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Front cover: Junius Romney (1878–1971), president of Juarez Stake in 1912 during the Mormon evacuation from northern Mexico. Photo courtesy of Joseph Barnard Romney.

Back cover: James Henry Martineau (1828–1918), ca. 1882. Photo courtesy of Noel Carmack.

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James Henry Martineau

PROTECTING THE FAMILY IN THE WEST: JAMES HENRY MARTINEAU'S RESPONSE TO INTERFAITH MARRIAGE

Dixie Dillon Lane

IN THE SPRING OF 1895, Alexander von Wendt, a Russian baron with business interests in Arizona, accidentally burned the day-lights out of his foot. No servants with basins or nurses with salves came running to aid the agonized aristocrat, however. Instead, von Wendt collapsed onto a cot in the living room of a most unlikely friend—James Henry Martineau, a devout Mormon and local surveyor. Yet strange as this connection between a European nobleman and a humble Mormon Utahn might seem, it was about to become even stranger. For at nearly the same moment as he

DIXIE DILLON LANE {ddillon1@nd.edu} first encountered the Martineau diary while working as the assistant in Western American historical manuscripts at the Huntington Library in San Marino, California, where she had the privilege of processing the library's copy. She is now a doctoral candidate in American history at the University of Notre Dame. Her dissertation is a study of homeschooling across the American religious and political spectrums since 1950. ACKNOWLEDGMENTS: She thanks Peter J. Blodgett, Richard Francaviglia, Noel Carmack, Michael Landon, William P. MacKinnon, Melissa Lindberg, Christopher Lane, the editors and reviewers at the *Journal of Mormon History*, the Manuscripts Department at the Huntington Library, and the members of the Colloquium on Religion and History at the University of Notre Dame for their great help and kindness in the preparation of this article.

fell onto the cot, von Wendt also fell in love with Martineau's twenty-four-year-old daughter, Gertrude, one of the last of the Martineau children remaining in the parental home—and at the idea of his daughter marrying a non-Mormon, James Martineau almost fell apart.¹

If the clash and competition of cultures has long been a theme in the story of the North American continent, cultural conflicts within the family offer a fascinating microcosm of that theme. Encounters with outsiders of one sort or another have provoked a variety of responses in American history, but for a man like James Martineau, the prospect of allowing a person of another religion to actually enter into the sacredness of the family unit posed a particularly pressing problem. A limited smattering of historical studies have discussed the effect of intermarriages on American families, but most have not addressed how interfaith romance reflects the meaning of the family to individual Americans, groups, or the country in general; Anne C. Rose's book *Beloved Strangers* is the only recent work of historical scholarship on the topic.² In addition, such studies tend to focus on marriages between American Roman Catholics and Protestants or between Christians and Jews—an understandable approach, but one that leaves much room for additional research. The unusual theological and practical experience of Mormon family life in the nineteenth century, however, offers a unique opportunity to examine the response to cross-faith attachments within families more deeply and to connect it to the place of the family in American life. It also invites closer examination of how religion, family, and friendship have affected responses to major cultural differences within one nation in American history.

¹James Henry Martineau, *Diary, 1850–2004* (majority of entries between 1850 and 1921; material after 1921 miscellaneous family photographs and obituaries), FAC 1499, Huntington Library, San Marino, California, 2:20, April 2, 1895; hereafter cited parenthetically in the text by volume and page. The diary opens with an undated summary of Martineau's ancestral history, family origin, and life before his conversion; when the date of a particular incident can be inferred or when Martineau provides it, I designate such events as “occurred.” In all other cases, the date is Martineau's for the relevant diary entry.

²Anne C. Rose, *Beloved Strangers: Interfaith Families in Nineteenth-Century America* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2001).

James Martineau's remarkable 1,230-page diary chronicle of faith and family, recently made available to researchers, attests to the tensions between insider and outsider and the struggles between faith and kinship that could be caused by interfaith romance in this period, offering a rich and evocative example of the complicated conflicts that could attend interfaith connections.³ Although von Wendt's unexpected death prevented the actual union in this case, the Martineau diary offers an unusually detailed and reflective record of how families struggled with the prospect of interfaith marriage itself. The anguished triangle of a pious father, a foreign "Gentile," and a beloved daughter—as recorded in the father's diary—not only provides a extraordinary opportunity to examine interfaith romance and family in specific detail, but also suggests that, for at least one arresting portion of the American population at the turn of the century, the ultimate breaking point in a variety of cross-cultural relations came not with threats to fortune, or culture, or pride, but to the simple and essential safety of a family, cast in terms of eternal salvation.

James Martineau lived to be more than ninety years old, leaving behind a long life of varied experience that exemplifies much of the nineteenth-century Mormon pioneer world and its place in American history. This article begins by surveying the general outline of the Martineau family's life and that of their friend von Wendt in order to provide context for discussing the main interfaith issue at hand. It then examines James Martineau's approach to non-Mormons in general and to von Wendt in particular, leading into an analysis of the crisis that most keenly illustrates the relationship between this Mormon pioneer, his family, and the outside world.

Born in Montgomery County, New York, on March 13, 1828, Martineau's life included many experiences typical of adult Mormons after the flight to Utah. Yet while he suffered through the usual struggles, Martineau was also a man of unusual talent. James's

³While researchers have known for some time that Martineau kept a detailed diary, its whereabouts were unknown for decades. However, a photocopy of the original became available to researchers through the Huntington Library, in San Marino, California, in 2004. An edited version of the diary, prepared by Noel Carmack, is forthcoming, while a family version is already available: Donald G. Godfrey and Rebecca Martineau-McCarty, eds., *An Uncommon Common Pioneer: The Journals of James Henry Martineau, 1828–1918* (Provo, Utah: BYU Studies, 2008).

father, John Martineau, of Huguenot descent, died when the boy was nine or ten, and James's Baptist mother, Eliza Ann, a great-niece of Revolutionary War hero Ethan Allen, then married a Presbyterian (who, coincidentally, pressured her to stop attending Baptist services) (1:15). By his own admission, young James's will often clashed with those of his elders; in 1846, for example, he enlisted in the U.S. Army to fight in the Mexican War, only to be yanked out again by his mother because he was only sixteen. In 1847 he enlisted again and spent what was left of the war clerking for the army near Cincinnati. Reasonably well-educated in "English and Latin Grammar, Arithmetic, Geography, History, Natural Philosophy, Algebra, Chemistry, Geology," he worked for a few Midwestern newspapers before deciding, like tens of thousands of other adventurers, to head to California to "see the elephant" (1:17).

After spending the winter of 1849–50 in Missouri, Martineau set out boldly with a group of traveling companions but, near South Pass, faced a geographical quandary. Should they curve slightly northward (presumably passing through Fort Hall) and only then proceed southwest to San Francisco, or should they take their chances and head directly through the infamous Mormon enclave near the Great Salt Lake? Martineau's curiosity and maverick tendencies nudged him toward the southern route, but gossip along the journey had contended that the Mormons there "lived in common together, like cattle, and were all thieves and murderers." These outlaws, Martineau's companions at South Pass feared, would "surely kill or at least rob us." But Martineau stood his characteristic independent ground, countering that "if we minded our own business and were careful, we would not be molested." The party divided, and Martineau went off to "see the Mormons" (1:25; occurred 1850).

Not only did Martineau see the Mormons, but within a matter of months he had become one. His conversion story is not unusual. Curiosity, fascination, and confidence in his ability to resist conversion prompted him to spend the winter of 1850–51 at Salt Lake City, where two widows living near him convinced him of the truth of their faith and the error of his former ways (2:99, February 24, 1897). Baptized in January 1851, Martineau heartily embraced his new way of life. Within a year, at age twenty-three, he married Susan Ellen Johnson, the fifteen-year-old daughter of Joel Hills Johnson and, by age sixty, had married three plural wives. Only two of his wives had children, but they totaled nearly two dozen—the exact fig-

ure is debatable because a few children may have been adopted or had even more complicated origins and relationships with the family. Five children died before reaching adulthood, and some of the diary's most touching passages describe their deaths. Decades later, Martineau was still writing poems in their honor and dreaming about them at night.

In addition to maintaining an absorbing family life, Martineau also served in the militia during the Utah War (1857–58), which, at least in theory, amounted to a severe test of his new allegiance, served as a teacher and clerk, and had a nearly life-long career as a surveyor, a trade he began to practice under the guidance of W. H. Dame.⁴ He helped establish a number of towns and even a Mexican Mormon colony; surveyed and mapped railroads, towns, and landscapes across Utah, Arizona, and Nevada; and walked astounding distances in his old age to bestow healing blessings. In nearly all of these deeds, Martineau found himself repeatedly in contact with members of the culture he so determinedly wished to leave.

Alexander von Wendt's birth year is not known, but he came to the United States around 1877 as an adult, so he was probably in his forties. Martineau's relationship with Alexander von Wendt, the non-Mormon immigrant who fell in love with Gertrude Martineau, was one of the most important interfaith contacts of his later life. Von Wendt was not some insolent outsider who tweaked Gertrude's pig-tails and then impertinently asked for her hand. Far from it. He was Martineau's business partner, friend, and even roommate. An owner and investor in a variety of types of mines, von Wendt was based in Tucson when Martineau first mentioned him as a business partner in 1891 (1:683, April 18, 1891). Although an agnostic, he was in many other ways a man after Martineau's own heart and so close a friend that he even once gave Martineau money for new dresses for Susan Ellen and her daughters, Gertrude and Dora (2:9, May 23, 1894).

Relatively little biographical information about von Wendt has survived, but Martineau's diary, along with a small collection of von Wendt's correspondence, provides some understanding of at least his

⁴For more detailed information on Martineau's contributions to planning and mapping the American West, see Noel A. Carmack's article "Running the Line: James Henry Martineau's Surveys in Northern Utah, 1860–1882," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 68 (Fall 2000), 292–312.

business affairs.⁵ Martineau notes that von Wendt “came to Arizona for the benefit of his lungs, which were somewhat affected,” but financial speculation seems also to have been a draw (2:112, June 2, 1897). In the early 1890s, von Wendt invested in a variety of mines, often in partnership with Martineau, who contributed both funds and his surveying and engineering expertise to the ventures. Over the course of six years, the two men’s finances became increasingly interdependent. In 1893 von Wendt’s discouragement at a failing venture roused Martineau’s compassion and a small loan; in contrast, an 1896 von Wendt speculation threatened “us all” and sent James and Susan Ellen into fervent prayer (1:716, August 26, 1893; 2:65, August 4, 1896).

As Martineau and von Wendt’s business associations became closer, so did their unlikely friendship. As a surveyor, Martineau spent much of his time working among non-Mormons, yet even before von Wendt’s interest in Gertrude, the Russian appeared in Martineau’s diary far more frequently than any other non-Mormon figure. Most, though not all, of Martineau’s references to non-Mormons describe either persecution—a certain robbery trial was “part of a crusade against the Mormons” (1:650, December 15, 1889)—or ignorance and rapaciousness. One train passenger, supposing Martineau was not Mormon, commented: “‘We’re going to have a big army here before long and the Mormons have got to get out. They can’t sell out for we won’t need to buy. We’ll just take such places as we like and they can’t help themselves.’” Martineau replied, “‘if any body [sic] tries to take my home, I’ll kill him if I can’” (2:351-52, January 7, 1910; occurred sometime “in the ‘70s”).⁶ Yet Martineau wrote positively of von Wendt, whom he called his “friend and chum” (2:9, May 23, 1894). They were clearly not just

⁵Alexander von Wendt’s correspondence with Selim M. Franklin, along with other related correspondence, is housed with the Franklin Papers, A 2336, Box 44, fd. 8, Special Collections, University of Arizona Library, Tucson. The materials cover 1894–97.

⁶Martineau was not being supercilious or bigoted in his wariness of non-Mormons. In addition to these examples, among his genuinely negative encounters with non-Mormons were surveillance in the 1880s by U.S. deputies trying to find evidence of his polygamy (1:595, March 15, 1887), extended estrangement from his non-Mormon relatives, and frequent casual misunderstanding and hostility as he traveled about the West.

compatible associates but close friends. They often contentedly boarded together and cooked their meals together, and increasingly shared the ups and downs of their lives. "Some way I feel very much drawn to him," wrote Martineau in 1893, "as well as he to me. . . . I have cheered him up all I can, and he seems to think me his only trusted friend in Tucson" (1:718, September 14, 1893). Inevitably, religion was part of the relationship, also, and the two men even shared a few dark nights of the soul, in which Martineau pressed his friend to trust in the God of Joseph Smith and interpreted the non-Mormon's dreams as gifts of comfort from God (2:105, March 21, 1897). In this mutual attraction—which could, Martineau hoped, lead to von Wendt's conversion from agnosticism—Martineau saw the hand of the Lord (1:718, September 14, 1893).

As this friendship exemplifies, in spite of his common experiences of dishonesty and persecution from non-Mormons other than von Wendt, Martineau still often yearned to reconcile with the non-Mormons he met and to share his Mormon faith with them. As a result, Martineau's diary, among other valuable contributions, records an agonized and complex estimation of non-Mormons, a problematic issue that he re-examined and refined throughout his life. Martineau and others like him knew non-Mormon injustice well. Three times in his life—once during the Utah War, again during the federal raid against polygamists in the 1880s, and finally in the 1890s—Martineau exhibited strong desires to reject the secular/Protestant United States once and for all. In fact, it was one of his strongest motivations for deciding to establish one home base in Mexico in the early 1890s. "I wish to be with the Saints and help build up Zion," he wrote, "and not to help build up that Gentile nation." He would not "labor for the wicked Gentiles" (1:694–95, February 9 and 7, 1892). Yet in the end, in spite of his conversion and all his negative experiences, he never made a definitive break. Near the end of his life, he even became a member of the Sons of the American Revolution, writing that "I take pride in this membership of an Association acknowledged by special act of Congress" (2:366, April 30, 1910).

In particular, in spite of his generally mistrustful relationship with outsiders, Martineau consistently looked for flickers of Mormon truth and goodness in the non-Mormon soul. Although he believed that von Wendt was "in deep darkness," he also saw that his friend's "religion consisted in doing all the good he could, and in making others happy" (2:55, June 16, 1896; 2:112, June 2, 1897). More to the

point for Martineau, “[von Wendt] thought that the Mormon religion was the nearest right of any, so far as he understood it,” and was therefore a mere step away from accepting the faith (2:112, June 2, 1897). Martineau also more than once specifically noted that his friend was religiously unaffiliated—“he did not believe in any of the churches or religions of the day”—rather than identifying him by denomination (2:20, April 14, 1895). Martineau seems to have considered this status evidence of von Wendt’s apparent nearness to the Latter-day Saint faith.

Indeed, Martineau records positive interactions far more often with agnostics—those he might have called “unbelievers”—than with members of other faiths. In 1875, for example, Martineau met Samuel Beach Axtell, governor of Utah Territory, who Martineau understood was “not a member of any church.” Martineau enthusiastically recorded that the non-Mormon gave a group of schoolchildren excellent advice: “to avoid profanity, liquor, obscene language, tea, coffee or tobacco . . . to observe and keep holy the Sabbath day, to honor the aged and to be good, true citizens obedient to the laws.” Because Axtell praised Mormon virtue, saw some pragmatic good in polygamy, and was a sincere philosopher, he was “one of the ‘Honorable men of the Earth’” (LDS D&C 76:75). Yet more importantly, because he seemed to Martineau to share Mormon opinions, Martineau declared him “all unknown to himself, a natural born Mormon” (2:353, 355, January 7, 1910).

Thus, Martineau believed that the unconverted, such as von Wendt, could be and were influenced by the Holy Ghost. This belief was crucial for Martineau. In his unpublished anthology of doctrine and wisdom, “Pearls Collected from Church Works,” Martineau quotes Brigham Young, who refers to all non-Mormons (Christian and non-Christian) in asking, “Do they receive the Spirit of the Lord? They do, and enjoy the light of it, and walk in it and rejoice in it.”⁷ Though they were not Latter-day Saints, non-Mormons were neither therefore automatically bereft of virtue nor unworthy of God’s divine assistance.

Just as importantly, Martineau held firmly to the LDS doctrine

⁷James H. Martineau, “Pearls Collected from Church Works,” 1887, 133, MSS COLL 238 (Bd Ms 108), Special Collections, Merrill-Cazier Library, Utah State University; he is citing *Contributor* 11, no. 3 (January 1890): 87.

that non-Mormons were destined to play an important part in building up God's kingdom on earth and that the Latter-day Saint "gathering" of believers did not imply shunning non-Mormons. Here again, "Pearls" is instructive. Under "Mixing with Gentiles," Martineau recorded an address by Apostle Orson Pratt from May 20, 1855: "If there were no gentiles among us we could not see whether there was any integrity among the people. Do you suppose that this people will be kept away from the Gentiles? No, verily, the Lord does not intend we should separate from the world altogether."⁸ Without the chaff, that is, there could be no wheat. Martineau also quoted 3 Nephi 21:23-24: "And they ["Gentiles"] shall assist my people, the remnant of Jacob, and also, as many of the house of Israel as shall come, that they may build a city which shall be called the New Jerusalem; and then they shall assist my people, that they may be gathered in who are scattered upon all the land, in unto the New Jerusalem."⁹

Although the verses that immediately precede these in the Book of Mormon insist that these outsiders must repent to have this privilege (and that those who do not could meet a very unpleasant fate), Martineau quoted only this section, giving it the subheading: "New Jerusalem, Gentiles will help build it." In both quotations, it seemed more important to Martineau to remember that non-Mormons had a part to play in Zion than to condemn them as unbelievers or worse. This is the interpretation he left to guide his children and grandchildren.

Thus, Martineau was able to reconcile himself with being von Wendt's business partner and his only friend in Tucson. For at least six years, the European was nearly always a positive influence on Martineau and his family, both financially and emotionally. Though not a Mormon, he was friendly and respectful toward Mormonism, providing true friendship, companionship, and financial partnership to his Mormon companions. The increasingly affectionate mentions in Martineau's diary are not surprising under these circumstances. If Martineau had any spiritual qualms about his non-Mormon chum, he seems to have been able to resolve them easily. Von Wendt was most certainly not a threat, and so his unbelief caused little difficulty.

It caused little difficulty, that is, until von Wendt fell in love with Martineau's daughter. Born on September 28, 1870, Gertrude was

⁸Martineau, "Pearls," 20.

⁹*Ibid.*, 100.

one of the youngest of the Martineau brood and held a special place in the family. She and her adopted sister Dora were the last of the children to live at home. When Dora died, Gertrude became the lone child in a household that had at many times had held seven or eight children. Her health was not good. She suffered from lameness, fits and convulsions, and “agonizing pain behind her eyes.” Her parents, James and Susan Ellen, were constantly concerned, especially when Gertrude several times collapsed, had convulsions, and seemed close to death because of her infirmities (1:705, November 14, 1892). Her headaches were so pronounced as to make her periodically blind, unable to sit up, and even unable to eat. Martineau speculated that she might have meningitis and consulted surgeons around the country regarding her condition (see, e.g., 1:705, November 14, 1892; 2:11, August 2, 1894).

Yet along with the worry and care she inspired, Gertrude was also a great comfort to her parents; and when she eventually married (not to von Wendt) and left home, James Martineau wrote that “to her mother and me the change was a sad one” (2:318, August 6, 1906). Indeed, despite his large family, Martineau’s diary indicates specific and intimate relationships with each child and undeniable care and affection.

By making known his desire to marry Gertrude, Alexander von Wendt shocked and alarmed James and Susan Ellen. When deciding to move his family from Mesa to Tucson a few months earlier, James Martineau had “had some fear that Gertrude might be led to love my friend Alex. von Wendt, who is . . . attractive” and who had “often urged” the move to Tucson; but he had prayed about his concerns and felt that he had received assurance that nothing untoward would happen (2:18, February 7, 1895). Based on this testimony, and having already welcomed his own intimacy with von Wendt, Martineau thus had also evidently resolved to trust his friend to respect the insider/outsider boundary in the case of romance, just as any other Victorian father might trust a friend not to attempt a seduction of his daughter. Yet von Wendt had not perceived these implicit limits. Although von Wendt was clearly offering honorable marriage, and Martineau does not suggest that any kind of sexual impropriety had occurred, Martineau saw the romance as a betrayal of his hospitality and indeed of his friendship. Since his brief concern in February, “I had not thought of such a thing,” he wrote in distress. “I had given him a home in his illness from his burn, and I knew he liked our family, but I did not think

of any wish on his part to marry my daughter. I felt much disturbed at the thought of my daughter marrying one not of the faith, and told him it was contrary to our principles to permit" (2:20, April 14, 1895).

In spite of their closeness, Martineau had assumed a division in his family's relationship with von Wendt so fundamental that a romance would be beyond possibility. Von Wendt, obviously, had not made the same assumption, nor did he consider his offer inappropriate. But while they might be friends, to Martineau the religious divide was absolute unless von Wendt converted. And indeed, religion seems to have been Martineau's only objection to the suitor, as neither Gertrude's health nor any age difference between the two (von Wendt was at least middle-aged and perhaps fifteen or twenty years older than Gertrude) arose as marked obstacles. As for Gertrude's own feelings on the matter, she told her parents that "she would leave it all to us, although she loves him with her whole heart" (2:21, April 15, 1895). The details of her more specific reactions or of any clear courtship between Gertrude and von Wendt before the proposal did not reach the pages of her father's diary.

Now that von Wendt presented himself as a serious prospect to enter the family, his agnosticism became an active concern for the Martineaus. Interfaith friendship was one thing, but interfaith marriage was quite another. The matter absorbed James, Susan Ellen, Gertrude, and of course von Wendt for the next several months and even years, and the already significant number of references to this non-Mormon in Martineau's diary increased dramatically. The mutual affection between the Martineaus and von Wendt continued to grow, as well: von Wendt developed pet names for Gertrude and Susan (the "Princess" and the "Duchess"), and both Gertrude and James corresponded with von Wendt when they were apart (2:114, June 2, 1897; 2:114–16, June 5, 1897). Yet the malaise and concern continued also.

Where exactly, however, did the danger lie? Although an agnostic, could von Wendt not be considered, like Governor Axtell, also a "natural born Mormon?" (2:355, January 7, 1910). After all, Martineau thought von Wendt to be an ethical and moral individual, and such people were not only candidates for conversion but were indispensable *as non-Mormons* to building up the kingdom of God. Martineau willingly conceded that von Wendt's "religion consisted in doing all the good he could, and no harm or evil to any" (2:20, April 14, 1895; emphasis his). But marrying out of the faith was a step Mart-

ineau could not accept for his beloved daughter.

Four years earlier, in 1891, Martineau recorded a revelation that had promised that “Gertrude and Anna [another daughter] shall both have mates to love and cherish them always, and gain a celestial exaltation” (1:689, October 12, 1891). Simply put, marriage to an unbeliever might endanger that promised exaltation. While salvation might be enough for non-Mormons, to one who might have been exalted, it would seem to be only a very small step above damnation. As Martineau himself wrote, for the LDS “there is a vast difference between salvation and exaltation” (2:72, October 20, 1896; emphasis his). Theologian and anthropologist Douglas Davies writes that, for a Mormon in this period, “to perceive [him]self in that lower state knowing that a higher could have been achieved, might, itself, be to know damnation.”¹⁰ This is what threatened to happen to Martineau’s daughter, who had placed the decision wholly in her parents’ hands.

As might be expected, James and Susan Ellen both prayed fervently about the matter over the next several hours (and, eventually, over the next two years). Their anxiety was intense. Yet, ironically, the same faith that caused Martineau to fear giving his daughter to an agnostic led him to consent to their engagement the next day. As a result of his prayers, Martineau believed that he received a testimony that “no evil shall come to thy daughter Gertrude through [von Wendt] or any other man,” and he put his faith in the earlier promise of holy mates for Gertrude and Anna (2:20, April 14, 1895). Still, he required a waiting period (while von Wendt was in New York City for several months on business) before the betrothal became official, revealing his continued hesitation; and he remained anxious “about Gertie’s union with one out of the church” (2:21, April 15, 1895; 2:22, May 1, 1895).

For example, even after accepting von Wendt as Gertrude’s fiancé, Martineau continued to pray about his decision. Over the next few days, he received revelations that von Wendt would eventually convert to Mormonism and “do a mighty work in Zion” and that both Gertrude and von Wendt would be “exalted . . . in the celestial glory.” Gertrude would not “violate her covenants” by marrying von Wendt. The young woman’s mother, Susan Ellen, received similar promises;

¹⁰Douglas J. Davies, *The Mormon Culture of Salvation: Force, Grace and Glory* (Aldershot, England: Ashgate Publishing, 2000), 3.

and Gertrude, for her part, had already confessed her love. Yet for all these assurances, Martineau indicated that the whole matter “was quite a trial to my faith” (2:20–22, April 14–15, 17, 1895). Over the next two years, the engagement remained “to my natural sense very obnoxious” (2:55, June 16, 1896).

The Martineau parents’ uncomfortable accommodation to this interfaith engagement accords with the trajectories of other interfaith families in America in the nineteenth century. Anne C. Rose argues that, while marriages among Roman Catholics, Protestants, and Jews caused considerable distress to the family elders, over time most families found ways to accommodate religious outsiders as relatives. Yet as Rose states, “in the process, interfaith families helped change American religion” over the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, turning the nationwide religious atmosphere from hierarchical control of churches, families, and individuals towards “self-determination.”¹¹ Churches began to lose their power over individuals’ marriage choices, she argues, and parents and grandparents chose maintaining relationships with youth over risking a breach in a family through inflexible opposition. Yet according to Rose, the religious fears of Catholic and Jewish parents were still particularly well-founded. Families who incorporated Protestant or secular spouses stuck together, but they also overwhelmingly became Protestant in the next generation. It remained to be seen whether Latter-day Saints who married outsiders would follow the same pattern.

Apparently neither von Wendt nor Gertrude pressed for an immediate wedding, for they were still engaged when von Wendt died on May 26, 1897, nearly two years after the engagement (2:111). Details about von Wendt’s final illness and death in Tucson are sketchy. The Martineau family had just relocated to Colonia Juárez, and so a Martineau cousin, John Angus Johnson, rather than the Martineaus themselves, nursed von Wendt as he died. James Martineau had previously recorded symptoms suggesting that von Wendt may have suffered from a pulmonary or gastric complaint caused by long-term exposure to poor mining conditions, which may have been the cause of death (2:27–28, September 18 and October 2, 1895; 2:112, June 6, 1897). Although he had been sick for six weeks, the death “came as a great shock to us all, as he seemed to possess a wonderfully strong constitution, and, excepting some lung trouble, seemed in perfect

¹¹Rose, *Beloved Strangers*, 190.

physical condition" (2:111, June 2, 1897).

Deeply grieved at their loss, Martineau and his daughter took comfort in seeing that the temple ordinances of vicarious baptism and endowment were performed for von Wendt a few months later in the Salt Lake City Temple (2:217, June 27, 1902; 2:324, November 15, 1906), Martineau's friend Ernest (or Everett) Guy Taylor standing proxy.¹² Martineau felt sure, through revelation, that von Wendt accepted these ordinances, thus becoming a posthumous Latter-day Saint (2:111–16, June 2–5, 1897; 2:324, November 15, 1906). Gertrude thought so as well, and one night dreamed that "some one showed her two beautiful crowns, one of which was for her in her own reward, the other was hers because of the work she had done in the temple for the Baron Alex. von Wendt. . . . She tried them on, and they both fitted her beautifully" (2:217, June 27, 1902). The Martineau family still in Colonia Juárez (where Taylor usually lived as well), Taylor's help in resolving the issue may be evidence of the growing intimacy between this devout young man and the grieving Gertrude. Gertrude and Taylor were married four years later, probably in Mexico, Gertrude becoming Taylor's first plural wife.¹³ Gertrude later financed the posthumous sealing of her former fiancé von Wendt to Margaret Leavitt, a Scottish non-Mormon (whose baptism and endowment were also performed), with James Martineau and a woman named Afton Young standing proxy. They believed that von Wendt had known and loved Leavitt many years before (2:314–15, June 29–July 2, 1906; 2:323–24, Novem-

¹²Von Wendt was endowed on October 4, 1897, and must have been baptized sometime before that date, although Martineau does not record this event. Taylor may be the same E. Guy Taylor who took a plural wife, Lilly Hicks, on September 16, 1905, more than a full year after the Second Manifesto.

¹³When the couple became engaged in 1900, Martineau wrote: "Knowing his integrity and worthiness, I gave my consent. But I do not see just now, how it can be effected, as Prest L. Snow has closed the door of plural marriages" (2:178, January 2, 1900). Martineau does not explain or write about the marriage in detail; he does not in fact note the date of the actual marriage, just the engagement and then the fact, later, that they are married. Since Gertrude continued to live with her parents on and off, it is possible that the marriage was secret in the United States. If source material can be found, Gertrude's marriage and family would be a rich subject for a case study of plural marriage in this period.

ber 15, 1906). Thus, in the minds of the Martineaus, faith eventually provided an acceptable fate for everyone.

Still, during von Wendt's life, Martineau was never fully accepting of the engagement and prospective marriage. He continued to revisit and agonize and pray over his decision to consent to the engagement. More than a year later, Martineau wrote that "I have been greatly troubled in mind because of the deep darkness of my friend A. von W. He desires to marry Gertrude, but he believes not in God nor His Son Jesus, the Redeemer. Why do I have him about my family, if this be so, and I know the result of such a thing?" (2:55, June 16, 1896). And in fact, Martineau never actually used the term "engagement" in reference to von Wendt and Gertrude until after Gertrude had been safely married to Taylor (2:217, June 27, 1902). While he accepted the prospect of an outsider son-in-law, it gave him no peace.

It is impossible to know what would have been the result if Gertrude had actually married von Wendt, but it is likely that Martineau would have adjusted further to the match, though probably in some continued discomfort. He might have even revised his views on non-Mormons in general. As it was, the Martineau family continued to fit Anne Rose's pattern of reluctant acceptance and increased youthful self-determination. When one of Martineau's grandsons married a Catholic nearly fifteen years after von Wendt's death, the decision was "much to the surprise of his father and all of us," and Martineau was grieved as well as shocked. Yet although the young man was, he wrote, "the first of my family to marry out of the church" and "his father was much displeased," the youth's parents and grandparents had to accept the marriage as a *fait accompli* (2:374, March 8, 1911). Although Martineau did not mention von Wendt at the time, perhaps he thought about his friend when he recorded the hope that the young Catholic woman might "finally receive the Gospel" (2:374, March 2, 1911).¹⁴

Thus, even though his resistance weakened and his behavior could be generous, Martineau's anxiety about the possibility of inter-

¹⁴Martineau does not record whether she did before the diary ends. Whether Martineau's grandson's family eventually lost its Mormon (or even Catholic) identity, however, is another question, and one to which I do not know the answer. Rose suggests also that by the late-twentieth century "faiths acquired in childhood were so muted" in liberal households, at least, that interfaith marriages within such families had no effect on religion, and vice versa—the change from control to self-determination, carried out over

faith marriage did not really change. This anxiety, formed around the safety of his family, exemplifies how he and others like him thought of non-Mormons in general. This faithful convert was constantly challenged by confrontations with his former culture. Like most LDS adults before 1900, Martineau had once belonged to the non-Mormon world and still loved many in it. Yet his life and hopes revolved around the Mormon definition of marriage and family, and his interfaith actions always fell according to his family's eternal and—secondarily—temporal needs. Though his affections were wide, the case of his daughter and his dear friend show that the theology and priorities of this typical Utah pioneer consistently centered on the eternal consequences for his wives, his children, and himself. When non-Mormons threatened this most important of concerns, James Martineau experienced genuine anguish. This case study suggests that, for the sincerely religious at the turn of the century, enriching and protecting the family were the defining issues in how an individual handled religious and cultural difference.

The meticulous Martineau diary thus reflects the fundamental place of personal interfaith attitudes in the individual Mormon and family experience of the nineteenth-century American West. Yet this is far from the only use historians should have for this remarkable source. The diary, combined with scattered other sources, provokes several important questions for future research. A case study tracing the family, in the mode of books like Marguerite van Die's *Religion, Family, and Community in Victorian Canada: The Colbys of Carrollcroft*, could extend and deepen the understanding of Mormon approaches to non-Mormons—and indeed, any number of other issues—over time.¹⁵ Also, Noel Carmack and Richard Francaviglia have each worked on important evaluations of surveying, geography, and reli-

several generations, is complete (183). Major segments of the American population, however, including a high percentage of Latter-day Saints, were strongly religiously active in the last half of the twentieth century and in the first decade of the twenty-first; perhaps another study of interfaith families could follow marriages between the religiously orthodox and Americans with no or weak faith. Could such families lead to an increase in religiosity and institutional strength over the next decades?

¹⁵Marguerite van Die, *Religion, Family, and Community in Victorian Canada: The Colbys of Carrollcroft* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University

gion in the nineteenth-century West through Martineau's records.¹⁶ The diary's sketches, descriptions, and harrowing stories of nearly fatal catastrophes in running the surveying line will no doubt further enrich these areas of study. Martineau's journal is also a potential gold mine for gender and women's historians, who might begin the work of resurrecting the lives of Susan Ellen Martineau and her sister-wife and cousin Susan Julia, as well as studying the gender dynamics of a sincere polygamist family. I have attempted to show in this article that a commitment to the Latter-day Saint family ideal was the firm base of everyday Mormon interfaith interactions for men like James Martineau in the late 1800s. As other researchers examine these sources, they will also discover new treasures.

Press, 2006).

¹⁶Carmack "Running the Line"; Richard V. Francaviglia, *Over the Range: A History of the Promontory Summit Route of the Pacific Railroad* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 2008); and Francaviglia, *Believing in Place: A Spiritual Geography of the Great Basin* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 2003), 36.

HASTY BAPTISMS IN JAPAN: THE EARLY 1980s IN THE LDS CHURCH

Jiro Numano

THE CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST OF LATTER-DAY SAINTS, with its urgent emphasis on preaching the gospel to the world, is not immune from the misguided enthusiasm that sometimes produces waves of hasty baptisms from zealous proselytizing. Examples are “the baseball baptism program” in Great Britain in the late 1950s and early 1960s¹ and the phenomenal expansion of membership in Latin American countries in more recent years, due to fairly easy standards of conversion.² In Japan, too, there was a short but extraordinary period of hasty proselytizing in the late 1970s and early

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¹D. Michael Quinn, “I-Thou vs. I-It Conversions: The Mormon ‘Baseball Baptism’ Era,” *Sunstone* 16, no. 7 (December 1993): 35.

²Malcolm Twigg writes of “the rarely-acknowledged problem of very

1980s,³ which some Japanese members still remember negatively.

Historically, Japan has had a very small percentage of Christians compared to other countries—a little less than 1 percent.⁴ The nation has somehow resisted both conversion to and continuing affiliation with Christian religions, including the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.⁵ Japanese LDS members tend to be cautious in referring their friends to missionaries as prospective investigators partly due to a reserved national character and also to the high degree of secularization in the society in which talking of religion is regarded as something to be shunned.⁶ Despite the reticence about religious conversion in general, enthusiastic calls for missionary work sweep through missions of the Mormon Church in Japan off and on, creating abnormal peaks in baptisms on a regular basis.⁷ One particular period, however, is so extraordinary in terms of its scope, nature, im-

poor LDS retention and activity rates in Latin America, which in large measure is a consequence of widespread quick-baptize techniques, pressure for baptismal numbers with little regard for retention, and poor-quality teaching of past years.” Malcolm Twigg, “Trends in LDS Church Growth,” <http://homepage.ntlworld.com/a.twigg> (accessed March 14, 2008). See also David C. Knowlton, “Mormonism in Latin America: Toward the Twenty-first Century,” *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 29 (Spring 1996): 160–62, 166; Henri Gooren, “Analyzing LDS Growth in Guatemala: Report from a Barrio,” *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 33 (Summer 2000): 97, 98, 101.

³See Quinn, “I-Thou vs. I-It Conversions,” 41, 42; and R. Lanier Britsch, *From the East: The History of the Latter-day Saints in Asia* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1998), 153.

⁴Yasuo Furuya, *Nihon-dendo-ron* [Proselytizing in Japan] (Tokyo: Kyobun-kan, 1993), 22; Mark R. Mullins, *Christianity Made in Japan: A Study of Indigenous Movements* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1998), 11; Wikipedia Japan, “Christianity,” <http://ja.wikipedia.org/wiki/> (accessed March 15, 2008).

⁵An estimated 16 percent of Japanese members were active in 2006, estimate based on sacrament meeting attendance provided by the Asia North Area Presidency. My independent research in 2009 also indicated a 2008 activity rate of around 16 percent.

⁶Jiro Numano, “Mormonism in Modern Japan,” *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 29, no. 1 (Spring 1996): 227–28.

⁷For example, from 1957 through the early 1960s under mission pres-

pact, and consequences that it is the focus of this article.

OVERVIEW

From September 1978 to the spring of 1982 the number of baptisms in Japan skyrocketed. Before this period, the monthly baptism total of the twelve missions in the Japan-Korea area had been between 200 and 300, but the figure increased steadily; and after August 1979, it exceeded 1,000 and then 1,500.⁸ The Tokyo South Mission led the movement with more than 500 baptisms per month. However, the Okayama and Kobe missions were not far behind; and other missions soon followed, as pressure to raise baptism numbers increased when the *Area News*, the newsletter published by Elder Yoshihiko Kikuchi, published a performance graph of all Japanese missions. Even the least successful missions began to produce from fifty to around 100 baptisms a month. Thus, the total LDS membership in Japan, which was 35,000 at the end of 1978, doubled to more than 70,000 by the middle of 1982.⁹ Elder Kikuchi of the First Quorum of the Seventy was area supervisor (later executive administra-

ident Paul C. Andrus, the usual total of around 200 baptisms a year swelled to more than 600 annually, producing the exceptional peak of 1,322 in 1961 alone. Paul C. Andrus, "Bring Your Friends," *Seito-no-michi* 6, no. 3 (March 1962): 137. *Seito-no-michi* [The Way of Saints] was the Church's official magazine in Japan, a predecessor of the *Liahona*, the current international Church magazine published in a variety of languages. The period reflected admiration for Christianity as pre-war nationalism was replaced with new Western values. About a decade later, after the Osaka Expo '70, baptisms again increased considerably. For example, the Japan Central Mission in Kobe under President Masaru Shimizu had 1,313 baptisms a year between September 1970 and August 1971—more than twice as many as in the previous twelve months. Masaru Shimizu, "One Year from Then," *Seito-no-michi* 16, no. 1 (January 1972): 47. See also articles "News from Japan Central Mission," *Seito-no-michi* 14, no. 12 (December 1970): 340; "What Is happening in Japan Central Mission," *Seito-no-michi* 15, no. 4 (April 1971): 114; "Record Number of Baptisms: 132 in March," *Seito-no-michi* 15, no. 5 (May 1971): 147. *Seito-no-michi* is a reliable source as its statistical data came from the same source as the *Church Almanac*.

⁸"Number of Converts in Japan-Korea Region 1977 through 1980" (two graphs), *Seito-no-michi* 25, no. 3 (March 1981): 47.

⁹"Development of Japanese Mission during the Last 81 Years and

tor) in Tokyo, serving from July 1978 to June 1982.

The apparent reason for this phenomenon was President Spencer W. Kimball's emphasis on missionary work. Beginning with his ordination as prophet and Church president in 1973, President Kimball energetically directed members to spread the gospel to the whole world. Soon outstanding successes were reported from overseas. In the spring of 1974, President Kimball appealed to regional representatives saying, "Are we complacent in our approach to teaching all the world? We have been proselyting now 144 years. Are we prepared to lengthen our stride?"¹⁰ He insisted that the Church send more missionaries into the field and prepare for the time when China, Eastern Europe, and the Soviet Union would open their doors. In 1975, he reorganized the Quorum of the Seventy,¹¹ giving it oversight and control of missionary work on a general level. Then in June 1978, prior to the dedication of the São Paulo Temple in the fall of 1978, he took a long step further when he announced the revelation which extended priesthood ordination to all worthy men regardless of race. This policy change led to the rapid increase of members in Brazil; and about that time, membership increased sharply in Mexico¹² and other Latin American countries as well.

Viewed against such a backdrop, readers may think that the sharp increase of baptisms in Japan at that time could be regarded positively as one of the supposed outcomes of this counsel. Some leaders, such as Shozo Suzuki, president of the Missionary Training Center in Tokyo, argued that such extensive membership expansion should be evaluated affirmatively even though the retention rate was poor.¹³ Others point out that, despite the dismal retention rate, a number of fine members were baptized during that period and still

Membership Increase," *Seito-no-michi* 26, no. 6 (June 1982): 63.

¹⁰Edward L. Kimball, *Lengthen Your Stride: The Presidency of Spencer W. Kimball* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2005), v, 18.

¹¹*Ibid.*, 254.

¹²President Kimball reported that in 1975 missionaries in Mexico, who comprised only 4.7 percent of all the missionaries in the world, produced 22.1 percent of all the converts in the world. A mission in Mexico reported 1,323 baptisms in January and, in January 1976, 3,007. Yoshihiko Kikuchi, ed., *Proclaiming the Gospel: Spencer W. Kimball Speaks on Missionary Work* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1987), 63.

remain active. There are actually several such members to my knowledge. However, I maintain that the manner and consequences of proselytizing at that period cannot be justified as positive.

DELBERT H. GROBERG'S PROGRAM

In 1978, the average conversion rate was fewer than two converts per missionary per year for the seven missions in Japan, compared to six convert baptisms per missionary per year world-wide.¹⁴ Given this low rate, when Delbert H. Groberg was called as president of the Tokyo South Mission in 1978, he came with the goal of improving the efficiency of missionary work, a plan which started even before he arrived in Tokyo.¹⁵ He met Elder Kikuchi, then the Japan area administrator, at Church headquarters in Salt Lake City and learned of Elder Kikuchi's grand design to greatly increase the number of converts in Japan, particularly in the Tokyo South Mission where Groberg was about to begin his service. Thrilled with the concept, Groberg responded to Kikuchi's design with enthusiasm. Both President Groberg and Elder Kikuchi were committed from that point to fulfilling the expansive vision of President Kimball.

President Groberg first tried to remove stumbling blocks by using innovation and creating change. During his first three months, he focused on articulating his own concept of the mission and instructing missionaries and members in the plan. During the next three months, he organized the mission systems to implement that concept. Beginning in the seventh month, the focus shifted to actually carrying out his program. Specific elements of his plan were (1) shifting the major target of proselytizing from mature adults to teenagers and young adults, and (2) shortening the time spent as an investigator. During the remaining two years of his presidency, he pursued his goals, remarkably accelerating the growth rate.

In brief, his strong desire for improvements such as increased efficiency, his commitment to the work, and his faithful efforts to fulfill the vision of the Church President were all quite understandable and

¹³I personally heard him make statements to this effect more than once; 1979 notes in my possession.

¹⁴*Conference Report*, 1978, quoted in Delbert H. Groberg, "Toward a Synoptic Model of Instructional Productivity" (Ph.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1986), 1, "Phase I, Introduction and Background."

¹⁵*Ibid.* This section is based on "Phase I: First Person Description."

even commendable.

INCREASED BAPTISMS, 1979–82

Now let us trace the actual circumstances of the hasty baptism period in Japan. A convenient and accurate contemporary record is the *Area News*, a bulletin of around ten pages in Japanese, published by the Church area executive administrator's office in Tokyo, which was sent weekly to mission presidents, regional representatives, stake presidents, bishops, and branch presidents. The bulletin, which functioned as a medium of providing common knowledge and direction, was published through Elder Kikuchi's administration from the fall of 1978 through mid-1982.¹⁶ In December 1978, he announced the ambitious plan of creating stakes throughout Japan (*Area News*, No. 18). Then in January 1979, bulletin No. 23 featured the remarkable success story of J. Thomas Fyans of the First Quorum of the Seventy in Mexico and Central-South America where new converts introduced their friends to the Church. Then beginning with No. 30 in February, the bulletin published the number of baptisms for all of the Japan-Korea area in a graph, along with a breakdown of the performance figures for each mission.

This increased attention had an immediate effect. With the publication of baptism successes and lofty growth goals, monthly convert baptisms started to increase. The Kobe Mission exceeded 100 baptisms in February 1979. By June 1979, three more missions had more than 100 baptisms each: the Tokyo South Mission under Delbert H. Groberg, the Okayama Mission under Ryo Okamoto, and the Kobe Mission under Robert T. Stout, with Tokyo South leading the way. Then these three missions once more increased their baptism numbers to as much as 200 to 300 from summer to fall. In 1980, Tokyo South markedly increased and surpassed all the others, reaching 500 a month in June and July. During that time, the *Area News* published motivational messages encouraging readers to make every possible effort to create stakes throughout the country, going so far as to forecast a surge of convert baptisms around Christmas. Beginning in 1980, the executive administrator for the area, Elder Kikuchi, directed stakes and missions to report the number of baptisms to the

¹⁶Area executive administrators, also often called area supervisors, then served without counselors. The system of area executive administrators was replaced by the still-current system of area presidencies in 1984.

Tokyo administration office by the 5th of each month.

An important characteristic of this hasty baptism period was the “dendo-sho,”¹⁷ a kind of “outpost room” for investigators and new converts. These rooms, separate from the regular ward and branch meetinghouses, were rented in many places in 1980 and used by missionaries for teaching investigators. New members were to meet for Church services only with missionaries, not with other Japanese members in regular wards or branches, until “they would be accustomed to church services.” Many of the “dendo-shos” were set up on major streets for easy access; and by September 1981 there were 133 of them,¹⁸ each producing many baptisms. This approach may seem like an effective way to teach and prepare converts for active Church life, but in reality many of the consequences were negative.

The significance of President Groberg’s Tokyo South Mission cannot be overestimated in this baptismal surge. Consisting of just twenty-eight units, it baptized several hundred new members per month. According to *Area News*, it attained the high point of 585 baptisms in June 1980, meaning that a typical unit averaged just over twenty new members that month.¹⁹ A returned missionary from a different mission in Japan asked a returned missionary from Tokyo South Mission how many baptisms he had had during his two years of service. The second man replied, “Two hundred.” The first man was stunned. He had had only eight baptisms during his two years at about the same period.²⁰

In 1981, the Tokyo South Mission set the goal of 1,000 baptisms

¹⁷Originally, the “small program” concept purportedly enabled members living far from meetinghouse to attend services easily by locating meeting places close to them. This concept was changed into “dendo-sho” to serve as front-line posts of missionary work. See *Area News* No. 25 (January 10, 1979), 35 (March 1, 1979), 57 (August 10, 1979). These places were set up mostly in heavily traveled downtown areas with convenient access to mass transit lines such as train stations.

¹⁸“The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints Spreading throughout the Nation,” *Seito-no-michi* 25, no. 10 (October 1981): 67.

¹⁹*Area News* No. 104 (July 30, 1980): Graph.

²⁰Tsutomu Watanabe, re: Hasty Baptism, posting to lds-j, a Japanese news group, November 26, 2005, printout in my possession.

a month for once at least and achieved it,²¹ according to Shun-ichi Kuwahata, who was the mission leader of the Mitaka Ward. Boundaries of the Tokyo South Mission ranged from Tokyo West, to Tokyo South, Yokohama, and Shizuoka; and its mission office was located on the premises of Mitaka Ward in Kichijoji, Tokyo, which is more than eighty-five miles away in a straight line from Shizuoka, the westernmost area in the mission. Shun-ichi Kuwahata was on the ground in the thick of this movement. He described how missionary work had been done under President Groberg:

We began to learn by hearsay that “dendo-shos” were being set up at various places, and the number of baptisms performed there was sharply increasing. In my ward, too, we saw youngsters who, even when seen in a most favorable light, didn’t seem to have changed their lifestyle and attitude. They were getting baptized one after another but would stop coming to church the following Sunday. Meetings for arrangements on the date of baptism etc., had been regularly held between missionaries and the ward priesthood executives until then, but there arose a failure of giving information and cases of holding baptisms on weekday mornings when members were unable to attend.

What perplexed us most was the level of understanding of newly baptized members. Frankly speaking, they were immersed without understanding any commandments such as the Word of Wisdom, tithing, or Sabbath-day observance, which regular members regarded as basic, important tenets. Persons not coming to church on Sunday and those who didn’t commit to live the gospel were receiving baptism. When members criticized these practices, asking, “Aren’t the current missionaries teaching commandments?” we heard that they replied, “We are teaching correctly.” About this time I began to realize that missionaries were teaching haphazardly to rush investigators to baptism. The mission president reportedly countered, “If the ward will not cooperate, I will withdraw all the missionaries from the ward and place them at a ‘dendo-sho’ to start a church there.”²²

Being mission leader, I soon became skeptical about the situa-

²¹Shun-ichi Kuwahata, interviewed by Numano, December 28, 1991; notes of the interview in my possession.

²²Tokuyama Ward in the Okayama Mission, which I was attending at the time, experienced such a withdrawal of missionaries in 1981. At about the same time in New Zealand, standards of baptism were deviating from the tradition, creating conflicts between local members and the missionaries, who asserted that they would form their own unit if conflicts continue.

tion. Then I was called to serve as a “dendo-sho” leader. There I witnessed how a meeting was held and how the missionaries achieved baptisms. On Sunday, only one meeting was held which was made up of sacrament and a missionary’s talk along with opening and closing hymns and prayers. It was exceedingly simple and far from the image of church services. Youngsters not knowing what they were here for entered an apartment room and, when the service was finished, went out into town for pleasure.

In extreme cases, they would baptize an investigator on the day he or she was found. They would not give more than a few lessons at most. I joined their lessons several times and found out that they did not follow the due process of conversion, namely, encouraging investigators to accept the message and leading them to commitment, moving forward step by step. I think the real goal was to have the person baptized before he or she was aware of it, just like a pushy salesperson does. Furthermore, to my great surprise, a missionary’s weekly report was very detailed, including an annual total of baptisms, a weekly-divided goal, and its accomplishment rate, similar to a salesperson’s report.²³

Apparently to give impetus to the movement, President Groberg wrote a mission song, “Onward! Follow the Prophet’s Voice,” the lyrics of which repeatedly stressed that “thousands” would join the Church and which read in part:

We know the work is URGENT
and the time for it is NOW!
We’ll do what’s not been done before,
We’ll simply find out how.²⁴

In another effort to encourage high baptisms, the names of missionaries without baptisms were listed in the mission newsletter, with an asterisk being added for each month if this situation continued,²⁵ while in contrast, the mission president offered missionaries who bap-

J. David Muir, a New Zealand embassy staff member, telephone interview by Numano, February 13, 1992.

²³Kuwahata, interview.

²⁴Groberg, “Toward a Synoptic Model,” Phase I, 19 “Building a Mission Image.” The song composed by a missionary had been posted on a webpage of “Japan Tokyo South Mission” until the site was changed. The current webmaster, Phillip J. Windley, sent me the song June 9, 2010.

²⁵One missionary who served in the Tokyo South Mission reported

tized in large numbers “lavish dinners and other rewards.”²⁶ Needless to say, a very intense dispute arose among leaders of the Church in Japan over whether it was right or wrong to baptize an “investigator” just one day after he or she was identified.

In the summer of 1982, a sister of Kichijoji Ward, with the help of a few other members, called at the homes of inactive teenage members who had been baptized in the Tokyo South Mission in 1980 and 1981. The purpose of the contact was to find out how they were doing and to invite them to church. She reported that, in several cases, the individual had no memory of baptism or had only a vague memory of hearing missionary lessons. Other members recalled their baptisms but voiced criticism of the teaching. One commented, for example, “After being taught once or twice, I was put into the water without understanding anything.”²⁷ In the early ’90s, also at Kichijoji, an investigator was baptized but his membership record was already in the ward, with a baptismal date of the early 1980s. He himself could not remember having received the rite of baptism earlier.²⁸

Missions where baptisms increased markedly were all similar to the Tokyo South Mission. To illustrate, a Japanese elder in the Nagoya Mission was reported to have baptized 100 persons in two years.²⁹ In Nishinomiya Ward, Hyogo, where I was attending church in 1979, a small prefabricated one-room house placed in the meetinghouse’s

being ranked as one of these non-baptizing missionaries for months. Tsukasa Nagamine, posting to Irreantum, a Japanese listserv, November 7, 2001, printout in my possession. Another returned missionary who worked in the Tokyo South Mission, though after this period, confirmed the report of non-baptizing missionaries’ names being posted in the mission newsletter. Name withheld by request, interviewed by Numano, February 7, 1992.

²⁶Kuwahata, interview; similar report in Quinn, “I-Thou vs. I-It Conversions,” 41; Groberg states, “We had a special dinner, not only for the top producers, but for every category of achievement.” D. H. Groberg, email to Numano, December 6, 2008, printout in my possession.

²⁷Miyuki Tanaka, “Memorandum,” July 23, 1982, reports a leader’s visits to twenty-six young members in Mitaka and Musashino, Tokyo. These young people had been baptized during the period when they were teens, and most reacted negatively to the visits.

²⁸Name withheld by request, Interviewed by Numano, February 7, 1992.

²⁹Watanabe, re: Hasty Baptism.

yard was designated as a “dendo-sho,” which gave me a very strange impression and made clear the movement’s contradiction by having two separate congregations on the same premises. In April 1980, I moved to Yamaguchi prefecture and saw that as many as thirty-two students of Tokuyama University joined the Church by the fall of 1982. Of course, the number was quite remarkable because, prior to the hasty baptism period, there had been only one or two LDS students in the university at a time. Two-thirds of that group ceased to come to the church soon after their baptisms, and only six remained active as of December 1991.

PROBLEMS CAUSED BY THESE HASTY BAPTISMS

What problems did this manner of proselytizing cause? First and foremost, it drastically lowered the qualifications and standards of baptism both in form and in substance. It appears that several leaders began to regard attaining baptismal goals as the highest priority and justified the means if the end of baptism was met. Such attitudes were strengthened as President Kimball’s emphasis on missionary work stressed its urgency and asked missionaries to think in terms of large numbers.³⁰ The news from Latin American countries also had an impact. Observers noted many heretofore unthinkable lapses in form: failure to complete all six missionary lessons; the baptisms of investigators who had never attended a Sunday meeting or read the Book of Mormon; non-observance of commandments including the Word of Wisdom; and great abbreviations in the period of investigation. In terms of substance, there were also problems. Investigators were not required to demonstrate that they understood the gospel message, and missionaries neglected to systematically teach the processes of repentance, faith, and commitment to the religion.

³⁰President Kimball, speaking at the New Mission Presidents Seminar, June 27, 1974, said, “There’s urgency in our program. We’re directed and commanded to convert the world.” In the January 1977 First Presidency message in the *Ensign*, “The Things of Eternity—Stand We in Jeopardy?” President Kimball stated: “Our great missionary program among mortals is the most extensive it has ever been in all dispensations as we preach, teach, and baptize tens of thousands of our fellowmen.” Both quoted in Kikuchi, *Proclaiming the Gospel*, 37.

Second, hasty baptisms injured all concerned: those who were baptized, many of those who performed the baptisms, local members who were asked to receive these new “converts” in their congregation, and nonmembers acquainted with the hastily baptized. All these parties suffered.³¹ A bishop told me that an elderly nonmember woman was invited to visit a missionary who had been transferred to a distant city. Because she felt congenial toward this missionary, she traveled to the distant city to meet him, only to be baptized on that day. More than ten years later, the woman was still indignant, claiming she had been deceived.³² The story raises significant questions about how the missionary persuaded her to accept a religious rite for which she had no desire. It seems likely that his own motivation was not her spiritual well-being but his own standing in the mission. In such cases, it is all too easy to infer that the proselytizer lacks sincere respect for the investigator and fails to recognize the solemn nature of conversion—a serious process that should involve deep thought and a transformation of life.

Tsutomu Watanabe tells of the adverse effects of such a program on the missionaries themselves. One returned missionary told Watanabe that he had had 100 baptisms but never again referred to his mission experience and later confessed that he was haunted by the experience.³³ Missionaries who had reservations about such teaching and baptizing programs would have had to find a way to reconcile those feelings with guilt at their lack of “faith” or unwillingness to obey their mission president’s instructions. Missionaries who had no such reservations during their missions might very well have suffered later ethical qualms about their motivations and methods, like the

³¹Gordon B. Hinckley remarked, “Missionaries must be sure that conversion is real. . . . Nobody gains when there is baptism without retention. The missionary loses, and while the Church gains statistically, the membership suffers, really, and the enthusiasm of the convert turns to ashes.” Quoted in “News of the Church: New Mission Presidents Trained,” *Ensign*, September 1998, 79.

³²The bishop visited her in the early 1990s. He told me about her when I was serving as his counselor in the bishopric.

³³Watanabe, re: Hasty Baptism. He found him very ill in the early 1990s. To his question, “What happened?” the man replied, “I suppose I’ve been weary after my mission.” Watanabe reports that the person died a few years ago in his forties.

missionary Tsutomu Watanabe mentioned.

In early 1983, a missionary companionship met a person in Okinawa who broke down in tears when elders introduced themselves at the door. She had served in the Tokyo South Mission, returning home a year earlier. Although she did not have a particularly high number of baptisms, she confessed that she had never felt at peace during her mission and could not now continue attending church.³⁴ An American returned missionary who labored in the Sendai Mission just before the 1978–82 period observed, “My perception is that the negative effects far outnumbered the positive in those Groberg years, both in terms of retention of those quickly baptized and the influence on missionaries, many of whom later also fell away from the church.”³⁵ Five years later, he confirmed this observation to me: “Since I live in Salt Lake and the topic of missions comes up, I’ve been in many conversations with Groberg returned missionaries that are no longer active LDS. Many blame him; some, I’m sure, would be inactive in any case.”³⁶

Local Church members, while at first welcoming these hasty converts, could not help feeling distrustful of the mission program—and of the individual missionaries as well. Even though the massive numbers of young converts were celebrated, the members noticed almost immediate retention problems. In fact, while membership increased sharply from 1979 to 1981, attendance at sacrament meeting in Japan declined dramatically after 1981: 10,707 in 1980; 16,853 in 1981; 13,678 in 1982; and 10,384 in 1983.³⁷ It put an extraordinary burden on the local stalwart members to reactivate or, more often, merely to locate these new “members” because so many quickly stopped attending church altogether. Offering those nominal members a hand of fellowship in the ward and providing regular home and visiting teachers taxed ward resources to the utmost.

³⁴Nagamine, posting to Irreantum.

³⁵T. O., “Convert Baptisms,” posting to jlds news group, February 16, 2004, printout in my possession.

³⁶T. O., email to Numano, April 14, 2009, printout in my possession; used by permission.

³⁷*Kirisuto-kyo Nenkan* [Christianity Yearbook of Japan] (Tokyo: Kirisuto-Shimbun-sha, 1980); also 1981, 1982, 1983, and 1984 editions. These figures were based on annual reports each Christian church was asked to supply the publisher. It was the Tokyo administration office of the Presiding Bishopric’s Office that provided these data.

Third, the practice of hasty baptisms was received unfavorably by those baptized, their parents, and their circle of acquaintances, with the result that the Church itself fell into disrepute.³⁸ Reportedly, missionary work in the Tokyo South Mission encountered considerable difficulty thereafter for some time.

REACTIONS TO THE MISSION PROGRAM

What were the reactions to these proselytizing practices? Some mission presidents, enthused by the increase in figures, rapidly adopted the same methods as those of the Tokyo South Mission. However, President Shigeki Ushio of the Osaka Mission, President Michael A. Roberts of the Tokyo North Mission, and President Kiyoshi Sakai of the Sendai Mission did not. Masataka Kitamura, then serving as director of temporal affairs of the Presiding Bishopric's Office in Tokyo, told me: "Presidents Ushio and Roberts were the coolest" toward the new program, and "Ushio said he would not imitate what others do."³⁹ When I queried President Roberts about his response to the Tokyo South Mission program, he responded firmly: "We do not accept that the somewhat pejorative term 'hasty baptism era' applies to the Japan Tokyo North Mission; nor does it characterize the training we gave to our missionaries." He clearly added: "We did not baptize people who were not ready to commit to living the commandments, neither did we baptize young people without the permission of their parents."⁴⁰ President Sakai told me that he felt considerable pressure to conform with the new programs but deflected it by developing his

³⁸Tanaka, "Memorandum," reports cases in which parents did not know that their children (ages fourteen through seventeen) had been baptized. Some of the mothers showed anger in their responses. Akira Sugano, *Kaiba-ga Mimi-kara Kakete-yuku* [A Seahorse Runs Away from an Ear] (Tokyo: Shinshokan, 1999), a book of essays, 20–21, includes the experience of a boy in Tokyo in his early teens who was baptized "by the immersion of his head in the water-filled bath tub." He had agreed to be baptized so he could receive free English lessons from the Mormon missionaries. He thought the experience amusing and took his friends to the missionaries one by one. In half a year, most of the male students of his class had been baptized Mormon, causing a big problem in the PTA. Sugano found that this story showed the Church in an unseemly light.

³⁹Masataka Kitamura, Conversation, December 26, 1991, memorandum in my possession.

own program, by submitting an implementation schedule, and by producing results. He consistently sought to find and convert adults, who would be “parent birds that gather their little ones under their wings”—rather than young people.⁴¹

Reactions of Church members in Japan to this program can be classified as follows: (1) those who accepted the policy submissively and tried to cooperate with it; (2) those who supported the movement and were willing to defend it; (3) those who felt doubtful and critical of the policy but did not protest; (4) those who found occasions on which they could attempt to correct the situation; and (5) those who criticized strongly and left the Church.

Members of the first and third group basically chose to wait until the situation changed, either by the end of mission president's term of service or when higher Church authorities intervened. Those in the fourth group were, for the most part, conscientious and loyal Church members, who raised their voices, usually in private meetings, to express concern regarding the method of proselytizing. However, some went so far as to criticize openly and call for correction. In Tokyo, I am acquainted with moderate critics who were bishops, an ex-regional representative, and a district president. In the Tokuyama Ward in the Hiroshima Stake, of which I was a member, the ward obtained, after persistent protests, the right to interview candidate investigators for baptism for about a year. However, the president of the Okayama Mission immediately retaliated by withdrawing elders for more than six months.

Elder Kikuchi earnestly supported and encouraged the proselytizing activities on several occasions. He summoned stake presidents to Tokyo to promote the program fervently. Seiji Katanuma, the president of Sapporo Stake in Hokkaido, attended the first meeting but did not comply with his directions. When Elder Kikuchi called a second meeting, President Katanuma sent his counselor to the meeting. During the meeting, the counselor was blamed bitterly and the Sapporo Stake was specifically criticized. He returned to Hokkaido deeply shocked. President Katanuma, after hearing his report, telephoned Elder Kikuchi to protest and also visited him at the administrative of-

⁴⁰Michael A. Roberts, email to Numano, February 12, 2009; printout in my possession.

⁴¹Kiyoshi Sakai, “Kokeshi Dolls and Missionary Work,” *Seito-no-michi* 26, no. 11 (November 1982): 51.

fice in Tokyo to argue intensely against the popular proselytizing policy.⁴² Shun-ichi Kuwahata, who was then serving as mission leader of Mitaka Ward in the Tokyo South Mission, remembers:

As missionary activities escalated, I considered resigning from the office of ward mission leader because I could not approve of what we were involved in. In real earnest, I thought of leaving the church after weeks of suffering and distress. I thought that knowing something was wrong and doing nothing about it was the same as giving tacit consent. So I determined that this was a very serious question which would be a crossroad in my life, and decided that I should express my opinion clearly, otherwise I would live to regret it. So I raised my hand of opposition as a last resort when the congregation was asked to raise their hands in support of the First Quorum of the Seventy which included Elder Yoshihiko Kikuchi at the stake conference in March 1981.

Later I wrote to President Hinckley, then a counselor in the First Presidency, saying there was a grave problem going on in Japan. He took time to meet me when he came to Japan in May and replied to the effect that he understood what I meant but asked me to support the Church. It was also apparent that letters had been sent to Church headquarters from returned missionaries as well. Later, in a Church publication, I read President Hinckley saying that what the Church desires to have is converts and not baptisms.⁴³ There I could read his clear message. Japanese members heard visiting General Authorities admit at stake conferences that the proselytizing means got beyond the bounds in the excess of zeal.⁴⁴ However, if Japanese members needed a visiting General Authority's denunciation to realize the abnormality of hasty baptisms for themselves, how weak is the mind of local members, I deplored. I reflected that that period was an occasion when the true quality of each and every Japanese member was

⁴²Seiji Katanuma, former president of Sapporo Stake in Hokkaido. He related this incident to me on August 8, 1991, in Tokyo; memorandum in my possession.

⁴³Gordon B. Hinckley, then a counselor to the First Presidency, is reported to have said, "With all the powers of persuasion that I am capable of, I plead with you [newly appointed mission presidents] to train and motivate your missionaries to the point of view that it is converts they are out to win, rather than numbers of baptisms," John L. Hart, "Mission Goal: Saving Souls across World," *LDS Church News*, July 3, 1983, 3.

⁴⁴Marion D. Hanks of the Seventy was one of the General Authorities who visited Japan to stop the practice of hasty baptisms. My conversation with him, August 7, 2002, Utah Valley State College, Orem, Utah; memorandum of this conversation in my possession.

tested just as with litmus-paper.⁴⁵

EVALUATION OF THIS BAPTISM PERIOD

In hindsight, the years 1979 through 1982 in Japan were part of adverse currents against Christianity in general. A nationalistic trend begun in the mid-1960s was strengthened by Westerners admiring perceptions of Japan.⁴⁶ Encouraged by this esteem of Japan, Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone openly proposed a “New Nationalism,” stressing the superiority of Japanese culture to that of the monotheistic West. The Japanese became very confident—and some even became arrogant—in positioning Japanese culture as superior and its traditional religions as superior to Christianity, including Mormonism, of course. It is fair to say that the grand mission of converting thousands of Japanese was colliding with a climate unfavorable to Western thought and culture in Japan.⁴⁷

In retrospect, President Groberg’s expectations for missionary work and conversion should have been more cautious and painstaking, especially given the fact that traditional Japanese religions were not Christian or even monotheistic. It is reasonable and even desirable to set goals, but it was not a religious requirement to endeavor to achieve such ambitious goals in such a limited time. An enthusiastic program like Groberg’s requires a far longer time-frame than three years. Furthermore, the long-term plan should have included preparation for the substantial involvement of the local Church members.

President Groberg’s expectations were overly zealous. He devoted the first three months of his presidency to building his own mission vision with little regard for Japanese culture and customs. Particularly troubling was his plan to shift the major target of missionary work from adults to teenagers. In fact, at one point he de-

⁴⁵Kuwahata, Interview.

⁴⁶See, for example, Ezra Vogel, *Japan as Number One: Lessons for America* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1979).

⁴⁷Yasuo Furuya, who holds a doctor of divinity degree from Princeton Theological Union, observes there were cycles of good times and bad times for Christianity in Japan and that the two decades between 1965 and 1985 were a bad one. Furuya, *Nihon-dendo-ron* [The Proselytizing of Japan], 81. A similar observation is found in Otani Yasuaki, *What Is English for the Japanese: A Question of Cross-Cultural Understanding* (Tokyo: Taishukan Press, 2007), 92, 93.

cided that the legal age of adults in Japan was not twenty but eighteen,⁴⁸ and he approved baptizing those under twenty without the permission of their parents. He based this decision on his own research and consultation with a Church attorney, but this decision was not according to Japanese law nor was it in accordance with the assumptions of the general public in Japan.⁴⁹ This was no small breach. Besides seeking out underage converts, President Groberg also took steps to shorten the conversion process, perhaps the most phenomenal characteristic of the period and the source of its most serious problems as it later led to many quick baptisms and many quick exits from the Church. Speeding the process entailed, in many instances, omission of lessons. When I queried President Groberg on whether speeding and omitting traditional steps in the conversion process to such an extent was justifiable, he replied, "During the whole period of presiding over the mission I do not remember of ever doing anything contrary to the guidelines." As for reports of extreme cases or deviations from the norm, he commented: "Although many false rumors of inappropriate activities arose, they were so farfetched and almost silly to me, [that they had] no substance in reality for our mission."⁵⁰ I made the same inquiry of Elder Kikuchi, who declined to reply but wrote, "It [the whole turn of events] came like a Tsunami."⁵¹

Finally, there is the actual operation of the program. In Groberg's doctoral dissertation on his missionary program, written in 1986, he quoted from an analects of President Spencer W. Kimball collected by Elder Kikuchi in 1981: "If we really want to make a difference, we can! But sometimes to make a difference, we must *do things differently* and better!"⁵² I assume that this attitude prompted such innova-

⁴⁸Groberg, "Toward a Synoptic Model," Phase I: Part IV, 28, "Researching the Legal Age of Adults."

⁴⁹The fourth article of the Japanese civil law reads: "A person shall come of age at twenty," allowing him or her to drink, smoke, and vote. There have been debates, though, on whether Japan should lower the legal age of adulthood to eighteen.

⁵⁰Delbert H. Groberg, "Some Responses," email to Numano, December 6, 2008, printout in my possession.

⁵¹Yoshihiko Kikuchi, email to Numano, February 9, 2009, printout in my possession.

tions as building collapsible baptismal fonts,⁵³ expanded use of “Dendo-sho,” and so forth. While President Groberg had support for the programs, it also appealed to his desire to follow President Kimball’s injunction to “lengthen your stride” as a mission president. While creative innovations require a willingness to depart from established practices, such methods always bring with them the risk of the “ends justify the means” thinking. Achieving high goals depended on practices that, in retrospect, were unjustified, chief among them the baptisms of young people who were not prepared for so major a step.

As another consequence, a democratic safeguard of Church procedures was pushed aside. Noriaki Fukuda, president of Shizuoka District, in the Tokyo South Mission was called into a Church court and disfellowshipped on April 19, 1981. All three members of the presidency had signed a letter drawing President Groberg’s attention to problems caused by the hasty baptisms, but the others were not punished. Elder Neal A. Maxwell said in a conference talk given early in this period on the subject of fellowshipping new converts: “Since priesthood leaders have determined that the newcomers’ visas are in order, let us greet them genuinely.”⁵⁴ I interpret “priesthood leaders” as referring not only to missionary leaders who interview investigators but also to local priesthood leaders such as mission leaders and members of bishoprics. I asked Elder Maxwell if this interpretation was correct when he visited Japan in 1995, and he confirmed that it was.⁵⁵

The whole process of President Groberg’s mission plan was

⁵²Yoshihiko Kikuchi, an analects of President Spencer W. Kimball, a collection of photocopies of talks on missionary work 1981. The quotation is in Groberg, “Toward a Synoptic Model,” Phase I: Part VII, 45, “Creating ‘Ensign Teams.’”

⁵³In his second year, President Groberg had missionaries skilled in carpentry and woodworking build fonts for every small unit. He describes these portable fonts as much smaller than the regular chapel fonts. They facilitated, he reports, the increase of convert baptisms. Ibid., Part IV, 29, “Removing Some of the Physical and Procedural Difficulties in Performing Baptisms.”

⁵⁴Neal A. Maxwell, “The Net Gathers of Every Kind,” *Ensign*, November 1980, 14.

⁵⁵My conversation with Elder Maxwell at a stake conference in Okinawa, Japan, June 24, 1995. I was attending this conference as a translator.

evolutionary as he himself admits.⁵⁶ Numerical targets moved ever higher as time passed. If a stumbling block presented itself, he devised an action to overcome the lapse. While creativity and energy are commendable, perhaps the presence of these obstacles should have prompted reflection on whether the problem lay in the program itself. Ted Lyon, a former mission president in Chile, reflecting in an interview on causes of hasty baptisms mentioned that the pressure to baptize comes mainly from mission presidents who feel that they are being compared unfavorably to baptism rates in other missions; in some cases, though not all, mission presidents may try to make names for themselves. However, baptizing pressures also come from individual missionaries. As he put it: "Missionaries want to baptize; they get a great pleasure out of baptizing." If a missionary did not have any baptisms for a long time, he or she would be greatly discouraged.⁵⁷

SUBSEQUENT DEVELOPMENTS

In July 1982, William R. Bradford of the First Quorum of Seventy became executive administrator of Japan and Korea and immediately raised the level of qualifications for baptism as follows:

1. Lessons should be taught over a period of at least three weeks.
2. Investigators should complete all of the missionary discussions prior to baptism.
3. Potential converts should attend sacrament meeting at least three times.
4. The baptism date should be set by the bishop and missionaries, and the convert.
5. A missionary should interview the investigator a few days before baptism.
6. The bishop should hold a separate interview to orient the investigator and welcome him or her to the ward.⁵⁸

⁵⁶Groberg, "Toward a Synoptic Model," Phase I: "Introduction and Background."

