

Journal of Mormon History

Volume 38 | Issue 4

Article 1

9-27-2012

Journal of Mormon History Vol. 38, No. 4, Fall 2012

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



Part of the [Religion Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Journal of Mormon History, Vol 38, Fall 2012: Iss. 4.

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



Journal of Mormon History Vol. 38, No. 4, Fall 2012

Table of Contents

CONTENTS

LETTERS

- Presidential Billiards Revisited *William P. MacKinnon*, vii
- Conclusions Unwarranted *Polly Aird and Gary Topping*, x
- Augusta Young and Priesthood *Jonathan A. Stapley*, x
- Willard Richards *Devery S. Anderson*, xii
- Dinger Responds *John Dinger*, xv
- A Response to Robin Jensen *Gary James Bergera*, xix
- Jensen versus Kline and Perdue *Ron Priddis*, xx
- Disappointed by Review *Joseph Geisner*, xxiii
- The Future of Mormon Documentary Editing *Robin Scott Jensen*, xxiv
- Timely Reminder *Tom Kimball*, xxviii
- Corrections, XXIX

ARTICLES

- Between Two Economies: The Business Development of the Young Woman's Journal, 1889–1900 *Lisa Olsen Tait*, 1
- "As Bad as I Hated to Come": Lucy Hannah White Flake in Arizona *David F. Boone*, 55
- The Lord's Supper during the Progressive Era, 1890–1930 *Justin R. Bray*, 88
- "A Continuation of the Seeds": Joseph Smith and Spirit Birth *Brian C. Hales*, 105
- The Book of the Law of the Lord *Alex D. Smith*, 131
- Ox in the Mire? The Legal and Cultural War over Utah's Sunday Closing Laws *Timothy G. Merrill and Brian Q. Cannon*, 164
- Setting the Record Straight: Brigham Young's Baptism Date *H. Michael Marquardt*, 195
- "Does Not Purport to Comprehend All Matters of Church Government": The LDS General Handbook of Instructions, 1899–2006 *Michael Harold Paulos*, 200
- Solomon Spaulding's Indians, Or What the Manuscript Really Tells Us *Adam Jortner*, 226

REVIEWS

- Tom Mould. *Still, the Small Voice: Narrative, Personal Revelation, and the Mormon Folk Tradition* *Jill Terry Rudy*, 248

--Edward L. Kimball. Father of a Prophet: Andrew Kimball *Joann Follett Mortensen*, 253

JOURNAL OF
MORMON HISTORY

FALL 2012

Cover illustration: Two men lift the public drinking cups, attached to the fountain by chains, on Temple Square in Salt Lake City, ca. 1894. Photograph by Charles R. Savage, Courtesy L. Tom Perry Special Collections, (PH 500 13 2), Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

The Mormon History Association

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

© 2012 Mormon History Association. Printed in the United States of America.
ISSN 0194-7342

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

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

Articles are abstracted and indexed in *Historical Abstracts* and *America: History and Life*, published by ABC-CLIO.

This periodical is indexed in the *ATLA Religion Database*® (*ATLA RDB*®) and is also included in the full-text *ATLASerials*® (*ATLAS*®) collection. Both are products of the American Theological Library Association, 300 S. Wacker Dr., Suite 2100, Chicago, IL 60606; email: atla@atla.com; <http://www.atla.com>.

The *Journal of Mormon History* is published by the Mormon History Association and is distributed to association members. Annual dues are: Regular, \$55; Spouse/Partner, \$65; Student, \$25; Institution, \$75; Sustaining, \$125; Patron, \$250; and Donor, \$500. For subscriptions outside the United States, DVDs of back issues, individual back issues, and all questions, see www.mormonhistoryassociation.org, or contact (801) 521-6565. Digital copies of back issues are available at EBSCO and Utah State University Digital Commons: <http://digitalcommons.usu.edu/mormonhistory>.

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

The Journal of Mormon History

Publisher: Mormon History Association (founded 1965)

President: Glen M. Leonard

President-Elect: Richard E. Bennett

Past President: Richard L. Jensen

Executive Director: Ronald O. Barney

Executive Director/Business Manager: Marilyn S. Barney

Directors: Christopher C. Jones (2013)

Grant Underwood (2013)

Barbara Walden (2013)

Polly Aird (2014)

Gary James Bergera (2014)

Barbara Jones Brown (2015)

Kenneth L. Cannon II (2015)

Digital Commons: Noel Carmack

Electronic Initiatives Coordinator: Connie Lamb

Executive Staff

Editor: Martha Taysom

Board of Editors:

Ruth Knight Bailey

Matthew Bowman

Keith A. Erikson

Scott C. Esplin

Sarah Barringer Gordon

David Hall

David J. Howlett

Hollis R. Johnson

Jennifer L. Lund

Susanna Morrill

Christopher A. Newton

Jonathan A. Stapley

Production Staff

Copy Editor: Lavina Fielding Anderson

Production Manager: Brent Corcoran

Art Director: Thayne Whiting

Book Review Editor: Boyd Jay Petersen

Advertising Manager: Steve Eccles

Editorial Staff:

Elizabeth Ann Anderson

Laura Compton

Linda Wilcox DeSimone

Sherman Feher

Zachary R. Jones

Linda Lindstrom

Craig Livingston

H. Michael Marquardt

Rene Romig

Jerilyn Wakefield

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

Submissions should be sent to mormonjournal.taysom1@gmail.com in Word. The author's name and contact information should be located on a page separate from the manuscript. All illustrative materials, including maps, charts, and graphs, should be attached in a separate file(s), and not embedded in the electronic document. All such illustrative materials must be supplied by the author. The *Journal's* style guide, based on the *Chicago Manual of Style* and the *LDS Style Guide*, including specifications for illustrative materials, is available at www.mormonhistoryassociation.org. The peer-reviewed evaluation process usually takes three to six months.

JOURNAL OF MORMON HISTORY

Volume 38, No. 4
Fall 2012

CONTENTS

LETTERS

Presidential Billiards Revisited	<i>William P. MacKinnon</i>	vii
Conclusions Unwarranted	<i>Polly Aird and Gary Topping</i>	x
Augusta Young and Priesthood	<i>Jonathan A. Stapley</i>	x
Willard Richards	<i>Devery S. Anderson</i>	xii
Dinger Responds	<i>John Dinger</i>	xv
A Response to Robin Jensen	<i>Gary James Bergera</i>	xix
Jensen versus Kline and Perdue	<i>Ron Priddis</i>	xx
Disappointed by Review	<i>Joseph Geisner</i>	xxiii
The Future of Mormon Documentary Editing	<i>Robin Scott Jensen</i>	xxiv
Timely Reminder	<i>Tom Kimball</i>	xxviii
Corrections		xxix

ARTICLES

- Between Two Economies: The Business Development
of the *Young Woman's Journal*, 1889–1900
Lisa Olsen Tait 1
- “As Bad as I Hated to Come”: Lucy Hannah White
Flake in Arizona *David F. Boone* 55
- The Lord's Supper during the Progressive Era,
1890–1930 *Justin R. Bray* 88
- “A Continuation of the Seeds”: Joseph Smith and
Spirit Birth *Brian C. Hales* 105
- The Book of the Law of the Lord *Alex D. Smith* 131
- Ox in the Mire? The Legal and Cultural War over
Utah's Sunday Closing Laws
Timothy G. Merrill and Brian Q. Cannon 164
- Setting the Record Straight: Brigham Young's
Baptism Date *H. Michael Marquardt* 195
- “Does Not Purport to Comprehend All Matters
of Church Government”: The LDS *General
Handbook of Instructions*, 1899–2006
Michael Harold Paulos 200
- Solomon Spaulding's Indians, Or What the Manuscript
Really Tells Us *Adam Jortner* 226

REVIEWS

- Tom Mould. *Still, the Small Voice: Narrative, Personal
Revelation, and the Mormon Folk Tradition*
Jill Terry Rudy 248
- Edward L. Kimball. *Father of a Prophet: Andrew Kimball*
Joann Follett Mortensen 252

LETTERS

Presidential Billiards Revisited

In my MHA presidential address (“‘Not As a Stranger’: A Presbyterian Afoot in the Mormon Past,” 38, no. 2 [Spring 2012]: 1–46) I described what I called “an expansionist billiards game” (33) in which President James Buchanan schemed during early 1858 to acquire the Spanish colony of Cuba through a convoluted chain of events involving the Utah Expedition.

Under this fantastic scenario, Brevet Lieutenant General Winfield Scott, the army’s general in chief, would travel to the Pacific Coast on February 5, organize a large force of regular and volunteer troops, and march on Utah from the west in concert with the spring movement toward the Salt Lake Valley from Fort Bridger by Brevet Brigadier General Albert Sidney Johnston. Although the president duped General Scott into believing that such a pincers strategy was for the sole purpose of restoring federal authority in Utah, Buchanan had a far more ambitious agenda.

