the efforts of a lone Nauvoo Legion major, Howard Egan, to scour southern California for gunpowder during the fall of 1857 much as Brigadier General Conover and his detachment had done in the northern part of the state a few weeks earlier. Egan worked fast and unaided, a resourcefulness wholly consistent with his reputation as one of Mormonism’s cooler, most reliable frontiersmen. On December 5 Apostle Ezra T. Benson wrote to Brigham Young from Los Angeles’s port of San Pedro: “Bro Egan . . . left Stockton [California] a week ago last Monday with all the Gun Powder that he could carry.” On February 8, 1858, Egan arrived in Salt Lake City and delivered to the Nauvoo Legion’s quartermaster at least 337 pounds of powder, 15,000 percussion caps, and 50 pounds of ballistic lead.¹⁹

By early December 1857, Brigham Young remained nervous about the possibility of a volunteer invasion from California fueled by the Los Angeles *Star*’s reporting on the Mountain Meadows Massacre. Accordingly, Young instructed William I. Cox, the president of the San Bernardino colony, to set forth what would become the staple Mormon explanation for the atrocity (bad behavior by the victims and justifiable retaliation by the Paiutes) and to threaten southern Californians: “Please inform the ‘Los Angeles Star’ [editor] that, unless he ceases publishing such infernal lies about Utah and her people, his lies may, to his utter astonishment, become truths. Also give all mobs and ‘Vigilance Committies’ and companies to understand that they had better far stay at home and mind their own affairs, for the ‘Mormons’ are determined to resist usurpation and preserve Utah’s soil and society free from the awful contaminations of modern civilization, God being their helper.”²⁰

Without knowing of this correspondence, the *Star*’s editor, Henry Hamilton, pressed on with his massacre-driven criticisms of

¹⁸For Dunyon’s comments, see “A Mormon Threat,” (Montpelier) *Vermont Watchman and State Journal*, January 8, 1858, 4; William S. Warren, Letter to Amasa M. Lyman, October 6, 1857, LDS Church History Library.

¹⁹MacKinnon, *At Sword’s Point, Part 1*, 267–71. The actual quantities may have been perhaps twice those recorded on the receipt issued to Egan.

²⁰Brigham Young, Letter to William Cox, December 4, 1857, LDS Church History Library. Since the term “Mormons” was a nickname derived from the title of one of the LDS Church’s principal scriptures, during

Brigham Young and Mormonism. A historian of the newspaper's earliest years has noted:

A strategic contribution to the Mormon War was Hamilton's suggestion that troops be sent from southern California toward Salt Lake City. Thus the soldiers would be able to use the easiest route available. A cavalry force could be raised in the southern counties, he added, that would be the best in the world, and it was only by using southern California as a base that the rebellion could be speedily suppressed. The editor's views were reinforced by other local opinion, as well as by an eastern paper, which declared that California could furnish "hardy pioneers and mountain men," inured to hardship and well fitted to combat the guerrilla warfare which would be waged by Young.²¹

A good description of the dynamics at work in southern California among both Mormons and non-Mormons by early December appears in a letter to Brigham Young sent by returned missionary David P. Rainey, writing from Provo:

The Bretheren in San Bernardino was making evry effort to get away from there that they possibly Could. Bro [William I.] Cox told me he thought there would be forty Waggons ready to start in Ten days from the time I left. There was much Talk of the Mob as they were Called of serching the Bretherens waggons for arms and Amunition &c. But I do not think they will attempt to do so untill about the Last is leaving if they do then. There was much anxiety felt by all parties to know what moves would be made towards the [U.S.] Troops out at Bridger and that has had Its wait [weight] and influence in California. If they had been Cut Off the Bretheren would have had trouble to have got away from Callifornia or I will say that was the threats of our Enemies. They would have Blocked up the Kanyons and prevented all from comming they could. Tho they do not want the Mormons there neither do they want them to come away so they do not know what to do with them.

The Spirit of opposition in California is about as high as It Could well be, the Editors say that Callifornia Can turn out Twenty thousand Volunteers to come here to drive out the Mormons if uncle Sam wants them [to] but they will find the Sutheran route [Span-

the 1850s, many of the religion's leaders often wrote the term in quotes, as Young did here.

²¹William B. Rice, *The Los Angeles Star, 1851-1864: The Beginnings of Journalism in Southern California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1947), 194-95.

ish Trail] a hard road to travel.²²

LOT SMITH'S RAID AS CATALYST FOR THE PINCERS STRATEGY

Meanwhile, first in northeastern Utah and then in Washington, other, more global events were unfolding that would broaden and intensify California's role in the Utah War. The precipitating event was the destruction of seventy-six Utah Expedition supply wagons on the high plains of what is now southwestern Wyoming on the night of October 4–5, 1857. This fiery raid by a small party of Nauvoo Legion cavalry led by Major Lot Smith destroyed nearly \$1 million of irreplaceable materiel while demonstrating both Mormon military capabilities and the army's vulnerability. News of this embarrassing loss reached Washington in mid-November, producing great consternation and two interrelated actions. The first was the redirection of Lieutenant Joseph C. Ives and his small detachment of topographical engineers, then preparing to ascend the Colorado River from the Gulf of California to determine the river's head of navigation. The U.S. Army gave them new instructions that changed the expedition's purpose from exploration to intelligence-gathering and reconnaissance. It was also to determine the suitability of the Virgin River as a route for funneling infantry into southern Utah. Second, planning began to reinforce the Utah Expedition by attacking Utah from California and Oregon Territory. Interestingly, Utah's new chief justice, Delana R. Eckels, wrote jubilantly a week after Lot Smith's raid from his bivouac on Nebraska's Sweetwater River, that the humiliating setback was "good news"—a necessary catalyst to galvanize the federal government into descending on Mormonism with the full force of its might.²³

Joseph Christmas Ives was the husband of Cora Semmes Ives,

²²David Rainey, Letter to Brigham Young, December 29, 1857, LDS Church History Library. "Cut off" was one of the multiple Mormon euphemisms for "killed."

²³Eckels, Letter to Sec. of State Lewis Cass, October 13, 1857, reprinted in "The Mormon Outrage," Washington, D.C. *National Intelligencer*, November 17, 1857, 3/3. The editor of the *New York Herald* shared Judge Eckels's view: "This news from the Sweet Water [River] is good news, as it indicates an early removal of the Mormons beyond our boundaries." "Startling News from the Mormons—the War Commenced," Editorial, *New York Herald*, November 14, 1857, 5/3–4.

niece of John B. Floyd, U.S. Secretary of War. Soon after Floyd took office in March 1857, he ordered the army to resume its long-standing and often interrupted efforts to chart the Colorado River for navigability. Accompanied by a small scientific-exploratory expedition and crates containing a disassembled iron steamship, Ives traveled from the Atlantic Coast to California via the Isthmus of Panama during the fall of 1857. By December, he was busy assembling the *Explorer* at the mouth of the Colorado on the California-New Mexico line. When news of the Lot Smith raid reached Washington, Ives's commanding officer immediately wrote to him in California:

The Mormons, we have just heard, are in open hostilities, with the troops in Utah. The Secretary desires you to proceed therefore up the Colorado with great caution. . . . It is suspected that the Mormons may attempt to move Southward into Sonora [Mexico]. War Dept. may wish to send a strong force to Great Salt Lake by the Colorado river & Virgin river—and the Secretary suggests that you . . . ascertain roughly if the Colorado is practicable for light steamers and also the character of the Virgin river in its lower course, . . . but in reference to the Virgin, merely to *ascertain if troops can march along it on the lower course*. If there is no great cañon where the Virgin empties into the Colorado, that is if it is not in the cañon Country, we may be pretty certain troops can march along it, and that is the object of [our] inquiring.²⁴

Six weeks before these instructions were drafted in Washing-

²⁴Captain Andrew A. Humphreys, Letter to Ives, November 18, 1857, Records of the Office of the Chief of [U.S. Army] Engineers (RG 77), National Archives. It seems probable that a letter assessing the navigability of the Colorado River written by Major George H. Thomas to the army's adjutant general on July 7, 1857, entered the discussion in the War Department during the third week of November 1857 about how best to redirect Ives's expedition. In this unsolicited report, Thomas—who had recently changed posts from Fort Yuma, California, to Texas—commented on what he had learned about the Colorado from its Indians while stationed on its west bank. He concluded accurately that small steamers could ascend the river almost to its confluence with the Rio Virgin near Mormon Las Vegas, but then added the grossly inaccurate assessment, "I believe it will be found to be navigable to within one or two hundred miles of Salt Lake City." Secretary Floyd had been so intrigued by Thomas's gratuitous comments that in early September 1857 he had forwarded his letter to Lieutenant Ives, then in California. Thomas, Letter to Colonel Samuel Cooper, July 7, 1857,

ton, Brigham Young, master gatherer of field intelligence, was aware of Ives's original orders and his presence in the Gulf of California. Nor did Young miss the strategic implications of his mission for Mormon vulnerability. His first known response was a sarcastic letter to William Cox in San Bernardino: "It may not be amiss to instruct your [California state] Assembly man to use his influence to induce the Congress of the United States to charter the [British steamer] Great Eastern for the navigation of the Gulf of California and the Rio Colorado, as its immense size makes it ample for accommodating a large number of troops and great quantities of provisions and munitions which the United States at present appear to wish to land in Utah. It is said that the Great Eastern can transport 10,000 troops at once."²⁵

The second consequence of the Lot Smith raid was the development of plans to reinforce the Utah Expedition from California and Oregon Territory on a large scale. The topic had first arisen in western Nebraska Territory as the Utah Expedition's widely separated commanders—Colonels Edmund B. Alexander and Albert Sidney Johnston—assessed the impact of Lot Smith's raid. Within days, both officers independently sent reports east suggesting such a pincers strategy. These reports arrived on the Atlantic Coast in mid-November, just as national alarm was accelerating over the Lot Smith raid and its implications for the Utah Expedition's success.²⁶

For reasons that he never really explained, General Winfield Scott tried to defuse a resulting public clamor to attack Utah from the west by disapproving Johnston's request to dispatch reinforcements from that direction. Through his aide, Scott sent Johnston's report to John Floyd with the negative endorsement: "As to the expeditions from the Pacific, he [Scott] is confident the Colonel [Johnston] is not

Beinecke Library, Yale University.

²⁵Young, Letter to Cox, October 1, 1857, LDS Church History Library. The *Great Eastern*, then abuilding, was to be the world's largest steamship. During the 1860s, it would play a key role in laying the Atlantic telegraph cable between Ireland and Newfoundland.

²⁶Alexander, Letter to Cooper, October 9, 1857; Johnston, Letter to Major Irvin McDowell, October 18, 1857, "Utah Expedition," U.S. Cong., 35th Cong., 1st Sess., *House Executive Document 71*, Serial 956, 32 and 37–38.

aware of the difficulties which would attend them.”²⁷ Scott certainly realized that any large-scale thrust from the Pacific would inevitably involve the use of volunteer troops, a prospect that dismayed him, given his disappointment with volunteer regiments during the Mexican War, and possibly earlier.²⁸

But Floyd brushed aside Scott’s caution and pushed forward plans for a thrust from the Pacific. On November 24, he sought advice on how to prosecute the Utah War from one of Scott’s senior subordinates, Brevet Major General Persifer F. Smith, commander of the Department of the West. General Smith was then in Washington seeking medical treatment. He immediately responded to Floyd’s question with a lengthy memo, stunning in its scope. He recommended reinforcements for the Utah Expedition totaling 15,000 men—a gargantuan force equal to the size of the entire U.S. Army. As General Smith saw it, these reinforcements would move on Utah in three columns: one each from Kansas, California, and Oregon. Smith left unaddressed the important, politically volatile matter of the overall command structure for this force and how it would mesh with the already existing Utah Expedition commanded by Johnston. However, with its call for additional major generals, his memo implied a subordinate rather than supreme role for Johnston, a shift loaded with the ingredients for a senior morale problem. In addition to recommending the

²⁷McDowell, Letter to Floyd, December 10, 1857, endorsement on Johnston, Letter to McDowell, October 18, 1857. When Johnston’s dispatch recommending troops from the Pacific Coast was published at Congress’s request as part of *House Ex. Doc. 71*, this important, dissenting endorsement reflecting General Scott’s view was excluded. It may be found with the copy of Johnston’s dispatch in folder “Correspondence Regarding Utah Expedition” (HR 35A–D12.3), House Committee on Military Affairs (RG 233), National Archives. The three-week lag between Scott’s mid-November receipt of Johnston’s report in New York and his December 10 endorsement and transmittal of it to Floyd in Washington is significant but unclear. My assessment is that the cost containment emphasis in Buchanan’s December 8 message to Congress (discussed below) was a factor behind Scott’s negative endorsement.