⁵⁷Ted Lyon, "Tough Lessons from LDS/Mormon Missionary Work in Latin America," November 22, 2007, YouTube video, <http://mormonstories.org/?p=342> (accessed April 28, 2009).

A year later in June 1983, the mission priorities were shifted to: (1) the reactivation of inactive members, (2) seeking referrals from members, and (3) making house-to-house visits. Missionaries were to spend more than half of their time in reactivation efforts, according to the instructions received in the Japan Okayama Mission where I served in the bishopric of Tokuyama Ward.⁵⁹

Apparently due to this change, the number of baptisms decreased drastically for the next several years. Then in June 1991, the First Presidency, consisting of Ezra Taft Benson, Gordon B. Hinckley, and Thomas S. Monson, sent a seven-page letter titled "Basic Particulars to Consider When Teaching the Gospel" to the area presidency, mission presidencies, stake presidencies, and bishoprics in Japan.⁶⁰ It instructs that "three phases of the process, viz., 'conversion,' 'retention of converts,' and 'reactivation' should be carried out in sound balance." It admitted that "a practice concerning baptism which did not suit the teachings of the Savior took place due to too much emphasis on just one of the three." It explicitly required that "the description of the increase of baptisms should be removed from the mission report" and listed the following conditions of conversion: (1) "A person should obtain a testimony regarding the truth he or she learned for the first time, and acquire a new life-style"; (2) "The time needed for conversion varies according to environments and situations," and (3) "In non-Christian nations, special attention is required for a convert to understand and become able to abide by promises that accompany the life of a church member." The letter also notes a number of scriptures which specify conditions for baptism.

While these new policies created a healthier proselytizing climate, the period of hasty baptisms has created misgivings among members who remember it. I have heard reports that members and

⁵⁸Notes transcribed from Bishop Mitsuyasu Taguchi's photocopy, September 1982, in my possession.

⁵⁹Summary of reports in my possession. The summary was made from minutes of council meetings of bishopric and priesthood executives of Tokuyama Ward, Hiroshima Stake.

⁶⁰First Presidency, Letter: "Basic Particulars to Consider When Teaching the Gospel," June 17, 1991. The notification quotes similar instructions issued by the First Presidency dated August 31, 1979. Quotations are my re-translation into English of the Japanese translation.

missionaries in the Tokyo South Mission were greatly burdened because of the enormous numbers of inactive members.⁶¹ In 2007, a Japanese member asked Ryuichi Inoue, who served as a mission president immediately after Groberg (1981–84), if the Groberg dissertation would be helpful to the Church in Japan if it were translated into Japanese. President Inoue responded plainly: “It would not be of much use.”⁶² Even given the staunch members who were baptized during this period, it is possible to argue that they would have welcomed the gospel with the same warmth and commitment if they had encountered it through more traditional teaching styles. But it is impossible to see many positive effects in the unwillingness of many Japanese to receive missionary visits or in the host of missing members, resulting in very low rates of church attendance, very low home and visiting teaching statistics, and a never-ending burden of tracking lost members.

CONCLUSION

I have heard arguments that, when calculating retention rates in Japan over a period of decades, the results do not differ greatly from the low retention rates that occurred during the period of hasty baptisms. The retention rate is still very low in Japan; and the average time an LDS investigator spends before baptism is fairly short compared to that of other Christian churches in Japan.⁶³

Still, I argue that many factors were extraordinary. Missionaries were under heavy pressure to reach baptismal goals and were emotionally vulnerable to mission presidents who urged them to baptize, even if it required cutting corners. Also injured were “converts” who were baptized without being properly taught, those for whom religion became a sort of exploitation rather than a solemn passage into a

⁶¹Tanaka, “Memorandum,” illustrates the situation.

⁶²Ryuichi Inoue, letter to Numano, December 5, 2008.

⁶³In the Catholic Church in Japan, investigators usually spend a year before baptism attending workshops. Taeko Inui, staff at the secretariat of Takatsuki Catholic Church, Interview, April 23, 2009. Protestant churches are more flexible, but a minister of the largest denomination in Japan said three months would be the shortest period of time before an investigator is baptized after catechizing began. Rev. Shigeyoshi Sato, Takatsuki Church, United Church of Christ in Japan, Interview, April 25, 2009. Takatsuki is a city in Osaka.

more spiritual life, and devoted Church members who were asked to assume burdens for which they and their wards were not equipped.

Shusaku Endo, a well-known Catholic writer in Japan, has a character in his short story, "Ryugaku" [Study Abroad], confront a holier-than-thou comment from his French host family: "Let us pray that more light of Christianity will shine on your country." The character, apparently based on Endo himself, observes, "It won't easily be done. . . . The nation is not so simple and easy as you think." Thus, Endo resists the assumptions of superiority by the French Catholic family.⁶⁴ To the Japanese, the program of hasty baptisms cannot be termed respectful of the dignity of "proselytes." Rather, it represents an "I-It Conversion," or "commodity acquisition" strategy as defined by D. Michael Quinn.⁶⁵ If such a program represents an abuse of missionaries and young innocent "investigators"—and certainly this was the effect on at least some of them—then it also represents an unpleasant and discourteous religious activity to the average Japanese individual.

"We are made wise," George Bernard Shaw said, "not by the recollection of our past, but by the responsibility for our future." The responsibility of our future lies in learning from history.

⁶⁴Shusaku Endo, "Ryugaku" [Study Abroad], in *Endo Shusaku Bungaku Zenshu* [Shusaku Endo Literary Works] (Tokyo: Shinchosha, 1999), 2:28.

⁶⁵Quinn, "I-Thou vs. I-It Conversions," 30.

“STANDING WHERE YOUR HEROES STOOD”: USING HISTORICAL TOURISM TO CREATE AMERICAN AND RELIGIOUS IDENTITIES

Sarah Bill Schott

“There is something about standing where your heroes stood, whether it is Normandy or Gettysburg. It is like voices from the dust. That is what I love about Nauvoo.” –Mormon visitor

NORMANDY, GETTYSBURG, NAUVOO—what do these places have in common? In addition to being heavily visited tourist sites, they are also, as the quotation suggests, places that connect visitors with their collective history and create personal identity. However, Nauvoo, in addition to being a historical tourist site, is also a religious tourist site. Places like Gettysburg and Normandy might be expected to spark feelings of national pride or American identity, but I contend that historic Nauvoo gives visitors an intertwined double identity—both American *and* Mormon—despite the historical ambi-

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guity of a not always harmonious relationship with the host culture and despite the fact that the Mormon story has two expressions relevant to this study: that of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS), which owns and manages “Historic Nauvoo” and that of Community of Christ, which owns and manages the Joseph Smith Historical Sites. Both expressions of this American religion tell how faith sustained Joseph Smith and his followers until his death in 1844 and beyond, but the sites also reinforce a sense of American historical identity for visitors.

By “American historical identity,” I am referring to a sense of exceptionalism that is often communicated through popular culture and through a general understanding of American history and mythology. This feeling of American pride is promoted through secular holidays such as Independence Day, by quasi-religious holidays such as Thanksgiving, and by textbooks and movies that relate the achievements of the “Founding Fathers” and their “fight for independence.” According to historian Kyle Ward’s study of history textbooks, the identity they promote has a more conservative perspective of U.S. history, which they manifest through “extol[ling] the virtues of America’s past by emphasizing great leaders and heroic events,” rather than by focusing on “minority, ethnic and socially disadvantaged groups.”¹

American history and mythology focus on the Protestant work ethic of early Puritans, the religious freedom fought for by the Quakers and others, and the development of new styles of art and architecture from American Gothic to Norman Rockwell. These ideals are teased out of the popular writings and speeches of American political and cultural founders such as John Winthrop, Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin, and Ralph Waldo Emerson.² In *To Begin the World Anew: The Genius and Ambiguities of the American Founders*, historian Bernard Bailyn discusses the creativity of the founding fathers. They were free to be so imaginative because “nothing was assured;

¹Kyle Ward, *History in the Making: An Absorbing Look at How American History Has Changed in the Telling Over the Last 200 Years* (New York: New Press, 2006), xxv.

²Bernard Bailyn, *To Begin the World Anew: The Genius and Ambiguities of the American Founders* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2003); Neil Baldwin, *The American Revelation: Ten Ideals that Shaped Our Country from the Puritans to the Cold War* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 2005).

the future was unpredictable. Everywhere were turns and twists that had not been expected.”³ Part of being in the New World was working hard to address conflict, develop new ideas, and discover more efficient ways of doing things. Living in the “borderland”⁴ away from the traditions of Europe, allowed them the freedom to try to live life in a different way. These particular ideas about history are also reinforced and reinterpreted through American tourist and history sites. Eric Gable and Richard Handler’s research on authenticity at Colonial Williamsburg illustrates the connection and potential conflict between history and tourism.⁵ At Colonial Williamsburg, site managers must balance issues of historical accuracy with visitor comfort, a critical task since this site has a well-known mythology that does not always correspond to history. Visitors often are more interested in experiencing the mythology—or what they think Williamsburg was like in colonial times—rather than what historical information seems to say.

Those responsible for developing the tourist focus of a religious site may not have the intention of influencing the American identity of visitors, but such an influence is a frequent side effect of trying to present a sense of religious legitimacy and a narrative that will be common to the variety of visitors that they receive. Site workers and managers want to appeal to both LDS Church and Community of Christ members and nonmembers. To do that they have to create a site that will resonate with both; it cannot be overwhelmed with insider knowledge or too general.

Appealing to tourism and history rather than theology and pilgrimage is one way to try to accomplish both of these tasks. For instance, many American religious tourist sites such as Historic Nauvoo and the Joseph Smith Historic Sites have strong connections to a traditional sense of American history—a history focusing on values that are often attributed to early Americans such as hard work, religious freedom, creativity, development, and innovation.

The creators of Historic Nauvoo and the Joseph Smith Historic

³Bailyn, *To Begin the World Anew*, 5.

⁴*Ibid.*

⁵Eric Gable and Richard Handler, “After Authenticity at an American Heritage Site,” *American Anthropologist* 98, no. 3 (1996): 568–78; Richard Handler and Eric Gable, *The New History in an Old Museum: Creating the Past at Colonial Williamsburg* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1997).

Sites have tapped into these common perceptions of American history to position themselves and their identities in the context of that history for visitors. They can make such connections because early Mormons created their theology and enlarged their membership in the United States at a time of burgeoning growth and developing values. The Mormons influenced and were influenced by a youthful, emergent American identity. Joseph Smith, the Book of Mormon, and a core of fervent believers demonstrated what a new prophet, a new book of scripture, and a new religious movement could look like, both being influenced by and influencing other faith-based groups that were developing at the same time. In Robert V. Remini's popular biography of Joseph Smith, he said, "The founder of this Church, the Prophet, Joseph Smith Jr., is unquestionably the most important reformer and innovator in American religious history." Smith made "an enduring contribution to American life and culture and . . . was influenced by the intellectual milieu and events of his time."⁶

Nauvoo provides an excellent example of this strategy for maximizing American historical identity. The site creators are legitimizing their religious organization by connecting it to values and history that the visitors know. Legitimization is an understandable goal for the Latter-day Saints because, despite their lengthy U.S. history, they are still frequently seen as marginal by the larger society. Historically, Mormons have reinforced this perception by separating themselves from larger society and have held a sectarian perspective on their place in the world.

Because of the multiple stakeholders in Nauvoo tourism—leaders of both Community of Christ and the Church of Jesus Christ Latter-day Saints, members of both churches and other churches, pilgrims, tourists, and townspeople—there are different ideas about what Nauvoo is and how it should be marketed to visitors. Like Kirtland, Ohio, Nauvoo is considered an important religious site for both Community of Christ and the Mormons. Both own property in Nauvoo. Community of Christ owns and manages the Joseph Smith Historic Sites (a visitors' center, several original buildings from the 1840s settlement, including the Joseph Smith Homestead, Mansion House, Red Brick Store, Nauvoo House, and the Smith Family Cemetery), while LDS properties include the Nauvoo Temple (built on the site and to the footprint of the original temple), a visitors' center that

⁶Robert V. Remini, *Joseph Smith* (New York: Viking, 2002), ix.

shows Mormon-themed films, and both replica and original buildings including homes, a print shop, post office, mercantile, variety store, and boot shop. Visitors can witness bricks being made in the brickyard and sample gingerbread cookies at Scovil Bakery.

Despite differing histories, theologies, and organizational goals, both the Latter-day Saints and Community of Christ have constructed similar identities that resonate with many types of visitors. This identity, based on a traditional conception of American historical identity, positions early Mormons as part of a wave of western pioneers with a strong work ethic who were searching for religious freedom. It is the presentation of American identity at Nauvoo that I discuss in this article.

In my research into American religious tourism,⁷ I have found that site creators use two main methods to convey their message or their social-religious ideals:

1. They use a pilgrimage model to create spiritual space. If visitors are experiencing what they think of as a spiritual or religious place, they are more likely to be susceptible to the site's social-religious message. Some sites focus primarily on the sacred nature of their space by referring to miracles that occurred at the site or reminding visitors of their connection to other spiritual sites. For instance, through replicas of famous religious stories and Stations of the Cross, Our Lady of the Snows, an Oblate shrine outside Saint Louis, reminds visitors of the miraculous experiences that have occurred at Lourdes and near Mexico City. However, I conclude that the site creators of Historic Nauvoo and the Joseph Smith Historic Sites have focused on the second method.

2. They use a tourism model to create an educational environment. The site creators borrow from the model provided by nonreligious tourist sites to attract visitors and keep their attention long enough to teach them about their social-religious ideals or religious identity. These elements include electronic media, dramatic productions, brochures, exhibits, tours, and one-on-one interaction between volunteers and visitors. Based on my interviews with site workers and managers, I conclude that these techniques work well at religious sites, too. The site creators achieve their primary goal of communicating their social-religious ideals, but these techniques have unintended

⁷Sarah Bill Schott, "Religious Tourism in America: Identity Formation of Sites and Visitors" (Ph.D. diss., Loyola University, Chicago, 2008).

consequences as well. The site creators have designed sites that have a familiar national message, one that visitors can understand and identify with. This is not to say that Nauvoo is *not* a spiritual site, but rather that it does not rely on traditional elements of the pilgrimage model to draw in visitors and influence them. This finding is somewhat different from previous studies that have looked at Salt Lake City and other important LDS Church sites as places of pilgrimage.⁸

Using a tourism framework leads, unsurprisingly, to the creation of a more secular identity creation (American history) while using a pilgrimage framework leads to the creation of more spiritual identity—for instance, in which visitors are led to think more about their role in the world. Historic Nauvoo and the Joseph Smith Historic Sites tend to focus on American historical identity (American exceptionalism) rather than a global identity (the U.S. role in the world). Concentrating on this historical identity may or may not be conscious; but on a micro-level, it molds the experience of each individual visitor and, on a macro-level, helps define the Mormon identity for those who experience Mormonism at just this site. The visitors take the site creators' view of Mormonism and Mormon history from the site into their social context. Therefore, in the end, the type of framework used is important because what the visitor learns moves beyond the visitor and the site to larger society.

This article is based on participant-observation and interviews of sixteen visitors and seventeen employees/volunteers at the Joseph Smith Historic Sites and Historic Nauvoo. I examine these sites together, rather than contrasting them, because visitors usually experience the sites together, sometimes not even realizing that they are managed by different religions. Of my interviewees, nine were women and fourteen were men. For the most part, the visitors to whom I talked and whom I observed came as couples, as families, or with groups of friends. This pattern corresponds with previous research conducted on visitors to Temple Square in Salt Lake City.⁹ Bus tours with a religious focus (usually concentrating just on Community of Christ or LDS members) come in from around the country, a pattern I

⁸Lloyd Hudman and Richard Jackson, "Mormon Pilgrimage and Tourism," *Annals of Tourism Research* 19, no. 1 (1992): 107–21; Douglas Davies, "Pilgrimage in Mormon Culture," *Social Anthropology of Pilgrimage*, edited by Makhan Jha (New Delhi: Inter-India Publications, 1991), 310–25.

⁹Richard H. Jackson, Gisbert Rinschede, and Jill Knapp, "Pilgrimage

also observed at Hill Cumorah, a Mormon pilgrimage site in New York.

TOOLS OF THE TRADE

LDS and Community of Christ site creators in Nauvoo have borrowed several techniques used in non-religious tourism such as brochures, films, and dramatizations in live theater to communicate a message about the value of hard work, self-determination, and religious freedom. Furthermore, teaching about the work ethic of the early Mormons also looks like teaching about the work ethic of early Americans. Focusing on the historical similarities rather than the theological differences makes the sites more appealing and accessible to a larger audience than only Mormons and Community of Christ members, since this topic is relevant to the modern visitor.

Brochures

Often the first information a visitor receives about a site is from a brochure. Brochures are important for creating identity for both the site and the visitor to the tourist and education sites.¹⁰ Both site creators and site visitors need a way to transmit and receive information to make the visit valuable to both sides. Because of Nauvoo's open plan, the visitors are not forced to talk to the site creators or receive introductory lectures before wandering among the buildings. Therefore, the brochures' emphasis on positioning the Mormon story for Nauvoo as part of American history demonstrates what the site creators think is important, what they want the visitors to know about the site, and what they think the visitors want to know. For instance, one of the LDS brochures depicts Nauvoo's Mormons this way: "Though the Saints were energetic, they were also poor. Monetary donations were in short supply, but hearts and hands were found willing."¹¹

This LDS brochure focuses on visitor-participant action, such as

in the Mormon Church," in *Pilgrimage in the United States*, edited by Gisbert Rinschede (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 1990), 27–61; see also Hudman and Jackson, "Mormon Pilgrimage and Tourism," 107–21.

¹⁰Roy Buck, "The Ubiquitous Tourist Brochure: Explorations in Its Intended and Unintended Use," *Annals of Tourism Research* 9, no. 4 (1977): 195–207; Dave Cooper, "Portraits of Paradise: Themes and Images of the Tourist Industry," *Southeast Asian Journal of Social Science* 22 (1994): 144–60.

¹¹Illinois Nauvoo Mission, *Never a Better Time to See Nauvoo* (Nauvoo:

carriage rides, wagon tours, pageants, music concerts, Sunday Sociables, and demonstrations of brick making, weaving, bread making, rope making, printing, and baking. The brochure leads the potential visitor to anticipate a busy experience where they will participate in the lives of the early Mormons. The LDS brochure leads visitors to expect that they will actively participate in a re-creation of history, not just observe it. Because the site creators focus on activities common to all early Americans, the brochure encourages visitors to position themselves, not only within the Mormon narrative, but also within the American one.

The Community of Christ brochure, *Nauvoo: City Beautiful*,¹² also focuses on an American narrative. It outlines the development of the city without much discussion of the town's religious intentions, theology, global initiatives, or Community of Christ differences from the LDS Church. The Nauvoo Board of Tourism also publishes its own brochures, which again are strongly keyed to an American, rather than a religious, theme. According to the Nauvoo Tourism Office brochure, "What you really find out first-hand is that the early settlers of our country were truly educated, inventive, and capable of establishing the many complex functions necessary to survive and help contribute to the development of our United States."¹³ This quotation focuses on all American pioneers, not just on Mormons. Both the Nauvoo Tourism Office and Community of Christ want to promote the city's historical aspects as a way of appealing broadly to visitors who are unconnected to either church but in a way that does not alienate LDS visitors, who are a significant portion of the visitors. (No statistics are available about the religious background of visitors.) Consequently, if the Community of Christ and the Nauvoo Board of Tourism choose to focus on the hard work and capability of all the early settlers, this message will likely appeal to LDS members and nonmembers alike and attract all types of visitors.

Space

Site creators have many choices about how they organize and

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 2006), 9.

¹²Community of Christ, *Nauvoo: City Beautiful* (Independence: Community of Christ, 2002).

¹³Nauvoo Area Chamber of Commerce, *Historic Nauvoo* (brochure) (Nauvoo: Nauvoo Area Chamber of Commerce, n.d.).

use the space available to them. Religious tourist sites may decide on spaces for prayer and contemplation, museums, replications, or art exhibits among others. The challenge is how best to employ their space to teach visitors their social-religious ideals and have them understand the spiritual nature of the site. They must also decide what they are going to display in that space. Their objectives lead site spaces to be constructed and controlled in different ways. Site creators must decide if they want to control their visitors (i.e., visitation is allowed only via guided tours) or allow them to wander based on their interests. At the Joseph Smith Historic Sites, visitors must take a tour to see inside the historic buildings, but at Historic Nauvoo sites, visitors may roam about, entering the buildings they choose. However, once inside these buildings, they meet guides who present information and interpretations. Naturally, such tour guides and site guides are a sensible security precaution as well as sources of information.

All of the Community of Christ space is historically focused and so are most of the LDS sites. Both are predominantly visitors' centers, tours, films, and historic and replicated buildings. The re-created buildings owned by the Latter-day Saints include period homes, a brickyard, gunsmith shop, log home and school, post office, print shop, bakery, and blacksmith shop. Each building has period-costumed volunteers who tell how each particular business or family contributed to the development of Nauvoo. No one is required to enter the visitors' centers or buildings to view the building exteriors. One can drive or walk about, view the exteriors, and read the informational signs. Unless they enter the visitors' center or the replica buildings, they will not receive information about Mormon beliefs, have questions answered, or learn anything new about the site or the religious group.

Decisions about space use also include exhibit space. Site creators need to decide how much space and how many exhibits will be devoted to learning about the religion's doctrines and history, and how much space will be reserved for reflection and spiritual issues. On this point, the site creators indicate a commitment to Mormon and American history by maintaining and developing the historic town, an approach that not only communicates the site creators' social-religious ideals but also helps legitimate them. Connecting the religion to such traditional American values as hard work, development, innovation, and community unity lets the visitors know that this tradition is not new. It is a legitimate religious tradition.

All of these decisions are related to sociologist Dean MacCannell's ideas on site sacralization and staging. He finds that tourist attractions are developed out of the relationship between the tourist (a visitor), the site (something to visit), and the marker ("a piece of information about a site"). Markers tell the tourist that society (or a part of it) has designated this particular place as worth visiting. Site creators are not randomly making these decisions but are marking certain spaces and items by framing, protecting, or spotlighting.¹⁴ They thus communicate that visitors should pay attention to these items. Although visitors are drawn to the backstage area (parts of the site that are off-limits to visitors), it is the volunteers' responsibility to keep the visitors focused on the chosen material. For instance, Community of Christ's visitors' center uses lighting to direct the visitors' gaze toward original paintings by David Hyrum Smith, while the LDS visitors' center places old editions of the Bible and various translations of the Book of Mormon in a way that helps the visitors see the LDS Church's long and expanding influence.

Although the Latter-day Saints and Community of Christ churches are worldwide religions, they have a particular connection to the United States, which visitors see in Nauvoo. Their founding prophet and original members were North American and recent European immigrants; their mythology is connected to high American religious achievement in the religious and secular worlds. For instance, Joseph Smith preached that Christ's second coming would occur in Missouri. According to Leonard J. Arrington and Davis Bitton, "The Mormons were to establish the moral, social, and political conditions necessary before Christ's return could occur."¹⁵ As part of secular American history, the early Mormon Church is known for its successive community-building in Ohio, Missouri, and Ohio, then specifically for its western expansion to the Great Basin.¹⁶ The LDS visitors' center exhibits make the point that Mormons often settled in undeveloped areas where they established farms and businesses and that, according to historian Robert B. Flanders, "Mormon town build-

¹⁴Dean MacCannell, *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 41.

¹⁵Leonard J. Arrington and Davis Bitton, *The Mormon Experience: A History of the Latter-day Saints* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1979), 37.

¹⁶*Ibid.*

ing was orderly and industrious.”¹⁷ Both the volunteers and the exhibits stress that, at its peak, Mormon Nauvoo was Illinois’s second largest city.¹⁸ A three-dimensional topographic model of Nauvoo effectively demonstrates the physical effect of Mormon settlement on the area and the extent of the city’s development. The LDS visitors’ center displays inform visitors about towns in the region that early Mormons settled, their economic development, and government and military institutions.

Historic Nauvoo, however, goes beyond this American story with its focus on educational tourism toward a more religious and spiritual one, at least for Latter-day Saint visitors. The LDS Church also owns the jail twenty-two miles away in Carthage, Illinois, where Joseph Smith and his brother Hyrum were murdered by an armed mob. Unlike the many Nauvoo buildings that are replicas, this jail is original, so volunteers call attention to the site’s authenticity. During my visit, missionary-guide Sister South (all names are pseudonyms) pointed out that “the mob” shot through “this door,” and Joseph Smith fell through “this window.” She encouraged us to “think about how you feel about Joseph Smith and what he went through for us.” Site creators are thus asking visitors to make a personal, spiritual connection—which Mormon visitors often do. Brett, a thirty-year-old father who was bringing his young sons for the first time to Nauvoo and Carthage, said, “It was pretty emotional after hearing all of the stories. I felt a closeness to Joseph Smith. He went through a lot of crap. There is no other way to say it. It was amazing to be at the place where Joseph lived and was martyred. I felt the Spirit.” By personally testifying and encouraging the visitors to also share their own religious experience, the volunteers risk alienating nonmember visitors and possibly members. The spiritual identity of Nauvoo overcomes its historical identity at Carthage.

To complicate matters for the LDS members further, the Community of Christ owns most of the buildings that are authentic to Joseph Smith and his family. At Community of Christ sites where the buildings are “truly authentic” (i.e., buildings actually constructed

¹⁷Robert Bruce Flanders, *Nauvoo: Kingdom on the Mississippi* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1975), 24.

¹⁸Remini, *Joseph Smith*, 144. Richard Lyman Bushman also cites sources establishing that Nauvoo was as large as Chicago in 1844. *Joseph Smith: Rough Stone Rolling* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2005), 385.

and/or lived in by Joseph Smith), the LDS members hear the Community of Christ narrative, not their own. They hear about the possibility of other successors to Joseph Smith (his son, Joseph Smith III, became the first RLDS president in 1860), and the importance of his first wife, Emma. A twenty-something Mormon couple explained the differences between the two sites in this way. She said, "The Community of Christ sites focus on how they [Nauvoo Mormon] lived. It is historical—how life was like then. It is a different perspective. You hear a lot of stories about the pioneers and a lot of stories about Nauvoo." Her husband responded, "The LDS sites are a more spiritual thing for us. They [Community of Christ] are coming from a different perspective; they have a different way of explaining." Mark, a young Mormon who had just completed his two-year mission service in Oklahoma City, said about the sites, "I think the Community of Christ [site] talks about the strength and love of the early pioneers. They don't talk about religion as much at their site, which is cool. It is more open for everybody. The LDS sites want to show how early pioneers did things and how hard it was. I mean we just watched them make candles. It took a really long time."

Volunteers

In Nauvoo, the volunteer guides are part of the exhibits, enacting the tasks required by daily life and thus conveying the social-religious ideal of hard work. As Mark's comments about candle-making demonstrate, the reenactments focus on the physical demands of nineteenth-century life, from making boots to shoeing horses. A smooth-running society required hard, skilled labor from all of its members. The demonstrations at Nauvoo not only distribute information and communicate Mormon/American values but also entertain visitors. For instance, the retired man who volunteered at the cobbler's workshop told our tour group that he hoped we took away the knowledge that life was very hard for the cobbler and his family. They worked hard and followed "the Prophet"; and because they did, their lives had meaning. In the print shop, Elder North demonstrated the hand-worked press and exhibited copies of two early LDS papers, *Times and Seasons* and *The Wasp*. He also talked about the printer, John Taylor. Taylor, an apostle and later Church president, was with Joseph and Hyrum Smith at Carthage Jail and was shot four times, though not fatally. When I asked Elder North what he wanted us to take away from our visit, he said, "A little about President Taylor and a

little about the printing press.” Although he put Taylor first, the demonstration probably more strongly communicated the American work ethic, showing modern visitors how they can become part of this narrative by working hard at their own jobs, thereby making better lives, providing meaning, and benefiting our communities.

Volunteers are able to reinforce their messages by locating Joseph Smith according to his multiple roles in the lives of Nauvoo’s people and, by extension, in their own lives. One guide at a Community of Christ site said, “We want people to understand better that Nauvoo is not just a religious community and that Joseph Smith was a business man, a politician, a leader of the militia, and he was a prophet. . . . I want to humanize Joseph versus putting him on a pedestal.” The story of Joseph Smith fits into a traditional American narrative, which includes not only physical exertion but also mental exceptionalism. Nineteenth-century Americans were able to build a new country with the sweat of their collective brow, an endeavor that required exceptional thinking and creativity. Emphasizing Joseph Smith as a prophet does not necessarily create a sense of American identity for the nonmember and is sometimes not the focal point of what the site creators are telling visitors about Smith. When the focus is on his many other accomplishments, his contribution to American history becomes one that both members and nonmembers can appreciate.

Creating a spiritual space and a message for two groups can be difficult for site creators. Community of Christ must rely on its on-site volunteers to mediate the message. Many of them tried to focus on the history, thus emphasizing the characteristics of Joseph Smith that both groups can agree on. Some of the volunteers were explicit about trying to avoid conflict at the site by creating a message focused on the American historical identity and thus creating an experience in which Latter-day Saints, Community of Christ members, and those of other faiths or no faith can feel comfortable. This strategy can actively engage all visitors and alienate no one. Teaching the history without the religious element seems an effective approach for non-Mormon visitors who are familiar with this historical model and appreciate not having their own religious beliefs questioned or challenged.

However, it often backfires because the LDS members are accustomed to being guided into spirituality at the end of a tour or film and feel that something is missing from the Community of Christ sites. LDS visitors Michael and Chris, who were visiting Nauvoo with their wives, expressed this opinion. Michael commented about the Joseph

Smith Historic Sites and their tour guides, “The stories and the houses—the sites—are well done. It is a good history. The difference at the LDS sites is that the missionary always includes a testimony. They bring the spiritual part into it.” Chris responded, “Maybe the Community of Christ should do that. . . . She [the tour guide] grew up in the church. She was a lifelong member. She should have told us her personal experience—how she found her faith.” This preference demonstrates that LDS visitors move fairly seamlessly between a tourism and a spiritual model. They expect the volunteer guides to testify after giving information and history.

However, this model may be confusing and even off-putting for non-Mormons. Those who see Nauvoo primarily as an opportunity to learn about American history may be uncomfortable when asked personal religious questions. For instance, at Carthage Jail the volunteers were able to emphasize the site’s American authenticity and also the jail’s importance for the moments of climactic violence that ended Joseph and Hyrum Smith’s lives. Since this event is clearly of greatest significance to those who revere Joseph Smith as their faith’s founding prophet, much of the site’s spirituality is brought there by the visitors rather than emphasized by the site creators. If visitors bring with them a sense that it is, in some sense, sacralized by Joseph Smith’s death, then it will be a spiritual place for them.

Film and Theater

Like many other museums and tourist sites, religious tourist sites are finding more innovative ways to present their information, including films and live dramatizations. Film is a familiar format for visitors and gives them orienting and contextualizing information to which they can refer during the tour. Going to the movies is a popular entertainment, social activity, or treat. Films shown in the classroom are seen as a break from the ordinary and are usually anticipated by students. The visual images teach people in a way that a lecture or oral presentation cannot. Film, whether educational or entertaining, engages the viewers’ senses and therefore provides more of an experience. At tourist sites, the films usually complement the message of the exhibits.

In Nauvoo, visitors are also exposed to a traditional view of American identity through films produced by both the Latter-day Saints and Community of Christ that portray their founding prophet as a hard-working American pioneer. At the Joseph Smith Historic

Sites, Community of Christ President Emeritus Wallace B. Smith, a great-grandson of Joseph Smith, endorses the information presented. The film mentions that Joseph Smith worked hard, had many jobs, was politically active (including running for U.S. president), and created Nauvoo with a particular plan in mind. All of the main buildings were part of his city layout, unlike many other American towns, which were more random. This film represents an important investment of time and money by Community of Christ. According to one of the Joseph Smith Historic Sites employees, "We are in the middle of a redesign at headquarters. We want to have consistency of message at all our sites." Nate, a young Community of Christ priest and volunteer, commented that the film is "good for helping the guests. On the tour, they will be like, 'Oh yeah, it said that in the video.'"

The film differentiates its message from the LDS sites by two main points. First, it emphasizes that several men claimed leadership after Joseph Smith's death in addition to Brigham Young, who successfully headed the LDS contingent. Carol, a college student interning at the Joseph Smith Historic Sites, said that the film "helps with learning the early church history—why we are so different from the LDS." Second, it mentions the non-Mormon history of Nauvoo, including the movement of Icarians, Germans, and Swiss into the area after Joseph Smith's death and the departure of Young's followers to the West. The film legitimates the Community of Christ message by demonstrating Joseph Smith's strength and humanity as the prophet and by putting the Church's development in a historical context (i.e., Joseph Smith was one of many who lived in the area). Here visitors see the Mormons as a group of early settlers developing the area rather than as primarily a religious group.

After touring the Joseph Smith Historic Sites, I met a middle-aged couple from Britain who were visiting Nauvoo with a couple from Utah. The two husbands had met as young missionaries and had been planning this trip as an anniversary celebration since their respective marriages. Ben (the British husband) commented: "The Community of Christ [film] is focused on the historical preservation of Joseph Smith; the LDS [film] is focused on the spiritual things that took place. The LDS film fleshed it out. It makes you feel what they felt even if you aren't LDS. It shows you who, why, and how." The American husband, David, added: "The LDS film is an emotional film. You get a sense of the man [Joseph Smith], his life, family, and circumstances."

At Historic Nauvoo, visitors find a more extensive discussion of

Joseph Smith as a prophet than at Community of Christ sites. His role in the community and his personality are shown as dominant elements in developing the city of Nauvoo and Mormonism. In the LDS film shown at Carthage Jail, *Impressions of the Prophet*, Smith is depicted as preaching in chains to his jailers, reining in runaway horses, playing baseball with young boys, and helping a former slave buy his son's freedom. He is portrayed as a loving and beloved husband, father, and friend—an exceptional but human man. Like other American heroes, he is a hard-working family man who achieved extraordinary things despite adversity through talent, tenacity, and courage like other American leaders. Lewis and Clark, Abraham Lincoln, and Harriet Tubman are all portrayed as American heroes who changed the United States, not through super powers but through innovation, hard work, taking chances, inspiring others, and risking their lives. This is the portrait of Joseph Smith that the LDS Church is creating—as part of American history.

Creating an American hero may not be an intentional goal of the LDS site creators, especially of its missionary guides. As Sister South said during her testimony after the Carthage Jail tour: “Joseph Smith gave his life for his testimony, and Jesus’s promise is sealed in Joseph Smith’s blood.” For Sister South, Joseph Smith is more than an American hero. However, for non-Mormons, descriptions of Joseph Smith in the films and often by the guides create a picture of Joseph Smith as an American leader that corresponds to the other historical messages at these sites.

Not only does the LDS site show at least two films featuring Joseph Smith, but during the peak visitation months in the summer, it also sponsors daily live theater dramatizations throughout town (“Nauvoo Remembered: Historical Vignettes”) and Tuesday through Thursday at sunset in an outdoor theater near the Mississippi River. The town is very quiet in the evening, so attending the play gives visitors something to do. Afterward, visitors can talk to the actors, all of whom are volunteers—usually college students—and have photographs taken with them. In 2006 when I did my research, the actor who played Joseph Smith, was a tall, handsome young man—which is historically accurate, since Smith was in his late thirties during the Nauvoo period. Both at the Hill Cumorah Pageant and at Nauvoo, I saw many children run up to the actor playing Joseph Smith before the show and eagerly wait their turn to have their picture taken with him. This actor is as close as anyone will get to meeting Joseph Smith in the current life, and

the encounter seems to be especially meaningful for the children.

Before the play, families can participate in activities typical of the nineteenth century such as log sawing, round dancing, crafts, races, and a puppet show. Christopher and his wife had visited Nauvoo several times, and he said, "I think that they have done a good job of making Nauvoo a fun place. It is a spiritual experience, but it is also fun to learn what they did. My wife and I played pioneer games and walked on stilts through the fields."

In 2006, the Nauvoo Pageant was in its second year. Although the LDS site was participating in performances of "Nauvoo Remembered: Historical Vignettes" and the plays *High Hopes and River Boats*, and *Just Plain Anna-Amanda*, the pageant was being promoted by the visitors' centers and local shops. That year, the Nauvoo Pageant relayed the major Mormon religious ideals that they would like visitors to understand. For instance, one early theme is that of the "gathering," or why Mormon converts from elsewhere in the United States and Europe traveled to Nauvoo.¹⁹ The play has a scene depicting a Scots couple whose son died on this journey. Smith comforts the father by telling him that God knows what it is like to lose a son. As a nation of immigrants, the United States includes the Mormons who also recruited new Americans, even though immigration frequently involved hardship and loss. Although the play focuses on European immigrants, it clarifies that Mormons are now fully and devotedly American. Before the play begins, children walk to the stage area from the Social Hall following the American flag and then lead the audience in singing the national anthem. Once again, the LDS site creators have used a common view of nineteenth-century America to present their message about Mormons.

Another important theme is the construction of the Nauvoo Temple at great financial sacrifice; temple ordinances occupy a significant point in the development of Mormon theology.

CREATING RELIGIOUS TOURISM

By using the tools of tourism and creating a recognizable portrait of the American narrative, both the Community of Christ and the LDS Church entertain and inform many types of visitors. Although the majority of visitors to the Joseph Smith Historic Sites and

¹⁹Remini, *Joseph Smith*, 144–45; Flanders, *Nauvoo*, 57–91.

Historic Nauvoo are LDS Church members,²⁰ this demographic fact does not mean that the site creators would not like to attract others. By using tourism techniques recognizable to many different types of visitors, they expand their chances of success.

Site creators who rely on modern tourism techniques to create such religious tourist sites as Nauvoo are not afraid to appeal to modern visitors and their preferences. Site creators examine other tourist sites to find out what types of brochures, souvenirs, exhibits, tours, and websites interest the visitors. More and more religious tourist site managers are introducing multimedia into their sites. For example, the Creation Museum in Petersburg, Kentucky, has several theaters featuring different movies about dinosaurs, creation, and human salvation. The most innovative theater is the Special Effects Theater featuring *Men in White*. According to the Creation Museum website, "Wendy has questions and Men in White have answers. Come in and experience the sights, sounds and thrills of the Bible and Science in our unforgettable Special Effects Theater. Prepare to believe. You won't want to miss the amazing show."²¹ The Billy Graham Library in Charlotte, North Carolina, has also incorporated multimedia into its presentation. According to its fact sheet, one highlight of the tour is "A Journey of Faith: Retrace Billy Graham's dynamic journey through stunning multimedia presentations, interactive kiosks, photos and memorabilia."²² The use of media creates a more engaging experience for the visitors and is a common, nonthreatening way to convey information. Viewing media strengthens the visitor's sense of being actively engaged at the site.

In addition to multimedia, visitors have many opportunities to engage religious insiders at tourism-focused sites because religious insiders are the tour guides, ticket takers, and bookshop attendants. Vol-

²⁰This information is based on the conclusions of the staff and volunteers that I talked to at both sites.

²¹Creation Museum, "Theater Presentations," Creation Museum website, www.creationmuseum.org/whats-here/theater-presentations/ (accessed August 3, 2009).

²²Billy Graham Evangelistic Association, "A Journey of Faith: Retrace Billy Graham's Dynamic Journey through Stunning Multimedia Presentations, Interactive Kiosks, Photos and Memorabilia," 2009, Billy Graham Library website, www.billygraham.org/pdfs/library/library%20Fact%20sheet.pdf (accessed August 3, 2009).

unteers often tell personal stories about spiritual experiences in their own lives (i.e., conversions or ways in which God changed their lives), but visitors are not forced to share in the same way unless moved to do so. The volunteers want to help those who are conflicted with religious questions or doubts, and they discuss their religion with those who are interested, but they also realize that they can help and inform through the site. According to Luke, who volunteers at the Joseph Smith Historic Sites, Community of Christ uses the site for outreach. "We reach more people at this site than any other way," he said. Therefore, the exhibits and the volunteers work in tandem to provide both an informational and a spiritual experience (for those who want it). By using a tourism focus, the site creators have tried to make the site inviting and nonthreatening for visitors who are interested in religion but who are uncomfortable at places of worship. At religious tourist sites, the volunteers are particularly important because they are the part of encouraging spiritually motivated visitors to have the experience they seek.

As previously mentioned, having a tourism focus is not the only choice religious tourist site creators can make. Whether site creators choose a tourism approach depends on site creators' perceptions about their religious message and how they think other people see them. In the case of Nauvoo, although both the Community of Christ and the LDS Church have an international presence, outsiders typically see them as primarily American religions. Both groups recognize the importance of this history in their messages. Joseph Smith's theology was tied to the United States, especially as the setting for the Book of Mormon and in his millennialist theology. It is logical for Nauvoo site creators to emphasize an American identity which most of their visitors will share.

Additionally, Mormons are perceived as being sectarian, and this history of separation (especially about Utah Mormons) influences common perceptions in the larger society. This perception is confirmed by such continuing LDS practices as dietary restrictions, clothing requirements, active proselytizing, and restricted access to temples.

WORKING WITH AN AMERICAN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

If site creators are developing and managing a religious site in the United States, they have a choice about creating an American identity or something else. The Roman Catholic Church, for instance, has a long history in the United States and owns several religious sites but often chooses to focus on its global identity. For instance, the

managers of Our Lady of the Snows spend more time demonstrating Catholicism's global presence with artwork and shrines than focusing on its U.S. history. The site also has an exhibit showing how the Missionary Oblates of Mary Immaculate, who manage the site have provided service during natural catastrophes such as the tsunami in Sri Lanka and Indonesia. This order could have easily focused on the extensive history of the Catholic Church in St. Louis and its role in the city's development but have chosen not to.

The Baha'i faith, although less well known and more marginalized than the Catholic Church, has a history rooted in Persia in the nineteenth century and a theology that incorporates many of the prophets from both Eastern and Western religions.²³ The North American Baha'i House of Worship is located in Wilmette, Illinois, near Chicago. Although the creators of this visitation site could have focused on their emigration from Iran throughout the late twentieth century and their success in Chicago, instead they emphasize their world missions such as education and peace. These global identities mean that these sites communicate an international sense and do not concentrate on legitimizing their groups in the same way as Nauvoo. They are not focusing on creating a mainstream identity but are trying to demonstrate their relevancy on the world stage.

The Community of Christ and LDS site creators, in contrast, are projecting an American identity to transmit their religious identity, even though creating an American identity is not their primary goal. Some religious tourism sites, like the Shakers at Sabbathday Lake, who combine a Shaker museum as part of the home of the living Shaker community, or the Mennonites at Menno-Hof Anabaptist Interpretive Center, may think of themselves as providing an alternative to the American way of life rather than teaching about American life at their sites. Both the Shakers and the Anabaptists are pacifists; and the Shakers, the Amish, and the Hutterites live separately from the general population.²⁴ The LDS Church and Community of Christ also have a strong international presence, so an American historical identity is not necessarily a given. Although immigration is part of the

²³Michael McMullen, *The Baha'i: The Religious Construction of Global Identity* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 2000).

²⁴Donald B. Kraybill and Carl Desportes Bowman, *On the Backroad to Heaven: Old Order Hutterites, Mennonites, Amish, and Brethren* (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002); Richard Francis, *Ann the Word:*

message of Nauvoo, it does not seem to be the primary one. To attract a larger audience, the site managers have broadened their message, consequently focusing on one that is not their primary intention.

Mormonism's history and connections to the local area create a sense of American identity at these sites. Using this broader identity, the site creators are able to engage their visitors on a personal level; these sites seem to be saying, "We are all Americans." The American message is beneficial to the site because visitors are more likely to listen to the social-religious ideals if they can identify with them. Additionally, by connecting visitors to an American identity, the site creators also legitimize their religious group and their message. When the religion is placed in a larger history, visitors can see how the group contributed to the country's development. This historical context shows that the religious group was far from insignificant, either in the past or in the present; rather, both groups continue to play a valuable role in the United States. Tourism-focused sites are interested in education and have chosen history as the framework within which to articulate their religious organization's history.

SECTARIAN ISSUES

An important influence on a group's identity is its ideas about other religions and about the rest of the world. Religious organizations that have a sectarian perspective, historically have been sectarian, or are seen as sectarian, quite commonly develop visitation sites that focus on tourism and therefore tend to stress their American identity. Other examples of this are Menno-Hof Anabaptist Interpretive Center and Sabbathday Lake mentioned earlier. Religious groups with a sectarian perspective believe that their group has something to offer that other social groups do not. According to religious scholars Fred Kniss and Paul Numrich, "Sectarian groups usually form a schism from a larger tradition that is seen as having become apostate—that is, having wandered too far from its original ideals."²⁵ When Joseph Smith began his religious mission, which he termed a "restoration," he emphasized its connection to the Old Testament

The Story of Ann Lee, Female Messiah, Mother of the Shakers, the Woman Clothed with the Sun (New York: Arcade, 2000).

²⁵Fred Kniss and Paul D. Numrich, *Sacred Assemblies and Civic Engagement: How Religion Matters for America's Newest Immigrants* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 2007), 22.

prophets and to New Testament theologies that had been lost to the Christian church.²⁶ Kniss and Numrich add: "Sectarians view themselves as a faithful remnant, an example to others who have lost their way."²⁷

Sectarianism may also be imposed by the larger society.²⁸ If a religious group is viewed as too different or threatening, it is less likely to find general acceptance. Historical tourism gives groups that have traditionally kept themselves separate from "the world" and other religious groups (or are perceived as separate) a framework for modern interactions. A tourism structure signals appropriate behaviors for both the volunteers and the visitors; it also lets the visitors know what type of experience to expect, thus making them more comfortable.

For sectarian religious organizations like the Shakers, the Amish, and the Mormons/Community of Christ, connecting to this American identity lets the visitors know that these groups are less different than they might seem. Some of my interviewees expressed this goal explicitly. Christopher, for instance, said he hoped non-Mormon visitors "learn that the LDS Church is not a weird thing, that we are not odd people." He added later in the interview: "We are not ashamed that we are peculiar. Any group that goes to church for three hours on Sunday and then goes to the temple another day of the week is going to be seen as different. But we [the LDS sites] are there to make sure that people understand the true church." Brett expressed a similar concern: "I hope they learn Church history. Most nonmembers come for educational purposes, not because they are thinking of converting. I hope they realize Mormon aren't freaks, . . . I hope they have a really neat experience and they realize Mormons aren't crazy." Thus, historical tourism makes sense in reassuring apprehensive visitors that they are getting an educational message similar to that of other museums or cultural sites. In other words, historical tourism is a deliberate strategy for the Mormon Church and Community of Christ in reducing or removing societal misconceptions. Many Americans have never heard of Community of Christ, and the LDS Church is still forced to expend energy distancing itself from its historical

²⁶Remini, *Joseph Smith*, 68–71, 80–81.

²⁷Kniss and Numrich, *Sacred Assemblies and Civic Engagement*.

²⁸*Ibid.*, 35.

practice of polygamy.²⁹

Historical tourism also serves a protective function between the religious organization and the visitors; the visitors are still tourists in a museum and are not likely to accidentally see something unintended for the public. Community of Christ temples in Kirtland and Independence are open to the public, but LDS temples are not, which makes temple rites seem mysterious or foreign. The LDS religious tourist sites can teach nonmembers about Mormonism in an atmosphere that is comfortable for both parties. Community of Christ tourist sites can teach nonmembers how and why Community of Christ is different from the LDS Church. Visitors are used to seeing “Private” on doors or velvet ropes—all signals of where traffic is allowed and where it is not. The visitors can absorb as much of the messages on offer as they wish in a setting that is designed for them.

Choosing a tourism framework is also connected to the perception of sectarianism. Because Mormons (less so for Community of Christ) are seen as separating themselves from the rest of the world, some nonmembers may think that they would not be welcome to visit sites like Nauvoo. Broadening the identity of Nauvoo to include American identity helps to overcome the perception of inhospitality. The Catholic Church and Baha’i faith are not seen as sectarian but have actively maintained a pilgrimage tradition that includes historically welcoming visitors. By using a tourism framework, site creators communicate that Mormons, like the site visitors themselves, share the same history and identity and can engage in a mutually profitable dialogue.

Site creators cannot rely only on their religious narrative to attract visitors or they will reach only members; nonmembers lacking this religious connection would either be uninterested in visiting or would feel unwelcome if they did. Therefore, site creators have relied on a broader American narrative to attract a larger audience. Nauvoo thus becomes not only more accessible to nonmembers but also makes it easier for members to recommend a visit to Nauvoo to non-member friends. When I asked Joel, a Mormon from Omaha, if he had ever suggested that nonmembers visit Nauvoo, he replied: “I think that with nonmembers I would have a dialogue about the historical aspects. I think in Omaha especially, there are a lot of connections to all kinds of pioneers. Many people have connections with settlers in

²⁹Kimberly Maul, “Mormons Seek Distance from Texas Polygamists,” *PR Week (US)*, July 14, 2008, 2.

the Midwest.” He added: “I think it [Nauvoo] is great for kids. They can learn how to make a brick and how to create a horseshoe. Kids don’t have any concept of those things. I would highlight those types of things if someone was thinking about visiting.”

CONCLUSION

Many American religious tourist sites have chosen to follow the example of secular tourist sites, but it is not a flawless formula for success. Site creators want to communicate a positive picture of their religious organization and, consequently, often portray American history with a positive slant. Were nineteenth-century Americans a hard-working, creative, innovative, hardy people? Were they a “City on the Hill,” chosen by God? The accuracy of a particular narrative is not an issue for the site creators—and often not for visitors—because many Americans accept such narratives as true regardless of their historical accuracy. Such glorified images of the United States are part of the popular culture. It is a reasonable identity for site creators to use in engaging nonmembers.

Another challenge for site creators is balancing tourism with the religious message. Community of Christ has dealt with this issue by focusing on its museum qualities and historical message. The guides generally refer to religion only in terms of Joseph Smith’s teachings unless a visitor asks about their personal beliefs. One college-age volunteer at the Joseph Smith Historic Sites, when I queried him on this specific point, responded: “It is a historical site. If people ask, I will give a vague answer of what I believe. I believe that I may not be fully qualified to convert or witness to other people. We have missionaries who are dedicated. We have the ability but we are strictly history. We pride ourselves on [teaching] history not faith.” Another Community of Christ guide said, “It is about sharing history. We are not focused on religious aspects. We are not forcing stuff on people. I am a history major so I stick mostly to the facts.”

Another element of a tourism framework that can become an issue involves funding. The Joseph Smith Historic Sites charge a preservation fee, which for some religiously minded visitors I talked to was a problem. They did not think a religious site should charge. Site creators are sensitive to the possible negative consequences of paying for a tour, buying a souvenir, restricting photographs in a spiritual space, or presenting obviously costly exhibits to interfere with the social-religious ideals they are trying to communicate. But a

“preservation fee” at a historic site seems appropriate for a site focused on history and education. Additionally, the Joseph Smith Historic Sites tries to stay away from selling items that seem too commercial or “touristy.” According to one of the Community of Christ managers, “We try to sell stuff that is related to the mission of the site. We put tags on things to tell what they were used for to continue the educational mission after it leaves the site.” The Latter-day Saints have tried to alleviate some of this potential conflict by not charging for admission or tours. They also do not sell souvenirs at their sites.

These issues, though occasionally problematic, are usually not decisive in preventing the use of a tourism framework, with the result that diverse experiences are available at religious tourist sites. When people actively choose to participate in religious tourism, site creators are doing something right. According to the World Tourism Organization, more than 600,000 Americans travel for religious purposes each year.³⁰ In a recent study conducted by the Travel Industry Association of America, 25 percent of Americans were interested in “taking a spiritual vacation that includes religious retreats and pilgrimages.”³¹ The first annual International Conference of Religious Tourism in 2006 estimated that religious tourism was a “\$18 billion-a-year industry.”³² According to Kevin Wright, who founded the World Religious Travel Association in January 2007, growth in religious tourism can be attributed to three factors: (1) More Americans are traveling and taking vacations, (2) There are more Christians, and (3) These Christians are “now finding ways to integrate their beliefs into their

³⁰Scott Richardson, “Religious Destinations: Holy Sites Drawing Hundreds of Yearly Tours, Pilgrimages,” *The Pentagraph* (Bloomington, Ill.), April 19, 2007, Sec. Entertainment/News, pantagraph.com/entertainment/article_b66d7f06-abb4-5288-a751-6f03950ae99a.html (accessed October 4, 2007).

³¹Cathy Keefe, “TIA Travel Tidbits: Spa Vacations, Voluntourism, Child-Friendly Destinations, Enrichment Travel and Spiritual Vacations,” November 22, 2006, US Travel Association. www.ustravel.org/pressmedia/pressrec.asp?Item=736 (accessed June 15, 2009).

³²Christine Moore, “\$18 Billion Religious Travel Industry Gives Birth to International Association,” January 29, 2007, World Religious Travel Association, www.wrtareligioustravel.com/WRTA (accessed June 15, 2009).

everyday lives.”³³

What the case of Nauvoo demonstrates is that site creators have adapted to modern expectations. They offer more than one identity to attract more than one kind of visitor. Furthermore, they use modern entertainment and teaching tools to keep their visitors' attention. Although communicating American identity may not be their primary goal, they see advantages in transmitting this identity. It lets them continue to attract, entertain, and teach their nonmember visitors. Making a connection to larger American history will likely encourage nonmember visitors to have a positive view of Mormon/Community of Christ history and to understand the beliefs better.

³³Kevin Wright, “Religious Tourism: A New Era, A Dynamic Industry,” *Leisure Group Travel: Special Edition*, November 2007, 8–16.

COMMUNITY OF CHRIST PRINCIPLES OF CHURCH HISTORY: A TURNING POINT AND A GOOD EXAMPLE?

INTRODUCTION

Lavina Fielding Anderson

IN OCTOBER 2008, STEPHEN M. VEAZEY, prophet-president of the

These two articles by Andrew Bolton and Gary James Bergera were presented as a session at the Salt Lake City Sunstone Symposium, August 14, 2009. LAVINA FIELDING ANDERSON {lavina@elavina.org} is copy editor of the *Journal of Mormon History* and is researching a biography of Lucy Mack Smith. ANDREW BOLTON {abolton@cofchrist.org} was ordained in March 2007 to the Council of Twelve Apostles, the leading missionary quorum of the Community of Christ. His area of responsibility is the Asia Field (Nepal, India, Sri Lanka, Taiwan, Philippines, South Korea, and Japan), and indigenous peoples. A native of England, Andrew was baptized at age twenty-two in South Wales; has a Ph.D. from the University of Wales; an M.A. in religion from Park College, in Missouri; a bachelor of science with honours from Wye College, University of London; and a certificate in counseling from the University of Leicester. He has published books on the Sermon on the Mount and peace and justice, has co-edited a text on the sacraments, and has also published articles on Latter Day Saint history and the Book of Mormon in *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought, Restoration Studies*, and the *John Whitmer Historical Association Journal*. GARY JAMES BERGERA has degrees from Brigham Young University in psychology and public administration. Over the past thirty-plus years, he has published articles on Orson Pratt and Brigham Young, Joseph Smith and plural marriage, Brigham Young University, Ernest L. Wilkinson, and Ezra Taft Benson in the *Utah Historical Quarterly*, *Dialogue*, *Sunstone*, *Journal of Mormon History*, *Mormon Historical Studies*, the *John Whitmer Historical Association Journal*, and the *Journal of the Illinois Historical Society*. He is currently the managing director of the Smith-Pettit Foundation.

Community of Christ, announced nine principles of Church history that are now markers for members and historians of the Community of Christ, with world headquarters in Independence, Missouri. (For the nine principles see Andrew Bolton's commentary and the Appendix to this article.)

Some of these statements, like "The church encourages honest, responsible historical scholarship" and "Our faith is grounded in God's revelation in Jesus Christ and the continuing guidance of the Holy Spirit" sound reassuringly like principles that Mormons could also espouse, although questions may arise over the implementation of some details. Others, like "The church has a long-standing tradition that it does not legislate or mandate positions on matters of church history" and "History informs but does not dictate our faith and beliefs," may sound far less familiar to Mormon ears—possibly intriguing, possibly alarming.

Aficionados of Mormon history have long been anticipating a three-volume history by Mark Scherer, Community of Christ historian, which is scheduled for publication in the next year or so. Since Mark was quoted in *Newsweek* in 2005 as saying that some of Joseph Smith's plural marriages could be described as "clergy abuse," I think it is safe to say that readers are not expecting a rerun of this year's seminary manual. But the timing raises a question. Are these history principles meant to prepare the ground for a much more professional examination of Community of Christ history?

Andrew Bolton will provide his personal insights into the creation of the history principles and also their content. To the extent that it's appropriate, I've asked him to share with us the origins and implementation of these nine principles in the Community of Christ with particular attention to the questions: What problems are these principles supposed to solve? How is this approach working so far? And what might be some unintended consequences?

Second, Gary Bergera, from the Mormon perspective, will deal with parallel questions: If there were a LDS set of history principles, what would they say, and what problems are they supposed to solve? What would be the advantages and disadvantages of such a set of principles?

The LDS Church has no formally defined history principles, but it does have fairly clear positions enunciated by officials on various levels toward various historical events and attitudes. One of them is "Approaching Mormon History," a statement made in July 2007 in re-

sponse to Helen Whitney's two-hour *The Mormons*, shown on PBS in early April. The unsigned statement, which was posted on the LDS Church's website, must be considered authoritative even though it occupies that gray area between personal opinion (it quotes Church Historian Marlin K. Jensen, Apostle Jeffrey R. Holland, and Church President Gordon B. Hinckley) and canonized doctrine.¹ (See Appendix to this article.)

As another example, President Gordon B. Hinckley in April 2003 conference announced: "Each of us has to face the matter: either the Church is true, or it is a fraud. There is no middle ground. It is the Church and kingdom of God, or it is nothing."² Later that same year, President Hinckley stressed Joseph Smith's status: "It is because of him, and his singular and remarkable experience' with a vision of God the Father and Jesus Christ that we know the Savior as we do."³

These statements are not only claims about the Church's current status but also strong statements about the Church's history. At a BYU symposium on the transitional period in Church history between 1890 and 1920, the keynote speaker was Alexander B. Morris, an emeritus member of the First Quorum of the Seventy. In his introductory remarks, he stated:

I must state several caveats. First, the comments and conclusions made herein are my own. I do not speak on assignment from the Brethren. The contents of this paper do not represent the official view of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints nor of its most

¹Canonization would require a general conference vote. Considered only slightly less authoritative but not canonized would be a statement by the First Presidency or by the Joint Council of the First Presidency and the Council of the Twelve, an official Church proclamation, or publication in the *Church Handbook of Instructions*, and/or in Church curricular materials. In the latter cases, it would have passed official review by the Correlation Committee.

²Gordon B. Hinckley, "Loyalty," April 2003 General Conference Address, http://www.lds.org/ldsorg/v/index.jsp?hideNav=1&locale=0&sourceId=917eee9ba42fe010VgnVCM100000176f620a____&vgnnextoid=f318118dd536c010VgnVCM1000004d82620aRCRD# (accessed June 10, 2009). Also quoted in "Approaching Mormon History."

³Gordon B. Hinckley, quoted in Carrie A. Moore, "Christmas Spirit Celebrated," *Deseret Morning News*, December 8, 2003, print-out in my possession.

senior leaders, the First Presidency and Quorum of the Twelve. Faults, errors, and omissions are mine alone, and I take full and sole responsibility for them.

Second, let us never forget that the future of the Church . . . does not lie in the hands of mortal men, either good or bad. . . . It is Christ's Church, and we can safely leave its future in his care and keeping. . . . This Church will not fail. The power and authority of God will never again be taken from the earth. The Church will grow according to God's will and divine timetable over the ensuing years.⁴

This statement frames the historical material in particular ways. His first caveat—that he is not speaking officially—makes it clear that there are those who can and do speak officially, but they are not historians. They are the First Presidency and the Twelve. His second caveat, that the Church's future lies in Christ's "care and keeping," implies that ultimately, the answers to all questions of causation are divine, not human, social, political, or economic. Furthermore, included in his second caveat is the triumphalist assertion that "this Church will not fail." However he defines "Church" and "fail," what are the implications of this statement for episodes that certainly did not survive, let alone thrive? Nineteenth-century events quickly come to mind such as the Kirtland Anti-Banking Safety Society, the various attempts to colonize Missouri, polygamy, and the Mountain Meadows Massacre—and the twentieth century presents another broad range of similar projects.

I've leaned on this second point to stress—almost certainly unnecessarily—that, even in the absence of formal statements of history principles, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints can certainly present some official assumptions and attitudes about doing Mormon history that make a dialogue with the Community of Christ about the framing of its own historical enterprise an interesting, insightful, and possibly even inspirational activity.

In contrast, Community of Christ President Stephen Veazey returned to the history theme in his April 2009 address to the Church and described the history principles as created to bring perspective to the relationship between history and matters of faith:

⁴Alexander B. Morrison, "The Twenty-First Century: Challenge and Opportunity," in *Times of Transition: Proceedings of the 2000 Symposium of the Joseph Fielding Smith Institute for Latter-day Saints History at Brigham Young University*, edited by Thomas G. Alexander (Provo, Utah: Joseph Fielding Smith Institute for Latter-day Saint History, 2003), 1.

While affirming the essential role of historical study, the principles state that history does not have the final word on matters of faith and unfolding direction in the church today. The history principles provide the guidelines needed to treasure our history, but not be totally defined by it.

Let me give you an example. Despite how our story often is told, we no longer can claim that we were just the innocent victims of violence during the church's early years. While our forbearers [sic] were certainly the targets of persecution on various occasions, more than once they provoked and initiated violence because of judgmental attitudes toward others. In the pressure-filled years of the early church, violence and militancy overtook Christ's message of reconciliation, forgiveness, and peace.

To move ahead with integrity in our emphasis on sharing the peace of Jesus Christ, we must repent of and learn from the violent episodes in church history. Only through honest examination, including identifying any remaining signs of these tendencies, can we continue on the restoring path of peace, reconciliation, and healing of the spirit to which God calls us.

We can take these steps because we know that our history does not have to be without blemish to reveal the hand of God working in the movement.⁵

I submit to you that both the content and especially the attitude toward history of President Veazey and Elder Morrison represent striking differences—differences worth discussing.

HISTORY IN THE COMMUNITY OF CHRIST: A PERSONAL VIEW

Andrew Bolton

THERE HAS BEEN A TENSION between historians and Church leaders from the beginning of the early Latter Day Saint movement. John Whitmer was called by revelation to the task of history-writing in 1831 and expelled from the Church in 1838 for not letting the

⁵http://www.cofchrist.org/presidency/sermons/_040509Veazey.asp (accessed August 12, 2009).

Prophet Joseph Smith Jr. correct his history.¹

The Community of Christ history association, by calling itself the John Whitmer Historical Association (JWHA) has, I think, taken sides in the tensions between the historian and the institution. JWHA takes the side of the historian and the right of the historian to not be intimidated by institutional leaders and to go where the research leads.

Now I need to be clear that many members of Community of Christ would much prefer nice history filled with Christian heroes and happy endings. For many of the Reorganization's 150 years, we preferred to write inspiring, sanitized history. Samuel A. Burgess, official RLDS Church historian of many years ago, argued: History should not be "a record of man's failings."² However, this steady diet of "nice" history changed with the New Mormon History movement. Bill Russell, a former president of both the Mormon History Association and the John Whitmer Historical Association, argues that this critical history approach was launched by Fawn Brodie (*No Man Knows My History*, 1945) and Juanita Brooks (*The Mountain Meadows Massacre*, 1950).³

Certainly a part of the New Mormon History Movement was Robert Bruce Flanders's *Nauvoo: Kingdom on the Mississippi* (1965). RLDS officials at the time took no action against Flanders—in fact, just politely ignored his book.⁴ But some RLDS members were so upset by Flanders's critical account of Joseph Smith Jr. and Nauvoo that they vented their hostility at him personally, making him feel so unwelcome that he withdrew from participation in the Church. So it is not always easy to write honest history in Community of Christ, but at least the RLDS leadership for the last fifty years have been sufficiently open to it that they refrained from excommunicating its practitioners as happened to Fawn Brodie and as Juanita Brooks was threatened.

Grant McMurray, prophet/president from 1996 to 2004, had

¹Grant McMurray, "As Historians and Not as Partisans': The Writing of Official History in the RLDS Church," *John Whitmer Historical Association* 6 (1986): 43.

²Quoted in *ibid.*, 49.

³William D. Russell, personal conversation, August 2009; Robert B. Flanders expressed the same opinion in a conversation with me October 10, 2010.

⁴Russell, conversation. Flanders, however, commented to me that he was not allowed to do research in the RLDS Library-Archives and that the LDS Church History Archives in Salt Lake City were also closed to him.

previously served in the Church History Department and had enthusiastically embraced the New Mormon History approach. In 1986 he wrote a very good article published in the *John Whitmer Historical Association Journal*, “‘As Historians and Not As Partisans’: The Writing of Official History in the RLDS Church.”⁵ Also, perhaps as a non-Smith president, he did not feel he had to defend the family.

To understand the greater freedom in the Community of Christ in terms of history it is important to grasp that we are a dissenters’ tradition. We insist on thinking for ourselves. We identify with William Law and Emma Smith in openly opposing polygamy in Nauvoo in 1843–44. Most Community of Christ members support an anti-authoritarian tradition, while we see an acceptance of authoritarianism as more typical of the LDS Church. It is not possible to be excommunicated from the Community of Christ for heresy, although it is very possible to receive this Church discipline for unchristian conduct. You might be silenced as a priesthood member if your preaching and teaching is too far off, but you still cannot be expelled from the Church for it. So if you cannot be kicked out for heresy, it is even less likely for you to be kicked out for your views on history—even very unpopular views.

Nevertheless, Church historians before Richard Howard (1966–94) sought to write the best about the movement, to foster faith, and to inspire the members. The official line was that Joseph Smith Jr. was not the author of Nauvoo polygamy. The task of these earlier historians has been producing faithful history. Richard Howard was different. He was professionally trained as a historian, was part of the New Mormon History movement, and was more rigorous than his predecessors, although he sought to be pastoral as well. Still he had about a dozen eggs thrown at his home by upset Church members. An elder physically threatened his teenage sons and told them that neither they individually nor their family belonged in the congregation.⁵

Richard Howard was not always supported by Church leaders either. For instance, the First Presidency asked him to write a pastorally sensitive article on Joseph Smith and the issue of polygamy’s Nauvoo origins. When he had completed it in 1982, Church leaders discussed it, and then a member of the First Presidency worked on editorial changes to further, as I understand the situation, soften and water down what Howard had written. When published in 1983, the article

⁵I am paraphrasing, almost certainly with less tact, Richard Howard, email #2 to Andrew Bolton, Wednesday, June 6, 2009.

still caused a public furor. The First Presidency's press release in response incorrectly suggested that they had not known anything about the article even though they had spent two months involved in its editing. Howard could say nothing to correct this impression because a member of the First Presidency had imposed a gag order on him.⁶

The present Church historian, Dr. Mark Scherer, is even bolder than Richard Howard. He is presently working on a three-volume history of the Community of Christ. The first volume is due out in the next year or two and is called *Journey of a People: The Era of Restoration, 1820 to 1844*.⁷ This will be a critical account that will disturb many of the faithful. Many of the criticisms that Scherer will make have been out in the open for years but, for the most part, in scholarly journals and books. However, what is different on this occasion is that Scherer is writing a critical account as Church historian and his book will wound more deeply some of the faithful who have known only the traditional apologetic.

In October 2008 President Stephen M. Veazey introduced nine "Church History Principles" through the *Herald*, the Church's magazine. It was intended to set the agenda for a discussion about Church history when Scherer's historical account eventually comes out.⁸ There is no doubt that Scherer's scholarly work will cause a stir and upset many. Some will probably leave the Church because of it.

President Veazey, in order to encourage a more helpful discussion on critical history, commented again on the nine "Church History Principles" in his address, "A Defining Moment" on April 5, 2009. This address was broadcast to the whole Church through the

⁶Richard Howard, email #1 to Andrew Bolton, Wednesday, June 6, 2009.

⁷Since this paper was first given in August 2009, the publication date for the first volume has been delayed; and as of May 2010, the First Presidency had not made a final decision. It may now be published with the second volume, *Journey of a People: The Era of Reorganization, 1844–1946*, as a balance. The Reorganization in many ways successfully tackled some of the major issues of especially the Nauvoo era; and it may help Community of Christ readers to understand that, if Joseph Smith Jr. made a mess of things, his son Joseph III and the Reorganization did much to redeem the movement.

⁸Stephen M. Veazey, "Perspectives on Church History," *Herald*, October 2008, 10–12.

internet and was also published in the *Herald*. In the address, Veazey took issue with the common attitude that we were just innocent victims persecuted by hostile neighbors in our early days. He pointed out that if we are to be serious about sharing the peace of Jesus Christ “we must repent of and learn from the violent episodes in church history” for the early Latter Day Saints “provoked and initiated violence because of judgmental attitudes towards others.”⁹

In a follow-up interview, President Veazey said that the “vast majority of church historians have persuasively concluded that Joseph Smith Jr. was involved prominently in the doctrine and practice of celestial or plural marriage.”¹⁰ Given that the traditional apologetic in the Reorganization was that Smith had nothing to do with polygamy, for the president of the Church to say these things will again cause pain for a number of the faithful.

So why go for honest history if it causes so much pain?

We must go for honest history first of all because of the gospel. The good news of God’s grace is for sinners, for weak and frail humans like King David, Peter, Saul, Joseph Jr., and you and me. As Stephen Veazey argues: “Our history does not have to be without blemish to reveal the hand of God working in the movement. . . . God’s grace is revealed most clearly by its working in and through humanity, especially human weakness and sin.”¹¹ To hide sin, to sanitize history, is to lose faith in the gospel and its power to redeem and save. There is, therefore, a gospel imperative for writing honest history.

Second, if we are to be serious about our mission to pursue peace, then the issue becomes one of integrity. Rabbi Simon, son of Gamaliel, in commenting in the Talmud on Zechariah 8:13, said that “the duration of the world depends on three things, justice, truth, and peace.”¹² We cannot be serious about peace if we are not serious about truth and justice. Otherwise our history becomes a communal, tribal history and is in the same darkness as Catholic and Protestant histories in Northern Ireland or Israeli and Palestinian histories in

⁹Stephen M. Veazey, “A Defining Moment,” *Herald*, May 2009, 15.

¹⁰Stephen M. Veazey, interviewed by Apostle Linda L. Booth, “Facing Our Challenges,” *Herald*, June 2009, 10.

¹¹Veazey, “A Defining Moment,” 15.

¹²Rabbi Simon, son of Gamaliel from the Mishnah, Aboth 1:15 quoted in Robert E. Van Voorst, *Anthology of World Scriptures* (Belmont, Calif., Wadsworth, 1994), 253.

the contested land of Israel/Palestine. We need to write our own history as critically and as honestly as we can. If we can face the darkness in our past, then we might be able to face the darkness in ourselves and find that God's grace is still sufficient for us.

Now for the nine principles themselves. After they were first published in the *Herald* in October 2008 by Stephen M. Veazey writing for the First Presidency, they were added to the "We Share . . ." document that pulls together foundational declarations like the Church's mission statement, the new "Enduring Principles" document, and the "Basic Beliefs" statement among others.¹³ The "We Share . . ." document is about defining the identity, mission, and message of Community of Christ. To add the nine "Church History Principles" is to say that part of the identity of Community of Christ is to embrace honest history. This is of some significance.

I offer here brief commentary on each of the nine principles.

"1. Continuing exploration of our history is part of identity formation. As a church we seek always to clarify our identity, message, and mission. In our faith story, we see clearly God's Spirit giving this faith community tools, insights, and experiences for divine purposes. A people with a shared memory of their past, and an informed understanding of its meaning, are better prepared to chart their way into the future."

Renewal comes to religious movements by going back to the original inspiration, the movement of God's Spirit. Restorationism is that of going back to Jesus and the early Christians. The best in our story can inspire us. The worst in our story can warn us. We are sinners then and now for whom grace is available.