He anticipated that military pressure from Scott would produce a mass Mormon exodus southbound into Mexican Sonora. With the uncon-

trolled flow of tens of thousands of such American refugees into the revolutionary turmoil of northern Mexico, the United States would move to annex the region as it had done a decade earlier with Texas. Once in Mexico, Buchanan envisioned bringing pressure to bear on a nearly bankrupt Spain to acquire slave-holding Cuba by purchase or the stimulation of local revolutionaries, who would presumably seek American military intervention.

First awareness of this presidential scheme—developed without the awareness of Scott, Congress, Brigham Young, or Thomas L. Kane—came with the recent publication of multiple dispatches sent by Sir William Gore Ouseley, a senior British diplomat in Washington, to Lord Clarendon, Queen Victoria’s foreign secretary in London. In this material—essentially memoranda of Buchanan’s almost confessional discussions with his close friend Ouseley—one sees a lonely bachelor president revealing dreams of Manifest Destiny to a Rasputin-like confidant over nocturnal bourbon and cigars in his quiet upstairs office. Of the trove of Ouseley-to-Clarendon

that have come to light, those dated January 23 and February 15, 1858, are the most illuminating with respect to the Utah War's involvement in this affair. It was on these two that my MHA presidential address focused. For purposes of clarity, I now want to supplement this material by presenting a third (and still unpublished) Ouseley report that I had not been able to read until March 17, 2012.

I refer to Ouseley's memorandum for Lord Clarendon dated January 25, 1858 (reproduced below).¹ Although this document essentially confirms the substance of the two dispatches bracketing it, in this just-discovered report Ouseley described for his superior a nuance not found elsewhere—how the president planned to deal with a double dilemma: northern concerns over the congressional imbalance implicit in adding more slave-holding territory to the Union; and the universal American aversion to embracing even more people with a mixture of Hispanic, African, and Indian heritage than the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo with Mexico had required ten years earlier.

As Ouseley reported it, the solution being quietly contemplated by Buchanan and perhaps some of his cabinet officers was the creation of a quasi "colonial" status for new acquisitions. Such an arrangement would deny their inhabitants equality in congressional representation and perhaps even take on the coercive character of the period's Indian reservations, then supervised by the U.S. Army. What Ouseley did not realize

was that the U.S. government would devise just such an arrangement forty years later after the Spanish-American War through the creation of "commonwealth" status for the Philippines and Puerto Rico. In turn, the existing territorial system, of which Ouseley was aware, would be used to deny statehood to Hispanic New Mexico and Arizona as well as Polynesian/Asian Hawaii until well into the twentieth century. Of course, territorial status would also keep the peculiarities of polygamous Utah at political arm's length from the rest of the country until 1896.

From the silence of a distant English tomb, one can almost hear the gasp of the late Sir William Gore Ouseley in response to the discomfort of presidential aspirant Rick Santorum following his March 2012 suggestion that, if the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, were to gain statehood, its U.S. citizens would be obliged to adopt English as their first language. That Santorum had committed such a twenty-first-century political blunder while campaigning in San Juan against the Mormon great-grandson of a Utah War participant, would have added to the diplomat's astonishment. Lord Clarendon, check your mailbox.

SIR WILLIAM GORE OUSELEY
(WASHINGTON) TO LORD CLARENDON
(LONDON) January 25, 1858²

Dispatch No 14
"Secret and Confidential"

My Lord,

A project is on foot—I ought perhaps rather to say has been suggested—the possible importance of which must be my excuse for mentioning it with the very slight knowledge that I as yet have of it. The President, and part, at least of his Cabinet, seek some mode, some *mezzotermine* [adjustment] by which to facilitate future annexations of Spanish American Territory, without the necessity of admitting Representatives of the new States in Congress. The admissions of Senators and Members of a race that they despise, on a footing of equality in the Senate and House of Representatives has been, as the President [Buchanan] has more than once told me, the main objection to the annexation of Mexico, “which otherwise might have long since been effected,” or that of Central America.

Similar language has been held to me by Americans of influence. When speaking of “The Manifest Destiny,” they always recur to the obstacles presented to any *immediate* annexation by the nature of the population—difference of race, language etc. and consider a previous settlement of the countries in question by the N. Americans, as a necessary preliminary to their ultimate absorption.

A sort of Colonial Govt is not yet spoken of, but it is contemplated—and if means can be found of evading constitutional and legal objections, I should not be surprised if an experiment were soon to be made—rather *de facto*, than avowedly [openly], to substitute, in certain

cases, a Colonial Legislation, for that hitherto styled “Territorial”—adopting something like the supervision exercised in the “Indian reserves” [reservations] united with a quasi-military authority supporting the supremacy of the United States.

The departure of Genl Scott for the Pacific Coast, ostensibly with the sole purpose of acting against the Mormons, may have reference to this project, which is meant to pave the way to the incorporation of Mexico, Central America, Cuba etc by the establishment in the first instance of this probationary mode of Govt.

The use of the word “subjects” in the [recent U.S.] Treaty with Nicaragua, may have some relation to the projected Experiment, respecting which, I hope to learn something less vague than the indications that have as yet reached me.

Note: Docketed in British Foreign Office as “project of forming a sort of [U.S.] Colonial system of Govt of certain territories preparatory to annexation.”

Notes

¹I came across Ouseley’s January 25, 1858, dispatch to Clarendon belatedly because it is filed in the British National Archives in London rather than included in the plethora of similar correspondence contained in the latter’s private papers, now basically inaccessible to the public, and under the custody of Oxford University’s Bodleian Library. This separation, in

turn, stems from the fact that, for an unknown reason, Ouseley numbered the January 25 document and labeled it “Secret and Confidential” rather than “Private and Confidential,” thereby triggering a different arrangement in how the dispatch traveled to England, was read and handled, and eventually archived.

²Ouseley, Dispatch No. 14 to Lord Clarendon, January 25, 1858, F.O. 15/98 ff. 36-39, British National Archives, Kew.

William P. MacKinnon
Santa Barbara, California

Conclusions Unwarranted

We were surprised and dismayed to read Nicole Amare and Alan Manning, “American Prophets: Mark Twain and Joseph Smith Revisited” in the *Journal of Mormon History* 37 (Fall 2011): 151–72. We do not think it is up to the high standard to which the *Journal* aspires. We are scholars of neither Twain nor Smith, so we cannot evaluate the authors’ research, but we can speak to the writing of history and thus find their interpretations unconvincing.

In addition to building their case on coincidental and superficial parallel experiences, they seem to be taking Twain’s relentless disapproval of religion in general and Mormonism in particular and perversely turning it around to say the exact opposite—to demonstrate that Smith was a serious influence on Twain. The fact that both referred to themselves and their cultural roles in evangelical terminology, even to the point of considering themselves prophets, does not prove

a connection between them. The question is not where they would have learned such language, but rather how they could have avoided that common parlance in their cultural environment.

All great literature is “prophetic” to the degree that it exists in a critical relationship with its surrounding culture, but that term could describe the work of Emily Dickinson or Herman Melville as much as Mark Twain, and no one would claim that Joseph Smith influenced them. It is true that both Twain and Smith rejected the prevalent religions of the day, but that’s where any similarity ends, it seems to us; and when Twain indicated repeatedly that he had no more regard for Mormonism than any other formal religion, we think we should take him at his word.

Finally, if we may indulge in a bit of our own conjecture, we suspect that the authors are guilty of a presentist fallacy in their attempt to bring nineteenth-century Mormonism into the cultural mainstream to the extent that Joseph Smith influenced Mark Twain. If so, it won’t work: Joseph Smith was no Mitt Romney, and nineteenth-century Mormonism was about as countercultural as you can get.

Polly Aird
Seattle, Washington
Gary Topping
Salt Lake City, Utah

Concerned by Review

I am concerned by the recent re-

view by Robert M. Hogge of my in-depth study of the Mormon Battalion (*Journal of Mormon History* 38, no. 1 [Winter 2012]: 214–17. My concerns lie in three areas: the first is with the *Journal* itself, and the last two with Hogge’s comments.

My book, *History May Be Searched in Vain: A Military History of the Mormon Battalion* (Spokane, Wash.: Arthur H. Clark Company, 2006; second printing 2008), appeared in 2006, yet it took six years to have it reviewed. In the intervening six years, my book has been reviewed a dozen times, chief among them the U.S. Army Center of Military History in Washington, D.C., the Mecca of army history studies, *BYU Studies*, and several western history publications. These reviews highlighted the book’s central theme and my main reason for writing it in the first place: The Mormon Battalion was the only religious unit in American military history. Hogge, who teaches English and literature at Weber State University in Ogden, Utah, missed this major theme, which I highlighted many times throughout the book.