²⁸For Scott’s low opinion of volunteer and militia troops and preference for regulars, see Allan Peskin, *Winfield Scott and the Profession of Arms* (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 2003), 26, 36, 58, 64, 92, 94–95, 103, 169, 247–48, 250.

recruitment of new units of regulars—eleven regiments of infantry, two of mounted troops, and one company each of engineers and ordnance troops—Smith advocated “that seven regiments of volunteer infantry be called into service—Two in California and Oregon and five in the States East of the Rocky mountains.”²⁹

It is unknown whether either Floyd or Smith consulted Winfield Scott about the latter’s recommendations. It is also unclear whether Scott knew that Floyd had issued new orders to the Ives expedition, redirecting its mission. Scott had been both geographically and emotionally distant from the War Department since the late 1840s when he abruptly moved U.S. Army headquarters from Washington to New York in a fit of pique.³⁰

General William S. Harney, Johnston’s predecessor as commander of the Utah Expedition, became aware of General Smith’s extraordinary advice after it leaked into the papers. From Fort Leavenworth, he entered the fray immediately on November 29 with a prescriptive memo of his own—this one sent directly to President Buchanan. He thus bypassed both Scott, with whom he had been in conflict since the Mexican War, and Floyd. President Buchanan was then grappling with what he would say to Congress about Utah when the legislature reconvened a week later in early December. Incredibly, this message would be the president’s first public explanation of the Utah Expedition since launching it six months earlier. Harney’s advice to Buchanan on November 29 was only slightly more modest in scale than Smith’s: an enormous additional force of 8,000–10,000 men—reinforcements equivalent to about two-thirds the size of the entire national army. Harney’s unsolicited letter also contained the self-serving assumption that he would receive overall command of such a thrust, and the recommendation that “at least half of this force should be regulars”—meaning that the substantial balance

²⁹Smith, Letter to Floyd, November 24, 1857, Persifor Frazer Smith Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia. This memo has been published only in MacKinnon, *At Sword’s Point, Part 1*, 427–30.

³⁰For a description and assessment of the Utah War’s impact on Scott’s ineffective, conflict-ridden relationship with Secretary Floyd and some of his own generals, see MacKinnon, *At Sword’s Point, Part 1*, 95–97, 164–65.

would be volunteers.³¹

When detailed descriptions of General Smith's recommendations appeared in San Francisco newspapers in late December 1857, Captain Rufus Ingalls, quartermaster for the Department of the Pacific, joined the parade of army officers proffering unsolicited advice to senior civilians about how to prosecute and supply the Utah War. Ingalls, posted in Washington Territory on the Columbia River opposite Portland, had spent the winter of 1854–55 in the Salt Lake Valley as quartermaster to Brevet Lieutenant Colonel E. J. Steptoe's expedition then en route to California. Ingalls's trail experience included crossing the Great Plains from Fort Leavenworth to Utah. He had also helped mark a new route from Salt Lake Valley to San Francisco Bay when the Steptoe expedition resumed its westward march in the spring of 1855. In his letter of December 1857, Ingalls neglected to mention that he was grinding a substantial anti-Mormon axe stemming from an April 1855 indictment in Salt Lake City for attempting to abduct and impair the morals of a thirteen-year-old Mormon girl.³² His letter, sent to his aptly named commanding officer, Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Swords, in San Francisco, reviewed the pros and cons of channeling troops and supplies into Utah through four routes: northern California, southern California, the Colorado River, and the Pacific Northwest.

Although Ingalls's recommendations probably could not have reached the War Department in Washington until March, if, indeed, Swords forwarded them at all, they are worth understanding. They provided what the memos generated by Generals Smith and Harney did not: a detailed explanation of how best to move on Utah from the west by someone who had been there. On balance, Ingalls concluded:

This leads me, Colonel to suggest *the* line, that probably (and for aught I know, the one already decided upon at Head Quarters) is the *shortest, most open defensible*, and practicable earlier in spring than any other. That is the line of the Columbia River to Walla Walla—thence by Boise and the southern tributary of the Columbia—the Snake—to

³¹William S. Harney, Letter to James Buchanan, November 29, 1857, Buchanan Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

³²For a description of the Steptoe expedition's and Rufus Ingalls's disruptive sojourn in Salt Lake City during the winter of 1854–55, see MacKinnon, "Sex, Subalterns, and Steptoe: Mormon Rage and Utah War Anxieties," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 76 (Summer 2008): 227–46.

near Fort Hall—thence over the northern rim of the [Great] Basin (there very low) to Bear River into the settlements of Utah. Walla Walla is about 350 miles from Astoria [at the mouth of the Columbia River], and *I think, not to exceed* 600 miles, by a wagon road practicable from March, or April, (dependant on the winter preceding) to Great Salt Lake City. The Hudson’s Bay Company people have usually called it 600 miles from Walla Walla to Fort Hall; but they think the distance much over estimated. . . .

For all offensive operations, I regard the entrance into the Valley of the Salt Lake by Bear river *on the north* as far the most easy and eligible in every respect. Should the rebels attempt an escape to British or Russian America, which, by the way, I do not believe they think of, they might be cut off by a force from this quarter. This force *should be a regular one*, if possible, though from the present prospect the regulars now in the Country will be required here to hold the Indians in check. If Volunteers are called upon I have no doubt a good description of men could be raised in California.

The Mormons, in my opinion, are mad and Crazy with religious fanaticism. You mark if events do not show it. Brigham Young *does not see the end* of his insensate conduct. He believes he is right and that he is going to *conquer* by aid of God, and he and his devotees will probably fight with unexampled fierceness and perseverance, unless something unforeseen shall arrest them.³³

If press speculation about Brevet Major General Persifor F. Smith’s November 24, 1857, advice for Secretary Floyd had reached Captain Ingalls on the Columbia River by newspaper, rumors of these recommendations (or something remarkably like them) were so widespread that Apostle Ezra T. Benson also picked them up as he passed through the Atlantic Coast en route, first to southern California and then to Utah from Liverpool, via New York, the Isthmus of Panama, and San Francisco. On December 5, 1857, writing from San Pedro, Benson sent an early warning of prospective large-scale federal troop movements from the Pacific Coast to Brigham Young. Benson noted: “The hornets seem to be raging & all hell is ready to boil over. . . . I am informed by a Gentleman on board the boat that the Government intends to have Ten thousand troops on the march to Utah [by] the southern Rout[e] [from California] within 3 months time & an-

³³Rufus Ingalls, Letter to Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Swords, December 29, 1857, Beinecke Library; emphasis his.

other company will approach on the North.”³⁴ Seven weeks later, Benson was preaching to the Mormons in Salt Lake City, describing snippets of the Buchanan administration’s developing military strategy based on what he heard aboard ship from California-bound soldiers:

We had on board eleven hundred and fifty passengers, two or three hundred of whom were United States troops. When we were loading up, the soldiers were driven on board, like pigs, as thick as they could stand. Government is shipping men round by the Isthmus of Panama to California and we were informed the next steamer was to bring six hundred men. There was a good deal of fault found by the officers of government because there were only two hundred and fifty along with us, but it was said they are going to ship them by thousands to California and then forward them to Utah.

They said they were coming to California, but, when we asked them privately where they were destined for, they said, “we are going to Utah.”

It is so also in Kansas; they have all sworn, old Harney included, that they will not give sleep to their eyes nor slumber to their eyelids until they have destroyed the “Mormons.”³⁵ They design in their hearts to blot “Mormonism” out of existence, and they feel like using their money for the accomplishment of this object, and even go so far as to say, their purses shall be open for their means to be used in the fitting out of men for the Territory of Utah, and they say they will come from the north and from the south and from the east and surround this people by thousands and by tens of thousands, until we are wiped out.

This is their feeling, as a general thing, and it seems as if all earth and hell are united against the “Mormons.” They have not got here yet, have they? Catching is always before hanging.

³⁴Benson, Letter to Young, December 5, 1857, LDS Church History Library.

³⁵Ironically, Benson used phrasing virtually identical to that employed by Brigham Young three months earlier in abandoning a no-bloodshed policy and authorizing Nauvoo Legion attacks on Utah Expedition troops: “Let sleep depart from their eyes and slumber from their eyelids, both by night and by day, until they take their final sleep; pick off their guards and sentries & fire into their camps by night, and pick off officers and as many men as possible by day.” Brigham Young, Letter to Daniel H. Wells, John Taylor, and George A. Smith, October 17, 1857, LDS Church History Library. For the important context of this language, see Mackinnon, *At Sword’s Point, Part 1*, 318–28.

The halters [nooses] are already made which they design shall hang the Governor, the members of the Legislative Assembly and every faithful elder in this Church; for they feel determined to swing you up between the heavens and the earth. We understand their plays and their schemes, for we have been in their midst [while traveling]. . . .

What is the condition of the government of the United States? They are all looking at the President just as a child would, apparently expecting that something would be done. They are hoping and expecting that the government would take "Mormonism" in hand and wipe it out of existence in a few days; but Uncle Sam, Uncle Bill, Uncle Tom and all our Uncles and cousins will find something to do, if they attempt such a thing.

The people of the United States seem paralyzed and do not know what to do. They are waiting for the government to call for volunteers and then they say they are all ready to go. California people say they are all ready to rally, but I tell you I believe what br. Brigham has said, they will not come here. The priest in the pulpit is ready, and says, "O yes, we must go and wipe out the 'Mormons,' but do not ask me to go."

When we landed in San Francisco, the officers were so much afraid that the troops would desert that they went and guarded them themselves, and we left them patrolling the docks there. The officers were Yankees, stiff and starched, and they said, "Mormonism must be extinguished; yes, this must be done."

[Lieutenant] Colonel [Silas] Casey [Ninth U.S. Infantry], what do you think about it [I asked]? He seemed to be a peaceable kind of man, and said he could not tell what would have to be done. The Colonel was then asked if he fostered the idea of going to an innocent people and exterminating men, women and children? He said, "I do not like it, it is contrary to my feelings, but the government of the United States have taken the thing in hand and we, as officers, are compelled to carry out their plans or resign."

Let us do the very best we can, brethren and sisters, for the day may come when we may be thankful for every foot of greasewood and of desert country there is between us and our enemies.

I am glad that we came through on the southern route, for I have been enabled to learn a little of the road.³⁶

The editors in the States are prompting government to bring their troops from the south [of California]; why they do not know

³⁶This route was essentially the old Spanish Trail between San Bernardino and Utah's southern settlements (Cedar City and Parowan) with intermediate settlements at places like Las Vegas, Muddy Creek, and Pinto near Mountain Meadows. It was the route taken by the monthly mail con-

[what it is really like], only they are not on that route, so subject to snow storms and they can travel in the winter, but I can tell them the south route is ten times worse than the east; it is one perfect desert from Muddy creek clear through. There is now and then a patch of grass on the journey, but what can a large army do?

The kanyon coming up the Santa Clara is quite as good as Echo, and some think a little better. It does seem as if those mountains and kanyons have been prepared on purpose, and we have great cause to be thankful for those natural defences.³⁷

How President Buchanan and Secretary Floyd processed these remarkable inputs—both solicited and gratuitous—from Generals Smith and Harney, if not Captain Ingalls, is unknown. Business in Washington between such senior civilian officers was often transacted verbally at near-daily White House cabinet luncheons. As a result, what might otherwise have been historically helpful documents were never written. The extent to which General Scott was also involved in strategy discussions is also unclear. Reflecting the extent of his estrangement from, if not complete subordination to, the Washington hierarchy, the general in chief's December 1857 annual report omitted all reference to Utah or Mormons, an extraordinary absence under the circumstances. What is clear is that, by December 8 when Buchanan sent his first annual message to Congress, he was acutely mindful of the financial panic that had disrupted the nation's economy since late summer as well as the staggering, multi-million-dollar cost of the Utah Expedition. Accordingly the president and his secretary of war ratcheted down Smith's and Harney's gargantuan projections to a still-substantial request for four additional regiments for the Utah

tractors serving Utah and southern California and had been the intended itinerary of the ill-fated Fancher Party, massacred at Mountain Meadows in an act of extermination remarkably parallel to the question posed by Beson of Casey.