"2. History informs but does not dictate our faith and beliefs. The foundation and continuing source for our faith is God's revelation in Jesus Christ. Studying history is not about proving or disproving mystical, spiritual, or revelatory experiences that birth or transform religious movements. Sound history informs faith, and healthy faith leads to insights about history. Theology and faith, guided by the Holy Spirit, must play an important role in discovering the enduring meaning of such events as well as the deeper truths found in them. Our understanding of our history affects our faith and beliefs. However, our past does not limit our faith and beliefs to what they were historically."

¹³The mission statement, "Enduring Principles," and "Basic Beliefs" are readily available at the "Our Faith" link. Also on that link under "History," among other resources, are the "History Principles."

This principle is really important. The revelation of God in Christ is not new as a central concept. Joseph, on his knees as a fourteen- or fifteen-year-old boy, was told in his first vision of Jesus to “Hear Him!” “Our history is not our theology” is heard many times in Community of Christ. The gospel, the good news of Christ, and the at-hand kingdom of God is what informs our discipleship and shapes us for service, witness, and mission. Honest history tells us how well we have done in being faithful to the call of Jesus, to the cause of Zion.

“3. The church encourages honest, responsible historical scholarship. Studying history involves related fields. Historians use academic research to get as many facts as they can; then, they interpret those facts to construct as clear a picture as possible of what was going on in the past. This includes analyzing human culture to see how it affected events. Historians try to understand patterns of meaning to interpret what the past means for our future. This process should avoid ‘presentism,’ or interpreting the past based on a current worldview and culture instead of the culture of the time.”

The integrity of historical scholarship is important and should be respected.

“4. The study of church history is a continuing journey. If we say that a book on history is the only true telling of the story, we risk ‘canonizing’ one version, a tendency we have shown in the past. This blocks further insights from continuing research. Good historical inquiry understands that conclusions are open to correction as new understanding and information comes from ongoing study.”

We sing a hymn that includes the chorus, “God has yet more light and truth / To break forth from his word.”¹⁴ So it is also with scholarship. There are always new insights, new theory, new documents, and new appraisals of well-known documents. To canonize one version of history at any one particular time is to create trouble for later generations and becomes a big integrity issue.

“5. Seeing both the faithfulness and human flaws in our history makes it more believable and realistic, not less. Our history has stories of great faith and courage that inspire us. Our history also includes human leaders who said and did things that can be shocking to us from our current perspective and culture. Historians try not to judge—instead, they try to understand by learning as much as possible

¹⁴George Rawson (1807–1889) “We Limit Not the Truth of God,” *Hymns of the Saints* (Independence: Herald House, 1981), no. 309.

about the context and the meaning of those words and actions at the time. The result is empathy instead of judgment. Our scriptures are consistent in pointing out that God, through grace, uses imperfect people for needed ministry and leadership.”

There are no heroes in the Bible except Jesus. All fail: Moses, Peter, Paul. So why do we hesitate to believe that the pioneers of the Restoration faith might be both inspiring and also fallen sinners? Sin is in all of us. To protect the eyes of the faithful from seeing the sin of Joseph Smith Jr. is a false anthropology. It is a betrayal of the gospel of grace and the power of repentance and confession. To be self-critical of our past helps us learn from the past to prevent us from repeating the same mistakes.

“6. The responsible study of church history involves learning, repentance, and transformation. A church with a mission focused on promoting communities of reconciliation, justice, and peace should be self-critical and honest about its history. It is important for us to confess when we have been less than what the gospel of Jesus Christ calls us to be. This honesty prompts us to repent, and it strengthens our integrity. Admitting past mistakes helps us avoid repeating them and frees us from the influences of past injustices and violence in our history. We must be humble and willing to repent, individually and as a community, to contribute as fully as possible to restoring God’s shalom on earth.”

I touched on this principle in commenting on Principle 5. Knowing the truth sets us free, said Jesus (John 8:32).

“7. The church has a long-standing tradition that it does not legislate or mandate positions on matters of church history. Historians should be free to draw their own conclusions after thorough consideration of evidence. Through careful study and the Holy Spirit’s guidance, the church is learning how to accept and responsibly interpret all of its history. This includes putting new information and changing understandings into proper perspective, while emphasizing the parts of our history that continue to play a role in guiding the church’s identity and mission today.”

This position is very wise. It has been our standard answer on the polygamy question for many years. Dealing with the polygamy question is going to be difficult enough, but imagine if the church had mandated an official position that Joseph Smith Jr. was not the author of polygamy and then all this research comes out that says actually he was.

“8. We need to create a respectful culture of dialogue about matters of history. We should not limit our faith story to one perspective. Diverse viewpoints bring richness to our understanding of God’s movement in our sacred story. Of course, historians will come to different conclusions as they study. Therefore, it is important for us to create and maintain a respectful culture that allows different points of view on history. Our conversation about history should be polite and focused on trying to understand others’ views. Most important, we should remain focused on what matters most for the message and mission of the church in this time.”

Here President Veazey is setting the ground rules for the debate about Church history so that we stay together after it and have not damaged each other too much.

“9. Our faith is grounded in God’s revelation in Jesus Christ and the continuing guidance of the Holy Spirit. We must keep our hearts and minds centered on God’s revelation in Jesus Christ. As God’s Word alive in human history, Jesus Christ was and is the foundation of our faith and the focus of the church’s mission and message.”

Our faith is in Jesus and the living guiding presence of the Holy Spirit. History is about our past. It becomes idolatrous if it is painted to look too pretty and if we worship an image of reality. Such a danger can lead to the further danger of worshipping Joseph Smith Jr. He is not our saviour.

In conclusion, it should be clear that I recognize the need for honest, detailed history, including rigorous analysis of the documentary evidence and carefully drawn conclusions. However, the logos of rational, honest history is not enough. We still need myth, story that inspires faith. On needing both *mythos* and *logos*, Karen Armstrong has written eloquently. The two should not be confused or conflated.¹⁵ We need both wheels, *logos* and *mythos*, on our bicycle as we journey into the future as a movement.

We thus still need to write a compelling story of the Community of Christ and its mission. We still need myth, a story that gives the vision and purpose of the movement and includes a theological account in narrative form that helps people hear the call of the kingdom. The old myth of the Community of Christ is no longer plausible for many people, even though for some conservatives it is still power-

¹⁵Karen Armstrong, *The Battle for God: A History of Fundamentalism* (New York: Ballantine Books, 2001), xvi–xvii.

ful. The new myth must contain elements of the old.

But we need a new myth that is post-New Mormon History and that takes the scholarship it has produced into account. We need a new responsible myth, one that is plausible today, one that can help people find meaning and purpose in the call of Jesus and the quest for Zion. It should be honest about human mistakes and weaknesses. Instead of being a story covering about two hundred years, it should be set in the context of the biblical story and the two thousand years of the Christian tradition. The failure of the first disciples is clear in the gospels, the humanity of the first Christians is clear in Acts, and there are many fallible men and women in Christian history, including popes as well as reformers like Martin Luther and John Calvin. A faith-promotional story, a version of salvation history, if written responsibly, is complemented by honest history. Myth describes in story form the vision and call that answers deep human needs for meaning and purpose. It is about the future—what could be when humans are faithful and repentant. It sees the loving presence of God in human lives and in the affairs of history. Honest history is about the past and is about honest evaluation of our performance in response to the call. Both are needed.

LDS HISTORY PRINCIPLES: PUBLIC THEORY, PRIVATE PRACTICE

Gary James Bergera

I knew a so-called intellectual who said the Church was trapped by its history [of the First Vision]. My response was that without that history we have nothing. The truth of that unique, singular, and remarkable event is the pivotal substance of our faith. —LDS Church President Gordon B. Hinckley¹

I HAVE BEEN TASKED with briefly addressing two ostensibly related

¹Gordon B. Hinckley, "The Marvelous Foundation of Our Faith," General Conference Address, October 2002, <http://lds.org/conference/talk/display/0,5232,23-1-315-24,00.html> (accessed August 30, 2009). For a recent reiteration of this view, see "Approaching Mormon History," LDS

topics: the first is what “official” position, if any, the LDS Church has adopted regarding the writing of Church history, specifically scholarly Church history, including what kinds of history it supports or may support. The second deals with the practical issues of writing and publishing scholarly LDS Church history. It is thought that my past working associations with *BYU Studies*, *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*, Signature Books, and now the Smith-Pettit Foundation may qualify me to hazard some tentative observations regarding the experience of “riding herd” in the Mormon history community.

The LDS Church, as far as I know, has never attempted to articulate an officially authoritative position on the writing of history. There are, of course, individual sentiments. I call particular attention to three. The first is Counselor in the First Presidency J. Reuben Clark’s 1938 “The Chartered Course of the Church in Education,” in which he stated:

For any Latter-day Saint psychologist, chemist, physicist, geologist, archeologist, or any other scientist to explain away, or misinterpret, or evade or elude, or most of all, to repudiate or to deny, the great fundamental doctrines of the Church in which he professes to believe, is to give the lie to his intellect, to lose his self-respect, to bring sorrow to his friends, to break the hearts and bring shame to his parents, to besmirch the Church and its members, and to forfeit the respect and honor of those whom he has sought, by his course, to win as friends and helpers.²

The second is Apostle Ezra Taft Benson’s 1976 “The Gospel Teacher and His Message”:

When a teacher feels he must blend worldly sophistication and erudition to the simple principles of the gospel or to our Church history so that his message will have more appeal and respectability to the academically learned, he has compromised his message. . . . [L]et

Newsroom, July 5, 2007, <http://newsroom.lds.org/ldsnewsroom/eng/commentary/approaching-mormon-history> (accessed June 12, 2010). See Appendix.

²J. Reuben Clark Jr., “The Chartered Course of the Church in Education,” in *Messages of the First Presidency of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1833–1964*, edited by James R. Clark, 6 vols. (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1965–75), 6:44–58; quotations on 51, 53.

us not forget that disaffection from the gospel and the Lord's church was brought about in the past by the attempts to reconcile the pure gospel with the secular philosophies of men. . . . We would hope that if you feel you must write for the scholarly journals, you always defend the faith. Avoid expressions and terminology which offend the Brethren and Church members.²³

Third is Apostle Boyd K. Packer's 1981 address to Church Education System personnel at Brigham Young University, "The Mantle Is Far, Far Greater than the Intellect":

The writer or the teacher who has an exaggerated loyalty to the theory that everything must be told is laying a foundation for his own judgment. He should not complain if one day he himself receives as he has given. Perhaps that is what is contemplated in having one's sins preached from the housetops. . . . Those of you who are employed by the Church have a special responsibility to build faith, not destroy it. If you do not do that, but in fact accommodate the enemy, who is the destroyer of faith, you become in that sense a traitor to the cause you have made covenants to protect.²⁴

Such individual statements typically tend not to rise to the level of official Church policy, by which I mean policy that is written, signed, and/or explicitly authorized by the First Presidency of the Church.

Thus, in attempting to offer any kind of guess as to what the LDS Church's official position regarding the writing of scholarly history might be, one is forced to look for hints in and to tease them from official statements addressing other concerns. Invariably, these hints are embedded in such intellectually themed topics as "Education," "Intellectualism," "Science," and "Truth." Drawing upon these kinds of official statements,⁵ it is clear that the Church's commitment to the quest for truth, all truth, including historical truth, is unequivocal, though not without some important caveats. For example, in 1910, the First Presi-

³Ezra Taft Benson, "The Gospel Teacher and His Message," address to Church Education System religious educators, September 17, 1976, 8, 11.

⁴Boyd K. Packer, "The Mantle Is Far, Far Greater than the Intellect," *BYU Studies* 21 (Summer 1981): 259–78; quotations from 264, 269.

⁵For a compilation of these and other kinds of official statements, see Gary James Bergera, ed., *Statements of the LDS First Presidency: A Topical Compendium* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2007).

dency stressed: "Our religion is not hostile to real science."⁶ Thirty-five years later, the First Presidency then serving insisted that "the Lord has never withheld from our quest any field of truth. Our knowledge is to be coterminous with the universe and is to reach out and to comprehend the laws and the workings of the deeps of the eternities. All domains of all knowledge belong to us."⁷ In the late 1960s, the First Presidency continued to emphasize: "All truth, whether it pertains to the universe, to this earth, or to the individual and his environment, is a part of the gospel of Jesus Christ."⁸ In a 1986 "First Presidency Message," Gordon B. Hinckley, then a counselor to LDS Church president Ezra Taft Benson, added: "Fundamental to our theology is belief in individual freedom of inquiry, thought, and expression. Constructive discussion is a privilege of every Latter-day Saint."⁹ More than a decade later when Hinckley was Church president, one of his counselors, James E. Faust, echoed in another "First Presidency Message": "People in the Church are encouraged by their leaders to think and find out for themselves. They are encouraged to ponder, to search, to evaluate, and thereby to come to such knowledge of the truth as their own consciences, assisted by the Spirit of God, lead them to discover."¹⁰

Yet as far as the Church is officially concerned, the unfettered search for truth seems to have its limits. In the 1910 First Presidency statement previously quoted, the Presidency was quick to add the following note of caution: "Vain philosophy, human theory, and mere speculations of men, we do not accept nor do we adopt anything contrary to divine revelation or to good common sense."¹¹ Thirty-six years later, the First Presidency, then consisting of George Albert Smith, J. Reuben Clark, and David O. McKay, was equally wary: "The

⁶Quoted in *ibid.*, 399. Serving in the First Presidency in 1910 were Joseph F. Smith, Anthon H. Lund, and John Henry Smith.

⁷J. Reuben Clark, quoted in "Charge to President Howard S. McDonald," November 14, 1945, in Clark, *Messages of the First Presidency*, 6:228–38. The First Presidency then consisted of George Albert Smith, J. Reuben Clark, and David O. McKay.

⁸First Presidency [David O. McKay, Hugh B. Brown, and N. Eldon Tanner], quoted in Bergera, *Statements of the LDS First Presidency*, 250.

⁹Gordon B. Hinckley, "Keep the Faith," *Ensign*, September 1985, 5.

¹⁰James E. Faust, "The Truth Shall Make Your Free," *Ensign*, September 1998, 4.

¹¹Quoted in Bergera, *Statements of the LDS First Presidency*, 399.

accomplishments of science seem to be limitless. In many ways, it has made life more comfortable and beautiful, but it has also made life hideous. Though it brings into our homes the music of the spheres, at the same time it slays defenseless women and children indiscriminately. Manifestly, it cannot save mankind from wars, but it can annihilate the human race. The promise of science for human benefits, and particularly as an assurance of peace, is now questioned.”¹² By the early 1980s, Church President Spencer W. Kimball explained in a “First Presidency Message”: “We must remember that neither God nor His gospel can be found and understood through research alone. The skeptic will some day learn to his sorrow that his egotism robbed him of much joy and growth. The things of God—and often the things of His earth—cannot be understood by the spirit of man, but are understood only through the Spirit of God.”¹³

As seems clear from President Kimball’s statement, the search for truth—including, presumably, for truth in history—ideally includes an explicit recognition of God’s hand in some form in that history. In 1986 in another “First Presidency Message,” Counselor Gordon B. Hinckley expanded: “The humanists who criticize the Lord’s work, the so-called intellectualists who demean, speak only from ignorance of spiritual manifestation. They have not heard the voice of the Spirit. They have not heard it because they have not sought after it and prepared themselves to be worthy of it. Then, supposing that knowledge comes only of reasoning and of the workings of the mind, they deny that which comes by the power of the Holy Ghost.”¹⁴ Not quite twenty years later, by-this-time President Hinckley identified what we are probably safe in assuming are the four essential foundational faith claims of the LDS Church, claims that some may believe are inextricably tied to history: “(1) the reality and the divinity of the Lord Jesus Christ as the Son of God; (2) the sublime vision given the Prophet Joseph Smith of the Father and the Son, ushering in the dispensation of the fullness of times; (3) the Book of Mormon as the word of God speaking in declaration of the divinity of the Savior; and (4) the priesthood of God divinely conferred to be exercised in righteous-

¹²Quoted in *ibid.*, 398.

¹³Spencer W. Kimball, “Seek Learning, Even by Study and Also by Faith,” *Ensign*, September 1983, 6.

¹⁴Gordon B. Hinckley, “The Continuing Pursuit of Truth,” *Ensign*, April 1986, 6.

ness for the blessing of our Father's children."¹⁵

While the First Presidency would probably apply its recommendations to the writing of all history, they usually make a special point of addressing that kind of history produced by the Church's own paid educators, including seminary teachers, institute teachers, and teachers employed by the Church's colleges and universities. "The Church schools must," the Presidency stated in 1945, "it is true, give instruction in secular fields of learning, but this instruction should be given in such manner and in such terms as will strengthen and build up the spiritual knowledge and experience of the students. . . . Indeed, the spiritual element, as revealed in the restored gospel, should dominate all else in the Church school system."¹⁶ More than thirty years later, President Kimball, in another "First Presidency Message," specifically referenced Brigham Young University, which, he said, "has no justification for its existence unless it builds character, creates and develops faith, and makes men and women . . . who will become stalwarts in the kingdom and bear witness of the restoration and the divinity of the gospel of Jesus Christ. . . . This institution has been established by a prophet of God for a very specific purpose: to combine spiritual and moral values with secular education."¹⁷

The Church has since explicitly "warned" against any "presentations" that may "(1) disparage, ridicule, make light of, or are otherwise inappropriate in their treatment of sacred matters or (2) could injure the Church, detract from its mission, or jeopardize its members' well-being."¹⁸ As James E. Faust, a counselor to President Hinckley, added in a 2000 "First Presidency Message": "Those who express private doubts or unbelief as a public chastisement of the leadership or the

¹⁵Gordon B. Hinckley, "Four Cornerstones of Faith," *Ensign*, February 2004, 7.

¹⁶First Presidency (Heber J. Grant, J. Reuben Clark, and David O. McKay), Letter to Executive Committee, Church Board of Education, February 21, 1945, in Clark, *Messages of the First Presidency*, 6:220–23. Members of BYU's Board of Trustees in 1945 were Adam S. Bennion, Albert E. Bowen, Charles A. Callis, J. Reuben Clark, Frank Evans, David O. McKay, Joseph F. Merrill, Stephen L. Richards, Franklin L. West, and John A. Widtsoe.

¹⁷Spencer W. Kimball, "On My Honor," *Ensign*, April 1979, 5.

¹⁸*Church Handbook of Instructions: Book 1, Stake Presidencies and Bishoprics*, 2006 (Salt Lake City Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 2006), 181.

doctrine of the Church or as a confrontation with those also seeking eternal light have entered upon sacred ground . . . [and] risk separating themselves from the divine source of learning.”¹⁹ In fact, the official *Church Handbook of Instructions*, defines “apostasy,” which may be an excommunicable offense, as “repeatedly act[ing] in clear, open, and deliberate public opposition to the Church or its leaders” and/or in “persist[ing] in teaching as Church doctrine information that is not Church doctrine after they have been corrected by their bishops or higher authority.”²⁰ This *Handbook*, which carries the First Presidency’s imprimatur, is used by the Church’s local and regional officials as perhaps their primary guide in administering the Church’s ecclesiastical affairs, including the disciplining of its members.

In 1946, the First Presidency informed one interested writer: “[W]hile we do not expect people to come here to make studies and to write their accounts to be propagandists for us nor to violate their own convictions in order to be kind in their statements concerning us, we think we have a right to expect that they should be fair and honest and not distort the truth in order to provide sensation and thus increase the saleability of their product.”²¹ The Church’s support of scholarly history that is “fair,” “honest,” and does “not distort the truth” should be reassuring and laudatory. Yet that very same year, local Church authorities excommunicated biographer Fawn M. Brodie for publishing a book that “den[ies] the divine origin of the Book of Mormon, [and] the restoration of the Priesthood and of Christ’s Church through the instrumentality of the Prophet Joseph Smith, contrary to the beliefs, doctrines, and teachings of the Church.”²² Other more recent scholars whose works have been condemned by Church authorities—most often by individual leaders over the pulpit—and who in some cases have

¹⁹James E. Faust, “Finding the Abundant Life,” *Ensign*, July 2000, 2.

²⁰*Church Handbook of Instructions, Book 1*, 2006. 110.

²¹George Albert Smith, J. Reuben Clark, and David O. McKay, Letter to Joseph H. Weston, April 19, 1946, in Clark, *Messages of the First Presidency*, 6:251–52. Weston (1911–83), a professional journalist, was working on a book about the LDS Church and had applied to the First Presidency for access to Church documents. The First Presidency’s letter appeared in the introduction to his published work *Those Amazing Mormons* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1948). He joined the LDS Church within days after finishing his book.

²²Newell G. Bringhurst, ed., *Reconsidering No Man Knows My His-*

themselves been disciplined or chastised by local officials, include, among others, Heber C. Snell, Sterling M. McMurrin, Juanita Brooks, Duane E. Jeffrey, James B. Allen and Glen M. Leonard, Linda King Newell and Valeen Tippetts Avery, D. Michael Quinn, Lavina Fielding Anderson, Maxine Hanks, Paul and Margaret Toscano, Janice Merrill Allred, David P. Wright, David C. Knowlton, Brent Lee Metcalfe, Thomas W. Murphy, and Grant Palmer. Thus, what some scholars view as being fair, honest, and not distorting of the truth, some Church officials have viewed as evidence of apostasy.

The Church has never explicitly identified the particular topics or approaches in the production of scholarly history that it might object to and even condemn. Today, such determinations seem largely to be left up to the Strengthening Church Members Committee and its advisors, interested individual General Authorities who may choose to voice their concerns publicly or in-house through the Church's bureaucracy, and ward- and stake-level leadership who may feel moved (or directed) to interpret and act upon such "advice." Thus, it is typically only after the fact that one may be able to hazard a guess as to what those "problematical" areas/approaches might be. Even so, from the Church-related experiences of past scholars, as well as the published statements of President Hinckley and other high-ranking Church authorities, one might speculate that Church members who in their publications question in any way what might conceivably be read to undermine belief in the existence of God and Jesus as His Son, the historical reality of the First Vision, the restoration of the Aaronic and Melchizedek priesthoods to Joseph Smith, and the "truthfulness" of the Book of Mormon and Joseph Smith's other revelations might—and one must stress "might"—find themselves facing official Church condemnation, or even formal discipline of some sort. Thus, there seem to be limits to the Church's support of the quest for the truth—the extent of that support turning as much as anything on how one views that "truth." The question that those interested in the production of scholarly Mormon history must face is the extent to which such limits influence the way such history is produced and consumed. Given the Church's studied reluctance to state an official position, attempts to resolve this question will no doubt continue.

Regarding the second of the two topics I have been asked to ad-

dress, my doing so presupposes that I agree, first, with the viewing of attempts to join faith and scholarship as necessarily giving rise to the kinds of challenges and controversies under discussion; and, second, with the characterizing of my own past and present involvement in the Mormon intellectual and historical communities as involving me—directly or otherwise—in those challenges and controversies. On the one hand, I realize that my personal history and intellectual interests may seem to place me somewhere in the midst of recent debates regarding the roles of intellectual inquiry and religious apologetics. On the other hand, I worry that agreeing with that particular characterization of such debates within the Mormon community serves not only to validate the shared meaning of these kinds of controversies but also—and more important from my point of view—the criticisms (which range from the constructive to the nasty) of the various parties involved in them. In other words, to what extent am I actually contributing to, if not in fact seemingly validating, the very unconstructive discourse I would like to avoid?

Perhaps, then, a brief inventory of my own beliefs—my own set of “principles”—may be helpful in explaining how, after more than thirty years, I now approach the so-called challenges of scholarly Mormon history:

I believe that Davis Bitton, former Assistant LDS Church Historian, was correct when he observed that one cannot have a “testimony” of the *history* of the LDS Church. For Bitton, one may only properly have a “testimony” of the gospel of Jesus Christ.²³

I believe that, in the words of LDS Church Apostle Stephen L Richards, “dogmatism and bigotry [are] the deadliest enemies of true religion.”²⁴

I believe that the Church’s members and leaders are, according to the Doctrine and Covenants, among the “weak things of the

²³Davis Bitton, “I Don’t Have a Testimony of the History of the Church,” *Meridian Magazine*, www.meridianmagazine.com/historybits/040820testimonyprint.html (accessed August 8, 2009).

²⁴Stephen L Richards, “Epilogue: ‘Continuing Revelation and Mormon Doctrine,’” in *Line upon Line: Essays on Mormon Doctrine*, edited by Gary James Bergera (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1989), 185.

earth” (D&C 124:1) and “liable to err.”²⁵

I believe that any member of the Church who knowingly does wrong because he or she is told by any Church authority to do so is, as First Presidency counselor Joseph F. Smith stated, just “as guilty of that wrong” as if he or she had acted independently.²⁶

I believe, with LDS Church educator Noel B. Reynolds, that “we must each stand on our own feet, on our own performance.”²⁷

I believe that, as Elder Boyd K. Packer has said, there is no “[free] agency without choice,” “no choice without freedom,” “no freedom without risk,” and no “true freedom without responsibility.”²⁸

I believe that all of us have, according to President James E. Faust, “the responsibility of making [our] own moral decisions,”²⁹ which is why we must always, according to the Doctrine and Covenants 4:6: “Remember faith, virtue, knowledge, temperance, patience, brotherly kindness, godliness, charity, humility, diligence, . . .”

I believe that we all must learn and cultivate the kind of intellectual independence and maturity to be able to deal with life’s many contradictions. “We should not be deceived,” Bruce C. Hafen has said, “by the clear-cut labels others may use to de-

²⁵Charles W. Penrose, quoted in *Deseret News Weekly*, September 22, 1880, 536; see also Gordon B. Hinckley, “Keep the Faith,” *Ensign*, September 1985, 6.

²⁶Joseph F. Smith, quoted in Robert Gillespie, *Diary*, March 30, 1884, LDS Church History Library, Salt Lake City.

²⁷Noel B. Reynolds, “Reason and Revelation,” in *A Thoughtful Faith: Essays on Belief by Mormon Scholars*, edited by Philip L. Barlow (Centerville, Utah: Canon Press, 1986), 217.

²⁸Boyd K. Packer, “Let Them Govern Themselves,” March 30, 1990, *Ensign*, 7.

²⁹James E. Faust, “The Prophetic Voice,” *Ensign*, May 1996, 6–7.

scribe circumstances that are, in fact, not so clear.”³⁰

Paraphrasing the words of LDS Apostle Dallin H. Oaks, I believe that to omit a portion of our past is to perpetrate a lie,³¹ that telling the truth requires, as LDS historian Ronald W. Walker has observed, investigating “personality, psychology, physiology and health, and sexuality,” as well as “human weakness [and] human relationships”;³² that “a frank acknowledgement of the ‘weaknesses’ of [people],” according to Davis Bitton, is always “more respectful [of] the[m] than a cover-up job;”³³ and that “events and issues, challenges and disappointments, struggles and lapses should not be ignored or swept aside simply because they might be considered embarrassing.”³⁴

While the Church currently limits access to historical materials in its archives that it deems confidential or overly personal and, under some circumstances, extends privacy considerations beyond a person’s death, I believe that such policies reflect the Church’s teachings regarding repentance and mercy but do not, and should not, circumscribe or hinder in any way the work of historians and other researchers and writers. Historically the Church has addressed many such “sensitive” topics openly. The Church’s scriptures and revelations are replete with detailed accounts of Church tribunals, excommunications, repentance, sin, and transgression, in, for example, Joseph Smith’s *History of*

³⁰Bruce C. Hafen, “On Dealing with Uncertainty,” *Ensign*, August 1979, 65. Hafen was then president of Ricks College, now BYU-Idaho.

³¹Dallin H. Oaks, “Gospel Teachings about Lying,” *Clark Memorandum* (publication of the J. Reuben Clark Law School, Brigham Young University), Spring 1994, 17.

³²[Ronald W. Walker], “The Challenge of Mormon Biography,” in *Mormon History*, edited by Ronald W. Walker, David J. Whittaker, and James B. Allen (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2001), 137.

³³Davis Bitton, “Mormon Biography,” *Biography: An Interdisciplinary Quarterly* 4 (Winter 1981): 12.

³⁴Davis Bitton, “Brushes with Mormon Biography,” in *Lives of the Saints: Writing Mormon Biography and Autobiography*, edited by Jill Mulvey Derr (Provo, Utah: Joseph Fielding Smith Institute for Latter-day Saint History, Brigham Young University, 2002), 93.

the Church, on the pages of periodicals such as the *Deseret News* and *Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star*, and in the many-volumed, ongoing scrapbook *Journal History of the Church*, for example.

I believe that historians should be able, and encouraged, to explore all aspects of the Church's and of its members' pasts—that nothing is off limits. That said, I also believe that assertions of faith, however broadly or narrowly defined, by their very a-rational nature typically transcend rational confirmation. In other words, while history may properly address, for example, the “historical” facts of Joseph Smith's first vision, including its chronology, context, antecedents, inconsistencies, etc., it can never answer the question of its “reality” in history.

I believe that how I personally approach the writing and publishing of Church history reflects, in many ways, how I approach life in general and how I would hope my own life might be portrayed, should anyone find interest in it. While I find myself asking on an almost daily basis, “What kind of person do I want to be?”, I realize that this kind of questioning impacts my approach to the past. In my own life, I want to be fair-minded, tolerant, honest, objective, balanced, and analytical. I find that I try to bring these same qualities to my study of history and biography. I know that I haven't always been successful in doing so—especially in the face of *ad hominem* criticisms—but this kind of approach remains my goal.

As regards the so-called post-modern critique of “objective” history, what I personally find most intriguing, perhaps even persuasive, about it is its questioning and skepticism about all authority. I accept that we all have biases. I believe that the challenge we face is not simply recognizing our biases but, most importantly, exercising our restraint in keeping those biases at bay when approaching a reconstruction of the past. Thus, I believe the “best” history is that which in addition to the qualities previously mentioned, is, so far as is humanly possible, “objective.”

I was recently told of an informal conversation among a small group of friends during which my name came up. The question posed regarding me was this: Should I one day stumble upon a letter, whose authenticity could not be contested, from Joseph Smith to his

wife, Emma, in which he admitted that he had deliberately fabricated his story of the First Vision, of the Angel Moroni, of the Book of Mormon, and of the restoration of the priesthood, would I suppress the letter, or would I publish it? This group of friends was divided as to what I would do. When I heard this story, my own answer was quick: Of course, I'd publish it—or encourage someone else to publish it. Of course, I'd also want to try to contextualize it, to explain it, to understand it. But the thought of not publishing it never entered my mind.

Based on my past experiences with LDS Church history as both producer and consumer, I realize that as I approach the task of attempting to produce scholarly Mormon history, I am accountable first and foremost to my own conscience, to my own moral sensibility. I believe firmly that such a conviction fully dovetails with the teachings and the best interests of the LDS Church.

APPENDIX:

CHURCH HISTORY PRINCIPLES (COMMUNITY OF CHRIST)

1. Continuing exploration of our history is part of identity formation. As a church we seek always to clarify our identity, message, and mission. In our faith story, we see clearly God's Spirit giving this faith community tools, insights, and experiences for divine purposes. A people with a shared memory of their past, and an informed understanding of its meaning, are better prepared to chart their way into the future.

2. History informs but does not dictate our faith and beliefs. The foundation and continuing source for our faith is God's revelation in Jesus Christ. Studying history is not about proving or disproving mystical, spiritual, or revelatory experiences that birth or transform religious movements. Sound history informs faith, and healthy faith leads to insights about history. Theology and faith, guided by the Holy Spirit, must play an important role in discovering the enduring meaning of such events as well as the deeper truths found in them. Our understanding of our history affects our faith and beliefs. However, our past does not limit our faith and beliefs to what they were historically.

3. The church encourages honest, responsible historical scholarship. Studying history involves related fields. Historians use academic research to get as many facts as they can; then, they interpret those facts to construct as clear a picture as possible of what was going on in the past. This includes analyzing human culture to see how it affected events. Historians try to understand patterns of meaning to interpret what the past means for our future. This process should avoid "presentism," or interpreting the past based on a current worldview and culture instead of the culture of the time.

4. The study of church history is a continuing journey. If we say that a book on history is the only true telling of the story, we risk “canonizing” one version, a tendency we have shown in the past. This blocks further insights from continuing research. Good historical inquiry understands that conclusions are open to correction as new understanding and information comes from ongoing study.

5. Seeing both the faithfulness and human flaws in our history makes it more believable and realistic, not less. Our history has stories of great faith and courage that inspire us. Our history also includes human leaders who said and did things that can be shocking to us from our current perspective and culture. Historians try not to judge—instead, they try to understand by learning as much as possible about the context and the meaning of those words and actions at the time. The result is empathy instead of judgment. Our scriptures are consistent in pointing out that God, through grace, uses imperfect people for needed ministry and leadership.

6. The responsible study of church history involves learning, repentance, and transformation. A church with a mission focused on promoting communities of reconciliation, justice, and peace should be self-critical and honest about its history. It is important for us to confess when we have been less than what the gospel of Jesus Christ calls us to be. This honesty prompts us to repent, and it strengthens our integrity. Admitting past mistakes helps us avoid repeating them and frees us from the influences of past injustices and violence in our history. We must be humble and willing to repent, individually and as a community, to contribute as fully as possible to restoring God’s shalom on earth.

7. The church has a long-standing tradition that it does not legislate or mandate positions on matters of church history. Historians should be free to draw their own conclusions after thorough consideration of evidence. Through careful study and the Holy Spirit’s guidance, the church is learning how to accept and responsibly interpret all of its history. This includes putting new information and changing understandings into proper perspective, while emphasizing the parts of our history that continue to play a role in guiding the church’s identity and mission today.

8. We need to create a respectful culture of dialogue about matters of history. We should not limit our faith story to one perspective. Diverse viewpoints bring richness to our understanding of God’s movement in our sacred story. Of course, historians will come to different conclusions as they study. Therefore, it is important for us to create and maintain a respectful culture that allows different points of view on history. Our conversation about history should be polite and focused on trying to understand others’ views. Most important, we should remain focused on what matters most for the message and mission of the church in this time.

9. Our faith is grounded in God's revelation in Jesus Christ and the continuing guidance of the Holy Spirit. We must keep our hearts and minds centered on God's revelation in Jesus Christ. As God's Word alive in human history, Jesus Christ was and is the foundation of our faith and the focus of the church's mission and message.

APPROACHING MORMON HISTORY: LDS CHURCH

<http://newsroom.lds.org/ldsnewsroom/eng/commentary/approaching-mormon-history>, July 5, 2007 (accessed June 13, 2010)

The increasing media attention devoted to the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints has led many journalists to explore Mormon history. Some of them have questioned the miraculous aspects of the faith and have inquired as to why Latter-day Saints continue to believe them as reality and not myth.

Some writers have suggested that Mormons have a tougher "sell" with their faith because the miraculous events associated with its history are relatively recent and not obscured by antiquity. One scholar even wondered whether the Church—as it becomes more familiar and more widely accepted—will be pressured by public opinion to step back from those doctrines and elements of its history that are unique and challenging to modern eyes.

But to deny the Church's miraculous history is to deny its very foundation. During an interview for the recent PBS documentary *The Mormons*, Elder Marlin K. Jensen, Church Historian and a member of the high-ranking Quorum of the Seventy, was asked why Mormon history is taken so literally and not simply treated as a myth. In response he said that viewing history as a "figment of language or . . . imagination" takes away its essential meaning. From the perspective of believers, for example, Joseph Smith's miraculous visions give real meaning to their lives not because of their symbolic value, but because they actually happened

According to the scriptural model of history, prophets and apostles taught spiritual truths through historical narratives. Likewise, according to Elder Jensen, "the greatest piece of Church history that we have is Joseph Smith's story. It's scripture, and it's history, and it's the foundation, really, for everything that we have and we are, and it's beautifully clear and simple."

Mormon history is often viewed in terms of how sacred history can be reconciled with the empirical demands of secular history. It is often asked, for example, how the Church can reconcile the authenticity of the Book of Mormon with the absence of archeological proof. This difficulty is inherent in all religious history and illustrates how spiritual matters are best verified by spiritual means. For example, the Jewish belief in the reality of the Exo-

dus is not dependent on archeological evidence but rests on faith. At a time when many religions are pressured to treat their sacred histories as myths, the Latter-day Saints on the contrary embrace their history as a literal expression of their faith.

Elder Jeffrey R. Holland, member of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, was asked how faith interacts with history. He emphasized that ultimately spiritual matters cannot be empirically verified, but require faith: "It will forever come to faith, or it isn't religion in any way that I understand religion." Furthermore, Elder Holland said that there is no need to hide from Church history and that it should be accepted for what it is.

Church President Gordon B. Hinckley, also interviewed by Helen Whitney, similarly expressed the need to take Church history literally. Articulating the difficulty of finding middle ground between myth and reality, President Hinckley said of the foundational story of Mormonism that "it's either true or false. If it's false, we're engaged in a great fraud. If it's true, it's the most important thing in the world."

Since the birth and growth of the Church has taken place right before the public's eyes these past two centuries, it cannot escape public scrutiny. Nevertheless, this scrutiny does not require that the Church compromise or hide from its history. Far from being a liability, Mormons view their history as one of the Church's greatest assets.

THE *SANGAMO JOURNAL*'S "REBECCA" AND THE "DEMOCRATIC PETS": ABRAHAM LINCOLN'S INTERACTION WITH MORMONISM

Mary Jane Woodger and Wendy Vardeman White

IT WAS NOT UNUSUAL FOR THE *SANGAMO JOURNAL*, printed in Springfield Illinois, to comment on the Mormons during the 1840s: 137 articles mentioned the topic during the decade. What makes the September 2, 1842, issue of the *Sangamo Journal* notable was not its criticism of the Mormons, but rather the authorship of one of its editorials. "Rebecca," who identified herself a farming widow in the county, expressed her discontent with the evil course of affairs in Illinois. "Rebecca" sarcastically remarked, "A pretty mess they [the Democrats] have made of it. . . . This State Bank of Illinois will never become prosperous until the Whig party are in power. And

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look at the Mormons—“Democratic pets!”² A few days later, Rebecca sneered, “‘This plan of securing gold for office holders’—was a trick, undoubtedly arranged before the election; even the Mormon votes could not have moved the party.”³ When “Rebecca’s” additional sarcastic editorials resulted in an offended party’s challenging the alleged widow to a duel, Abraham Lincoln claimed authorship of the second letter: “I did write the ‘Lost Township’ letter [by “Rebecca”] which appeared in the *Journal* of the 2d inst.”⁴

Reading the *Rebecca* editorials today supports what Lincoln biographer Roy K. Basler suggests: “Lincoln took some interest in the Latter-day Saints while they were in Illinois, but regarded them more with humor than serious concern.”⁵ Lincoln’s political career from 1838 to 1860 was centered in Springfield, Illinois, about 120 miles southeast of Nauvoo. As a lawyer, member of the Illinois State Legislature, and finally as the chief executive of the nation, Lincoln filled key positions which inherently involved interaction with LDS Church leaders. Lincoln’s attitude of restraint and even unconcern toward the Mormons became important in the history of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints during the Civil War when he was U.S. president. Such an attitude may have been because of his associations with Mormons during his early political career.

As Brigham Young was establishing communities in the West, Lincoln made several executive decisions that affected Mormons’ lives and history. Lincoln is known for his ability to value people despite individual differences, a characteristic that led to decisions that were generous in his assessment of the Latter-day Saints. He could

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¹John G. Nicolay and John Hay, *Abraham Lincoln: A History* (New York: Century, Co., 1914), 204.

²Albert J. Beveridge, *Abraham Lincoln* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1928), 338.

³*Ibid.*, 339–40.

⁴Roy P. Basler, *Abraham Lincoln: His Speeches and Writings* (Cleveland, Ohio: World Publishing, 1969), 186.

⁵Roy P. Basler, *Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, 5 vols. (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1953), 1:291; Ralph Y. McGinnis and Calvin N. Smith, *Abraham Lincoln and the Western Territories* (Chicago: Nelson-Hall Publishers, 1994), 97.

have demanded that a moral high ground be maintained in his positions; instead, he consistently took a stance of toleration.

PRELUDE TO ASSOCIATION: BEFORE 1838

Lincoln had won an election in 1834 as a representative for Sangamon County to the state legislature. As a member of the Sangamon delegation, Lincoln supported the relocation of the state capital from Vandalia in Fayette County to Springfield. On September 9, 1836, Abraham Lincoln received a license to practice law; and on March 1, 1837, the clerk of the Illinois Supreme Court enrolled his name as a lawyer.⁶ Lincoln began to practice criminal, common law and chancery divisions of law traveling the First Judicial Circuit with his law office located in Springfield. When Sangamon County became part of a newly formed Eighth Judicial Circuit in 1839, Lincoln began to ride that circuit, concentrating his legal practice in Sangamon, Tazewell, Logan, and McLean counties. A circuit consisted of four to ten courts which met for two terms, three months in the spring and three months in the fall. He would handle as many as sixty cases in a single term, moving from one county to the next and dealing with business that lasted from a few days to two weeks in each county.⁷ From 1841 to 1847 the Eighth Judicial Circuit consisted of fifteen counties in central Illinois.

This experience of riding the circuit as a lawyer, lasted from the spring of 1837 to October of 1847 when Lincoln left for Washington to serve a term in the United States House of Representatives; it gave Lincoln extensive knowledge about central Illinois. In addition to his personal experience, biographer Stephen B. Oates observed that Lincoln became “addicted to newspapers and read them more than anything else.”⁸ In 1839, as the Mormons began to stream across the Mississippi River into Illinois, Lincoln would have read about their flight from Missouri. It was as an attorney that Lincoln and the Mormons most often interacted until the Mormons left Illinois in 1846. The Herndon and Lincoln law offices represented clients who were both Mormons and non-Mormons, in actions in which Mormons were

⁶Stephen B. Oates, *With Malice toward None: The Life of Abraham Lincoln* (New York: Penguin Group, 1978), 34, 42.

⁷Malcolm G. McGregor, *The Biographical Record of Jasper County, Missouri* (Chicago: Lewis Publishing, 1901), 38.

⁸Oates, *With Malice toward None*, 37, 49–50.

both plaintiffs and defendants.⁹

DURING THE NAUVOO PERIOD

Beginning in the spring of 1838 when the Saints moved into Hancock County, Illinois, it was overwhelmingly Democratic. Still, both political parties welcomed them and energetically tried to secure their support.¹⁰ In Hancock County where the majority of the population was Mormon, the Illinois gubernatorial election of 1838 was a landslide, with the Democrat receiving 633 votes and the Whig 436. A 59 percent to 41 percent ratio for any office in antebellum Illinois was significant.¹¹ When Thomas Ford won the governorship in 1842 with 46,901 votes compared with his Whig opponent Joseph Duncan who received 38,584 votes, the Whigs (Lincoln's party) complained that their defeat was due to "Joe Smith's power,"¹² even though according to Theodore Calvin Pease, professor of history at the University of Illinois, the Whigs had generally courted the Mormons even more assiduously than the Democrats.¹³

Although Stephen A. Douglas was in his twenties during the late 1830s and early 1840s he was seen as the foremost Democrat in the area.¹⁴ In December 1839, Lincoln and Douglas had first debated each other and repeatedly faced one another across Illinois in the spring and summer of 1840 as they campaigned for their party's presidential nominee: Lincoln for Whig William Henry Harrison and Douglas for Democrat Martin Van Buren. Political historian and Lin-

⁹William P. MacKinnon, "Stephen Douglas, Abraham Lincoln, and the Mormon Problem: The 1857 Debate," Mormon History Association, Springfield, Illinois, May 22, 2009; notes in our possession.

¹⁰George R. Gayler, "The Mormons and Politics in Illinois: 1839-1844," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 159 (Spring 1956): 48-49.

¹¹Theodore Pease, ed., *Illinois Election Returns, 1818-1848*, Illinois Historical Collections, No. 18 (Springfield: Trustees of the Illinois State Historical Library, 1923), 111.

¹²Robert W. Johannsen, *Stephen A. Douglas* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), 108-9.

¹³Theodore Calvin Pease, *The Frontier State, 1818-1848: The Sesquicentennial History of Illinois* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987), 344.

¹⁴Bruce A. Van Orden, "Stephen A. Douglas and the Mormons," *Regional Studies in Latter-day Saint Church History: Illinois* (Provo, Utah: BYU Department of Church History and Doctrine, 1995), 361, 367.

coln scholar Blaine Brooks Gernon observed that Douglas made friends with the LDS Church leaders immediately when the Mormons emigrated from Missouri in 1838 as he rode the Fifth Judicial Circuit which included Hancock County and Nauvoo and that he lived in nearby Quincy.¹⁵ In addition, from 1841 to 1843 Douglas served as a judge on the Illinois Supreme Court.

In June 1841, Joseph was arrested as a fugitive from the state of Missouri. He obtained a writ of *habeas corpus*, which enabled him to appeal to Judge Douglas at the circuit court in Monmouth, seventy-five miles from Nauvoo. The trial opened on June 9 in a packed courtroom. The defense arguments concerning the persecution of the Saints in Missouri brought many to tears including Judge Douglas, who dismissed the case the next day on procedural grounds. Douglas's decision brought gratitude from Mormons and suspicions from others that he had made a political agreement with Joseph Smith.¹⁶

According to Robert W. Johannsen, a Douglas biographer, "Douglas also emphasized that the Mormons had their rights to worship as they pleased," while Lincoln was seen as somewhat irreligious.¹⁷ Lincoln once sarcastically said of himself: "No Christian ought to go for me because I belonged to no church, was suspected of being a Deist, and talked about fighting a duel."¹⁸ Though the 1840s saw the tail end of the Second Great Awakening, launched about fifty years earlier, the general climate created social pressure to join a church. Remaining religiously unattached created a disadvantage politically for Lincoln, who distanced himself from organized religion and generally refused to discuss his beliefs.¹⁹

According to Oates, Douglas had so rapidly identified himself with the Mormons that his attitude "became a target for many of the

¹⁵Blaine Brooks Gernon, *Lincoln in the Political Circus* (Chicago: Black Cat Press, 1936), 81–82.

¹⁶Brigham H. Roberts, *A Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Century I*, 6 vols. (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1965), 4:366.

¹⁷Johannsen, *Stephen A. Douglas*, 108–9.

¹⁸Clark Prescott Bissett, *Abraham Lincoln: A Universal Man* (San Francisco: John Howell, 1923), 98.

¹⁹David Herbert Donald, *Lincoln's Herndon* (Cambridge, Mass.: Da Capo Press, 1989), 214.

opposition's blasts."²⁰ He appointed "partisans of the Church to court positions in Hancock County, thus helping arouse the intense anti-Mormon opposition in Warsaw." And Whig newspapers sharply accused Douglas of openly courting the Mormon vote.²¹

It does not appear that Joseph Smith had any particular leanings to either party. However, he went to Washington, D.C., in November 1839 and stayed in the East until February 1840, with the purpose of seeking redress from U.S. President Martin Van Buren (in office March 4, 1837-March 4, 1841) for the Mormons' losses of property in Missouri. Dissatisfied with Van Buren's response, Joseph Smith wrote the Nauvoo High Council: "We do not say the Saints shall not vote for him [Van Buren], but we do say boldly (though it need not be published in the streets of Nauvoo, neither among the daughters of the Gentiles), that we do not intend he shall have our votes."²² In the presidential election in November 1840, Hancock County, a mostly Mormon constituency, voted for William Henry Harrison, the Whig candidate, by 752 votes. But to recognize the Democrats, as a bloc two hundred Mormons scratched the last name on the Whig electoral ticket and substituted that of a Democrat, James H. Ralston. The name they marked off was that of Abraham Lincoln, who was then running for presidential elector and lost.²³ Ironically, Lincoln was often accused of being overfriendly to these same Mormons, so it seems that this direct snub did not seem to have influenced Lincoln's decisions regarding Mormons.²⁴ According to historian Daniel Walker Howe, Lincoln was still one of the Illinois politicians most sympathetic to Mormons.²⁵

In December 1840, John C. Bennett, seeking a charter for Nauvoo led a Mormon delegation representing 15,000 votes to the state

²⁰Oates, *With Malice toward None*, 56; Van Orden, "Stephen A. Douglas and the Mormons," 363.

²¹Johannsen, *Stephen A. Douglas*, 106-7.

²²Joseph Smith Jr and Elias Higbee, "History of Joseph Smith," *Milennial Star* 17, no. 29 (July 21, 1855): 452-53.

²³"Whig Veracity," *Illinois Register*, Springfield, November 13, 1840.

²⁴William Alexander Linn, *The Story of the Mormons: From the Date of Their Origin to the Year 1901* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1902), 244; and Gernon, *Lincoln in the Political Circus*, 81-82.

²⁵Daniel Walker Howe, *What Hath God Wrought: The Transformation of America, 1815-1848* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 724.

legislature.²⁶ They succeeded in obtaining an expansive charter that included provisions for a military unit, a city council, and a university. Lincoln personally knew Bennett and actively campaigned in behalf of the Nauvoo city charter in the state legislature where he had won his seat previously in August of 1840.²⁷ Bennett reported to the LDS *Times and Seasons*:

Many members in this house, likewise, were warmly in our favor, and with only one or two dissenting voices every representative appeared inclined to extend to us all such power as they considered us justly entitled to and voted for the law. [A]nd here I should not forget to mention that Lincoln whose name we erased from the electoral ticket in November, (not, however, on account of any dislike to him as a man, but simply because his was the last name on the ticket, and we desired to show our friendship to the Democratic party by substituting the name of Ralston for some one of the Whigs,) had the magnanimity to vote for our act, and came forward, after the final vote, to the bar of the house, and cordially congratulated me on its passage.²⁸

The Nauvoo City Charter, successfully steered through the state legislature on December 16, 1840, was signed by every member of the legislature, including Abraham Lincoln.²⁹ On March 1, 1841, Lincoln completed his term in the twelfth session of the Illinois legislature.³⁰

Though Lincoln had signed the Nauvoo Charter, it appears that Church leaders preferred Douglas to Lincoln.³¹ On New Year's Day in 1842, Joseph Smith himself expressed gratitude for Douglas in the *Times and Seasons*: "Douglas is a Master Spirit, and his friends are our friends—we are willing to cast our banners on the air, and fight by his side in the cause of humanity and equal rights—the cause of liberty and the law."³² Lincoln reacted to this favoritism, as noted, by criticizing Douglas's association with the Mormons under the pseudonym of

²⁶Ibid.

²⁷Ibid.

²⁸JOAB, General in Israel [pseud. for John C. Bennett], [No headline], *Times and Seasons* 2, no. 5 (January 1, 1841): 267.

²⁹Gayler, "The Mormons and Politics in Illinois," 52.

³⁰Gernon, *Lincoln in the Political Circus*, 81–82.

³¹Ibid., 81.

³²Joseph Smith, "State Gubernatorial Convention," *Times and Seasons*, January 1, 1842, 651.

Rebecca, the feisty widow.³³ The four letters, which appeared in the *Sangamo Journal* between August 10, 1842, and September 16, 1842, critiqued Democrats in general and State Auditor James Shields in particular. Shields was so insulted he challenged Lincoln to a duel.

Dueling had been illegal in Illinois since 1839, so the two opponents crossed into Missouri on September 22, 1842. When Lincoln used his broad sword to cut off a willow branch with one quick stroke, Shields backed down and the two made peace. Lincoln biographer Douglas Wilson characterizes Lincoln as “deeply mortified by his entanglement in this unfortunate episode and was averse to any reference to it in later life. To be dragged into a duel, which was illegal in Illinois, was bad enough, but an important aspect of his embarrassment was surely the public exposure of this unflattering, if disastrously effective, use of his literary talents.”³⁴ Lincoln’s passing allusion to the Mormons obviously benefited from his desire to put the experience behind him.

A year after Lincoln’s “unfortunate episode” Douglas was elected to the House of Representatives in 1843, and then to the Senate in 1847.³⁵ According to Edwin Erle Sparks, a scholar of the Lincoln-Douglas debates, it was Joseph Smith who nicknamed Douglas the “Little Giant.” Sparks does not provide a date except to say that it was “during an exciting discussion in the Illinois Legislature upon the Mormon difficulties, in which Douglas cut a conspicuous figure in the defense of the Saints. . . . [T]heir great leader [Joseph Smith], in giving vent to his unbounded admiration for Douglas called him the ‘Little Giant.’”³⁶ This somewhat unspecific anecdote suggests that Smith and Douglas developed a mutual respect and close bond during the early 1840s.³⁷ However, balancing it is another statement by Joseph Smith that could have been either a curse or warning. William Clayton, the private secretary of Joseph Smith who was present at the

³³Roy P. Basler, “The Authorship of the ‘Rebecca’ Letters,” *Abraham Lincoln Quarterly* 2 (June 1942): 80–90.

³⁴Douglas L. Wilson, *Lincoln’s Sword: The Presidency and the Power of Words* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2006), 33.

³⁵Johannsen, *Stephen A. Douglas*, 122, 266.

³⁶*Peoria Transcript*, September 13, 1858, as quoted in Edwin Erle Sparks, *Lincoln Series: The Lincoln-Douglas Debates*, 3 vols. (Springfield: Illinois State Historical Library, 1908), 1:553.

³⁷Van Orden, “Stephen A. Douglas and the Mormons,” 373.

time, reported a conversation on May 18, 1843, when Stephen Douglas was dining with Joseph Smith at the Backenstos residence in Carthage. After the meal, Douglas asked the Prophet to describe the Saints' experiences in Missouri. For three hours, the Prophet gave a history of the persecution the Saints had endured. He also shared his experience with President Martin Van Buren. Judge Douglas listened attentively and was empathetic. In conclusion, Joseph Smith with prophetic solemnity stated: "Judge, you will aspire to the presidency of the United States. And if you ever turn your hand against me or the Latter-day Saints, you will feel the weight of the Almighty upon you; and you will live to see and know that I have testified the truth to you; for the conversation of this day will stick to you through life."³⁸

This prophecy was first published in Utah in the *Deseret News* on September 24, 1856, and then in England in the *Millennial Star* in February 1859 in the "History of Joseph Smith." The publication of this prophecy added to the folk belief that would be with Latter-day Saints for generations that Douglas and Smith had a close personal relationship.

JOSEPH SMITH AND ABRAHAM LINCOLN

Lincoln and Joseph Smith were in the Illinois State Capitol at the same time twice—on November 4–8, 1839, and December 31, 1842–January 6, 1843.³⁹ Although there is no evidence that the two men had any personal contact, they were probably aware of each other's presence in the city and had the opportunity to have met in person if either desired to do so.

In the first instance, Joseph Smith passed through Springfield on November 4–8, 1839, on his way to Washington, D.C., seeking redress from the federal government for wrongs suffered in Missouri. Bryan C. Andreasen research historian at the Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library in Springfield, Illinois (2010) has found legal records showing that Lincoln worked in his law office those same days.

³⁸William Clayton, Daily journal, as quoted in Brigham H. Roberts, *A Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Century I*, 6 vols. (1930; rpt., Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1965 printing), 5:393–94.

³⁹Roberts, *A Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Century I*, 5:212–33; and Dean C. Jessee, ed., *Personal Writings of Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2002), 483–88.

Andreasen thinks it likely that Lincoln did “talk with the Mormon prophet, as he was working to help his law partner and wife’s cousin John T. Stuart solidify support from local Mormon voters.”⁴⁰ In addition, Lincoln wrote a memo to Stuart, on March 1, 1840, commenting: “Speed [Joshua Speed had sublet his apartment to Lincoln in 1837 in Springfield and the two became roommates and good friends] says he wrote you what Jo. Smith said about you as he passed here. We will procure the names of some of his [Mormon] people here and send them to you before long.”⁴¹ The memo dealt with party politics, and this sentence suggests that Lincoln wanted to generate a list of influential Mormons to whom he could send political information.

The second opportunity for a meeting between Joseph Smith and Abraham Lincoln occurred when Joseph Smith and his party of close associates including Orrin Porter Rockwell left Nauvoo on December 27, 1842 and arrived in Springfield on December 30, staying at the home of Mormon Judge James Adams.⁴² Joseph Smith’s visit to Springfield was to answer an attempt to extradite him as an accessory in the attempted assassination of former Missouri Governor Lilburn W. Boggs that had taken place on May 6, 1842. Harry E. Pratt, in his day-to-day chronicle of Lincoln’s activities, noted on January 1, 1843: “Joseph Smith, Mormon leader, arrived Saturday and is today’s sensation in Springfield. He has been arrested on a warrant issued by Governor Thomas Ford and his hearing before Judge [Nathaniel] Pope in United States District Court is set for tomorrow. Smith is present at a ball held Saturday evening at American House in honor of the election of Sidney Breese to the U.S. Senate.”⁴³ Attorney Morris A. Thurston explains:

After avoiding Illinois law men for several months, Joseph decided to travel to Springfield for a hearing on a habeas corpus motion. . . .

⁴⁰R. Scott Lloyd, “Springfield, Illinois, Had Early LDS Connections,” quoting Bryon C. Andreasen, *Church News*, May 22, 2009, 3.

⁴¹Basler, *Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, 206.

⁴²R. Scott Lloyd, “Law in Joseph Smith’s Day,” *Church News*, May 26, 2009, 3, quoting Morris A. Thurston, Mormon History Association Annual Meeting, Springfield, Illinois, May 2009.

⁴³Harry Edward Pratt, *Lincoln, 1840–1846: Being the Day-by-Day Activities of Abraham Lincoln, from January 1, 1840, to December 31, 1846* (Springfield, Ill.: Abraham Lincoln Association, 1939), 158.

Boggs had given an affidavit accusing Joseph Smith and Orrin Porter Rockwell in the crime. Based on that affidavit Missouri Gov. Thomas Reynolds requisitioned the extradition of the two to stand trial. Illinois Gov. Thomas Carlin issued warrants for their arrest. When served in Nauvoo, Joseph and Porter Rockwell immediately obtained a writ of habeas corpus from the municipal government. . . . A key question in the extradition case was whether Joseph could have fled from Missouri justice, since that was a prerequisite for extradition, if he had not been in the state at the time of the shooting.⁴⁴

Mary Todd Lincoln, who had married Abraham Lincoln two months earlier, attended one session of the hearing along with most of Springfield's society ladies. Justin Butterfield who represented Joseph Smith, opened the hearing with an elaborate compliment: "May it please the Court, I appear before you to-day under circumstances most novel and peculiar. I am to address the 'Pope' (bowing to the Judge) surrounded by angels, (bowing still lower to the ladies), in the presence of the holy Apostles, in behalf of the Prophet of the Lord."⁴⁵ Butterfield then submitted affidavits from several individuals, including Stephen A. Douglas, that Joseph had been in Nauvoo at the time of the assassination attempt. Subsequently, Pope said in his opinion that nothing in Boggs's affidavit showed that Joseph had actually fled from Missouri and he was released.⁴⁶

Although no documentation exists of a Lincoln-Smith meeting on this occasion, Lincoln must have been aware that Smith was in Springfield and would have been interested in the legal dimensions of the hearing. After the hearing Lincoln and Smith both attended a New Year's Eve party hosted by newly elected U.S. Senator Sidney Breese.⁴⁷

With the assassination of Joseph Smith in June 1844 at Carthage, Illinois, "Douglas and his fellow Democrats demanded that the murderers be brought to justice, while the Whigs [Lincoln's party] slipped into an increasingly anti-Mormon stance," summarized Bruce Van Orden. The next fall saw a continued "deterioration of relationships between the Mormons and their Illinois neighbors." Governor Thomas Ford commissioned four politicians, including Douglas, to

⁴⁴Thurston, quoted in Lloyd, "Law in Joseph Smith's Day."

⁴⁵Henry Asbury, *Reminiscences of Quincy, Illinois, Containing Historical Events* (Quincy, Ill.: D. Wilcox & Sons, 1882), 156.

⁴⁶Thurston, quoted in Lloyd, "Law in Joseph Smith's Day."

⁴⁷Lloyd, "Springfield, Illinois, Had Early LDS Connections," 3-4.

raise an armed volunteer force to “negotiate the removal of the Mormons from Illinois.”⁴⁸ The commission convinced Brigham Young and other Church leaders to leave the state by the next spring. During the Mormons’ early years in the West, Douglas continued to serve as a contact in Congress for the LDS Church.⁴⁹ Lincoln served his only term in Congress during the Mormon exodus (1847–49).

THE PRESIDENCY AND THE TERRITORY, 1848–60

During the 1840s, according to Douglas’s biographer, he wanted to be seen as the leader who would provide the “governmental organization in the West.”⁵⁰ Lincoln aides and memoirists John Hay and John G. Nicolay observed that, by 1852, “the control of legislation for the territories was for the moment completely in the hands of Douglas. He was himself chairman of the Committee of the Senate; and his special personal friend and political lieutenant in his own State, William A. Richardson, of Illinois, was chairman of the Territorial Committee of the House.”⁵¹

During the stormy political campaign of 1850, Douglas and other northern Democrats contended that slavery was subject to local law and that residents of a territory, like those of a state, could establish or prohibit it.⁵² “After months of wrangling and compromising,” writes Van Orden, “Congress barely succeeded in September 1850 in passing several laws, including The Organic Act establishing Utah Territory, which was part of the Compromise of 1850.”⁵³ By these provisions, California was admitted to the Union as a free state; Utah and New Mexico territories were organized, later to be “received into the Union, with or without slavery as their constitutions . . . [might]

⁴⁸Van Orden, “Stephen A. Douglas and the Mormons,” 365.

⁴⁹Johannsen, *Stephen A. Douglas*, 161; Journal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (chronological scrapbook of typed entries and newspaper clippings, 1830–present), December 17, 1845, 1, and February 3, 1847, 2, LDS Church History Library.

⁵⁰Johannsen, *Stephen A. Douglas*, 268.

⁵¹John G. Nicolay and John Hay, *Abraham Lincoln: A History* (New York: Century Co., 1914), 337.

⁵²*Ibid.*, 343–44.

⁵³Van Orden, “Stephen A. Douglas and the Mormons,” 367.

prescribe at the time of admission.”⁵⁴

While Douglas was engineering the Compromise of 1850, Lincoln had no national presence but had resumed his law practice in Illinois. Six years later, Lincoln became one of the founders of the Republican Party which, at its first national convention in February 1856 in Philadelphia adopted a plank in its platform declaring that it was Congress’s duty to “prohibit in the Territories those twin relics of barbarism, polygamy and slavery.”⁵⁵

Stephen A. Douglas, running a strong Democratic campaign, committed a strategic error in making the Mormons and Utah a campaign issue, according to Van Orden. “Early in the election year of 1856, esteem for Douglas was still high in Utah,” but Douglas “engineered” the Kansas-Nebraska Act, maneuvering it “through Congress to promote his ‘popular sovereignty’ doctrine.”⁵⁶ Douglas’s opponents attacked his role in the Kansas-Nebraska Act as a way to “bring Utah into the Union as a polygamous state.”⁵⁷ The Republican Party immediately hopped on the bandwagon, hoping to make political hay out of Mormon polygamy. On June 12, 1857, with Lincoln present, the grand jury of Springfield’s district court asked Douglas to “express his views on three of the most important topics ‘now agitating the minds of the American people’—Kansas, the Dred Scott decision, and the conditions in Utah territory.”⁵⁸ Douglas tried to position himself as a super-patriot by being extremely critical of the Mormons, accusing them of being “‘bound by horrid oaths and terrible penalties, to recognize and maintain the authority of Brigham Young.’” Douglas said the Mormons were resisting federal authority and attempting to subvert the United States.” Among his charges were: (1) Nine-tenths of Utah’s citizens were aliens who refused to become naturalized, (2) Brigham Young was guilty of inciting the Indians to rob and murder American citizens, (3) The Mormons were a “loathsome, disgusting ulcer,” (4) Utah’s territorial government and the Organic

⁵⁴J. G. Randall and David Donald, *The Civil War and Reconstruction* (Boston: D. C. Heath and Company, 1961), 88–89.

⁵⁵Edward Stanwood, *A History of the Presidency from 1788 to 1897*, 2 vols. (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, 1898), 1:272.

⁵⁶Van Orden, “Stephen A. Douglas and the Mormons,” 368.

⁵⁷Vern L. Bullough, “Polygamy: An Issue in the Election of 1860?” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 29 (April 1961): 119–23.

⁵⁸Johannsen, *Stephen A. Douglas*, 545–67.

Act should be repealed, and (5) Brigham Young should be brought back east to stand trial—he suggested in Missouri. The “Little Giant” closed his speech by inviting anyone with a better proposition to bring it forward.⁵⁹ Lincoln who was present in the audience, promised a rebuttal in two weeks.⁶⁰

Although Lincoln’s rebuttal, a half-hour speech for which Douglas was not present, concentrated on the ineffectiveness of popular sovereignty, he also refuted Douglas’s plans for Utah.⁶¹ Civil War scholar E. B. Long comments that Lincoln challenged Douglas’s proposal to dismember Utah as contradicting “the Senator’s view of popular sovereignty,”⁶² then continued:

If it proves to be true, as is probable, that the people of Utah are in open rebellion to the United States, I say, too, if they are in rebellion, they ought to be somehow coerced to obedience; and I am not now prepared to admit or deny that the Judge’s [Douglas] mode of coercing them is not as good as any.

But in all this, it is very plain the Judge evades the only question the Republicans have ever pressed upon the Democracy in regard to Utah. That question the Judge well knew to be this: “If the people of Utah shall peacefully form a State Constitution tolerating polygamy, will the Democracy admit them into the Union?” There is nothing in the United States constitution or Law against polygamy; and why is it not a part of the Judge’s “sacred right of self-government” for the people to have it, or rather to keep it, if they choose?⁶³

Lincoln did not take this stance because he supported polygamy but because Douglas opposed it, even in a territory where the people wanted it. Polygamy thus became evidence of the glaring inconsistency of popular sovereignty. Lincoln saw the Mormons as a political

⁵⁹Stephen A. Douglas, “Speech of Senator Douglas,” *Daily National Intelligencer* (Washington, D.C.) 45 (June 30, 1857): 14,013.

⁶⁰Basler, *Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, 2:398–99.

⁶¹Johannsen, *Stephen A. Douglas*, 573–74.

⁶²E. B. Long, *The Saints and the Union: Utah Territory during the Civil War* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1981), 9.

⁶³Abraham Lincoln, “Speech of the Hon. Abraham Lincoln, in reply to Judge Douglas, Delivered in Representatives’ Hall,” Springfield, Illinois, June 26, 1857, 1, in Basler, *Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, 2:398; and Albert J. Beveridge, *Abraham Lincoln* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1928), 7.

problem to be managed and used the issue to embarrass Douglas by pushing his thinking to a logical conclusion. That polygamy is not forbidden by the Constitution was an argumentative point, not a defense of the practice. For the most part, Mormons in Utah completely ignored Lincoln's rebuttal but were vehement about Douglas's speech. A *Deseret News* editorial provided a lengthy review of Douglas's speech condemning polygamy, followed by the account of the interview between Joseph Smith and Douglas as recorded in William Clayton's journal.⁶⁴

Kelly Elizabeth Phipps, writing recently in the *Virginia Law Review*, argues that, while the reasons for criticizing polygamy have changed over time, Lincoln's tough question remains the same: "How do you draw the line between rescuing victims and oppressing communities?" Before the Civil War, Northern politicians, including Lincoln, portrayed polygamy as another southern slave power waiting to rebel. By the 1870s during Reconstruction, a growing desire to exclude Chinese immigrants introduced an argument for condemning polygamy. America was a Christian nation; Mormon polygamists and Chinese immigrants were the "other"—sinister and un-American. Chinese exclusion actually made federal anti-polygamy legislation possible.⁶⁵

In the mid-nineteenth century, opposition to polygamy was always linked to slavery. Lincoln Republicans portrayed Mormon plural wives as innocent victims held in subjugation akin to enslaved blacks in the South. They wanted to purge the nation of licentious power, including such tyrants as slave masters and polygamous husbands.⁶⁶ As a Republican, Lincoln was committed to ending slavery in the territories and argued that the federal government, not popular sovereignty, should govern territories, including Utah. Utah became vital to his vision of expanded power for the federal government, and he continued to use Utah "to illustrate the flaw in Stephen

⁶⁴"Comments upon the Remarks of Hon. Stephen Arnold Douglas," *Deseret News*, September 2, 1857, 4.

⁶⁵Kelly Elizabeth Phipps, "Marriage and Redemption: Mormon Polygamy in the Congressional Imagination, 1862–1887," 95 *Virginia Law Review* 95, no. 2 (2009): 437, 441–43. She adds that the most recent (2008) critiques of fundamentalist polygamy are based on child marriage and child endangerment.

⁶⁶*Ibid.*, 440, 446–47.

A. Douglas's 'popular sovereignty' argument."⁶⁷

Although Lincoln was willing to invoke polygamy to assert the validation of federal power to govern the territories, he was not committed to any particular plan for using federal power to eradicate the practice. This stance worked to the advantage of Mormons who were committed to continuing plural marriage. By 1860, with Lincoln as the leader of the Republican Party, the platform dropped all references to polygamy; and in Lincoln's presidential race, anti-polygamy was simply seen as a derivative of the anti-slavery movement.⁶⁸

In a speech given on April 10, 1860, at Bloomington, Illinois, six weeks before he would accept the Republican nomination Lincoln reminded his listeners that the U.S. House of Representatives had passed HR 7 that week, designed to punish the practice of polygamy. "While the Senate would ultimately let the bill languish and die in committee," the issue of polygamy was still on Lincoln's mind.⁶⁹ A newspaper account of his speech summarized: "Mr. Lincoln said he supposed that the friends of popular sovereignty would say—if they dared speak out—that polygamy was wrong and slavery right; and therefore one might thus be put down and the other not."⁷⁰ Thus, prior to his presidency, Lincoln did not seem concerned with polygamy except as an illustration of political principles. Lincoln's attitude was instrumental in allowing the Saints to establish themselves in the West. If he had been adamant about eradicating polygamy during the 1860s, conditions would have been much different for the LDS Church.

Many Mormons believed that, because Douglas turned against the Mormons, he failed politically as Joseph Smith had prophesied and that, almost despite himself, Lincoln had ascended to the presidency.⁷¹ Bruce Van Orden even hypothesizes that Lincoln may have been grateful for Smith's prophecy, for "according to Mormon tradition, Douglas had every reason to believe that he would win the presi-

⁶⁷McGinnis and Smith, *Abraham Lincoln and the Western Territories*, 100; Gary C. Vitale, "Abraham Lincoln and the Mormons: Another Legacy of Limited Freedom," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 101 (Fall-Winter 2008): 3–4.

⁶⁸Phipps, "Marriage and Redemption," 447.

⁶⁹McGinnis and Smith, *Abraham Lincoln and the Western Territories*, 100.

⁷⁰Basler, *Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, 4:42.

⁷¹Roberts, *A Comprehensive History of the Church*, 2:184–89.

dency, but would lose according to Joseph Smith's prophecy."⁷²

The people of Utah learned of Lincoln's election in the weekly *Deseret News* on November 14, 1860. On November 28, it editorialized:

There will be jolly times at the seat of Government during the session, and the members of Congress have enough business to attend to, in all probability, in which they will be more particularly interested and concerned than in the annihilation of the Saints; and may be expected to be otherwise in providing for the overthrow and destruction of those, who by the spirit of inspiration, have long been advised of the calamities that were coming upon the nations, and upon the United States in particular, in consequence of the iniquities and abominations, of the people and their rejection of the gospel which has been proclaimed unto them.⁷³

The same editorial predicted that "the day is not far distant, when the United States Government will cease to be, and that the Union, about which the politicians have harped and poets sung, will be no more." This editorial is only one of many forecasts of doom that had been uttered since the days of Joseph Smith and would continue to be repeated in the years to come. Nor were Mormons the only religion to make dire predictions. Although Mormons were glad that Lincoln had triumphed over Douglas, they were still not in Lincoln's corner. On November 19, 1860, Brigham Young wrote Territorial Delegate William H. Hooper that Mormons from outside the borders of Utah were "very much chopfallen [sic] at Lincoln's election."⁷⁴ When Douglas died of typhoid fever in June 1861, Brigham Young told his office intimates that Douglas "should be president in the lower world."⁷⁵ Two months later, however, Young remarked to the same group that "Stephen A. Douglas was a far better man than President Abel [sic] Lincoln for he [Young] knew his [Lincoln's] feelings

⁷²Van Orden, "Stephen A. Douglas and the Mormons," 374.