I also provided my own definition of what a religious military unit should be. The religious-military conflict in the battalion was a constant issue and affected all aspects of its service. It was one of the battalion’s central themes. This religious aspect is truly astounding in American history if one considers how common religious armies, wars, and history are in world history—but not in American military history. All previous review-

ers took note of this unique quality. For a volunteer battalion that did not experience combat, its lasting contribution in military history is its religious nature and qualities. Without a religious call to arms, there would have been no battalion.

As a second point of difference, Hogge recommended that I should have condensed the first five chapters, commenting, “Fleek covers much background and contextual information that could have been encapsulated much more effectively in an introduction” (215). These five chapters, however, are what made *History May Be Searched in Vain* different than all the previous books on the battalion. I firmly disagree with this suggestion and also with his later point, “Chapter 6 ‘Recruiting the Battalion’ should have been Chapter 1” (216). I am a career military historian and also a Latter-day Saint. I, therefore, provided the full background and circumstance of the politics, nature of warfare, and unique qualities of the battalion. Making the battalion’s recruitment into Chapter 1 would have been impossible for me. No other reviewer or reader who has contacted me has made this recommendation. On the contrary, the material in the first five chapters has been the basis of praise, providing a completely new view of the battalion and placing it in its political, military, and historical context.

For many years I have taught, lectured about, and discussed the battalion with many people. I am con-

tinually surprised by how few people know anything about the Mexican War, its causes, the politics involved, the campaigns, the profession of arms of the era, and the war's results. These topics were essential in placing the battalion in context if I were to support my claim of the battalion's unique religious qualities. Hogge did not comment on how this book did or did not contribute to the study of the battalion and if it provided new information or scholarship.

He also quoted me as saying that my book "is not to be a survey or history of the route and march," (215). Then he stated that "much of the text is devoted exactly to those issues" (215). I did indeed devote much of the book to the battalion's march and route. I do not argue this point. The march of the battalion is the most essential characteristic of its chronology and the main feature that most people know and remember. Therefore, I set out to establish more than just the march but also the political/religious background, establishment, composition, and military background of the era, topics that have never been adequately addressed.

Generally, I thank Robert Hogge for his review and his many points of positive commentary. The points he missed were nevertheless conspicuous.

Sherman L. Fleek
West Point, New York

Augusta Young and Priesthood

This letter is in response to

Connell O'Donovan, "Augusta Adams Cobb Young: Priesthood Holder" (letter to the editor), *Journal of Mormon History* 38, no. 2 (Spring 2012): vii–ix, which was, in turn, written in response to Jonathan A. Stapley and Kristine Wright, "Female Ritual Healing in Mormonism," *Journal of Mormon History* 37, no. 1 (Winter 2011): 1–86. My comments here reflect my opinions only and are not intended as a statement from my co-author.

A number of weeks before O'Donovan's letter was published, I visited the LDS Church History Library and was pleased to meet him, also researching there. He is a gifted researcher, and I am very excited about his volume of Augusta Adams Cobb Young's life writings (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, forthcoming). During our conversation, O'Donovan indicated that, in response to our female ritual healing article, he had submitted a letter to the editor that reported the contents of several documents from his work on Young. He shared these fascinating documents with me, which I appreciated, and we had a productive discussion about them. When the *Journal of Mormon History* arrived, I read his letter with interest.

First, I think it is important to note that none of the material from which O'Donovan quotes directly relates to the performance of healing rituals. Consequently I do not believe that his letter raises any issues that complicate the analyses presented in the female healing article.

However, he does quote from two documents in which Augusta Young makes pronouncements by “virtue” of the “priesthood vested in me.” One of these pronouncements is a blessing, the other a will. By invoking “priesthood” with which she is vested, Young was claiming a particular authority. As liturgical authority is a key concept in the female healing paper, these documents do relate to that broader framework. We must now consider what these statements may mean.

Ardis E. Parshall has already taken issue with some of the conclusions drawn in O’Donovan’s letter.¹ The following are some additional thoughts in response. Of the thousands of accounts of rituals and blessings (mostly for healing) performed by women which I have read, these invocations of priesthood are completely anomalous. When O’Donovan first indicated that these documents existed, however, my first thought was that they were likely created in the years bracketing the Nauvoo Temple’s functioning, roughly 1844–48. I happened to have been correct. This period is one in which the temple’s cosmology was paramount and discourses were saturated with priesthood language in relation to virtually all aspects of Latter-day Saint life.

While this letter is not the place for a complete discussion of the historical relationship between conceptions of priesthood and women, I have used the term “cosmological priesthood”² to describe this cosmology, in which men and women form a part of

the eternal network that is simultaneously family, salvation, government, and priesthood.

Within this framework, John Smith, Church patriarch from 1844 to 1854, commonly blessed women, announcing that they were “heirs of the priesthood.” Occasionally, similar statements appeared in proximity to statements regarding blessing the sick. For example, Smith blessed Delilah Allen in 1847: “I also seal the holy Priesthood upon thee in common with thy companion. Thou shall have faith to heal the sick. You shall have wisdom to instruct thy sisters in the principles of salvation.”³ Statements such as these are completely comprehensible within the framework of the cosmological priesthood, but collapsing the three sentences into one breaks that same framework.

How Mormons have used the term “priesthood” has shifted over time. For example, Church leaders no longer give as the reason for sealing children to parents in the temple that they need to do so in order to become heirs of the priesthood. There is, therefore, a real possibility for readers to strip early references of their context or never recognize it in the first place.

My sense is that, like other similar invocations, Young’s statements are most comprehensible in the context of the cosmological priesthood. For example, compare the blessing text in O’Donovan’s letter to that of John Smith in Stapley, “Adoptive Sealing Ritual in Mormonism,” 57 note 9.

However, even if I am mistaken and this context is not the most applicable, we are still left with the sheer aberrancy of Young's statements. Augusta Adams Cobb Young is the single most anomalous individual of whom I have seen documentation in relation to the temple liturgy. She rivals and perhaps surpasses John D. Lee's appetite for placement in the cosmological hierarchy. I certainly look forward to O'Donovan's forthcoming book for a broader treatment of these issues.

I do not raise the issue of Young's anomaly to dismiss her documents. Scientists spend billions of dollars in the hope of finding even the slightest bit of evidence that standard models are incomplete. But using Young's statements to elucidate the mechanics of mid-nineteenth century lived religion is a different project than what I read O'Donovan calling for in his letter.

O'Donovan closes his letter with the statement: "In future academic research and thoughtful debate on the issue of female sacerdotal and spiritual authority in Mormonism, Augusta Adams Cobb's two statements must now be included, weighing heavily on the side of women's full right to hold and use LDS priesthood" (viii-ix). This statement seems to be a non sequitur, its concluding phrase disconnected from the opening clause. I imagine that O'Donovan would not advocate for history being prescriptive; but in conflating various academic, religious, and political discursive modes, he advocates for precisely

that outcome.

I think another aspect of O'Donovan's letter is indicative of an acontextual approach to the material. In presenting Young's interesting participation in relation to the Thomsonian medical therapies so popular among Mormons and other evangelical populists in the early nineteenth century, O'Donovan briefly describes the use of lobelia: "Note that *Lobelia inflata* is extremely high in nicotine and has psychoactive properties, making it widely used by early New England Indians as an entheogen—a drug that induces a 'high' and frequently leads to encounters with 'the God within.' These properties would clearly make it against the modern interpretation of the Word of Wisdom" (vii).

Lobelia was perhaps the most common herb used by Thomsonian physicians as it induced vomiting and was used to purge perceived noxious elements from the body. Whereas Native Americans sometimes smoked the plant, it was not smoked as part of the Thomsonian system. Moreover, while the plant has a high concentration of the alkaloid lobeline, it does not contain nicotine. I fail to see how its properties or use as a medical treatment has any relevance to the modern Latter-day Saint interpretation of the Word of Wisdom. Pharmaco-active compounds of all sorts that might be otherwise proscribed to Latter-day Saints are used under the direction of medical professionals. But even so, early conceptions of the Word of

Wisdom were different from modern interpretation, a development that is fairly broadly understood. A more interesting question (and one potentially related to the issue of liturgical authority) might be how lobelia fit into those early conceptions.

Augusta Adams Cobb Young is important to Mormon history. The documents O'Donovan has shared in his letter are important to the study of that history. Whatever our personal beliefs, preferences, and political positions, however, it is important that these documents be used to make for more robust explanations and analyses. It will be in doing so that we take them as well as the broader history seriously.

Notes

¹Ardis E. Parshall, "Evaluating Historical Documents; or, I Do Not Think That Proves What You Think It Proves," <http://www.keepapitchinin.org/2012/04/05/evaluating-historical-documents-or-i-do-not-think-that-proves-what-you-think-it-proves/>, (accessed April 5, 2012).

²Jonathan A. Stapley, "Adoptive Sealing Ritual in Mormonism," *Journal of Mormon History* 37 (Summer 2011): 53–117, esp. 56–61.