³⁷Ezra T. Benson, January 24, 1858, *Journal of Discourses* 6:177–84. Benson's description of Santa Clara Canyon's defensive value was both apt and emblematic. In August 1857, Apostle George A. Smith had visited the place and pointed out its merits. A few weeks later, it was allegedly the site originally selected as the place to attack the Fancher Party, much as the Ambrose-Betts affair had unfolded there with murderous intent on the night of February 17–18, 1857. Echo Canyon to the northeast in the Wasatch Range was the Mormons' best-known defensive position and headquarters for the Nauvoo Legion's eastern expedition.

War—about 4,000 men, or a 20 percent increase in the army's size. In the only historically memorable passage of his message to Congress, Buchanan stated for the first and only time: "This is the first rebellion which has existed in our Territories; and humanity itself requires that we should put it down in such a manner that it shall be the last."³⁸

Fatefully, in their December annual messages to Congress, both Buchanan and Floyd left unstated such crucial issues as whether these new troops for Utah would be regulars or volunteers and who would be their expeditionary commander. This ambiguity touched off a frenzy of volunteer military organization throughout the East and Midwest, including one fatal barroom brawl in Kentucky over which newly elected officer was to command which recently organized volunteer unit recruited for service in Utah.³⁹ On December 30 a beleaguered Secretary Floyd was forced to write to one of Buchanan's closest Pennsylvania political allies, U.S. Senator William Bigler, as he had to other petitioners: "I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 29th inst. enclosing communications from Wm G. Murry and E. C. Williams tendering the services of companies of volunteers to be raised in Harrisburg and Hollidaysburg, [Pennsylvania,] for the campaign in Utah, and to inform you in reply that, should Congress decide to accept the services of volunteers, your letter and the patriotic offers of your constituents shall be laid before the president for his action thereon."⁴⁰ Floyd was distancing the administration from the uncontrolled public enthusiasm for a vengeful—almost mob-

³⁸Buchanan, "First Annual Message to Congress," December 8, 1857, in John Bassett Moore, ed., *The Works of James Buchanan, Comprising His Speeches, State Papers, and Private Correspondence*, 12 vols. (New York: Antiquarian Press, 1960) 10:129–63. As Thomas G. Alexander, of BYU History Department, frequently notes, a clerk usually read presidential messages to Congress. The president did not appear. Few histories of the financial Panic of 1857 and related economic distresses have examined that event in connection with Buchanan's handling of the Utah War, even though the panic was the worst national recession in twenty years and the Utah Expedition had cost an estimated \$15–\$40 million.

³⁹The most complete description and analysis of volunteer activity for the Utah War east of the Mississippi is Daniel N. Rolph, "Kentucky Reaction & Casualties in the Utah War of 1857–58," *Journal of Kentucky Studies* 4 (September 1987): 89–96.

⁴⁰John B. Floyd, Secretary of War, Letter to Senator William Bigler,

like—march on Utah of the type that Buchanan’s cabinet had earlier feared in March 1857. At that time, apprehensions over unleashing a public furor had prompted Jacob Thompson, Secretary of the Interior, to advise John Bernhisel, Utah’s territorial delegate, to avoid publishing demands from Utah’s legislative assembly about federal appointees, phrased so provocatively that Thompson had branded them a “declaration of war.”⁴¹

Once the text of Buchanan’s December 8 message reached California through Panama and the Pacific mail steamer in early January, the spontaneous formation of volunteer units already underway accelerated rapidly. In his inaugural address on January 8, 1858, California’s new governor, John B. Weller, called for military action to respond to the Mountain Meadows Massacre and Brigham Young’s threatened blockage of transcontinental emigration to the Pacific Coast: “Our people are certainly entitled to protection whilst traveling through American territory, and to secure this, the whole power of the federal government should be invoked. . . . Hundreds of emigrants during the past year . . . were inhumanly butchered. That government . . . will, we hope, see that such bloody scenes are not reenacted upon our great highways and in our own [California] territory.” Weller made it clear that he believed the responsibility for the use of such force lay with the U.S. government.⁴²

As Weller took office he was also probably aware of the summary of statewide volunteering activity published three days earlier by a San Francisco newspaper. All that was needed for action was an unambiguous, consistent signal from the Buchanan administration about what it wanted and a reliable indication from Congress that it would reimburse states for the cost of volunteer units organized for the Utah campaign. But with the administration uneasy about the

December 30, 1857, Letters Sent Relative to Military Affairs (RG 107), National Archives. Bigler was the brother of former California governor Henry Bigler and the cousin of Utah mountaineer John Bigler, then a non-Mormon civilian camped at Fort Bridger with the Utah Expedition.

⁴¹See MacKinnon, *At Sword’s Point, Part 1*, 107, and my “And the War Came: James Buchanan, the Utah Expedition, and the Decision to Intervene,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 76 (Winter 2008): 28–29.

⁴²Governor John B. Weller, “Inaugural Message,” January 8, 1858, http://www.governor.ca.gov/govsite/govsgallery/h/documents/inaugural_5.html (accessed May 28, 2008), courtesy David L. Bigler.

cost and complexity of a thrust from the West, a general in chief with jaundiced views on the long-distance use of untrained volunteers, and a Congress still smarting over its lack of involvement in Buchanan's initial decision to intervene militarily in Utah, no such signals came. Nonetheless Californians, many of them miners, pressed on vigorously even without a clear government sanction to organize military units. A San Francisco paper reported on January 5:

We mentioned last week that three companies of volunteers for the Mormon war were being organized at Columbia, Tuolumne county, and were holding themselves in readiness to obey the expected speedy call of President Buchanan for volunteers from this State for Utah. Similar companies are being formed over all the country, so that there will be no lack of men when the anticipated call from Washington comes. At Visalia, Tulare county, a company of eighty-four mounted riflemen have been organized. The *State Journal* says of this force:

“On 26th December, the names of the volunteers having been enrolled, the following named gentlemen were elected as officers: Captain, A. H. Mitchell; First Lieutenants, R. R. Sagely, Wm. Gooveneur [sic] Morris; Second Lieutenant, J. L. Wilson; Brevet Second Lieutenant, Thomas Condon, Jr. This company has been enlisted with a view of joining the first regiment of California volunteers that shall be called out by the President for the Mormon war. Nearly all, if not the whole number, have been accustomed to frontier life, and have seen service in Mexico and Texas. This muster roll has [been] forwarded to the Hon. John B. Weller through the hands of A. H. Mitchell, Assemblyman elect from Tulare county.”

The same paper says, that “the Captain, Armistead H. Mitchell, is a grandson of General Armistead, late of the U.S. Army, and is at present the member elect of the Assembly from Tulare and Fresno counties. He is a Texas Ranger, and has fought the battles of his country both in Texas and Mexico. Of the first lieutenants, Mr. Morris is a son of Major Wm. W. Morris, who now commands the fourth Regiment of U.S. Artillery, and who is at present attached to the command of Gen. Harney.⁴³ He has been raised in camp and garrison life, and has been in Florida[']s Seminole Wars]. Lt. Sagely was a sergeant in Yell's division of Arkansas volunteers during the Mexican war, and is at present Under sheriff of

⁴³The elder Morris was not colonel of the Fourth U.S. Artillery; Francis S. Belton was. The military pedigrees described here contain substantial padding and exaggeration. Both the Californians and the Mormon leaders invoked a hyperbolic amount of Texas Ranger service among their troops to bolster their image for ferocity.

Tulare county. The other officers are well known in that section of the country as celebrated Indian fighters and Texas Rangers.”

The *Journal* adds: “We learn on good authority, that Captain Russett, John Boggs, and a number of the best men of the county of Yolo, are rapidly organizing a company ‘for service against the Mormon traitors of Utah’ as they express it in their articles of association. The head quarters of this company will be at Cacheville, the county seat and agricultural centre of Yolo. Our informant, who is a resident of Yolo, thinks that the county will send at least two of the two finest mounted commands into the field that can be raised anywhere in the state.”

The town of Jackson, in Amador county, has not been behind in this Mormon *furor*. Under the direction of Assemblyman Briggs, says the Amador *Ledger*, about fifty volunteers have enrolled their names for Mormon service.⁴⁴

GENERAL SCOTT AND THE PACIFIC THRUST: QUIXOTIC, MURKY, AND ELUSIVE

Although General Scott was opposed to a Pacific thrust against Utah and the use of volunteer troops—both measures that Smith and Harney had advocated independently without his sanction—he nonetheless began to make plans during December to travel to the Pacific Coast via Panama in early 1858. He probably did so under prodding from either Floyd, Buchanan, or both. It was not likely that he would have undertaken the action on his own. At seventy-one, he was considered old, he weighed about three hundred pounds, and he suffered periodically from debilitating illness. He was unable to mount a horse. At times, he even had difficulty walking.⁴⁵

He went to Washington in mid-January, presumably in connection with these plans; for on January 13, 1858, he sent General John E.

⁴⁴“More Volunteers for the Utah War,” *San Francisco Evening Bulletin*, January 5, 1858, 2/1. Transcription courtesy of David L. Bigler.

⁴⁵As recently as September 1857, Scott had informed Brevet Major General John E. Wool that illness would preclude a visit that fall/winter to Wool’s headquarters in Troy, New York, a Hudson River city only 100 miles away and easily accessible by railroad or steamer. Scott, Letter to Wool, September 2, 1857, John Ellis Wool Papers, State Library of New York, Albany. By coincidence, all of the principals were simultaneously in less than good health. Floyd suffered from a severe back problem, President Buchanan had been struck down—almost fatally—by the debilitating “National Hotel disease” in February 1857, and Brigham Young was afflicted episodically throughout the Utah War period by a series of undiagnosed ailments.

Wool, the seventy-three-year-old commander of the Department of the East, a bizarre telegram: "WE WANT A GENERAL TO COMMAND THE UTAH EXPEDITION. WHAT SAY YOU OR WHO DO YOU RECOMMEND."⁴⁶ Scott must have been driven by inexplicable urgencies to risk sending such a volatile message by public telegraph service rather than by confidential mail or army courier.⁴⁷ Intriguingly, there are no documentary indications that Scott's superiors in the War Department and the White House—let alone Johnston at Camp Scott—knew he was broaching such a question, although Scott's presence in Washington and his use of "we" makes it difficult to believe that he was acting unilaterally.

From his headquarters in Troy, New York, General Wool replied promptly to Scott by telegram, signaling in the process not only the urgency of the matter but Wool's uncertainty about who was behind this unexpected proffer of command: "IF IT IS YOUR DESIRE OR THAT OF THE ADMINISTRATION I WILL WITH PLEASURE TAKE COMMAND OF THE UTAH EXPEDITION. SEE MY LETTER BY MAIL. PLEASE ACKNOWLEDGE RECEIPT."⁴⁸ He followed up the next day with a letter to Scott in which he repeated the text of his wire and then raised the inescapable matter of Albert Sidney Johnston's probable reaction (and those of even more senior officers) to a leadership change, as well as some concerns of his own about finances. Not surprisingly, Wool requested a meeting with Scott before any announcement of his appointment.⁴⁹

Scott's sudden offer to Wool is inexplicable. Granted, Wool was among the army's most senior officers and had known Scott since the

MacKinnon, *At Sword's Point, Part 1*, 63–64, 92–95.

⁴⁶Scott, Telegram to Wool, January 13, 1858, Wool Papers, and Records of the Headquarters of the Army, Letters Sent (RG 108), National Archives. My thanks to Allan Peskin, professor emeritus of Cleveland State University, for alerting me to this important but puzzling document. The following discussion of this heretofore unknown Scott-Wool exchange about the Utah War is adapted from MacKinnon, "Who's in Charge Here?: Utah Expedition Command Ambiguity," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*, 42, no. 1 (Spring 2009): forthcoming.

⁴⁷In 1858 U.S. mail service between Washington and Troy was overnight or at most involved a two-day delivery.

⁴⁸Wool, Telegram to Scott, January 14, 1858, Wool Papers.

⁴⁹Wool, Letter to Scott, January 15, 1858, Wool Papers.