⁷³"Prospective Dissolution," *Deseret News*, November 28, 1860, 4.

⁷⁴Brigham Young, Letter to William H. Hooper, November 19, 1860, Brigham Young Letters, Bienecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut (hereafter Bienecke Library).

⁷⁵Brigham Young, Office Journal, June 12 and March 2, 1861, as quoted in Long, *The Saints and the Union*, 8.

were hostile to this people.”⁷⁶

Previously, on December 20, 1860, Young had written to Hooper: “By your letters and papers I perceive that the secession question was being violently agitated, but without much definite action. Latest accounts seem to indicate that the South will so far back down as to give ‘Old Abe’ a trial as to what course he will pursue. . . . But while the waves of commotion are whelming nearly the whole country, Utah in her rock fortresses is biding her time to step in and rescue the constitution and aid all lovers of freedom in sustaining such laws as will secure justice and rights to all irrespective of creed or party.”⁷⁷ Although Young did not know it, South Carolina had seceded on the same day, December 20; and the South, of course, did not back down. On January 25, 1861, after receiving news by Pony Express, Young commented to his office circle: “If Abraham Lincoln when inaugurated would coerce the South there would be a pretty fight and if he did not he would be no President at all. . . . [W]hen Anarchy and confusion reigned the Devil’s poor prospered.”⁷⁸

Prior to Lincoln’s presidency the Mormons had petitioned Congress for statehood twice, in 1850 and 1856. Still hoping for statehood, Mormons were angered when Nevada Territory was created on March 2, 1861, just two days before Lincoln’s inauguration, and was assigned some of the land that had previously belonged to Utah Territory.⁷⁹

Brigham Young records provide a veritable litany of negativity about the government in general and Abraham Lincoln in particular. On March 15 in a conversation in his office, Young criticized: “Abe Lincoln was no friend to Christ, particularly; he had never raised his voice in our favor when he was aware that we were being persecuted.”⁸⁰ At April conference, 1861, Young declared that Lincoln was a very weak executive: “Like a rope of sand, or like a rope made of water. He is as weak as water.”⁸¹ By July 9, 1861, Young confided to those in his office: “Old ‘Abe’ the President of the U. S. has it in his mind to

⁷⁶Young, Office Journal, August 5, 1861, in *ibid.*, 9.

⁷⁷Brigham Young, Letter to William H. Hooper, December 20, 1860, Brigham Young Letters, Beinecke Library.

⁷⁸Young Office Journal, January 25, 1861, in Long, *The Saints and the Union*, 24.

⁷⁹Long, *The Saints and the Union*, 26.

⁸⁰Young Office Journal, March 2, 1861, in *ibid.*, 26.

pitch into us when he had got through with the South. . . . Pres. Young was of opinion the sympathy of the people for the South was in case they should be whipped, and the northern party remain in power, he thought they wanted the war to go [so] that both parties might be used up." Two days later on July 11, he suggested: "It would not do for the northern and southern party to fight too much at once." On July 24, Young accused the government as having "in them a spirit to destroy everything."⁸²

In the Bowery on July 28, Young declared:

President Lincoln called out soldiers for three months and was going to wipe the blot of secession from the escutcheon of the American Republic. The three months are gone, and the labor is scarcely begun. Now they are beginning to enlist men for three years; soon they will want to enlist during the war; and then I was going to say that they will want them to enlist during the duration of hell. Do they know what they are doing? No; but they have begun to empty the earth, they cleanse the land, and prepare the way for the return of the Latter-day Saints to the centre Stake of Zion.⁸³

It was with this suspicious attitude that Young entered into a turbulent relationship with the nation's chief executive as a "non-governor" and Church leader.

PRESIDENT LINCOLN AND THE MORMONS

Though Utah is seldom seen as being part of the Civil War, Long argues that its role was "central to the American West during the Civil War. . . . Utah Territory would have been important because of its geographical position astride transportation and communications arteries even if it had not been an anomaly. And it was also unprecedented in this country, being both a civil and a religious entity of considerable size and influence."⁸⁴

During the war, many Americans found Utah's support for the

⁸¹Brigham Young, April 6, 1851, *Journal of Discourses* (London and Liverpool: LDS Booksellers Depot, 1855–86), 8:373–74.

⁸²Young Office Journal, March 15, July 9, and July 24, 1861, in Long, *The Saints and the Union*, 36.

⁸³Brigham Young, July 24, 1861, *Journal of Discourses* 9:142.

⁸⁴Long, *The Saints and the Union*, xi.

Union inadequate. Although most Mormons were from the North and Midwest and therefore favored the North, Church leadership took a neutral position. On July 4, 1861, Apostle John Taylor announced: "We know no north, no south, no east, no west; we abide strictly and positively by the Constitution, and cannot by the intrigues or sophism of either party, be cajoled into any other attitude."⁸⁵ Richard Vetterli, BYU professor of political science, hypothesizes that, if the "militarily powerful Mormon people in the territory of Utah" had fought for the Confederacy, they "might well have opened the door of victory."⁸⁶ Brigham Young's contemporary biographer, Edward Tullidge, believed that, if the southern states had done precisely what Utah did and had placed themselves on the defensive ground of their rights and institutions and under the political leadership of Brigham Young, they would have triumphed. Tullidge stated:

With the exception of the slavery question and the policy of succession, the South stood upon the same ground that Utah had stood upon just previously. True, she had no intention to follow any example set by Utah, for old and powerful States, which had ranked first in the Union from the very foundation of the nation, would not have taken Utah as their example. Yet, this very fact, coupled with the stupendous view of North and South engaged in deadly conflict, shows how fundamental was the cause which Utah maintained and how pregnant were the times with a common national issue. . . . Brigham Young stands not only justified, but his conduct claims extraordinary admiration, for he led his people safely through that controversy without succession.⁸⁷

On October 22, 1861, General James Arlington Bennet of New York, who had left the Mormon Church in 1844, asked Lincoln if one thousand to ten thousand Mormon volunteers could be accepted for military service.⁸⁸ There is no record of whether Bennet was spontaneously floating this possibility or if one of Brigham's agents asked

⁸⁵John Taylor, "Fourth of July Address," in Roberts, *A Comprehensive History of the Church*, 5:11.

⁸⁶Richard Vetterli, *Mormonism, Americanism, and Politics* (Salt Lake City: Ensign Publishing, 1961), 538.

⁸⁷Edward S. Tullidge, *Life of Brigham Young, or Utah and Her Founders* (New York: N.pub., 1876), 346.

⁸⁸Earl Schenck Miers, ed., *Lincoln Day-by-Day: A Chronology*, 3 vols.

him to do it. Lincoln could have drafted Mormons in the Union cause, since they were citizens in a territory. For unknown reasons, Lincoln denied the request, thus preserving Mormon isolation. Utah was the only state or territory that opted out of the Civil War, a fray that claimed more casualties than all other wars in American history from the Revolution to Vietnam combined.⁸⁹

Lincoln appointed John Titus as chief justice of the Utah Territorial Court on May 6, 1863, whose subsequent acquaintances showed him to be in harmony with the policy of "let them alone." Titus allegedly observed that the only desire of the "Utah populace," since being admitted as a territory, was: "To be left alone."⁹⁰ According to Lincoln historians Ralph McGinnis and Calvin Smith, "While Lincoln would have been happy to ignore the Mormons during those turbulent years of his presidency, he was unable to do so. The Utah Territory, in general, and Salt Lake City, in particular, comprised vital links in the Union's communication and transportation system with Nevada and California; Lincoln's appointees felt they had to keep a keen eye on things."⁹¹ As LDS historians Leonard Arrington and Davis Bitton observed, "If the Union were to maintain the loyalty of California and other important western areas it was essential that Utah remain firmly in the north's control."⁹² Lincoln's presidential involvement with the territory of Utah and the Mormons during the Civil

(Washington, D.C.: Lincoln Sesquicentennial Commission, 1960), 3:73. "When Joseph asked him to be his vice presidential running mate, Bennet declined. After the martyrdom of the Prophet in 1844, he left the Church. A year later, however, he visited Nauvoo and declared his intentions to go west with the Saints. He aspired to be leader of the Nauvoo Legion, but when Brigham Young turned him down, Bennet disassociated himself from the Saints and spent the rest of his life in the eastern United States." Arnold K. Garr, "Bennet, James Arlington," in *Encyclopedia of Latter-day Saint History*, edited by Arnold K. Garr, Donald Q. Cannon, and Richard O. Cowan (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2000), 86–87.

⁸⁹Burke Davis, *The Civil War: Strange and Fascinating Facts* (New York: Fairfax Press, 1982).

⁹⁰Roberts, *A Comprehensive History of the Church*, 5:25.

⁹¹McGinnis and Smith, *Abraham Lincoln and the Western Territories*, 103, 97.

⁹²Leonard Arrington and Davis Bitton, *The Mormon Experience: A History of the Latter-day Saints* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1979), 170.

War focused on three key issues: communication/transportation, polygamy, and federal appointees.

Communication and Transportation

One of the acts of Lincoln's presidency that directly impacted Utah was shifting the stage lines north, away from Confederate troops, with a new route passing directly through Salt Lake City. A key segment of the transcontinental telegraph also ran through Utah. According to Edward Tullidge, Utah pioneers were among the "first projectors and proposers to the Congress for a transcontinental railroad" and telegraph.⁹³ On July 1, 1862, Lincoln signed an enabling act that provided aid in constructing a railroad and telegraph line from the Missouri River to the Pacific Ocean and provided the federal government with claims on both for postal, military, and other purposes.⁹⁴ The telegraph was a tremendous improvement in communication speed over the short-lived Pony Express.⁹⁵ The telegraph also provided communicational support to the North.

Brigham Young sent his first telegram on October 18, 1861, to J. H. Wade, president of the Pacific Telegraph Company, in Cleveland, Ohio. It does not reflect his earlier negative comments about Lincoln but instead affirms: "Utah has not seceded, but is firm for the Constitution and laws of our once happy country." President Lincoln sent a return message two days later on October 20: "The completion of the telegraph to Great Salt Lake City is auspicious of the stability and union of the Republic. The government reciprocates your congratulations."⁹⁶

To deal with concerns that Indians might attempt to destroy or disable the telegraph, Young wired Washington, D.C., on April 14, 1862, asserting that "the military of Utah are ready and able . . . to take care of all Indians within [Utah's] borders."⁹⁷ On April 26, 1862, Milton S. Latham, a U.S. Representative from California, sent a wire to

⁹³Edward W. Tullidge, *History of Salt Lake City* (Salt Lake City: Star Printing, 1886), 334.

⁹⁴*U.S. Statutes at Large* 12:489, http://cpr.org/Museum/Pacific_Railroad_Acts.html (accessed May 10, 2010).

⁹⁵Andrew Jenson, *Church Chronology: A Record of Important Events* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1899), 63.

⁹⁶"The Completion of the Telegraph," *Deseret News*, October 23, 1861, 5.

Lincoln about the “depredations which Indians were committing on the line” of the Overland Mail and Telegraph near Independence Rock and suggested that a troop of a hundred Mormons be raised and equipped to protect the telegraph.⁹⁸ Acting on this advice, Lincoln bypassed federal appointees and authorized Young to “raise, arm and equip one Company of Cavalry for ninety days service.” Upon receiving the president’s telegram, Young ordered Lieutenant General Daniel H. Wells of the Nauvoo Legion, Utah Territory, to organize cavalry to protect the mail and telegraph route against Indian attack. The Indians had destroyed several mail stations between Fort Bridger and the North Platte, had burned coaches, stolen stock and had killed stage drivers. By the end of the ninety days, the Nauvoo Legion had chased a few Indians and had provided a presence on the overland trail but did no real fighting.⁹⁹

Despite the quick Mormon response, Colonel P. Edward Conner and a force of seven hundred California volunteers were ordered into Salt Lake City, arriving on October 22, 1862, ostensibly “to protect the Union mail and telegraph lines. But the real reason was, no doubt, to keep an eye on the Mormons and quell any ideas of resistance they might have as far as the Union cause was concerned.”¹⁰⁰ Not only were the citizens of Salt Lake City infuriated by the soldiers’ presence,¹⁰¹ but the *Deseret News* reprinted a letter from a soldier to a San Francisco paper: “Why we were sent here is a mystery. It could not be to keep Mormondom in order, for Brigham can thoroughly annihilate us with the 5,000 to 25,000 frontiersmen always at his command.”¹⁰² Despite negative sentiment on both sides, the troops remained in Utah. To add insult to injury, Conner built the camp on the eastern bench overlooking the city and named it Fort Douglas, to honor Stephen A. Douglas, who had turned against the Mormon peo-

⁹⁷Brigham Young, Telegram, April 14, 1862, as quoted in Long, *The Saints and the Union*, 83.

⁹⁸Paul M. Angle, ed., *New Letters and Papers of Lincoln* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1930), 291–92.

⁹⁹Long, *The Saints and the Union*, 82–83; and Tullidge, *History of Salt Lake City*, 256.

¹⁰⁰McGinnis and Smith, *Abraham Lincoln and the Western Territories*, 105–6.

¹⁰¹*Ibid.*, 106.

¹⁰²“California Volunteers,” *Deseret News*, October 15, 1862, 8.

ple.¹⁰³ Historically this situation is baffling and remains without satisfactory explanation.

The Union Pacific broke ground in Omaha on December 2, 1863. On that day Young sent Lincoln a telegram which read: "Let the hands of the honest be united to aid the great national improvement."¹⁰⁴ Young lost no time in showing his own support and, on July 1, 1862, "subscribed for \$5,000 worth of stock in the newly organized Union Pacific Railroad Company, and became a director in 1865."¹⁰⁵ He contracted with both the Union Pacific and Central Pacific railroads to furnish supplies and "grade all the transcontinental line in Utah, thus bringing cash revenue to Mormons and inhibiting the influx of non-Mormon laborers."¹⁰⁶ Union Pacific historian L. O. Leonard asserts that "no statesman that ever lived had a keener interest in the Union Pacific than Abraham Lincoln."¹⁰⁷ However, most of the construction in or near Utah occurred after Lincoln's assassination. The railroad itself was completed with a ceremonial uniting of both railway lines on May 10, 1869, at Promontory Summit, Utah.

Polygamy

On November 18, 1861, Lincoln borrowed the following books from the Library of Congress: *The Works of Victor Hugo*, John Gunnison's *The Mormons or Latter Day Saints*, John Hyde's *Mormonism: Its Leaders and Designs*, and the Book of Mormon, which he kept for eight months. Four days later, the White House requested, among other items, *Mormonism in All Ages* by Julian M. Sturtevant and *Memoirs of the Life and Death of Joseph Smith* by Henry Maheur.¹⁰⁸ The reason Lincoln or his staff requested these items is not explained in the documentary record.

However, in July 1862, the same month that Lincoln returned

¹⁰³Leonard J. Arrington, *Brigham Young: American Moses* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1985), 296.

¹⁰⁴Union Pacific Railroad Company, *History of the Union Pacific Railroad* (Ogden, Utah: Union Pacific Railroad Company, 1919), 11.

¹⁰⁵Arrington, *Brigham Young*, 348.

¹⁰⁶*Ibid.*, 349.

¹⁰⁷John William Starr et al., *Lincoln and the Railroads* (New York: Ayer Printing, 1981), 200.

¹⁰⁸DLC [Library of Congress]—*Arch, Borrower's Ledger 1861–1863*, 114, as quoted in Miers, *Lincoln Day-by-Day*, 77–78.

the books, he signed into law the Morrill Anti-Polygamy Act, which was specifically aimed at punishing Utah's polygamy by declaring bigamy a crime in U.S. territories. However, it seems unlikely that anyone, including Lincoln, thought the bill would end polygamy.¹⁰⁹ As an attorney, Lincoln surely was aware of the bill's flaws. First, the law gave prosecutors an insurmountable burden in proving marriages. Mormon plural marriages were performed in secret, and Church officiators were not likely to turn evidence over to prosecutors.

Secondly, as Kelly Elizabeth Phipps and Steven E. Cresswell, professor of history at West Virginia Wesleyan College, suggest in separate legal articles, jury nullification could block prosecutions. Lincoln appointed federal district court judges, but the all-Mormon territorial legislature appointed probate judges, some of whom were Mormon bishops or other Church leaders. During the 1850s, the Utah legislature required federal district courts to select jurors from lists prepared by the probate judges; therefore, most juries were comprised of Mormons who would nullify any polygamy prosecutions.¹¹⁰

According to Phipps, Lincoln had apparently signed something into law that he knew could not be enforced and, furthermore, "refused to take any steps whatsoever to enforce the law in Utah." Thus, Phipps sees the Morrill Act as "primarily a symbolic assertion of federal power, not a realistic piece of anti-polygamy legislation." It meant that "the Republican Party entered the post-war era with a catchy phrase about polygamy and a useless law on the books."¹¹¹ This attitude is very different from Lincoln's perspective on the rule of law. According to Matthew S. Holland, a BYU political science professor, Lincoln "thought it was absolutely essential that the rule of law prevail, even to the point of declaring that we must obey bad laws, or unjust laws, because to just choose which laws we will live will exacerbate tendencies to mob rule."¹¹²

It is interesting to speculate on Lincoln's motives for signing this bill, whether he would have enforced it if he had lived into his second

¹⁰⁹Phipps, "Marriage and Redemption," 448; and Stephen E. Cresswell, *Mormons, Cowboys, Moonshiners & Klansman: Federal Law Enforcement in the South and West* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1991), 81–82.

¹¹⁰Phipps, "Marriage and Redemption," 448–49.

¹¹¹*Ibid.*, 445.

¹¹²Matthew S. Holland, "With Charity for All," *Clark Memorandum*, Fall 2008, 21.

term, and whether, had he vetoed it, the progressively harsher legislation such as the Edmunds-Tucker Act (1887) would have passed under his successors. We hypothesize that Lincoln signed the Morrill Act to fulfill the anti-polygamy plank in his presidential platform, but not because he had serious concerns about polygamy. When Brigham Young sent one of his sons (unnamed in the article) to Washington as a member of a delegation to lobby for the "political and polygmatic interests of Utah," Lincoln dismissed polygamy with a joke: "It was absurd to talk about polygamy as he never yet heard of a man having a wife who wanted two."¹¹³

In early June of 1863 Brigham Young sent Mormon convert and journalist Thomas B. H. Stenhouse to transact Church business in Washington, D.C., and to ascertain what course Lincoln would pursue in regards to the Mormons. At this time, Stenhouse was an assistant editor of the *Deseret News*. He had a "wide reputation throughout America and had journalistic contacts with hundreds of editors east and west [with whom] he was personally acquainted."¹¹⁴ According to Stenhouse, when he asked Lincoln about his intentions, Lincoln responded: "Stenhouse, when I was a boy on the farm in Illinois there was a great deal of timber on the farms which we had to clear away. Occasionally we would come to a log which had fallen down. It was too hard to split, too wet to burn, and too heavy to move, so we plowed around it. That's what I intend to do with the Mormons. You go back and tell Brigham Young that if he will let me alone I will let him alone."¹¹⁵

For their part, Utahns likewise ignored the Morrill Act and, for a

¹¹³[No author or headline], *Liberty Weekly Tribune*, October 3, 1862; photocopy in my possession. This article does not identify which of Young's sons was involved or the date of the visit.

¹¹⁴Edward S. Tullidge, *Tullidge's Histories: Containing the History of All the Northern, Eastern and Western Counties of Utah . . . with a Biographical Appendix . . .*, 2 vols. (Salt Lake City: Press of the Juvenile Instructor, 1889), 2:167.

¹¹⁵T. B. H. Stenhouse, Letter to Brigham Young, June 7, 1863, as quoted in Leonard J. Arrington and Davis Bitton, *The Mormon Experience: A History of the Latter-day Saints* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1979), 170; also in Gustive O. Larson, *The "Americanization" of Utah for Statehood* (San Marino, Calif.: Huntington Library, 1971), 60 note 61. Preston Nibley, *Brigham Young: The Man and His Work* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1936), 369, re-

decade and a half, declared that it was unconstitutional.¹¹⁶ Two days after its passage, the territory celebrated 1862's Independence Day in grand style, with Salt Lake's mayor proposing toasts to Lincoln's health and the Union's success.¹¹⁷ The Saints also celebrated Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation and several Union victories.¹¹⁸ Mormon support for Lincoln increased during his first term despite his signing the Morrill Act.¹¹⁹

Federal Appointees

On April 1, 1861, William H. Hooper, Utah's delegate to Congress, presented to the U.S. Senate a list of Utahns for territorial government offices, including Brigham Young for governor.¹²⁰ On April 11, Young wrote to Hooper:

It was quite proper and correct to suggest to Mr. Lincoln that our appointments belong to us, by every just construction of the spirit of the Constitution. But should he be unwilling or unable to make our ap-

ported the incident as based on Orson F. Whitney, *History of Utah*, 4 vols. (Salt Lake City: G. Q. Cannon, 1904), 2:24–25, and verbal statements from Whitney. Whitney repeated this story in his *Popular History of Utah* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1916), 180. Brigham Young, Letter to George Q. Cannon, June 25, 1863, credits Lincoln's statement, "I will leave them alone, if they will let me alone," to Lincoln's conversation with Stenhouse on June 6. Journal History, June 25, 1863; and Roberts, *A Comprehensive History of the Church*, 5:70. An Associated Press dispatch from Washington on June 7 mentions the presence in the capital of "a prominent Mormon." *New York Times*, June 8, 1863, 5. In a sermon on June 4, 1864, Young told the plowing anecdote as "what was told the President . . . said to a gentleman who is a preacher and a member of Congress." *Deseret News*, June 22, 1864, 303. At an anti-Cullom Bill meeting in Salt Lake City in 1870, Stenhouse, who by then had left the Church, stated that he had heard Lincoln make the "let them alone" statement. *Tullidge's Quarterly Magazine*, October 1880, 60.

¹¹⁶Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of Utah, 1540–1886*, 26 vols. (San Francisco: History Company, 1889), 26:604.

¹¹⁷"The Reunion at the City Hall," *Daily Union Vedette*, March 6, 1865, not paginated.

¹¹⁸"The Inaugural Celebration," *Daily Union Vedette*, March 6, 1865.

¹¹⁹McGinnis and Smith, *Abraham Lincoln and the Western Territories*, 109.

¹²⁰Long, *The Saints and the Union*, 28.

pointments from names you may present . . . it will doubtless still be the best policy to patiently bide our time, for plausible pretext against us would tend more than aught else to heal the present breach and unite them in a crusade to Utah, like the Irishman and his wife, who both pitched into the man who parted them when fighting.¹²¹

Brigham Young was not appointed governor. During the Civil War, there continued in Utah a strange dichotomy which greatly affected the territory's relationship with the executive branch of the federal government: an amazingly effective unofficial leadership by Brigham Young and his theocracy paralleling a frustrating lack of leadership by federal appointees.

On October 3, 1861, Lincoln made his first appointments for Utah Territory: John W. Dawson as territorial governor, John F. Kinney as chief justice, R. P. Flenniken and J. R. Crosby as associate judges, Frank Fuller as secretary, and James Duane Doty as superintendent of Indian Affairs.¹²² The Dawson appointment was not popular. According to Norman Furniss, historian of the Utah War, Mormons knew Dawson as "a man of loose morals whom the Republican chieftains of Fort Wayne had nominated in order to rid themselves of an objectionable person."¹²³ He did not arrive in Utah until December 7, 1861.

On December 17 and 18, the territorial legislature passed a bill calling for a convention of delegates to create a constitution and organize a state government. Territorial secretary Frank Fuller who had served as acting Governor while waiting for Dawson to arrive, had already given his support for the measure. Dawson, however, vetoed it. He said the proposed date of the convention (January 6, 1862) was too close to submit the bill to Congress or notify the people of the territory. He also said the bill sought to fix the state's boundaries, which Congress would have to do. The rejection of the bill again did nothing to endear Dawson to the population.¹²⁴

Dawson also made improper advances toward his Mormon house-

¹²¹Brigham Young, Letter to William H. Hooper, April 11, 1861, Brigham Young Letters, Beinecke Library.

¹²²Bancroft, *History of Utah*, 26:604.

¹²³Furniss, *The Mormon Conflict*, 232.

¹²⁴<http://downfalldictionary.blogspot.com/2009/07/john-w-dawson-shovel-ready-governor.html> accessed on June 9, 2010.

keeper,¹²⁵ resulting in such hostility that he “took his enforced flight on December 31, 1861.”¹²⁶ Ironically, when Dawson arrived in Washington, D.C., he found that the Senate had refused to confirm his appointment and he would have had to leave Utah anyway.¹²⁷ Flenniken and Crosby left the territory a month later, with news of their departure being telegraphed to Lincoln.¹²⁸ Fuller replaced Dawson until Lincoln could appoint another governor.¹²⁹

Lincoln’s next choice, Stephen S. Harding, along with Justices Charles B. Waite and Thomas J. Drake, did not fare much better in Utah than their predecessors. Harding had had “some previous positive associations with the Mormons” and therefore was expected to be a popular choice.¹³⁰ Harding had visited Palmyra, New York, and had met Joseph Smith during the summer of 1829, an encounter about which he wrote in 1890.¹³¹ Harding told Utahns, after he was appointed in March 1862, that he was “a messenger of peace and good will” with “no religious prejudices to overcome.”¹³² However, when Mormon leaders explained their view that the Morrill Act was unconstitutional and their desire for a ruling by the U.S. Supreme Court, Harding attacked this perspective as “dangerous and disloyal.”¹³³

Meanwhile, Harding, Drake, and Waite were writing letters to Washington discrediting the Mormons and asking Lincoln to “put

¹²⁵Norman F. Furniss, *The Mormon Conflict: 1850–1859* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1960), 232.

¹²⁶McGinnis and Smith, *Abraham Lincoln and the Western Territories*, 104.

¹²⁷*Ibid.*

¹²⁸*Ibid.*, 104–5.

¹²⁹Whitney, *History of Utah*, 2:38.

¹³⁰McGinnis and Smith, *Abraham Lincoln and the Western Territories*, 105.

¹³¹Stephen S. Harding as quoted in Thomas Gregg, *The Prophet of Palmyra* (New York City: J. B. Alden, 1890), 34–44.

¹³²“Speech of Governor Harding,” in Tullidge, *History of Salt Lake City*, 269–70.

¹³³Robert N. Baskin, *Reminiscences of Early Utah: With Reply to Certain Statements by O. F. Whitney* (1914; rpt., Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2006), 8.

down Indian uprisings by using paroled [federal] troops.”¹³⁴ These letters claimed that the people of Utah were trying to “stir up strife between the people of the Territory of Utah and the troops in Camp Douglas.”¹³⁵ In the spring of 1863, mass meetings were held in Salt Lake, the outcome of which was a petition asking Lincoln to remove the three from office.¹³⁶ It referred to Harding as “an unsafe bridge over a dangerous stream—jeopardizing the lives of all who pass over it—or as . . . a pestiferous cesspool in our district breeding disease and death.”¹³⁷

As soon as the action of the Mormon mass meeting became known at Camp Douglas, all the commissioned officers signed a counter-petition to President Lincoln which stated that, “as an act of duty we owe our government,” they felt compelled to state that the Mormon petition was a “base and unqualified falsehood” and that “there was no good reason for the three officers’ removal.”¹³⁸ Waite and Drake also assured Lincoln that a force of five thousand troops would be required to allow federal courts in Utah to function effectively.¹³⁹ Waite resigned in 1864 after a complete court term in which he suffered the mortification of not having a single case on the docket. Drake remained, but simply went through a futile form of holding court.¹⁴⁰

Interestingly, instead of siding with Harding’s support of the Morrill Act or the petition sent by the federal officers, Lincoln acted on the Mormon petition. On June 11, 1863, he replaced Harding with James Duane Doty, “a man of high capabilities,” who had served as Superintendent of Indian Affairs.¹⁴¹ According to historian Hubert Howe Bancroft, Lincoln himself made the appointment and “endeavored to restore peace by making concessions on both sides.” As gover-

¹³⁴Basler, *Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, 5:432.

¹³⁵C. V. Waite, *The Mormon Prophet and His Harem* (Chicago: J. S. Goodman and Company, 1868), 104.

¹³⁶McGinnis and Smith, *Abraham Lincoln and the Western Territories*, 107.

¹³⁷Bancroft, *History of Utah*, 26:620–21.

¹³⁸Quoted in Linn, *The Story of the Mormons from the Date of Their Origin to the Year 1901*, 548.

¹³⁹*Ibid.*, 550.

¹⁴⁰Bancroft, *History of Utah*, 26:620–61.

¹⁴¹News Department, “Journal of Indian Treaty Days,” *Washington Historical Quarterly* 10 (1919): 75.

nor, Doty “arose above petty smallness” and “made many friends and scarcely an enemy,” earning the respect of Utahns. This appointment must have increased Lincoln’s popularity among the Mormons. After Lincoln’s reelection in 1864, the citizens of Salt Lake celebrated with a mile-long parade and patriotic speeches and toasts to the president’s health. In mourning for his assassination on April 19, 1865, businesses closed and flags were hung at half-mast.¹⁴² The theater postponed its Saturday performance, buildings were draped in crepe, and in a special memorial service Apostles Wilford W. Woodruff, Franklin D. Richards, and George Q. Cannon eulogized the fallen president.¹⁴³

CONCLUSION

Lincoln had ties to Mormons as soon as they came to Illinois, and the two continued to interact until he died after being shot in Ford’s Theatre on April 14, 1865. Not only did Lincoln influence the history of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints; but, as a group, Church members also influenced Lincoln’s career by voting against him and swaying elections while they lived in Illinois. Furthermore, Lincoln viewed the Mormons as the “pets” of his rivals, the Democrats; and Mormons were also the clients, friends, and neighbors of his associates. It will never be known if his relationships with individual Mormons affected Lincoln personally or changed him or his views over time. If the Church headquarters had remained in Illinois, Lincoln’s political career, attitudes, and subsequent presidential decisions might have taken a different turn; but this hypothesis requires the double speculation that the Mormons themselves would have altered their behavior and approach to local politics in such a way that staying remained a possibility.

There is little evidence that the Mormons were ever more than a political object for Lincoln. We are aware of no documentation that Mormons, as individuals or as a group, affected his personal life. It seems likely that the explosive reaction to his “Rebecca” articles made him cautious about constructing public statements. Hence, it is difficult, if not impossible, to speculate on his personal reaction to the Church’s activities.

¹⁴²Bancroft, *History of Utah*, 26:625; and Long, *The Saints and the Union*, 259–30.

¹⁴³Matthias Cowley, *Wilford Woodruff* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1909), 441.

Mormons had a more direct influence on Stephen A. Douglas, Lincoln's chief opponent, although caution may be necessary in ascribing Douglas's political defeat to Joseph Smith's prophecy. More clearly documented, however, is Douglas's outspoken opposition to Mormonism while, in contrast, Lincoln as president maintained a "hands off" stance—not enforcing the Morrill Act or imposing the draft—that gave the Church the time to establish strong communities in the Mountain West. This policy may owe less to Lincoln's views on Mormonism, however, than the constant attention demanded by the Civil War.

Lincoln did not grant Utah's petition for statehood, but numerous reasons seem more likely than dislike for Mormons. He did succeed in establishing a cooperative and respectful relationship between Utah and the federal government, an achievement such predecessors as James Buchanan had signally failed to do. Although there is no documentation on this point, Lincoln as an attorney may have been aware that statehood might make it difficult to repress polygamy, an action to which his party was politically committed.

For their part, Utahns during Lincoln's presidency, except for some markedly acerbic private comments by Brigham Young early on, were appreciative and respectful. They recognized him as the nation's chief executive, affiliated with the Union which he represented during the civil strife, and were grateful that he had defeated Douglas. Over the course of his presidency, their affection and admiration grew steadily. They celebrated his second inauguration and mourned his assassination.

Lincoln's attitudes may have been formed by his dealings with Latter-day Saints on a personal level, but he was generally tolerant of all human beings. Matthew S. Holland observes:

All through his life Lincoln saw people as the same. He saw that human nature was relatively consistent wherever you were. If you saw significant differences in behavior, you should chalk things up primarily to the environment people were in and thus be quite generous in your assessments of others. All through his life he effectively said to the North: "Don't get on your moral high horse. If you lived in the South, you would probably be proslavery too. There are such strong incentives financially; there is such a strong culture and tradition of it; be a little bit careful about being morally self-righteous."¹⁴⁴

In like manner, Lincoln may have felt that the LDS culture and environment influenced them to live polygamy rather than some moral degeneration in the LDS character. Lincoln's ability and

predisposition to accept people, not as “others” but as the “same” was extremely advantageous to the Mormon community. Lincoln seems to have accepted Mormons as part of the American whole, and his toleration had a distinctly positive influence on Mormon society during the Civil War period.

Even though direct connections between Lincoln and Mormonism remain frustratingly few and tantalizingly only “possible,” this article provides an overview that gives a deepened understanding of Mormonism in the larger social context.

¹⁴⁴Holland, “With Charity for All,” 24.

THE FORGOTTEN STORY OF NAUVOO CELESTIAL MARRIAGE

George D. Smith

IN 1842, THE *SANGAMO JOURNAL*, published in Springfield, Illinois, printed a series of letters about alleged Mormon plural marriages occurring 125 miles away in Nauvoo. Abraham Lincoln was apparently in Springfield at the time; but although Joseph Smith visited the state capital that year, there is no record that the two men met. Smith had for years supported Lincoln's rival, Democrat Stephen A. Douglas; but Lincoln, emerging as a leader of Springfield's Whigs, would help form the new Republican Party, win the U.S. presidency in 1860, and steer a fractured nation through the Civil War. By then, Joseph Smith had been dead for almost two decades. The *Sangamo Journal* had already accused the Mormons of bloc voting for the Democrats, but these accounts of Smith's secret marriages amplified the political rhetoric.

Mormon polygamy began in the nineteenth-century climate of the Second Great Awakening which led to a large-scale reexamination of society, property, and marriage, all associated with an expectation

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of the “end-times.” In about 1817 in Maine, Jacob Cochran, one of the nation’s many utopian idealists, advocated “spiritual matrimony” wherein “any man or woman, already married or unmarried, might enter into [a union] choosing at pleasure a spiritual wife or spiritual husband.” Mormon missionary Orson Hyde, who proselytized in Maine in 1832, described the Cochranites’ “wonderful lustful spirit” as manifested in their belief “in a ‘plurality of wives’ which they call spiritual wives, knowing them not after the flesh but after the spirit.” He added skeptically, “But by the appearance they know one another after the flesh.”¹ Nor were the Cochranites alone in their marital experiments. Several hundred years of discussion and experimentation with plural marriage preceded those in nineteenth-century America. Utopian societies like the Oneida Perfectionists, a group separate from the Cochranites, embraced “complex marriage” with the goal of minimizing individual separation.²

Other American utopians included Harmonists, Inspirationists, and Swedenborgians.³ By Joseph Smith’s time, both Emanuel Swedenborg and Thomas Dick referred to the possibility of celestial worlds in an afterlife, suggesting that humans in some form might enjoy a continued life on these celestial spheres. The eighteenth-century theologian Swedenborg postulated a three-tiered heaven in which marriages take place among celestial spouses. These marriages are eternal in nature and the spouses are united by love.⁴ Swedenborg conceived of marriages as having a “spiritual origin,”⁵ as one might imagine with spiritual husbands and spiritual wives united eternally. Swedenborg also used the terms “celestial” kingdom, “celestial” heaven (which he also calls Third

¹Anonymous, “The Cochran Fantasy in York County [Maine],” August 3, 1867, in *Maine Historical Quarterly* 20 (Summer 1980): 30; see also Richard S. Van Wagoner, *Mormon Polygamy: A History* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1986), quoting Orson Hyde’s journal, October 11, 1832, 8.

²Lawrence W. Foster, *Religion and Sexuality* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981), 72–122.

³George D. Smith, *Nauvoo Polygamy: “. . . but we called it celestial marriage”* (Salt Lake City, Signature Books, 2008) 11, 106–7, 521–33. See also David S. Reynolds, *Waking Giant: America in the Age of Jackson* (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 2008), 123–74.

⁴Emanuel Swedenborg, *Heaven and Hell*, trans. George F. Dole (West Chester, Pa.: Swedenborg Foundation, 2002), 18–32, 210.

⁵*Ibid.*, 220.

Heaven, and “celestial love.”⁶ The nineteenth-century writer Thomas Dick reasoned that since “no particle is ever lost[,] . . . when the body is dissolved in death, the soul takes its ethereal flight into a celestial region” and “puts on immortality.” Dick hypothesized numerous “additional worlds [that] could be comprised within . . . the solar system” and which could extend out toward the “nearest stars.” Dick’s writings were cited in 1836 in the LDS press at Kirtland, Ohio.⁷

The debate on plural marriage in Europe had intensified with the “latter day” Anabaptists of 1530s Münster, Germany, and included Henry VIII’s marital appeals and the Lutheran *Beichtrat* that allowed Philip of Hesse a second wife. British poet John Milton’s seventeenth-century writings on polygamy belatedly crossed the ocean from England to 1820s America about the time Joseph began dictating the Book of Mormon, published in 1830, which introduced plural marriage to the Latter-day Saints as part of the restoration of “all things,” but hedged about with a conditional prohibition (Jacob 2:23–30). Amid ideas of utopian perfectionism and refinements in planetary astronomy, Joseph Smith in Nauvoo revealed “celestial marriage” to faithful followers who were to become “kings and queens,” ruling in exaltation in celestial afterworlds.

Between 1841 in Nauvoo and his assassination in 1844, Joseph himself married nearly forty plural wives and, offering promises of a resplendent afterlife, convinced more than thirty men of his inner circle to follow him in adding wives to their own families. Before the Saints abandoned Nauvoo in 1846, some two hundred Nauvoo men married more than seven hundred women, a number that would increase to about 1,130 wives for these initial two hundred when the Saints migrated to Utah after Joseph’s death.⁸

BEGINNINGS OF MORMON POLYGAMY

Despite the scale of this polygamous experiment, Joseph omitted from his diaries any direct account of his success in persuading women and men to embrace the “privilege” of celestial marriage. Thus, the sub-

⁶Emanuel Swedenborg, *Swedenborg Concordance, Part 2*, edited by John Faulkner Potts (Whitefish, Mont.: Kessinger Publishing, 2003), 531–46.

⁷Thomas Dick, *The Philosophy of a Future State*, 2d American ed. (Brookfield, Mass.: n.p., 1830); quoted in “The Saints and the World,” *LDS Messenger and Advocate* 3 (December 1836): 423–25.

⁸Smith, *Nauvoo Polygamy*, Table 4.7, “Nauvoo Plural Families,” 290; Appendix B, 573–656.

ject is absent from the official *History of the Church*, which was based upon those writings. However, such accounts were recorded in other journals,⁹ affidavits, and Church records, especially after the Saints left their public denials behind in Nauvoo and announced their plural marriages openly in Salt Lake City in 1852. Challenged particularly by Joseph and Emma Smith's sons after 1860, the Utah Saints for a brief period gathered evidence of Joseph Smith's marital innovation to demonstrate the reality of his restoration of "all things." Nevertheless, repeated "manifestos" (1890, 1904, 1911¹⁰) withdrew official support for new plural marriages, bringing statehood, accommodation to the larger American society, and six generations of institutional forgetting. This aspect of Nauvoo life remains officially unwritten and even today is conspicuously absent from official LDS curriculum.

Even so basic a question as determining a beginning date for the practice of polygamy has been fraught with questions. Joseph apparently established intimacy with Fanny Alger, a worker in his household in Kirtland, Ohio, which, if true, might provide a starting point for the introduction of plural marriage among Mormons. This intimacy may have dated from 1832, the year of Joseph III's birth, or 1833–35, when disturbance over that relationship contributed to Oliver Cowdery's subsequent departure from the Church.¹¹ Absent a recognizable ceremony, opinion is divided about whether Joseph's relationship to Fanny actually repre-

⁹Brigham Young's Nauvoo diary used coded language to describe these early concurrent unions. See, for example, Diary of Brigham Young, October 10, 1844. Brigham Young's coded references were deciphered in 1991 by Arturo de Hoyos. Timothy Rathbone, "Brigham Young's Masonic Connection and Nauvoo Plural Marriages," 1996, LDS Church History Library.

¹⁰Emiliano Zapata's 1911 Manifesto brought revolution to Mexico and caused the Mormons to leave, closing off a polygamy refuge across the border. It served as a third "manifesto" to end Mormon polygamy, reinforced by Joseph F. Smith's implementation of disfellowshipping and excommunication for new plural marriages.

¹¹Oliver Cowdery, Letter to Warren Cowdery, January 21, 1838, Oliver Cowdery Letter Book 80–83, Huntington Library, San Marino, California; microfilm copy of Letter Book in the LDS Church History Library; Donald Q. Cannon and Lyndon W. Cook, eds., *Far West Record: Minutes of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1830–1844* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1983), 162–63; Joseph Smith Jr. et al., *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of*

sented a marriage, even the first plural marriage.¹² However, Brigham Young, arguably Joseph's closest confidant, addressing the Utah Legislative Association in 1865, confirmed that Joseph introduced polygamy in Illinois, not in Ohio or Missouri during the 1830s. He asked, "Did we believe in polygamy when we were driven from Ohio, when we were driven from Jackson County, when we [were] driven from Missouri? No, we knew nothing about it, there was no such thing."¹³

Furthermore, Brigham was clear about when Joseph claimed to receive a "celestial marriage revelation." This was not an early event belatedly written down in 1843, but an event specific to July 12, 1843, in Nauvoo, Illinois. Speaking at a sacrament meeting in 1873, President Young declared that it was "after this doctrine [of baptism for the dead] was received, [that] Joseph received a revelation on celestial marriage. You will recollect brethren and sisters that it was in July 1843 that he received this revelation concerning celestial marriage."¹⁴

LOUISA BEAMAN: FIRST PLURAL WIFE

There is, however, no reasonable doubt about Joseph Smith's first plural marriage that included an actual ceremony and a firm date. This sealing occurred on April 5, 1841, beside the Mississippi River in Nau-

Latter-day Saints, edited by B. H. Roberts, 2d ed. rev. (6 vols., 1902–12, Vol. 7, 1932; rpt., Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1963 printing), 3:16.

¹²See Van Wagoner, *Mormon Polygamy*; Todd Compton, *In Sacred Loneliness: The Plural Wives of Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1997); Brian C. Hales, "Fanny Alger and Joseph Smith's Pre-Nauvoo Reputation," *Journal of Mormon History* 35 (Fall 2009): 112–90.

¹³Richard S. Van Wagoner, *The Complete Discourses of Brigham Young*, January 23, 1865, 5 vols. (Salt Lake City: Smith-Pettit Foundation, 2010), 2,259. Young adds that polygamy in Nauvoo "was not publicly known of." Rumors were denied, and the reformist *Nauvoo Expositor* was destroyed in June 1844.

¹⁴Van Wagoner, *The Complete Discourses of Brigham Young*, August 31, 1873, 2,993. William Clayton specifies that, on July 12, 1843, he wrote down the "revelation on celestial marriage" as Joseph dictated it in his Red Brick Store in Nauvoo. George D. Smith, ed., *An Intimate Chronicle: The Journals of William Clayton*, 2d ed. (Salt Lake City: Signature Books and Smith Research Associates, 1995), 557. "Baptism for the dead" was preached and practiced in January 1841 and September 1842 (D&C 124, 127, 128), the doctrine just prior to "celestial marriage" in July 1843 (D&C 132).

voo, between Joseph Smith and Louisa Beaman. Officiating was Joseph Bates Noble, Louisa's brother-in-law, acting under Joseph's direction. Louisa was one of the four daughters of Alvah Beaman, a farmer in Livonia, New York, and an old friend of the Smiths.¹⁵ In 1827, he had helped hide from curious neighbors what young Joseph described as an ancient record written on gold plates that he had recovered from the Hill Cumorah, located near his home in Palmyra, New York.¹⁶ Louisa would have been twelve at the time. Apostle Parley P. Pratt reported that Smith knew the Beamans "long before the first organization of the church" in 1830 and about fourteen years before the sealing. In 1834, when Joseph was twenty-eight and Louisa was nineteen, he and several Church elders resided briefly at the Beaman household in Avon, New York, where the family had moved in 1829, about thirty miles southwest of Palmyra.¹⁷ Joseph's 1841 espousal to Louisa was the first documented "plural or celestial" marriage in the restored Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

¹⁵Joseph B. Noble, Affidavit, June 26, 1869, in "40 Affidavits on Celestial Marriage," 1869, a collection consisting of six folders compiled by Joseph F. Smith, LDS Church History Library; Andrew Jenson, "Plural Marriage," *Historical Record* 6 (May 1887): 221.

¹⁶Parley P. Pratt Jr., ed., *Autobiography of Parley P. Pratt* (1874; rpt., Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1961 printing), 110; Dean C. Jessee, ed., *The Papers of Joseph Smith*, 2 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1992), 2:25. For recollections of the Smith-Beaman treasure-seeking period, see Martin Harris, interviewed by Joel Tiffany, *Tiffany's Monthly*, August 1859, 164; Mary A. Noble, Autobiography, in Dan Vogel, ed., *Early Mormon Documents*, 5 vols. (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1996), 3:308–10; Lavina Fielding Anderson, ed., *Lucy's Book: A Critical Edition of Lucy Mack Smith's Family Memoir* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2001), 800; Journal [Autobiography 1810–1834] of Joseph Bates Noble, LDS Church History Library; Dean C. Jessee, ed., *The Personal Writings of Joseph Smith*, rev. ed. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2002), 3; Dean Jessee, "Joseph Knight's Recollection of Early Mormon History," *BYU Studies* 17 (1976) 33–34; James H. Crockwell, *Pictures and Biographies of Brigham Young and His Wives* (Salt Lake City: Cannon & Sons, 1877), 20–21. Alvah, like Joseph, was a practitioner of the divining rod and had joined the Smiths in digging for treasure from 1822 to 1827. It was in 1822 that Joseph discovered a "seer stone" in a neighbor's well. See Scott Faulring, ed., *An American Prophet's Record: The Diaries of Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books and Smith Research Associates, 1987), 24.

¹⁷Joseph Smith, Journal, March 15, 1834, states that the Beaman residence was in "Lyvona [Livonia]"; Jessee, *Personal Writings*, 39 note 66; note

Joseph, thirty-five, had been married for fourteen years to thirty-six-year-old Emma Hale Smith, and was the father of three sons—Joseph III, eight; Frederick Granger Williams, four; and Alexander Hale, two. They also had a ten-year-old adopted daughter, Julia Murdock. Neither the Prophet's wife nor his children attended his unannounced marriage to the new twenty-six-year-old bride. The only observer was Joseph Bates Noble, the husband of Louisa's sister, Mary Adeline. He says that he performed the ceremony by repeating the words that Smith dictated to him and left a very important eyewitness account of what Louisa and Smith said and did on that portentous spring afternoon.

In 1869, Noble made one of some seventy-five notarized statements collected by Joseph F. Smith in Salt Lake City beginning that year. He affirmed under oath: "On the fifth day of April A.D. 1841, at the City of Nauvoo, County of Hancock, State of Illinois, he [Joseph Noble] married or sealed Louisa Beaman to Joseph Smith, President of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, according to the order of Celestial Marriage revealed to the Said Joseph Smith."¹⁸

Plans for the wedding had begun at least a year earlier—in the fall of 1840, according to Noble's testimony, also given under oath in 1892,¹⁹ that Smith "taught it [plural marriage] in my house" in Montrose, Iowa, "right across the river opposite Nauvoo," introducing it "pri-

67 corrects this location to "Avon, New York." Compton, *In Sacred Loneliness*, 56–57, 653, confirms the location as Avon, citing Louisa's sister, Mary Adeline Beaman [Snow]'s Autobiography, L. Tom Perry Special Collections and Manuscripts Division, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah (hereafter Perry Special Collections).

¹⁸Noble, Affidavit, June 26, 1869, in "40 Affidavits on Celestial Marriage," 1869, a collection consisting of six folders compiled by Joseph F. Smith, LDS Church History Library. Following the first forty affidavits in "Book One," are two more "books," bringing the entire compilation to about seventy-five affidavits. Smith, *Nauvoo Polygamy*, Table 8.2 "Affidavits by Date and Provenance," 474–78. Joseph Smith was resealed to Beaman with Brigham Young as his proxy on September 19, 1844, and January 14, 1846. Sealing Book A, 503–4, in Lisle G Brown, comp., *Nauvoo Sealings, Adoptions, and Anointings: A Comprehensive Register of Persons Receiving LDS Temple Ordinances, 1841–1846* (Salt Lake City: Smith-Pettit Foundation, 2006); Lyndon W. Cook, *Nauvoo Marriages, Proxy Sealings, 1843–1846* (Provo, Utah: Grandin Book, 2004), 41.

vately” there to “individuals in the church.”²⁰ This testimony on polygamy was taken at an awkward time: two years after the 1890 Manifesto that withdrew official support for new plural marriages for the Utah-based Latter-day Saints. The Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (now Community of Christ), a party to a lawsuit with the Church of Christ (Temple Lot) in Independence, had continually opposed the practice and denied that Joseph Smith had ever taught the doctrine. Polygamy was relevant to the question of legitimacy among successor LDS churches because, if the litigants could prove that the “Utah church” (not Joseph Smith) had innovated polygamy, then it might be dismissed as an illegitimate offshoot of Joseph’s “monogamous” church. Joseph had, in fact, publicly denied polygamy in a statement “on marriage” in the *Times and Seasons* on October 1, 1842, reiterating a similar denial in section 101 of the 1835 Doctrine and Covenants. Although the LDS Church was not a party to the suit, the RLDS Church under the leadership of Joseph Smith III hoped that a court ruling of legitimate successorship would provide not only a moral victory but also yield ownership of the temple lot itself.²¹ (The ruling confirmed the Church of Christ’s ownership.)

B. H. Roberts, assistant LDS Church historian, had joined the Church after it was established in Utah and therefore had no firsthand

¹⁹These 1892 depositions were part of a lawsuit to determine the ownership of the Mormon temple lot in Independence, Missouri, purchased by Bishop Edward Partridge on behalf of the Church in 1832. In addition to querying Mormons who had been in Missouri in 1832 and later, the questioning rapidly diverged into the origins of polygamy. Although ostensibly about the ownership of real estate, at issue was which church was the legitimate successor to Joseph Smith’s church.

²⁰*Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints v. Church of Christ of Independence, Missouri, et al.* 60 F. 937 (W.D. Mo. 1894), deposition testimony (questions 38, 51, 448–49), electronic copy prepared by Richard D. Ouellette.

²¹David L. Clark, *Joseph Bates Noble: Polygamy and the Temple Lot Case* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2009), 1–7, 73–86. The Church of Christ (Temple Lot), supported by the Utah Saints in this case, might be declared illegitimate as well because it had declared Smith “a fallen prophet.” However, Noble’s reaffirmation that he had married Smith to Louisa Beaman, his first plural wife, would support the Utah church’s position that Joseph Smith had originated the doctrine.

knowledge of events in Nauvoo. However, he stated that “it was in the fall of 1840” that Joseph Smith himself took “steps” to introduce “plural marriages as a practice in the church.”²² The year 1840 was an uncertain time in Smith’s life. In April 1839, he and some fellow prisoners had been allowed to escape from a Missouri jail, concluding years of open conflict between Mormon settlers and early Missouri inhabitants amid mutual threats of “extermination.” The Saints had found a new home along the Mississippi River, about twenty miles north from Carthage, Illinois. Naming the new city “Nauvoo,” a word that Joseph said meant, in Hebrew, “beautiful place,” he and his adherents had achieved relative independence and a thriving economy. One of the converts drawn to the new city was promoter and organizer John C. Bennett, who converted to Mormonism soon after his arrival in September 1840. Rapidly influential, he enhanced the community’s independence by building the Nauvoo Legion into a large militia and helped secure from the Illinois legislature a city charter with powers so expansive that Joseph later was able to resist state attempts to arrest him on both old and new charges, some of them originating in Missouri.²³

Joseph’s father died on September 14, 1840. Whatever influence his presence might have exercised on Joseph Jr.’s plans to enact plural marriage had he lived, in fact young Joseph never had to consider the possibility of a plural stepmother. Beyond his own unannounced wives, plural marriage did not enter Joseph’s own nuclear family. There is no record that his mother, Lucy Mack Smith, opposed—or was even aware of—this aspect of Joseph’s “restoration of all things.”²⁴ Emma also seemed unaware of most of her husband’s other marriages, except for four cases where she was briefly permissive but then resistant. She was especially offended by Joseph’s “revelation” that threatened her with “de-

²²B. H. Roberts, *A Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 6 vols. (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1930), 2:101.

²³Richard L. Bushman, *Joseph Smith: Rough Stone Rolling* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2005), 342–72; Stephen C. LeSueur, *The 1838 Mormon War in Missouri* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1987); Andrew F. Smith, *The Saintly Scoundrel: The Life and Times of John Cook Bennett* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press).

²⁴Anderson, *Lucy’s Book*, 12, 31–34, 125, 784–85. In all cases where Lucy’s attitude toward Joseph’s activities is known, it was uniformly supportive.

str[uction]" if she did not accept his wives. After Joseph's death when Joseph Noble and others were swearing their affidavits, Emma eventually denied that plural marriage had ever occurred at all.²⁵

Perhaps contributing to Joseph's sense of freedom to begin acquiring plural wives, a majority of his twelve apostles had left for missions in Great Britain by 1840. Whatever leadership or power vacuum Joseph and town residents experienced in Nauvoo that fall, John C. Bennett's arrival seemed to fill it. He lived with the Smith family from fall 1840 to summer 1841. As a convert of no more than four weeks, Bennett addressed the Church's October 1840 general conference. In February 1841, nominated by Smith, he ran unopposed for the office of town mayor; was commissioned to train the Nauvoo Legion with the rank of major general; helped establish Nauvoo's Masonic Lodge, of which he became secretary; and on May 6, 1841, was appointed master in chancery for Hancock County, which included the duties of an Illinois superior court judge. On April 8, 1841, Smith named Bennett "Assistant President of the Church." Augmenting these positions of responsibility, in January 1841 Smith expressed his personal approval of the new leader and pronounced a revelation in which the Lord stated that "my servant John C. Bennett . . . shall be great" and "I . . . will crown him with blessings and great glory" (D&C 124:17).²⁶ It seems likely that, given Bennett's proximity to decision-making authority in Nauvoo, he would have joined Smith in implementing the "patriarchal order of marriage," even though his contributions and record of participation may have been censored after quarreling with Smith and separating from the Church in the spring of 1842.²⁷

Joseph's wedding to Louisa Beaman by the Mississippi launched an

²⁵Linda King Newell and Valeen Tippetts Avery, *Mormon Enigma: Emma Hale Smith, Prophet's Wife, "Elect Lady," Polygamy's Foe, 1804–1879* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1984), chaps. 8, 10, 12; Smith, *Nauvoo Polygamy*, Appendix A: The 1843 Revelation (excerpts), from *Deseret News Extra*, September 14, 1852, 26–28. The revelation was canonized as Section 132 in LDS editions of the Doctrine and Covenants from 1876 to the present.

²⁶This revelation was first published in "Extracts from a Revelation Given to Joseph Smith, Jr., January 19th 1841," *Times and Seasons*, June 1, 1841, 424.

²⁷Bennett left Nauvoo July 1, 1842. *History of the Church*, 5:11–13; *Times and Seasons*, July 1, 1842, 3:839–43; Gary J. Bergera, "John C. Bennett, Joseph Smith, and the Beginnings of Mormon Plural Marriage in Nauvoo," *John Whitmer Historical Journal* 23 (2003): 59–90.

innovative marital structure on that spring afternoon in 1841. The young woman, in one account disguised in a man's hat and coat, joined Joseph and her brother-in-law at a secluded riverbank location where the Mormon prophet initiated the restoration of "celestial marriage." This practice linked participating Mormons solidly to the triumvirate of Hebrew patriarchs—Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, with their multiple spouses. Like Adam and like Noah, the Latter-day Saints were called to "multiply and replenish" the earth.²⁸ By revelation, Joseph received the reaffirmation of Abraham's promise: that his "seed" would be as "innumerable as the stars; or, if ye were to count the sand upon the seashore, ye could not number them."²⁹

Whether this momentous step was both a religious calling and a romance between Louisa and Joseph remains unspecified. Although Joseph reportedly had shown an interest in one Eliza Winters in 1828 in Emma's hometown of Harmony, Pennsylvania,³⁰ then in Fanny Alger from 1832 or 1833 in Kirtland, Ohio, neither of these relationships carries adequate documentation of a recognizable marriage.³¹

Ten individuals, including two reports by Joseph Bates Noble who performed the marriage, learned about this event from the three participants, thus supporting the record of Smith's marriage to Beaman:

1. John C. Bennett, in the summer of 1842, now thoroughly alienated from Joseph Smith, became the first person to announce the Prophet's private marriage to Louisa Beaman. Both in a letter to the *Sangamo Journal* of July 15, 1842, a newspaper published in Springfield,

²⁸The scriptural command to "multiply and replenish" appears in only three passages: in Genesis 1:28 to Adam and Eve, in Genesis 9:1 to the post-Flood survivors of Noah's family, and in D&C 132:63 to nineteenth-century Mormons.

²⁹Joseph Smith's "celestial marriage" revelation, recorded by William Clayton on July 12, 1843, in Nauvoo, Illinois, published in the *Deseret News Extra*, September 14, 1852, 26–28; see also D&C 132:30.

³⁰Brian C. Hales, *Mormon Polygamy and Mormon Fundamentalism: The Generations after the Manifesto* (Salt Lake City: Kofford Books, 2006), chap. 2, provides a thorough exploration of the documents linking Winters to Smith and concludes that there is no foundation to the rumor.

³¹"Mormonism," *Susquehanna Register* 9 (May 1, 1834):1, in Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 4:296–97, 346; William E. McLellin, Letter to Joseph Smith III, July 1872, Community of Christ Archives, Independence, Missouri.

Illinois, and in his exposé, *History of the Saints*, that drew on and expanded his newspaper letters, Bennett reported that Joseph secretly “married a Miss L***** B*****,” providing an accurate number of asterisks to represent the letters in Louisa’s name. He also correctly identified “Elder Joseph Bates Noble” as the officiator.³² Bennett had been living with the Smiths during the time Joseph was courting Louisa, so he was well positioned to witness these events. He even spoke of what appears to be an intimate visit when Joseph “went off to see Miss Beaman, at the house of Mrs. [Delcena] Sherman, and remained with her about two hours.”³³ Bennett’s continued respected position in Nauvoo is confirmed up to June 1841 by firm support for him recorded in the *Times and Seasons*.³⁴

2. Joseph Bates Noble, as already noted, made a sworn affidavit in 1869 that he had “married or sealed Louisa Beaman, to Joseph Smith.”³⁵

3. LDS Assistant Church Historian Andrew Jenson, who affiliated with the LDS Church after it had relocated in Utah, stated on June 11, 1883, that Smith “taught [Joseph Noble] the principle of plural marriage [and] the girl [Louisa Beaman], after being convinced that the principle was true, consented to become the prophet’s wife, and on 5 April 1841, she was married to him, Elder Noble officiating.” Jenson added that Louisa’s marriage was “the first plural marriage consummated.”³⁶

4. Apostle Wilford Woodruff attended a dinner hosted by Jane Blackhurst on January 22, 1869, in Salt Lake City at which the fifty-eight-year-old Noble, another guest, described this “first Marriage Ceremony according to the Patriarchal order of Marriage ever performed in this dispensation By sealing Eliza [Louisa] Be[a]man to Joseph Smith on

³²John C. Bennett, *Sangamo Journal*, July 15, 1842; Bennett, *History of the Saints* (1842; rpt., Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2000), 256.

³³Bennett, *History of the Saints*, 229.

³⁴The Nauvoo newspaper continued to endorse Bennett “as a gentleman, an officer, a scholar, and physician [who] stands too high to need defending . . . he is in the confidence of the executive [i.e., Joseph Smith] . . . he has, likewise been favorably known for upwards of eight years by some of the authorities of the church.” “The Warsaw Signal,” *Times and Seasons*, June 1, 1841, 431–32.

³⁵Affidavit, June 26, 1869; see also Cook, *Nauvoo Marriages*, 41.

³⁶Jenson, “Plural Marriage,” 232–33, 239.

the 6 [5] day of May [April] 1841.”³⁷

5. Apostle Franklin D. Richards, another guest at the Blackhurst dinner, recorded Noble’s remarks as: “He perform[ed] the first sealing ceremony in this dispensation in which he united sister Louisa Beaman to the prophet Joseph.” This took place, he said, “during the evening under an Elm tree in Nauvoo. The Bride disguised in a [man’s] coat and hat.”³⁸

6. On October 9, 1869, LDS Apostle and Church Historian George A. Smith, who was Joseph Smith’s cousin and had been present from Kirtland on, wrote to his own first cousin once removed, Joseph Smith III (the oldest son of Joseph and Emma Smith, then president of the RLDS Church): “On the 5th day of April, 1841, Louisa Beman was married to your father, Joseph Smith, for time and all eternity, by Joseph B. Nobles, a High Priest of the church. She remained true and faithful to him until the day of her death.”³⁹

7. William Clayton, Joseph Smith’s personal secretary in Nauvoo, swore an affidavit on February 16, 1874, that in February 1843 Smith “gave me to understand that Eliza R. Snow, Louisa Beman, S[ylvia] P. Sessions, and Desdemona C. Fullmer, and others were his lawful wives in the sight of Heaven.”⁴⁰

8. Ann Eliza Webb Young, formerly a plural wife of Brigham Young, reported that Noble had been “among the earliest converts to the doctrine of plural wives,” and added that “together the two men, with their chosen celestial brides, repaired one night to the banks of the Mississippi River, where Joseph sealed Noble to his first plural wife, and in return Noble performed the same office for The Prophet and [Noble’s] sister[-in-law].”⁴¹ Noble’s marriage actually happened a year after the Beaman-Smith sealing.

9. Apostle Erastus Snow, an early Mormon convert from Vermont,

³⁷Scott Kenney, ed., *Wilford Woodruff’s Journal*, 9 vols. (Midvale, Utah: Signature Books, 1983), 6:452.

³⁸Franklin D. Richards, *Journal*, January 22, 1869, LDS Church History Library.

³⁹George A. Smith, Letter to Joseph Smith III, October 9, 1869, Joseph Smith III Papers, Library-Archives, Community of Christ, Independence.

⁴⁰William Clayton, Affidavit, February 16, 1874, Salt Lake City, in “Affidavits [on Celestial Marriage], 1869–1915.”

⁴¹Ann Eliza Young, *Wife Number Nineteen, or the Story of a Life in Bondage* (Hartford, Conn.: Dustin, Gilman & Co., 1875), 72. Louisa died in 1850,

married Louisa's sister, Artemisia, on December 13, 1838, in Missouri. He told a congregation in St. George that Louisa was "the first Woman that entered Plural Marriage in this last dispensation [with] Br Nobles officiating in a grove Near Main Street in the City of Nauvoo[.] The Prophet Joseph di[c]tating the ceremony and Br. Nobles repeating it after him."⁴²

10. Almera Johnson, who became a plural wife of Joseph, in 1843, noted: "I had many conversations with Eliza [Louisa] Beaman who was also a wife of Joseph Smith, and who was present when I was sealed to him, on the subject of plurality of wives, both before and after the performance of that ceremony."⁴³

11. In the Temple Lot hearings of 1892, Joseph Noble repeated his testimony that he had "performed the marriage ceremony giving him my wife's sister," or "Louisa Beeman, to the prophet," at a rented house in Nauvoo. Asked whether there was a honeymoon, he said, "I know it, for I saw him in bed with her," adding that "right straight across the river [from Iowa] at my house they slept together." Noble gave the prophet some "counsel" to "blow out the lights and get into bed," advising him, "You will be safer there." Smith "took my advice," he continued. Then Noble laughed "heartily," according to the court reporter. Noble said the newlyweds "got into bed" soon after the ceremony, between about six and eight p.m. as Noble left the house. Noble recalled he knew they spent the night because Joseph later "told me he did."⁴⁴

These eleven reports of Louisa's marriage to Joseph are thus based on two legal statements of one eyewitness participant and nine second-hand reports, but all of them were personally known to Joseph except for Andrew Jenson and Ann Eliza Webb Young. Both of these individuals, however, would have had access to either Noble, the second-hand reporters, or both. Their descriptions form a consistent picture: the ceremony

eighteen years before Ann Eliza at age twenty-three married Brigham, making it unlikely that Louisa could have been Ann Eliza's direct source.

⁴²Erastus Snow, quoted on June 17, 1883, in A. Karl Larson and Katharine Miles Larson, eds., *Diary of Charles Lowell Walker*, 2 vols. (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1980), 2:610. In this published version, an error in the transcription described Louisa as the "first Mormon" instead of the "first Woman." Snow's information was likely Louisa's sister, Artemisia.

⁴³Almira [Almera] W. Johnson Smith Barton, Affidavit, August 1, 1883, in Joseph Fielding Smith, *Blood Atonement and the Origin of Plural Marriage: A Discussion* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1905), 70–71.

⁴⁴*Reorganized Church v. Church of Christ*, questions 688–90, 698, 702.

took place in the evening (Noble, Richards, Young); four specify Nauvoo (Noble, Richards, Snow, Young); Noble says it took place in a rented house “straight across the river” from Iowa; Snow says it was near Main Street “in a grove” that extended to the Mississippi; Richards says under an elm tree—perhaps corresponding with the grove; Ann Eliza Young places it “one night” along the “banks of the Mississippi River.” Correlating these accounts, one could say the Smith-Beaman ceremony took place in Nauvoo on a late Monday afternoon, April 5, 1841, in a grove or under a tree that was on or near the bank of the Mississippi River or close to Noble’s house, which was near the river. As Richards stated it, Louisa wore a man’s coat and hat, and Joseph dictated the words for Noble to say. There is some question about whether Noble actually saw Joseph and Louisa in bed together since he modified his initial assertion, indicating that Joseph afterward told him as much.

PROFILE OF JOSEPH’S PLURAL WIVES

Why Joseph Smith selected Louisa as his first plural wife is not clear. In the context of various demographic features, Louisa does not stand out. Like thirty-one other wives of Joseph Smith, she maintained a residence outside the Smith home, but six wives were hired girls who lived with the Smith family: Emily and Eliza Partridge, Maria and Sarah Lawrence, Elvira Cowles, and Eliza R. Snow, a special case since she taught Smith’s children, rather than doing housework. Like ten of the others, Louisa was in her twenties when she married Joseph. He had known Louisa, like most of his wives, for well over a decade. She was one of the eighteen single women he courted in Nauvoo. But six of those in their teens or twenties were orphaned or separated from their parents. Fourteen of the women were already married and typically had children. Apparently at least three of those husbands consented to their wives’ marriages to Joseph.⁴⁵

In twenty-seven cases, Joseph had known the women he would later marry as early as the Ohio period (1831–37). For example, one might hypothesize that a warm and even affectionate relationship had existed since their first meeting in 1827 when Louisa was an impressionable age twelve and Joseph, handsome and mature, was twenty-one. A few years later in 1834, their mutual impressions would have been reinforced when Joseph stayed briefly with the Beaman family in Avon, New York.

⁴⁵Compton, *In Sacred Loneliness*, 4–7, 15–23; Smith, *Nauvoo Polygamy*, Table 3.1 “Joseph Smith’s Wives,” 73–118, 157, 223–24.

Such familial settings occurred frequently during the Kirtland period when Joseph—and most members of the Church—were in frequent motion. Joseph often lodged with families other than his own, would have met the daughters of the house as a matter of course, and would have renewed their acquaintance with the greater complexities of maturity in Nauvoo where Joseph's centrality to the movement was even greater because he was more frequently present. I argue that the families who moved with Joseph through the Kirtland and Missouri periods formed a pool of close acquaintances in Nauvoo, even as the tide of converts continued to swell, and that the daughters of these families became objects of greater attention to Joseph as he reflected on what he considered his divine mandate to institute plural marriage.

In 1831 N. K. Whitney was the first man Joseph Smith greeted, identifying himself as “the Mormon prophet” when he reached Kirtland. The Whitneys took him in with Emma, who was pregnant with twins. Sarah Ann Whitney, age five and a future wife, must have watched their glamorous visitor with interest. While staying with the Whitneys, Joseph also met John Rollins's twelve-year-old daughter, Mary Elizabeth, also to become a Nauvoo plural wife. Fifteen-year-old Marinda Johnson met Joseph when he resided with her family in Hiram, Ohio. She recalled that when Joseph looked into her eyes, she felt “ashamed.”⁴⁶ Since she does not describe any fault she had committed except skepticism when she first heard about the “Mormonites,” I read this feeling as her being disconcerted before this charismatic ten-year-older man. She married Orson Hyde, a future apostle, in 1834; but in Nauvoo, Marinda became Joseph's plural wife.

Another unanswered question is whether Joseph took special pains to cultivate the affections of these prospective wives even before beginning the practice of plural marriage. One suggestion that this may have been the case is the example of Zina Huntington, who, as a fifteen-year-old, came to Kirtland in 1836 with her newly converted family. She described the impression he made on her at that first meeting: “I saw the Prophet's face for the first time[,] he was 6 feet[,] light auburn hair and a heavy nose[,] blue eyes[,] the [eye]ball[s] full & round[,] rather long forehead[,] [and] when he was filled with the spirit of revilation or inspiration—to talk to the saints[—] his countenance

⁴⁶Marinda Nancy Johnson Hyde, Affidavit, May 1, 1869, “40 Affidavits on Celestial Marriage.”

would look clear & bright.”⁴⁷

Three years later in Nauvoo, Zina’s mother died on July 8, 1839, and her father struggled with financial problems. Joseph and Emma invited eighteen-year-old Zina, her brother William, and her twelve-year-old brother John, to stay with them through the month of August, until her older brother, Dimick, built a house for them by the Mississippi. According to Zina’s later reminiscences, which exist in several forms, the Prophet courted her soon afterward in 1840. Somewhat unsettled by this unconventional proposal, she turned to a more eligible suitor, the single twenty-three-year-old Henry Jacobs, whom she married on March 7, 1841. Joseph persisted, however, and on October 27, 1841, when Zina was six months pregnant with Henry’s child, this young, expectant mother was also sealed to Joseph.⁴⁸ On December 11, Joseph then wed Zina’s sister, Presendia, who was also married. None of Joseph’s three plural marriages in 1841 were announced to the public, although relationship with the two Huntington sisters’ husbands became increasingly strained.

Joseph married thirteen additional wives in 1842 and twenty-one in 1843. Choosing plural wives with living husbands perhaps forestalled embarrassment if he fathered children with them. Furthermore, Emily Partridge recorded how children of plural marriages were not generally acknowledged before their exodus to Utah: “While in Nauvoo I kept my child secreted, and but few knew I had one.” She observed that “spiritual wives, as we were then termed, were not very numerous in those days and a spiritual baby was a rarity indeed—but few children had been born in the cele-

⁴⁷Martha Sonntag Bradley and Mary Brown Firmage Woodward, *Four Zinas: A Story of Mothers and Daughters on the Mormon Frontier* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books and Smith Research Associates, 2000), 74 note 19, citing Zina Young, Autobiography, 1 [date of event: November 10, 1836], Zina D. H. Young Collection, LDS Church History Library; Compton, *In Sacred Loneliness*, 657, also citing Zina Young, Autobiography, 1, Zina Card Brown Collection, LDS Church History Library. There are several drafts of Zina D. H. Young’s autobiography, as well as a variant typescript. Compare citations of Zina’s autobiography as they appear in Bradley and Compton.

⁴⁸Oa Jacobs Cannon, “History of Henry Bailey Jacobs,” 5, LDS Church History Library; Bradley and Woodward, *Four Zinas*, 107–15; Zina D. H. Young, Autobiography, 2, 4, Zina D. H. Young Collection, LDS Church History Library; see also Zina Card Brown Collection, LDS Church History Library.