³John Smith, Patriarchal blessing to Delilah Allen, January 31, 1847, in Martha Bagley Halverson, *A Lasting Legacy: The Bagley Family History since 1628* (Salt Lake City: Heritage Associates, 1997), 81.

*Jonathan A. Stapley
Bellevue, Washington*

Willard Richards

Accompanying my article, Devery S. Anderson, "From Doctor to Disciple: Willard Richards's Journey to Mormonism," *Journal of Mormon History* 38, no. 2 (Spring 2012): 67–99, my email address should have been deverysa@gmail.com. I would enjoy comments, corrections, and contact with Willard's descendants as I continue my research for his biography.

*Devery S. Anderson
Salt Lake City*

Dinger Responds

Whenever I receive a new copy of the *Journal of Mormon History*, I invariably turn first to the book reviews to discover what recent scholarship I may have missed. These reviews are usually done in a balanced, scholarly fashion. Therefore, I was eager to read Robin Scott Jensen's review of my recently published compilation, *The Nauvoo City and High Council Minutes* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2011) in the *Journal* 38, no. 3 (Summer 2012): 262–68.

However, as I read Jensen's criticisms, I couldn't help thinking that he was reviewing a book he thought I should have produced, not the book in front of him, and that by taking that approach, he made some errors that should be corrected.

Jensen recounts the manner in which the original documents were created, giving the false impression that my preface had not explained

this process thoroughly.

My preface explains that, typically, the Nauvoo City Council's scribe sat in on a meeting and took notes on loose sheets of paper, then translated his notes into full sentences and transferred them to a rough-draft minute book. The scribe next corrected these minutes and transferred them as a final, approved version to a bound volume titled "A Record of the Proceedings of the City Council of the City of Nauvoo Hancock County, State of Illinois Commencing A.D. 1841."

The "Proceedings" contained minutes from February 1841 through February 1845. However, one rough-draft book is missing, the book containing the transcript of the trial of Nauvoo's mayor, John C. Bennett.

Although the LDS pioneers did their best to preserve these documents, some were damaged or lost. Complicating the puzzle of incomplete sources is the fact that initially I had to work solely from typescripts, which had been prepared years ago by various scholars from incomplete loose-sheet minutes, rough-draft minute books, and final, approved versions of minutes. It took a certain amount of detective work to assemble a full set of minutes, and I hope I am not being immodest when I say that I cannot believe I did as well as I did.

Before fully understanding the genealogy of the sources, I instinctively gave preference to the earlier, rough drafts. I feel that this was the correct decision. Along the way, I tried to keep the undulations from one source to another to a minimum, and

my last task before going to press was to add the typographical glyphs (such as daggers) to show where the sources changed.

I was able to provide this documentary genealogy, if you will, because someone leaked disks of photographs of the extant documents to selected scholars—the very documents the library had steadfastly refused to let anyone see.

My preface also explains the parallel production of the high council minutes. Much like the clerks who recorded the city council meetings, the scribes for the high council minutes took notes on loose sheets of paper, then later transferred their notes to six bound volumes covering meetings from October 1839 through October 1845. The first volume began as a record titled "Oliver Cowdery's Sketch Book for 1836," which transitioned to a minute book after page 22, when the scribe drew a line across the page and wrote, "Nauvoo October 6, 1839," then "Book no 1" on the next page.

Volume 2 in the series of six bound volumes was initially treated as a record of proceedings—a place to record the final, cleaned-up versions of minutes, beginning with the entry for March 8, 1840. However, the minutes soon become rough again as the scribe apparently began using the book for first or second drafts. As I worked through the various typescripts, I tried to understand why there were duplicate, almost verbatim, repetitions in the transcripts and why the different transcripts

were similar but not exactly alike. I felt like someone trying to understand the organization of the Book of Mormon plates and then unexpectedly hearing from someone who had actually seen them.

Jensen believes that my volume is not as successful as it could have been because I did not reproduce all versions of the city and high council minutes. While that would be a useful volume, it was not my goal. (Perhaps the Joseph Smith Papers employees will be able, at some point, to take up their colleague Jensen's challenge.)

However, as noted above, many pieces are missing and many are repetitive. My goal, which I feel I have met in a successful manner, is to give the readers an accurate view of the minutes and the two councils and to present the contents of those minutes in a readable, understandable way so that the drama and history of Nauvoo unfold in significant, gripping detail, allowing the reader to focus on accurate representations of the actions as presented in the documents but not diverting their attention to the documents themselves.

Jensen states that I "jump" from "a rough draft to a final copy with no effort to maintain the integrity of the documents themselves," which leads to confusion because researchers will "not be able to immediately identify its source" (265-66). I don't believe that readers will be confused. All of the switches from one source to another are clearly noted in the text. Also, the volume contains two tables (xx-xxii) that inform readers where

every entry comes from.

Perhaps of greatest concern to me is Jensen's insistence that the city council records were "open for public research and have been since at least 2006," and also that, in regard to the high council minutes, the "reference staff [would] have assisted in confirming transcriptions" (264). He points to this item as an instance of my "negligence" (264), but his assertion about availability is inaccurate. He concedes in a footnote that the cataloging system wrongly listed the city council minutes (MS 3435) as restricted, which he excuses as a mere "oversight," but then further sees my behavior as "negligence" because I did not request access to a restricted document. He also claims that the rough minute book (MS 16800) has been open for years but does not specify when it became available to researchers (264).

When I started this project in 2004, neither set of books was open to researchers. I personally checked, and they were restricted. I also continually checked as the project went on, and they always stayed restricted. More than a few historians have thanked me for the volume because they also had been denied access to the minutes (either version) on their trips to the LDS Church History Library. Other historians have also shared with me their relief at learning that the city records were finally opened up—but only when my book was already at press.

Jensen may be surprised to learn that requests to see high council min-

utes were made most recently in November 2011. Because I was living out of state, Tom Kimball of Signature Books sought clarification for some high council minutes (LR 3102). A group named “The Access Review Committee,” the members of which I do not know, denied that request on December 8, 2011.

The only help that was offered came by email on that same date from “The Access Review Committee.” While they denied the request to see the high council minutes, they did offer to let Kimball see one entry—ironically, one that Kimball had not specifically requested to see. The letter read:

The Access Review Committee has denied your request to view LR 3102.

However, we have made copies of the two minute accounts of October 20th 1839. You may view these copies in the Reading Room. You may take notes either with a laptop or by hand. You cannot make a copy or retain the copies that we have made. Please let us know when you plan on coming to the library and we will have these waiting for you in the Reading Room. Thank you.

The status of your Question . . . is now closed.

Kimball also made a request to see the city council minutes in November 2011. Kimball was denied access to the originals or scans of the minutes but was shown an unsigned transcription of the minutes. This was a transcription made by Edyth Romney that I was already in possession of.

After Jensen erroneously summa-

rizes the access status of these records, he reproaches me for committing a “disservice . . . to the LDS Church History Library” (264). If his summary had been accurate, his conclusion would have been as well. Unfortunately, neither is true.

I hope the judgment of scholarship will be different, as indicated by the fact that *The Nauvoo City and High Council Minutes* received the Mormon History Association’s 2012 Steven F. Christensen Best Documentary History Award at its conference in Calgary in June–July 2012. I think that historians generally realize the significance of these documents. It is wonderful that half of them will now be open for research. Hopefully, the other half will also become accessible eventually.

The LDS Church History Library is a marvelous repository. If it did not exist, where would these documents be? I have enjoyed the library and its staff. Every time I have been there, I have been treated with respect and kindness, and all staff members have been as helpful as they thought they could be.

In fact, as odd as it may seem, I have never resented the library’s restrictions, feeling that it is ultimately its right to establish policies and that there may be considerations beyond my grasp. Still, I thought it would be a positive good to assemble the typescripts and piece them together so that people can see the proceedings as a narrative history. Even so, I hate to think that I have done a disservice to the library or its staff. If so, I apol-

ogize. I did the best I could, always mindful of the ethical and professional issues surrounding this project.

*John Dinger
Meridian, Idaho*

A Response to Robin Jensen

Robin Scott Jensen's review (*Journal of Mormon History* 38, no. 3 [Summer 2012]: 262–68) of John Dinger's award-winning edition of the minutes of Nauvoo's city and stake high councils contains some factual errors that require correction. I wish Jensen had queried Dinger, Signature Books (Dinger's publisher), or even me as he worked on his comments. (By the way, in the beginning of his review, Jensen several times misidentifies Signature Books as "Signature Book"—a minor slip-up but one I assume he would want to know about.)

Jensen asserts (264) that Dinger and the others who worked with Dinger on the project seem not to have attempted to consult the originals of the documents which Dinger reproduces instead primarily from typescripts and then annotates. Jensen specifically references the rough drafts of the Nauvoo City Council minutes (264), the originals of which are housed in the LDS Church History Library, where Jensen works as a member of the Joseph Smith Papers Project. As I was directly involved in the early stages of Dinger's project, I am happy to share what I know.