War of 1812, although they were apparently not close friends.⁵⁰ In addition to being even older than Scott, Wool had recently been relieved as commander of the Department of the Pacific because of acrimonious clashes with Pacific Coast governors and Jefferson Davis, then Franklin Pierce's Secretary of War, over the prosecution of Indian campaigns and the use of volunteer troops. In fact, his reassignment from the Department of the Pacific to the Department of the East in early 1857 had been a political accommodation to save his career. These background factors made the possibility of a Utah War assignment for Wool truly mystifying. From a twenty-first century perspective, Scott's telegram—proposing an arrangement that would supersede Albert Sidney Johnston with a politically controversial, over-age officer—suggests some combination of deep anxieties about at least three factors: (1) Johnston's competence; (2) the projected complexity of the Utah Expedition's next organizational phase; and/or (3) the shortage of talent in the army's top echelon available for such a difficult assignment.⁵¹ Apparently, the meeting between Wool and Scott to discuss the Utah command never took place.

⁵⁰Peskin, email to MacKinnon, September 23, 2005. No biography has been published about Wool, although a first-rate unpublished study is Harwood P. Hinton, "The Public Career of John Ellis Wool" (Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin, 1960). Hinton's study does not discuss the Scott telegram although his recent discussion of the document with Peskin played a fortuitous role in his alerting me to the wire's existence.

⁵¹There are clear signs that the Buchanan administration believed that its options were extremely limited in selecting senior army officers for arduous field commands. For example, six months after Scott's telegram to Wool, Floyd and Buchanan contemplated the need for leadership for an Indian campaign in the Pacific Northwest. Without bothering to consult Scott, Floyd informed the president: "But one other important consideration remains to be determined, and that is as to the commander of the forces. On this point, I am pretty clear, in my own mind, and cannot doubt but that Genl. Harney is the proper man. I am not sure how Genl. Scott would take this proposition, but Harney is really the only general officer—[Albert Sidney] Johnston alone excepted—who has the physical capacity to conduct such a campaign as this." In January 1858 Johnston, of course, was already committed to the Utah Expedition and Harney was unavailable for reassignment because of his higher priority peacekeeping responsibilities in turbulent Kansas Territory. Floyd, Letter to Buchanan, Au-

On January 23, 1858, a week after this exchange of messages, Wool sent Scott another memorandum from Troy dealing with prosecution of the Utah campaign. Even more mystifyingly, it lacks any hint that Wool had been offered and tentatively accepted a major role in the Utah War.⁵² It was as though both generals had agreed to ignore Scott's telegram and Wool's wire and letter. The proposal that Wool would command a Utah Expedition expanded in both size and campaign scope died a quick and quiet death. The paper trail for this affair ends with Wool's puzzlingly detached January 23 letter to Scott. Unlike most Utah War matters, no leaked documents or newspaper speculation shed additional light on this mystery.

Although Scott had started preliminary preparations for going west in December, he renewed them after this puzzling episode. On January 23, the same day that Wool wrote his opaque second memo to Scott, Scott's aide de camp abruptly wrote to Johnston: "The General-in-chief himself, will set sail for the Pacific Coast, in the steamer [from New York] of the 5th proximo [February], clothed with full powers for an effective diversion or cooperation, in your favor, from that quarter. It is not desired, however, that this information shall modify the instructions heretofore given you, in any degree, or delay your movements."⁵³

Evidence that Scott was undertaking this move at the instigation

gust 5, 1858, James Buchanan Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

⁵²Wool, Letter to Scott, January 23, 1858, Records of the Headquarters of the Army, Letters Received (RG 108), National Archives. Although Wool did not explicitly attempt to dissuade Scott from a Pacific thrust in this letter, he drew on his experience in the region to add a cautionary note about snowpack, especially with respect to any route across the Sierras: "I have just seen it stated in several papers that you intend 'to leave soon' for the Department of the Pacific, 'to organize a force against the Mormons.' This I do not believe. . . . Be this true or otherwise, my object at present is merely to say that it is not at all probable a military expedition from California to Salt Lake City could get through the mountain passes earlier than from the 1st to the middle of June, after which the expedition would have to march between 500 & 600 miles."

⁵³Lieutenant Colonel George W. Lay, Letter to Johnston, January 23, 1858, "Report of the Secretary of War [1858]," U.S. Cong., 35th Cong., 2d Sess., *House Ex. Doc.* 2, Serial 998, 33. left to Johnston's interpretation was the important meaning of nebulous phrasing like "Pacific Coast" and "that

of Floyd, Buchanan, or both comes from the January 25 diary entry of Manhattan lawyer and insider George Templeton Strong, one of the city's omnipresent gossips with indirect access to Scott's family. Strong somberly reported the venture as a virtual death sentence: "General Scott yields to the prayers of the Administration and has made up his mind to go to California, there to organize a campaign against Utah. So his daughter . . . reports to [[Judge] Murray Hoffman [who told me]. The General is a grand old fellow, too old for the fatigue and exposure of such an expedition. It's not likely he will ever return. We must get up a graven image [statue] of him on the other side of Union Square."⁵⁴

If sending Scott to the Pacific Coast was primarily Buchanan's idea, then it discloses not only the president's intense anxiety that the military aspects of "the Mormon problem" be resolved satisfactorily (and without further damage to his political reputation) but also his new orientation about the role of California and Oregon Territory in the American Union. Although by 1858 James Buchanan had traveled extensively in Europe as ambassador, first to St. Petersburg and then the Court of St. James, he had never been west of the Mississippi River and may never have ventured past Pittsburgh in that direction. During his presidential campaign in 1856, his only interest in the important transcontinental railroad issue was to write a reluctant last-minute letter to California supporting the project in hopes of favorably influencing that state's electorate. Dispatching a largely immobile general in chief to California in 1858 to organize a pincers-like thrust against Mormon Utah would have been new behavior for Buchanan. But, as discussed below in the context of the 1859 imbroglio with Great Britain over Harney's mishandling of the "Pig War" in the Pacific Northwest, it was a distant mission to which the president was perfectly capable of detailing Scott, ailing or not.

If, on the other hand, Scott's assignment was being pressed by

quarter."

⁵⁴Quoted in Nevins and Thomas, *The Diary of George Templeton Strong*, 383. Scott's ponderous immobility no doubt aggravated Strong's perception of Scott as "too old." In an attempt to save face, Scott later told Albert Sidney Johnston's brother-in-law that the notion of a Pacific Coast journey was his, sanctioned by Buchanan and Floyd. Winfield Scott, Letter to William Preston, February 11, 1858, Wickliffe-Preston Papers, 63M 349, University of Kentucky Library, Lexington.

Floyd more than by Buchanan, it reflected Floyd's well-founded alarm that Brigham Young's behavior and Utah's strategic location athwart many of the transcontinental emigration trails might isolate the Pacific Coast from the rest of the United States while stimulating Mountain Meadows-like Indian attacks. In his December 1857 annual report, Floyd had warned the president and Congress that Mormon settlements were "a lion in the path . . . which leads from our Atlantic States to the new and flourishing communities growing up upon our Pacific seaboard. . . . [I]t is not possible for it [the government] to postpone the duty of reducing to subordination a rebellious fraternity besetting one of the most important avenues of communication traversing its domain, and not only themselves defying its authority, but stimulating the irresponsible savages . . . to acts of violence . . . upon all ages, sexes, and conditions of wayfarers." A month later, whether knowingly or not, California's fifth governor, John B. Weller, sounded the same themes in his inaugural address.⁵⁵

On January 30, responding quickly to Scott's travel plans and plagued by his own ambition and longstanding feud with Scott, Harney, still at Fort Leavenworth, wrote an emotional letter of transparent self-promotion to Buchanan. He criticized Scott's leadership and loyalty to the president in terms that were both highly insubordinate and ruthless. Never mentioning Johnston by name, Harney obviously was trying to sweep away his future command responsibilities while destroying Scott's standing with Buchanan:

From the commencement of the Utah Expedition, to the present time, he [Scott] has opposed or ignored every useful suggestion I have made to him and his own plans are so faulty, I assume very little, in predicting a decided failure, should they be attempted to be carried out. . . . Has it ever occurred to your Excellency that neither ignorance or imbecility, but a settled plan to defeat and confuse your administration are the motives of such conduct? Whoever you may be pleased to send to Utah, let him throw his reputation and his life upon the die, but give him the sole responsibility of his actions. The campaign to Utah cannot

⁵⁵Floyd, "Annual Report," December 5, 1857, *Senate Ex. Doc. 11*, U.S. Cong., 35th Cong., 1st Sess., Serial 920, 6–9. See also David L. Bigler's "'A Lion in the Path': Genesis of the Utah War, 1857–1858," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 76 (Winter 2008): 4–21.

be planned in Washington or New York.⁵⁶

Less than a week after Harney wrote this remarkable combination of demands and pleading to the president, Scott cancelled his travel plans. On February 4, the literal eve of Scott's announced departure by steamer for Panama, his aide again wrote to Johnston: "I am desired by the General-in-Chief to inform you that it is no longer probable that he will go to the Pacific coast, or that any expedition against or towards Utah will be despatched from that quarter."⁵⁷ There was no further explanation of this change.

John M. Bernhisel's next report from Washington, D.C., to Brigham Young was equally unenlightening. "I have had several interviews with the President and Secretary of War, and have been for sometime laboring [unsuccessfully] to procure an amicable adjustment of the Utah difficulties," Bernhisel commented, adding without elaboration, "The order for General Scott to proceed to California has been rescinded. . . . It is proposed to re-inforce Colonel Johnston [from Kansas] as early in the Spring as possible."⁵⁸ Curiously, Brigham Young never requested more details. A month later, with a newly arrived Thomas L. Kane virtually at his elbow in Salt Lake City, Young wrote cryptically to Bernhisel: "We have our eyes on the Russian possessions."⁵⁹ Was Young, perhaps at Kane's urging, seriously considering a mass Mormon exodus to what is now Alaska? Intriguingly, the rumor of such a move had already reached Tsar Alexander II and was a factor in his December 1857 decision to commence negotiations to sell Russian America to the United States rather than to run the risk of losing it to Brigham Young without compensation.⁶⁰

Meanwhile, unaware that Scott would not be traveling to the West and that Utah would not be attacked on its western flank, Captain P. G. T. Beauregard, then in New Orleans, sent gratuitous mili-

⁵⁶Harney, Letter to Buchanan, January 30, 1858, James Buchanan Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

⁵⁷Lay, Letter to Johnston, February 4, 1858, quoted in "Report of the Secretary of War [1858]," *House Ex. Doc. 2*, 33.

⁵⁸Bernhisel, Letter to Young, December 17, 1857 [misdated; probably should be February 17, 1858], LDS Church History Library.

⁵⁹Young, Letter to Bernhisel, March 5, 1858, LDS Church History Library.

⁶⁰MacKinnon, *At Sword's Point, Part 1*, 439-44.

tary advice to U.S. Senator John Slidell, a fellow Louisianian who was close to Buchanan. Beauregard ridiculed the notion of a thrust from the Pacific as ill-conceived and dangerous in view of its complexity, communication lags, and presumed Mormon military competence. Sidestepping considerations of overall command and Johnston's role, Beauregard lobbied Slidell to urge his own appointment to a colonelcy in Buchanan's new regiments being proposed to deal with Utah:

I see it stated in the newspapers that Genl Scott is about to repair to California to take command of a Corps d'Armée to move from thence on to Utah! I wonder if this is to be done upon the recommendation of the Genl? If so, it is contrary to all "strategic" principles, if to be executed in conjunction with a similar movement on this side of the mountains—for it is impossible that two operations, from such distant initial points—should be performed with such precision & regularity as to arrive at the Utah Valley within a few days of each other—at any rate such a favorable result would be against all probabilities—It would then follow, if the Mormons are ably commanded, that they would concentrate their forces in succession against each of said columns & crush them before they could unite. . . . [H]ow do we know but that the Mormons may have amongst themselves a great Captain *in embryo!* Are not volunteers considered by *many* as equal if not superior to regulars in a Mountainous War?—then how much the more superior would they not be when defending their religion & their own firesides! . . . If I were a Mormon and amply supplied with provisions & ammunitions, I would defy ~~five~~ three times the number of troops you could send against me on the system now adopted—not one of them would ever set foot within the valley of Utah!⁶¹

There is no documentary evidence that Slidell forwarded Beauregard's letter to any other official in the administration. But Slidell had served as Buchanan's de facto campaign manager in 1856,

⁶¹Beauregard, Letter to Slidell, February 9, 1858, holograph copy in Huntington Library, San Marino, California; typescript in Leonard J. Arrington Papers, Merrill-Cazier Library, Utah State University, Logan. I thank W. Paul Reeve, professor of history at the University of Utah, and independent historian Will Bagley for sharing their insights about this document. Beauregard never rose above the rank of captain of engineers and brevet major in the U.S. Army but soon became a full general in the Confederate service.

so the possibility cannot be discounted that the senator may have privately held a conversation with Buchanan about Beauregard's observations.