TABLE 1
INNER CIRCLE OF NAUVOO POLYGAMISTS
(omitting Joseph Smith)

<i>First Polygamous Marriage</i>		<i>Husbands</i>	<i># Celestial Wives by June 27, 1844</i>	<i>Eventually</i>
1842	June 14	Brigham Young	5	55
1842		Heber Kimball	2	44
1842		Vinson Knight	2	2
1842		Reynolds Cahoon	2	3
1843	January 18	Willard Richards	4	11
1843	February 5	William Huntington	2	3
1843	February/March	Orson Hyde	3	9
1843	March 9	Lorenzo Young	2	8
1843	March 23	Thomas Bateman	2	2
1843	April 5	Joseph Noble	3	11
1843	April 27	William Clayton	2	10
1843	May 17	Benjamin Johnson	2	7
1843	July 11	James Adams	2	2
1843	July 20	George Miller	2	4
1843	July 24	Parley Pratt	2	11
1843	July 28	William Felshaw	2	3
1843	August 11	Hyrum Smith	5	5
1843	August 13	John Smith	3	8
1843	Fall	William Smith	2	15
1843	November	Ebenezer Richardson	2	4
1843	December 12	John Taylor	6	18
1843	December 19	Isaac Morley	3	10
1843	December 28	Edwin Woolley	3	6
1843	December	William Sagers	2	10
1844	Early	Howard Egan	2	4
1844	March 6	Theodore Turley	4	5
1844	April 2	Erastus Snow	2	14
1844	April 27	Ezra Benson	2	8
1844	Spring	Joseph Kelting	3	3
1844	< June 27	Lyman Wight	4	4
1844	< June 27	Joseph Coolidge	2	5
1844	< June 27	John Page	<u>2</u>	<u>4</u>
Total Wives			86	308
Average Wives per Man			2.7	9.6

tial order of marriage.”⁴⁹ After restoring “all things” as he acquired his own wives beginning in 1841, Joseph invited his associates to accept the “privilege” of added celestial companions; and in 1842 four elders joined him, starting with Brigham Young, Heber Kimball, Vinson Knight, and Reynolds Cahoon, who each married one new wife apiece. In 1843, Joseph’s scribe, Willard Richards, was the first of twenty men who became new polygamists that year. Joseph’s brother, Hyrum, then married four, and Brigham Young married two more.⁵⁰ By Joseph’s death in June 1844, 33 Nauvoo men had married a total of 124 wives, an average of 3.8 wives per man, 24 of whom as widows would remarry Joseph’s associates.⁵¹ Tracking these men’s marriages over their lifetimes shows devotion to the principle: a total of 346, an average of 10.5 wives per man. Subtracting Joseph’s 38 wives, his inner circle of followers had married a total of 86 women, 2.7 wives per man.⁵² These early adherents to the practice of celestial marriage eventually married 308 women, or 9.6 wives per man.

In 1844, the year of Joseph’s and Hyrum’s assassinations, twenty-one more men took plural wives, eight before June 27, and thirteen after. In 1845, thirty-six more men joined the expanding inner circle, followed by 114 in 1846, just before the first wagons crossed the Mississippi on the trek across Iowa to the west. At that point, the 196 men who had become polygamists in Nauvoo married a total of 717 wives—196 initial spouses and 521 plural wives.⁵³ Tracking their marriages to their deaths yields a total of 1,134 marriages, an average of nearly six wives per man.⁵⁴ As these numbers clearly show, the practice of polygamy steadily increased from (1) the Joseph Smith period in Nauvoo, (2) the Brigham Young period in Nauvoo, and (3) the four decades of official practice in Utah. Al-

⁴⁹Emily Dow Partridge Young, “Diary and Reminiscences, 1874–1899,” January 7, 1877, July 24, 1883, Perry Special Collections.

⁵⁰Smith, *Nauvoo Polygamy*, 311–20, Table 4.8, “Nauvoo Plural Families by Year of Inception.”

⁵¹Ibid., 283, Table 4.1, “The widows who married LDS leaders.”

⁵²Ibid., 286, Table 4.3. “Joseph’s Nauvoo Polygamy 1841–44, Families Ranked by Number of Wives.” See also Gary James Bergera, “Identifying the Earliest Mormon Polygamists, 1841–44,” *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*, Fall 2005, 1–71.

⁵³Ibid., 311–22

⁵⁴These are gross numbers, before adjustment for deaths, divorces, and widows’ remarriages. Smith, *Nauvoo Polygamy*, “Nauvoo Plural Marriages,” 288.

though the statistics do not tell the human story, the increase in the number of wives conveys the sense of a changing social pattern in the LDS community.

INCIDENCE OF PLURAL MARRIAGE

By June 1844, Joseph Smith had acquired the most wives of any man in Nauvoo. Although scholars have come up with different figures, I find reason to accept thirty-eight by this count. In terms of family size, next came John Taylor (six); Hyrum Smith and Brigham Young (five); Willard Richards, Theodore Turley, and Lyman Wight (four); Orson Hyde, Joseph Kelting, Isaac Morley, Joseph Noble, John Smith, and Edwin Woolley (three); and twenty other men who had two apiece,⁵⁵ producing a statistical average of 2.7 wives apiece.⁵⁶

Spanning the entire Nauvoo period from inception to departure into Iowa (1841-46) and excluding Joseph Smith, Brigham Young had the most wives (forty), followed by Heber C. Kimball (thirty-seven), John Taylor (thirteen), William Smith (twelve), John D. Lee (eleven), Samuel Bent (ten), and Willard Richards (nine). The only members of Joseph's immediate family to practice polygamy were his brothers Hyrum and William. In the extended family his first cousin, George A. Smith, and his Uncle John Smith also married plural wives.

Among Joseph's eight siblings who survived to adulthood, only Hyrum's children practiced polygamy in the West. Alvin had died before the Church was organized, Don Carlos and Samuel died as monogamists in the Nauvoo period, William was excommunicated in 1845, and their three sisters, Sophronia, Katharine, and Lucy, all remained in the East. Don Carlos's widow, Agnes Coolbrith, was sealed successively to Joseph, then to George A. For unknown reasons, she did not go west with the Mormons, but married St. Louis printer William Pickett. They went to California where Agnes's poet-daughter stopped using her christened name, "Josephine Smith," and adopted the name

⁵⁵James Adams, Thomas Bateman, Ezra Benson, Reynolds Cahoon, William Clayton, Joseph Coolidge, Howard Egan, William Felshaw, William Huntington, Benjamin Johnson, Heber Kimball, Vinson Knight, George Miller, John Page, Parley Pratt, Ebenezer Richardson, William Sagers, William Smith, Erastus Snow, and Lorenzo Young.

⁵⁶Smith, *Nauvoo Polygamy*, Table 4.8, "Nauvoo Plural Families by Year of Inception," 311-22; Tables 4.4-4.5, ranking Nauvoo families by number of wives, 286-88.

of "Ina Coolbrith."⁵⁷ Samuel H. Smith's son, Samuel H. B. Smith, went west but did not become a polygamist.⁵⁸

Brigham Young had a total of fifty-five wives but, because of deaths and divorces, no more than thirty-eight at one time, fifteen of whom bore him a total of fifty-five children.⁵⁹ Heber Kimball had a total of forty-four wives, followed by John D. Lee (nineteen), John Taylor (eighteen), William Smith (fifteen), Erastus Snow (fourteen); Aaron Johnson and Franklin D. Richards (twelve), six men had eleven,⁶⁰ and 181 had between two and ten.⁶¹ Viewed another way, these numbers demonstrate a rising incidence of wives in the Nauvoo polygamous community after go-

⁵⁷Smith, *Nauvoo Polygamy*, 90, 91.

⁵⁸Samuel Harrison Smith and Mary Bailey Smith had four children. Their son, Samuel Bailey Harrison Smith, had a daughter, Levira A. Clark Smith, who married her first cousin once removed, Joseph F. Smith (Hyrum Smith's son) in 1859 in Salt Lake City. Levira divorced Joseph F. for adultery in 1866 when he began marrying plural wives. Anderson, *Lucy's Book*, 872–73. Joseph F. Smith strenuously denied this motivation. His son Joseph Fielding Smith attributes Levira's "separation" (neither he nor his father used the term "divorce") to "interference on the part of relatives, and because of the continued absence of her husband" in mission fields and in ecclesiastical duties. Joseph Fielding then quotes his father's denial that Levira left him because of plural marriage, claiming that Levira "freely gave her consent" to his marriage to Julina Lambson in 1866, was a witness to the marriage, and had "pleasant and harmonious" relations with Julina but had continual "ill health" which she hoped would improve in California and "procured a separation" before her departure. Joseph Fielding Smith, *Life of Joseph F. Smith: Sixth President of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (1938; rpt., Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, n.d.), 280–81.

⁵⁹Smith, *Nauvoo Polygamy*, 291–92. They are: Emmeline Free (10), Emily Dow Partridge Smith (7), Mary Ann Angell (6), Lucy Ann Decker Seely (7), Clarissa Decker (5), Louisa Beaman Smith (5), Clarissa Chase Ross (4), Lucy Bigelow (3), Margaret Alley (2), and six wives who had a single child: Harriet Cook, Zina Huntington Jacobs Smith, Margaret Peirce Whitesides, Martha Bowker, Harriet Barney Sagers, and Mary Van Cott Cobb. Brigham Young also had children by his first (monogamous) marriage.

⁶⁰James Brown, Joseph Noble, Parley P. Pratt, Willard Richards, George A. Smith, and Daniel Wood.

⁶¹Smith, *Nauvoo Polygamy*, 288–89.

TABLE 2
RISING INCIDENCE OF WIVES

<i>Wives in a Family</i>	<i>Number of Such Families</i>	
	<i>1841–1846</i>	<i>> 1846</i>
8	5	11
7	3	12
6	1	23
5	11	20
4	21	35
3	47	40
2	100	28

Source: George D. Smith, *Nauvoo Polygamy*, Table 4.6, “Rising Incidence of Wives,” 290.

ing west.⁶² (See Table 2.)

Polygamists with two wives dropped from 100 in Nauvoo to twenty-eight in the West. Men with four or five wives nearly doubled. And almost nine times as many Nauvoo polygamists in the West had six and seven wives.

Excluding Joseph Smith, Brigham Young, and Heber C. Kimball, who had an extraordinary number of wives, 193 men who became polygamists in Nauvoo married a total of 997 women over their lifetimes, 5.2 wives per man. Although this rate is somewhat swollen by those churchmen with ten to nearly twenty wives, this expanding rate of polygamy set a blueprint for Mormon marriages over the next forty years.

JOSEPH’S APPROACH TO MEN

Crucial in understanding Joseph Smith’s theology of marriage is his assumption that Christ’s second coming was imminent. The same situation had prevailed in Christianity’s first generation; but the Apostle Paul had advised against marriage as self-indulgent and meaningless, given the end of time: “The time is short: it remaineth, that both they that

⁶²*Ibid.*, Table 4.6, “Rising Incidence of Wives,” 290.

have wives be as though they had none" (1 Cor. 7:29).⁶³ In contrast, Joseph Smith sought to enhance marriage even though he stated, in February 1835, that "fifty-six years should wind up the scene and the Savior should come to his people."⁶⁴ Rather than deemphasizing marriage, Joseph wanted marriage on a grand scale, proclaiming the need to raise righteous "seed" in the last days. A few anecdotes have survived, suggesting how Joseph approached the task of persuading believers to adopt this Old Testament form of marriage.

Joseph's "private clerk," William Clayton, had been a bookkeeper in an English textile factory when twenty-three Mormon missionaries arrived in 1837 and Heber C. Kimball baptized him. After serving a mission in Manchester, Clayton brought his family to the United States in 1840 and became Joseph's secretary in 1842. In journals spanning 1840–53, Clayton provides a convert's record, not only of Mormonism, but also of polygamy. While serving his Manchester mission about fifty miles from home, Clayton recorded how local member "Sarah Crooks bath[ed] my forehead with rum and gave me some mint drops." On another occasion, because his feet were "very sore. . . . Sarah washed them and gave me a pint of warm Porter. . . . We sat together til 2 o'clock [A.M.]." Thinking of his wife, Ruth, and their two children, who were living with her parents during this mission, Clayton admitted that he was "much . . . tempted on her [Sarah's] account and felt to pray that the Lord would preserve me from impure affections." At the same time, he acknowledged "I certainly feel my love towards her . . . increase."⁶⁵

In February 1843, after Clayton had been Joseph Smith's clerk for about a year, Joseph dropped by the Clayton home for supper. Before sitting down to eat, Joseph invited William to walk with him despite what must have been inhospitable weather. During this stroll, the Prophet invited Clayton to accept the "favor" of plural marriage to Sarah Crooks, to whom Clayton was admittedly still "very much attached." When William demurred, the Prophet insisted, "It is your privilege to have all the wives you want." Without more ado, Clayton then invited Crooks to America (presumably accepting Joseph's offer to finance her travel) and proposed

⁶³James A. Brundage, *Law, Sex, and Christian Society in Medieval Europe* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987) 2, 5, 57–61, 74.

⁶⁴Joseph Smith quoted by Reuben McBride in Larson and Larson, *Diary of Charles Lowell Walker*, 2:522.

⁶⁵Smith, *Intimate Chronicle*, 29, 32, 41, 52. Clayton was unaware at the time of Smith's plural marriages.

marriage. Crooks sailed to America, but refused to marry Clayton. However, he followed his leader's example by eventually marrying ten women (nine plural wives) and fathering a total of forty-seven children.⁶⁶

In a similar pattern, Joseph approached his land agent, Benjamin F. Johnson, on a Sunday morning in April 1843 and invited: "Come brother Bennie, let us have a walk." They set off, arm in arm, and Joseph "led the way into a by-place in the edge of the woods surrounded by tall brush and trees." They sat down on a log, and Joseph told Benjamin that "the Lord had revealed to him that plural or patriarchal marriage was according to His law," and that "he wanted my Sister Alm[e]ra for one of [his wives], and wished me to see and talk to her upon the subject."⁶⁷ Johnson warned Smith not to "insult or prostitute my sister" on pain of death; but "with a smile," Smith replied, "Benjamin, you will never see that day."⁶⁸ Benjamin's persuasions on behalf of the prophet were successful, and Almera became Joseph's plural wife.

In July 1843, Johnson remembered, Joseph issued a revelation on plural marriage that alluded to the biblical parable of the ten talents (Matt. 25:14–30). Similarly, if a man had "ten virgins given unto him by this law," the revelation read, "he cannot commit adultery, for they belong to him" (D&C 132:62). Johnson recognized the allusion because Joseph had explained celestial marriage to him employing as his "Text" "our use of the 'one, Five, & Ten talents.'" Writing in 1903 when he was eighty-five, Johnson explained how he interpreted the message: "As God had now commanded Plural marriage, and as exaltation & dominion of the Saints depended upon the number of the[ir] Righteous posterity—From him who was found but with the one Talent It would be taken & given to him that had Ten."⁶⁹ Johnson thus concluded that, in heaven, the man who had only one wife might lose her to the man with ten.

A third anecdote of persuasion involves Lorenzo and Eliza Snow,

⁶⁶William Clayton, Affidavit, February 16, 1874, in Jenson, "Plural Marriage," 224–26; Smith, *Intimate Chronicle*, 94, 99, 107, 555–56.

⁶⁷Benjamin F. Johnson, *My Life's Review* (1947; Mesa, Ariz.: 21st Century Printing, 1992), 94–95.

⁶⁸Benjamin F. Johnson, "Book No. 2," Affidavits on Celestial Marriage, 3–9, LDS Church History Library.

⁶⁹Benjamin F. Johnson, Letter to George F. Gibbs, April–October 1903, LDS Church History Library; published in Dean R. Zimmerman, ed., *I Knew the Prophets: An Analysis of the Letter of Benjamin F. Johnson to George F. Gibbs* (Bountiful, Utah: Horizon Publishers, 1976), 30.

two of the seven children of Oliver Snow and Rosetta Pettibone Snow, who farmed in Mantua, Ohio, thirty miles from Kirtland. As Campbellite Baptists, they also anticipated Christ's reign on earth within their lifetime. Eliza, born in 1804, was ten years older than Lorenzo.⁷⁰ Oliver, Rosetta, and three children had joined the Church by 1836. In Nauvoo, Oliver developed doubts and moved away to Walnut Grove, Illinois, followed by his wife and four of the children. Three, however, Eliza, Leonora, and Lorenzo, remained with the Saints.

Eliza, who taught the Smiths' children, became Emma's friend, accepted the position of secretary in the Nauvoo Relief Society in March 1842, and married Joseph on June 29, 1842. Only two months earlier, the Relief Society had investigated rumors that Joseph had been "immoral" with his widowed sister-in-law, Agnes Coolbrith Smith, to whom, by then, he had been sealed. The case was closed and Emma scolded the women for rumor-mongering when the accuser admitted, "I never have at any time or place, seen or heard any thing improper or unvirtuous in the conduct or conversation of either President Smith or Mrs. Agnes Smith."⁷¹

Eliza began keeping her journal on her wedding day but did not discuss her sealing. Instead, she wrote cryptically: "This is a day of much interest to my feelings." Twenty-seven years later, Eliza swore an affidavit to the sealing that included the date and identified Brigham Young as the officiator. The *History of the Church* for that day mentions only that Joseph went out for a ride with Brigham.⁷² Forty years after the sealing, Eliza went into more detail in her autobiography: "In Nauvoo I first understood that the practice of plurality was to be introduced into the church," knowledge that she greeted with initial "repugnance." However, "I was sealed to the Prophet, Joseph Smith, for time and eternity, in accordance with the Celestial Law of marriage," and testified "that Plural Celestial marriage is a pure and holy principle."⁷³

On August 18, 1842, six weeks after her marriage to Joseph, Eliza

⁷⁰Ohio convert Sidney Rigdon was a Campbellite Baptist, as were Orson and Parley Pratt, Orson Hyde, Edward Partridge, and John C. Bennett.

⁷¹"A Record of the Organization, and Proceedings of the Female Relief Society of Nauvoo," 12, 17-18, 21, 89, typescript; LDS Church History Library.

⁷²Eliza R. Snow Smith, Affidavit, June 7, 1869, "40 Affidavits on Celestial Marriage," 1869; *History of the Church*, 5:49.

moved into the Smith household for about six months.⁷⁴ Lorenzo was on a mission to England when Eliza was sealed to Joseph. After Lorenzo returned in April 1843, Eliza's uneasiness increased. "Not knowing how my brother would receive it, I did not feel at liberty, and did not wish to assume the responsibility of instructing him in the principle of plural marriage, and either maintained silence, or, to his indirect questioning, gave evasive answers, until I was forced by his cool and distant manner to feel that he was growing jealous of my sisterly confidence—that I could not confide in his brotherly integrity." When she "could not endure this" any longer, Eliza asked Joseph "to open the subject to my brother. A favorable opportunity soon presented, and seated together on the lone bank of the Mississippi River, they had a most interesting conversation. The Prophet afterwards told me that he found that my brother's mind had been previously enlightened on the subject in question, and was ready to receive whatever the spirit of revelation from God should impart."⁷⁵

This setting parallels the private walks Joseph took with William Clayton and Benjamin Johnson, and so did his instructions. According to Eliza, "Joseph unbosomed his heart," confessing that he had "hesitat[ed]" until "an angel" approached him with a "drawn sword" and threatened him "unless he moved forward and established plural marriage."⁷⁶ Joseph had also described the angel with a drawn sword to Mary Elizabeth Rollins Lightner and Benjamin F. Johnson.⁷⁷

Lorenzo left his own record of this conversation:

[Joseph] wished to have some private talk with me and requested me to walk out with him. It was toward evening. We walked a little distance and sat down on a large log that lay near the bank of the river. He there and then explained to me the doctrine of plurality of wives; he said that the Lord had revealed it unto him, and commanded him to have women sealed to him as wives; that he foresaw the trouble that would follow, and sought to turn away from the

⁷³Eliza Roxcy Snow, "Sketch of My Life," April 13, 1885, 13, 17, holograph, Bancroft Library, Berkeley, California.

⁷⁴Smith, *Nauvoo Polygamy*, 128–34, 253–39.

⁷⁵Eliza R. Snow Smith, *Biography and Family Record of Lorenzo Snow* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1884), 68–70.

⁷⁶*Ibid.*, 69–70.

⁷⁷Mary Elizabeth Rollins Lightner, Statement, February 8, 1902, MS 752, fd. 3, LDS Church History Library; Johnson to Gibbs, April–October 1903, 41–42.

commandment; that an angel from heaven then appeared before him with a drawn sword, threatening him with destruction unless he went forward and obeyed the commandment.⁷⁸

Joseph also informed Lorenzo that “my sister Eliza R. Snow had been sealed to him as his wife for time and eternity” and that Lorenzo himself “should have women sealed to me as wives,” and thus “obey the law of Celestial Marriage.”⁷⁹

Their older sister, Leonora, became the plural wife of Isaac Morley. Eliza, though sealed to Brigham Young after Joseph’s death, during the six years following Emma’s death signed her name “Eliza R. Snow Smith.” She had no children by either husband. Lorenzo had forty-two children by his nine wives and promised his descendants: “God will . . . make you kings and queens in the [afterlife] . . . to rule . . . through the countless ages of eternities.”⁸⁰ Ordained an apostle in 1849, Lorenzo became the fifth LDS Church president (1898–1901) but, ironically, took a firmer stand than either his predecessor, Wilford Woodruff, or his successor, Joseph F. Smith, that new plural marriages must stop.⁸¹

From these three examples in which Joseph communicated the new doctrine of plural marriage and persuaded a disciple to become a practitioner, the setting was an invitation to take a private walk, then hold a conversation in the woods or by the stream. Presumably, Joseph used the same approach with other Latter-day Saints who accepted this doctrine. A significant aspect of these three conversations was the necessity of secrecy. Polygamy would not only violate Illinois laws against bigamy but, perhaps even more importantly, it countered the social mores of these Mormons, many of whom came from New England Puritan backgrounds.⁸²

JOSEPH’S APPROACH TO WOMEN

Several accounts have survived of how Joseph broached this sensitive topic to women as potential wives. As one example, even though both

⁷⁸Lorenzo Snow, Affidavit, in Joseph Fielding Smith, *Blood Atonement*, 67–68; also in Jenson, “Plural Marriage,” 222.

⁷⁹Eliza R. Snow Smith, *Biography and Family Record of Lorenzo Snow*, 67–68, 70.

⁸⁰*Ibid.*, 484–87.

⁸¹D. Michael Quinn, “LDS Church Authority and New Plural Marriages, 1890–1904,” *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 18 (Spring 1985): 9–105, esp. 66–73.

Emily and Eliza Partridge were members of the Smith household when they were sealed to Joseph, he approached them one at a time, careful to ensure that he was not overheard. Joseph had baptized their father in Ohio in 1831 as the “first Mormon bishop” when Emily was seven and Eliza ten. After their father, Edward Partridge, died in Nauvoo in May 1840, their mother, Lydia, married William Huntington, a widower and father of Zina and Presendia, another pair of sisters who became Joseph’s plural wives. The blended family struggled financially; and at Joseph’s invitation, the two Partridge sisters, then in “very poor circumstances,” “went to live in the family of the prophet Joseph Smith. We lived there about three years.”⁸³ The girls tended the Smith children and helped with the housework. Emily’s particular duty was tending baby Don Carlos, born June 13, 1840 (died 1841). The girls were not paid wages but “lived as one of the family.”⁸⁴ Emily recalled that she was given the “privilege of going to school” and that “as a general thing I was very happy going to parties and singing schools, and riding horseback.”⁸⁵

According to Emily’s recollection, when she was about eighteen, Joseph found her alone in a room one day—she could not remember when and “asked me if I could keep a secret.”⁸⁶ “Joseph said to me, ‘Emily, if you will not betray me, I will tell you something for your benefit.’ Of course I would keep his secret, but no opportunity offered for some time, to say anything to me.” He seized another moment when she passed through a room in which he was sitting alone and said he would write her a letter if she promised to burn it. “As I felt very anxious to know what he had to tell me, I promised to do as he wished, and left the room. I began to think that was not the proper thing for me to do . . . I went back and watched my opportunity to say I could not take a private letter from him.

⁸²Val D. Rust, *Radical Origins: Early Mormon Converts and Their Colonial Ancestors* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2004); George D. Smith, Review of *Radical Origins*, Val D. Rust, *Journal of Mormon History* 35 (Summer 2009): 269–72.

⁸³Lyman, “Autobiography and Diary,” 7, microfilm of holograph, LDS Church History Library.

⁸⁴*Reorganized Church v. Church of Christ*, questions 126–27.

⁸⁵Emily Dow [Partridge Smith] Young, “Incidents in the Life of a Mormon Girl,” 178, MS 5220, fds. 1–2; microfilm of holograph, LDS Church History Library; Emily Dow Partridge Young, “What I Remember,” April 7, 1884, 28, LDS Church History Library.

⁸⁶*Reorganized Church v. Church of Christ*, questions 21–22, 129–46.

He asked me if I wished the matter ended. I said I did, and it rested for some time.”⁸⁷ In retrospect, Emily realized that “Joseph had tried to make these things known to me—I think, in the spring or summer of ’42, but I had shut him up so quick that he said no more to me until the 28th of Feb, 1843, (my nineteenth birth day).”⁸⁸

This third conversation was successful, and only a few days later on March 4, Heber C. Kimball performed the sealing during a brief encounter at his home.⁸⁹ To maintain appearances, “Joseph went home his way, and I [went] my way alone,” admittedly “a strange way of getting married, wasn’t it?” Emily noted that Joseph “taught me this principle of plural marriage that is called polygamy now, but we called it celestial marriage.” Emily emphasized that Joseph “taught it to me with his own lips.”⁹⁰

As a second example, Lucy Walker was fifteen when Joseph proposed to her and had become a member of the Smith household after her mother died in January 1842. Again, finding an opportunity for a private conversation, Joseph announced, “I have a message for you. I have been commanded of God to take another wife, and you are the woman.” He held out the promise that this marriage would “form a chain that could never be broken, worlds without end,” then added: “I will give you until tomorrow to decide. . . . [I]f you reject this message, the gate will be closed forever against you.”⁹¹

Lucy, without parental guidance, hesitated, sought a revelation for guidance, and said she received it. The wedding took place about a year later on May 1, 1843, the day after Lucy’s seventeenth birthday. Emma was shopping in St. Louis and returned the day after the ceremony. Joseph was at the dock to greet Emma as she disembarked from the *Maid of Iowa*.⁹²

Joseph was sealed to three additional plural wives that same month of May 1843: fourteen-year-old Helen Mar Kimball and sisters Sarah and

⁸⁷Emily Young, “Diary and Reminiscences,” 1.

⁸⁸Emily Young, “Incidents in the Life of a Mormon Girl,” 185.

⁸⁹Emily Young, “Diary and Reminiscences,” 1.

⁹⁰*Reorganized Church v. Church of Christ*, questions 18, 23.

⁹¹Lucy Walker Kimball, quoted in Lyman O. Littlefield, *Reminiscences of Latter-day Saints* (Logan: Utah Journal Co., 1888), 46–48, quoting Lucy Walker (“L W”) Kimball, Statement, n.d., typescript, LDS Church History Library.

⁹²Littlefield, *Reminiscences of Latter-day Saints*, 46–48; Smith, *Nauvoo Polygamy*, 192–93.

Maria Lawrence.⁹³ Presumably many of the elements were the same in their cases: a private conversation, invocation of God's authority, and the need for secrecy. Also in May, Joseph had the opportunity to spend conjugal time with Benjamin Johnson's sister, Almera. In April, Johnson had recorded in a later reminiscence, "the Prophet again Came [to Macedonia] and at my house occupied the Same Room & Bed with my Sister that the month previous [March] he had occupied with the Daughter of the Late Bishop Partridge as his wife."⁹⁴ According to William Clayton's record, Joseph spent two days and nights (May 16–18, 1843) at the Johnson home.⁹⁵

RESISTANCE TO PLURAL MARRIAGE

Not everyone accepted Joseph's restoration of "all things." Some women would reject his (or anyone's) arguments. Some men disagreed with Joseph's administration of the "principle" or argued that secret plural wives were irredeemably at odds with the behavior appropriate to a Christian community. In 1838 Oliver Cowdery broke with Joseph in Kirtland and Missouri, at least partly because of revulsion at Joseph's intimacy with Fanny Alger.⁹⁶

Cordelia C. Morley reported that "in the spring of '44, Plural marriage was introduced to me by my pearents" after "Joseph Smith ask[ed] their consent" and "requested me to be his wife . . . I [k]new nothing of such religion and could not [ac]cept it[,] neither did I." She was, however, sealed

⁹³He also, that month, underwent a second ceremony with the Partridge sisters. After complicated negotiations and resistance, Emma had agreed that he could marry two plural wives but she would choose them. She selected the Partridge sisters, apparently not knowing that he had already married them. The sisters loyally kept Joseph's double secret. Emily Young, "Diary and Reminiscences," 2, 6, and her "Incidents in the Life of a Mormon Girl," 183–86.

⁹⁴Benjamin F. Johnson, in Zimmerman, *I Knew the Prophets*, 43–44.

⁹⁵Smith, *Intimate Chronicle*, 101–4.

⁹⁶Stan Larson and Samuel J. Passey, eds., *The William E. McLellin Papers: 1854–1880* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2007), 483–95; Van Wagoner, *Mormon Polygamy*, 5–12, 225 note 7; Compton, *In Sacred Loneliness*, 25–42. During Smith's lifetime, nine of the original twelve apostles had left the fold, mostly in 1838 and 1839 and mostly over financial and Church governance issues, partly over rumors about Joseph's housegirl; three came back. D. Michael Quinn, *The Mormon Hierarchy: Origins of Power* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books in association with Smith Research Associates, 1994), 465–66.

to him after his death, with her husband, Walter Cox, acting as proxy.⁹⁷

In a similar vein, Rachel Ridgeway Ivins Grant evaded Joseph's anticipated proposal. Her son, Heber J. Grant (LDS Church president, 1918–45), who has earned the reputation of a forthright commentator, described how his mother, Rachel Ridgeway Ivins Grant, in about 1842 deflected Joseph's anticipated proposal of plural marriage by simply avoiding him. She explained to her son that she had felt she would "sooner go to hell as a virtuous woman than to heaven as a whore." Her unambiguous assessment of Joseph's principle of "celestial marriage" is found in a 1936 letter that President Grant wrote to a national Boy Scout leader. However, like Cordelia, Rachel consented to be sealed to Joseph after his death.⁹⁸

Sarah Melissa Granger Kimball, whose husband, Hiram, was not a Mormon, rejected Joseph's effort in early 1842 to teach her about plural marriage. This prominent Nauvoo (and later Salt Lake) Relief Society sister plainly advised Joseph to "teach it to someone else."⁹⁹

More serious was Nancy Rigdon's rejection of the Prophet's proposal because she made her rejection public. John C. Bennett, who by then had split with Smith, published a letter in the *Sangamo Journal* July 8, 1842, reporting that Joseph had "attempted to seduce Miss Nancy Rigdon" to become "one of his clandestine wives" while claiming authority "in the name of the Lord."¹⁰⁰ This first of eight such letters could not have been more damaging. On July 15, Bennett also sent to the *Sangamo*

⁹⁷Cordelia Morley Cox, Autobiographical Statement, March 17, 1909, Perry Special Collections.

⁹⁸Heber J. Grant, Letter to Ray O. Wyland, December 12, 1936, LDS Church History Library. According to Grant, Brigham Young did not allow Heber's biological father, Jedediah, to be sealed to Heber's mother, Rachel, "for eternity, because [Brigham Young] had instructions from the Prophet that if anything happened to him [Smith] before he was married to Rachel Ivins she must be sealed to him for eternity," that she "belonged" to him. Smith, *Nauvoo Polygamy*, 233.

⁹⁹Sarah Melissa Granger Kimball maintained her marriage to Hiram. Joseph Smith later accused Hiram of "insinuating evil against the prophet" and pronounced: Hiram "shall be accursed." Quoted in Van Wagoner, *Mormon Polygamy*, 43–44. See also Sarah M. Kimball's testimony in Jensen, "Plural Marriage," 232; *History of the Church*, 5:12–13.

¹⁰⁰John C. Bennett, "Astounding Disclosures! Letters from Gen. Bennett," June 27, 1842, to *Sangamo Journal*, July 8, 1842. Smith, *Nauvoo Polygamy*, 122.

Journal Martha Brotherton's affidavit of Joseph's unsuccessful effort to persuade her to marry Brigham Young.¹⁰¹ Such adverse publicity went beyond a woman's resistance to Joseph's proposals. Bennett's publications represented an internal revolt that would ignite and, within two years, engulf Nauvoo in tragedy.

DENIAL, REVOLT, TRAGEDY

There is a reason we know as little as we do about Nauvoo *celestial marriage*: It was never discussed openly among the insiders and was always denied to outsiders. The official 1835 "statement on marriage" set the tone of a "one-wife" policy in a collection of doctrinal statements to accompany Joseph's revelations. The 1835 Doctrine and Covenants published in Ohio reads: "As this church [has] been reproached with fornication and polygamy; we declare that one man should have one wife: and one woman but one husband" (D&C 101) and was repeated in the *Times and Seasons*, October 1, 1842. In February 1843, Joseph began to resume contracting plural marriages after a six-month hiatus caused by the Bennett furor. Simultaneously, he outfaced the Relief Society, among whom were several of his plural wives:

There is a great noise in the city, and many are saying there cannot be so much smoke without some fire. Well, be it so. If the stories about Joe Smith are true, then the stories of John C. Bennett are true about the ladies of Nauvoo; and he says that the Ladies' Relief Society are all organized of those who are to be the wives of Joe Smith. Ladies, you know whether this is true or not. It is no use living among hogs without a snout. This biting and devouring each other. . . . For God's sake, stop it.¹⁰²

In May 1844, only a month before his death, Joseph responded to a challenge from his own community by continuing his policy of public denial: "What a thing it is for a man to be accused of committing adultery, and hav-

¹⁰¹John C. Bennett, "MISS BROTHERTON'S STATEMENT, St. Louis, July 13, 1842," *Sangamo Journal*, July 22, 1842; Bennett, "5th LETTER FROM GEN. BENNETT, STEAMER IMPORTER, July 23, A. D. 1842," *Sangamo Journal*, August 19, 1842. Bennett also in this August 19 letter identified another of Joseph's plural wives, Louisa Beaman by initials and asterisks but identified her by name in his book, *History of the Saints*, published that fall. For Brotherton, see also Smith, *Nauvoo Polygamy*, 264–72.

¹⁰²*History of the Church*, 5:286.

ing seven wives, when I can find only one," he scoffed from the pulpit.¹⁰³

Joseph Smith uniformly avoided any mention of plural marriages in his diaries, either his own or those of the thirty or so men with whom he shared the "privilege." However, one reference has survived, thanks to scribe Thomas Bullock, who added a list of eight marriages to Joseph's 1843 journal, beginning with: "Apr 42 Marinda Johnson to Joseph Smith."¹⁰⁴ Since concurrent marriages were contrary to Illinois law and public reports would have undoubtedly been embarrassing for a religious figure, participants vigorously denied rumors on the subject. Zina Huntington Jacobs acknowledged in 1898, "I never breathed it for years. . . . [W]e hardly dared speak of it. The very walls had ears. We spoke of it only in whispers."¹⁰⁵ The *History of the Church*, compiled in part from Joseph's diaries, therefore also excluded polygamy from its pages.

However, the picture of plural marriage reconstructed from later sources, when matched against contemporary records, corroborates this elaborate picture of unannounced complex families. For example, on September 20, 1843, Joseph's scribe, Willard Richards, records only that Joseph "rode out to his farm" with Hyrum. The *History of the Church* reads "visited my farm, accompanied by my Brother Hyrum."¹⁰⁶ Unrecorded is the fact that Hyrum sealed Joseph that day to the farmer's daughter, Melissa Lott, by my count Joseph's thirty-third plural wife. When Brigham performed Joseph's sealing on June 29, 1842, to Eliza R. Snow, the *History of the Church* reports that Joseph "rode out in the City on business, with Brigham Young."¹⁰⁷ A more authoritative version of the *History of the Church* will include Joseph's celestial marriages.

The gap between the public face of monogamy and the private face of secret plural marriages continued to widen. On July 12, 1843, Joseph dictated the revelation now canonized as LDS Doctrine and Covenants 132 authorizing plural marriage. While some of Joseph's inner circle, in-

¹⁰³Ibid., 6:408–11, May 26, 1844.

¹⁰⁴Faulring, *An American Prophet's Record*, 396; in Smith, *Nauvoo Polygamy*, Appendix B, 573–656, an asterisk marks the male polygamist's name of those in Joseph Smith's "inner circle."

¹⁰⁵John W. Wight, "Evidence from Zina D. Huntington Young," *Saints Herald* (January 11, 1905), 28–30, quoted in Smith, *Nauvoo Polygamy*, 78 note 58.

¹⁰⁶Faulring, *An American Prophet's Record*, 415; *History of the Church*, 6:35, September 20, 1843.

¹⁰⁷Jessee, *Papers of Joseph Smith*, 2:395; *History of the Church*, 5:49.

cluding Hyrum, felt that written sanction for the secret marriages would quiet dissent, others saw it as a confession of culpability.

William Law was among the latter. He and his brother, Wilson, successful merchants, had financed many of Nauvoo's real estate purchases and other commercial projects. Having been called into Joseph's First Presidency in January 1841 (D&C 124:91), William defended Joseph against Bennett's attack in 1842. But when Joseph's announcement of a revelation in 1843 effectively admitted what he had been denying, Law felt disillusioned. He obtained a copy of the revelation from Hyrum, then asked Joseph for confirmation. According to Law's later reminiscence, Joseph argued that monogamy "was given when the church was in its infancy, [and] then it was all right to feed the people on milk, but now it is necessary to give them strong meat."¹⁰⁸ Law found this argument unpersuasive, but his own efforts to dissuade Joseph from continuing the practice of plural marriage were unsuccessful. On May 23, 1844, Law charged Smith in Hancock County Circuit Court with "living in an open state of adultery" with Maria Lawrence from October 12, 1843, to May 23, 1844. She, and her sister, Sarah, were, in fact, plural wives. Joseph was their own choice as guardian and was court-appointed co-executor of their father's estate. Hyrum and Law had co-signed bonds as Joseph's surety for proper fulfillment of his fiduciary responsibilities.¹⁰⁹

Law hired Sylvester Emmons, a respected non-Mormon member of the Nauvoo City Council, to edit a new newspaper, the *Nauvoo Expositor*. Although Joseph questioned the sincerity of the dissenters' moral objections and their standing in the community, at least some of them were unquestionably prominent in Church and civic affairs.¹¹⁰ The first issue appeared on June 7 containing evidence about Smith's secret marriages. Joseph reacted quickly. As mayor, he urged the city council to declare the *Expositor* a "nuisance," then had the city marshal "abate" it. It was an error in judgment since, almost uniformly, the act was seen as an attack on free-

¹⁰⁸Lyndon W. Cook, *William Law: Biographical Essay, Nauvoo Diary, Correspondence, and Interview* (Orem, Utah: Grandin Book, 1994), 119, 127–29.

¹⁰⁹Gordon A. Madsen, "Joseph Smith as Guardian: The Lawrence Estate Case," *Journal of Mormon History* 35, no. 3 (Summer 2010): 172–211, using the case files preserved in Adams County, Illinois, demonstrates that Smith fulfilled this responsibility carefully and generously, not even taking the expenses to which he was entitled.

¹¹⁰Joseph Smith, Letter to Thomas Ford, June 14, 1844, in *History of the Church*, 6:466–67; Jessee, *Personal Writings*, 602.

dom of the press. Illinois authorities arrested Joseph on charges of “riot” (destroying the paper without notifying its owners of the accusations and hearing their defense) and “treason” (marshalling the Nauvoo Legion before he submitted to arrest).¹¹¹ He and Hyrum were jailed and shot by a mob that broke into their cell. Two years later, the Mormons (other than Joseph’s family) were expelled from Illinois.

INSTITUTIONAL FORGETTING

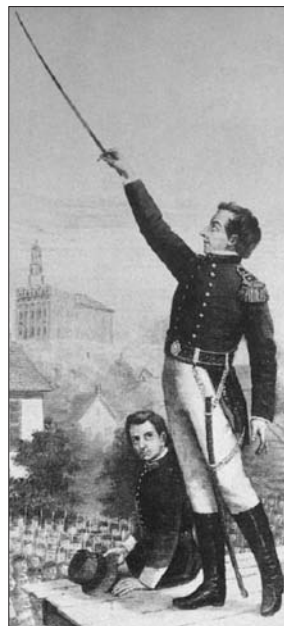
Although completing the temple and expanding polygamy served to establish Brigham Young as a successful leader, and even though protected by the remote location of Utah, it was not until 1852 that the Church openly acknowledged the practice of plural marriage; still, it made no effort to write the silent history of Mormon polygamy in Nauvoo. It was not until Joseph and Emma’s sons flatly denied the Nauvoo origins of polygamy that a more thorough response was seen as necessary. Starting in 1869, Apostle Joseph F. Smith, Hyrum’s son and the future sixth LDS Church president, collected seventy-five affidavits from dozens of women who were plural wives to Joseph and other men in Nauvoo. Joseph III, leader of the RLDS Church, remained unconvinced, especially since his mother, close to the end of her life, carefully explained that she had been Joseph’s only wife, a statement that was, in the legal sense, precisely true. In an 1879 interview by her son, Joseph III, she stated that “no such thing as polygamy, or spiritual wifery, was taught, publicly or privately, before my husband’s death, that I have now, or ever had any knowledge of. . . . I know that he had no other wife or wives than myself, in any sense, either spiritual or otherwise.”¹¹²

However, the connection between Nauvoo celestial marriage and Joseph Smith’s death remained absent from the Church’s official history of Nauvoo. The Nauvoo phase, with its difficult pattern of deception, denial, and secrecy, was institutionally forgotten; and the official story concentrated on polygamy as a limited practice in the West. When asked about Mormon polygamy on national television in 1998, the fifteenth Church president, Gordon B. Hinckley, dismissed Nauvoo’s historical importance: “When our people came west, they permitted [polygamy] on a

¹¹¹Smith, *Nauvoo Polygamy*, 432–37.

¹¹²Newell and Avery, *Mormon Enigma*, 301–2, quoting “The Memoirs of President Joseph Smith [III], 1832–1914,” *Saints’ Herald*, April 2, 1935, 432; Joseph Smith III, “The Last Testimony of Sister Emma,” *Saints’ Herald*, October 1, 1879, 289–90; also in the *Saints’ Advocate*, October 1879, 49–52.

Right, Joseph Smith as Lieutenant-General of the Nauvoo Legion. Painting by John Hafen, one of the LDS Church's "art missionaries" who studied at the Academie Julian in Paris in the 1890s.



Left, Emma Hale Smith, the long-suffering first wife of Joseph Smith.



restricted scale." He did not acknowledge how important the "law of celestial marriage" had been for the Church's founder and his inner circle of followers, both in Nauvoo and later in nineteenth-century Utah.¹¹³

Bracketed with slavery as "twin relics of barbarism" by the 1856 Republican platform, polygamy was always offensive to the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (Community of Christ) and, after about 1904, an embarrassment to Utah Mormons struggling to fit into the national mainstream. Neighbors of the Latter-day Saints found this deviation from Christian monogamy to be alien and repellent. Saints not part of the inner circle who had to deal with rumors and public denials faced difficult situations when polygamy was concerned. Although American girls not infrequently married in their early teens, the age difference between such young women and their older Nauvoo husbands was problematic for some. Joseph, for example, was age thirty-five to thirty-seven when he married his plural wives. Another difficulty was Joseph's marriage to already-married women.¹¹⁴

¹¹³Gordon B. Hinckley, interviewed on *Larry King Live*, CNN broadcast, September 8, 1998, quoted in "On the Record: 'We Stand for Something,'" *Sunstone*, December 1998, 70–72; "Hinckley Attacks Polygamy on National TV," *Salt Lake Tribune*, September 9, 1998, A1.

These issues did not disappear in the broader spectrum of Nauvoo polygamy. About a third of Nauvoo's plural wives (including Joseph's) were in their teens, one-fifth of them under age eighteen. Thirty were fifteen, twenty-one were fourteen (including one and perhaps two of Joseph's wives), and four were thirteen (wives of James Allred, Peregrine Sessions, Daniel Spencer, and Thomas Woolsey). According to Juanita Brooks, John D. Lee married a twelve-year-old, Mary Ann Williams. In fact, because the date of her sealing is not known, she may have been eleven.¹¹⁵ Lee recalls Brigham Young saying that he and Isaac Haight needed "some young women to renew our vitality, so he gave us both a dashing young bride."¹¹⁶

These nineteenth-century events have no official existence. The LDS curriculum for Relief Society and Melchizedek Priesthood manuals, *Teachings of Presidents of the Church*, a series that began in 1997, have dealt with six Church presidents, four of whom were polygamists: Brigham Young, Joseph Smith, John Taylor, and Wilford Woodruff. The text, however, was edited to eliminate any direct references to "wives." The introduction to the Joseph Smith manual explains that it has been configured to deal with Joseph Smith's teachings "that have application to our day" and hence does not discuss "the law of consecration" or "plural marriage."¹¹⁷ Regardless, Joseph Smith's Nauvoo polygamy became the foundation for Mormonism's most distinctive practice.

¹¹⁴Smith, *Nauvoo Polygamy*, xvi, 51.

¹¹⁵Smith, *Nauvoo Polygamy*, Appendix B, 604, 646 note 213.

¹¹⁶John D. Lee, *Mormonism Unveiled: Or the Life and Confessions of the Late Mormon Bishop, John D. Lee* (St. Louis: Bryan, Brand & Co., 1877), 289.

¹¹⁷This explanation continues by dating "the doctrines and principles relating to plural marriage" to "as early as 1831," then states carefully: "The Prophet taught the doctrine of plural marriage, and a number of such marriages were performed during his lifetime." This sentence stops short of acknowledging that Joseph himself was the most enthusiastic practitioner of plural marriage in Nauvoo. The same caution about describing Church presidents as personally involved in the practice continues: "Over the next several decades, under the direction of the Church Presidents who succeeded Joseph Smith, a significant number of Church members entered into plural marriage" until the 1890 Manifesto of Wilford Woodruff "discontinued plural marriage. . . . The Church . . . no longer practices plural marriage." "Introduction," *Teachings of Presidents of the Church: Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 2007), xii.

FROM FINLAND TO ZION: IMMIGRATION TO UTAH IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Kim B. Östman

And from year to year we see these free men and women of almost all nations leaving their native countries, their relatives and friends, and with songs of joy embarking on their journey to the inner part of the American continent, to the Rocky Mountains in the West. –Nordstjernan [North Star], January 3, 1877

How many noble seeds of Christianity has not the awful Mormonism suffocated, while robbing the deceived of native country, family happiness and other precious gifts! –Finland, November 19, 1886

“WE MAY SOON EXPECT TO SEE flocking to this place, people from every land and from every nation,” announced an 1840 proclamation by the Mormon First Presidency in Nauvoo, Illinois. The document

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continued by providing some examples of these people: "The polished European, the degraded Hottentot, and the shivering Laplander; persons of all languages, and of every tongue, and of every color; who shall with us worship the Lord of Hosts in His holy temple and offer up their orisons in His sanctuary."¹ These words by Joseph Smith and his associates clearly articulate that Mormonism's future was not to be an insular matter. To the contrary, the scope of their vision was worldwide.

Furthermore, this statement is notable in that, unlike other religious expansion plans, the Mormons did not explicitly focus on having their missionaries plant churches in various parts of the world. While such international influence was a natural product of the necessary proselytizing and resulting conversions, Mormonism focused on encouraging the new converts to physically move to the Church headquarters in and around Nauvoo. This immigration to a designated centerplace was based on the doctrine of "the gathering" of God's chosen people to Zion, a holy city. For believers obeying this doctrine, moving away from home signified an end to personal diaspora and a reunification with one's real kinfolk. This departure from exile in "the world" (or Babylon) and movement to an idealized home in which they could fully realize their religious views is a notable example of what was later termed "utopian migration." In a sense, the success of early Mormon proselytizing was measured, not in setting up branches abroad, but in removing the converts from their native lands.²

Mormon emigration from Europe began in 1840 from the British Isles with the destination of Nauvoo.³ Joseph Smith's violent death in 1844 and the forced Mormon exodus of the largest group,

¹Joseph Smith et al., *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, edited by B. H. Roberts, 7 vols., 2d ed. rev. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1980 printing), 4:213.

²David M. Morris, "The Rhetoric of the Gathering and Zion: Consistency through Change, 1831–1920," *International Journal of Mormon Studies* 1, no. 1 (Spring 2008): 157.

³For a general view of the maritime nature of this immigration, see Conway B. Sonne, *Saints on the Seas: A Maritime History of Mormon Migration* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1983). "Immigration" refers to entering a country with the intent of taking up permanent residence; "emigration" refers to leaving one's country (or home city) to take up residence else-

led by Brigham Young to the American West, impeded the leadership's hopes of globalism for a while. However, increased proselytizing in European nations soon brought thousands of converts to the new Zion—Salt Lake City and its environs. Such converts were an important part of the life-blood of Mormonism during the second half of the nineteenth century, decades during which the Mormons also coped with internal schism, apostasy, and federal pressures to stop plural marriage, and the struggles attendant upon establishing self-sustaining colonies throughout their culture region. An estimated 85,000 or more Latter-day Saints worldwide emigrated to America in the nineteenth century.⁴ The momentous import of this dynamic for Mormonism's future and its thoughtworld becomes clear in light of the fact that total Church membership in 1900 was only about 284,000.⁵

The Nordic countries were one of the most important sources of Mormon immigrants. Numerically superseded only by the British Isles, William Mulder estimates that nearly 23,000 Latter-day Saints left Denmark, Sweden, Norway, and Iceland between 1850 and 1905.⁶ Indeed, reflecting on Mormon proselytizing success in the Nordic countries, one Finnish newspaper in 1879 reported that the Nordic countries "enjoy[ed] the questionable honor of being the Mormon peddlers' best fishery."⁷ According to Mulder, 56 percent of the Nordic Mormon immigrants were Danish, with Sweden and Norway contributing 32 and 11 percent, respectively. Icelanders were "a fraction."⁸ Considering that 46,497 persons converted in Scandinavia during those years and even factoring in a significant disaffiliation rate, it becomes clear that immigration was an im-

where.

⁴Ibid., xi, 137.

⁵Rodney Stark, *The Rise of Mormonism*, edited by Reid L. Neilson (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), 144. The membership total includes many of the American-born descendants of the earlier immigrants, further increasing the impact of the immigrants.

⁶William Mulder, *Homeward to Zion: The Mormon Migration from Scandinavia* (1957; rpt., Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000), 107.

⁷"Mormonerna i Skandinavien," *Helsingfors*, November 1, 1879, 3. All translations of non-English sources in this article are mine.

⁸Mulder, *Homeward to Zion*, 107. In contrast, Leonard J. Arrington and Davis Bitton, *The Mormon Experience: A History of the Latter-day Saints*, 2d

mentally important feature of Mormonism in nineteenth-century Scandinavia.

Not much has been said concerning the place of Finland in Mormon immigration. Of the studies concerning early Mormonism in Finland, only those of Anna-Liisa Rinne and Zachary R. Jones explicitly discuss such emigration.⁹ Mulder, in his classic study on Scandinavian Mormon emigration, does not mention Finland. Whether this is because Mulder considered Finland to be outside Scandinavia or due to a lack of research is not clear.

However, some nineteenth-century Latter-day Saint converts, motivated by their newfound faith, emigrated from Finland to the Mormon Zion in Utah. For the purposes of this article, I include both those who were converted to Mormonism in Finland and left for Utah and those who were already Mormons when they moved to Finland, lived there for a considerable time, and then immigrated to Utah. Thus, they may or may not be Finnish natives. Their number is small—only fourteen—making the group minuscule in comparison with the other three Scandinavian countries' contribution to Mormon migration.¹⁰ However, while the number is very low, the existence of the immigration phenomenon confirms that the Mormon doctrine of “the

ed. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992), 136, estimate that more than 30,000 Mormons emigrated from Scandinavia during the nineteenth century. Mulder, *Homeward to Zion*, 102, estimates more than 30,000 by 1905, including the children of immigrant Mormons. Iceland also played a small role in this immigration. Fred E. Woods, *Fire on Ice: The Story of Icelandic Latter-day Saints at Home and Abroad* (Provo, Utah: BYU Religious Studies Center, 2005).

⁹Anna-Liisa Rinne, *Kristuksen kirkko Suomessa: Kertomus Myöhempien Aikojen Pyhien Jeesuksen Kristuksen Kirkon juurtumisesta tähän maahan* [The Church of Christ in Finland: The Story of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints Taking Root in this Country] (Turku: n.p., 1986), 10; and Zachary R. Jones, “Conversion amid Conflict: Mormon Proselytizing in Russian Finland, 1861–1914,” *Journal of Mormon History* 35, no. 3 (Summer 2009): 35–36; and his “Conflict amid Conversion: Mormon Proselytizing in Russian Finland, 1860–1914” (M.A. thesis, College of William and Mary, 2008), 47.

¹⁰Jones, “Conversion amid Conflict,” 36, identifies the Blom family, discussed below, as being “one family of twelve” that emigrated from a specific branch; this was actually the only family to emigrate. Apart from those

gathering” was taught and to some extent practiced even in Finland.

In this article, I analyze Mormon emigration from Finland as one response to the introduction of Mormonism to nineteenth-century Finnish society. First, I discuss the ideological foundation and context of the phenomenon, addressing questions such as why Mormon emigration occurred and how it functioned in practice. Second, I chart related conditions in Finland during the second half of the nineteenth century, including the general practice of immigration to North America. This is followed by a presentation and analysis of the Mormon emigrants from Finland, along with an account of their varied journeys and circumstances. Finally, I explore images of and societal attitudes toward Mormon immigration, also contrasting them with attitudes about emigration from Finland in general.

REASONS FOR AND CONSEQUENCES OF MORMON IMMIGRATION

Why did the Mormons have to gather to a centerplace? Was it not sufficient to accept the gospel and continue living in their native land while building up a local community of Saints? The mission newspaper, *Nordstjernen* (North Star) replied: “The answer to this query is unequivocally no. The purposes of the Almighty cannot be fulfilled in any other way than through a real gathering of his people.”¹¹ Leonard J. Arrington and Davis Bitton suggest in their history of Mormonism three reasons for such a stance in the nineteenth century. First, there was simply strength in numbers. Second, individual Latter-day Saints living in their native communities could easily become targets of persecution and the temptations present in a fallen and perverted society. Joining with other Saints in building a utopian Zion society, they could be spared from such difficulties and be strengthened in the faith.¹² Such reasons focused on the consequences of gathering (or not gathering) from a religious frame of reference.

individuals discussed in this article, some Finns that converted outside Finland emigrated directly from their country of residence. Interestingly, a significantly higher number of Finnish Latter-day Saints immigrated to North America after World War II, when the doctrine of the gathering was no longer actively taught and when LDS Church leaders openly discouraged immigration. Rinne, *Kristuksen kirkko Suomessa*, 171–74.

¹¹“Insamlingen,” *Nordstjernen* 9, no. 3 (February 1, 1885): 38.

¹²Arrington and Bitton, *The Mormon Experience*, 128.

Perhaps most significantly, however, gathering was also defined as the religious duty of the truly converted. An 1831 revelation to Joseph Smith declared that God mandated such a practice:

Go ye out from among the nations, even from Babylon, from the midst of wickedness, which is spiritual Babylon. . . . Send forth the elders of my church unto the nations which are afar off; unto the islands of the sea; send forth unto foreign lands; call upon all nations. . . . Go ye forth into the land of Zion . . . behold and lo, the Bridegroom cometh; go ye out to meet him. . . . Watch, therefore, for ye know neither the day nor the hour. Let them, therefore, who are among the Gentiles flee unto Zion (D&C 133:8–12, 14; order of verses altered).

This revelation was received before the Mormons proselytized outside North America. However, it later provided impetus to take the new movement to the British Isles in 1837 and subsequently to other parts of Europe and the world. The revelation communicates a millenarian perspective and bifurcates the world into Saints (the Mormons) in Zion and Gentiles (everyone else) in Babylon. Mormon missionaries were to go out and convert “the elect” in all nations, who were to leave their homes in Babylon and gather to Zion, away from the scattering or diaspora. Only there could they properly prepare to meet Jesus Christ when He made His imminent return. Immigration and settlement in Zion were thus seen as the pinnacle of the conversion experience and as a gateway into more committed Sainthood. In this, Mormons appear to have recognized the later theoretical insight of sociologists Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann about the relative insignificance of mere conversion.¹³ Soon after baptism, every true Saint would be “influenced by the inner wish to gather home to Zion,” and to pursue this course with all legal means should be “one of his life’s most important objects and tasks, until it is achieved.”¹⁴

Once in Utah, the immigrants became part of the local community and congregation, full participants in building a temporal and spiritual Zion society through their own daily work and religious convictions. Arrival in Utah also meant that the converts were usually

¹³Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge* (1966; rpt., Harmondsworth, England: Pelican Books, 1987), 177.

¹⁴“Öfverensstämmelse i Guds verks angelägenheter,” *Nordstjernen* 5, no. 10 (May 15, 1881): 152.

rebaptized and reconfirmed, as if to wash the filth of Babylon off for good. As with the converts' original baptisms, the purpose of rebaptism was to cleanse the person from his or her sins. Mormon apostle Orson Pratt explained in 1875 that "every member of the Church from distant parts" was to be rebaptized "on arriving here" and, once rebaptized, "set out anew by renewing their covenants." The policy was reaffirmed in 1888.¹⁵

On the individual level, immigration was a mixed experience. Some felt that they had indeed found the promised Zion in Utah, a place where they could sit at the feet of God's prophets and live their religion to the fullest. They enjoyed their Mormon community and the opportunities it gave to them. For these people, immigration became the life-changing climax of their conversion and confirmed that they were participating in millennial preparations and the building of the true kingdom of God on earth. It was through these people that Mormon society in Utah was able to grow and become solidified. From Utah, they often wrote back to friends and family in their native lands, describing their journeys, explaining the warm welcome that awaited converts in Zion, and urging others to follow them. C. F. Olsen, for example, who had served a mission to Scandinavia, wrote in July 1886 from his "beloved mountain home" in Hyrum, Utah, after completing his mission. He described how he was warmly welcomed back by "family and friends and the village's music corps, who all sought to make my return as comfortable as possible."¹⁶ The tone of these letters from America may have been positive because of the tight link between faith and immigration. The immigrants did not want to mention the negative aspects of their new lives and surroundings or suggest that they may have made a mistake in immigrating, since such a change would reflect on the strength of their faith. Such missionaries also had superior status as "elders from Zion" when they served missions in their native lands; native Church members regarded them as more experienced in the ways of Mormonism.

¹⁵Brigham Young, October 23, 1853, *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (London and Liverpool: LDS Booksellers Depot, 1854–86), 2:8–9; Orson Pratt, July 18, 1875, *ibid.*, 18:160; Jonathan A. Stapley and Kristine Wright, "'They Shall Be Made Whole': A History of Baptism for Health," *Journal of Mormon History* 34, no. 4 (Fall 2008): 96.

¹⁶C. F. Olsen, letter to N. C. Flygare, July 20, 1886, *Nordstjernan* 10, no. 16 (August 15, 1886): 250–52.

However, some immigrants became disillusioned in Utah. Their letters home concerned dictatorial religious leaders and deceptive promises made by the missionaries who had converted them. Some of these individuals abandoned their faith and moved away from Utah to other places in the United States. Some even made the arduous return journey to their lands of origin. John Ahmanson, for example, was a young enthusiastic convert from Denmark who first proselytized for his new faith in Scandinavia and immigrated to Utah in 1856. As if the perilous sea journey had not been enough, Ahmanson was in the Willie handcart company that encountered winter snows, actual starvation, and a serious death rate en route. Such trials further solidified the faith of some. Ahmanson, however, eventually felt repelled by polygamy and by practices spearheaded by Brigham Young that he saw as a despotic plot to bring in money to the top leadership. Disappointed and disillusioned, Ahmanson and his wife left Utah and “ended up in Omaha, where they spent their life’s evening in peace and calm.”¹⁷

Some of the disillusioned felt unable to leave Utah, either because of family pressures or because of a lack of means. Norwegian Lutheran pastor Andreas Mortensen painted a grim view based on his dealings with such people while he visited Utah: “Many wept as they reported how they had been deceived. The land ‘with milk and honey’ became for them a place of suffering and need. Not a few came to me and said: ‘Help us to get home again! Yes, at least help us to the States!’”¹⁸ Although the feelings of these people are usually depicted in works critical of the Mormons, such as Mortensen’s, and may be one-sided and exaggerated (just as some reports by the faithful may be), they saw Zion as a nightmare, exceeding in depravity and exploitation even what their trusted missionary mentors had termed “Babylon.”

Expectations of Zion were created in letters, sermons, and Mormon publications, especially periodicals and tracts. These texts were

¹⁷Henrik Cavling, *Amerika* (Stockholm: Wilh. Silén, 1898), 461–67. Ahmanson also wrote an exposé of Mormonism, *Vor tids Muhamed* [The Mohammed of Our Time] (Omaha, Neb.: n. pub., 1876).

¹⁸Andreas Mortensen, *Mormonernas hemligheter: Werklighetsbilder från Utah efter egen iakttagelse* [The Mormons’ Secrets: Real Depictions of Utah Based on Personal Observation] (Stockholm: C.A.V. Lundholms förlag, 1887), 210.

used both before and after conversion as tools to familiarize prospective converts and new Church members with Mormon doctrines. One example of literature focusing exclusively on the topic of gathering was *Om Israels insamling och Zions förlossning* [On the Gathering of Israel and the Redemption of Zion] by Joseph W. Young, one of Brigham Young's sons. Used also in Finland, this treatise discussed both doctrinal matters related to gathering and the world's deplorable present and future states. It was Young's conviction that "God has stretched his hand to gather the remnant of Israel on the American continent, and that the time has come for the establishment and redemption of Zion."¹⁹ Such juxtapositions of Zion and Babylon made it clear that Zion was the place to be.

The gathering was an important theme in Mormon periodicals. For the Finns, the *Nordstjernan* was the most prominent; and a staple in its pages was instructions about emigration, notices of planned dates of departure, and price lists of goods for the trip.²⁰ It also included reports of the departure of immigrant groups. In the summer of 1878, for example, the *Nordstjernan* published this description of emigrants leaving Copenhagen: "It was a beautiful sight to see the proud ships gliding over the calm water in the strait, while the tones of the Saints' happy songs of departure were still heard." The writer encouraged those staying behind to live their religion so that they, sooner or later, would have the same opportunity to journey to Utah. Stirring imagery and exhortations such as these contributed to the expectations of the special and happy state that awaited believers in Zion.²¹

Similarly, the prospective immigrants were assured of God's protection during the journey there. Because of the righteous nature of their endeavor, then logically God would not let harm befall them. In late 1889, the *Nordstjernan* headlined an article: "The Lord Protects His Saints." After recounting an accident and the related rescue of

¹⁹Joseph W. Young, *Om Israels insamling och Zions förlossning* [On the Gathering of Israel and the Redemption of Zion], 8th ed. (Köpenhamn: N.C. Flygare, 1873), 16.

²⁰See, e.g., "Emigration," *Nordstjernan* 2, no. 5 (March 1, 1878): 73; "Emigrationen," *Nordstjernan* 3, no. 9 (May 1, 1879): 136–37; and "Emigrationen," *Nordstjernan* 4, no. 7 (April 1, 1880): 104–6.

²¹"Emigranternas afgang," *Nordstjernan* 2, no. 13 (July 1, 1878): 201–2.

Mormon immigrants in the American state of Virginia, the writer summarized: "In connection herewith we wish to encourage the Saints to prepare with a sacred motive to gather to Zion. . . . Over those that travel there to serve their Creator the Father will keep his protecting hand, and on the sea's restless waves, they can without fear trust the fragile planks of the ships that transport their valuable cargo of human lives over the depths of the sea. They can then feel safe on land and on sea, knowing that a loving Father's eye watches over them and that his angels lead them, and that he, as in this particular case, can rescue them from the jaws of death itself."²²

Central religious ideas are not only expressed in formal writing, however. In addition to literature, they become pervasive in a culture through other means such as music, stories, and poetry. So it was also with immigration and the Mormon concept of Zion. One Finnish newspaper reported, "One of the most beautiful thoughts in Mormonism is the thought of a beautiful place on earth where 'the Saints' long to be. This longing is construed poignantly in the Mormons' songs."²³ On August 1, 1880, for example, the LDS congregation in Larsmo sang: "Now thousands so desire to go to the land of promise; God's Zion will be built there and reach from coast to coast." A few months later, the congregation in neighboring Pietarsaari sang: "You have longed to see Zion's homeland." The glory of Zion could also be emphasized and brought into relief by imagery that celebrated the freedom it brought from the evils of the world. Mormons in Pietarsaari sang, from the Swedish hymnal: "Many are now released out of prison, the battle is soon fought; Freed children of Israel journey to a gathering place in the West."²⁴

²²"Herren beskyddar sina helige," [The Lord Protects His Saints] *Nordstjernan* 13, no. 20 (October 15, 1889): 312–13.

²³"Bilder frång Amerika," *Vestra Nyland*, February 5, 1889, 3. For an example of immigration-related Mormon poetry, see "Betraktelser vid emigranternas afresa," *Nordstjernan* 6, no. 12 (June 15, 1882): 191–92.

²⁴See hymns 23, 150, and 139 in Jonas Engberg, *Andeliga Sånger til bruk för Jesu Christi Kyrkas Sista Dagars Helliga* [Spiritual Songs to Be Used in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints], 3rd ed. (Köpenhamn: R. Peterson, 1873). The meeting minutes of August 1, 1880, November 21, 1880, and May 28, 1882, appear in Finland Branch Record, 1876–97, LDS Church History Library, Salt Lake City.

THE CASE OF FINLAND

Large-scale general immigration from Finland to the United States began in the 1870s—relatively late compared to immigration from other Scandinavian nations. The literature describing motives for such immigration frequently includes improved financial prospects and hopes of better employment. By contrast, however, religion has not been a very popular reason to immigrate.²⁵

Analytically speaking, reasons for immigration can be divided into factors that push people out of their native country and factors that pull them into the new country. On the “push” side of late nineteenth-century Finland, the rapid numerical increase of the population as a result of industrialization, improvements in medicine, and higher levels of production in farming had created a human surplus that was confronted with poor wages and lack of work. As a small country, Finland also had little land left for those wishing to become farmers. Reasons such as these made the option of seeking an improved life in nations with available land and a need for workers attractive.

On the “pull” side, by the late 1800s it had become relatively easy to immigrate to America due to improved methods of transportation, such as trains and steamships. The immigrant no longer had to spend months on sailing ships and in wagons drawn by horses or oxen. Promised prosperity in the United States along with enthusiastic letters by earlier immigrants created an “America fever” and generated powerful expectations of a better life to be had there.²⁶ Indeed, some felt that the excitement went too far. People were warned against believing in depictions of America as “a land in which milk and honey flow and where fried sparrows fly into a person’s mouth if he only bothers to open it.” They were reminded that, in America too, one would have to persevere in honest work to find prosperity.²⁷ As the nineteenth century progressed, a continuously increasing amount of information about America was also available in Finland through

²⁵But see Teuvo Peltoniemi, *Kohti parempaa maailmaa: Suomalaisten iihannesiirtokunnat 1700–luvulta nykypäivään* [Toward a Better World: Finnish Utopian Colonies from the 1700s to Today] (Helsinki: Otava, 1985), 14–21, 122–141, 195–203.

²⁶Reino Kero, *Suureen länteen: Siirtolaisuus Suomesta Pohjois-Amerikkaan* [To the Great West: Migration from Finland to North America] (Turku: Siirtolaisinstituutti, 1996), 41–42, 49.

²⁷“Till Amerika,” *Åbo Underrättelser*, November 23, 1881, 2.

newspapers. This may have further reduced the obstacles against the “pull” forces.²⁸

It is safe to assume that the Mormons who emigrated from Finland felt similar pushes and pulls. Apart from their religion, they were like other individuals who had to deal with problems of earning a living, working out relationships, and finding meaning in their lives. But in their case, additional push and pull factors may be added, chief among them religious impulses. One factor important in pushing some Mormons out of Finland may have been its highly regulated religious field. Finland was inhospitable to various foreign, non-Lutheran or non-Orthodox religious movements before the Dissenter Act of 1889 and, to a diminished degree, before the Religious Freedom Act of 1923. When converts found it was difficult to openly practice their new religion, leaving became an attractive option, especially considering the pull of the new American Zion, God’s chosen place of gathering. Combined with the generally rosy view about opportunities in the United States, it is natural that some Mormons felt disposed to emigrate.

It has also been suggested that the bipartite push/pull scheme could be supplemented by “religious vision” in the case of the Mormons. This paradigm is tied to the notion that the Mormon worldview collapsed the distance between the sacred and the mundane, thus making the two inseparable in the Mormon mind. As Polly Aird put it, for the Mormons, “The world and the Bible were one. They were replicating the ancient stories, living in sacred time, partaking in God’s restored church.” This religious vision became central in the decision to emigrate, and all other reasons were religiously inflected.²⁹ However, it would seem that the reasons for emigration embraced by this religious vision paradigm may be similarly broken down into the traditional push and pull categories. Thus, despite the importance of religious influences, it is not fundamentally necessary to bring an additional new interpretive scheme into play for Mormon immigrants.

²⁸Keijo Virtanen, *Atlantin yhteys: Tutkimus amerikkalaisesta kulttuurista, sen suhteesta ja välittymisestä Eurooppaan vuosina 1776–1917* [The Atlantic Connection: A Study of American Culture, Its Relationship and Mediation to Europe in the Years 1776–1917] (Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura, 1988), 131, 227–32.

²⁹Polly Aird, “Why Did the Scots Convert?,” *Journal of Mormon History* 26, no. 1 (Spring 2000): 122.

The period of most interest for this article is the 1880s, a decade when the fourteen Mormons who are the focus of this article emigrated along with an estimated 35,000 Finns bound for America.³⁰ Most Finnish immigrants to the United States at this time traveled by steamer from Hanko in southern Finland to Stockholm, Sweden. From there the immigrants were divided into various routes, depending on the company from which they had purchased their tickets. For the “English” route, immigrants continued their journey by rail or ship to Gothenburg, Sweden, then by ship to Hull, England, by rail to Liverpool, and over the Atlantic by steamship. Agents for German companies routed the immigrants from Stockholm through Lübeck, Germany, to Bremerhaven, where the transatlantic journey began. The most common ports of arrival in the new world were New York, Boston, and Quebec. From there immigrants reached their various destinations, often by train, either alone or in a group with other travelers.³¹

Immigrating Mormons followed a similar route. Those traveling from Sweden and Denmark would usually assemble at Copenhagen, the Scandinavian Mission headquarters. From there they would travel together as a company by steamer to Hull (the Norwegians traveled there in their own group directly from Norway) and by rail to Liverpool, which was then headquarters for the European Mission and also the most important transatlantic port.³² In Liverpool, Latter-day Saints joined emigrant companies numbering hundreds of individuals, then boarded a steamer for New York.³³ After the transcontinental railroad reached Utah in 1869, the final arduous leg of the journey was comparatively quick and comfortable.

Compared to ordinary Finnish emigrants, however, the Mormon experience was highly organized and programmed. Church agents in various key cities were responsible for planning every step of the journey and shepherding incoming immigrants to the next

³⁰Kero, *Suureen länteen*, 54–55.

³¹*Ibid.*, 86.

³²On the role of Hull, see Fred E. Woods and Nicholas J. Evans, “Latter-day Saint Scandinavian Migration through Hull, England, 1852–1894,” *BYU Studies* 41, no. 4 (2002): 75–102.

³³As evidence of the size of these groups, “Metropolitan Mormons,” *New York Times*, November 10, 1869, 1, reported that the Church was planning to erect a building in New York to receive European immigrants.

waypoint. The Mormons travelled together in large companies often led by missionaries returning to Utah. The size of these organized immigrant companies gave the Church's agents significant bargaining power for rates when dealing with steamship companies.³⁴ Church agents established favorable long-term relationships with some companies. For example, the transatlantic Guion Line agent's mere word was considered good enough: The Church's close cooperation with the company lasted for decades without a written contract.³⁵ The individual immigrants were also protected from enterprising profiteers who preyed on gullible foreigners with few language skills. Aboard the transatlantic ships, Mormons held devotionals, singing hymns and listening to sermons, while also becoming further socialized into the ways of their new faith.