Drawing on some thirty-five years' experience as a patron of the LDS Church History Library, I can state categorically that the originals of the

manuscripts Jensen refers to were definitely not available to the general public during the seven-plus years that Dinger's book was in preparation. First, the manuscripts were not listed in the library's computerized on-site public register throughout the majority of this period of time. A library patron typically learned of these materials only by chancing upon scattered random references to them. Even when I eventually learned of the existence of such items, I was repeatedly told: (1) they have not been processed and are unavailable; (2) they have not been microfilmed/scanned and are unavailable; (3) they cannot be located or are missing; or (4) they are currently unavailable for some other unspecified reason.

Once in a while, a copy of a random entry or two from these civic records might surface, but this was the very rare exception. Regarding the Nauvoo High Council minutes, I once sat across the desk from a library employee who had a few original high council materials on his desk in front of him. I was not permitted to read or consult them directly and could only ask very general, very non-specific questions about them. Another time, I was instructed to refer to an unpublished master's thesis and not to attempt the fruitless task of requesting access to the originals. With due respect to Jensen, his colleagues, and the library's staff, it is factually erroneous to state that the originals of these materials were more readily avail-

able to the general public, even as recently as a year or two ago.

I am glad to learn the LDS Church History Library has now made the originals of the rough drafts of the Nauvoo City Council minutes more accessible (see “Nauvoo City Council Minutes” entries at http://churchhistorylibrary.lds.org/primo_library/libweb/action/search.do?vid=CHL_PUBLIC [accessed June 25, 2012]). But I emphasize: This was not the case during the period when Dinger’s book was in preparation. To state otherwise is to perpetrate a fiction. All of us connected with Dinger’s book did the best we could. We stand by what we accomplished, given the roadblocks, frustrations, and other impediments. We are very proud of the achievement.

Furthermore, in stating that he “will not focus on the historical treatment of the minutes” (268), Jensen inexplicably ignores a major portion and contribution of Dinger’s work to Mormon history: its introduction, annotations, and interpretations.

No work is perfect. Jensen and his associates at the Joseph Smith Papers Project know this as well as anyone. (See, for example, the errata at <http://josephsmithpapers.org/back/errata-for-journals-volume-1>; <http://josephsmithpapers.org/back/errata-for-journals-volume-2>; <http://josephsmithpapers.org/back/errata-for-revelations-and-translations-manuscript-revelation-books-facsimile-edition>; <http://josephsmithpapers.org/back/errata-for-revelations-and-translations-volume-2>;

josephsmithpapers.org/back/errata-for-histories-volume-1). Yet whatever the errors and limitations, the publication of the Joseph Smith Papers is an important accomplishment—as is Dinger’s compilation.

I understand a good scholarly book review to consist of an informed, balanced consideration of the strengths and weaknesses of a text; to point out the significance and contributions of the text to its field; and to exhibit a fair-minded, constructive tone and approach. Its criticisms do not depend on fictions, nor is its focus so narrow as to risk misrepresenting the work being reviewed.

I believe Dinger’s book deserved better.

Gary James Bergera
Managing Director
Smith-Pettit Foundation
Salt Lake City

Jensen versus Kline and Perdue

Robin Scott Jensen’s stated authority for his critique of John S. Dinger’s book, *The Nauvoo City and High Council Minutes* reviewed in the *Journal of Mormon History* 38, no. 3 (Summer 2012): 262–67, is *A Guide to Documentary Editing*, 3d ed. (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2008) by Mary-Jo Kline and Susan Holbrook Perdue. My response may be of more interest to other editors, but I think general readers might want to know that, unlike the *Chicago Manual of Style*, Kline and Perdue’s book is more descriptive than prescriptive—a broad survey of

various acceptable approaches to editing. Jensen's attempt to recast it more prescriptively may represent the consensus among the Joseph Smith Papers editors (of which he is one), but my own view is that he misrepresents not only several important specifics discussed by Kline and Perdue but also the overall tone of their book.

For instance, he complains that Dinger would "standardize—and therefore silently remove—datelines" (268), where Kline and Perdue encourage this practice, writing that "an edition of correspondence may arbitrarily place all datelines for letters at the beginning of their texts, no matter where the date appears in the source text," and that the dates should be "printed above the greetings and text, no matter where they appear in the original" (*Guide*, 145, 164).

Jensen disapproves of Dinger's "standardizing of the placement of words" and his introduction of paragraphs instead of sticking to a "typographical-facsimile" format. Kline and Perdue write that "it is customary to standardize an author's paragraph indentation in handwritten source texts so that all paragraphs in the print edition follow a consistent visual pattern." These kinds of judgments are an editor's prerogative, and the authorities realize that "one editor's standardization is another's emendation" (*Guide*, 145, 266). Editors "must," they stress, "choose the method of emendation most appropriate to the sources and the edition's likely users" (*Guide*, 145). Jensen's approach may be useful to researchers,

but Dinger's editing is more accessible to general readers.

For Jensen, Dinger "worked at a disadvantage by consulting typescripts, photographs, and photocopies of the manuscripts" (264), which were prepared by Lyndon W. Cook, D. Michael Quinn, Edyth J. Romney, and others. Au contraire, say Kline and Perdue, who recommend that editors do as the compilers of the Founding Fathers' papers did and solicit "initial transcriptions from off-site workers who received photocopied images of the original documents." The "editors were pleased with the results," write Kline and Perdue, "and today several projects use service bureaus for preparation of draft transcriptions. Some of the work is done not only off-site but offshore" (*Guide*, 114–15).

Another insignificant quibble from Jensen is where he faults Dinger for "providing carats [sic] (^) indicating above-the-line insertions" (267). Jensen says this approach glosses over questions about who added the information and when. Again, he contradicts Kline and Perdue, who offer eight different ways to show interlinear and marginal additions, including carets, arrows, chevrons, and virgules (*Guide*, 125, 155). Dinger again follows the advice of the experts, his approach being thoroughly professional and acceptable. The Joseph Smith Papers editors are the outliers in trying to identify handwriting for a single inserted word. At an MHA session I attended in Calgary, they claimed to

be able to tell the handwriting of the one-word Anthon Transcript (Michael H. MacKay, Robin S. Jensen, and Gerrit J. Dirkmaat, Session 1D, MHA, June 29, 2012).

I would also classify as an inconsequential quibble Jensen's claim that Dinger overuses brackets (266). "I found the bracketing distracting," Jensen wrote, saying he feared the introduction of unintended nuances. He gave as an example: "[The High] Council met according to adjournment," but Kline and Perdue say they prefer brackets as a default apparatus to "supply missing punctuation, expand ambiguous or archaic abbreviations and contractions," to "supply words unintentionally omitted by the author or destroyed by mutilation of the original source text" (*Guide*, 161–63). Admittedly, Kline and Perdue prefer chevrons for missing words, brackets for extrapolations, and arrows for interlinear material, but they concede that "most editors compromise to one degree or another between a detailed diplomatic text and a clear reading text" (*Guide*, 163)—in other words, between the "barbed wire" of complicated textual symbols and readability (*Guide*, 14, 153).

I also find dismissible Jensen's preference for repeating a duplicated word, yielding as his own suggested example of exemplary editing "morning morning [sic]," versus Dinger's more lucid and helpful "[Monday] morning" (267). He is further dismayed that Dinger would pass over a "historically useful first copy" of a

document in favor of a "secondary clean copy created from the rough minutes" (265, 266 note 3). But Kline and Perdue recommend this procedure, explaining that "the most nearly final version of a document is the preferred source text. Editors can take comfort in the thought that variants can and should be noted in the editorial apparatus" (*Guide*, 90).

Jensen resists Dinger's decision to sometimes, but not always, provide final wording for a city statute. "And at still other times," Jensen objects, Dinger "does not transcribe or describe in footnotes any of the passed city laws, even though they appear in the final minutes or are contained in *History of the Church* version [sic]" (265). Jensen fails to apprehend Dinger's methodology, by which Dinger consistently presents other sources when they contain significant textual variants but does not waste our time with insignificant duplications.

By now, we should not be surprised that Jensen opposes the use of daggers to indicate transitions between conflated sources. Kline and Perdue approve of this typographical device because it avoids the need to repeat the information in footnotes (*Guide*, 200, 202). Dinger includes a convenient list of these transitions in the front matter.

I suspect that most readers found Jensen's references to facsimile and diplomatic-transmission formats to be opaque (267–68). I wonder why he failed to mention "inclusive," "ex-

panded,” and “clear-text” formats, all are of which are valid approaches. According to Kline and Perdue, “Modern editors of American documents usually perform their tasks within five general methodological frameworks, and an infinite variety of results is possible within each general approach” (146).