CONCLUSIONS

With dozens of volunteer companies forming spontaneously across the country—especially in California's towns and mining camps—with broad support from much of Congress, and with considerable enthusiasm from many state governors for the Utah War, why did plans for a military thrust from the Pacific Coast collapse as they did? An interesting possible explanation may lie in the quiet arrival in Washington in early February 1858 of Charles R. Morehead and James Rupe. These men were the principal civilian field agents of the Utah Expedition's freighting firm of Russell, Majors, and Waddell. Morehead was the young nephew of the firm's leading lobbyist-financier, William H. Russell, a figure familiar in both Washington and New York. Morehead and Rupe had left Johnston's command at Camp Scott on Christmas Day and, notwithstanding an arduous 1,200 mile trek by mule in severe weather, had reached Fort Leavenworth in late January after slightly more than a month of travel. They immediately pushed on to Washington by train and delivered to President Buchanan, Secretary Floyd, and General Scott their first news from the Utah Expedition since it had gone into winter quarters in late November. In his 1907 memoirs, Morehead would argue that their winter 1858 trek from Camp Scott demonstrated the feasibility of all-weather travel across the plains, the inspiration for his firm's subsequent establishment of the Pony Express in 1860.⁶² This demonstration may also have been the catalyst for the decision to reinforce Johnston and the Utah Expedition during 1858 from Kansas alone rather than to support such a move with a thrust from California and Oregon Territory.

In January 1858, the notion of a pincers movement against Utah from California and Oregon as well as Kansas was both a very real and a popular possibility, but it was abandoned in early February for four principal reasons: (1) the daunting complexity of such a thrust, as

⁶²"Personal Recollections of Charles R. Morehead," Appendix C in William Elsey Connelly, *War with Mexico, 1846–1847: Doniphan's Expedition and the Conquest of New Mexico and California* (Topeka, Kans.: n.p., 1907), 600–622.

noted by Captain Beauregard—one of the army’s finest military strategists; (2) the absence of a vigorous, experienced, uncontroversial senior officer to lead a Pacific Coast thrust—General Wool was not such a leader; (3) General Scott’s obvious distaste for such a gambit with its necessary inconvenience for him and its reliance on the volunteer troops against whom he had long held a deep-seated prejudice; and (4) President Buchanan’s overpowering awareness of the scope and cost of such a military strategy in the midst of a deep national economic upheaval. What today would be called a reality check accompanied the early February arrival in Washington of Messrs. Morehead and Rupe from Camp Scott with its reminder of Albert Sidney Johnston’s accomplishments and graphic demonstration of the feasibility of all-weather travel across the plains. Their appearance may have unwittingly provided Scott with the psychological confidence to focus on a simple but massive thrust from Kansas alone using only regular troops. Such a strategy for reinforcing the Utah Expedition—the one actually adopted—would have made use of such available, proven commanders as Colonel Johnston and Generals Persifor F. Smith and William S. Harney—gravely ill and deeply flawed though these latter officers were.

EPILOGUE

Thus, the concept of a pincers strategy to be launched from California and Oregon to subdue Mormon Utah fell by the wayside. It rapidly became cloaked in the historical amnesia that still envelops much of the U.S. Army’s attitude toward its Utah Expedition.⁶³ The military, if not the diplomatic, phase of the Utah War was concluded in early summer 1858 by infusing into it thousands of regular troops marshaled during the spring at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas Territory. By the time that Albert Sidney Johnston marched through Salt Lake City on June 26, 1858, more than 5,000 regulars were under orders for the campaign, nearly one-third of the U.S. Army. Together with an even larger contingent of civilian contractors and camp followers, Johnston’s enormous Camp Floyd bivouac in Utah’s Cedar Valley became the nation’s largest military garrison, a financial burden that

⁶³For an analysis of the institutional army’s neglect of the Utah War, see MacKinnon, “Loose in the Stacks: A Half-Century with the Utah War and Its Legacy,” *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 40, no. 1 (Spring 2007): 48–53.

nearly drained the U.S. Treasury.

The sole exception to this Kansas sourcing was a mixed battalion of mounted riflemen and infantry reinforcements under Colonel W. W. Loring and Captain Randolph B. Marcy that arrived dramatically at Camp Scott from New Mexico with a thousand Spanish mules and as many sheep on June 10, 1858—just as Johnston's men were about to eat their own mules. The only non-regulars involved in the campaign, then, were those in a four-company battalion of volunteer infantrymen recruited by Johnston at Camp Scott during December 1857 from the large body of unemployed teamsters stranded there.⁶⁴

As for Lieutenant Joseph C. Ives, whom this story left on the California bank of the Colorado River in late December 1857, he never quite reached Utah as Brigham Young dreaded he might do. After receiving his new instructions from Washington—delivered to him dramatically by Indian runner—Ives indeed continued upriver. In January 1858 he unexpectedly entered (thereby rediscovering) the Grand Canyon of the Colorado and then immediately returned to the capital and a new role supervising construction of the Washington Monument before becoming a Civil War aide to Confederate president Jefferson Davis.

As for other Utah War participants, General Persifor Smith was appointed commander of the Department of Utah in April 1858—over both Johnston and Harney—but died from his mysterious illness at Fort Leavenworth the next month. He was succeeded by Harney. Chafing under this command structure, Johnston requested reassignment to his old regiment in Texas but was required to remain in Utah until March 1860, when he became commander of the Department of the Pacific headquartered in San Francisco. In April 1862 as the Confederacy's leading general, he bled to death from a leg wound at the battle of Shiloh.

Winfield Scott remained the U.S. Army's general in chief until 1862, when he requested retirement to escape the indignities he was

⁶⁴Faced with a *fait accompli*, Scott, Floyd, and Congress sanctioned Johnston's action in recruiting this volunteer battalion for nine months' service but neither sought nor accepted additional nonregular reinforcements. Many of this unit's troops who took their discharge in Utah during July 1858 went on to California, their original destination. Ironically, then, there was a flow of veteran troops from Utah to California rather than vice versa.

suffering at the hands of his precocious subordinate, Major General George B. McClellan, an officer who in 1858 had attempted unsuccessfully to reenter the army from civilian life for the anticipated military glory in Utah.

In late 1858 General Harney was reassigned to the Indian campaigns in the Pacific Northwest where he promptly precipitated an armed confrontation with the British Royal Navy over a border dispute. This performance and near-war prompted an enraged President Buchanan to send General Scott to the Pacific to soothe the British and to relieve Harney of command, a removal later repeated by President Lincoln over Harney's indelicate handling of the secession crisis in Missouri. Although as a result Harney had no active Civil War command, old General Wool did, as commander of Washington's defenses during much of the war.

James Buchanan completed his term of office in 1861 and retired to his mansion in Lancaster, Pennsylvania. There he spent the last seven years of his life defending his handling of the 1860–61 secession crisis, if not his role in the earlier Utah War.⁶⁵

From such events—as well as the Utah-related Russian sale of Alaska, British fear of a renewed Mormon interest in Vancouver Island (which stimulated the creation of British Columbia during June 1858), Captain Marcy's epic trek from Fort Bridger to New Mexico, and guide Ben Ficklin's similarly daunting winter mission from the same post to Oregon Territory—one sees that the Utah War was in many ways linked to the rest of the West, especially its Pacific Coast. It is truly the story of an unprecedented territorial-federal confrontation with a regional sweep rather than a tale of Mormon Utah alone.

⁶⁵For the post-1858 fate of these and other Utah War participants on both sides, see MacKinnon, "Epilogue to the Utah War: Impact and Legacy," *Journal of Mormon History* 29 (Fall 2003): 186–248.

REVIEWS

Michael Harold Paulos, editor. *The Mormon Church on Trial: Transcripts of the Reed Smoot Hearings*. Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2008. xx, 709 pp. Senate Committee, chronology of hearings, bibliography, index. Paper: \$49.95; ISBN 978-1-56085-152-3

Reviewed by Val Hemming

Michael Harold Paulos has crafted a hefty, well-edited, and abundantly annotated abridgment of the original four-volume transcriptions (3,432 pages) of hearings of the U.S. Senate Committee on Privileges and Elections hearings, held 1904–06, originally titled: *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*. This important abridged document, published with the assistance of the Smith-Pettit Foundation by Signature Books, is a worthy addition to an ever-growing and substantial body of scholarship examining the emergence and evolution of Mormonism into twentieth- and twenty-first-century American religious cultures. Some issues examined during the Smoot hearings—such as religious authority and the nature of revelation—seem particularly relevant to contemporary students and scholars concerned with the recent religious and political debates provoked by the presidential candidacy of Mitt Romney.

Paulos introduces his abridgment and his reasons for undertaking this rather challenging task:

The Smoot hearings impacted the direction of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, whose doctrines and practices—not Smoot—emerged as the real focus of the hearings. In many ways, the controversy came to represent what historians today have termed the “transition” period of LDS development, when the church began to shed its rural, insular past and enter the larger mainstream of American religious culture. The present one-volume abridgement of the official record is an attempt

to spotlight this important collision between the United States and Mormonism at the dawn of the twentieth century. (vii)

Paulos reports that, in his view, the most critical testimonies heard during the hearings were those of President Joseph F. Smith and Senator/Apostle Reed Smoot. He adds: "Where I included testimony from other witnesses, their statements usually appeared within the context of the topics raised in the examination of the other two witnesses. I have tried, where appropriate, to balance testimony favorable to the LDS Church with testimony that was not" (ix).

The book is well organized. The table of contents doubles as a useful chronology of the sequential appearances of dozens of witnesses interviewed from mid-January 1904 through April 1906. The committee finally voted on the question of Smoot's retaining his seat on June 10, 1906—in the negative: seven against Smoot and five for him. Majority and minority reports were then submitted to the body of the Senate. Finally, on February 20, 1907, the long drama ended when the full Senate voted, forty-three for and twenty-four against unseating him, thus failing to achieve the necessary two-thirds for the unseating. Smoot therefore retained his seat; but it was hardly an endorsement. Harvard S. Heath's¹ helpful introduction places the outcomes of the hearings in historical context:

Even though it was an equivocal vote of confidence for Smoot, it nevertheless confirmed his right to represent the state of Utah. Of greatest significance was that, for the first time in its history, the LDS Church had achieved political legitimacy. This should not be misinterpreted as a social and cultural acceptance or an indication that American opinion had been magically transformed overnight. That process had only begun, but it was a process the Smoot hearings had accelerated. The church desperately needed a victory in this case to gain the respect and stature it needed to be recognized as a bonafide member of American society. Throughout the next two decades, church leaders would look back to the hearings as a crucial turning point in the church's acceptance nationally and later internationally. (xix)

Paulos provides brief biographies of the seventeen senators who served on the committee followed by a detailed "Smoot Hearings Chronology" covering January 26, 1903, through February 20, 1907. This daily and hourly chronology includes the names of the senators and attorneys present and the witnesses who testified during each session. This chronology is a useful map for reference as one negotiates the 692 pages of the abridged

¹See also Harvard S. Heath, "Reed Smoot: First Modern Mormon" (Ph.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1990); Heath, *In the World: The Diaries of Reed Smoot* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1997); Heath, "The Reed Smoot Hearings: A Quest for Legitimacy" *Journal of Mormon History* 33, no. 2 (Summer 2007): 1–80.

transcripts. Included are 14 pages of photographs, caricatures, and political cartoons putting faces on some of the major participants and mirroring the intense partisanship of the hearings (285–98). The book is then divided into seven sections reflecting the hearings' protracted timetables.

The abridgment contains more than a hundred pages of testimony by Joseph F. Smith (19–142, 177–84). Further along, the reader meets other prominent Mormon witnesses including Francis M. Lyman, Andrew Jenson, Hyrum M. Smith, Brigham H. Roberts, Angus M. Cannon, George Reynolds, George H. Brimhall, John Henry Smith, Charles Penrose, Richard W. Young, James E. Talmage (474–510), and, of course, Reed Smoot (525–78). These witnesses, and those for the prosecution, describe political conditions in Utah, explain Mormon theocracy, expose (or refuse to discuss) Mormon temple rituals, recount the recitation of oaths and covenants as portions of the temple ceremony, discuss Church compliance with the 1890 Woodruff Manifesto, and recount evidence for the continued cohabitation with plural wives by Mormon polygamists.