Mormon emigrants from Finland thus tapped into a system that had been in place in various forms since 1840. While the journey was still perilous to an extent, the high degree of organization meant that they ran fewer risks than their compatriots who left privately. The Church could also sometimes provide the immigrants with monetary aid for their journey through its revolving Perpetual Emigrating Fund. More significant for the Scandinavian Mormons, however, were private funds and donations by earlier immigrants already established in Utah.³⁶

Mormon emigration from Finland coincided with concentrated action by the U.S. government against the "Mormon problem." Utah's theocratic, polygamy-espousing state-within-a-state was seen as being in conflict with deeply held moral and political values of the rest of America. In regards to immigration, the most notable development transpired in 1879, when William Evarts, U.S. Secretary of State, issued a note to his consuls, directing them to ask for cooperation in their respective countries to stop emigrating Mormons, whom he defined as potential new lawbreakers, from leaving their homelands to come to Utah. The request went largely unheeded and was even ridiculed in some nations. In the Nordic countries, Sweden disseminated information concerning the American stance toward Mor-

³⁴Richard L. Jensen, "Steaming Through: Arrangements for Mormon Emigration from Europe, 1869–1887," *Journal of Mormon History* 9 (1982): 5.

³⁵*Ibid.*, 6–7.

³⁶*Ibid.*, 16–17.

mons but stopped short of directly interfering with their emigration.³⁷ It is not known what action Finland's officials would have taken, especially since no such emigration had yet taken place.³⁸ A group of Mormon elders led by Nils Flygare, the returning mission president who had originally sent the first missionaries to Finland in 1875, opined after the group's arrival in New York in September 1879 that many people abroad could not believe "that anything so absurd" as Evarts's instructions could be seriously produced by the American government.³⁹

Nordstjernan labeled the matter "another crusade against the Saints." Interestingly, however, the Evarts note was less lamented than pointed to as proof of Mormonism's power. If the American government had to appeal for foreign help in stopping the Mormons, it was "but another testimony to [the Saints] of their growing reputation."⁴⁰ The U.S. government continued its legal action related to polygamy during the 1880s, but it did not stop the flow of immigrants from foreign nations. As a result, the groups of Mormons of interest in this article were able to immigrate to their Zion.

To bring their immigration into even deeper context, it should also be mentioned that not all who immigrated from Finland to Utah were Mormons. The mines around Scofield and Bingham Canyon, Utah, for example, provided many opportunities for employment; and many Finns immigrated there, though mostly in the early 1900s.⁴¹ Writing about his contemporary Finns residing in the United States, Akseli Järnefelt commented that there are also "some

³⁷Mulder, *Homeward to Zion*, 290–92. On Sweden's reaction, see "Åtgärder mot mormonismen," *Åbo Underrättelser*, February 17, 1880, 3; and "Mot mormonismen," *Åbo Underrättelser*, March 10, 1880, 3.

³⁸On contemporary publicity in Finland regarding the Evarts note, see, for example, "Mormonutvandringen till Amerika," *Helsingfors*, August 23, 1879, 3.

³⁹"The Mormons Still Coming," *New York Times*, September 17, 1879, 2.

⁴⁰"Ett annat korståg mot de helige," *Nordstjernan* 3, no. 17 (September 1, 1879): 264–67. See also "Förenta staternas regering och 'mormonutvandringen,'" *Nordstjernan*, 3, no. 19 (October 1, 1879): 293–95, 300–301; and "Spörsmålet om 'mormonernas' invandring," *Nordstjernan* 3, no. 21 (November 1, 1879): 328–31.

⁴¹K-G Olin, *Klippiga bergen* [The Rocky Mountains] (Jakobstad, Fin-

of our citizens in . . . Park City, Provo, etc.” The “Mormon state” was thus not at all unknown to regular Finns.⁴² Naturally, religion was the main factor separating Mormon immigration to Utah from more general immigration from Finland.

THE EMIGRANTS

This article’s main source for identifying the Mormon emigrants from Finland has been the Church’s own membership record, kept by the missionaries who served in Finland. I have augmented information from that record with such primary sources as local parish and passport records, contemporary newspapers, U.S. census records, Utah death certificates, and the International Genealogical Index (IGI), an LDS record of membership activities and temple ordinances.

Moreover, I have consulted Mormon immigration compilations such as the Scandinavian Mission Index and the Mormon Immigration Index. Despite these compilations’ value, however, in Finland’s case it is essential to begin with the original membership record. The compilations, based on contemporary passenger and immigration records, often list the origin of Finnish immigrants as Sweden (disguising their nationality) or as the Scandinavian mission’s “Stockholm Conference” (today’s equivalent of a mission district), the organizational unit to which all Mormons in Finland belonged. However, it is also possible that the Finnish membership record is incomplete for this period, either in its listed individuals or its emigration notations.⁴³ Despite this potential shortcoming, the membership record is the most important primary source.

land: Olimex, 1998), 148–74.

⁴²Akseli Järnefelt, *Suomalaiset Amerikassa* [Finns in America] (Helsinki: Otava, 1899), 241. This book has a map (unpaginated) indicating the location of Finns in the United States. On Finns in America more generally at this time, see also A. William Høglund, *Finnish Immigrants in America, 1880–1920* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1960).

⁴³A handful of persons may, for example, be missing because of scribal negligence. Jones, “Conversion amid Conflict,” 3, identifies five branches, but names six localities with congregations (19) in nineteenth-century Finland. A membership record survives from only one—the Finland Branch Record, 1876–97, LDS Church History Library. However, the baptisms listed in that record were performed in various parts of the country

Following are brief biographical sketches of the fourteen known Mormon emigrants from Finland, presented in alphabetical order.

The Blom Family

Johan and Anna Margareta Blom were Swedes who converted to Mormonism in Östhammar, Sweden, in 1878. When given the possibility of immigrating to Utah in 1880, they chose instead to follow the Stockholm Conference president's suggestion of moving to Finland where he said missionary work was difficult. Apparently, he thought that the family could help. Johan became a gardener at the Brödtorp estate in Pohja, southern Finland. He did not hide his Mormonism and consequently eventually served time in the Helsinki crown prison in early 1886.⁴⁴

In May 1886 the Blom family with their four living children (ages one to eleven) left Finland and immigrated to Utah with other Latter-day Saints from Sweden. They traveled the usual route: Copenhagen, Hull, and Liverpool. The Bloms made the transatlantic journey with 420 other Mormons on the Guion Line's steamer *Nevada* and arrived in New York City on July 7. Their company continued by train from Jersey City via Chicago and Omaha, arriving in Ogden, Utah, three days later. Those whose final destination was southern Utah arrived in Salt Lake City later the same night. The Blom family may have stopped in Ogden, as they later farmed in northern Utah's Box Elder

that Jones sees as being part of other branches. I would therefore argue that the entire country was seen as a single branch. Records of the Stockholm Conference, to which Finland belonged, support this conclusion. Probably the surviving membership record is the only one that existed. See Stockholm Conference Historical Record, Book B, 1867–83, 203, 207, 209, 211, 221, 231, 233, 235, 248, 254, 255, 257, 266, 270; and Scandinavian Mission Statistics, 1850–1930, fd. 20, both in LDS Church History Library.

⁴⁴Record of Members, Uppsala Branch, 1865–84, Family History Library, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City (hereafter LDS Family History Library); John Bloom, Letter to Church Historian's Office, April 29, 1925, Manuscript History of the Finnish Mission, LDS Church History Library. For the Mormon revival in Pohja, see my "Mormoniherätys Pohjan pitäjässä 1880- ja 1890-luvulla," *Historiallinen Aika-kauskirja* [Finnish Journal of History] 107, no. 4 (2009): 414–30.

County. Johan americanized his name to John Bloom.⁴⁵

Anna Margareta died in December 1887. In early 1890, John married a Swedish immigrant, Anna Sophie Anderson, in the Logan Temple. An indication of continued adherence to Mormon teachings is his temple sealing to his parents in 1916 and his sending his personal history to the Church historian in 1925. That same year his second wife died, and he moved to Redlands, California. John passed away three years later, survived by at least two of his children.⁴⁶

Eva Wilhelmina Degerlund

The first Finnish Mormon to immigrate to Utah, Eva Wilhelmina Degerlund was born December 22, 1855, in Bromarv, southern Finland, was baptized Mormon by Swedish missionary David Ekenberg on March 22, 1881, in Turku, and about six months later on September 3, obtained a passport to travel abroad. The passport classified her as an unmarried young woman of the working class.⁴⁷

Eva emigrated from Sweden with others from the Stockholm

⁴⁵Emigration records, Scandinavian Mission 1852–1920, Record G, 1881–86, 135 (hereafter cited as Record G), LDS Family History Library. For the ages, see Communion Books, Pohja Parish, 1877–86, 82, National Archives, Helsinki, Finland (hereafter Finnish National Archives). Andrew Jensen, *History of the Scandinavian Mission* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1927), 296–98; “Departure,” *Millennial Star* 48, no. 26 (June 28, 1886): 412. For details on the journey, see also the following letters: C. F. Olsen, L. John Nuttall Jun., and Reub. Collett, Letter to D. H. Wells, June 27, 1886, *Millennial Star* 48, no. 27 (July 5, 1886): 426; C. F. Olsen, L. John Nuttall Jun., and Reub. Collett, Letter to D. H. Wells, July 7, 1886, *Millennial Star* 48, no. 30 (July 26, 1886): 475–76; C. F. Olsen, Letter to D. H. Wells, July 20, 1886, *Millennial Star* 48, no. 33 (August 16, 1886): 523–24. See also 1900 U.S. Census, Manila, Box Elder County, Utah, District 206; Colleen M. Hansen, Wilma E. Fridal, and Wilma K. Anderson, *Elwood: A History of Early Elwood* (n.p., n.d.), 30.

⁴⁶International Genealogical Index, s.v. Anna Margreta Lindblad and s.v. John Bloom; death certificate of Anna Bloom, Death Certificate, Utah Death Certificate Index, 1904–56 (hereafter cited as Utah Death Certificate), <http://www.archives.state.ut.us> (accessed February 27, 2009). “Deaths,” *Redlands Daily*, January 26, 1928, 3, included in Carl F. Carlson, journal, LDS Church History Library; “Intermountain Obituaries,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, August 29, 1955, 23.

⁴⁷Record of Births and Christenings, Bromarv Parish, 98; Finland

Conference in late August 1882 to Copenhagen. Then followed a “stormy and unpleasant” voyage on the sailing ship *Argo* to Hull, and onward to Liverpool. There, in a group of more than 650 Latter-day Saints, she traveled on the steamer *Wyoming* of the Guion line, arriving in New York City on September 12. The journey continued by train and concluded with their arrival in Salt Lake City nine days later.⁴⁸ The same year she married a Swede, Charles Berg, but whether the marriage preceded or followed her immigration is not clear. Passenger records give Eva’s surname as Degerlund, which implies that the marriage took place after arrival in Utah.

Census records show that Eva settled in Murray, Utah, just south of Salt Lake City. By 1900, she was known as Eva Wilhelmina Berg, wife of Charles and mother of six Utah-born children. She passed away in Murray on September 19, 1907, survived by her husband.⁴⁹

Hedvig Johansdotter

Hedvig was one of three Finnish Mormons (see Emelie Lindström and Alexander Winqvist below) who immigrated at the same time in late 1888. She was born on April 25, 1839, in the southern-Finland town of Porvoo and was baptized a Mormon there on October 25, 1884, by Swedish missionary Alexander Hedberg. Her older brother, Gustaf Johansson, had already been baptized in Sipoo in 1878, and Hedvig probably learned of Mormonism through him. Records further indicate that, at the time of her immigration four years later, she was living in Porvoo in the home of her other brother, Carl Johansson. Gustaf and a fourth sibling, Johanna, were also sharing Carl’s home. Hedvig was then a forty-nine-year-old weaver.⁵⁰

Hedvig obtained a passport from the Uusimaa authorities on September 4, 1888, and left for Stockholm on the steamer *Finland* two

Branch Record, 1876–97, LDS Church History Library; Passport Records, 1881, Archive of the Administrative Department of Turku and Pori Provincial Government, Provincial Archives of Turku, Finland (hereafter cited as Turku Provincial Archives).

⁴⁸Record G; “The Fourth Company,” *Millennial Star* 44, no. 36 (September 4, 1882): 571; Jenson, *History of the Scandinavian Mission*, 265–66.

⁴⁹1900 U.S. Census, Murray, Salt Lake County, Utah, District 63; Eva Wilhelmina Berg, Death Certificate, Utah Death Certificate.

⁵⁰Record of Births and Christenings, Porvoo rural parish, 1833–40, 1:449, and 1880–89, 1:48, Finnish National Archives; Finland Branch Re-

weeks later. According to a newspaper report, two persons had visited her prior to her departure in an attempt to convince her to abandon her Mormon faith and to forget about immigrating. When confronted with polygamy and negative portrayals of Mormon doctrines, she was undaunted, citing the example of the biblical patriarchs to defend polygamy. But the journalist also captures a note of wry humor: "Anyway, she thought she was too old to be eligible for marriage in Salt Lake City."⁵¹

Another newspaper reported that she had sold her possessions to raise travel funds, as had one of her co-travelers. The fundamental reason for these three Finns' emigration, at least as reported by the press, was Finnish society's inhospitality toward new religious ideas: "Upon being asked what made them undertake the long journey they are supposed to have openly answered that they *have* to travel, because they would be persecuted here and not allowed to live according to the prescriptions of their doctrine. They said that more of their 'religious kindred' would follow them."⁵²

Hedvig and the other two Finns likely traveled with Swedish Latter-day Saints to Liverpool through the ordinary wayposts of Copenhagen and Hull. Aboard the *Wyoming*, the threesome reached New York City on October 16 with the rest of their company. The journey continued on another ship to Norfolk, Virginia, from which the party entrained to Salt Lake City, arriving on October 23. Hedvig settled in the Salt Lake Thirteenth Ward and was rebaptized and reconfirmed on November 1, 1888.⁵³

Hedvig received her endowment on November 11, 1891, in the

cord 1876–97, LDS Church History Library; "Landsorten," *Hufvudstadsbladet*, September 28, 1888, 2.

⁵¹Passport Records, Uusimaa, 1887–88, Archive of the Administrative Department of Uusimaa Provincial Government, Finnish National Archives; "Landsorten," *Hufvudstadsbladet*, September 28, 1888, 2.

⁵²"Mormoner i Helsingfors," *Finland*, September 20, 1888, 3; emphasis in original.

⁵³Passageer-liste for udvandrerskibene fra København til Hull, 1872–1894, LDS Family History Library; "A Company," *Millennial Star* 50, no. 42 (October 15, 1888): 667; N. P. Lindeloff and Per Christensen, Letter to George Teasdale, October 16, 1888, in "Correspondence," *Millennial Star* 50, no. 45 (November 5, 1888): 715; Jenson, *History of the Scandinavian Mission*, 306; Record of Members, Salt Lake City 13th Ward, early to 1900,

Logan Temple, a strong indication of her adherence to Mormonism at least to that date. The newspaper *Finland*, published in Helsinki, reported that she would be married to her co-traveler Alexander Winqvist when they reached Utah; but it is unclear whether they carried out this plan.⁵⁴

Alexandra Karolina Lindroth

Born on May 17, 1865, in Pohja, Alexandra was the second-oldest child born to her working-class parents. At age sixteen, she began working as a maid in Johan Blom's household where she became interested in Mormonism. Her mother, Wilhelmina Lindroth, also attended at least one meeting at Blom's residence, but her father was apparently not interested in to Mormonism. Alexandra was baptized by visiting missionary Lars Swalberg on August 12, 1883; and about two weeks later, a newspaper reported that she, "to her father's great sorrow, [would] be taken over to America," deceived "by these wolves in sheep's clothing."⁵⁵ As a recent proselyte, Alexandra testified at Blom's trial in October 1883 concerning her own introduction to the Mormon message and about her employer's behavior.

Alexandra appears to have lived a comparatively mobile pre-emigration life. After working a year for Blom, she moved briefly to Turku in early 1884, then moved to Sipoo where she worked as a maid for fellow Mormon Anna Carolina Ruth. (See below.) Late in 1885, she again moved to Turku from Pohja. In January 1886, she accompanied her former employer, Johan Blom, to Helsinki as he was to enter the crown prison, and in September of that year she obtained a passport to travel abroad.⁵⁶

109–10, LDS Family History Library.

⁵⁴"Mormoner i Helsingfors," *Finland*, September 20, 1888, 3. International Genealogical Index, s.v. Hedvig Johanson.

⁵⁵Alexandra's employment in the Blom household began on November 1, 1881. Record of Births and Christenings, Pohja Parish, 1839–65, n.p., Communion Books, Pohja Parish, 1877–86, 85, both in Finnish National Archives. Statement of Johan Blom, October 29, 1883, and statement of Maria Kristina Thauvon, October 30, 1883, AD 380/1884, Archive of the Senate/Judicial Department, Finnish National Archives; Finland Branch Record, 1876–97, LDS Church History Library. "Om mormonerna i Pojo," *Morgonbladet*, August 24, 1883, 3.

However, she had not reached the United States as of August 1890, the date when she received money from Hedvig Johansdotter in Salt Lake City to aid her immigration. The record states that the money was for “Alexandra Lindroth Stockholm,” which hints that she may have been living in Sweden. The index of the early membership record confirms that she was in Stockholm at some point. Thus, she likely emigrated from that city after a stay of unknown duration. Once arrived in Utah, she was rebaptized and reconfirmed on November 5 and 6, 1890, respectively, in Salt Lake Thirteenth Ward, in which her benefactor, Hedvig Johansdotter, resided.⁵⁷

Alexandra later married a Swede, Eric Alfred Lundell, in Benjamin, Utah, a village in Utah County, south of Salt Lake City. She was sealed to Eric in the Manti Temple on April 20, 1892. A few days prior to this temple visit, she had been rebaptized and reconfirmed for a second time. Eric died in 1920; Alexandra passed away in Benjamin on August 1, 1931, a sixty-six-year-old, self-employed domestic worker.⁵⁸

Emelie Lundström

Emelie Lundström was a tailor’s daughter, born September 21, 1847, in the southern Finland town of Sipoo. She was baptized a Mormon by Swedish missionary Leonard Nyberg on February 15, 1888, in Helsinki. About seven months later in September, she emigrated with Hedvig Johansdotter (see above) and Alexander Winqvist (see be-

⁵⁶Record of move-ins and move-outs, Pohja Parish, 1873–1905, 60 (February 4, 1884) and 68 (November 20, 1885), Finnish National Archives; Finland Branch Record, 1876–97, LDS Church History Library; John Bloom, Letter to Church Historian’s Office, April 29, 1925, in Manuscript History of the Finland Mission, LDS Church History Library; Passport records, 1886, Archive of the Administrative Department of Turku and Pori Provincial Government, Turku Provincial Archives.

⁵⁷Christian D. Fjeldsted, Letter to A. P. Anderson, August 21, 1890, in Scandinavian Mission, Letterpress Copybook 9, LDS Church History Library; Record of Members, Benjamin Ward, 1892–1903, 29, LDS Family History Library; Record of Members, Salt Lake City 13th Ward, early to 1900, 109–10, 113–14, LDS Family History Library.

⁵⁸International Genealogical Index, s.v. Alexandria Caroline Lindrot; Record of Members, Benjamin Ward, 1907–26, 6, LDS Family History Library; Alexandra Carlino Lundell, Death Certificate, Utah Death Certificate; “State Obituaries,” *Deseret News*, August 3, 1931, Sec. 2-5.

low). She obtained her passport in Helsinki on August 29, 1888, apparently visiting the passport office with Winqvist. By then, she was a seamstress in Helsinki.⁵⁹

The passenger record for the transatlantic journey on the steamer *Wyoming*, departing from Liverpool on October 6, 1888, gives her destination as Nephi, a town in central Utah. During her early years in Utah, she spent at least some time in both Salt Lake City and in the Sanpete area. She married Alexander Winqvist, but the date is not known nor is their pre-immigration relationship clear. Her passenger record lists her occupation as “wife,” but a newspaper article reporting on their departure from Finland says that they were planning to marry (polygamously, no less), once they arrived in Utah. According to Salt Lake County marriage records, the two were wed on March 18, 1890, by George H. Taylor, bishop of the Salt Lake Fourteenth Ward. Emelie was rebaptized and reconfirmed on April 29 and May 1, 1890, respectively. Two weeks later, on May 14, Emelie was sealed to Alexander in the Logan Temple by Apostle Marriner W. Merrill, after having participated in the temple endowment ceremony for the first time. Emelie may have died or divorced Alexander during the 1890s; she is not listed with him in the 1900 U.S. Census and he married other women. (See below.)⁶⁰

C. August Nordin

Of all the Mormon emigrants from Finland, C. August Nordin is the most enigmatic. His birth date and place are not known nor is the date of his baptism. He first surfaces in the minutes of an LDS

⁵⁹Record of Births and Christenings, Sipoo Parish, 1828–68, 340, Finnish National Archives; Passport Records, 1888, Archive of the Administrative Department of Uusimaa Provincial Government, Finnish National Archives. Passageer-liste for udvandrerskibene fra København til Hull, 1872–94, LDS Family History Library.

⁶⁰Mormon Immigration Index, Departure date October 6, 1888, s.v. Emelia Lindstrom; Marriage Records, 1887–1965, Salt Lake County, Book B, License 1283, March 15, 1890, LDS Family History Library; Record of Members, Salt Lake City 14th Ward, 1875–1901, LDS Family History Library; Marriage Records, Cache County, 1888–91, 387, LDS Family History Library; International Genealogical Index, s.v. Emelia Lindstrom; 1900 U.S. Census, Benjamin, Utah, District 155; Record of Members, Benjamin Ward, 1892–1903, 38, LDS Family History Library.

meeting in Pohja on January 24, 1886, where he was ordained a priest in the Aaronic Priesthood. This ordination implies that he was either a native Finn or a Swede working in Finland and living in the Pojo area. He paid 30 Finnish marks in tithing during the second quarter (February to May) of that year. In September 1886, Nordin baptized Alexander Winqvist (see below) in Helsinki and ordained him a teacher, another lay office in the Aaronic Priesthood, on April 10, 1887. This baptism and Nordin's appointment as president of the Finland Branch in October 1886 suggest that Nordin had quickly become a missionary after his ordination as priest in January.⁶¹

Nordin's immigration records include his name in the alphabetical index of members in the Finland Branch's early membership record. He is marked as having immigrated. No date is given, but the third quarter (August to November) of 1887 is plausible. Only one person is listed as emigrating during that period, and the Swedish word *emigrerad* ("emigrated") in Nordin's entry is written in the hand of Leonard Nyberg, then the resident Mormon missionary.⁶² All other immigrants listed in this record are identified by departure dates other than 1887. Thus, Nordin is the only clear candidate for immigration during this period. This conclusion is strengthened by the fact that, in May 1887, a conference in Stockholm released him from missionary work "with permission to emigrate to Zion." I have found no additional information on Nordin.

Maria Amanda Reutervall

When Maria Reutervall was born on July 13, 1861, her family seems to have been well off. Living in the southwest coast town of Naantali, Maria's father, Karl Johan Reutervall, was a master saddle maker, giving the family a certain amount of prestige in the community. However, he died in 1868 when she was about seven. Many of her siblings moved away—one sister to Sweden in 1872 and other siblings to nearby Turku between 1872 and 1875.⁶³

Maria left home in 1877 and became a maid at the estate of

⁶¹Finland Branch Record, 1876–97, LDS Church History Library; "Halfårliga konferensmötet i Stockholm," *Nordstjernen* 10, no. 22 (November 15, 1886): 348.

⁶²"Konferensmöte, afhållet i Stockholm," *Nordstjernen* 11, no. 11 (June 1, 1887): 172.

Kultaranta. It is not clear how long she was there; but on June 4, 1881, she obtained a passport in Turku for travel abroad. One of the cities she visited was Stockholm, where she was baptized Mormon on May 3, 1882, by R. Berntson. By the summer of 1884, she was living again in Turku where branch records list her as a tithe-payer for the August-to-November quarter. On June 4, 1886, she obtained another five-year passport in Turku, this time accompanied by her widowed mother Karolina and her younger sister, Emilia. Maria's intention in obtaining the passport was for emigration purposes; her mother and sister obtained passports for a shorter time.⁶⁴ I hypothesize that they wanted to accompany her on the first leg of her journey—probably to Stockholm. Maria traveled from Sweden—and possibly all the way from Finland—in the same company as the Blom family (see above) and Anna Carolina Ruth (see below). She arrived in Salt Lake City on July 10, 1886, where she was rebaptized and reconfirmed on August 5. On December 1, she married a Swedish convert, Alexander S. Hedberg, in the Logan Temple. Hedberg had been a missionary to Finland two years earlier, and the two may have met when Maria was living in Turku. However, since Hedberg, like Maria, was baptized in Stockholm in 1882, that city seems to be the more likely site of their acquaintance.⁶⁵

Maria and Alexander moved from Utah to Chicago sometime between 1888 and 1891. The reason for this move is not known, but they may have been unhappy with Church conditions in Utah, considering their later informal disaffiliation. In any case, the couple owned a house in Pullman, Chicago, and had two sons—the first born in Utah, the second in Illinois. There was no regular LDS unit in Chi-

⁶³Naantali Parish, all in Finnish National Archives: Record of Births and Christenings, 1838–79, 268; Communion Books, 1861–67, 141, and 1868–1880, 31.

⁶⁴Communion Books, Naantali Parish, 1868–80, 345; Passport Records, 1881 and 1886, Archive of the Administrative Department of Turku and Pori Provincial Government, Turku Provincial Archives; Record of Members, Stockholm Branch, 1863–1903, 125, LDS Family History Library.

⁶⁵Record G, 135; Record of Members, Salt Lake City 13th Ward, early to 1900, 63–64; International Genealogical Index, s.v. Maria Reutervall; Record of Members, Stockholm Branch, 1863–1903, 124, all four in LDS Family History Library.

cago at the time, and thus it is unclear how the Hedbergs' feelings toward Mormonism evolved during this period.⁶⁶

In 1896, however, Church leaders decided to organize a branch in Chicago. Christian D. Fjeldsted, former Scandinavian Mission president, was one of those spearheading the project. He reports visiting the Hedbergs at least three times and unsuccessfully trying to arrange a meeting with Alexander, who had by then become an inventor and had applied for patents. This lack of welcome implies that the Hedbergs' feelings toward Mormonism may have grown cold, although they had had their older son baptized at age eight in August 1896. The branch's first membership record indicates that the branch had lost track of the family's whereabouts in 1897, and the later membership record labels Alexander an "apostate" and Maria as "lost." Thus it seems that the Hedbergs drifted away from Mormonism.⁶⁷

Anna Carolina Ruth

Anna was born on June 29, 1828, in Viipuri in the far southeast region of Finland and was the wife of a master chimney sweep, Josef Ruth. By the time of her Mormon baptism in October 1883, she had been widowed for a few months and was living in the southern Finland town of Sipoo. A newspaper reported that she was "well off, rich." Mormon elder Lars Swalberg was said to have been so successful in his "zealous conversion work" that Anna had decided to "sell her possessions and follow him" to Utah.⁶⁸

It took another three years before Anna left Finland; but like her conversion, her planned departure also generated public discussion. A local correspondent from Sipoo sent a column to *Hufvudstadsbladet* in Finland's capital, stating that "the businessman's widow Ruth" had

⁶⁶1900 U.S. Census, Chicago Ward 34, District 1110.

⁶⁷Christian D. Fjeldsted, Journals and Record Books, 1890–1905, May 30, June 4, 15–16, and 26, 1896, LDS Church History Library; Record of Members, Chicago Branch, 1896–1901, 15–16, LDS Family History Library; Record of Members, Chicago Branch, early to 1917, 30, LDS Family History Library.

⁶⁸Record of Births and Christenings, Viipuri Swedish Parish, 1798–1840, n.p., Finnish National Archives. Finland Branch Record, 1876–1897, LDS Church History Library; Letter by "–m" in Sipoo on November 26, 1883, printed in "Korrespondens," *Hufvudstadsbladet*, December 2, 1883, 2. See also "Bref från landsorten," *Folkvännen*, December 4, 1883, 2.

now left for “the promised land.” Somewhat sarcastically, the writer mused that she was quite a catch for the Mormons due to her wealth; and therefore “she should, at least at first, be a welcome guest in the ‘Zion’ she has travelled to.” It is not known whether she traveled with the Blom family and Maria Reutervall all the way from Finland in June 1886, but she most likely joined them by the latest in Sweden to continue the journey with the rest of the Mormon company. The passenger record identifies her as “a spinster,” rather than as a widow.⁶⁹

Anna settled in Salt Lake City where she was rebaptized and reconfirmed in March 1887. She lived at the same address as Maria Reutervall and Alexander Hedberg, thus confirming that she maintained contact with at least one other Finnish Mormon convert after immigrating. On May 29, 1891, Anna was “set apart” as a missionary by Apostle Abraham H. Cannon to “do missionary labor while in Scandinavia and Russia on genealogical research.” Accordingly, she returned to Finland that summer.⁷⁰

Her visit eventually became public knowledge just as her conversion and departure had; a Finnish Mormon visiting her homeland seems to have been a matter generating some interest. *Hufvudstadsbladet* printed a news item on her in early September, and it was reprinted in several newspapers. According to the story, sixty-three-year-old Anna, who was described as “very energetic and lively for her age,” was very satisfied with her life in Salt Lake City and was managing a hotel. She reported that other Finns in Utah were also doing well. Her portrayal of Salt Lake City and Mormonism in general was much different than many of the stories then in circulation. Instead of

⁶⁹“Ett och annat från Sibbo,” *Hufvudstadsbladet*, June 20, 1886, 2. Passageer-liste for udvandrerskibene fra København til Hull, 1872–94, LDS Family History Library; Record G, 135, LDS Family History Library.

⁷⁰Record of Members, Salt Lake City 13th Ward, early to 1900, 5–6 and 63–64, LDS Family History Library; *Utah Gazetteer and Directory of Salt Lake, Ogden, Provo and Logan Cities, for 1888* (Salt Lake City: Lorenzo Stenhouse, 1888), Salt Lake City section, 165 and 257; Missionaries of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Vol. 4, 1891:136, LDS Church History Library. Jones, “Conversion amid Conflict,” 34, citing an earlier history of women missionaries, states that Ruth “returned to Finland in 1891 to provide spiritual training to LDS Finnish women” but provides no supporting evidence. I am not aware of any evidence for a Relief Society in nineteenth-century Finland.

focusing on despotism and a tightly controlled theocracy like some Mormon critics, Anna, a faithful Mormon, opined that her beloved faith was not “narrow-minded and ‘pietistic.’” Indeed, she asserted, she wished she had moved to Salt Lake City twenty years earlier.⁷¹

After returning to Utah, Anna was again rebaptized and reconfirmed—not once, but twice, in both 1893 and 1894. She moved to at least four different residences in Salt Lake City before her death on March 7, 1916. In Utah she was known variously as Annie Root, Anna Ruth, and Karoline Root.⁷²

Alexander Winqvist

The only Finnish Mormon immigrant to have been born on Finland’s central west coast, Alexander Winqvist was orphaned at age four in 1852 while living in the village of Forsby near the town of Uusikaarlepyy. A couple took in him and an older sister, Anna; but Anna died in 1858. He became a carpenter by trade, moved away from home at age twenty (1868), worked for a time in St. Petersburg, married Erika Wahlsten (born 1838), and relocated to Helsinki in 1869. In Helsinki, Alexander became a Mormon in the middle of a difficult illness in September 1886 at age thirty-eight. Erika joined the Church the following year at age forty-eight. Also in 1887, Alexander was ordained to the office of elder in the Melchizedek Priesthood.⁷³

Alexander left Finland for Utah in September 1888 with Hedvig

⁷¹“Finsk mormon på besök i hemlandet,” *Hufvudstadsbladet*, September 11, 1891, 2. The story was reprinted later the same year in at least *Aamulehti*, September 13, 3; *Keski-Suomi*, September 15, 3; *Kotka*, September 17, 3; *Jyränkö*, September 25, 3; and *Uleåborgs Tidning*, December 18, 1. The article states that about ten female Finnish Mormons emigrated to Utah around 1885–86 with a Mormon elder. The membership record contains no evidence for such a large number.

⁷²Record of Members, Salt Lake City 13th Ward, 1890–1901, 65–66, LDS Family History Library. For Anna’s addresses, see *R. L. Polk & Co’s Salt Lake City Directory* (Salt Lake City: R. L. Polk & Co.) 1899:708, 1911:868, 1913:832, 1915:844, and for her death, 1916:718; see also “Called by Death,” *Deseret News*, March 8, 1916, 2.

⁷³Communion Books, Uusikaarlepyy Rural Parish, 1851–57, 12, 41, and 1858–69, 321, Finnish National Archives; Communion Books, Helsinki Undivided Parish, 1856–69, 642, and 1870–81, 642, Finnish National Archives; Finland Branch Record, 1876–97, LDS Church History Library. On

Johansdotter and Emelie Lindström. (See above.) According to a contemporary newspaper article, Alexander left his wife and a grown-up daughter behind, and “the wife was compelled to give her agreement to the divorce,” with Alexander planning to marry his two co-travelers in Utah.⁷⁴

Alexander arrived in Salt Lake City on October 23, 1888, and at some point thereafter adopted the name Alexander Gustafsson, the patronymic surname being based on his father’s given name. After being rebaptized and reconfirmed on April 29 and May 1, 1890, respectively, Alexander was endowed in the Logan Temple in 1890 and was sealed the same day to Emelie Lindström. Three years later in July 1893, he married Eva Carlson, a Swedish convert, in the newly completed Salt Lake Temple, after having again been rebaptized and reconfirmed a month earlier.⁷⁵

By 1900, Alexander had relocated to Benjamin, in Utah County, where he farmed. According to census records, he was married to a woman named Anna, who had immigrated in 1898. Sharing their residence was Eva Carlson’s daughter, Jennie. Anna was thus at least his third wife since he had immigrated to Utah, but it is not known whether the marriages were polygamous or serially monogamous. By 1905 Alexander had fathered at least three children on American soil.⁷⁶

Alexander’s fifth marriage (counting his first to Erika) took place in 1909 when he was sixty-one. Again, he married a Swedish convert, fifty-nine-year-old Helena Sophia Johnson. Sometime in the next eleven years, Helena died. According to the 1920 census, Alexander, then age seventy-two, was a widower living alone. He died

Winqvist’s feelings regarding his illness, see his September 25, 1886, letter to F. R. Sandberg, *ibid.*, fd. 3.

⁷⁴“Mormoner i Helsingfors,” *Finland*, September 20, 1888, 3.

⁷⁵International Genealogical Index, s.v. Alexander Gustafsen and s.v. Alexander Gustavsen. Record of Members, Salt Lake City 14th Ward, 1875–1901, LDS Family History Library; Marriage Licenses, Salt Lake County, 1890–93, No. 3617, July 6, 1893, LDS Family History Library.

⁷⁶1900 U.S. Census, Benjamin, Utah, District 155; 1910 U.S. Census, Benjamin, Utah, District 185; Record of Members, Benjamin Ward, 1892–1903, 38, LDS Family History Library.

three years later on December 29, 1923, in Benjamin.⁷⁷

ANALYSIS AND COMPARISONS

The biographical sketches above are not complete and need to be expanded considerably by future research. Nevertheless, they provide a basic understanding of how the group of immigrants was constituted and allow some analytical observations and comparisons.

First, despite the small group, these Finnish Mormon immigrants are highly diverse. The group consists of both men and women, young and old, single, married, and widowed individuals. Six (two adults and four children) were Swedish nationals who had lived in Finland for about six years at the time of their immigration. One moved to Sweden after baptism and left for Utah from there one year later. One or two (Ruth and Reutervall) came from relatively affluent backgrounds while others were craftspeople or laborers, such as weavers, carpenters, or maids.

All of the native Finns were baptized in the 1880s, with none dating from the first five years of proselytizing in Finland (1875–80). Moreover, like early Mormons generally in Finland, they were Swedish-speaking Finns. In contrast, the larger migration from Finland to America included both Finnish and Swedish speakers. Apparently, none of the members listed in the Finland Branch record emigrated after 1890. The time between baptism and emigration ranges from seven months (Emelie Lindström) to seven years (Alexandra Lindroth) for reasons that are, at this point, obscure. Apparently the motivations were individual in each case.

Of the adult immigrants, seven (70 percent) were women and three (30 percent) were men. Including the children alters the proportions somewhat. Eight were female (57.1 percent) and six were male (42.9%). Men constituted 73.7 percent (for 1880–84) and 75.6 percent (1885–89) of all immigrants from Finland to the United States. Between 1869 and 1914, men still made up nearly 65 percent of the total, a somewhat higher fraction than emigration from other

⁷⁷Marriage Records, Utah County, Marriage Applications, June 1909–November 1913, Application no. 249, LDS Family History Library; 1920 U.S. Census, Benjamin, Utah, District 192; Record of Members, Benjamin Ward, 1919–40, entry 236, LDS Family History Library; Alexander Gustafsson, Death Certificate, Utah Death Certificate.

Nordic countries.⁷⁸ The higher proportion of women is more in line with Mulder's finding that 53.5 percent of Scandinavian Mormon immigrants were women.⁷⁹ However, the small number of Finnish immigrants makes it impossible to find much significance in these figures.

It is also noteworthy that the geographical distribution of the Mormon emigrants is diametrically opposite to that of the general emigrants.⁸⁰ All but one of the Mormon emigrants lived in southern Finland, a generally low-volume emigrant area. None of the Mormon emigrants lived in the upper west coast area of Ostrobothnia (only one grew up there), which otherwise showed the highest volume of emigration.

Perhaps more meaningful is Mormon emigration from Finland in contrast to emigration from the other Nordic countries. There is evidence for 78 individuals converting to Mormonism in Finland up to the year 1900.⁸¹ Seven emigrants (discounting the Swedish nationals and Maria Reutervall who was baptized in Sweden) thus correspond to a maximum of 10 percent of all converts moving to Utah. The figures for Sweden, Norway, and Denmark up through 1905 are 44 percent, 41 percent, and 53 percent, of all converts respectively.⁸² This difference is rather striking. What could have caused it?

For one thing, Finnish Mormons were scattered around the country in very small groups, while Sweden, Norway, and Denmark had numerous functioning branches and missionaries. In these branches, the principle of gathering was preached and members mutually reinforced the desire and longing for emigration. The

⁷⁸Reino Kero, *Migration from Finland to North America in the Years between the United States Civil War and the First World War* (Turku: Turun yliopisto, 1974), 91–93.

⁷⁹Mulder, *Homeward to Zion*, 109.

⁸⁰Kero, *Suureen länteen*, 56–59.

⁸¹Jones, "Conversion amid Conflict," 3, estimates perhaps 200 converts or "a few hundred" (18). I find this figure over-optimistic since it is based on a hypothesized 100 baptisms in 1875–78 and another 100 during 1878–95 (22). My analysis of the Finland Branch Record, 1876–97, indicates that a majority of the baptisms occurred after 1878 and totaled only about eighty; as I have argued above, I see this branch record as covering the whole country.

⁸²Jenson, *History of the Scandinavian Mission*, 534–36.

Nordstjernan published a letter from a leader in Kristiania, Norway, describing how some who had been Church members for about thirty years wished to be “able to leave these troubled places and come home to Zion, to receive greater blessings there, before they . . . enter death’s gate.” Such converts “longed for liberation.”⁸³ In Stockholm, many seasoned Mormons wished “to see the day when they can say farewell to their native land and go to the land of Joseph’s inheritance.”⁸⁴

The scattered Finnish Mormons were mostly unable to experience such social cohesion, integration, and mutual reinforcement of longing for Zion and, hence, were less able to mobilize for action. I hypothesize that the urge to emigrate never became prevalent among Finnish Mormons. One or two traveling missionaries covering the entire country were simply not able to create a widespread vision shared among the members. As a result, fewer decided to leave their native land behind and embark on the adventure.

Another reason may be the scarcity of examples. Given the very small number of Finnish Mormons who immigrated to Utah, they did not leave solid congregations behind to whom they could address letters warmly urging them to come, too. Without these role models, emigration may have seemed too overwhelming. Saints in other Nordic countries had an encouraging support system grounded in real-life experience by the Mormon compatriots who had preceded them to America. Such encouragement substantially reduced the psychological obstacles against leaving their homelands.

A third reason may be a simple lack of means. Although the general socioeconomic composition of the Finnish Mormon converts is not known, poverty was a well-known problem for other Nordic Saints. The above-mentioned Saints in Kristiania, for example, asked their ecclesiastical leader “to notify them if there was any way opened for the poor.” A missionary in Iceland commented in 1888 that almost all of that country’s thirty-four Mormons wanted to “travel to the place the Lord has prepared for his faithful; but as they for the most

⁸³H. J. Christensen, Letter, July 27, 1885, *Nordstjernan* 9, no. 16 (August 15, 1885): 254. H. J. Christiansen, Letter to N. C. Flygare, July 14, 1886, *Nordstjernan* 10, no. 15 (August 1, 1886): 235.

⁸⁴Math. Nilson, Letter to K. Peterson, November 28, 1872, in “Korrespondance,” *Skandinaviens Stjerne* [The Star of Scandinavia] 22, no. 6 (December 15, 1872): 94.

part are poor, they cannot get this wish fulfilled without help.”⁸⁵ Despite the large general migration from Finland to the United States, there is not enough evidence to indicate whether the Mormon Finns were similar to that population.

SOCIETAL REACTIONS TO MORMON EMIGRATION

Reactions to general emigration from Finland to the United States were at first highly negative but became more positive as time went by. After initial anti-emigration propaganda by Finland's national senate in the 1870s, for example, official reactions toward emigration became somewhat more permissive and the government took a more passive stance. The 1880s and 1890s saw a more general acceptance of reasons for emigration, especially the promise of greater prosperity on the other side of the Atlantic.⁸⁶

The attitude voiced by some newspapers and some Lutheran priests, however, was still often anti-emigration. For example, according to Taisto Hujanen and Kimmo Koiranen's study of emigration in national newspapers, the *Uusi Suometar* was predominantly against emigration during the 1880s, and *Wasabladet* displayed a similar, if more muted, attitude.⁸⁷ To some extent this pattern continued into the 1890s, at least for *Uusi Suometar*. Exemplifying many of the arguments presented against emigration through the years, one individual, using quasi-religious terms, insisted that people “should stay in the calling into which providence has put them, seek to improve the circumstances and work with doubled zeal to create a brighter future for the rising generations. . . . [Emigrants] are thus morally in the same position as those strong men, who in a fire or shipwreck wretchedly save their own lives, leaving the elderly, women and children to drown.”⁸⁸ This moral position assumed that emigration betrayed one's ancestral homeland and evaded one's sacred obligations to-

⁸⁵Math. Nilson, Letter to C. G. Larsen, September 19, 1873, *Skandinaviens Stjerne* 23, no. 3 (November 1, 1873): 42–43; Haldur Johnson, Letter to N. C. Flygare, November 30, 1887, *Nordstjernen* 12, no. 2 (January 15, 1888): 28.

⁸⁶Kero, *Suureen länteen*, 113–22.

⁸⁷Taisto Hujanen and Kimmo Koiranen, *Siirtolaisuus suomalaisissa sanomalehdissä vuosina 1880–1939 ja 1945–1984* [Migration in Finnish Newspapers in the Years 1880–1939 and 1945–1984] (Turku: Siirtolaisinstituutti, 1990), 77–78.

ward future generations and one's own people.

Another common attitude was that emigrants were seen as gullible, succumbing to their delusions concerning the grandeur of American life and the general belief concerning greener grass elsewhere. Even Mormon Utah could be used as an example of such misguided actions. *Wasa Tidning* reported in September 1885 that nine non-Mormons from the Ostrobothnian region had auctioned off their possessions to raise travel money to Utah because they had received letters containing "glowing imagery of 'gold and green forests.'"⁸⁹

On the other hand, Finnish newspapers also reported on compatriots traveling in, residing in, or emigrating to Utah without any implicit criticism, thus displaying a divided attitude toward emigration. In 1882, for example, several newspapers reported matter-of-factly that a Finnish tailor and a carpenter (presumably non-Mormons) were emigrating after having received a letter from a friend in "the land of the Mormons" who was "doing well" and who described his condition as "excellent."⁹⁰

When it came to the Mormon variant of emigration to the United States, opinions in Finland were often negative. Most of the societal reactions discussed below are simply examples of what was being written in newspapers in other countries and are not direct responses to Mormon emigration from Finland in particular; this consequence is natural, resulting from the very limited extent of Mormon emigration from Finland. While not a direct response to the Finnish situation, however, these public responses contributed to how the reasons and consequences of Mormon emigration came to be understood by the general population. As such they also contributed to the atmosphere in which emigrating Finnish Mormons had to make their decisions.

The general criticism of not loving one's native land could also be applied to those leaving for religious reasons. In 1883, for exam-

⁸⁸"Siirtolaisuudesta wieläkin," *Uusi Suometar*, June 27, 1899, 2.

⁸⁹"Lappfjärdsboar på långresa," *Wasa Tidning*, September 4, 1885, 2-3.

⁹⁰"Emigranter," *Östra Finland*, supplement, October 15, 1882, 1. For examples of letters concerning Finns living in or visiting Utah, see "Korrespondens från Österbotten," *Hufvudstadsbladet*, January 15, 1874, 7, and September 17, 1874, 7; and "Bref till Morgonbladet," *Morgonbladet*, October 28, 1874, 1.

ple, the newspaper *Folkwännen* reported that a number of Finns had emigrated to the more religiously tolerant United States due to dissatisfaction with the Lutheran Church's authority in Finland. Included in this number were some Baptists, Methodists, Laestadians, and Mormons. The writer characterized them as "half-crazy dreamers" and chastised them for their decision. They had turned their backs on their native land and, he said with considerable vindictiveness, "one may hope" that they have done so "for all time."⁹¹

One writer commended the Mormon emigrants for their "mildness, hospitality, love of native country, endurance, and faithfulness," expressed sorrow for these "poor misled victims of Mormonism's curse," and blamed, not the emigrants, but the missionaries—the "contemptible seducers" whose "slithery tongues" had "lured" the converts.⁹²

Such shifting of responsibility from individual to institution was common—and still is in modern opposition to new religious movements. According to Douglas Cowan, a central view among anti-cult activists is that a religious group compromises "the cognitive ability of the potential recruit" during the conversion process. This compromise becomes more pronounced during the socialization provided by the group, and thus the individual's "capacity to make rational, informed decisions" is no longer what it used to be.⁹³ As expressed in extreme forms of anti-cult discourse, individuals are simply brainwashed. From such a viewpoint, it becomes natural and rational to free them from the responsibility tied to their decisions. After all, if they can no longer make rational decisions, the guilt must lie with the party that took away that ability.

In many countries, the public saw Mormon emigrants as uneducated individuals from the lower classes who were beguiled by cunning missionaries. This view made the activities of the Mormon missionaries especially reprehensible in the public mind. Educated per-

⁹¹"Om utvandringen och dess förnämsta orsaker," *Folkwännen*, February 14, 1883, 1. As discussed above, only one Finnish Mormon is known to have immigrated to Utah by 1883.

⁹²"Mormonismen och den skandinaviska emigrationen," *Björneborgs Tidning*, August 3, 1881, 3; "Mormonerna," *Uleåborgs Tidning*, July 5, 1877, 3; "48 mormonismen kannattajaa," *Maamme*, June 3, 1890, 2.

⁹³Douglas E. Cowan, *Bearing False Witness? An Introduction to the Christian Countercult* (Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 2003), 16.

sons making their emigration decisions based on fraudulent religious premises was one thing, but deceiving the poor was another completely, and produced calls for action. When the Finnish Mormons Hedvig Johansdotter, Emelie Lindström, and Alexander Winqvist emigrated to Utah in 1888, for example, the newspaper *Finland* reacted strongly. The writer described how resident Mormon missionary Leonard Nyberg deployed “beautiful notions to catch his victims.” Were the authorities not going to do anything “to prevent unskilled and ignorant people from becoming victims” to the Mormons?⁹⁴ Several other newspapers reprinted parts of *Finland*’s article and repeated the plea.⁹⁵ Finnish authorities, however, apparently took no steps to prevent Finnish Mormons from emigrating.

In contrast, some papers accused Mormon missionaries of focusing their efforts on the wealthy: “That is the reason that only few with little means come to the Mormon state.”⁹⁶ When Anna Carolina Ruth left for Utah, the reporter commented cynically that Elder Lars Swalberg had made “quite a passable catch, as the old woman owns a pretty capital” and that she would be welcome in Zion because of it.⁹⁷ The motives attributed to the missionaries were thus sometimes mutually contradictory. However, this very contradiction shows a general distrust toward the Mormon missionaries: Both motives were seen as negative and subversive.

As one additional example of shifting the moral blame for leaving one’s homeland from the emigrant to the missionary, some proselytizers could be suspected of seeking their own financial betterment at the expense of their converts. Such suspicion arose when missionaries allegedly participated in pro-emigration business activities: “In addition to the spiritual sowing they work with recruiting emigrants

⁹⁴“Mormoner i Helsingfors,” *Finland*, September 20, 1888, 3. On the theme of seduction, see also “42 nuorta naista,” *Aamulehti*, November 26, 1890, 3.

⁹⁵See, for example, “Mormoneja Helsingissä,” *Uusi Suometar*, September 21, 1888, 3, and “Mormoneja Helsingissä,” *Sanomia Turusta*, September 24, 1888, 2. In contrast, some newspapers that reprinted parts of the story dropped the plea from the text. See, for example, “Mormoneja Helsingissä,” *Päivän Uutiset*, September 21, 1888, 2, and “Mormoner i Helsingfors,” *Wiborgsbladet*, September 22, 1888, 2.

⁹⁶“Ett mormonsällskap,” *Helsingfors*, August 4, 1882, 3.

⁹⁷“Ett och annat från Sibbo,” *Hufvudstadsbladet*, June 20, 1886, 2.

for the benefit of the transatlantic steamship companies,” charged *Folkwännen* in 1883. Presumably such recruiting would have also included remunerations to the missionaries. Later the same year, *Folkwännen* also accused Swalberg of working as an emigration agent for the Guion line.⁹⁸

The emigrants sometimes left part of their families behind on less than good terms. In 1864, for instance, a Finnish paper reported that a man in Jönköping, Sweden, had “mistaken himself in the choice of a life companion.” His wife converted to Mormonism, and eventually she and their daughter secretly agreed with a Mormon missionary that they would emigrate to Utah. The man knew nothing of it until a priest informed him that his daughter had not turned up for a lesson and had apparently left for Utah. Distraught, the man alerted the authorities but it was already too late. Not even a telegram to the eventual departure city of Gothenburg, Sweden, could block their departure.⁹⁹ Among Finns, Alexander Winqvist left behind his wife, Erika, in 1888, allegedly forcing her into a divorce.¹⁰⁰

Undoubtedly many of the stories in this genre are true at least in part; however, they contain only one party’s viewpoint. Emigration, whether undertaken by Mormons or others, was not always a happy occasion. In the Mormon case, however, it was the allegedly fraudulent premise of the endeavor that made it doubly serious and had the potential of triggering staunch opposition to Mormonism. Mormonism was not simply about believing certain doctrines about the afterlife; rather, it could involve profound actions, life changes, and alterations in family relationships that the non-Mormon party viewed as being grounded in deception. Thus, in a sense, the doctrine of gathering and the resulting practice of emigration was one of the most radical tenets of Mormonism, upsetting the societal status quo more than most religious preferences. In conjunction with plural marriage,

⁹⁸“65 mormonapostlar,” *Folkwännen*, May 10, 1883, 2, “En mormonapostel,” *Folkwännen*, November 21, 1883, 1.

⁹⁹“Mormonrörelsen i Sverige,” *Helsingfors Dagblad*, April 30, 1864, 2; “Ruotsista,” *Suometar*, April 30, 1864, 1. Later it was even alleged that Mormon missionaries in Switzerland tried to send children to Utah without their parents, partly because it was cheaper to emigrate minors. “Mormoner i Schweiz,” *Åbo Underrättelser*, September 19, 1887, 2, and July 19, 1890, 2.

¹⁰⁰“Mormoner i Helsingfors,” *Finland*, September 20, 1888, 3.

emigration thus contributed to Mormonism's high degree of tension with the rest of society.

Public media also saw Utah, the destination of the emigrants, in largely negative terms. A common theme was that the fervent and idealistic Mormons would realize, "though too late, that they have been deceived in the most disgraceful way."¹⁰¹ From this perspective, the emigrants had essentially been enslaved by a system that had deceived them and lured them from their native lands. Again, a central technique was to blame the deceptive missionary rather than the innocent convert. Missionaries "painted life at the Salt Lake with the most enticing colors."¹⁰² In Utah, "like everywhere in America, fried sparrows fly into one's mouth."¹⁰³

This theme came up in an 1881 review of the Finnish Lutheran Church's condition and its relation to foreign preachers and dissenters, even though no Mormons are known to have emigrated by then: "How little the people in general have been able to 'seek the spirit' is shown by the fact that, even this year, many persons have listened to preachers of the Mormonite sect and have followed them into slavery of the 'last day saints' in the Mormon city."¹⁰⁴ Similarly, when reports of Mormon missionary activity around Vaasa arrived in late 1881, the *Helsingfors* printed an article by Swedish journalist Jonas Stadling, who had visited Utah:

Among the 4,000 to 5,000 Scandinavian Mormons that live in Salt Lake City, I met many who admitted they were disappointed in their hopes concerning "Zion," while others, especially women, with tears in their eyes spoke of their home on the other side of the ocean. . . . They are here involved in the worst slavery imaginable—slavery under fanaticism and unskillfulness and slavery under a gang of crooks, thieves, and murderers. . . . [In the temple] they are initiated into the gloominess of plural marriage and human sacrifices ("blood atonement") [sic] and

¹⁰¹"Mormonismen och den skandinaviska emigrationen," *Björneborgs Tidning*, August 3, 1881, 3.

¹⁰²"Hungersnöden på Island," *Östra Finland*, October 11, 1882, 6.

¹⁰³"En mormonkonferens i Stockholm," *Wiborgsbladet*, October 31, 1882, 3.

¹⁰⁴"Turusta. Wuosi 1881. Kirkko," *Sanomia Turusta*, January 3, 1882, 1.

come out thus “initiated.”¹⁰⁵

Part of this interpretation that Mormons were victims of “white slavery” stemmed from the emigrants’ poverty coupled with loans from the Perpetual Emigrating Fund. First, the elders enticed them to emigrate; but once they arrived in the new Mormon society, they were bound down with the difficult obligation of repaying their loan. *Uusi Suometar* summarized this view: “Those that move away usually end up in the ‘Zion’ on the other side of the Atlantic in the manner that they are enticed to borrow money from a help fund in Utah, where things are handled so that they scarcely ever are able to pay back their debt, but rather walk around there as slaves for their entire lives.”¹⁰⁶

Furthermore, women and children were often singled out, not only as slaves of a theocratic religious system, but also of a polygamous and patriarchal society. In 1879, for instance, it was reported that a young Swiss woman had emigrated to Utah; but when she had rejected the polygamous marriage proposal of the missionary who converted her, he became furious. Her situation was difficult, and she beseechingly wrote home to Switzerland, asking that she might “for God’s sake be freed from her slavery.” Accordingly, the Swiss general consul in Washington was going to take action to “free [her] from the Mormons’ hands.”¹⁰⁷ Some years later, another newspaper claimed that a Danish Mormon missionary had seduced forty-two young women to emigrate to Utah although they had willingly embraced polygamy.¹⁰⁸ And after referring to the abuse of Mormon women, a letter writer “seriously warned people of both sexes in the Nordic countries against letting themselves be seduced into misery by Mormon agents.”¹⁰⁹

Sensationalistic reports such as these naturally resulted in a felt need to educate the population concerning the dangers of converting to Mormonism and emigrating to Utah. In that manner, the problem could be easily remedied by persuading people not to leave their na-

¹⁰⁵“Mormonismen,” *Helsingfors*, December 2, 1881, 3–4.

¹⁰⁶“Mormonilaisuus Skandinawiassa,” *Uusi Suometar*, November 26, 1879, 2.

¹⁰⁷“Från mormonernas land,” *Åbo Underrättelser*, December 13, 1879, 3. “Mormonåtervandring,” *Åbo Underrättelser*, August 12, 1873, 2, reported that some Mormons were returning to their homelands in large numbers.

¹⁰⁸“42 nuorta naista,” *Aamulehti*, November 26, 1890, 3.

¹⁰⁹“Till mormonlandet Utah,” *Norra Posten*, July 19, 1883, 4.

tive land in the first place. As the case of Hedvig Johansdotter shows, however, sometimes even personal discussions and visits were not successful. Some probably regarded with skepticism the excessively gloomy depictions of Utah. One visitor to Utah contrasted "having been crammed with the most unbelievable fables about the Mormons," only to find tranquility and normalcy instead.¹¹⁰ Thus, the very intensity of the opposition may have worked against its own purposes.

Nevertheless, newspapers sometimes specifically explained that they were publishing an exposé of Mormonism to prevent people from emigrating. The newspaper *Nya Pressen*, for example, prefaced an article by saying that it wanted it to "warn simple persons who are prepared to go to Utah" before it was too late.¹¹¹ In 1888, *Wasabladet* reported that a Mormon missionary had appeared in the Vaasa area and referred the public to critical articles that the newspaper had published only a month previously from American pastor M. W. Montgomery. He had composed them specifically for Scandinavians, and they had been published widely. *Wasabladet* had headlined them simply "Warning to Emigrants."¹¹²

Some organizations with connection to Scandinavia set up Lutheran missions to Utah, endeavoring to work among Mormon emigrants from those countries. The aim was not to have them return to their homelands but to deconvert them from Mormonism and reconvert them to Protestant Christianity, if possible. It is not known that any Finnish organizations had been set up for a similar purpose; however, Finnish non-Mormon immigrants to the United States were seen as potential Mormon converts. After detailing alleged conditions in Salt Lake City, one writer hoped that "the Lord God would protect . . . especially our Finnish emigrants in America so they would not be ingratiated in Mormonism's perversions."¹¹³ The author was most likely editor Johannes Bäck, a Lutheran pastor who had confronted Mormonism in Vaasa and its surroundings five years earlier.

¹¹⁰"Bland mormonerne," *Finland*, January 29, 1889, 4.

¹¹¹"Bidrag till mormonismens historia," *Nya Pressen*, October 27, 1884, 4.

¹¹²"En mormonpredikant," *Wasabladet*, June 13, 1888, 2. Selections of Montgomery's longer text were published in this newspaper as "Warning till emigranter. Mormonismens styggelser blottade," May 16, 26, both on 3.

¹¹³"Om mormonismen," *Mellersta Österbotten*, December 15, 1881, 3.

These reactions show that the general themes of deception, seduction, slavery, and profiteering were present in Finnish discourse and image construction related to the emigration activities of the Mormons, sometimes even before emigration from Finland had actually occurred. Compared to criticisms against general emigration from Finland to Utah, the converts themselves were seldom blamed for falling prey to hopes for a better future elsewhere. Rather, the culprit was the Mormon organization that had clouded the formerly sound judgment of the new converts and deprived them of life's goodness: "How many noble seeds of Christianity has not the awful Mormonism suffocated, while robbing the deceived of native country, family happiness and other precious gifts!"¹¹⁴

CONCLUSION

For the Mormons, emigration to Utah signaled an end to spiritual and physical diaspora. It was a divinely mandated practice, calculated to transform the new convert from a citizen of Babylon into a true Saint in Zion, his or her authentic spiritual home. In emigration, the converts' religious identity took precedence over their nationality. Emigration was to them a vehicle for the gathering home of God's scattered people, now remembering their heritage. While it has been debated whether the Mormons can be seen as an ethnic group, it is clear that, especially in Utah, they became a tightly knit group with a shared sense of sacred history and destiny. They had been gathered from the wicked world and could build Zion as one people with unified goals. In numerical terms, the emigration experiment was highly successful for the Church.

Considering that only fourteen individuals became Mormon emigrants from Finland, emigration is clearly a minor part of the early Mormon experience in Finland. Nevertheless it is essential not to overlook it, especially when seeking to contextualize Mormonism in Finland with the faith's emigration-rich history in the rest of Scandinavia. The numerical contrast that emerges between the other Nordic countries and Finland is noteworthy. Despite the small numbers, emigration was an important theme in the image formation of Mormonism among the general public. Newspapers dealt with the phenomenon, often in negative terms, warning people against embarking on such a path.

¹¹⁴"En tidsbetraktelse. II.," *Finland*, November 19, 1886, 3.

Mormon emigration is also important in charting historic reasons for emigrating from Finland. Due to the common emphasis on socioeconomic and other factors behind emigration, it is easy to bypass the power of religion in a culturally homogenous country. The fact that some Finnish individuals left their homeland chiefly because their faith told them that their true “home” was elsewhere is something rarely encountered.

“THE LORD, GOD OF ISRAEL, BROUGHT US OUT OF MEXICO!” JUNIUS ROMNEY AND THE 1912 MORMON EXODUS

Joseph Barnard Romney

IN EARLY OCTOBER OF 1912, the thirty-four-year-old president of the LDS Juarez Stake in Mexico stood before Joseph F. Smith, the venerable president of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, his counselors, and the other General Authorities. Some 4,500 Mormons had just abruptly evacuated the Mormon colonies in northern Mexico and fled to the United States. Junius Romney, the young stake president, later wrote that President Smith asked “What impelled me or justified me in making such a drastic move?” Romney responded that he acted “under the inspiration of God.” In a later formulation of that answer he wrote, “The Lord, God of Israel, brought us out of Mexico!”¹ That answer was provided by the only person in the world who was in a position to sat-

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¹The first answer comes from Junius Romney, “Was the Exodus Nec-

isfactorily answer President Smith's question. This is because, as Nelle Spilsbury Hatch wrote, "No personal violence or property extortion was suffered without President Romney's being notified, no redress claimed without petitioning his aid to affect it."² That is to say, he was uniquely central in all that went on in the exodus. Not only could he factually explain what occurred, but he could also, I argue, offer the most insightful interpretation of why the events occurred as they did.

This article sketches the background of the Mormon colonies in Mexico, their intersection with the Mexican Revolution, the conditions under which Junius Romney became president of the Juarez Stake, his leadership role as the colonists responded, and the massive evacuation of all the colonists to the United States during the summer of 1912. Using hitherto unpublished sources, it reconstructs Romney's role in key decisions leading up to the exodus and presents his conclusion that God was the ultimate director of that process.

THE MORMON COLONIES IN MEXICO

Although Mexico achieved independence from Spain in 1821, its next half-century saw much political instability. During that period, the Latter-day Saints entered Mexico on two major occasions. The first was the epic march of the Mormon Battalion in 1846 as part of the war between the United States and Mexico. The second was the migration of the Saints into the Valley of the Great Salt Lake beginning in July 1847, about six months before that region became part of the United States.

In 1876 the political climate began to change in Mexico when Porfirio Diaz, an important general in the Mexican army, became president of the republic, in a regime often called the *Porfiriato*. He began a largely effective process of establishing political stability by applying a policy of "*pan y palo*" (bread and stick). The bread was for his supporters, who received political, social, religious, and economic benefits; the stick for those who opposed him, which included the ru-

essary?", c. 1960, typescript on onion-skin. The later formulation comes from Junius Romney, "Remarks of Junius Romney Made in the Garden Park Ward Sacrament Meeting, Salt Lake City, July 31, 1966," 6, photocopy (hereafter Garden Park Ward Remarks).

²Nelle Spilsbury Hatch, *Colonia Juarez* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1954), 164.

ral poor. Diaz supported foreign investment, welcomed non-Catholic religions and foreign immigrants, and provided political stability, all of which attracted the Mormons. Diaz admired the Mormon people who had demonstrated their ability to succeed economically in a landscape similar to that found in northern Mexico. So when Mormons started looking into settlement possibilities in Mexico, Diaz welcomed them.³

The Latter-day Saints found Mexico attractive in three ways. They took seriously the mandate to preach the gospel to all nations, they needed to expand their settlements in the West to accommodate their ever-growing population, and they were actively looking for locations in addition to Utah, particularly because of the intensifying federal pressure against their practice of polygamy. After making plans in 1874, explorers left Utah in September 1875 with others following in 1876 and 1879. Saints traveled into the Mexican border states of Sonora and Chihuahua, but also reached as far south as Mexico City. In these and successive trips, they preached with considerable success and also searched for possible settlement sites.

Groups with the primary purpose of colonization began entering Mexico in 1885.⁴ An essential motivation for the move was advice from President John Taylor that “President Porfirio Diaz assured the

³See Michael C. Meyer and William L. Sherman, *The Course of Mexican History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979). For the revolution, see Charles C. Cumberland, *Mexico: Struggle for Modernity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968).

⁴Blaine C. Hardy, “The Mormon Colonies in Northern Mexico: A History, 1885–1912” (Ph.D. diss., Wayne State University, 1963); and Thomas Cottam Romney, *The Mormon Colonies in Mexico* (1938; rpt., Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2005). The 2005 edition, with an introduction by Martha Sonntag Bradley, has pagination identical to the original for the text; footnote citations can be followed in either edition. To differentiate between the Romney brothers, I use “Romney” or “Junius” for Junius, and “Thomas” or “Thomas Romney” for Thomas. For conditions during the Diaz period, see F. LaMond Tullis, *Mormons in Mexico: The Dynamics of Faith and Culture* (Logan: Utah State University, 1987), esp. 75–77, 83–84, 87–94. Tullis also comments extensively on missionary efforts among native Mexicans, which by 1912 had resulted in about 1,600 Mormons in central Mexico. They are not part of this article.

church there were no laws against polygamy” in Mexico.⁵ In the next twenty-one years, nine major Mormon colonies were established in the two northernmost Mexican states of Chihuahua and Sonora. South of El Paso in the state of Chihuahua, along the valley floor near the Casas Grandes River were Colonia Diaz, Colonia Dublan, and Colonia Juarez. In the mountains to the west were Colonia Pacheco, Colonia Garcia, and Colonia Chuichupa. In the state of Sonora south of Douglas, Arizona, along the Bavispe River were Colonia Morelos, Colonia Oaxaca, and San Jose.⁶

Although Mexico was not formally dedicated for the preaching of the gospel, the earliest missionaries had been formally blessed by Apostle Orson Pratt; and both the missionaries and later colonists carried out their respective missions under the direction and with the full support of Church leaders in Utah.⁷ For their part, the colonists assumed that Mexico would become their new homeland and that they would stay there for the rest of their lives. Indeed, even in the midst of the revolution Junius Romney had “not the slightest thought but that we would be able to remain” in Mexico.⁸

As they had done in Utah, the colonists moved into an area with a sparse indigenous population and settled on previously undeveloped sites. They created a self-contained culture within the larger Mexican political and social system. Each colony had its own *presidente*

⁵B. Carmon Hardy, *Solemn Covenant: The Mormon Polygamous Passage* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992), 173–78.

⁶The colonies in Chihuahua in 1912 were Colonia Diaz (established 1885, named for President Diaz, population, 750), Colonia Dublan (1888, named for Manuel Dublan, secretary of the treasury, pop. 1,200), Colonia Juarez (1885, named for former President Benito Juarez, population 800), Colonia Pacheco (1887, named for Carlos Pacheco, minister of war, population 275), Colonia Garcia (1894, named for Telesforo Garcia, a private land owner, population 275), and Colonia Chuichupa (1894, an Indian name meaning “place of the mist,” population 275). Those in the state of Sonora were Colonia Oaxaca (1892, named for the birth state of President Diaz, population 64), Colonia Morelos (1898, named for Jose Maria Morelos, a leader in the war for independence from Spain, population 625) and San Jose (1906, population 200). Information from manuscript records of the various wards, LDS Church History Library, Salt Lake City.

⁷Tullis, *Mormons in Mexico*, 19.

⁸Romney, “Was the Exodus Necessary?”, 13.

(town sheriff and chief administrative authority), town council, and local officials which were subject to the authority of Mexican municipalities within which they lived.⁹ They participated in some Mexican national holidays and cultural activities, and by and large were on good terms with native Mexicans.¹⁰ Some colonists became Mexican citizens, but the majority did not.¹¹

The colonists quickly built homes, graduating from rough shelters to modest adobe dwellings to substantial brick homes equal in quality to those in Utah. They furnished their homes in large measure with products from the United States. They built churches, tithing houses, a fine Relief Society building in Colonia Dublan, and primary schools, with an academy (high school) in Colonia Juarez which continues to function up to this day. Their economy was prosperous and diversified—including prize-winning fruit, grain, substantial herds of cattle, lumber, gristmills, mercantile establishments, and other businesses needed to support a growing population. Some of their products, notably fruit, were distributed elsewhere in Mexico. Not only did this prosperity bless the colonists, but it came to the attention of Presi-

⁹The challenge of dealing with Mexicans living within the colonies is shown in the case of Juan Sosa which began in April of 1911. Guy Taylor acted for his absent brother Alonzo, the *presidente* in Colonia Juarez, when some trouble arose. Guy, along with several other colonists, attempted to arrest Sosa for alleged thefts and in the process accidentally killed him. From the time that this failed arrest and death occurred until early 1912, there was considerable tension between the colonists and Mexican municipality authorities. Romney returned from Salt Lake City in time to be involved with legal negotiations to get one of the colonists, Leslie Coombs, out of jail, but it was events associated with the revolution that eventually led to Coombs's release. Hatch, *Colonia Juarez*, 167–77.

¹⁰Hatch, *Colonia Juarez*, 131–35; Annie R. Johnson, *Heartbeats of Colonia Diaz* (N.p., 1972), 128–41.

¹¹Romney wrote that he had sound “reason for believing that Joseph C. Bentley, Anson B. Call, John T. Whetten, Edward Eyring, John J. Walser, and Edmund C. Richardson had become Mexican citizens.” Romney, “Special Tributes,” 1, onion-skin typescript. Romney, “Was the Exodus Necessary?,” 8–9, also states that “the overwhelming majority of the Colonists were American citizens.” See also Joseph C. Bentley, *Life and Letters of Joseph C. Bentley* (N.p., 1977), 77–85, 107; William G. Hartley and Lorna Call Alder, *Anson Bowen Call: Bishop of Colonia Dublan* (Provo, Utah: N. p., 2007), 70, 85, 174, 182.

dent Diaz, Chihuahua Governor Miguel Ahumada, and other Mexican officials who praised Mormon economic accomplishments.¹² All of these conditions led Thomas Cottam Romney, one of the colonists, to write, "It now seemed that we had about all we could wish for."¹³

THE MEXICAN REVOLUTION AND THE COLONISTS

In the first decade of the twentieth century, dissatisfaction with the *Porfiriato* became evident among many Mexican citizens, a feeling not shared by the Mormon colonists. A major complaint was that, in spite of its internal order and material gains, it failed to support the liberal elements of political guarantees, social justice, and anti-clericalism called for by the liberal constitution of 1857. Diaz's declaration in 1908 that he did not intend to run for president in 1910 fanned liberal hopes for a reformation, but Diaz changed his mind and his reelection as president was affirmed on September 27, 1910. An opponent of Diaz, Francisco I. Madero, declared Diaz's reelection invalid and announced himself as Mexico's provisional president. Madero called for people to rise up in armed rebellion against Diaz on November 20, 1910, and many people throughout the country did so, especially in the state of Chihuahua. These various uprisings had different local leaders, but all of them generally supported Madero. Mexico had previously experienced many revolutions, but this was the beginning of *the* Mexican Revolution, the one which led to the Mexico of today.¹⁴

In this revolution, Diaz's supporters, and his successors who controlled the government in Mexico City, were called "federals" by the Mormons. Their composition changed from time to time, as did their political agendas, depending on who was victorious in the most recent revolutionary battles. The pro-Madero forces, which the Mormons collectively called "rebels," likewise periodically changed leadership and political agendas. The Mormons initially favored Diaz, who had facilitated their settlement and who maintained the order under which they flourished. But they did not overtly express their

¹²Hatch, *Colonia Juarez*, 105–12; Johnson, *Heartbeats*, 128–41.

¹³Thomas Cottam Romney, *A Divinity Shapes Our Ends* (N.p., 1953), 147.

¹⁴Charles C. Cumberland, *Mexican Revolution: Genesis under Madero* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1952).

support in either word or action.