I disliked Jensen’s dig at Dinger for allegedly concealing a “silent use of sources like Wikipedia” (268). Jensen derived this information from Dinger himself, who explains in his preface that he sometimes consulted dictionaries, encyclopedias, and even (in three instances) Wikipedia to silently relay “basic facts” to readers, as Kline and Perdue endorse. In fact, editors are encouraged to “omit sources for information that can be verified in any conventional reference book or textbook. It is fairly common,” Kline and Perdue add, “for editors to omit the *Dictionary of American Biography* or *American National Biography* as sources for biographical information” (*Guide*, 249–51).

Contrary to Jensen’s insinuation, Dinger’s book is thoroughly annotated and utilizes a wide variety of scholarly and other sources relating to Mormon history and its broader American context. He does not rely on Wikipedia as a primary source. He does not fail, as Jensen implies, to “uncover the context of the greater American experience” (263). The prize committee that bestowed MHA’s Best Documentary Book on *The Nauvoo City and High Council Minutes* (Calgary, 2012) obviously did not

find his work to be substandard.

Kline and Perdue expressed dismay at editors who “neglect the hard work and harder thought needed to establish the substantives of a text,” but who focus on “accidental patterns of punctuation and spelling” (*Guide*, 10). In a sense, this is what Jensen is guilty of in his review. Kline and Perdue warn editors that some reviewers will be “fair and helpful,” while others will be “ill-informed and illogical” (*Guide*, 288), that if a book falls short of expectations for one reviewer, it may earn superlative comments from another critic. In all of this, an MHA award probably speaks louder than anything Jensen said.

Ron Priddis
Managing Director
Signature Books
Salt Lake City

Disappointed by Review

I just received my *Journal of Mormon History* 38, no. 3 (Summer 2012) and was disappointed to read Robin Scott Jensen’s review of John S. Dinger, ed., *The Nauvoo City and High Council Minutes* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2011).

I was not disappointed in his critical stance. I have written a number of critical reviews myself and can understand the need to do so. But Jensen asserts that an important editorial task is to insure “the integrity of the original records” and protect “the context and provenance of the originals” (265). I agree, but I find

his statement of this goal ironic, given that the Joseph Smith Papers project (of which he is one of the editors) recently published parts of “The Book of the Law of the Lord” in a way that violated that context. Many of the revelations and all of the donations were excluded, and only the journal entries were published.

Perhaps the original compilers created this record with the intent that it eventually be separated; but it certainly seems like a violation of “the integrity of the original records” to me. How is a researcher or historian supposed to understand the context and provenance of this important document when the record has never been available to people outside Church employment?

*Joseph Geisner
Windsor, California*

Editor’s Note: Although not a solution to the problem described above, a fuller description of the book’s arrangement, creation, appearance, and context, including a page-by-page table summarizing the content, will appear as Alex D. Smith, “The Book of the Law of the Lord” in this current fall issue of the *Journal*.

The Future of Mormon Documentary Editing

I thank the editor of the *Journal of Mormon History* for this opportunity to respond to the letters that my book review elicited. I wonder, however, at the appropriateness of this venue for such a considerable reaction. If one book review prompts four letters to the editor, perhaps it would be more worthwhile to take the discussion of

documentary editing elsewhere, such as a conference panel. Scholarship, at times, involves critical reviews. Responses in appropriate venues to those critical reviews can elevate the overall scholarship of the community and I welcome such continued discussion. As it is, I am happy to address themes raised by the three letters written by those connected with the publication of the book, but I will not engage in point-by-point debate.

Joseph Geisner raises an altogether different issue that I will briefly address. Nineteenth-century record keeping frequently generated multiple texts within one physical volume. The Joseph Smith Papers carefully considers this aspect in our selection criteria. The 1832 history, for instance, is in the same volumes as Joseph Smith’s first letterbook. Intellectually and practically, it does not make sense to publish almost 100 pages of unrelated letters just because the Histories Series features the six-page 1832 history. The Joseph Smith Papers did not publish the hundreds of pages of financial and revelation portions of the Book of the Law of the Lord, simply because they are completely different intellectual elements of the same physical volume. Source notes published with the volume in question explain the reasoning and provide the context of the physical record. There is an important difference between the intellectual context of a single text as opposed to two distinct texts that share the covers of a volume.

The three letters from those involved in the publication of the book have convinced me of at least one thing: They and I have completely different views of documentary editing. It should come as no surprise, then, that we feel very differently about the book in question. Ron Priddis speaks of the intended audience as one of a general readership, and John Dinger states that he was trying to provide a “narrative history” that would allow the “drama” of Nauvoo to unfold in a “gripping” fashion, without the minutes “diverting their attention to the documents themselves.” I simply do not agree with this approach. I do see documents as an excellent way of telling a story: Documentary history volumes can and do tell an engaging story. But the fundamental purpose of documentary editing, as I see it, is to provide historians with accurate transcriptions and understandings of source documents. My shelf of documentary editing books replaces the need to continually consult the original documents. As I mentioned in my review, these reference volumes stand as surrogates to the documents themselves and should be envisioned, edited, designed, and used as such. Dinger’s edition does not provide such a reference tool. Had I been reviewing the volume for a non-academic audience, I would have written my review differently. As it stands, I assumed readers of the *Journal of Mormon History* wanted information on how Dinger’s volume stood up to the standards of professional documentary editing.

The most important task in a documentary editing project must be the thorough presentation of the document(s). This comes through (1) accurate transcriptions, (2) clear descriptions of the manuscript, and (3) presenting a proper historical context that explains the production, transmission, and (contemporaneous) reception of the text and its content. Scholars using works of documentary editions may have specific questions that the editor may not anticipate. If such documents are not faithfully represented, scholars find themselves depending upon unreliable sources for their research.

It is my hope that the Mormon history community will appreciate, encourage, and demand documentary edited books that meet these criteria. A publication whose base text was an assortment of typescripts made decades ago simply does not. Unlike the transcripts made for the papers projects of the Founding Fathers, many of these old typescripts were not made with publication in mind. In my opinion, publishing a volume that relied so heavily on typescripts meant for reference only—and which are therefore at high risk for typographical and other errors—should have been seen as insufficient from the beginning. Supplementing such transcripts with photocopies helps, but I see as flawed the decision to not feature entire documents, but to pick and choose from either rough minutes or final minutes. Such an approach does not convey the document in its

textual context. My hope is that the future of documentary editing in Mormon studies will focus more on the actual *documents* and on what a careful and close scrutiny of those documents can offer.

I would like to provide a few small examples of the importance of providing scholars with faithful representations of original documents, using the publication in question as an example. In the very first rough draft minutes published by Dinger (a meeting of the Nauvoo City Council on December 29, 1843) the mayor of Nauvoo, Joseph Smith, spoke to the assembled gathering. For scholars of Smith, a report of an oral presentation can provide important insights. This particular speech was captured in longhand by scribe Willard Richards (potentially important data not provided by Dinger). Scholars accustomed to researching reports of sermons know that paragraphing and deliberate or exaggerated spacing can reveal a number of things, including nuances in the speaker's presentation not otherwise found in the content of the speech or indicate where the scribe trailed off when not able to keep up with the oral presentation, among other elements. Neither the original spacing nor the paragraphing was reproduced in Dinger's publication. Instead, Dinger added his own paragraphs that are not in the original, thereby introducing textual elements that scholars could misconstrue as a pause or a break in the speech.

I still strongly maintain the crucial

nature of representing as many insertions as possible. Advocating that documentary editors reach for that goal is not, in the words of Priddis, an "insignificant quibble." In a passage where Joseph Smith spoke to the assembled meeting on the importance of the Nauvoo police force defending themselves, Dinger transcribed Smith's words, in part, as "If any one lifts a weapon [or] presents a pistol &c [you must] take his life if needs be. Take care of yourselves own lives," (p. 197; brackets supplied by Dinger). The original (where some strikethrough bars and angle brackets represent letters or words written over other letters or words) reads: "if any one lifts a weapon presents a pistol &c take his life if need<s> be. take <to> care <save> of <your> yourselves <own lives>". In other words, the scribe revised "take his life if need be. take care of yourselves" to "take his life if needs be to save your own lives."¹ This is one minute of hundreds, but illustrates the importance of careful transcription. What else will scholars miss when consulting only Dinger's publication? As mentioned in my review, Dinger's failure to present any portion of the first rough draft minute book should be seen as a significant drawback in using this volume as a reference volume.