The transcript is punctuated with questions and comments from the committee chairman, Senator Julius Caesar Burrows (R-Michigan) and other committee members including Fred Thomas Dubois, an ardent anti-Mormon (D-Idaho), Joseph Weldon Bailey (D-Texas), Albert Jeremiah Beveridge (R-Indiana), William Paul Dillingham (R-Vermont), Joseph Benson Foraker (R-Ohio), Lee Slater Overman (D-North Carolina), Edmund Winston Pettus (D-Alabama), and others. Most of the examination for the prosecution was conducted by the pugnacious Robert W. Taylor (a previous four-term U.S. Representative for Ohio ("for the Protestants"), and John G. Carlisle (a former Democrat U.S. Senator from Kentucky and Secretary of the Treasury under Grover Cleveland). Two able non-Mormon attorneys—Augustus S. Worthington and Waldemar Van Cott—were retained for Smoot's defense.

After Smoot answered the formal complaint on January 4, 1904, Joseph F. Smith testified for five consecutive days (March 1–7) and then returned briefly on March 9 to complete his testimony. One is struck when reading his testimony by the brevity and noncommittal nature of Smith's responses. For page after page, Smith's terse responses are two or three words long and often simply yes and no answers. He chose to provide his interrogator, Mr. Taylor, with as little declarative information as possible. Still, during his testimony Smith startled the committee with his declaration that he had continued to cohabit with all of his five plural wives since the 1890 Manifesto, and by them had fathered a total of eleven post-Manifesto children. He acknowledged that his continued cohabitation was his own choice, not the Church's, and that he and only he was culpable for choosing to break the law. In response to a question from Senator Beveridge, he responded: "I wish to

assert that the church has obeyed the law of the land, and that it has kept its pledges with this Government; but I have not, as an individual, and have taken that chance myself" (93). Smith therefore took the position that the LDS Church had kept faith with its commitment to the government, but that he, an individual who happened to be Church president (and doubtless other individuals), had chosen to follow what to them was a higher law. Smith, later charged in Utah on the basis of this admission, was fined the maximum permitted by law.

Smoot's interrogators, once assured that he had only one wife, repeatedly probed potential conflicts between his religious commitments—oaths and covenants—and his ability to properly serve the people of the United States. Typical is the exchange between Smoot and defense attorney Worthington:

Mr. Worthington. Let me now in conclusion ask you the same question that I asked Dr [James E.] Talmage the other day. Suppose that some measure were pending before the Senate here upon which you are called to vote, and the church through its president or in some other way should direct you to vote in a certain way; what would you do?

Senator Smoot. I would vote just the way that I thought was best for the interests of this country. (532)

The lengthy testimony selected by Paulos reveals the antipathy and deep mistrust that anti-Mormon petitioners and most of the Senate committee held toward Mormons and their Church. It confirms that the LDS Church was more on trial than Senator Smoot. Probed repeatedly was the Church's, and its hierarchy's, averred failure or duplicity in keeping post-Manifesto agreements to stop plural marriages and end polygamous cohabitation as a condition to returning the Church's escheated properties and permitting Utah statehood. As later investigation has demonstrated, their unease was well founded.²

The Mormon Church on Trial will be useful for students of twentieth-century Mormonism who need to understand the nature of the Smoot hearings, the personalities of many of the actors in the Mormon post-Manifesto drama and the social and political climate in which the hearings were held. However, one must ask how much bias was brought to the abridgment? Those of us who have never read the complete transcript must trust Paulos's

²For example see D. Michael Quinn, "LDS Church Authority and New Plural Marriages, 1890–1904," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 18, no. 1 (Spring 1985): 9–105; B. Carmon Hardy, *Solemn Covenant: The Mormon Polygamous Passage* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992); and B. Carmon Hardy, ed., *Doing the Works of Abraham: Mormon Polygamy: Its Origin, Practice, and Demise*, Vol. 9 of KINGDOM IN THE WEST (Norman, Okla.: Arthur H. Clark Company, 2007).

judgment, since even this hefty tome contains just over 20 percent of the total transcript. That said, one is more confident of his judgment after reading his recently published “Senator George Sutherland: Reed Smoot’s Defender,” *Journal of Mormon History* 33, no. 2 (Summer 2007): 81–118.

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David Dye and Joshua Mariano. *27 Hidden Gems from Church History*. Mona, Utah: N.pub., 2008. vi, 151 pp. One diagram, no index, no bibliography. Paper: \$21.95; no ISBN

David A. Dye. *Sacred Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith: An In-depth Examination of the 1903 Letter of Benjamin F. Johnson*. Mona, Utah: The FIG Project, 2007. vi, 212 pp. No index, no bibliography. Paper: \$22.95; no ISBN

David A. Dye, ed. *Sacred Scribe: Entries from the Journals of Leonard John Nuttall*. Mona, Utah: The FIG Project, 2007. vi, 238 pp. No index, no bibliography, one appendix (2 pp.). Paper: \$19.95; no ISBN

Reviewed by Brian C. Hales

27 Hidden Gems from Church History contains a short discussion and related quotations on twenty-seven doctrinal and historical topics chosen by the authors, David Dye and Joshua Mariano. The back cover entices a potential reader: “Buried deep in the long-forgotten documents lie some doctrinal and historical gems. Throughout your years of reading, you have probably come across such insightful teachings and when later wishing to recall where these teachings were found, have ended up ‘stumped.’”

The criteria utilized in determining which subjects would be included are not obvious, nor does there appear to be an overriding theme. A few of the topics are quite interesting including Dye’s and Mariano’s examination of the origin of the Earth (26–34), the Urim and Thummim (73–76), and the sword of Laban (22–25). A number of the quotations are otherwise unpublished and will be new to most readers, like those found in chapters “The Sealing of a Servant for All Eternity” (8–9), “The Naming of an Infant” (10–11), and “Baptism before the Age of Eight” (14–15). The chapter entitled “Adam Means Male and Female” includes an interesting quotation from

Erastus Snow: "If I believe anything that God has ever said about himself, and anything pertaining to the creation and organization of man upon the earth, I must believe that Deity consists of man and woman. . . . So that the beings we call Adam and Eve were the first man placed here on this earth, and their name was Adam, and they were the express image of God" (19).

Unfortunately, the book contains historical inaccuracies and transcription errors. For example, the authors quote President Wilford Woodruff's speech in the third dedicatory session of the Manti Temple (sic), in which President Woodruff says: "If the veil could be taken from our eyes and we could see into the spirit world, we would see that Joseph Smith, Brigham Young and John Taylor had gathered together every spirit that every [sic] dwelt in the flesh in this Church since its organization . . . The eyes of the dead are upon us. This dedication is acceptable in the eyes of the Lord. The spirits on the other side rejoice far more than we do, because they know more of what lies before in the great work of God in this last dispensation than we do" (35–37). President Woodruff actually gave this address at the dedication of the Salt Lake Temple, not the Manti Temple, on April 7, 1893. The authors provide no citation, but this quotation originally appeared in Archibald Bennett, *Saviors on Mount Zion* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Sunday School Union Board, 1950), 142–43. (Incidentally, Bennett's version correctly says "ever" rather than "every.") A brief comparison of Dye and Mariano's transcription shows several discrepancies in the very first sentence. Their version reads: "I feel at liberty this morning to reveal to this assembly what has been revealed to me since we met here yesterday morning." The Bennett version reads: "I feel at liberty to reveal to this assembly this morning what has been revealed to me since we were here yesterday morning." It may be possible to argue that these differences are not substantive, but such inexactness in detail generates questions concerning the other quotations in the book, including the quotation above on Adam being both male and female.

Dye and Mariano also commit the common error of Adam-God theorists in identifying a quotation from the diary of L. John Nuttall as the "Lecture at the Veil (Original)" (105–8). On February 7, 1877, Nuttall visited the temple and later that day attended a meeting at Brigham Young's residence. His journal entry reports items discussed in the evening meeting.¹ It is not a verbatim report of the temple lecture, which may or may not have been related. In addition, the duration of the lecture was usually twenty to thirty minutes. In contrast, Nuttall's journal entry can be read in less than five.

¹"The Journal of L. John Nuttall," February 7, 1877, on *New Mormon Studies: A Comprehensive Resource Library*, CD-ROM (Salt Lake City: Smith Research Associates, 1998).

Dye and Mariano write: "It is necessary for a person to first have before he can give. . . . So it was also taught in the early days of the Church. In order for a man to officiate in a sealing ceremony of a family who was entering plural marriage, the sealer must necessarily be married plurally" (14). Apparently they were unaware that monogamist Anthony Ivins performed more than forty polygamous marriages after the 1890 Manifesto, including solemnizing his own daughter's plural marriage.

Perhaps the greatest weakness of the publication is its inattention to scholarly standards. Of the eighty-three sources cited, only a partial reference is found in twenty-eight. For example, a quotation from Parley P. Pratt's *Key to the Science of Theology* provides a chapter number, but no page number (31). Twenty more are inadequately referenced, including several letters signed by members of the First Presidency for which no location of the original is provided (11, 13, 15, 115, 130). We might assume they are located at the LDS Church Library, but they might also have been quoted in James R. Clark's six volumes of *Messages of the First Presidency*. We aren't told. As a result, the reader interested in verifying a quotation may struggle to find the source without some additional information.

Sacred Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith: An In-depth Examination of the 1903 Letter of Benjamin F. Johnson looked to be a very interesting and needed analysis of an oft-quoted letter. However, Dye's book is not a commentary on Johnson's lengthy correspondence but is rather a compilation of quotations on fifteen topics that Johnson mentions.

The letter is reprinted (1–21), but the chapters are not tied to it. Many of the chapters, like those dealing with infant resurrection (32–50), calling and election (76–91), and the sons of perdition (51–75) contain interesting information. It is obvious that David Dye has put in a great deal of time researching the subjects his chapters address.

Appendices discuss the "human-ness of Leaders" [sic] (179–82), the Danites (208–9), "The Children of Joseph Smith and DNA Research" (205–7) and "Name of the Church" (210–11). In addition, short biographies are included for individuals whom Johnson mentions in the letter (183–204), which are handy and helpful. Also provided are short outlines of the lives of Joseph Smith's plural wives (158–78), apparently derived primarily from Todd Compton, *In Sacred Loneliness: The Plural Wives of Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1997) although Compton is not acknowledged as a source.

Dye's citations are generally adequate, but some are insufficiently documented (32). One important weakness involves the unevenness regarding the authoritativeness of the sources included. He quotes Brigham Young and Joseph Smith repeatedly, but also the *Encyclopedia of Mormonism* (53, 82, 100), Bruce R. McConkie (54), non-General Authority Joseph E. Taylor (32),

LDS scholars Hyrum Andrus (100) and D. Michael Quinn (51), non-LDS scholar Klaus J. Hansen (100), and Church members Jesse N. Smith (73) and Edward Stevenson (133). He makes no effort to appraise the accuracy or the knowledgeability of these individuals and seems to treat all the quotations as if they were equally useful.

The general tone of many of the chapters suggests that the target audience is Mormon fundamentalists. The chapter on plural marriage could be extracted right out of the Mormon fundamentalist literature (110–21). It includes the popular quotation attributed to Brigham Young, allegedly from a “Sermon at Dedication of the St. George Temple” (110): “Hear it ye Elders of Israel, and mark it down in your logbooks, the fullness of the Gospel is the united order and the order of plural marriage, and I fear that when I am gone, this people will give up these two principles which we prize so highly, and if they do, this Church cannot advance as God wishes for it to advance” (110). The exact origin of this passage is unknown, but no documentary evidence confirms it as Brigham Young’s.² Research scrutinizing every known discourse by President Young and all other General Authorities during the nineteenth century, including all talks recorded for the dedication of the St. George Temple, fails to identify its source.³ The earliest to which I have been able to trace it to is in a 1927 publication by J. Leslie Broadbent.⁴

Also in the chapter on plural marriage under the subheading: “PLURAL MARRIAGE; NEEDED TO BECOME GODS” (121), is this quotation from Brigham Young: “The only men who become Gods, even the Sons of

²Apparently some fundamentalist authors are aware of the dubious nature of this quotation. In his several publications, including one book devoted exclusively to the United Order, independent fundamentalist Ogden Kraut never quoted it, although he was undoubtedly aware of its existence.