By October 1, 1911, Diaz was defeated in battle and resigned the presidency. On November 6, 1911, Madero became the president of Mexico, but he failed to act swiftly or adequately enough to implement reforms for the problems facing the nation. Even during the first month of his presidency, opposition appeared against his presidency. On March 25, 1912, Pascual Orozco, one of his previous supporters in Chihuahua, broke with Madero, collected an army of some 8,000 men, and moved against the president. Orozco thus became the leader of the “rebel” forces while Madero and his army became the “federals,” the two major protagonists contesting the region of the Mormon colonies.¹⁵

Despite their stated policy of neutrality, the Mormons were unable to avoid threats and exploitation from Orozco’s rebels; and fearing for their lives, they fled to the United States for protection. This mass evacuation, called “the exodus,” occurred in the summer of 1912. Its leader was Junius Romney, the thirty-four-year-old president of the Juarez Stake.

HISTORIES OF THE EXODUS

Although this traumatic event of the exodus affected many lives and has been described in a number of books, memoirs, and articles, the unique view of Junius Romney has been only partially presented. For many years, he chose to say little about that period. Later, when he began to write and talk more, his views were only minimally circulated and cited. The current availability of his writings coincides with a time when the history of the colonies has come more to the forefront of public awareness. Evidence of this increased interest is demonstrated by the dedication of the Colonia Juarez Temple on March 6, 1999, and in an increasing interest in the colonies by the public and by historians.¹⁶

Particularly noteworthy is the 2005 reprinting of what is still, arguably, the best single-volume history of the colonies, Thomas

¹⁵Michael C. Meyer, *Mexican Rebel: Pascual Orozco and the Mexican Revolution, 1910–1915* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1967).

¹⁶“The Crowning Glory of Colonia Juarez,” *Church News*, March 13, 1999, 1–3, 6–9. Descendants of the original colonists sometimes visit the colony sites and cemeteries, mostly in Chihuahua and occasionally in Sonora. Contact with native Mexicans has been especially limited in

Cottam Romney, *The Mormon Colonies in Mexico*, first published in 1938. Thomas wisely used as his primary source for his account of the exodus, an affidavit written in 1935 by his younger brother Junius.¹⁷ In fact, a page-by-page comparison between the affidavit and Thomas's four chapters on the exodus discloses that about 68 percent of those chapters rely closely on the affidavit.¹⁸

The value of both Thomas's book and what is provided by Junius,

Sonora. But in the summer of 2007, a group of some twenty descendants of the colonists, including me, visited Colonia Morelos in Sonora, made a major contribution to its school, mingled with the non-LDS Mexican residents, and had a joyful evening fiesta with them. We visited the cemetery in Colonia Morelos and the cemetery on the site of what had been Colonia Oaxaca, then visited Chihuahua. This contact with the residents of Colonia Morelos continues up to this date. In addition, several colony families now have internet websites. Also a tour guide service to the colonies is now available. Attention by historians is illustrated by several papers which were presented at the 2002 Mormon History Association annual meeting in Tucson, Arizona, and a post-meeting tour to Colonia Dublan and Colonia Juarez in Chihuahua.

¹⁷This affidavit is among Junius's papers and is entitled "Affidavit of Junius Romney," unsigned, dated in pen this "6th" day of "December," 1935," with unsigned spaces for a notarization. It is a typed carbon copy of 80 pages on legal-sized paper. Junius's son Eldon provided me with this document in 1992. The heavy paper cover is labeled "Affidavit of Junius Romney prepared by [sic; probably should be "for."] J. Reuben Clark (2 copies). Read by Olive [Romney] Marshall 1/28/60." My search of the J. Reuben Clark papers at BYU produced no record of this affidavit allegedly prepared "by" him. Junius may have intended to send it to Clark, but likely only Thomas seems to have used it. Years ago I asked Ethyl Romney, Thomas's second wife, if she had any of Thomas's papers or sources for his book. She said she had none. Junius's papers and correspondence with Thomas make no reference to this affidavit. A comparison to Thomas's *The Mormon Colonies*, which can be used as a general outline for this article, is easy since the affidavit is organized chronologically by dates. A veiled reference to this affidavit appears in *The Mormon Colonies*: "... later in referring to this incident Mr. Romney . . ." (173). An earlier version of this affidavit (109 pp.) with a typed date of "July 1930," likewise unsigned, is also in Junius's papers.

¹⁸Chapters 13–16 in *The Mormon Colonies* deal with the exodus. The following pages are not from the affidavit: Chapter 13, "Strained Rela-

as seen through that book as well as in his other writings, is described in Martha Sonntag Bradley's introduction to Thomas's book. In the 2005 reprint she writes that Thomas's "personal account retains its charm and its importance as a firsthand narrative. His unique vantage point . . . makes this an invaluable and rich document that enlarges our understanding of this moment in the Mormon past." She also points out that Thomas describes how the lives of the colonists "were tossed out of balance by the threat of war, and how negotiations for the movement of the group either into or out of Mexico took on a similar complexity."¹⁹ In his book Thomas added to his personal experiences in the exodus those of his brother, Junius, who in most of the events of the exodus, had a more direct involvement than did he.

In addition to the affidavit, Junius's papers include other writings useful in understanding the exodus. The earliest written source for his view, one from outside his papers, comes from an interview he had with Arizona Senator Marcus A. Smith, a member of a Senate committee investigating "outrages on citizens of the United States in Mexico." It is useful for the information it contains but more valuable to compare it with Junius's later comments for their accuracy.²⁰

Junius's papers include handwritten notes, miscellaneous papers, letters, typescripts, and copied typescripts. Those pertinent to this article began to be formulated at least by 1930, in the affidavit,

tions," the description of the revolutionary setting (149–51), the Juan Sosa killing (163–66), an Associated Press dispatch (172), one paragraph from Henry E. Bowman (178), and a summary (180); Chapter 14, "The Exodus of the Chihuahua Colonies," introduction (182), the colonists' surrendering their guns to the rebels (183–84), and the exodus and aftermath in El Paso (186, 188–90); all of Chapter 15; and Chapter 16, "Events Following the Exodus," conclusion (212). The affidavit and other of Junius's papers give other facts and interpretation not in *The Mormon Colonies*, some of which are in this article.

¹⁹Martha Sonntag Bradley, Introduction, *The Mormon Colonies*, 10–11, 12. For Romney's role in the "negotiations" during the exodus, see Bill Smith, "The Diplomacy of Junius Romney in Mexico," paper delivered at the Mormon History Association annual meeting, May 2002, Tucson, Arizona.

²⁰U.S. Congress, Senate, Committee on Foreign Relations, *Investigation of Mexican Affairs*, 66th Cong., 2nd Sess., Senate Documents, Vols. 9–10, Serial numbers 7665 and 7666, 1919–20, 2574–90.

and thereafter in holograph and other formats until about 1959 when his daughter, Olive Romney Marshall, began to correct and type final copies of some of the papers, under her father's direction, which contained the information Junius wanted to present publicly. Papers were collected from family members and others, one especially large quantity coming from the basement of Junius's home at 1169 Douglas Street in Salt Lake City. While a few are now in public depositories and several were distributed by Junius and are in private hands, eventually all came into my possession.

Two of these items are publicly available as photocopied typescripts and were energetically distributed by Junius. The first is "Remarks Made in the Rose Park Stake Priesthood meeting Which Convened in the Stake Center at 7:30 p.m. on Wednesday, July 13, 1966" (17 pp). The second is "Remarks of Junius Romney made in the Garden Park Ward Sacrament Meeting, Salt Lake City, July 31, 1966" (6 pp).

One set of his papers which did not go through any modification since its creation is "A Brief Story of My Life" (32 pp., typescript), which I have titled "Autobiography I." He wrote it 1930 (date deduced from text).²¹ "Autobiography II (my title) was written in 1958 (date gleaned from the text; 23 pp. typed on severely edited letter-size onion-skin paper and legal-size regular paper).

Other papers which went through an editorial and retyping process, many of which come in typescripts and copies and show the editorial markings, were completed around 1960. They are "Exit of the Men to the United States" (20 pp.); "Reorganization of the Juarez Stake" (7 pp.); "Special Tributes" (31 pp.); "Spiritual Preparation" (3 pp.); "This DeMetrio [sic] Ponce" (title is the text's first words; the name should be "Demetrio; 29 pp.); and "This Is Junius Romney Speaking" (title is the text's first words; 14 pp.). Junius's correspondence (1912–60s) also includes some details. Perhaps the most important items are correspondence with Joel H. Martineau, who was writing a history of the colonies, and a letter to J. Reuben Clark Jr. of the LDS First Presidency.²²

The significance of Junius's contribution to our understanding of the exodus becomes more evident when we recognize that

²¹Pages 1–11 of "Autobiography I" is retyped on seven pages of onion-skin legal-sized paper and is titled "Early Life."

²²Martineau was preparing "A Brief Sketch," of Romney's life and requested that he review it. Joel H. Martineau, Letter to Junius Romney, September 6, 1948. On September 20, Junius slightly modified the manuscript

most other writers on the exodus use Junius's view either through some of his own writings or channeled through Thomas's book.²³ His publicly distributed "Rose Park Remarks" and "Garden Park Remarks" and my own publications, which rely heavily on Junius's papers, are sources for several important works on the exodus.²⁴

and added two pages on his activity in El Paso immediately after the exodus. Martineau's complete but unpublished work is a valuable source on the colonies. Junius Romney, Letter to President J. Reuben Clark, September 10, 1956, refers to "our conversation on the Denver and Rio Grande Railway train [e]n route [to the] East some months ago." This letter accompanied another letter, written to his daughter, Margaret Romney Jackson, August 27, 1956, in which he recounted a spiritual experience involving a severe bout with typhoid fever. He saw the Lord's hand in his survival and further recognized it as preparation for his actions as stake president in organizing the exodus.

²³Elizabeth H. Mills, "The Mormon Colonies in Mexico after the 1912 Exodus," *New Mexico Historical Review* 29 (July 1954): 165–82; Clarence William Cox, "The Mormon Colonies in Chihuahua, Mexico" (M.A. thesis, University of Southern California, 1969); B. Carmon Hardy, "The Mormon Colonies in Mexico: A History" (Ph.D. diss., Wayne State University, 1963), and his "'Cultural Encystment' as a Cause of the Mormon Exodus from Mexico in 1912," *Pacific Historical Review* 34 (November 1965): 439–54; Johnson, *Heartbeats of Colonia Diaz*; Frank Fox, *J. Reuben Clark: The Public Years* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press/Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1980).

²⁴See Joseph B. Romney, "The Exodus of the Mormon Colonists from Mexico" (M.A. thesis, University of Utah, 1967) and "The Stake President's View of the Exodus of the Mormon Colonies in Mexico in 1912," in *Times of Transition: Proceedings of the 2000 Symposium of the Joseph Fielding Smith Institute for Latter-day Saints History at Brigham Young University*, edited by Thomas G. Alexander (Provo, Utah: Joseph Fielding Smith Institute for Latter-day Saint History, 2003), 129–38. Works drawing on either Junius's addresses or my two articles are Clarence F. Turley and Annie Tenney Turley, *History of the Mormon Colonies in Mexico (The Juarez Stake) 1885–1980* (Salt Lake City: Publishers Press, 1996); F. LaMond Tullis, *Mormons in Mexico: The Dynamics of Faith and Culture* (Logan: Utah State University, 1987); William G. Hartley and Lorna Call Alder, *Anson Bowen Call: Bishop of Colonia Dublan* (Provo, Utah: N.p., 2007); Michael N. Landon, "'We Navigated by Pure Understanding': Bishop George T. Sevey's Account of the

JUNIUS'S MOTIVATION FOR WRITING

Junius's affidavit, completed in 1930, provides evidence that he gave considerable thought to providing a careful and accurate account of the exodus and his involvement in it. However, its almost exclusive concentration on the facts of the exodus suggests that he intended to provide only a clear narrative, not an analysis of causation, motivations, and alternatives. He moved to that interpretive step later. Moreover, there is no evidence that he distributed the affidavit to anyone but Thomas, which, I argue, demonstrates that he was not willing at that time to make any significant public statement which would be attributed to him.

Still, Junius was motivated to tell his story, because, as he wrote: "I am, of course, familiar with the facts of the 'Exodus' so far as the part which I played in it is concerned and much of it could not be written by any other."²⁵

The catalyst for his expanded writing occurred in 1956 when Junius found himself on a train with J. Reuben Clark Jr. for some five or six hours.²⁶ Clark was the Mexico specialist for the U.S. State Department during the exodus; and after the exodus, he represented the colonists' claims for damages arising from their evacuation. He told Junius that he "must write the story of the exodus of the Mormon Colonies in Chihuahua and Sonora." Reporting this conversation later, Junius stated, "I explained to President Clark the difficulties which I saw in undertaking to follow his instruction because I was sure that it might offend some people. I told President Clark that if I was to write the history it would have to be the truth as I saw it and experienced it and could not be fiction and that probably some of the material would be such that the Church would prefer not to have it discussed at the present time."²⁷

Balancing loyalty to the Church and personal integrity, Junius thus interpreted the lack of clear instruction from Church leaders as

1912 Exodus from Mexico," *BYU Studies*, 43, no. 2 (2004): 63–101; Bill L. Smith, "Impacts of the Mexican Revolution: The Mormon Experience" (Ph.D. diss., Washington State University, 2000), and his "The Diplomacy of Junius Romney in Mexico," paper delivered at the Mormon History Association annual meeting, May 2002, Tucson, Arizona; Ryan Prows, "Mormons and the Mexican Revolution" (BYU honors thesis, 2005).

²⁵Romney, "Special Tributes," 4.

²⁶Romney to Clark, September 10, 1956.

showing that they preferred not to create any additional record of the event. Junius explained: "The reason for my long silence is that my first allegiance is to the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and the Church has not seen fit to authorize me to publish the story of the dramatic events which culminated in the complete evacuation of all the Mormon Colonies in Northern Mexico. . . . Until they do I shall remain silent."²⁸

At least one of the reasons Junius interpreted the Church stance as favoring silence was the controversial practice of post-Manifesto marriages in Mexico. Despite the withdrawal of official support for new plural marriages in 1890, the Woodruff Manifesto actually ushered in a difficult and confusing period which combined public statements of support for the Manifesto with private authorization of continued new plural marriages and continued cohabitation in existing plural marriages, much of it under the direction of Joseph F. Smith as a member of the First Presidency (1880–1901) and then as Church president (1901–18). It was not until national pressure focused sharply on the Church during the Reed Smoot hearings (1903–7), that President Smith announced a "Second Manifesto" in 1904 affirming that polygamous marriages were not to be performed anywhere—including in Mexico or Canada—, punished Apostles Matthias Cowley and John W. Taylor for post-Manifesto marriages, issued a "final manifesto" in 1907 emphasizing the Church's commitment to monogamy, and authorized excommunications of members contracting new plural marriages in 1911. These steps were taken reluctantly, under intense scrutiny, and were accompanied by secrecy so profound that often children did not understand the marital arrangements of their parents. For the next three quarters of a century, the Church followed an official policy of "least said, soonest mended," and it was not until the last quarter of the twentieth century that a more balanced analysis and better understanding of that complicated period could be made.²⁹

Junius was well aware of this official attitude. He was always careful to say that he had no "legal knowledge" of plural marriages af-

²⁷Ibid.; Romney, "This Is Junius Romney Speaking," 2.

²⁸Romney, "Was the Exodus Necessary?," 1.

²⁹For a general history of polygamy, including the post-Manifesto period, see Richard S. Van Wagoner, *Polygamy: A History* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1986). For post-Manifesto marriages in Mexico and elsewhere,

ter the 1890 Manifesto; but as a matter of personal integrity, he also stated that he had good reason to believe that others were so married and that, if they were not, "they should have been."³⁰ President Heber J. Grant was particularly anxious to distance the Church from post-Manifesto polygamy; and Clark, as his counselor, was fully and aggressively supportive of this position.³¹ Junius's train conversation with Clark, which occurred a decade after Grant's death and only three years after Arizona's raid on Short Creek fundamentalists, was a crucial catalyst—the long-withheld official authorization and encouragement to "write the story of the exodus." As a significant marker of the still-complicated attitudes which would endure for another quarter-century, neither Romney nor Clark spelled out that assumption; but it is clear that Junius, at least, felt that they understood each other.

Junius was also concerned that his perspectives on the exodus might be considered criticism of others' actions during that period: "Because of differences of opinion, tender feeling and indecision at the time of the exodus, I remained completely silent for a period of from 30 to 40 years." When he began writing after his conversation with Clark, Junius overcame that problem by writing "Special Tributes" about eight "stalwarts" whom he thought might be offended by what he wrote: Anthony W. Ivins, Henry C. Bowman, Joseph C. Bentley, Anson B. Call, John T. Whetten, Edward C. Eyring, John J. Walser, and Edmund C. Richardson. He had no ill will toward them. Rather, he wanted them and their descendants to see their actions,

see Hardy, *Solemn Covenant*, and 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.

³⁰Romney, "Special Tributes," 4; Romney, "Was the Exodus Necessary?" 8. To daughter, Margaret Romney Jackson, Romney wrote on August 27, 1956, 3: "Nor am I surprised or shocked at the interpretation placed by some church leaders on the application of the Manifesto. Why would it be thought strange that some devout and worthy church members should have felt it proper still to accept marriage not in violation of any law of the land where they lived unless and until expressly prohibited by the church."

³¹See, for example, the cooperation of the Church and Utah with the ill-conceived raid on Short Creek fundamentalists by the state of Arizona in 1953. Martha Sonntag Bradley, *Kidnapped from That Land: The Government Raids on the Short Creek Polygamists* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1993).

like his own, as part of a divine plan.³²

Junius did not respond to Clark's authorization in haste. Rather, it was a week or two before the October 1961 general conference that Junius made an appointment for him and daughter Margaret to meet with Clark and read the account to him. Clark cancelled that appointment because of conference preparations. As nearly as I have been able to determine, the two never met; nor did Junius identify exactly which document he planned to read to Clark.

However, piecing together Junius's perspective as it emerges from the numerous personal papers he left, it is clear to me that he dealt with each changing situation first with an intent to follow whatever instructions he received from his ecclesiastical leaders, then with his personal judgment in counsel with other leading men of the colonies and in response to inspiration he received as he prayed for guidance. After the exodus was complete and as he reflected on it, he concluded that a divine plan had been at work. He articulated this conclusion in El Paso immediately after the exodus on August 13 and 14, 1912. and again in October 1912 when he reported his activities to President Joseph F. Smith.

As time passed, he perceived more clearly a pattern that confirmed his impression of a divine plan, successfully implemented, al-

³²Romney commented in "Special Tributes," "I have sound reason to believe that all of these men, with the exception of A. W. Ivins, had, in good faith, taken plural wives subsequent to the issuance of the 'Manifesto' by President Wilford Woodruff" (1). Some had returned to Mexico after 1912, but those who did not "I assume . . . have been very discreet in seeking to avoid giving offense to the American people by reason of having taken on obligations elsewhere contrary to the laws of the United States" (21). Romney implied, but did not specifically state, that Bentley had post-Manifesto wives, which was, in fact, the case. See Joseph T. Bentley, *Life and Letters of Joseph C. Bentley* (N.p., 1977), 77–85, 107. Romney described Anson B. Call as "a Mexican citizen" like Bentley, "and his marital status seemed to be much the same. He felt, and I think rightly, that he really should continue to make his home there in fairness to the Church. He told me . . . as much during the [my] visit in Colonia Dublan [likely in 1955]" (21). See Hartley and Call, *Anson Bowen Call*, 70, 85, 174, 182. Edward Eyring married two of Junius's sisters after the 1890 Manifesto (22). See Thomas Cottam Romney, *Life Story of Miles Park Romney* (Independence, Mo.: Zion's Printing and Publishing Company, 1948), 371, 373.

though most of the participants did not recognize it at the time.³³ He wrote about his conclusion and, when he thought it appropriate, attempted to share some of his writings, particularly with the participants in the exodus and their descendants. With the exception of his two “Remarks” talks given in July 1966, Junius did not publicly circulate his writings. The “Rose Park Stake Remarks,” had limited circulation, but he energetically distributed the “Garden Park Ward Remarks,” both in Mexico and in the United States. Following the period immediately after the exodus, Junius once briefly visited the

³³As a helpful parallel, see several essays in Richard Lyman Bushman, *Believing History: Latter-day Saint Essays*, edited by Reid L. Nielson and Jed Wordworth (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004). “Faithful History” (10–17), reflects on divine causation. Bushman suggests that we as Mormons “know from our doctrine that God enters history in various ways.” One way is by “revelation through the prophets.” Junius looked for guidance to the prophets—the First Presidency and Apostle Anthony W. Ivins—but received instructions that either left him to his own judgment or were inconsistent with the situation as he saw it. He later interpreted this unusual situation as an indication that God intended that he make the necessary decisions. Bushman’s second “way” is the “providential direction of peoples.” Junius believed that he received such providential direction, particularly when he was alone at McDonald Springs Canyon and wrote the orders for those men still in the colonies to evacuate and go to the Stairs. He could also see that the colonies’ “leading men” were inspired, especially at critical times when what they did was contrary to their previously held positions. Certainly, he believed that the Saints followed divine guidance in obeying their leaders’ counsel to leave Mexico. In “Joseph Smith and Skepticism,” Bushman deals with the question of determining when divine intervention has occurred. He concludes that intellect alone is inadequate to reach a decision. He points out that some may have seen God in history when events occurred “which were hard to believe without admitting supernatural intervention” and quotes James Smith, a defender of miracles, who wrote that biblical persons “performed miracles, and predicted events, which human sagacity could neither have foreseen, nor conjectured.” Bushman suggests that the only way for believers to properly respond to skepticism “is to show that there is no acceptable explanation for the event [the restoration through Joseph Smith] but divine power” (148, 154, 157). Junius, after having rationally worked through the process of the exodus, became certain that, without recognizing divine intervention, he could not adequately explain the events that had occurred.

colonies in 1923 when he was going into Mexico to sell radio accessories. In 1955 he visited the colonies with family members without saying much about the exodus. In 1967, at age eighty-eight, he took his son, Eldon, and me and repeated the trip. This time, he focused on the exodus and his life in Mexico. He posed proudly for a photograph in front of the brick house he had built some sixty years earlier on a lot just north and across the street from the Anthony W. Ivins house. He walked a few hundred feet west up the street to a brick house he had built for his mother and there talked to its occupant, a Romney. He ate apples from fruit trees he had planted, commented disapprovingly on the number of potholes in the roads, and distributed "Garden Park Ward Remarks" to everyone he could possibly reach. His visit seemed to be an effort to bring some closure to the exodus, the most difficult period of his life.

JUNIUS'S SPIRITUAL PREPARATION

Junius's creation of the autobiographical "Spiritual Preparation" provides additional evidence that, viewed retrospectively, he saw particular events and activities as his preparation for his role in the exodus.³⁴

Junius was the third child of Catherine Cottam Romney, the third wife of Miles Park Romney.³⁵ With the other eight children of Catherine and the children of Miles's other four wives, he had twenty-nine siblings. His father's family had joined the Church in Preston, England, during the first years of missionary work in that country and came to Nauvoo in 1841 where Miles was born in 1843. With his family he moved to St. George, Utah, where he married Catherine in 1873 and where Junius was born on March 12, 1878. Junius accompanied his parents when they entered Mexico and settled in Colonia Juarez in 1885. On October 10, 1900, in the Salt Lake Temple, he married Gertrude Stowell, daughter of Brigham Stowell and Olive Bybee Stowell, who were also early settlers in Colonia Juarez. The young couple set up housekeeping, supported principally by Junius's work at the Co-op

³⁴Most of the information in this section comes from Romney, "Spiritual Preparation," and "Autobiography I," 11–16.

³⁵Her name is usually spelled "Catherine" by her family. A survey of her correspondence suggests a spelling of "Catharine." See Jennifer Moulton Hanson, *Letters of Catharine Cottam Romney, Plural Wife* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992).

Mercantile business in Colonia Juarez where he had started to work when he was sixteen. In due time the couple had six children, four born in Colonia Juarez and two in Salt Lake City.³⁶

The first significant event mentioned by Junius as part of his spiritual preparation occurred as he and Gertrude returned to Mexico after their marriage. They stopped in St. George where they sorrowfully learned that Junius's cousin, the daughter of George and Rachel Cottam, had died in childbirth. This information "wrecked" their visit, Junius wrote, and likely reaffirmed his commitment to the sacred value of human life.

In Colonia Juarez, Junius continued clerking in the store and, with Gertrude, operated the post office in their "little adobe house." In August, 1901 their first child, a daughter Olive, was born, followed in 1903 by Junius Stowell. They agreed that, as part of a plan to improve their economic situation, Junius should seek other employment and do some studying to become an educator. So he left his work at the store and began teaching Spanish and bookkeeping part-time at the Juarez Stake Academy.³⁷ He also set out on a program of personal study and attended summer school in 1903, at the LDS Business College in Salt Lake City. There he learned good penmanship and touch typing, skills he retained throughout his life. In the fall of 1903, he returned to Mexico to continue teaching at the academy.

In the summer of 1905, a group of "six or eight enterprising young fellows" collaborated in burning bricks and quarrying stone to build new homes. Junius describes his new house, which was eventually built on the site of their older one, as a beautiful home that would have cost some "twenty to thirty thousand dollars" in the United States. In the fall of 1905 he continued his plan to become an educator by giving up teaching altogether and devoting himself full-time to study as a fourth-year student at the academy, meanwhile supporting his family with the post office.

He contracted typhoid fever in mid-August 1905 and did not get better until early 1906. The disease typically progressed through a twenty-one-day cycle, rising to the crisis of a very high fever during the third week. If the patient survived, he would be weak but would gradually regain strength until the next onset. Ger-

³⁶Thomas Cottam Romney, *Life Story of Miles Park Romney*.

³⁷See Hatch, *Colonia Juarez*, photograph number 15, which shows Junius in the 1903-4 faculty at the Juarez Stake Academy

trude, who was pregnant with their third child, nursed him faithfully until she also contracted the disease so severely that “people had little hopes that she would survive the ordeal.” Dissatisfied with the service of a physician from Casas Grandes, they relied on local nurses. Junius had already suffered several cycles when their third child, Kathleen, was born on November 15. She weighed only two and a half pounds and was so frail “that there was little hope among other members of the family that she would live.” However, Junius reports that he “had a personal knowledge that she would live.” He blessed her “while lying in one bed with typhoid and mother suffering from the same disease in another.” Junius affirms that “in these trying experiences we received special help from a higher source.”³⁸

At an unspecified time, during this trying period, Junius reported his especially significant spiritual experience:

I still had need of much more discipline and suffering before I would be able to face my future and bear the responsibilities to be placed upon me of which I still was wholly unaware. . . . I suffered all the pains of starvation. . . . The fever settled in my right leg which highly inflamed . . . with a sharp piercing pain. . . . I seemed to be the only one who had a calm assurance that I would not succumb to this or any complications. . . . I had received the knowledge that I was to survive any and all suffering and finally recover. . . . Each and every breath exhaled was a cough. . . . I had a spiritual experience I hope never to forget. . . . I was told . . . [to] send for Elder [George] Teasdale . . . and rebuke this cough . . . [which was] instantly cured by Divine interposition. . . . [I again sent] for Elder Teasdale and asked him to rebuke this intermittent fever. . . . My fever was gone and I began steady but slow recovery. . . . [These were] the richest spiritual experiences of my life . . . in preparation for some very trying experiences . . . which would . . . require unshaken faith that God is at the helm regardless of the actions of men.³⁹

In addition to these various elements of spiritual preparation, Junius also learned about Church government and the character of the leading men in the colonies with whom he would work in the exodus. Among all of them, three were especially significant: Joseph C. Bentley, Henry E. Bowman, and Anthony W. Ivins.

³⁸Romney, “Spiritual Preparation,” 3.

³⁹Romney, Letter to Margaret [Romney Jackson], August 27, 1956, 5–6.

Bentley, a Mexican citizen and Junius's bishop, strongly felt that the colonists must maintain political neutrality and rely on the Lord for protection during difficult times. While these were Bentley's strongly held feelings, Junius also knew that he was a staunch supporter of his priesthood leaders. The exodus tested these sometimes conflicting loyalties.⁴⁰ In his tribute to Bentley, Junius wrote: "He was a man of small stature but of fine intellect and of very fine character. . . . He was loved and highly respected by the membership of the Ward. I shared these feelings fully with the rest of the membership and nothing has occurred since to change my feelings of love and admiration for his memory."⁴¹

In a similar tribute to Henry Bowman, Junius wrote: "I want to pay a heartfelt tribute to this fine friend who supplied the finest demonstration of humility that has ever come under my personal observation." Junius recorded a strong personality clash between them, which he characterized as conflict between the "flare for discipline" of the "German people," and the "fact that an Englishman is not too inclined to be pushed around." The incident is this: Junius was branch manager of the Juarez Co-op, which Bowman owned. The Mexican hod carriers, who were building a new brick wall for the store, asked for an increase in pay, which Bowman refused. They walked off the job. Bowman took over the construction, and Junius volunteered to help him. "I was on the scaffold catching the brick as he pitched them to me. As I was stacking them on the scaffold he shouted at me, 'Put them on the wall.' I asked, 'Why?' He said, 'Don't ask why. A good soldier never asks why, he just does as he is told.' I reminded him that I was a volunteer and that I could always do better if I understood why I was to do things. He replied, 'It does not take many brains to mix mud

⁴⁰Bentley agreed with Ivins who had counseled colonists to "remain perfectly neutral. . . . Solicit judiciously the protection of whatever faction is in power. . . . Seek diligently the help and protection of God." And when confronted with the likelihood that Romney would counsel the evacuation of the women and children from Colonia Juarez, Bentley said that "all the power he had would be exerted to prevent it." And further, "I still feel the Lord can protect us here as well as anywhere." But he eventually acceded to the evacuation decision: "I know that safety lies in obeying the priesthood and I am always subject to its direction." Bentley, *Life and Letters of Joseph C. Bentley*, 125. See also Hatch, *Colonia Juarez*, 185.

⁴¹Romney, "Special Tributes," 15-16.

and stack brick.' I retorted, 'I have been wondering all morning how you managed to hold down your job but now it is all clear to me.' . . . Due to the incompatibility of our dispositions I tendered my resignation."⁴²

Although Junius claimed that "there was no animosity between Brother Bowman and myself," he offered several other examples of this "clash of personalities." A religious "clash" had to do with church government. There may have been bad feelings on Bowman's part when Junius became stake president because "it was a matter of common knowledge that Bowman, then serving on the high council, would have willingly accepted the appointment." Practical problems arose when the high council had prohibitions against "round dancing" and "Sunday base ball" which prohibitions Bowman did not support. He was also lax in attending council meetings, missed several important ones, and eventually resigned. A confrontation between Romney and Bowman on a secular matter involved a conflict between the native Mexicans and the colonists. In May of 1912, a Mexican who killed colonist James Harvey in Colonia Diaz was in turn killed by the colonists. Junius organized a legal defense fund for the colonists who were accused of murder and suggested Bowman contribute \$250 to the fund. Bowman sharply refused, and the two had a spirited verbal exchange.⁴³

Anthony W. Ivins was involved in local business enterprises and knew of Junius's business capabilities. He was the stake president under whom Junius served in various capacities including the stake Sunday School presidency and stake clerk for four years. He was a neighbor and friend who would frequently see Junius in all of the activities of life. When Junius was wrestling with the decision of whether to complete his education to qualify as a teacher or to continue in business, he asked Ivins for advice. Ivins commented: "Junius, this church is full of people who choose the field of education but it has few with your ability in business. Therefore, if you want to be useful to the church my advice is definitely that you continue in business."⁴⁴

An example of their relationship is an experience that took place during Romney's convalescence from typhoid fever. Ivins, then about fifty-three, and his sons took Junius camping. Junius was very

⁴²Ibid., 5.

⁴³Ibid., 4–10.

⁴⁴Romney, Letter to Margaret Romney Jackson, August 27, 1956, 1.

grateful, recording that Ivins had taken this action “out of the goodness of his heart” with the result that the trip “gave me new hope and vigor, and thus I was placed under lasting obligation to a great and good man who has been an inspiration to me from the day I first met him.” Admiration is clear as Junius wrote of Ivins: “He was an intelligent, wise and sagacious leader with superb moral and physical courage of which qualities I think I was and am still as aware as any man over whom he presided in the Colonies.”⁴⁵

AN UNLIKELY STAKE PRESIDENT

In October of 1907, Ivins was called into the Quorum of the Twelve. When he and Apostles John Henry Smith and George F. Richards reorganized the stake in March 1908, Romney was the surprising choice to succeed Ivins. Certainly, Junius did not expect the calling. He was twenty-nine years old, had “limited education and . . . relatively small resources,” and did not “ever think this likely.”⁴⁶ Ivins himself recorded in his diary on January 29, 1908, that he had met with the other General Authorities and they had decided to recommend Guy C. Wilson, then serving as a counselor in the stake presidency and as principal of the Juarez Stake Academy, with Romney as a counselor.⁴⁷ Ivins obviously held Wilson in high esteem. In a letter to Anthon H. Lund, counselor in the First Presidency, written one week after Junius had crossed the border into the United States, Ivins praised Wilson as, “in my opinion the strongest and most useful man in the Colonies. . . . Bro. Romney depends largely upon him for counsel in the affairs of the stake.”⁴⁸

Although there is a frustrating gap in the records that would document when and how Romney replaced Wilson as the General Authorities’ choice, I hypothesize that a decisive factor was Wilson’s three wives, two of whom he had married after the Manifesto.⁴⁹ By 1908, President Smith was obviously unwilling to jeopardize Reed Smoot’s hard-won victory in the Senate by “promoting” known polyg-

⁴⁵Romney, “Special Tributes,” 3.

⁴⁶Ibid.

⁴⁷Anthony W. Ivins, Diary, January 29, 1908, Ivins Collection, Box 3, fd. 8, no. 37, Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City.

⁴⁸Anthony W. Ivins, Letter to Anthon H. Lund, August 7, 1912, Ivins Collection, Box 11, fd. 2, no. 30.

⁴⁹Hardy, *Solemn Covenant*, Appendix II, 424.

amists. Support for this hypothesis appears in the Saturday, March 7, 1908, priesthood meeting address of Apostle John Henry Smith. He urged those in polygamy to be true to their marriage vows but specified that “no man should endeavor to form new obligations with women to enter into plural marriage.” He said that he and fellow apostles Anthony W. Ivins and George F. Richards had “carefully considered the matter of selecting men to preside in this Stake of Zion and are aware that there are a “number of good, capable and worthy men whom they felt would honorably fill these positions, yet it has been thought best to select young men who have not taken plural families, but who are the sons of strong faithful men.”⁵⁰

Romney was not present for this talk. Suffering from a bad cold, he had decided to stay home from the stake priesthood meeting on Saturday evening. He later recalled that he had put on his robe to prepare for bed and picked up a bottle of whiskey, which had just been delivered to him to use to combat his cold, when a knock came on his door. He opened it, whiskey in hand, and there was Apostle Ivins, requesting his presence at the meeting, where he would be sustained as the new stake president.⁵¹

After Ivins and Romney reached the meeting, Ivins released the retiring stake presidency and presented Junius Romney as the new stake president, with Hyrum H. Harris and Charles E. McClellan as counselors. He said that Brother Romney “was a young man, but [they] felt he was the right man for the place.” The 191 priesthood bearers present sustained this action.⁵²

On Sunday afternoon, March 8, 1908, the stake membership sustained the newly called stake presidency and other stake officers. The new stake presidency each “expressed their willingness to do their duty in their new callings and bore their testimony to the truth of this work as the work of the Lord.” In Elder Richards’s address, he commented: “The reorganization of this Stake of Zion has given the

⁵⁰Romney, “Reorganization of the Juarez Stake,” 1, 2. Meeting minutes, microfilm of holograph, sent to Romney by Joseph Memmott and his wife, Nylus Stowell Memmott, Gertrude’s sister. For a shorter but essentially similar description, see Ivins, Diary, March 7, 1908, MSS B-2, Utah State Historical Society.

⁵¹Junius Romney, “Biography of Gertrude Stowell Romney,” 1959, 10.

⁵²Romney, “Reorganization of the Juarez Stake,” 1.

First Presidency and Apostles no little concern” but “I feel the Lord has guided us in the selection of the brethren who have been sustained here today. I am sure the brethren of the First Presidency and Apostles will be delighted when they hear of what we have done here today. I invoke the blessings of the Lord and predict a successful administration for them.” Then, in an apparent effort to reduce any anxiety over the youthfulness of the stake presidency, Ivins called up seventeen-year-old Willie Smith, son of Jesse N. Smith Jr., “and called the attention of the congregation to the fact that the Prophet Joseph Smith was three years younger than this boy when the Lord called him to the work.”⁵³ That same evening in an officers’ meeting, “Apostles Smith and Richards then gave some instructions to the members of the new Stake Presidency and gave them strict instructions that until the Lord shall reveal it to the Church again there shall be no plural marriages allowed or taught within the limits of this Stake of Zion.”⁵⁴ After fully instructing these brethren in their duties and each one stating that he believed with all his heart in every revealed principle of the Gospel as they stand today and with the teachings of the leaders of the church they were set apart.”⁵⁵

WAVES OF REVOLUTION

Junius Romney had two relatively peaceful years as stake president in which to learn his responsibilities and to minister to his people; but Diaz’s dual decisions in 1910—first not to run for reelection, then to seek reelection—plunged the country into turmoil. Over the next two years, tensions steadily intensified, dragging the Mormons ever deeper into jeopardy from both sides of the internal conflict. Beside seeing the need to protect their lives and property during the revolution, two related issues confronted the colonists. The first challenge was the difficulty of maintaining political neutrality in a situation that polarized the entire country; and the second was the risk that, by any of their actions—or inactions—they might unintentionally cause U.S. military intervention against Mexico.

Despite vigorous debate, the administration of William Howard

⁵³Ibid., 3–4.

⁵⁴The selection of these monogamous leaders allowed Junius to respond to Senator Smith on September 22, 1912 when he asked Junius “Have you more than one wife?” Junius replied “No, sir.” *Investigation*, 2589.

⁵⁵Romney, “Reorganization of the Juarez Stake, 4.

Taft finally reaffirmed its existing policy of neutrality on March 14, 1912, and authorized an embargo on weapons going into Mexico. As a result, the rebels lost their major source of weapons and ammunition.⁵⁶ J. Reuben Clark, U.S. State Department solicitor, was in the center of the diplomatic maneuvering surrounding this embargo.⁵⁷ Church leaders in Salt Lake City—and certainly those in the colonies—had every reason to sidestep Mexico's internal political problems by adopting a firm neutrality policy or, in Ivins's instructions to the colonists: "Remain perfectly neutral."⁵⁸ The challenge for the colonists was not to remain neutral but to have both the federals and rebels accept that position.

Relative to the second issue—U.S. military intervention—the colonists were not only keenly aware of how such an armed incursion might affect their property and their lives but also how it would almost certainly generate unwanted publicity about the continuing practice of polygamy in the colonies. Romney wrote: "Do you think that if we had been responsible for war between Mexico and the United States . . . that this Church would not have been involved in a way that they could not afford to be involved?" And again, "Even the question as to whether plural marriages were continued in Mexico after adoption of the manifesto by the Church would have had to be answered before this debate would have closed. One can hardly imagine this to be to the advantage of the Church. . . . I think . . . that a kindly Providence protected this people by removal and protected the Church of God from

⁵⁶For Orozco's response to this embargo, see Meyer, *Mexican Rebel*, 71–72.

⁵⁷Fox, *J. Reuben Clark*, 123, 130, 167–71, 177–79.

⁵⁸Hatch, *Colonia Juarez*, 164; Juarez Stake High Council, Minutes, April 29, 1911, 3, holograph, acknowledges receiving a letter dated from the First Presidency urging neutrality. Romney, "Rose Park Remarks," 7, explains: "The Church authorities were working closely with the United States government. They had decided on our policy in Mexico. It was to be one of neutrality. We were not to mix in these affairs, and we were not to furnish any guns or ammunition under any circumstances." See also Romney, "Was the Exodus Necessary?," 28: "Invitations to join voluntarily each revolutionary movement were received but as often declined. The genuineness of our neutrality was called into question by each succeeding revolutionary group but I was usually able to satisfy them that we were doing nothing to aid either party only as forced to do against our will."

an experience which might have duplicated that experienced in the closing days of the life of the venerable President John Taylor who died in exile.”⁵⁹

During early 1912, the Orozco rebel forces suffered a series of defeats from the Maderista federals. One such battle was fought on July 3, 1912, at Bachimba in the general area of the colonies. After that battle and facing an imminent embargo on importing arms from the United States, the Orozco forces looked to the Mormon colonists as a possible source of weapons, ammunition, and other supplies. Romney, as stake president, was not only the colonists’ spiritual leader but their *de facto* economic, political, and military chief as well. Thus, it was his responsibility to respond personally to rebel threats and some confiscations and—less frequently—to similar demands from the federals.⁶⁰

On February 5, 1912, Enrique Portillo, the *presidente* of the Canton of Galeana which included Colonia Juarez, a resident of Casas Grandes, and a commander of rebels fighting under the red flag of Pascual Orozco, confronted Romney in his home in Colonia Juarez. Backed by some twenty-five soldiers, he demanded rifles and ammunition from the colonists. Romney replied that his people needed rifles for self protection and that he “intended to find out whether American citizens had a right to a gun . . . in their home for the defense of their family in Mexico or whether they had not.” The rebels withdrew without guns.⁶¹ Romney reported the incident to the First Presidency, who replied with approval but added, “We feel constrained, however, to say to you by way of caution that what was wise in this set of circumstances might not be the right thing to do under a different set of circumstances.”⁶²

This action by Portillo led Romney to write in frustration to Orson P. Brown in El Paso: “Never before have I been made to feel

⁵⁹Romney, “Garden Park Remarks,” 6; Romney, “Was the Exodus Necessary?,” 11, 40, 41.

⁶⁰Both federals and rebels frequently gave receipts for what they took, each claiming that, when they won, the colonists would be repaid. Thomas Romney, *The Mormon Colonies in Mexico*, 151; Meyer, *Mexican Rebel*, 85; Hatch, *Colonia Juarez*, 165.

⁶¹Junius Romney, Letter to Orson P. Brown, February 9, 1912, type-script copy.

⁶²Romney, “Was the Exodus Necessary?,” 49.

how treacherous and unreliable are most of the people by whom we are surrounded They have made up their minds to disarm us by what ever method might prove easiest.”⁶³

Long-range rifles that the rebels had been able to import from the United States before the embargo put the colonists at a disadvantage with their older weapons. They managed to smuggle in some high-powered rifles which were then distributed to the various colonies, a violation of the embargo but one they felt was necessary.⁶⁴ The tension between the colonists and rebels reinforced the need for the

⁶³Junius Romney, Letter to Orson P. Brown, February 9, 1912. Brown, who was married to Junius's half-sister Mattie, was the informal agent of the colonists in El Paso. Periodically he received money from Junius for his service. Brown, Letter to Romney, February 29, 1912, typescript. Enrique Portillo had, under Madero, been the chief political officer of the district covering Colonia Juarez, where he had been raised. Then he became a major in Orozco's rebel army in the uprising against Madero. His office was in Casas Grandes just a few miles away from Colonia Juarez. Bentley, *Life and Letters of Joseph C. Bentley*, 133. Also involved on February 5 was Demetrio Ponce, who was a colonel under Orozco. Romney, "This De Metrio [sic] Ponce," 1, explained that Ponce "had hoped to win and marry one of our Colony girls . . . and had made a study of the principles of the Gospel and the obligations of the Priesthood. . . . However his proposal of marriage was declined . . . so instead of joining the church he. . . was now a close companion and chief advisor of the General Jose Inez Salazar," one of Orozco's subordinates. Meyer, *Mexican Rebel*, 60, notes the relationship among Salazar, Portillo, and Ponce. Thomas Romney, *The Mormon Colonies*, 148, corroborates: "If it be maintained by those of opposing views that the local Mexicans had nothing to do with the decision of the colonists to abandon their homes . . . I would cite them the fact that many of the rebels themselves, including a large percentage of their leaders, were of local origin." According to Hatch, *Colonia Juarez*, 203, Joseph C. Bentley, Colonia Juarez bishop during the exodus and stake president after he returned to Mexico, "neither condemned nor condoned,—never placed blame or criticized an act [of the exodus] directed by the priesthood. But he did plead for a more patient appraisal, a better understanding of the Mexican people as the only basis of peaceable resettlement. 'They are a naturally good people . . . kindly at heart but caught in a frenzy of war.'" See also Bentley, *Life and Letters of Joseph C. Bentley*, 169–70.

⁶⁴Romney, "Special Tributes," 16, describes the need for better guns: "As one revolution after another engulfed us and the battles were fought in

weapons with the killing of James D. Harvey on May 4, 1912 in Colonia Diaz and, in the same colony, of Will Adams on July 3rd.⁶⁵ Romney personally negotiated an agreement with the Mexicans over Harvey's death to avoid full-scale conflict. It was a role that required him to importune Mexican and U.S. authorities in turn.⁶⁶

Seeking counsel, Romney wrote to the First Presidency on May 1, 1912, a letter hand-delivered to El Paso and mailed from there. He reported that Orson P. Brown had advised him that "Bro. Ivins has not come and probably is not expected soon . . . I hope that you will get thoroughly organized and be in shape to protect yourselves . . . if you get word of intervention. . . I would suggest that at least women and children at Guadalupe be removed immediately and that every preparation be made for the mountain people to get together." Romney said that he was "not in harmony with" this suggestion for an immediate, partial evacuation and explained: "We have not forgotten how earnestly Bro. Ivins advocated a different course while here." He expressed his willingness to rely on Brown's advice if the contingencies Brown described developed. "It seems to us that our condition is so delicate that it has had few parallels and we would ask that you kindly assist us by making plans as far as may be possible for you to do what our respec-

the very outskirts of our towns we discovered that these Mexicans were many of them armed with Mauser rifles which could shoot with accuracy probably twice as far as our hunting rifles." Romney, "Was the Exodus Necessary?," 18, added: "We had a supply of long-range guns and a plentiful supply of ammunition which the Church had paid for and which we had succeeded in smuggling in from the United States for the protection of the various Colonies. These had been distributed to each Bishopric to be secreted and kept solely for defensive use. It should be stated to the everlasting credit of the presiding officers in the various wards that they were so faithful to the trust that no Mexicans ever knew that these guns were in our possession." The Dublan men used these rifles when fleeing to the Stairs to join men from Colonia Juarez.

⁶⁵Romney, "Affidavit," 13-14; Johnson, *Heartbeats*, 311-14. The earlier murders of Elizabeth McDonald, Brother Black, Elizabeth Mortenson, Marinus Koch, James Walker, and Christopher Heaton indicated that the later ones were not unique. Romney, "Affidavit," 14-15; Thomas Romney, *Mormon Colonies*, 83, 145; Hatch, *Colonia Juarez*, 164.

⁶⁶Johnson, *Heartbeats*, 311-14; Hatch, *Colonia Juarez*, 164; Romney, "Affidavit," 13-18.

tive duties are. We understand that the responsibility of deciding such matters here falls directly on us but that Bro. B. is placed there to help us with his suggestions . . . but we have hoped and prayed that we might not have to take any hand in this affair even in defense of ourselves." Romney then pointed out that they had not and could not prepare militarily without "exciting suspicions on the part of the natives" that would "precipitate intervention. . . . [I]f we get through this thing without the loss of a single life," he suggested, the colonists might use as evidence that we "have been sincere friends of the Mexican people" by refusing to take any military action except "in defense of our lives." Romney pleaded: "If Bro. Ivins was ever needed in El Paso it is now and if consistent with your views and his feelings we would appreciate it very much if he might be sent down there at once to be in easy reach of us to counsel and advise with us during the crisis."⁶⁷

In a meeting held on August 13, 1912, in El Paso, immediately after the exodus, the secretary wrote in the minutes of the frustration Romney felt in Mexico: "Junius Romney said he had felt that the gravity of the situation in Mexico had not been realized and the dangers thereof minimized." In fact, "when he had asked for advice, the responsibility of advising the people had been put upon his shoulders by the authority over him."⁶⁸

A few weeks later, Ivins reached the colonies where he stayed between May 31 to at least June 17, but there is no record that he provided Romney with any specific help. Ivins attended church meetings in Colonia Dublan and Colonia Juarez with Romney and was involved in a business deal involving 7,500 acres of land in Colonia Diaz. He also visited Colonia Chuichupa, but not with Romney. Junius wrote him on June 10, while he was still in the colonies, describing the local political situation and explaining the activities of some colonists.⁶⁹ However, I have found no evidence of any substantive discussion between Ivins and Romney about plans for responding to the military situation. Apparently Ivins thought that the colonists should continue their current course and that, in due time, things would work out.

Ivins returned to the United States when, on about July 10, 1912, General Jose Ines Salazar, a subordinate of Pascual Orozco, demanded that Romney supply a list of all the colonists' weapons. The pur-

⁶⁷Romney to Pres. Joseph F. Smith and Couns., May 1, 1912, 1-6.

⁶⁸Relief Committee, Minutes, August 13, 1912.

⁶⁹Ivins, Diary, May 31, 1912; Romney to Ivins, June 10, 1912.

pose of this list was allegedly to prevent them from smuggling in arms from the United States.⁷⁰ Romney told Salazar that he would request such a list, consulted with twenty-four colony leaders, including Bishop Bentley, in Colonia Juarez, received their unanimous support for his decision, and then sent letters by couriers to each of the other Chihuahua colonies. He instructed them to make an honest report but told them to “take their time—to take a hunting or fishing trip on the way if they wanted to.” He merely wanted to honestly report to Salazar that he had requested the information.⁷¹ The colonists made their reports, but nothing came of them because the situation on the ground quickly changed dramatically.

On July 12, a band of rebels descended on Colonia Diaz, demanding their weapons and threatening to return the next morning with six hundred men to collect the weapons, by force if necessary. Romney received word that same evening about the demand, and in a meeting at 9:00 P.M., thirteen leaders from Colonia Juarez met in Junius’s home and unanimously decided to have Bishop Albert D. Thurber of Colonia Dublan send couriers overnight to Colonia Diaz. The couriers were to carry copies of earlier orders from rebel generals instructing the rebels not to molest the colonists and stating that Edmund Richardson was going to El Paso to contact the rebel’s chief, Pascual Orozco. Romney prepared letters of introduction to both General Pascual Orozco and to his father, Colonel Pascual Orozco. The couriers also carried information that Romney and his counselor, Hyrum Harris, would immediately confer with General Salazar, the nearest rebel commander.⁷²

Arriving in Casas Grandes at about midnight on July 12–13, Romney and Harris overcame the objections of Salazar’s guard, who had received orders from Salazar not to disturb him after he went to sleep. Romney describes how Salazar raised himself on his elbow

⁷⁰Salazar, a physically imposing man and an important subordinate of Orozco, was the most significant senior rebel with whom the colonists dealt. Ralph Vigil, “Revolution and Confusion: The Peculiar Case of Jose Inez Salazar,” *New Mexico Historical Review* 53, no. 2 (April 1978): 145–70.

⁷¹Minutes of meeting in Colonia Juarez, July 11, 1912, holograph; Romney, “Affidavit,” July 11, 1912; Thomas Romney, *Mormon Colonies*, 171–72.

⁷²Romney to “Generalísimo Pascual Orozco (h), y Coronel Pascual Orozco (p),” July 13, 1912; Johnson, *Heartbeats*, 316–19.

from his cot and said, of the rebel commander at Colonia Diaz: "This man should have known better than to make such a demand. He had his orders in writing. He should have had sense enough not to make any such demands as these—not yet." According to Romney, those last two words, "*todavía no* . . . sent a cold chill creeping up my spine to the roots of my hair." Salazar dictated a message to the rebel leader at Diaz ordering him to leave the colonists alone. Romney and Harris rode another seven miles to Colonia Dublan where they met with Bishop Thurber. Thurber dispatched Nathan Tenney to Colonia Diaz with Salazar's order.⁷³

As they left Thurber's home, Romney asked Harris if he had noticed anything unusual about Salazar's statement. "Yes," replied Harris, "the captain had his written orders and he should not have made such a demand—not yet."⁷⁴ Harris's response confirmed Romney's alarm. "Up to this moment of time it had never crossed my mind that the Colonists would have to leave Mexico, but from this moment I was perfectly convinced that unless Salazar changed his attitude toward the Colonists there would be nothing for us to do but to evacuate the country, or in the alternative, actually fight the revolutionists. His manner and expression were such as to convince me that he had already formed a definite plan for the oppression, if not the extermination, of the Colonists."⁷⁵

The next day, July 14, Romney took the train to El Paso "for the express purpose of ascertaining what the Presidency and Apostle A. W. Ivins thought we should do in this situation." Salazar, traveling on the same train with some of his troops, recognized Romney, sat beside him, and began to rail against the U.S. embargo. It was, in fact, aiding Madero and the federals, he asserted, and he intended to force the United States to become involved militarily. "Anyhow," he said, "intervention is already an accomplished fact."⁷⁶

Ivins was then in El Paso, and their meeting that night at the Fisher Hotel illustrated their different assessment of the situation facing the colonists. Romney asked Ivins if he had any advice for him. When Ivins responded that he "had no advice to give, feeling, appar-

⁷³Romney, "Was the Exodus Necessary?," 12–13; Romney, "Rose Park Remarks," 8–9.

⁷⁴Romney, "Was the Exodus Necessary?," 13.

⁷⁵Romney, Affidavit, 22–23.

⁷⁶Romney, "Was the Exodus Necessary?," 14–15.

ently, that it might be that I [Junius] was unduly exercised, then I suggested we wire the First Presidency asking instructions from them. Ivins responded that they would know nothing about the matter, and therefore, what was the good in bothering them? On my insistence that they might I was told if I wanted to send a telegram then I might go and do so. When I asked whose names or name I should sign to the message I was told it did not make any difference but that if I wanted I could sign both names." Romney then went and "sent a night letter to Joseph F. Smith and counsellors telling them of the impending disaster and stating as follows: "We have succeeded in averting the tragedy at Colonia Diaz, but we face as a people the same demand for our guns. Shall we fight or surrender our guns? To fight means we fight with odds of twenty to one in favor of the Mexicans. To surrender any guns means that our wives and children will be left to the mercy of demons." The letter was signed "A. W. Ivins and Junius Romney."⁷⁷

After sending this telegram, Romney returned to the hotel and showed the message to Ivins who said "I don't like that." He particularly objected to the term "demons" in the message. Romney explained that the term applied to the mixture of "American, Spanish, Chinese, Italian soldiers and officers" in the rebel forces, not to "Mexicans." Ivins said "that he did not like such strong language and felt its use unnecessary." Romney said that "the matter could be easily settled by him simply stating the truth which was that he had nothing to do with the wording of the message." Romney added: "I was not ashamed of anything in the message and that I would not change a word of it if I could." Evaluating this event some fifty years later, Junius wrote: "Possibly I should have been ashamed of the wording of the message. I may also have been in error in feeling, as I did, that such criticism was hardly justified when I had been told to prepare and send the message if I wanted and to send one. However poorly I may have done the job, it told the truth as I saw it."⁷⁸

The next morning, July 15, the First Presidency wired: "The course to be pursued by our people in Mexico must be determined by yourself [Ivins], Romney and the leading men of the Juarez Stake." Romney wrote: "The message then went on to express full confidence in us and their love for us and the assurance that the Lord would sus-

⁷⁷Ibid., 47-48.

⁷⁸Ibid., 48.

tain us in reaching wise decisions.”⁷⁹

This reply clarified the First Presidency’s February 1912, instructions which had approved Junius’s action relative to Portillo’s demand for guns, but warned that different conditions might dictate different action. Never at any time did Romney take the position that he alone should make decisions. Instead, he had followed customary Church procedures of consulting with priesthood leaders and members. The First Presidency in this most recent message confirmed the process of counseling together, but Romney was disappointed in his effort to obtain additional guidance from Ivins, who, Romney thought, considered him only “unduly exercised.”⁸⁰ Romney returned to Colonia Juarez on July 15; and on July 19, Ivins joined him there.⁸¹

On July 20, after another discussion of the situation, Romney and Ivins traveled to Casas Grandes, where they made a detailed investigation, then continued on to Colonia Dublan where they met with its “leading men,” consistent with the First Presidency’s instructions. Abruptly a trainload of federal troops from the north arrived in town and overran the colony, stealing horses and pilfering at will. This raid prevented the colonists from holding the public meeting that Romney and Ivins planned for July 21. They started for Colonia Juarez but were met at Casas Grandes by a rebel courier bearing a demand from Colonel Miguel A. Castillo that Ivins and Romney meet him the next day at 10:00 A.M. in Pearson, a British railroad town about ten miles south of Colonia Juarez, “with horses and saddles, guns and ammunition, cash, merchandise, and anything else that might be of use to his forces in the revolutionary activity.”⁸²

Romney and Ivins obeyed the summons but without bringing the demanded supplies and equipment. Ivins talked alone with Castillo whom he characterized “as a very unapproachable and cold blooded Spaniard.” Castillo reluctantly acknowledged that Orozco was the “*generalísimo*” of the revolution and agreed not to enforce his

⁷⁹Ibid. Romney, “Affidavit” gives July 14 as the date of this telegram and states: “I was told that the matter rests in the hands of Mr. Ivins, the leading men of the colonies, and myself.” Ivins, Diary, July 11, 1912, says only: “During the week Prest. Romney has been here from the colonies.”

⁸⁰Romney, “Was the Exodus Necessary?”, 47.

⁸¹Ivins, Diary, dates his arrival in Colonia Juarez on July 20, 1912.

⁸²Romney, “Affidavit,” 25.

demands until he had contacted Orozco in El Paso.⁸³

Returning through Casas Grandes, Ivins and Romney met Salazar, who was then preparing to send a force against the federals who had crossed from Sonora and were now in Dublan. According to Romney, as soon as he and Ivins entered Salazar's office, the general "turned to us, and in a peremptory and irritated tone of voice demanded, 'What do you want?' Mr. Ivins began an explanation of the purpose of our visit whereupon Salazar immediately interrupted him and savagely ordered, 'Get out in the street. When I want you, I will send for you.' We went out into the street." They later had a brief interview with the General and were "not able to obtain any assurances from him and the interview as a whole was very unsatisfactory."⁸⁴

On July 23 Ivins wrote Romney from El Paso: "Whenever you feel that conditions are sufficiently settled to justify me in going home let me know. I want to get away from here." On July 24 he again wrote Romney: "I have been over to Juarez twice today trying to find Orozco Hijo [the son] but without success. D. V. Farnsworth . . . thought he could reach him through Ponce but failed." Ivins continued "I have been in bed nearly all day, a recurrence of my former trouble. . . . It is clear that I shall have to get away from here before I can recover."⁸⁵ Again on July 25, Ivins wrote that the U.S. consul Thomas Edwards had likewise been unable to contact Orozco. So Ivins wrote Orozco a letter describing the conditions facing the colonists and appealing to him. The letter to Junius ended by saying "I am feeling better today but so shaky I can hardly write as you will see."⁸⁶

These letters were the last communication between Ivins and Romney before the exodus. Despite the warning signs, Ivins seemed to feel that the colonists should respond minimally and that, in due time, the situation would stabilize. But he was no longer available, leaving the decisions to be made, according to the First Presidency's instructions, by "Romney and the leading men of the Juarez Stake."

⁸³Ibid., 26.

⁸⁴Ibid. 26–27. Ivins describes the interview differently: "Gen. Salazar assured us that we should be protected at the same time giving us to understand that he would be obliged to have money or supplies for his men." Supporting his optimism was the fact that "some horses were taken from Dublan . . . but were returned." Ivins, *Diary*, July 20, 1912.

⁸⁵Ivins, *Diary*, July 8, 1912, identifies his illness as dysentery.

⁸⁶Ivins, *Letters to Romney*, July 23, 24, and 25, 1912, holographs.

REMARKABLE HUMILITY IN CASAS GRANDES

Henry E. Bowman and his business partner, L. P. Atwood, who were working on a railroad line being constructed into the mountains, met with Salazar on July 26. Salazar demanded that Bowman and Romney meet him the next day at 10:00 A.M in Casas Grandes.⁸⁷ The next day, July 27, Romney arranged with Joseph C. Bentley, Guy C. Wilson, Hyrum Harris, and Albert W. Thurber to accompany him and Henry E. Bowman to the meeting. As they approached Casas Grandes, it was decided that only Bowman and Romney would go in to meet with the general.⁸⁸ Romney, on his own, would have felt more comfortable with any one of the other four men, given the personality clashes between him and Bowman. But the events of the next few minutes resulted in a remarkable reconciliation between them.

The exchange between Romney and Salazar was a prickly one. Salazar announced that he was withdrawing all former guarantees and rejected Junius's reminder that the colonists had relied in good faith on these written guarantees: "These are mere words, and the wind blows words away."⁸⁹ Then Salazar got to his ultimatum: Romney and Bowen "would never get out of there unless the guns were first delivered to the [rebels]." Romney reacted promptly. He told Salazar "to do his worst as my ultimatum was that I would never comply with his demand and I added, I was not half as much afraid of anything he might do to me as I was to be regarded a traitor by my people

⁸⁷Bowman, Affidavit, August 12, 1912, *Investigation*, 2598. Bowman said that Salazar told him that Orozco had ordered that "all promises and guaranties formerly given were withdrawn . . . [and] that we could consider ourselves prisoners until arms were forthcoming. . . . While it was not their purpose to take our lives if we conceded to all their demands, still he had no guaranty of protection to offer, and we must look to Taft or to Madero for protection." Alonzo Taylor, stake clerk, dates this meeting on July 25, 1912; other dates in his account are also two days earlier than Romney's. "Record of the Exodus of the Mormon Colonists from Mexico in 1912," in Bentley, *Life and Letters of Joseph C. Bentley*, 136–56.

⁸⁸Romney, "Special Tributes," 10–11; Romney, "Affidavit," 28. The group joined in prayer before deciding who would go in to meet with Salazar. Junius noted in hindsight that "strangely enough it had not occurred to any of us that the Lord had already settled this matter of procedure for us." Romney, "Special Tributes," 12.

⁸⁹Romney, "Affidavit," 28.

which I would be were I to comply with his demand. . . . He interpreted this as an insinuation that he was afraid of us and so he shouted 'Neither am I afraid of you. Go home to the Colony and if you do not deliver the guns by tomorrow at 10 A. M. we will march against you just the same as though you were federals.'"⁹⁰

Romney appraised the odds: "There were approximately 2,000 rebels in the neighborhood of Casas Grandes and they had as part of their equipment five or six cannons." He asked Salazar if the colonists could remove their women and children before responding to his demands. Salazar rejected the request and "gave Mr. Bowman and myself distinctly to understand that if we did not do as he demanded he would take out his vengeance on our women and children by removing all restraint from his soldiers and turning them loose upon them. This was an eventuality too terrible to invite."⁹¹

Earlier, during a break in the conversation, while Salazar and an aide Demetrio Ponce consulted in another room, Bowman suggested that Romney should be conciliatory and avoid "friction as he rightly observed that the General was wrought up." Romney recognized that it was Bowman's duty to volunteer his counsel but he promptly announced that it was his determination to do that "which was diametrically opposed" to what Bowman suggested. Romney was then startled to hear what he characterized as "the most beautiful display of manly humility I have ever witnessed." Bowman said, "President Romney, I realize that you are the man that has the right to know what to do . . . [and] whatever your decision I will back you to the end." Romney responded, "Brother Bowman, you will never know how much I appreciate that."⁹² Later Romney concluded: "Had it not been for the wonderful display of humility at the crucial test he would have borne a tragic responsibility for thwarting the design for the removal of the Saints." Looking back in 1960 at this emotionally charged moment, Romney felt that the incident made "it abundantly clear to me that the Lord brought about the indispensable unity which none of us could have achieved."⁹³ Bowman's humility meant that he could join with the other male colonists to offer invaluable assistance in helping the women and children leave Mex-

⁹⁰Romney, "Was the Exodus Necessary?", 15.

⁹¹Romney, "Affidavit," 29.

⁹²Romney, "Special Tributes," 12-13; Romney, "Rose Park Remarks," 11-12.

ico and to assist all of the colonists who later went to El Paso.

THE WOMEN AND CHILDREN'S DEPARTURE FROM CHIHUAHUA

The meeting with Salazar on July 27 concluded with the decision that an escort of fifty rebels would accompany Romney and Bowman to Colonia Dublan where they would collect weapons and ammunition to turn over to the rebels. That same afternoon, Romney and the leading men of Colonia Dublan met in Thurber's home and decided to give the rebels their least desirable weapons, thus partially complying with the rebels' demands, and also to send their women and children to the United States. At that point, it seemed that the crisis would be brief and that they could shortly return to their homes. Accordingly, about eighty-one rifles and thirteen pistols of the least valuable weapons and some ammunition were turned over to the rebel unit that very afternoon, and families began immediate preparations for departure to El Paso, Texas. Led by Bowman and others, the women and children from Colonia Dublan left by train for El Paso that evening.⁹⁴

That same day in Colonia Juarez, Bishop Joseph C. Bentley and several men with him in his home were struck "like a thunderbolt" with the telephoned report of what was going on in Colonia Dublan. Bentley promptly called a meeting. Most of the town's leaders, like the bishop, "saw no necessity of our sending our families to the United States, but believed if we put our trust in the Lord, He would take care of us." Later, when Romney joined them he explained what had occurred during the last few hours. At that point, the group decided that they would likewise give up their less valuable weapons. According to Bentley, Romney "advised his family to go out as soon as there was a train and what he advised his own family he advised every other family in the Stake." Bishop Bentley then said, "As far as I am concerned that would settle it with me, inasmuch as that [is] the counsel of President Romney, whatever my feelings had been would make no difference. I would move my family and advise every other family to move also."⁹⁵

The next morning, July 28, Colonia Juarez men brought their weapons to the town bandstand. Women and children, guarded by

⁹³Romney, "Special Tributes," 10.

⁹⁴Romney, Affidavit, 33–36. Among the men guarding the women and children was Thomas C. Romney, then age thirty-six.

⁹⁵Joseph C. Bentley, "An Account of the Exodus from the Mormon

Mormon men, traveled to Pearson by wagon, then took the daily train to El Paso. By August 1, some three thousand women, children, and men accompanying them had left from all of the Chihuahua colonies.⁹⁶ This was the first stage of the actual exodus.

On July 30 Romney called for a conference of representatives of all the colonies except Diaz (which was too far away) to meet in Colonia Juarez. Representatives from the mountain colonies were gathered from among those waiting for the train in Pearson with their women and children. Meeting in Bentley's home the group heard reports that the rebels at Pearson and Dublan were using insulting and offensive language and looting in Dublan. "It was clear to everyone present at this conference that the removal of the women and children had not solved our problem with the rebels," Romney recalled. He asked whether the stake presidency should continue to lead the colonists, explaining: "I was neither seeking a continuance of responsibility nor was I running away from it. . . . It was unanimously voted that the direction of affairs should continue in the future as in the past and that the members of the various colonies should look to me for their directions whenever any crises should arise in the future."⁹⁷

On the evening of July 30, Romney received a letter from Ivins which described the very difficult conditions that the refugees were encountering in El Paso. He suggested that Romney join him there, but Romney opted not to do so. He wrote Ivins that he had instructed the bishops to organize their ward members into groups of eight to ten families, each under a competent man. In addition he was "sending out Bro. Wilson and a number of strong helpers to take up the burden for the people under your direction." He felt unable to go to El Paso since he was continuing to seek assurances of protection from Salazar. He expressed little confidence that Salazar could provide a guarantee "that would be considered as worth anything" and continued candidly: "At times it has looked as though a massacre was pending" and "I feel at times as though I would break down under" the responsibility. But at more optimistic moments, "it seems that the men

Colonies," 5, photocopy, Nelle S. Hatch Papers, L. Tom Perry Special Collections and Manuscripts, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

⁹⁶Romney, Affidavit, 32-37; Romney, "Was the Exodus Necessary?," 15-18; Bentley, "An Account of the Exodus," 3-7.

⁹⁷Romney, Affidavit, 41-42.

will be able to remain.” He had spent “the whole evening till midnight” negotiating with Ponce and had succeeded in reducing the number of horses the rebel had been commanded to take from each colony. He had also succeeded in explaining to Ponce’s satisfaction why the quality of the confiscated weapons was not very high.

Concluding his letter, Romney pled for assistance. “I wish you could tell me how to close up successfully the last chapter of my administration, it seems that I cannot tell what to do next but I suppose I will simply have to continue to the end the best that I can under the circumstances. Kindly let me hear from you by return of the train as to how the people are getting along and what arrangements have been made for their care.”⁹⁸

On August 1, Ivins wrote a long response, concluding: “I can offer no advice relative to the men coming out. The Presidency have made no recommendations whatever except to tell us to do the best we can under the circumstances. You who are on the ground will have to be the judge as to whether it is safe to remain. I cannot conceive that men are going to kill people who are their friends just for the lust of killing. If we resist them in the demands made they become violent but I have faith that they will not kill anyone. Do the best you can, no one can do more.”⁹⁹

EVACUATING THE MEN

The leading men and Romney in Mexico now needed to consider what to do with the male Saints still in the colonies. Before receiving Ivins’s August 1 letter, Romney wrote instructions to bishops about the men remaining both in the mountain colonies and in Diaz. The letters to each colony were generally the same, but he gave special instructions to Diaz which was located considerably closer to the U.S. border than the other colonies: “The general policy will be to stay at least till it seems certain that it is unsafe for us to do anything else since we cannot afford at any price to do anything that we will be ashamed of when we get out. Of course the preservation of life is the thing of prime importance. . . . But it appears to me that it will now become necessary and wise to make a separate issue in the case of your ward”—meaning Diaz, which he asked to leave immediately. “We do not know but we are strongly in hopes that it is in the Providences [sic]

⁹⁸Romney to Ivins, July 31, 1912, photocopy.

⁹⁹Ivins to Romney, August 1, 1912.

of the Lord that we should get through this thing without losing our homes and belongings but if we must lose all such things we sincerely trust that we will not be called upon to lose the life of a single one of the brethren.”¹⁰⁰

The arrival of some new rebels in Colonia Juarez prompted some of the men to get together on the afternoon of August 2. They decided to meet that night at a ranch north of town to consider this new situation. A man was sent to each side of the Piedras Verdes River, which divides the town, to notify all of the men about the meeting plan. Both groups had a designated rendezvous point where they were to gather at 10:00 P.M., then move to the ranch where they would join together. But confusion led those on the west side to go directly to the Stairs, a rocky stairlike site in the mountains some seven miles to the west of Colonia Juarez, rather than to their rendezvous point. Earlier, anticipating a possible need, the colonists had deposited rations and weapons at that location. When Junius and his brother Park arrived at the rendezvous site designated for those on the west side, they learned what had happened. This confusion left the Juarez men about equally divided between those in Juarez and those at the Stairs.

Rather than being a mistake, as it seemed to be at the time, Romney later recognized it as part of the divine plan, since it “left me no recourse except to rely on the Lord in deciding on what should be done. . . . No one was to blame for what they did or did not do in this great drama which I feel the Lord planned and carried out in His own way.”¹⁰¹

At the time, though, Romney was startled and dismayed. He guessed that Salazar, learning that the Mormons had gone into the mountains, would conclude that they were joining the federals en route from Sonora and would then “attack, as federals,” any of the colonists within his reach. Romney also realized that he was unable to contact either Ivins or any of the other Juarez Stake leaders. “Quickly, I appraised the situation and a feeling of assurance came over me,” he wrote. “I seemed to see with perfect clarity what was necessary to be done and the order in which it must receive attention.” Taking a lantern and writing materials, he sat down at McDonald’s Spring in a

¹⁰⁰Romney, Letter to Colonias Diaz, Pacheco, Garcia, and Chui-chupa, August 1, 1912.

¹⁰¹Romney, “Was the Exodus Necessary?,” 31–35; Romney, “Special Tributes,” 22–23.

wash on the western upland. He then wrote letters instructing the men in Colonias Dublan, Pacheco, Garcia, and Chuichupa to gather at the Stairs. This action launched the process of removing the final group of Chihuahua colonists from Mexico.