The issue of accessibility is an important one for this project and obviously caused frustrations for the editor and his publisher. I'm glad Dinger and Signature Books have gone on record telling their story; how-

ever, I could only review the product of that attempt, what was written in the introduction, and information I gained from talking to archivists at the LDS Church History Library. Their added information does not change the fact that the Nauvoo City Council Minutes were open during Dinger's work on his volume, and the High Council minutes were not. The rough minutes of the Nauvoo City Council as found in the Nauvoo City Papers (MS 16800) were fully processed and available for public research on December 29, 2006. The more final version of the Nauvoo City Council Minutes as found in "Proceedings, 1841 February–1845 February" (MS 3435) were fully processed and available for public research on January 13, 2010.² The High Council minutes, as I mentioned in my review, were and continue to be restricted, following the library's transparent policy of restricting items of a sacred, private, or confidential nature. Given Dinger's motivation for publishing his work (a narrative approach to documentary history), and understanding the difficulty in which they sought access to the high council minutes, I can see why he went forward with publication without seeing the original minutes and why he is proud of his work. I hope he and others understand, when recognizing my own philosophy of documentary editing, why I could not endorse such an approach of going forward with publication based on access only to typescripts and not to the originals.

I hope, however, that scholars

reading this exchange do not misconstrue the nature of records at the LDS Church History Library. Having heard of writers who do not even come to the library because they assume that everything is restricted, I feel strongly, like Dinger, in promoting its continued use. I would point out again that, in working with archivists at the library, scholars can and often do access some information found in these restricted items, even procuring help in double-checking a transcription. I heartily agree with Dinger in praising the helpfulness of the reference staff at the LDS Church History Library, and I echo Dinger's commendable desire to see sources more widely available to scholars.

I appreciate and thank the Signature Books and the Smith-Pettit Foundation staff, including Ron Priddis and Gary Bergera, and all the editors and authors who have worked with them in making Signature Books an important source for Mormon documents and a notable voice in the Mormon history community. The challenge of Mormon documentary editing going forward, as I see it, must be to provide quality transcripts and to facilitate a better understanding of the documents that will clarify, improve, and lead to higher quality scholarship.

Notes

¹Rough Minutes of the Nauvoo City Council, December 29, 1843, p. 31, MS 16800, LDS Church History Library.

²Brandon Metcalf, manager of archives and manuscripts processing, email to Robin Scott Jensen, July 31, 2012.

*Robin Scott Jensen
Salt Lake City, Utah*

Timely Reminder

As an LDS missionary minding a booth at a state fair in Alabama, I remember being asked by a police officer about my temple garments. In the fashion of an overly confident twenty-year-old, I looked him in the eye and said with the slowest drawl I could muster, "I'm sorry; but where I come from, it's not polite to ask about someone's underwear." Looking back at my audacity, I wonder how I avoided time in a southern jail.

I share this anecdote in an attempt to place some perspective on my comments about John-Charles Duffy's generally favorable review of Devery Anderson's *The Development of LDS Temple Worship, 1846–2000: A Documentary History* (*Journal of Mormon History* 38, no. 3 [Summer 2012]: 254–59). Duffy surveys the limited number of scholarly works on Mormon temple worship and rightly highlights the role Signature Books has played in presenting documents and analysis on the topic. I have minor quibbles, but overall I felt that his praise of Anderson's book was deserved and that his criticism was reasonable.

However, Duffy made a mistake at the end of his review by stating that Signature Books has plans to produce nineteenth-century exposés of the

temple. We do not and have not. In Duffy's defense, people sometimes confuse projects and relationships, for instance between authors and publishers, between books published by Signature and research projects undertaken by our sister company, the Smith-Pettit Foundation, and even the projects of friends and family. I am often asked when we are going to produce the current research interests of Will Bagley, whom we have never published; Todd Compton, for whom we published one book; and Michael Quinn, whose last book with Signature goes back a decade.

In this case, the authors of our three-volume documentary series on the temple, Gary J. Bergera and Devery S. Anderson, prepared an electronic transcript of some of the early narratives by Increase Van Deusen and others to facilitate research. A careful eye would have noticed a small number of footnotes in the series that cited these nineteenth-century exposés. Duffy made the leap from being invited to help flesh out a private transcript to an intent to publish, all of which is several arms' lengths removed from Signature Books.

We at Signature Books are acutely aware that we will never satisfy every worldview or sensitivity. Regarding temple issues, many of those involved with the editorial and marketing decisions have firsthand experience with temple rituals and are well aware of the pitfalls involved in "maintaining the sacred nature of

temple covenants,” as Duffy himself attempted in his own book on temple ritual (John D. Charles [pseud.], *Endowed from On High: Understanding the Symbols of the Endowment* [Bountiful, Utah: Horizon Publishers, 1997], 15). However, in the thirty-plus years we have produced books on temple-related topics, we have never knowingly crossed a line that we believe exists regarding what should and should not be publicly disclosed about the temple, meaning that we have not allowed any author to treat lightly any key element of the temple that we understand to be held sacred and kept confidential by Latter-day Saints.

I suspect that readers of the *Journal of Mormon History* know this, but it

never hurts to be reminded, especially in the face of an assertion that was no doubt innocent enough but could well be misunderstood.

Tom Kimball
Marketing Director
Signature Books

Corrections

Please note the following corrections for Gale Yancey Anderson, “Eleven Witnesses Behold the Plates,” *Journal of Mormon History* 38, no. 2 (Spring 2012): 145–62:

p. 154, para. 2, lines 14-15. No quotation marks around: the next day returned home.

p. 157, para. 1, line 10. Scriptural citation is: (D&C 5:11).

BETWEEN TWO ECONOMIES: THE BUSINESS DEVELOPMENT OF THE *YOUNG WOMAN'S JOURNAL*, 1889–1900

Lisa Olsen Tait

IN THE SPRING OF 1888, Susa Young Gates sent a flurry of letters from Laie in the Sandwich Islands (Hawai'i), where she was living with her missionary husband and young children, to friends and relatives in Utah, proposing a plan that would have important consequences for herself personally and for the LDS Church's Young Ladies' Mutual Improvement Associations (YLMIA). At age thirty-two, Gates, a daughter of Brigham Young and Lucy Bigelow, had long been known for her literary talents; for over a decade, she had been writing for local publications and had been attempting to place her work in national magazines.

As she told the story in her letters, the impetus for the new plan came from her husband, Jacob: "Sometime ago," she wrote to the YLMIA general presidency, "my husband expressed a wish that I could on my return to Utah, identify myself with one of our leading publications and thus centralize my varied efforts in the literary

LISA OLSEN TAIT {ltait@q.com} received a Ph.D. in American literature from the University of Houston. She is working on a biography of Susa Young Gates and continuing her research on gendered aspects of Mormonism in transition. She teaches in the Department of Church History and Doctrine at Brigham Young University and serves on the executive board of the Mormon Women's History Initiative Team.

line.”¹ From this conversation, which took place in January or February of 1888, Gates developed the idea of founding a magazine for the young women of the Church, to serve as the official organ of the YLMIA. The first issue of this publication appeared in October 1889, and the *Young Woman’s Journal* would eventually go on to great success, representing the YLMIA until October 1929, when it was subsumed into the *Improvement Era* as the joint publication of the Young Men’s and Young Ladies’ Mutual Improvement Associations.

For the first decade of the *Journal’s* existence, however, it was not at all clear that the magazine would succeed, and the story of how it managed to survive illustrates some of the complex transitions taking place in Mormondom in the 1890s. Indeed, the *Young Woman’s Journal* occupied a precarious position between two economies during these years, its development and survival dependent on a web of personal, business, and ecclesiastical relationships.² Although it was always affiliated with the YLMIA, the *Young Woman’s Journal* started out as an independently owned, deeply personal literary project for Susa Young Gates. By 1900, it had become, in both content and management, firmly established as an institutional publication.

In this article, I reconstruct the story of the business development of the *Young Woman’s Journal* in its first decade of publication, highlighting the relationships and circumstances that both challenged and enabled its eventual success. The process by which these changes took place illustrates larger patterns at work as Mormonism moved toward increased centralization and administrative modernization—toward new ways, we might say, of “doing business.” The

¹Susa Young Gates, Letter to YLMIA Presidency, August 24, 1888, Ms 7690, Box 77, fd. 12, Susa Amelia Young Gates Papers (hereafter Gates Papers), LDS Church History Library, Salt Lake City. All correspondence cited is from this collection and will be identified by box and folder number. I have retained the original spelling, punctuation, and emphasis.

²I am using the term “economy” in its broadest sense to reflect “the way in which something is ordered,” a system of organization that incorporates, but is not limited to, management of material resources, production, and exchange. I want to emphasize the way in which this term captures the interaction of cultural, ideological, and financial factors in shaping ways of doing “business.” *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. economy, OED Online, March 2011, <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/59393> (accessed June 14, 2011).

story of the business development of the *Young Woman's Journal* in the 1890s, then, is the story of a shift from one economic order to another.