³Elden J. Watson, ed., *Manuscript History of Brigham Young, 1801–1844* (Salt Lake City: Elden Jay Watson, 1968), launched a serious and purposeful search for this alleged quotation, including diaries and letters from the period, reminiscences of those present at the dedication, and published sources. He was unable to locate it in any form that would reliably link it to Brigham Young at any time, including during the dedication of the St. George in 1877. (Personal communication.) The use of “log-book” is particularly curious; Young never referred to a “log-book” or “logbook” in any published discourse.

⁴J. Leslie Broadbent, *Celestial Marriage?* N.p., [1927]. After that point, it reappears regularly in fundamentalist teachings. See Joseph Musser, *The Economic Order of Heaven* (Salt Lake City: Truth Publishing, 1948), 14; Robert R. Openshaw, *The Notes: Or Selected References on the Fulness of the Gospel for Saints and Other Interested Students*, Vol. 1 (Pinesdale, Mont.: Bitterroot Publishing, 1980), 468; Rulon C. Allred, *Treasures of Knowledge: Selected Discourses and Excerpts from Talks*, 2 vols. (Hamilton, Mont.: Bitterroot Publishing, 1981), 1:88; and Leroy S. Johnson, *The L. S. Johnson Sermons*, 7 vols. (Hildale, Utah: Twin Cities Courier, 1983–84), 7:7.

God, are those who enter into polygamy.”⁵ However, just a few sentences earlier in this very same discourse (in a passage not reprinted by Dye), President Young observed: “I wish to say to you, and all the world, that if you desire with all your hearts to obtain the blessings which Abraham obtained, *you will be polygamists at least in your faith*, or you will come short of enjoying the salvation and the glory which Abraham has obtained.”⁶

Other section headings (with supporting quotations) include: “PLURAL MARRIAGE IS THE ONLY FORM OF MARRIAGE FOUND IN HEAVEN” (110), and “PLURAL MARRIAGE NECESSARY FOR EXALTATION” (116). Notwithstanding, it does not appear that any presiding priesthood authority has ever taught that all men in the celestial kingdom are practicing polygamists. Neither have they declared that all men, irrespective of the time and place they lived on earth, must be pluralists to gain exaltation. This process is repeated several times in the book and could expose the author to a charge of proof-texting.

Throughout both publications, the absence of an editor is apparent in its numerous formatting inconsistencies. Depending on the reader’s background, he or she might consider the discussions and quotations interesting and helpful. However, the scholar and serious historian will likely find its usefulness somewhat limited.

In 2007 two edited versions of L. John Nuttall’s journals were released. Signature Books published a 511-page hardcover edition: *In the President’s Office: The Diaries of L. John Nuttall, 1879–1892*, edited by Jedediah S. Rogers. Less publicized was the release of David A. Dye’s *Sacred Scribe: Entries from the Journals of Leonard John Nuttall*. Dye’s compilation is comprised of shorter excerpts, those that he deemed important, but happily spanning many more years, from December 31, 1876, to August 28, 1904.

Items included in Dye’s compilation, but not available in Rogers’s version, include forty-six pages covering from December 1876 to June 1879 and sixty-eight pages spanning March 1892 to Nuttall’s last journalizing in 1904. Within those pages, Dye recopied entries dealing with important LDS topics such as the first endowments given in Nauvoo (7), the issue of adoption (13, 24), Church disciplinary councils (30), polygamy (34), the United Order (39), the white Lamanite Zeph (40), blacks and the priesthood (43–45), the Temple Lot Case (169–71), and an extended discussion of events surrounding the dedication of the Salt Lake Temple (183–92).

One intriguing entry recorded on April 8, 1877, quotes Brigham Young: “It might be asked why we do not build our temples with the tithing. I

⁵Brigham Young, August 19, 1866, *Journal of Discourses*, 11:268–69.

⁶*Ibid.*, emphasis mine.

do not get enough tithing to pay the clerks” (18). An August 18 record contains seventeen questions asked to Brigham Young, with answers: “At what age can children have their endowments? If of a naturally ripe and early development of mind and body, as early as twelve years, but as a general rule fifteen years old is early enough. . . . Shall the work . . . done for the dead in the Endowment House in Salt Lake City, be done over again in the temple? No” (22–23).

One weakness is the lack of clarity regarding the types of corrections and edits implemented by Dye. It is obvious that he has silently rendered his transcriptions more readable, but nowhere does he alert his readers regarding the standards he has applied. Comparing his version to Rogers’s shows some notable differences of opinion regarding the original punctuation and meaning. For example, the transcriptions for Sunday, June 29, 1879, read:

Dye: “Afterwards attended Circle meeting. At endowment house sat up with President Taylor till after 10 o’clock talking over affairs . . .” (46)

Rogers: “Afterwards attended Circle Meeting at Endowment House. Sat up with Prest Taylor till after 10 o.clock talking over affairs . . .” (8)

Apparently, Dye has also inserted his own descriptive comments using parentheses, rather than brackets. This is illustrated in the entry for Saturday October 4, 1879:

Dye: “President Taylor said, we have now come out of a very unpleasant affair (Brigham Young’s estate, and a lawsuit filed by some of his children against the Church) and feel somewhat relieved . . .” (51)

Rogers: “Prest Taylor said we have now come out of a very unpleasant affair and feel somewhat relieved . . .” (33)

As a result, whenever parentheses are encountered in the transcription, the reader is not sure whether the enclosed words were in the original or whether they are Dye’s commentary.

Overall, David Dye has published an interesting and potentially useful compilation of quotations from Nuttall’s journals, particularly regarding those from years that are not included in the more comprehensive edition by Rogers. Concerns with editing techniques may prompt a reader to consult the primary source before utilizing a quotation in a scholarly publication, but Dye’s work could be helpful in identifying valuable information.

BRIAN C. HALES {brianhales@msn.com} is author of *The Priesthood of Modern Polygamy: An LDS Perspective* (Salt Lake City: NPI, 1992), *Modern Polygamy and Mormon Fundamentalism: The Generations after the Manifesto* (Salt Lake City: Greg Kofford Books, 2006), *Setting the Record Straight: Mormon Fundamentalism* (Orem, Utah: Millennial Press, 2008), and is currently working on a two-volume work about Joseph Smith’s polygamy.

Donald Harman Akenson. *Some Family: The Mormons and How Humanity Keeps Track of Itself*. Montreal: McGill University/Kingston, Ontario: Queen's University Press, 2007. 349 pp. Charts, appendices, notes, index. Cloth: CA \$34.95, US \$29.95, UK £16.99; ISBN: 978-0-7735-3295-3

Reviewed by J. Michael Hunter

Donald Harman Akenson, a professor of history at Queen's University in Ontario and senior editor at the press that printed this book, believes that scholars cannot ignore what he considers one of "the most important approaches to human history" currently underway—the LDS Church's genealogical efforts (186). Akenson encountered the Mormon genealogical program while researching the Irish in Ontario. Wanting to avoid the high costs of land title searches at the county registrar's office, Akenson turned to a local LDS family history center where he was able to obtain microfilm copies of the land titles for "next to nothing" (185). "Instead of walking past this monumental edifice with our eyes fixed on the ground," Akenson writes, "we should look up and at least ask, 'how useful is the Mormon project—and to whom?'" (186).

Akenson's central argument is that there are four basic genealogical forms used in the world today. These include two unilineal (matrilineal and patrilineal) and two bilineal (standard double and variable double). He provides illuminating charts to explain these systems; but basically the matrilineal system connects lineage through a single female line while the patrilineal system connects lineage through a single male in each generation. Bilineal systems, on the other hand, link generations on both the male and female sides. People of European heritage are most familiar with the standard double system, and it is the system used by the LDS Church to record lineage on pedigree charts. The variable double is some variation of the standard double that takes many forms depending on the culture. In some cultures, for example, generations can choose to follow either the male line or the female line but can select only one. The result is a lineage that oscillates back and forth between matrilineal and patrilineal. There are other variations that are too complex to discuss here.

Akenson contends that genealogy "is the collections of certain socially approved stories that are arranged according to one of a limited number of possible patterns" (98). His concern is that the "Mormon genealogical machine" through "ethnocentric imperialism" is forcing the standard double system on the world and, in the process, determining how the world keeps track of itself, which, in turn, affects the way the human story is told (195, 110).

According to Akenson, the Mormons, following the Hebrew example, consider genealogy in terms of a biological pedigree rather than a socially determined lineage. Akenson argues that the position of individuals in a genealogical narrative should be determined as much by social custom as by biology. Akenson provides numerous examples of world cultures, both ancient and modern, that do not fit into the standard double system, but which are forced into such a system by the LDS Church “only by breaking apart historical realities and making all family systems retrospectively fit with the Mormon model” (119).

One specific example of this forced conformity is same-sex marriages where the couple has adopted children. Akenson points out that such a family unit could not be recorded using the LDS Church’s computer program “without using an acetylene cutting torch and a high voltage arc welder” (118). As a result, these family units are not getting recorded, and evidence of their existence is effectively wiped out of the human story. Akenson’s book is in effect a warning to historians and other scholars to be aware of the “emerging LDS genealogical imperium” (19). Akenson concludes that the “Mormon project” is “badly off-kilter” (185). As he explains in inflammatory prose: “The LDS [system] is demonstrably wrong in its base-belief that there is only a single grammar of genealogical narrative. The coercive character of this belief must be resisted, for it quashes the integrity of cultures that do not fit the story of their humanity into the procrustean template: and because the Mormon paradigm can be embraced only by rejecting empirical, statistical, and historical evidence for the existence of other, incompatible ways that human beings have kept track of their humanity” (186).

Akenson is original in his approach to the world genealogical research phenomenon in which the LDS Church plays a huge part. By placing genealogy in a literary context, he raises intriguing questions about who controls the human narrative. He also raises interesting questions about the LDS Church’s efforts to provide a single narrative in the form of a huge database designed to link all humankind back to Adam and Eve. Akenson questions the accuracy of such a database, stating that “biological inaccuracy in human lineages is so great as to render most full genealogies genetically invalid in half-a-dozen generations, even if the paper documentation is perfect” (186). Akenson also points out that the database often gets to Adam in some very strange ways. For example, the database includes Skjold who was married to Gefion, a Norse mythological figure who at one time had mated with giants to produce sons who were useful as massive draught-oxen. Skjold’s father was Odin, the one-eyed Norse god of wisdom (154).

A fundamental flaw in Akenson’s critique of the “Mormon project” is his insistence on judging it on his own terms while giving little regard to the Mormons’ original intent and purposes in creating the project in the first

place. LDS President Wilford Woodruff stated, "We want the Latter-day Saints from this time to trace their genealogies as far as they can and to be sealed to their fathers and mothers. Have children sealed to their parents and run this chain through as far as you can get it." For the Mormons, then, the project has everything to do with sealing power and the uniting of families—fathers, mothers, children. It also accepts limitations. At some point, researchers will have gone "as far as you can get it."

The Mormons chose the standard double system because it worked very well with their theological understanding of the eternal family unit. The other forms are simply theologically incompatible. The "Mormon project" has been a great boon to professional genealogists, hobbyists, historians, and other scholars, but the Mormons would not finance such a huge undertaking if it did not meet their religious objectives.

In light of these considerations, which Akenson does not acknowledge, let alone explain, it seems absurd for Akenson to call the project "badly off-kilter" (185). Off-kilter according to whose intents and purposes? Akenson's? Historians'? The Mormons'? By the end of the book, it is not clear if Akenson is lecturing the Mormons, warning historians, or doing some wishful thinking of his own. Rather than critiquing the project he has at hand, he ends up critiquing the project he wished the LDS Church had created, the project that would have worked well with his conception of how the world works.

By essentially ignoring the Mormon concept of sealing power, Akenson also underestimates the flexibility of the system in regards to Mormon social constructs. In the "Mormon project," sealing prevails over biology. Children sealed to adoptive parents appear on the pedigree chart as children of the parents of sealing, not on the pedigree of their biological parents. At times, living biological mothers and fathers allow their children to be sealed to stepmothers or stepfathers, which generally changes the pedigree to conform to the sealing without regard to biology. Special circumstances and unique family dynamics sometimes result in other approved sealing arrangements that do not necessarily conform to biology.

If then the Mormons are not constrained by the standard double system, others can also adapt the system to their own unique needs or simply scrap the system and come up with one of their own. Granted, the Mormon system does make it sometimes appear that there is only one way of recording genealogy and telling the story. That is the value of Akenson's work: He shows us that there are many social constructs and, therefore, many ways of telling the story. However, I have to disagree with his contention that the Mormons are coercing people into telling the story their way.