Junius wrote: "I had no one to turn to but the Lord. Putting my trust in Him I calmly proceeded to put into operation the only plan which it seemed to me any sane man could regard as sound under the circumstances. . . . I received no suggestion, guidance or direction from any man in making the decisions which I did. If I received any guidance or direction, I received it from the Lord through the inspiration of His Holy Spirit."¹⁰² Significantly, this was the only completely unilateral decision Romney made—the only time when he did not consult with other leaders or attempt to consult with his file leaders.¹⁰³

AT THE STAIRS

On August 3 after Romney had written and sent the letters by courier, he met Ernest Hatch from Colonia Juarez who said that the men on the east side of the river had returned to their homes. Romney was dismayed: "I would have welcomed death. . . . I could but wonder if after all that which I had planned and put into execution for the complete evacuation of the Colonies with the calm assurance that the Lord was prompting me had been done as a mistake on my part without the guidance of the Lord. I was terrified at the thought and I envisioned a massacre of those men in Juarez as a result of a tragic mistake I had made."¹⁰⁴ Romney tried to rescind the earlier message to Colonia Dublan, but the Dublan men had already gone toward the Stairs. Some rebels, who discovered them departing, shot at them, and the colonists returned fire with the long-range rifles they had earlier smuggled in from the United States. The rebels quickly abandoned the skirmish. Romney encountered these Dublan men near Juarez

¹⁰²Romney, "Was the Exodus Necessary?," 31–35. Concluding this portion of his history, Romney wrote: "I presume that what I have already written will make it clear to any reader that I regard this 'Exodus' as the work of the Lord or of Providence and not of man. I make no apology for this conclusion" (35).

¹⁰³Romney, Affidavit, 43–46; Taylor, "Record of the Exodus of the Mormon Colonies in Mexico, 1912," 141.

¹⁰⁴Romney, "Exit of the Men," 2.

and followed them up to the Stairs.¹⁰⁵

Several days later, after the arrival and departure of several rebel groups in their area and after communicating with Romney, the men remaining in Colonia Juarez also headed for the Stairs. By August 5, all of the men from Colonias Dublan, Juarez, Pacheco, and Garcia were gathered at the Stairs. The men from Colonia Chuichupa did not reach the Stairs until the others had left for the border, and the men from Colonia Diaz had already gone directly from their town to the United States.

On August 5, Romney conducted a meeting of the men at the Stairs. In the preceding few days, the men had argued about two alternatives available to them—whether to return to the colonies or to continue to the United States. Romney wrote, “In this discussion which grew a little heated I am told that I again said some rather harsh things which wounded the feelings of some of the opposition. This I have no reason to question as it seems to be one of my weaknesses to speak rather sharply at times. Again I wish I might have brought about the necessary unity to carry out the program which I proposed without giving offense to anyone.”¹⁰⁶

Despite his later regrets about his communication style, Romney was both forceful and persuasive in presenting four reasons why the men should travel at once to the United States: (1) the desire to not have any fatalities, (2) the necessity of demonstrating their neutrality to the various rebel factions and the federals, (3) the need to conceal the fact that they had smuggled arms into Mexico in violation of the embargo, and (4) the wisdom of not calling attention to the continuing practice of both pre- and post-Manifesto polygamous families.¹⁰⁷

After presenting his views, Romney asked for responses from those present. Among those who responded was Bishop Joseph C. Bentley who, representing the position of some others, argued that they could no doubt return safely to their homes.¹⁰⁸ Generally those from Juarez and Dublan who had been in the midst of the fighting could see more reason for going to the United States. Those in Pacheco, Garcia, and Chuichupa saw less reason to go out. After a thor-

¹⁰⁵Ibid.

¹⁰⁶Ibid., 3.

¹⁰⁷Ibid., 4–5.

¹⁰⁸For Bentley’s view and actions, see Hatch, *Colonia Juarez*, 197–99, and Bentley, *Life and Letters of Joseph C. Bentley*, 143–44.

ough discussion, "a large majority" adopted Romney's plan to go out to the United States. He later "acknowledged with gratitude that . . . the opposition joined in making its adoption unanimous, thus opening the way for the successful outcome of this move so vital to the welfare of all."¹⁰⁹ Joel H. Martineau, a man from Colonia Juarez, who was present at that meeting, corroborated: "One circumstance that impressed me most of all occurred when the men of the other colonies had joined us in the mountains above the 'Stairs.' . . . The decision to go out was not merely the will of the Stake Authorities, but was also the popular will of the colonists there assembled. . . . The general attitude of the colonists, except some from Dublan where depredations had been severe, were in favor of remaining in the hills a few days or even weeks until the arrival of federal Generals Blanco and Sanjinez, but somehow we had voted contrary to our intentions."¹¹⁰ Again a surprisingly united group of colonists had decided to implement a successful exodus.

Romney traveled to the U.S. border with the 235 men and boys of the group but did not play a leadership role during their journey. On August 10 they crossed the border into the United States at Dog Springs, New Mexico, where they narrowly escaped being shot at by nervous U.S. soldiers. It was, in Romney's view, yet another blessing of divine mercy. Had they been attacked, "I could not have recorded with thanksgiving, as I now proudly do, that the evacuation of all these people from their homes and their removal to safety in the United States was accomplished without the death of a single soul. . . . We all came through unscathed thanks to a kind Providence."¹¹¹

"COURT MARTIAL" IN EL PASO

With the arrival in the United States of the men from Chihuahua, the physical process of the evacuation in Chihuahua came to an end. That arrival marked the accomplishment of the four goals Junius

¹⁰⁹Romney, "Exit of the Men," 6; David P. Black, Affidavit, August 8, 1958, 5.

¹¹⁰Joel H. Martineau, "Mormon Colonies in Mexico, 1876-1929," section titled "The Exodus," 2-3, microfilm of typescript, Utah State Historical Society. Later, in a letter to Junius, Martineau, affirmed that Junius's advice "to flee to the United States. . . . was inspired by the Lord." Martineau, Letter to Romney, September 6, 1948.

¹¹¹Romney, "Exit of the Men," 6-9.

had in mind when, at the Stairs, he urged the movement of the men to the United States: no fatalities, a demonstration of neutrality, concealment of smuggled arms, and no attention being called to the practice of polygamy.

Two challenges remained. One was the winding up of the left-over aspects of the physical evacuation, including getting the Saints out of Sonora and evaluating the process of the evacuation. The other was determining what was to be done to assist all of the refugees to move on to the next stage of their lives.

The necessity of meeting those two challenges did not relieve Junius of his responsibility as stake president, a responsibility that would continue until the stake was dissolved early in October. He continued to try as best as circumstances permitted to assist with administrative activities, such as signing temple recommends and counseling Saints to help them plan for their future. His ecclesiastical role is illustrated by his action on August 10, the same day that he crossed the border. He sent a telegram from Hatchita, New Mexico, to President Joseph F. Smith in Salt Lake City: "I arrived here 10 p.m. today, company of two hundred thirty five men four hundred horses will arrive tomorrow from Alamo Hueco. Shall the people scatter in search of work? Will these people be expected to return to Mexico or shall they consider themselves free to go where they please?" President Smith's answer arrived on August 11: "Congratulate you on reaching Hachita Evans leaving for Hachita today consult him refugees at liberty to go where wisdom suggests or necessity requires government is providing transportation. First Presidency."¹¹²

Winding up aspects of the physical evacuation of the Saints from Chihuahua took place with the arrival of the men from Chihuahua into the United States on August 11. The removal to the United States of approximately 1,000 Sonora colonists was accomplished by September 9, 1912, under the direction of a Relief Committee.¹¹³

This Relief Committee was organized to attend to the needs of the refugees soon after they arrived in El Paso on July 27. Henry E.

¹¹²Romney's message is a holograph copy. The return message is the telegram itself.

¹¹³Romney, "Affidavit," 70. The Relief Committee decided "that the Colonies of Sonora be advised to get all the colonists to the line, who are not prepared for quick flight, and that Hyrum S. Harris carry the word and visit the Colonies there, leaving at once." Relief Committee, Minutes, Au-

Bowman was appointed and sustained as the chairman. Other members of the committee at that time were Orson Pratt Brown, Guy C. Wilson, Joseph E. Robinson, president of the California Mission whom President Joseph F. Smith had sent to El Paso, and Ivins, "who by virtue of his appointment, [had] general supervision over all."¹¹⁴

On August 13 just three days after Romney and others from the Chihuahua colonies had crossed the border into the United States, the committee met, as explained by Ivins "to get from the leading brethren their feelings toward the evacuating of the L.D.S. Colonies in the State of Chihuahua, Mexico."¹¹⁵ Romney's evaluation of the proceedings is suggested by the fact that he termed it his "court martial."¹¹⁶

The use of the term "court martial" may have been suggested to Junius because the meeting occurred soon after the march of the men to the border which was made under a military organization. Albert D. Thurber was the general, Gaskell Romney (Junius's brother) was Quartermaster General, Anson B. Call was Chief Sanitary Officer, and companies of ten men each were led by captains. Junius had no military leadership responsibility, although he demonstrated his ecclesiastical responsibility as the "shepherd" by being the last to cross the border.¹¹⁷

At the first meeting of the committee on August 13, thirty-five priesthood leaders of the Chihuahua wards and Juarez Stake and other "leading brethren" attended. Elder Ivins presided and explained that the question about the evacuation "had been discussed in the

gust 14, 1912. On August 19, Harris, Romney's counselor, reported on his trip. Apparently he had advised a more urgent departure than the committee intended, since the bishop in Colonia Morelos queried Ivins by telegram; Ivins telephoned his reply, telling the colonists "not to stampede, but to use their own judgment." Relief Committee, Minutes, August 19, 1912.

¹¹⁴Relief Committee, Minutes, 1912, first page. Junius put these minutes in an envelope, on which he had written in ink: "Contents Minutes of Refugee Committee in El Paso Tex. Last half of year 1912 Make & return exact copy in full and ask Pres Clark to whom I should deliver this original J Romney." Although on the envelope Junius used the title "Refugee" for the committee, the minutes themselves call it the Relief Committee.

¹¹⁵Relief Committee, Minutes, 1.

¹¹⁶Romney, "Exit of the Men," 13.

¹¹⁷Romney, "Affidavit, 48; Romney, "Was the Exodus Necessary?" 2.

[news]papers, pro and con, as well as on the street corners by our own people and strangers and that the actions of the leading Brethren in the Stake in bringing the people out had been questioned and designated by many, as unwise." He mentioned several aspects of their current situation and then urged a feeling of "kindness, consideration and the spirit of conciliation." He concluded his introductory remarks saying that "he had confidence in the ability, integrity, and judgment of the Presiding authorities of the Juarez Stake and felt therefore that they had done the right thing and no man should question it."¹¹⁸

Following Ivins's opening comments Junius spoke and also spoke again the next day, August 14. In those two sets of remarks, Junius emphasized several themes which were important to him. The first one was that he felt he had not received the instructions he had hoped for. This theme particularly concerned Ivins. The minutes record that "President Romney said he had felt that the gravity of the situation in Mexico had not been realized and the dangers thereof minimized. . . . When he had asked for advice, the responsibility of advising the people had been put upon his shoulders by the authority over him. . . . I do not feel the presiding authorities have understood conditions there." This problem was exemplified in Mexico when Ivins said that Junius was "unduly exercised" over the situation. However, in this meeting Ivins seemed to have changed his mind. He said he "had confidence in the ability, integrity and judgment of the Presiding Authorities of the Juarez Stake and felt therefore that they had done the right thing and no man should question it."¹¹⁹

The second theme focused on Henry E. Bowman. The minutes record Junius's "interview in Mexico with Salazar at which Elder H. E. Bowman was present." That was the time when Junius thought Bow-

¹¹⁸Relief Committee, Minutes, August 13, 1912.

¹¹⁹In an even stronger personal statement included in a letter to the Mexican Consul in El Paso, Ivins explained: "But two courses were open to us, either to comply with the demand made and surrender our arms, or fight. We knew that to adopt the latter policy would be to bring on a race war which would result in very serious consequences and might easily result in international complications, a thing which we desired to avoid. We surrendered our arms. . . . Our safety was in flight, so we came to the border and took refuge in the United States." Ivins et al., Letter to Hon. E. C. Llorente, August 6, 1912, Ivins Collection, Box 11, fd. 2, no. 21, photocopy.

man had displayed “the most beautiful display of manly humility I have ever witnessed.” And then in El Paso the impact of Bowman’s humility is exemplified by the fact that he was chairman of the Relief Committee demonstrating, as Junius said, that the “Lord brought the indispensable unity which none of us could have achieved.”

A third theme had to do with Joseph C. Bentley. The minutes record that Bentley “felt that he might have remained with his family at Juarez without trouble”; but as demonstrated at the Stairs, “he bore testimony to the fact that the only thing for the Colonists as a whole to do was to come out and uphold the Stake Presidency in this movement.” That decision by Bentley was crucial to the effective process of the exodus.

A fourth theme had to do with the Saints in general. Junius clearly had to deal with individual differences of opinion when decisions were made to have them give up their guns, to leave their homes, or to leave the Stairs to go to the United States. And likely he heard of those who disagreed with him such as those who had talked “pro and con” in El Paso prior to the formation of the Relief Committee. He had also listened to views “pro and con” during the committee meetings. He said to the committee that when he had not received the instructions he hoped for, “he appealed to the people, and they had ‘rolled it back’ upon him.” His Special Tributes are a good example of his attitude toward those with whom he had differences. Junius said:

I do not feel that . . . Brother Ivins did anything he should not have done or that he failed to do anything he should have done. . . . Brother Ivins had put much of his mature life and energies to the building up of these ten fine Colonies and now if conditions had developed where the [rebels] had to be placated then it might be easier for someone else to bear the responsibility of evacuating the people rather than expect the man to do so who had put his whole heart into their establishment. If, as I firmly believe, the Lord brought us out of Mexico then it matters little just what part He assigned to A. W. Ivins, Junius Romney, Henry E. Bowman, Bishops Albert D. Thurber and Joseph C. Bentley, Gaskell Romney or any of the many other fine men who assisted in the impressive job which was accomplished.¹²⁰

In addition to getting “from the leading brethren their feelings toward the evacuation” the committee passed several important reso-

¹²⁰Romney, “Special Tributes,” 4. These paragraphs about themes

lutions and motions. One was that "it is the sense of this meeting of the representatives from the Mormon Colonies in the State of Chihuahua, Mexico, that the abandonment of the Colonies from which we came was the only course that could have been pursued to have avoided open war with the rebel forces, which are in full control of the section of country where the colonies are located. . . . We, therefore, endorse the policy which has been pursued in the abandonment of the colonies and in bringing the people to the United States for safety." Another was "that all the male refugees . . . who can leave their families and who desire to return to said Colonies for the purpose of regaining possession of our properties and protecting same, do so at the earliest possible date that it can be done in safety." Yet another was "that the Colonists return to their homes in the Colonies as soon as possible under proper conditions."¹²¹

To implement the resolutions it was necessary to know about the conditions in Mexico. To find out what was going on, several men returned to Mexico and reported back to the committee. Junius was one who returned to Mexico from August 25 to September 3. He wrote a report to the Relief Committee on eight single-spaced, legal-sized sheets which appear in the Relief Committee minutes for September 4. His report consists mostly of a seven and one-half page letter to the First Presidency.¹²²

A number of colonists quickly returned to Mexico to look after their cattle and other property. In due time approximately a thousand colonists returned to make their permanent home there. Junius had told the Relief Committee, "I have grown old in five years since the time Pres. Ivins left Mexico. . . . I do not want to go back."¹²³ Junius and his family did not return to live in Mexico.

VINDICATION

Romney traveled to Salt Lake City for the October 1912 general conference. Before conference, he met with the First Presidency (Joseph F. Smith, president, and counselors Anton H. Lund and John Henry Smith), Francis M. Lyman, president of the Quorum of the

come from Relief Committee, Minutes, 1-2, 4-5, August 13-14, 1912.

¹²¹All of these resolutions or motions are from Relief Committee, Minutes, 3-[5], August 14, 1912.

¹²²*Ibid.*, September 4, 1912.

¹²³*Ibid.*

Twelve, and some other General Authorities. They asked Rey L. Pratt, president of the Mexican Mission, "to explain his version of the story" which differed from Junius's about present conditions in the colonies¹²⁴ and made the same request of other leaders from the colonies. Junius wrote:

I stood opposite President Smith across a table from the venerable Prophet and President and was asked by him to explain what impelled me or justified me in making such a drastic move. . . . I can do no better than to quote, as nearly as I possibly can, the exact words which I spoke to that august body of men.

Brethren, I received no revelation or vision as I understand the meaning of the terms. I assume, however, that I did act under the inspiration of God to which I believe I was entitled. This I assume because under the hands of Apostles John Henry Smith, George F. Richards and Anthony W. Ivins I was set apart to preside over the Juarez Stake of Zion. I assume further that I was entitled to the inspiration of the Lord because I had done nothing so far as I know to disqualify me as to receive His guidance for which I was praying constantly. I have every reason to think that the saints were also praying for me that I might receive the necessary guidance to be able to measure up to the grave responsibilities which I had to bear under such circumstances. I cannot think the Lord would be unconcerned about the welfare of approximately forty five hundred of His choicest saints which I know the people of the Juarez Stake to be. I can only tell you that the course I followed seemed to me as clear as day and when I thought of any other alternative the way seemed dark and unrealistic. It seemed to me that what I did was what any intelligent man would have to do under the same circumstances. In other words it seemed to me that I made use of the intelligence with which God had endowed me.

The testimony which I bear to you brethren is simply this: I did not violate any light God gave me. If He inspired me I lived up to His instructions to the best of my ability. If He did not give me the light of His Holy Spirit the responsibility is His and not mine.

One more thing I wish to testify to and that is that every man who left those Colonies except Junius Romney did so under the direction of the Priesthood that presided over him if I hold that Priesthood and authority which I assume I did. Many hearts have been broken for courageous men who stood firm and did only what they were instructed to do by the Priesthood that presided over them, for I instructed them to leave. I brought them to the United States and was the last to cross over the line.¹²⁵

¹²⁴Romney, "Autobiography I," 21, 22.



Junius and Gertrude Romney's home in Colonia Juarez with children: left, Junius S., Kathleen, and Olive and baby Margaret.

In general conference President Smith talked at length about the colonies and the difficult circumstances of the colonists. He knew that they would find it difficult “to see how the hand of the Lord could ever be made manifest for their good.” He compared their situation to that of earlier Saints in Ohio, Missouri, and Illinois, and asked, “Which of us will now contend that the overruling providence which brought us to this place was a mistake? None of us! When we look back to it we see clearly, beyond any possible doubt, that the hand of God was in it.” If the colonists would cultivate the “spirit of the gospel . . . and acknowledge the hand of God in that which has occurred, by and by, if not now, they will see it. They will see that the Lord Almighty has delivered them perhaps from death and perhaps from something worse than death, if they had been permitted to remain.”¹²⁶

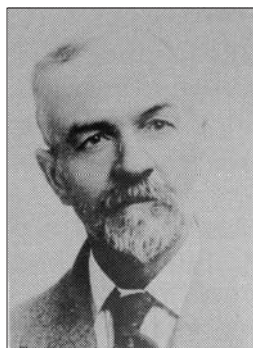
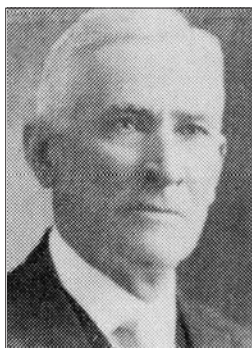
After conference on October 11, 1912, the First Presidency issued a general statement honorably releasing all Juarez Stake and ward officers and telling the colonists that they were free to return to their homes in Mexico or choose to settle elsewhere.¹²⁷

In 1914 or 1915 Junius and Gertrude Romney attended a Beneficial Life Insurance Company dinner. Romney was the company's su-

¹²⁵Romney, “Was the Exodus Necessary?,” 1–2; holographic notes by Junius, “Memo written May 9, 1954.”

¹²⁶*Report of the Semi-Annual Conference of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, October 4, 1912 (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints), 6, 7.

¹²⁷James R. Clark, *Messages of the First Presidency of the Church of Jesus*



Left: Junius Romney, ca. 1910; Anthony W. Ivins, and Joseph C. Bentley.

perintendent of agencies, and President Joseph F. Smith was its president and a director. As Romney recorded, the men and their wives were leaving the event when President Smith commented warmly, "President Romney, I am so happy to see you here. I am so happy you are not in Mexico. Neither life nor property is safe in that country nor can it be until some strong hand restores order and it may yet be that the United States will have to intervene."¹²⁸

While President Smith's comments in his conference address and after this dinner must have been welcome words, they neither added to nor detracted from what Romney had said earlier, and probably most significantly, to the "august body" of General Authorities in early October 1912. "I did act under the inspiration of God."¹²⁹ Or as he later affirmed, "the Lord, God of Israel, brought us out of Mexico."¹³⁰

Christ of Latter-day Saints, 6 vols. (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1965–75), 4:276–77.

¹²⁸Romney, "Was the Exodus Necessary?," 2.

¹²⁹*Ibid.*

¹³⁰Romney, "Garden Park Ward Remarks," 6. Romney worked for Beneficial Life Insurance Company for several years, tried several other businesses, and in 1927 became part-owner and manager of State Building and Loan Association (later State Savings and Loan Association) which became one of the major savings and loan businesses in Utah. At the same time, he wrote insurance for Kansas City Life Insurance Company in which he became one of the company's top U.S. producers. He died in 1971 at age ninety-three.

REVIEWS

S. J. Wolfe with Robert Singerman. *Mummies in Nineteenth-Century America: Ancient Egyptians as Artifacts*. Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland & Company, 2009. xii, 292 pp. Photographs, appendices, notes, bibliography, index. Paper: \$35.00. ISBN 978-0-7864-3941-6

Reviewed by H. Michael Marquardt

Mummies in Nineteenth-Century America is a detailed history of the arrival of Egyptian mummies in America and their various usages by S. J. Wolfe, a senior cataloger and serials specialist at the American Antiquarian Society in Worcester, Massachusetts, and Robert Singerman, the emeritus Jewish bibliographer at the University of Florida Libraries, Gainesville. The book contains seven chapters and cites hard-to-find newspaper articles, broadsides, and catalogues to trace the movement and exhibition of these exotic human remains across the United States. Wolfe and Singerman date the introduction of mummies to the United States to 1767 when Benjamin West “presented to the Library Company of Philadelphia” a mummified hand and arm (7; photograph, p. 8).

This book is certainly a labor of love, tracing each of the individuals known to have been associated with the transportation and exhibition of these mysterious mummified bodies to paying viewers. Exhibitors began their activities with incomplete mummies. At Boston in 1818, Ward Nicholas Boylston imported the first complete adult mummy from Europe (9). By 1822 the Western Museum of Cincinnati mentioned a number of papyri associated with the head of a mummy (12). Other period articles mention mummies and their sarcophagi (coffins).

Information new in *Mummies in Nineteenth-Century America* includes the fact that mummies (real or imitation) were displayed in clothing stores to attract business (89–91).

Although I had earlier reviewed the pre-publication chapter dealing with Egyptian mummies in the Mormon world, I still found the description of their history a moving experience. As Wolfe and Singerman point out, the mummies associated with Antonio Lebolo (died 1830) were “the largest collection

of mummies to have as yet [been] exhibited in America, all at one place, at the same time" (101). These artifacts still have mysteries, such as where in Egypt they came from and when Michael Chandler first exhibited them before reaching Cleveland in 1835. The book does not, however, shed much new light on the intriguing papyrus scrolls purchased with the four mummies. The transporting of these mummies from Kirtland, to northern Missouri, and then to Nauvoo is fairly well documented. At Nauvoo, Joseph Smith and his mother, Lucy Mack Smith, kept and exhibited the Egyptian mummies.

Lucy kept them until her death in 1856; then the mummies and papyri were sold to Abel Combs. Combs sold two mummies and some pieces of papyri to the St. Louis Museum, but what became of the other two mummies is not known. To date, researchers have failed to locate them. They may no longer exist, or, at least, may not exist as complete mummies.

Though several pieces of the papyri were preserved at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City, Latter-day Saints are most intrigued by them in terms of Joseph Smith's interest in them. He considered that one scroll told about Joseph of Egypt and another dealt with the patriarch Abraham. He briefly worked on part of the papyri from which he created the sacred writings of Abraham and the Egyptian Alphabet. The book does not discuss the papyrus used for the book of Abraham. It is important to point out that the funerary papyrus used for the Abraham text has been translated and is the oldest of its type, a "book of breathings" attributed to the goddess Isis.¹

Wolfe and Singerman's narrative includes many interesting anecdotes related to the actual unwrapping of mummies. One embarrassing incident occurred in 1850 in Boston when George Robins Gliddon, a lecturer of Egyptian archeology, told his paying audience that he would unwrap a female mummy—in fact, a princess, before their very eyes; but when the mummy was finally released from its many wrappings, it turned out to be male (143–60). A wag promptly commemorated the event in verse:

When Gliddon from the mummy case
The wrappings did untwine
No priestess was revealed, but la!
The manly form divine.
Ah! said a wit, who'd paid to see
A priestess there unrolled,
"He keeps his word, this surely is
A dam-sel, for I'm sold." (159)

¹Michael D. Rhodes, *The Hor Book of Breathings: A Translation and Commentary* (Provo, Utah: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, 2002), 21, 23, 25, 27–28.

The book does not shy away from the controversial topic of plundering tombs for mummies and valuables. Chapter 6, which deals with the commercial exploitation of mummies in Victorian America, comments: "From the time of the first Pharaohs to the present day, the burial places of the rich and famous (and often as not, the poor and not-so-famous) had been exploited for their treasures. There was a continuous ready market for the gold and jewels, the aromatics and spices, and other items which could be procured from the resting places of deceased Egyptians" (173–74).

The use of mummies in the nineteenth century included medicine ("mummy powder") and paint known as "Mummy brown." Mummy wrapping was also used for making paper (178–97). The *Daily Standard* of Syracuse, New York, boasted in 1856, that the newspaper was made "from rags imported directly from the land of the Pharaohs" (186). Some mummies were ground up for use as fertilizer (194).

I noticed some typographical errors. For example, Adam "Chase" (39) is actually Adam "Clarke" (identified correctly on p. 56). A book on the history of the Mormon mummies is H. Donl Peterson, *The Story of the Book of Abraham: Mummies, Manuscripts, and Mormonism*, but in the chapter notes and Appendix 2, his first name is misspelled "Donal" (238–39, 249).

I found *Mummies in Nineteenth-Century America* very interesting. For those who enjoy learning something new about the culture of the nineteenth century and its deep fascination with ancient Egypt, this book will be a worthwhile addition.

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William B. Smart. *Mormonism's Last Colonizer: The Life and Times of William H. Smart*. Logan: Utah State University Press, 2008. x + 347 pp. Photographs, table, notes, bibliography, appendices, CD, index. Cloth: \$44.95. ISBN: 978-0-87421-722-3

Reviewed by Brian Q. Cannon

In this prizewinning biography (Handcart Prize from Utah State University's MountainWest Center for 2008), William B. Smart, former editor of the *Deseret News*, traces the fascinating life story of his ambitious and eccentric grandfather William H. Smart. The author admires his ancestor

but is appropriately critical in acknowledging lapses of judgment, faults, and character flaws. Accompanying this richly detailed biography is a CD with transcripts of all fifty volumes of Smart's diary—a valuable historical resource.

Smart was the most prominent and powerful resident of the Uinta Basin of his era, serving as president of the Uintah, Duchesne, and Roosevelt LDS stakes (1906–22) and for five years before that as president of the Wasatch Stake. He owned most of the basin's newspapers; developed banks, real estate companies and stores; selected the sites and chose the names for many towns; donated land for a high school in Roosevelt; and oversaw the completion of the Uintah Stake Tabernacle in Vernal. He also played a key role in displacing Native Americans from their former lands, although he apparently had few regrets about this facet of western community building. An indefatigable colonizer and often reckless investor, he dissipated his substantial fortune and exhausted his physical strength in promoting the Mormon settlement and economic and religious development of eastern Utah.

The author concludes that, in the short run, Smart succeeded in his goal of populating the former Uintah and Ouray Indian Reservation with more than 6,800 Latter-day Saints organized into wards and stakes. During the Great Depression, many who had settled there, including Smart himself, left the basin. Moreover, the region never became as productive agriculturally as Smart had envisioned. In this sense, Smart's aspirations for the region failed to materialize. But the author argues convincingly that Smart's ultimate objective was "to build up the church and its members"; thus "community building was only a means to [that] end" (319). Smart succeeded in his overarching goal.

The book tells an engaging story, drawing on Smart's journals and correspondence, the memoirs of relatives, LDS mission and stake records, and the diaries of some of Smart's associates. In his research, the author consulted scholarly monographs along with reference works like the *Encyclopedia of Mormonism* and the *Utah History Encyclopedia* for background and contextual information. Steering around Mormon and western historians' interpretive arguments and debates, the author opted instead for a more popular, narrative approach. The underlying research is careful and sound, though, and easy to trace through the numerous footnotes.

Born in 1862 in Franklin, Idaho, William H. Smart was educated in schools in Franklin and Logan, taught for a time at Brigham Young College and studied in the Normal Department at the University of Deseret for nearly two years before quitting. Smart served for three months in England with his father on a genealogical mission, studied for a semester at Cornell before dropping out, and returned to Cache Valley where he married Anna Haines in 1888. Just over six months later, he left on an unproductive and

discouraging mission to Turkey. Almost immediately after arriving in Turkey, Smart requested permission to return home, a step that was unusual for contemporary missionaries. Six months later he was on his way. Back in Logan, he taught for three years and then entered the sheep business. Within four years, he and his partner owned twelve bands totaling 35,755 sheep from which they made a substantial fortune.

Having struggled with an unrelenting addiction to tobacco for over a decade and after numerous demoralizing attempts to quit, Smart requested a priesthood blessing and finally kicked the habit in 1898 at age thirty-four. Smart served as a missionary and then as president of the Eastern States Mission from 1898 to 1900. Shortly after Smart returned to Utah, the First Presidency and Quorum of the Twelve called him to move to Heber in Wasatch County and assume the presidency of the Wasatch Stake. He would devote the next thirty-three years of his life to developing eastern Utah.

Because he wrote copiously and with little inhibition, Smart left a diary that is a rich, detailed, and entertaining resource for researchers interested in understanding not only Smart but his times. A few examples discussed in the biography are illustrative. A voyeur of sorts, Smart as a young student and missionary visited bawdy theaters and red-light districts to converse with prostitutes and to advise them to repent. As a young college instructor, he distributed an anonymous survey to his students about “self-abuse” and learned thereby that at least three-quarters of the young men in his classes had masturbated (36). At the same time that he was investigating sexual taboos, he engaged in extended and frequent fasts—including a four-day fast that spanned Thanksgiving Day in 1886 as he sought spiritual guidance in selecting a wife. Smart’s diary reveals surprising guilt over what he called his “monstrous” addiction to smoking in the 1880s and 1890s—surprising because, in that era, abstinence from tobacco was not strongly emphasized in the Church (43). Prior to embarking on his mission, Smart and other recently called missionaries were instructed by seven apostles. They were advised that “no saint goes wrong without having three distinct promptings of his unrighteous course” and were counseled to “not advise a wife to leave her husband to join the Church, nor even to baptize her without his consent unless she was faithfully moved to do so, and demands it at your hands” (55). Following the Woodruff Manifesto Smart recorded that “many Saints” including himself felt that “we are becoming faint-hearted” (78).

Smart’s diaries and this biography reveal much about the activities of a stake president in a sprawling, turn-of-the-century rural stake. Many efforts were aimed at building faith and reactivating lapsed members. Smart recorded that he and other stake presidents were instructed in 1901 to recommend faithful members for their second anointings because “Abraham never could have sacrificed his son had he not received such strength as is

given by second annointings and all should strive to live worthy of same" (124).

Stake presidents also exerted influence in temporal affairs. Smart worked to develop economic and water resources for far-flung communities and insure Mormon political dominance. He struggled unsuccessfully to use his ecclesiastical influence to make Roosevelt, Utah, the seat for Duchesne County. As a stake president and state senator in 1921 he read from Doctrine and Covenants 89 (a warning about the last days) in a speech in the senate chamber.

This biography is a welcome addition to Mormon historical writing. It illuminates the activities of a local Church leader rather than a General Authority. Smart was one of a number of important second-tier leaders of the Latter-day Saints, a group that deserves greater attention from biographers and historians.

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Richard E. Turley Jr. and Ronald W. Walker, eds. *Mountain Meadows Massacre: The Andrew Jensen and David H. Morris Collections*. DOCUMENTS IN LATTER-DAY SAINT HISTORY. Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 2009, ix, 342 pp. Preface, editorial procedures, photographs, notes, index, acknowledgments. Hardback: \$44.95. ISBN 978-0-8425-2723-1.

Reviewed by Robert H. Briggs

"Every Man His Own Historian," Carl Becker famously declared in 1931 to the American Historical Association. Since controversy still reigns on key issues concerning the Mountain Meadows Massacre, which occurred in frontier Utah in the fall of 1857, must every reader be his or her own historian? There is consensus about the general sequence of events in the five-day stalemate at Mountain Meadows in September 1857 that led ultimately to the atrocity. But several recent historical treatments are at considerable variance over who planned and directed the massacre and who, among the many planners and participants, should be judged most culpable. Thus, each person who enters this swirling storm of controversy must be prepared to be his or her own historian—to sift the evidence and draw his or her own conclusions. Each one must weigh the controversies to get at the truth.

Two recent volumes have made more widely available key primary and secondary sources. The task of sorting through the contradictory material is not any easier. But the material is now more readily accessible than ever before. First to appear was David Bigler and Will Bagley, *Innocent Blood: Essential Narratives of the Mountain Meadows Massacre*, Vol. 12 in KINGDOM IN THE WEST: THE MORMONS AND THE AMERICAN FRONTIER SERIES (Norman: Arthur H. Clark Company, an imprint of the University of Oklahoma, 2008). Second is this compilation by Richard Turley and Ronald Walker.

In 2002, officials in the LDS Church Historical Department announced that they had been researching and acquiring documents concerning the massacre at Mountain Meadows. Once their history was published, they pledged that all of the source material would be made available. Turley, Walker, and their coauthor, Glen Leonard, published *Massacre at Mountain Meadows* in 2008. The current publication is a supplement to that volume and helps fulfill the pledge to make their source material more readily available. "While the massacre continues to shock and distress," they state, "we hope that the publication of these documents will be a further step in facilitating understanding, sharing sorrows, and promoting reconciliation" (viii).

In 1892, President Wilford Woodruff invited Andrew Jenson, an employee in the Church Historian's Office and later the assistant Church historian, to undertake a special mission. President Woodruff assigned him to interview massacre participants and other witnesses in southern Utah and gather additional information about the massacre. Jenson's immediate purpose was to assist Orson F. Whitney with portions of his history of Utah. President Woodruff and his counselors, George Q. Cannon and Joseph F. Smith, provided a letter of introduction to help Jenson gain the cooperation of witnesses (3-4). His usual procedure was to interview the witness and prepare "field notes" of his interview. However, in some cases he collected letters, affidavits, or other first-person statements. Back in Salt Lake City, he prepared more polished "reports" from these notes (6).

Among other things, the Jenson Collection contains Elias Morris's significant statement describing the raw nerves in southern Utah because of the war environment. Settlers fully expected U.S. troops to enter their valley through the eastern mountains. Morris also described the altercation between some travelers and some Cedar City inhabitants (244-47, 252-53). In contrast is Jenson's interview with John Chatterley who described "the insane . . . religious fanaticism" exhibited by some residents (283).

The collection also includes Elliott Willden's only written statements about the massacre. Militia major and Cedar City stake president Isaac C. Haight sent Willden and his two companions to Mountain Meadows to observe the encamped emigrants and find a reason for the Indians to be "let loose upon" them (211-12, 221). Significantly, the emigrants received the

three Mormons civilly (204, 211–12). Willden also recorded that the attack was originally planned for Santa Clara Canyon, some miles south of Mountain Meadows. However, for reasons still not fully understood, John D. Lee initiated the first attack at Mountain Meadows (191, 198, 214–15, 221–22).

According to Willden, before the attack, Tennessean William Aden and another emigrant backtracked from the Meadows toward Cedar City in search of stray cattle. Mormon militiaman William Stewart and his companions approached them, and Stewart asked to borrow a cup to get a drink of water. When Aden complied, Stewart shot him in the head, killing him instantly. Aden's companion fled back to the emigrant camp, unwounded despite the hail of bullets from the Mormon pickets (206, 216–17, 223). Because of this critical episode, the emigrants knew that Mormons were behind the attacks on their train, a realization that gnawed at Mormon militia leaders. When they met in council Thursday night, a compelling argument for the attack was the absolute need to prevent the emigrants from spreading this story in California. In fact, Willden attributes to this murder "more than anything else, the decision to destroy the whole company" (217, 221).

Willden describes a similar episode, perhaps on Wednesday, September 9, when Stewart, Phillip Klingensmith, and other patrolling militia encountered two other emigrants who had left their defensive encampment to seek aid. The Mormons killed both of them (209, 223).

The Jensen collection contains many other significant accounts, including statements from Christopher J. Arthur, William Barton, Mary S. Campbell, John Chatterley, Joseph T. Clews, Samuel Knight, Daniel S. Macfarlane, Wilson G. Nowers, Richard S. Robinson, Jesse N. Smith (journal), David W. Tullis, and Mary H. White.

The second, smaller collection bears the name of David H. Morris (1858–1937), an attorney, judge, and notary public in St. George, Utah. He lived forty miles from the massacre site and had family connections to some participants. His collection contains letters from the 1890s dealing with legal efforts to officially terminate the then-moribund federal prosecution of certain southern Utah militia and affidavits from several aging massacre participants who had entrusted them to Morris. Because these documents did not truly belong in Morris's personal estate, early in 1938, Helen Forsha Hafen, Morris's foster daughter, delivered them to the office of the Church Historian in Salt Lake City. Juanita Brooks knew they existed but was denied permission to review them while researching her landmark history, *The Mountain Meadows Massacre* (292–94).

In addition to the letters are affidavits from Nephi Johnson and Samuel Knight, who had testified at John D. Lee's 1876 trial; Jensen also interviewed Knight in the 1890s. When the Johnson and Knight statements in both collections (and elsewhere) are combined with those of Klingensmith

and Lee, a reasonably complete account of the massacre emerges, although naturally they contradict one another on certain key points.

These first- or third-person accounts are, on their face, vitally important records from witnesses to the massacre. However, an obvious concern is their reliability. First, they come from the “murderers,” and second, they date between thirty-five and fifty years after the massacre.

The first concern focuses on the very strong interest or bias that massacre participants would be expected to have. It is hardly surprising that criminals lie about their crimes. Assuming their accounts contain some reliable details, how can the reliable details be distinguished from the unreliable? Obviously, denials and blame shifting are especially vulnerable to charges of special pleading. But what about statements confessing guilty involvement in the massacre in the first place? And what about incidental details in the accounts? Since the interviewees had no reason to lie about such details, are they reliable? How can they be verified?

“When a statement is prejudicial to a witness, his dear ones, or his causes,” historian Louis Gottschalk observed many years ago, “it is likely to be truthful.”¹ Or as historian Wood Gray said elsewhere, “an admission against self-interest, other things being equal, is most convincing.”² Applying this principle to the Mormon militia encourages a focus on elements of their accounts that confess their personal involvement in key events. In other words, if an individual confessed to participation in these events, his or her statements are most likely true, especially when they can be independently verified.

But common sense dictates a degree of skepticism about statements from criminal suspects that involve excuses, denials, or blame-shifting accusations against others. “The danger is,” Lord Abinger, a nineteenth-century English judge, cautioned, “that when a man . . . knows that his own guilt is detected, he purchases immunity by falsely accusing others.”³

As noted, the militia statements also contain “incidental details”—elements in the narrative that are neither part of the defense nor the confessions and about which the narrator would have no reason to lie. When inde-

¹Louis Gottschalk, *Understanding History: A Primer of Historical Method*, 2d ed. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1969), 161.

²Wood Gray, *Historian's Handbook: A Key to the Study and Writing of History*, rev. ed. (1964; rpt., Prospect Heights, Ill.: Waveland Press, 2001), 58.

³Lord Abinger, quoted in John Henry Wigmore, *Evidence in Trials at Common Law*, 10 vols. 1904; revised by James H. Chadbourn (N.p.: Aspen Law & Business, 1970), 7:417.

pendently verified from other sources, these elements can also be considered reliable.

According to the principles outlined above, each militia statement contains elements of varying reliability. Most reliable are the narrator's confession of involvement in the crime or descriptions of "incidental details," particularly where these two elements can be independently verified. Least reliable are defensive statements—excuses, evasions, denials, and accusations against his fellow conspirators.

What about the reliability of reminiscences many years after the events they recount? It is true that such reminiscences may be plagued by faded or false memories; but it is also well recognized that traumatic memories can remain intact and relatively accurate for decades. The more frequent problem in reminiscent accounts is the tendency to scramble chronological details. For example, many militiamen recall being ordered to muster in Cedar City and ride to Mountain Meadows; they provide convincing details about their journey. But several detachments traveled to the Meadows on different days, some early in the week of September 7 and others later. Because of cloudy memories of the chronology, combined with ambiguity in some accounts, it is sometimes difficult to determine if a given man reached the Meadows on Tuesday, Wednesday, or Thursday. The editorial notes/apparatus do not identify and attempt to reconcile these problems, providing only historical background about how Jensen and Morris acquired the documents.

These documents present a series of very challenging historiographical problems. Yet because most of the accounts are generally consistent on the key sequence of massacre events, these problems can be surmounted. Ultimately, the test of any historical narrative is coherence. From these and other sources, we have an essentially coherent account of the key events in southern Utah.

The remaining major cache of historical documents concerning the massacre is the transcript of the John D. Lee trials in 1875–76, which I hope can be published in the near future. Concerning the perennially controversial massacre at Mountain Meadows, every reader who so desires can now fulfill in a sense Carl Becker's famous dictum to be his or her own historian.

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Edward Leo Lyman, Susan Ward Payne, and S. George Ellsworth, eds.
No Place to Call Home: The 1807–1857 Life Writings of Caroline Barnes

Crosby, *Chronicler of Outlying Mormon Communities*. Logan: Utah State University Press, 2005. xviii, 574 pp. Maps and illustrations, foreword by Maureen Ursenbach Beecher, editors' notes, introduction, notes, bibliography, index. Cloth: \$29.95. ISBN 0-87421-601-X

Reviewed by Konden R. Smith

As Volume 7 in the LIFE WRITINGS OF FRONTIER WOMEN series, *No Place to Call Home* is the first of two volumes of the "life writings" of Caroline Barnes Crosby, a Mormon convert, pioneer, and missionary. Volume 2 is not listed as a publication on the Utah State University's website. Caroline's diaries start in January 1851, when she joined her husband, Jonathan, as a missionary at Tubuai in the Society Islands (Tahiti) and conclude in January 1858 as they returned to Utah amid the Utah War crisis. This volume also includes her memoirs, narrating her life up to 1851.

No Place to Call Home portrays the intimate reality of early Mormon devotion and the high expectations imposed on its young and willing members. Though this work is an exceptional narrative of personal sacrifice, Caroline Crosby is representative of a larger phenomenon that demonstrates the unique power behind the Mormon system—the willingness of its early members to become homeless, time and again, for the sake of their religion.

In the introduction, the editors emphasize two important themes: (1) the repeated relocations juxtaposed against brief seasons of stability and comfort, and (2) Caroline's personal stoicism despite serious and constant hardship. These two themes contrast Caroline's experiences against more romantic views of western settlement. Unlike adventurers, male missionaries (often), or settlers, Caroline Crosby neither sought out nor desired a life of travel and continual change. Rather, her diary communicates a sustained nostalgia for familiar society and home stability. After having been uprooted and having sacrificed the comforts of society and friends several times, Crosby's reaction to being called with Jonathan to go to French Polynesia only a year after entering the Salt Lake Valley is telling: "But accustomed as I have been for many years to disappointments and hardships of various kinds it took but few moments reflection to reconcile my mind to another sacrifice of house home and friends for the sake of the gospel" (91).

This would hardly be her last disappointment or sacrifice of home and friends to which her new religion called her. On her forty-ninth birthday, she reflected that her life as a Mormon had been a "life of wandering for 21 years; but previous to that time I lived in the one town, scarcely knowing a change" (381). Though longing for a religion that enabled its members to "bear each others burdens, and so fulfill the law of Christ" (284), Caroline had to be content with a religion that called her to a "state of banishment" or "perfect seclusion from the world, as well as from the saints, neither doing

any good or receiving any" (323). Working through these internal tensions, Crosby's recollections demonstrates the complex nature of the Mormon religion that was surely shared by many of those who defined their lives through the sense of divine guidance it gave its adherents. "The Lord has comforted me in my travels," she wrote as she contemplated those twenty-one years of wanderings, "and I have realized his guardianship in thousands of instances" (381). What "are a few of the luxuries of life," she pondered, "in comparison" to such insight? (286–87).

Caroline's memoirs fill in her background. Born on January 5, 1807, of Scotch and English ancestry, in Massachusetts to Willard Barnes and Dolly Stevens Barnes, she was the seventh of their ten children. Her early life seems typical of New England/lower Canada. Like many during the revival fires of the 1820s and 1830s, Caroline "became quite seriously impressed with a sense of religion" in her late teens (23). So powerful had been the local Methodist preacher's exposition on God's wrath against sinners that she was "almost afraid to sleep at night fearing I might be suddenly seized with it [death and the judgments of God]" (28). Joining the Church of England in 1825 or 1826, Caroline became a zealous student and finally schoolteacher in a society that prized the schoolhouse as an extension of church.

Her October 26, 1834, marriage to Mormon convert Jonathan Crosby of Massachusetts uprooted her from both the Episcopal Church and her home in lower Canada. Following her baptism on January 18, 1835, Caroline and Jonathan joined the larger body of Mormons in Kirtland, Ohio, on January 9, 1836. With traveling companion Warren Smith (later killed at Haun's Mill), Jonathan was sent on a mission to Pennsylvania on January 7, 1838. Immediately upon his return in September that year, Caroline and Jonathan set out for "the land of Zion" (Missouri) with their two-year-old son Alma, but learned en route that Mormons had been driven from the state. Consequently, in the early winter months of 1839, they found themselves in Indiana "in a land of strangers" with "little more than one dollar in money, very few clothes, one horse, and an old one-horse wagon. But we trusted in God, and were not confounded" (53).

In June 1842 Caroline and Jonathan left their home and business and moved to Nauvoo. In the Mormon attempt to make a beautiful city out of a swamp, with its widespread "sickness, fleas, bugs, and musketoes [sic]," Caroline remarked that "death became so frequent a visitor in Nauvoo that we were perfectly familiar with it" (65–66). With the assassination of Joseph and Hyrum in June 1844 and Nauvoo spiraling into a state of civil war (a Missourian leveled a gun at Caroline in her own home), she and Jonathan left Nauvoo for Ohio in February 1846 impoverished, with Caroline so sick she "was just able to walk about." Staying in Ohio for a few years, Caroline and family left to join the main body of Mormons under Brigham Young. Reach-

ing the Salt Lake Valley on October 12, 1848, Jonathan set up his cabinet shop and they both hoped to make the Salt Lake Valley their new home. But one year later, Brigham Young asked them to settle their business affairs, sell their possessions, and go on a mission to the South Pacific (where Caroline's sister Louisa and husband Addison Pratt were preaching) with their now twelve-year-old son Alma. "We therefore feel ourselves still in an unsettled state. After laboring and toiling so long to get to a place where we could feel ourselves at home, we have now got to take another and even more tedious journey and take up our abode among the wild sons of nature perhaps for several years, but its all for the gospels sake, therefore we do not wish to murmur, but keep our eyes upon the recompence of reward, that rest which remains for this people of God" (87).

After a summer in San Francisco, they made the long voyage to French Polynesia, arriving in Tubuai on October 19, 1850. Following this mission, they returned to California on September 6, 1852. They settled in San Jose, San Francisco, and finally San Bernardino, only to be called back to Utah by Brigham Young in the fall of 1857 where Volume 1 ends. Though at times fighting off deep feelings of depression and loneliness, Caroline remained positive, writing poetically about one particular "moonlight evening"—"The heart must be sad indeed that cannot rejoice when all nature smiles around" (211, 311).

Although their stay in Tahiti was relatively short, Caroline's reflections and experiences are an interesting contribution to Christian missiology in the mid-nineteenth century. France and England shared similar aspirations for colonial occupation and territorial expansion and exploitation, at times leading to conflict and contests of military supremacy. Brief mentions of this conflict come out in Caroline's narrative; but the endnotes, disappointingly, provide little background for this important historical moment that so affected the success and failure of these island missions. French governors, for example, were extremely concerned that non-French/non-Catholic missionaries came to promote feelings of discontent among the natives and that American missionaries might excite rebellion in their dominions. As Caroline's narrative shows, Catholic priests did not hesitate to challenge the Mormon-American presence. Addison Pratt, husband of Caroline's older sister Louisa, who was also in French Polynesia at the time, proved an effective missionary and emissary to the island's French governor.

The endnotes briefly mention the curious incident of James S. Brown, a former Mormon Battalion captain, who built his own local government in defiance of the "French yoke" on Ana'a and appointed Mormon converts to run this district and display the American flag, symbolizing Church loyalty and French resistance (524, 526). As was common among many Americans at the time, Brown's Americanism was synonymous with his conceptions of

the gospel of Christ. Brown was arrested for his subversion, and the Church's presence in the Society Islands was seriously damaged. Other conflations of Mormonism and American culture were less obvious to these missionaries (though perhaps not to the French), such as the idea that the English language and American customs were synonymous with the Mormon message.

Caroline, upon leaving the islands, lamented that the child to whom she had taught the English language and "habits of civilized living" would inevitably lapse "back again into heathenism" (157). With sentiments for native islanders typical of other white American missionaries, Caroline found her patience challenged as islanders proved slow to mimic their cultural styles and habits, particularly habits that protected boundaries of perceived personal space. For example, Caroline expressed annoyance as islanders watched her through her window and occasionally made themselves at home in her house and kitchen without invitation, "thinking I suppose that he had paid me quite a compliment" (145).

Despite her many travels and various experiences, Caroline's life was painfully tedious and often lonely. In an era of domesticity, her residence in California (1852–57) seemed typical, filled with cleaning, washing, ironing, cooking, tending the sick, entertaining and housing travelers, etc. Her journal reflects this domestic monotony. "Nothing worth noticing. I made a fine sack. Times quite dull, nothing seems very encouraging" (199). On other days, her entries required less effort: "I washed" (182).

Caroline longed for reunion with the larger body of Saints, particularly after hearing that the property she had sold to Brigham Young had become very valuable. Like many Saints in California, Caroline sometimes felt that the Spirit of God was stronger in Salt Lake City. In a letter to Eliza R. Snow, Caroline noted that "many complain that they cannot, or do not, enjoy as much of the Spirit of God here as they did at headquarter[s], but where the fault lies is difficult to determine. Perhaps it is reasonable that we should not, as we are certainly deprived of many privileges which are there enjoyed. But if I am capable of judging there are many good kind people here, who apparently enjoy the Holy Spirit" (414). Visits by Church leaders from Utah, such as Amasa Lyman and Parley Pratt, proved an important bridge between these two Mormon worlds, linking outlying individuals and communities to the larger Mormon community and its attendant "Holy Spirit." She eagerly attended meetings where they preached and noted approvingly following a semiannual conference that Lyman "spoke to the people with much power and spirit" (433). In looking at the several Mormon communities and the ties that connected them, it is clear that this "power and spirit" represented an essential component in helping to unify these geographically separated communities.

The book is thoughtfully edited; but as a reader, I was not uniformly satisfied. The chapter breaks are helpful in dividing up the different periods of Caroline's wanderings and are outlined with numerous subheadings. There are also helpful inserts that help weave together Caroline's diaries with her memoir. The endnotes clarify errors in Caroline Crosby's diaries, such as a genealogical misstatement (541 note 40), and provide additional insight to the narrative. The notes seem primarily directed toward those unfamiliar with the LDS Church and its basic history, which may not be an adequate description of the book's audience. The explanatory notes are largely limited to Mormon authors and Mormon publications, with relatively little connection to outside resources and insight. Even explanations of larger national phenomena, such as spiritualism, are narrowed largely to Mormon people and places. Though fairly successful in making the transition from family history to a national classic of American missiology and a chronicle of a woman's role in settling the western frontier, this volume remains typically parochial about Mormon works in its editorial work, references, and vision.

In her foreword, Maureen Ursenbach Beecher correctly recognizes that works like this "are much, much more than mere sources of historical evidence; they are a literature of their own" (ix). Coupled with several other published diaries from close family members, Caroline's diaries provide an important window on the American and Mormon experience. An explicit goal of the editors was to reproduce the Caroline diaries with as little interruption and editorial intrusion as possible. In my opinion, they succeeded, providing readers with the next best thing to the actual diaries. By the work's conclusion, I was impressed with the intriguing complexity of Mormonism's aspirations in the West, which brought women like Caroline into an environment foreign to her comfort zone and temperament. Her courage and endurance demonstrate the importance of her religious faith in dealing with those circumstances.

Despite its fairly narrow focus, interest in this volume surpasses the Mormon story, representing an important addition to scholars of American religion and the American West as well as to more general enthusiasts of both the West and Mormonism.

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Richard S. Van Wagoner, ed. *The Complete Discourses of Brigham Young*. Salt Lake City: Smith-Pettit Foundation, distributed by Signature Books,

2009. 5 vols., 3,185 pp. Sources, index. Cloth: \$500; ISBN: 1-56085-206-2

Reviewed by Joseph Geisner

Richard S. Van Wagoner and the Smith-Pettit Foundation have provided an indispensable “resource for students of LDS history and biography” (1:vii). with the publication of this massive five-volume set, *The Complete Discourses of Brigham Young*. In the preface, Van Wagoner writes: “The present compilation makes available in chronological order the complete available texts of every known published and previously unpublished discourse, speech, and teaching of Brigham Young” (1:vii).

The volumes average around 600 pages each and are large quarto in size. Each volume has a table of contents and a list of sources with the accompanying abbreviation. Volume 5 contains a twenty-six-page index that took Van Wagoner six months to compile. The physical appearance of the volumes is described in the colophon at the end of Volume 5: “The font is Bembo, a classic-revival typeface named for Pietro Bembo (1470–1547), a Venetian scholar, poet, literary theorist, and cardinal. The volumes were printed on Accent opaque vellum, an acid-free, archival quality paper; and were bound and Smythe sewn in Arrestox linen. The five-volume series is limited to 325 sets.”

Van Wagoner acknowledges that, by “complete,” he means all of the addresses that he found in his research are found in these five volumes. Some of the Thomas Bullock transcriptions from the 1847–51 period were “especially difficult” to decipher, and Van Wagoner provides a location where an electronic scan of the original document can be found (1:vii). The discourse of August 25, 1844, is an example of an address not included but for which he cites a location with an electronic scan (1:48). Van Wagoner also explains that the John V. Long papers, held in a private collection, also contain addresses not included in this compilation.¹ Apparently Van Wagoner was also unaware of some George Watt transcriptions of Young addresses housed in the LDS Church History Library. Three addresses not found in the Van Wagoner volumes have recently been published in Mark Lyman Staker, *Hearken, O Ye People: The Historical Setting of Joseph Smith’s Ohio Revelations* (Salt Lake City: Greg Kofford Books, 2009 [sic; actually 2010]). Staker also provides the complete text of two additional Young sermons

¹Beginning on November 5, 1854, John V. Long worked as one of Brigham Young’s secretaries and busiest clerks. The last address of Young’s that he recorded in *Complete Discourses* is dated June 13, 1864 (4:2198–99). My thanks to Will Bagley for this information.

that were “significantly edited and shortened” before their publication in the *Journal of Discourse* (561–91).

Van Wagoner describes the “guidelines” he used in preparing the collection. Each discourse bears the date, location, time of day, and source of the discourse. When multiple sources appear for one discourse, he reproduces the first source. The additional source citations are “usually the same or nearly the same text, unless otherwise indicated.” If the citation includes “multiple secondary sources, such as journal entries, then they are located below the primary source” (1: vii).

Volume 1 begins with an entry from the Manuscript History of Brigham Young describing his baptism and ordination as an elder with the date of April 14, 1832. Volume 5 ends with two entries: (1) a letter by Daniel H. Wells and John W. Young, two of Young’s counselors (John W. was also Brigham’s son), announcing Brigham’s death; and (2) a second-hand account of a Young prophecy about Utah’s future published in Robert W. Smith, *The “Last Days”: A Compilation of Prophecies Pertinent to the Present, Gathered from Secular and Religious Sources, Embracing George Washington’s Vision and Others of a Prophetic Nature. with Excerpts from Prophetic Writings of Joseph Smith, Jr., Floyd Gibbons, Gus McKey, Christabel Pankhurst, and Others* (Salt Lake City: Pyramid Press, 1931). This last speech was supposed to have been witnessed by Benjamin Kimball Bullock (1821–1901), who was mayor of Provo from 1855 and 1860, and was recorded by his son, Ben H. Bullock “before his father’s death.”

There is a marked difference between the addresses in Volume 1 and those in the other four. Those in Volume 1 come from a wider range of sources and are usually less complete than the later addresses. In Volume 1, sources for Young’s addresses vary from Joseph Smith Jr. et al., *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, edited by B. H. Roberts, 2d ed. rev. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1902–12, 1932), the Kirtland Council Minute Book, Quorum of the Twelve Minutes, Elden J. Watson’s two volumes (*Manuscript History of Brigham Young, 1801–1844* [Salt Lake City: Smith Secretarial Service, 1968], *Manuscript History of Brigham Young, 1846–1847* [Salt Lake City: Smith Secretarial Service, 1971], and William S. Harwell, ed., *Manuscript History of Brigham Young, 1847–1850* [Salt Lake City: Collier’s Publishing, 1997]); the *Times and Seasons*, Scott G. Kenney, ed., *Wilford Woodruff’s Journal*, 9 vols. (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1983–85), and a variety of other records.

Then, on January 29, 1845, Thomas Bullock, a former Joseph Smith clerk, began recording Young’s addresses, the completeness of which promptly improved. Jerald F. Simon, “Thomas Bullock as an Early Mormon Historian,” *BYU Studies* 30, no. 1 (Winter 1990): 81, writes that Bullock had studied but not mastered Pitman shorthand so he used a modified version.

Four months later at the April 1845 conference, George D. Watt, who *was* “fully developed [in] the skills and techniques” of Pitman shorthand, began recording Young’s addresses, though sporadically at first. Watt recorded three Young addresses in Nauvoo: April 6 (1:76–80), June 1 (1:85–87), and August 3, 1845 (1:90–96). The detail of Watt’s transcriptions, compared with those of the earlier addresses, is quite dramatic.

The next dramatic change occurred on December 25, 1851, when Watt began recording Young’s addresses full time, a major occupation until he left Young’s employ on May 15, 1868. In early May 1853, Watt received First Presidency permission to begin publishing a magazine containing addresses by Young and other Church leaders. This publication, the *Journal of Discourses*, published about 389 of Young’s addresses.² Van Wagoner’s compilation reproduces all 389 of these *Journal of Discourses* addresses. I believe their inclusion is essential in understanding Young’s developing ideas.

John V. Long’s service as clerk covered from November 5, 1854, until June 15, 1865, when the *Deseret News* announced that Long “has been released from his additional labors upon the *News* and Elder E. L. Sloan has kindly consented to act as assistant editor.” David W. Evans, who worked as an associate editor of the *Deseret News* under George Q. Cannon and was the first violinist in the Salt Lake Theatre Orchestra, succeeded Watt as the main reporter for Young’s addresses from 1867 to 1876. George F. Gibbs who served as secretary to the First Presidency under Wilford Woodruff, Lorenzo Snow, Joseph F. Smith, and Heber J. Grant, recorded Young’s discourses from August 27, 1876 (5:3083–87) to his last fully recorded address August 19, 1877 (5:3153–58), ten days before Young’s death.

When Leonard Arrington was Church Historian, he requested permission from the First Presidency for the Historical Department to write a seven-volume biographical series about Young. The publication of these five volumes brings us closer to realizing Arrington’s dream by providing source material essential in researching and understanding Young and his life.

Although understanding the scope and purpose of this project is critical, the true contributions and joy of discovery are the actual content of the discourses and the ability provided by this collection to explore Young’s thought freely. For example, Brigham Young referred to his baptism in Mendon, New York, in six addresses. On January 8, 1845, he gave the exact

²Ronald G. Watt, *The Mormon Passage of George D. Watt: First British Convert, Scribe for Zion* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 2009), 230, 133–34.

date of "April 9, 1832" (1:65) while on February 16, 1862, Young says: "It is thirty years the 15th day of next April (though it has accidentally been recorded and printed the fourteenth) since I was baptized into this Church" (4:1963). On August 31, 1856, he said, "I came into this Church in the spring of 1832" (2:1157). The other three references are somewhat vague. On April 6, 1860, he says "In about eight days it will be twenty-eight years since I was baptized" (3:1562). On March 26, 1865, he said: "In a few days it will be thirty-three years since I was baptized" (4:2262). The last reference, on July 17, 1870, he refers only to "the Sunday morning on which I was baptized" (5:2763). The first entry is from Watson's edition of the *Manuscript History of Brigham Young, 1801–1844*, 2–3, dated April 14, 1832, in which Young supposedly wrote: "I was baptized by Eleazer Miller, who confirmed me at the water's edge" (1:3). However, Young did not write this account. Secretaries and clerks drafted it in first person under the direction of assistant Church Historian Wilford Woodruff beginning in January 1857. Both Young's membership/elder's certificate and his first holograph diary give the date of his baptism as April 9, 1832, which was a Monday, not a Sunday. With this publication of the January 8, 1845, address and the other two documents, this small but pesky controversy should be definitely resolved in favor of April 9.

Historians have often discussed the prickly relationship between Young and Emma Smith and her sons. These volumes provide plenty of material to gauge Young's feelings. On October 7, 1863, Young fumed:

Bro. George A. Smith saw Young Joseph a few years ago and judging from what they and the other boys say they do not believe their father as [sic] a prophet of God, but they think he was a consummate scoundrel in religious matters. I know what Emma believes and have known it all the day long, and yet there is not that woman on the earth that I would delight to honor more with the whole family if they would let me do it. In Joseph's day she tried to throw me, Br. Heber, Br. Willard Richards and the twelve apostles out of the church and tried to destroy the whole church and I know it. Joseph himself testified before high heaven more than once that she had administered poison to him. There are men and women present today who can bear witness that more hell was never wrapped up in any human being than there is in her. She gave him too heavy a dose and he vomited it up and was saved by faith. (4:2159)

This particular address is a perfect example of the treasures these volumes contain. This is the first time this address has been published in a form available to the general public. The address continues with Young's equally unvarnished feelings about the Strangites. Young brought up his contention that Emma had poisoned Joseph in three more addresses (2:914, 3:1531, 4:2378) and mentioned her for the last time on August 9, 1874, by claiming: "Joseph used to say that he would have her hereafter, if he had to go to hell

for her, and he will have to go to hell for her as sure as he ever gets her" (5:3052).

All of Young's theology is found within the volumes, both his controversial teachings and those that are still accepted as orthodox by today's Mormons. I have always been interested in Young's teachings on what he called the "native element," a doctrine of remarkable consistency that also captures Young's practical side. On July 19, 1857, Young taught that "every principle that is opposed to God . . . will cease to exist . . . for it will be returned to its native element." (3:1299) On June 12, 1859, at the funeral of his sister Fanny, Young stated that those who live as they should in the kingdom of God will "endure for ever and ever; while every other creature will, ere long, return to its native element" (3:1474). On January 14, 1861, in Young's third discourse on the same day, he instructed bishops to "make everything subservient to the priesthood [of] God. . . . Every son and daughter of Adam that takes the opposite course will come to a final end, return to their native element, to the small, particles that compose the elements of creation to be ready to be organized again" (3:1727). On November 23, 1862, Young explained that those who choose the "way of death [sin] . . . will meet their doom and the particles of mother earth that comprise their bodies will molder away and many of them may never come together again. They will return to their native element and their spirits will be swallowed up in the second death. Let the saints take a course to prepare themselves eternal happiness here and not wait until death" (4:2081). On July 19, 1863, Young summarized succinctly: "All that is not of God and that does not exist to honor Him, will sooner or later return to native element" (4:2147).

Unquestionably, the enduring contribution of this collection is the significant new material that is now available to the student of Mormon history. Possibly the most exciting development are the addresses from the Leonard J. Arrington Historical Archive, Merrill-Cazier Library Special Collections, Utah State University. One treasure found in this collection is the address of January 24, 1866, in what I believe is Brigham Young's raw address, unedited by Watt or Long, to the Utah Legislature. This address is vigorously vernacular: "When our government shall come up to acknowledge that we have set them the example in government hope till that day come. Ashamed of some legislators they have a little pile they have gathered round themselves and its all they can see cross eyed loop holes." Or "Some men no more fit to legislate than hell fit for a powder house" (4:2311-12).

Young's February 3, 1867, address was published in the *Journal of Discourses*, but more than a page of text was not included. It reads in part: "The wicked prophecy [sic] almost as much as the righteous. I do not know but they do more. They are all the time prophesying, and telling this is coming

and that is coming, and so on and so forth. It takes nothing more than a foreteller of events to be a prophet" (4:2411). On January 23, 1865, Young declared to the Legislative Assembly: "There is persons in this room who will no doubt tattle and tell what I have said here today, I care no more for them than I do for the croaking of the crow that flies over my head. Here is a body of men who holds the keys of the salvation of the world; they may tantalize our feelings, but they may talk as much as they please and we ask no odds of them just keep hands off us. I do not want it, I do not ask it, but it would not require half the crook of the finger of the Almighty to whip them out of existence, but I do not want, and the Lord has said that He would fight our battles" (4:2257).

In addition to the subjects I have reviewed, Young dealt with a wide range of ideas and subjects in his addresses. For example: Young believed that Parley P. Pratt's "blood was spilt for adultery" (4:2271), that the Saints should refrain from "the use of beef, mutton, and pork" (4:2482), that "the Lord has said in the last days kill nothing, waste nothing, bring their feelings together—waste nothing—be prudent and the Lord will give us all things that we need" (1:83), his plural wives had him stepping "as carefully as if I were walking between bayonets as sharp as needles" (5:2662), that "Sidney Rigdon know[s] that hell is his doom [and] he has murder in his heart his garments are stained with innocent blood" (1:83), if Young were to go "astray, give wrong counsel and lead this people astray, then is time enough to put me down and their God will remove me as he has done all others who has turned from the truth" (1:179), that "there ever was a prophet on the Earth, (Jesus excepted) that cared less for the things of the world except the Savior than he [Young] did" (4:1951), that it was a "mistake with regard to Joseph ever saying that Hyrum would be his successor" (4:2383), and that the United States government was trying "to make the Mormons drunkards, whore masters, thieves; [and] corrupt the women" (4:1938).

The only problems I found with the volumes are few and far between, a significant accomplishment in so massive a work. I found somewhat problematic the inclusion of an address on August 24, 1867, in the Provo Tabernacle (4: 2478–79), whose only source is *Truth Magazine* 1 (March 1, 1936): 135. In it, Young allegedly says: "Brethren, this Church will be led onto the very brink of hell by the leaders of this people. Then God will raise the one mighty and strong spoken of in the 85th Section of the Doctrine and Covenants, to save and redeem this church." It seems totally improbable to me that Young ever said such a thing. Young does not mention "the one mighty and strong" in any of his other talks, and Section 85 was added to the Doctrine and Covenants after Young's death. A simpler solution seems to lie in the internal politics surrounding *Truth*. In 1922, John Tanner Clark, a man

who believed he was “the One Mighty and Strong,” dictated the manuscript of *The One Mighty and Strong*, including this alleged statement by Young to Joseph Musser, editor of *Truth Magazine* and a polygamist at a time when the mainstream Church was strenuously discouraging polygamy and excommunicating its practitioners.

As another example, Young’s February 16, 1849 (1:320–21) address, cites the *Manuscript History of Brigham Young, 1847–1850*, pp. 156–58, as its first source, while Van Wagoner lists Thomas Bullock’s original transcription as the third source. It seems to me that Bullock’s original transcription would be the most reliable and therefore should have been the first source.

Wilford Woodruff recorded some of Young’s addresses in the “Historian’s Private Journal,” one on April 8, 1860, and another on August 22, 1862. Unfortunately Van Wagoner was either unaware of this source or did not have access to it. Woodruff’s daily journal record of the August 22, 1862, address (which Van Wagoner uses) is actually more complete than the “Historian’s Private Journal.” However, the reverse is true for the April 8, 1860, address. Woodruff’s daily journal contains a synopsis (three paragraphs—less than a half page) while Woodruff’s Private Journal entry is more than three typed pages.

These five volumes not only provide us with the best collection of Brigham Young addresses ever gathered together, but it also provides us with evidence of the most important development in Mormon record-keeping: the conversion of George D. Watt and John V. Long and their introduction of Pitman shorthand in keeping the history of the Mormon people in Utah.

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BOOK NOTICE

D. L. Turner and Catherine H. Ellis. *Images of America: Latter-day Saints in Mesa*. Charleston, S.C.: Arcadia Publishing, 2009. 127 pp. Photographs, maps. Paper: \$21.99. ISBN: 0-7385-5857-5

D. L. Turner and Catherine H. Ellis, both descended from LDS settlers of Arizona, have compiled a collection of 246 photographs and multiple personal accounts documenting the history of Latter-day Saints in Mesa, Arizona, from the founding of the city in 1877 to the present. The introduction includes a brief history about Brigham Young's decision to send companies of Saints to southern Arizona.

"The first Mormon settlers along the Salt River, later known as the Lehi Company, arrived in 1877," summarizes this historical introduction. "They crossed the Colorado River at the west end of the Grand Canyon and traveled through the Mojave Desert. The next year, other settlers came from Bear Lake, Idaho, and Salt Lake City. They crossed at Lee's Ferry and became known as the Mesa Company. Additional groups arrived in the ensuing years; some of the people settled at Tempe (Nephi), others at Alma, Lehi, or Mesa" (8).

The first chapter discusses these initial companies, describes their journey to reach Mesa and the surrounding area, and the first years of settlements. The narrative is brief, but the photographs of individuals and families document the important activities, such as freighting, mining, and farming during the development period.

The second chapter focuses on the rise of an educational system in the town, illustrated by photographs of students, schoolhouses, and many school-sponsored activities such as the "Return of Spring Pageant," "Pageant of the Superstitions," marching band and "Rabbette" performances, and several sports teams.

The organization and growth of the Maricopa Stake, Arizona's first LDS stake, organized in 1882, is the subject of the third chapter. The photographs in this section include prominent individuals involved in the stake such as Apostle Delbert L. Stapley and Vida Brinton (Arizona's Woman of the Year in 1966), Boy Scout activities, Relief Society and Sunday School groups, meeting-houses, and performances by the Central Arizona Mormon Choir, known today as the Deseret Chorale. The community grew rapidly, and

Church activities played a prominent role in encouraging service, love, and unity.

“Early leaders such as Joseph Smith Jr. and Brigham Young promoted the power of positive play, extolling the virtues of wholesome recreation and cultural pursuits as well as civic and social interactions. Promoting his personal motto of eight hours work, eight hours sleep, and eight hours recreation daily, Brigham Young encouraged programs of dance, music, and drama” (87). The Latter-day Saints of Mesa took this counsel to heart and participated in a variety of community recreational and cultural activities, which are depicted in Chapter 4: basketball games, stake dances, Daughters of Utah Pioneers, city festivals and parades, and the city’s traditional Easter pageant, which is still popular today.

The fifth and final chapter documents the construction, dedication, and operation of the Mesa Temple—the ninth LDS temple—and the many people who have worked closely with these events. The temple’s renovation and rededication in 1975, attended by President Spencer W. Kimball who had lived in the area during its original dedication in 1927, was a highlight for the entire LDS community in Mesa.

This book will be particularly useful to historians interested in LDS settlements outside of Utah and in the Church’s role in community development. Furthermore, its many photographs and personalized accounts would also be helpful for family historians with a personal connection to Mesa or nearby LDS settlements.