His intemperate descriptions, while colorful, obscure his points and will no doubt hinder a useful discussion of his thesis. While he calls on his

readers to “tolerate” and “try to understand” the “merry-go-round of psycho-hallucinating nutters” that exist in the world (in which he includes Mormons), he himself shows little tolerance. Akenson explains that even though Joseph Smith “engaged in forgeries that were so easily detectable as to be embarrassing” and his writings were the “sort of thing a smart twelve-year-old would do,” his “audience of rural proles” fell for “his Big Con” (19, 29, 31, 33, 34). He concedes, “There are some very fine, albeit very few, professional historians who deal with Mormon history from within the LDS and at an evidentiary level demanded by the historical profession. On the other hand, if one wishes to observe just how crazy the non-professionals can be, note the church’s desperate reaction to the 1983 forgery by Mark Hoffman [sic; should be Hofmann] of a letter that claimed to show that Joseph Smith learned of the golden plates from an encounter with a white salamander” (288 note 21).

A few final caveats for readers already familiar with Mormon history. In his chapter on the origins of the LDS Church, Akenson relies heavily on Fawn Brodie’s *No Man Knows My History* (1945; New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1963 printing). He unquestioningly accepts Brodie’s narrative and interpretation; so readers already familiar with Brodie will gain no new historical insights here. In his chapter on the development of Mormon genealogical efforts—“God’s Massive Engine?”—Akenson relies on *Hearts Turned to the Fathers* by James B. Allen, Jessie L. Embry, and Kahlile B. Mehr (Provo, Utah: BYU Studies, 1995). *Hearts* is obviously more comprehensive, but also more coherent, than Akenson’s chapter. Finally, it is important to realize that Akenson’s book is more about raising questions than providing answers—and there is value in that approach.

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BOOK NOTICES

Laurel Stowe Brady. *In the Time of John Taylor: Dancing with the Sun*. Provo, Utah: Spring Creek Book, 2004. 121 pp. Paper: \$10.95; ISBN 1-932898-06-09

This novel for young readers (the protagonist turns ten in its course) contains few clues about the historical time except for the title. John Taylor presided as either president of the Quorum of the Twelve or as LDS Church president from 1877 to 1887. The Davies family is eking out a living in the Welsh tin mine at Cwm Welly when the oldest son is killed and the father injured in a cave-in, after which the mine is closed. The “blood money” paid by the company for the son’s death finances the family’s move to America, first an uncle and aunt, then the father, and finally, Lydia, her two brothers, and her mother.

The book focuses on the journey itself. Reaching Liverpool, the port, requires a long walk followed by a lengthy train ride. In the evening, it is a dismal site:

I saw the true face of the city now—factories belching smoke that tomorrow we would see colored both that sky and buildings a de-

pressing grey. The rains churned streets and gutters into mud, and over everything lay a sense of desperation and lost hope. I’d thought, somehow, the magic sounding name of Liverpool described a place of faces friendly toward a traveler, ladies with bags full of trinkets from the city’s shops and parks planted full of grass and flowers along the riverside, the streets swept clean and houses scrubbed. But that was not the way of it at all. This Liverpool we found was just a city and a poor one, bigger and busier, but at it’s [sic] core the same as the small village we’d just left. (43)

In Liverpool, the family treat the wounds of a Mr. Jensen, a “preacher,” beaten into unconsciousness by a mob. In turn, he befriends them on the ship (which has both sails and steam engines). The voyage is enlivened and saddened by catching a shark, seasickness, two storms, the accidental crushing of a child, and Lydia’s mother’s death when she falls down an open hatchway and breaks her neck.

Mr. Jensen preaches her funeral sermon. Although there is no mention of his denomination, his Mormonness is revealed to the reader

by his gift of an unnamed “thick book, with no pictures” and a “somber” cover (109) and his doctrine that it is “God’s plan for families to be together for ever and ever and ever” (105).

Brady provides no notes on sources but translates Welsh idioms in footnotes: for example, “You’d buy a sack of pups” means that the person so described is “gullible . . . hoping false promises would come true” (10).

Carol Freeman Braby. *Letters from Jerusalem 1913–1914: Correspondence of H. Arthur and Edna Howland Koehler*. Independence: Two Trails Publishing, 2006. 176 pp. Photographs, notes, bibliography. Paper: \$16.95; ISBN: 1-929311-83-4

Letters from Jerusalem is a compilation of letters by an appointee missionary couple from the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, H. Arthur Koehler and Edna Howland Koehler. The letters detail their journey to Jerusalem and their stay there during the critical years just before the outbreak of World War I. The book also includes entries from the American Consulate Journal by Dr. Otis A. Glazebrook during the mounting tension in 1914. These entries provide information on the situation in Jerusalem from a diplomatic stance. They supplement the letters by providing a unique perspective of life in Jerusalem, especially for American residents, before World War I.

In a brief introduction, Carol

Freeman Braby gives a historical overview of Jerusalem in 1913 and 1914. The Koehlers’ letters are personal and familiar, written to close family members and friends back in the United States. Edna wrote most of the total of forty, although Arthur writes occasionally to his parents in Independence.

The Koehlers were young, having been married in 1909. Arthur’s family is German, providing a useful second language during their travels abroad. Edna was raised by her mother’s sister in Massachusetts and educated as a teacher. Her teaching skills are important during their mission in Jerusalem.

The Koehlers began their travels in the summer of 1913. Leaving from Independence, they passed through England, France, Italy, Scotland, Switzerland, Germany, and Egypt before reaching their destination in Palestine. The letters describe these travels as well as their stay in Jerusalem, the progress of the Church, and the political upheaval in Palestine that eventually ended their mission on December 11, 1914. Typical subjects are health, shopping, food, holiday celebrations, and the weather. This trip was their first experience abroad, and the novelty of each new destination is apparent in their correspondence. For example, they seem to have been most struck by “the filth in Italy . . . Stink! Stink! Stink!” (41) and the “‘slangy’ slow” Turkish government (95).

The Koehlers’ observations of deteriorating economic, political, and military circumstances in Jeru-

salem are particularly interesting. In a letter to an aunt, Edna comments:

If we can get money at a less discount than now, and if we can buy food with the money in the future we shall stay. Otherwise we shall be forced to go. If Turkey gets into the war conditions, of course, will grow worse instead of better. The army is still mobilized. But we heard the other day or rather read that Turkey had notified Germany that unless she received some compensation for helping her army in a mobilized condition she would be obliged to disband . . . so we feel the crisis is soon to be reached, and we shall know exactly what to do. You may see us home for Christmas yet. (158-59)

Edna and Arthur's experience as newcomers and visitors in Jerusalem provide a distinctive window on changes taking place during this turbulent time in history.

The book also includes twenty-one photographs of the Koehlers at various tourist sites, such as in the Louvre gardens in Paris and before the sphinxes of Egypt. Braby also provides an "Afterword" that explains the political and economic circumstances of Jerusalem after the Koehlers' departure.

Anthony W. Ivins. *The Relationship of Mormonism and Freemasonry*. 1934; rpt. Heber City, Utah: Archive Publishers, 2004. 219 pp. Paper: \$27.95; ISBN: 1-930679-82-3

This book, originally published in 1934, provides details about the con-

tested terrain between Mormonism and Masonry in the early twentieth century. It was written to rebut a booklet by S. H. Goodwin, P.G.M. ("Past Grand Master") titled "Mormonism and Masonry" that sought to prove that LDS beliefs did not conform to those of other Christians, and particularly not with Masonic beliefs, thus providing a basis for denying membership in Masonic lodges to LDS men.

Ivins, who was then first counselor to Heber J. Grant in the LDS First Presidency, provides historical background on the controversy. He assumes that his readers know that Joseph and Hyrum Smith, Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, John Taylor, Wilford Woodruff, and Lorenzo Snow all became Masons in Nauvoo but that Masonry in Utah (the first lodges were established in 1859) represented a Gentile stronghold.

In 1925, the informal policy of excluding Mormons was formalized in writing. Mormons responded by forbidding membership in any "oath-bound" organization to its members. (The issue became moot in 1984 when the Masons rescinded their policy. In February 2008, Glen Cook, an active Latter-day Saint and a graduate of BYU Law School, was elected grand master of the lodge. He is believed to be the first Mormon to hold that position in a Utah lodge in almost a century [Carrie A. Moore, "A Mormon Mason," *Deseret Morning News*, March 29, 2008, E1, E3]).

Ivins states, "It is sufficient for

the writer to say, at this time, that the story told in "Mormonism and Masonry" is a garbled misstatement of facts, so arranged that an entirely erroneous conclusion is left upon the mind of the uninformed reader" (76). His primary purpose is to ungarble those misstatements.

Goodwin accuses the Mormons of not being Christians because: (1) They "have forgotten the Bible," (2) they "[teach] that God the Father, as well as God the Son, is a corporeal personage, That Jesus Christ and His Father are two persons, each of them has an organized individual tabernacle embodied in material form, in the likeness of man, and possessing every organ, limb, and physical part that man possesses," and (3) that among their teachings and doctrines "is that of continuous or immediate revelation" (36-38). Ivins addresses this accusation by appealing to such sources as statements from Masonic and LDS leaders, encyclopedias, authors, and even the Smithsonian Institute to establish the Christianity of LDS doctrines.

Ivins makes his ultimate appeal to the Bible. "It having been admitted by the author [Goodwin] that the Bible is the guide by which our faith and conduct should be governed, the writer [Ivins] will proceed to answer the doctrinal objec-

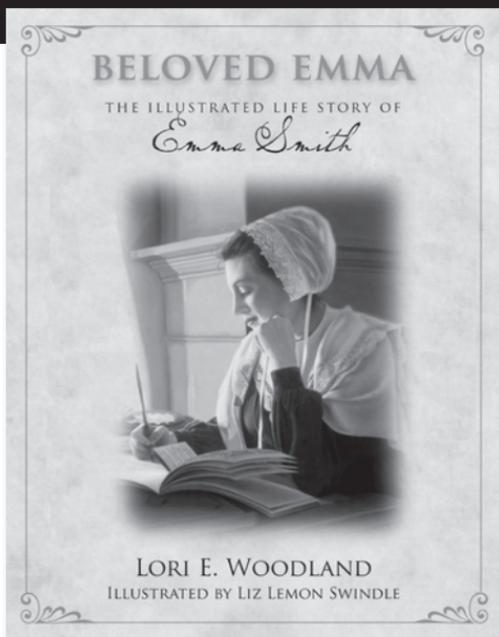
tions which bar a member of the Mormon Church from becoming a Mason, using the Bible as his guide and authority" (36).

The book is laid out topic by topic, comparing Masonic practices and claims to Mormon beliefs and practices. Among the topics discussed are: the origin of Freemasonry, the origin of Mormonism, plural marriage, the Bible, priesthood, secret societies in ancient America, the devil, and what the Book of Mormon really is. Ivins seeks to inform Mason, Mormon, and third-party readers of the differences and similarities between the two groups. He argues against Goodwin's claims that the Mormon religion is rooted in Masonic teachings and counters that the Church was established by God through divine revelation to Joseph Smith.

The book clearly delineates differences in doctrines and organization. However, on certain pertinent subjects, such as Masonic rituals, Ivins concedes that he has no knowledge and therefore does not address them out of "respect" for the Masons and their sacred rites (7). The absence of information on these topics may leave the reader wanting more information than is presented.

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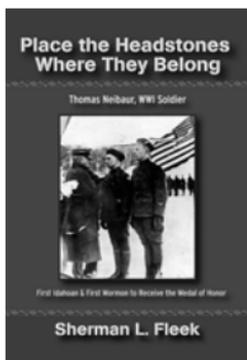
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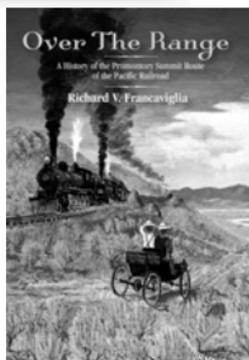
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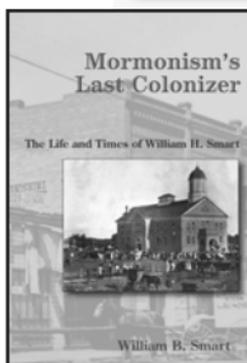
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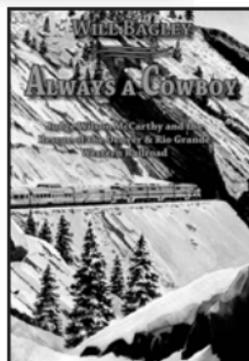
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