MORMONS AND MAGAZINES

In the late 1880s, the Mormon periodical market was dominated by the *Juvenile Instructor*, founded in 1866 and edited by George Q. Cannon, superintendent of the Sunday Schools and counselor in the First Presidency. The *Juvenile* was published by Cannon's publishing company, Cannon & Sons, which billed itself as "The Best Equipped and Largest Book and Job Printing and Binding House in the West."³ The *Juvenile*, as it was called, has been credited as the first children's magazine west of the Mississippi,⁴ and it certainly reflected the influence of American Sunday School periodicals in its form and contents. Even more significantly, however, it was modeled after such popular genteel magazines as *Harper's* and the *Century* that circulated widely in the last half of the nineteenth century. Termed the "quality monthlies" or the "family house magazines," these journals contained a variety of material suitable for reading and discussion in the home.⁵ As the organ of the Deseret Sunday School Union, the *Juvenile* was, of course, religiously oriented, and the Sunday School's mission of educating the youth meant that there was always a certain amount of material directed at children and youth.⁶ At the same time, it is clear from the tone and content of the magazine that it envisioned its audience broadly. Its editorials, termed "Topics of the Times" and written by Cannon himself, featured serious discussion of political, social,

³Eleanor Knowles, *Deseret Book Company: 125 Years of Inspiration, Information, and Ideas* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1991), 21.

⁴Doyle L. Green, "The Church and Its Magazines," *Ensign*, January 1971, 12-15.

⁵Matthew Schneirov, *The Dream of a New Social Order: Popular Magazines in America, 1893-1914* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), 27-28.

⁶Like the *Young Woman's Journal*, the *Juvenile Instructor* evolved from a semi-independent enterprise into an institutional publication. It was not actually purchased by the Deseret Sunday School Union until 1901, but it had always been affiliated with the Sunday School and framed itself in relation to that movement.

and theological matters.⁷ By 1889, the *Juvenile* had been publishing for more than twenty years and was a well-established voice in the community.

Two other periodicals were also regular participants in Mormon cultural conversations. The first was the *Contributor*, founded in 1879 by Junius F. Wells as the monthly publication of the Young Men's Mutual Improvement Associations. Like the *Juvenile*, it resembled the quality monthlies and was highly regarded in the community. Gates herself wrote in one *Journal* editorial that she considered the *Contributor* "the best and finest published in Utah," praising its "modern and interesting style" and characterizing it as "dignified" and "full of progressive topics."⁸ The second was the *Woman's Exponent*, founded in 1872 with Louisa ("Lulu") Greene Richards as its pioneering editor. By 1889 it had become a bi-weekly newspaper owned and edited by Emmeline B. Wells, functioning semi-officially as the organ of the Relief Society, for which Wells served as corresponding secretary. Gates had published work in the *Exponent* and counted Emmeline Wells as a friend and literary mentor. Circulation for the *Exponent* was at its highest point in the late 1880s as Gates began her *Journal*, but even so, it probably did not exceed one thousand.⁹ Undoubtedly women shared their copies, increasing readership markedly but to an unknown degree, and its influence was widely acknowledged. Edward Tullidge, for example, wrote in 1881 that the *Exponent* wielded "more real power in our politics than all of the newspapers in Utah put to-

⁷Josiah Holland, pioneering editor of *Scribner's Monthly* in the 1870s (forerunner of the very popular *Century* magazine), called his editorial column, in which he blended commentary on political, religious, and social matters, "Topics of the Time." It is likely that Cannon deliberately echoed Holland in his title. See Arthur John, *The Best Years of the Century: Richard Watson Gilder, Scribner's Monthly, and the Century Magazine, 1870-1909* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1981), 26.

⁸Susa Young Gates, "Novel Reading," *Young Woman's Journal* 5 (July 1894): 498.

⁹Tarla Rai Peterson, "The *Woman's Exponent*, 1872-1914: Champion for 'The Rights of the Women of Zion, and the Rights of the Women of All Nations,'" in *A Voice of Their Own: The Woman Suffrage Press, 1840-1910*, edited by Martha M. Solomon (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1991), 166.

gether.”¹⁰ Despite their undoubtedly wide readership in the community, these publications all struggled financially at times.¹¹

By publishing their own magazines, Mormons could feel that they were simultaneously resisting and participating in mainstream American culture. The post-Civil War years saw a veritable explosion in the number and circulation of magazines, and these publications became firmly established as “a multifaceted reflection of national life.”¹² The numbers alone are impressive. In the two decades following the end of the Civil War, the number of magazines circulating in the United States multiplied by over four and a half times, increasing from 700 in 1865 to 3,300 in 1885. Given an estimated four-year life-span for individual periodicals, there were actually something like 8,000 magazines published during this period. Moreover, magazine circulation increased dramatically; and by the mid-1880s, several publications boasted subscription lists in the hundreds of thousands.¹³

At the same time, the trend in prices for national publications was downward. Fueled by intense competition among magazines in the 1880s, the decade of the 1890s saw a “revolution” in magazine prices, as the popular, well-produced general magazines reduced their prices to fifteen, ten, and even five cents per issue.¹⁴ Women’s magazines were especially aggressive in employing new techniques of self-promotion. The driving force was a recognition that subscriptions could be offered at a minimal rate, even at a loss, if advertising was harnessed to become the primary source of revenue. The *Ladies’*

¹⁰Edward Tullidge, “Emmeline B. Wells,” *Tullidge’s Quarterly Magazine* 1 (January 1881): 252, as quoted in Sherilyn Cox Bennion, “The Woman’s Exponent: Forty-Two Years of Speaking for Women,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 44 (Summer 1976): 231.

¹¹In 1892, Abraham Cannon took over ownership and management of the *Contributor*. Dennis B. Horne, *An Apostle’s Record: The Journals of Abraham H. Cannon* (Clearfield, Utah: Gnolaum Books, 2004), 34.

¹²John Tebbel and Mary Ellen Zuckerman, *The Magazine in America, 1741–1990* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 57. Tebbel and Zuckerman’s more accessible one-volume treatment draws heavily on Frank Luther Mott’s essential five-volume *A History of American Magazines* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1938–68).

¹³Tebbel and Zuckerman, *The Magazine in America*, 58–59.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, 66.

Home Journal was the clear leader in this trend, transforming itself in just a few years, as one account puts it, “from a collection of helpful hints in a newspaper to a phenomenon in the publishing industry.” By 1890, the circulation of the *Ladies Home Journal* was approaching half a million, and it was increasing rapidly.¹⁵

Gates founded her magazine against this backdrop of unprecedented success for women’s magazines. She was an avid reader of the *Ladies Home Journal*; and while she certainly did not expect her magazine to achieve the same level of success, its example would have shaped her thinking and perhaps her optimism about the potential of her enterprise. In one letter to Zina D. H. Young, who had become Relief Society general president a month earlier in April 1888, Gates had suggested that the *Exponent* could be improved to become a “good woman’s magazine.”¹⁶ And in an early issue of the *Young Woman’s Journal*, she informed her readers that she had a “determination to try and improve month by month, and year by year until we shall be able to meet your ideal of a perfect woman’s magazine.”¹⁷ Comments like these show that such an “ideal” was firmly established, even for publications whose audience and mission were significantly different from their mainstream counterparts.¹⁸

When Gates proposed her plan for the new magazine, the YLMIA was headed by Elmina Shepard Taylor, who had been installed as president of the organization in 1880. Her counselors in 1889 were Martha (“Mattie”) Horne Tingey and Maria Young Dougall (one of Gates’s half-sisters). As Gates remembered it in her official history of the YLMIA, the decade of the 1890s was a time of “vital up-

¹⁵Helen Damon-Moore, *Magazines for the Millions: Gender and Commerce in the Ladies’ Home Journal and the Saturday Evening Post, 1880–1910* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994), 27. See also Mary Ellen Zuckerman, *A History of Popular Women’s Magazines in the United States, 1792–1995* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1995).

¹⁶Susa Young Gates, Letter to Zina D. H. Young, May 5, 1888, Box 77, fd. 12.

¹⁷Editorial, *Young Woman’s Journal* 1 (September 1890): 478. Susa Young Gates was the author of all editorials cited in this article.

¹⁸For more on the *Young Woman’s Journal’s* identity as a women’s magazine, see Lisa Olsen Tait, “The *Young Woman’s Journal*: Gender and Generations in a Mormon Women’s Magazine,” *American Periodicals* 22, no. 1 (Spring 2012): 51–71.

lift and force” that was felt “in every part of the work.” Instead of the localized, “experimental” programs that characterized the YLMIA in its early decades, now “order, regularity, and system” were implemented, and “in all avenues great activity marked the last decade of the nineteenth century.”¹⁹ The *Young Woman's Journal* was both a product of and a venue for this “activity.”

At this time, both the *Young Woman's Journal* and the YLMIA itself were semi-independent entities within the Mormon economy. While the YLMIA, like the YMMIA, Relief Society, and Sunday School, was certainly approved and conducted under the auspices of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, it functioned quite autonomously and was responsible for its own financial support. Male leaders exercised some oversight at the general and local levels, but female YLMIA leaders acted on their own initiative to conduct the affairs of the individual associations. Local members paid dues and raised funds, a portion of which was forwarded to the YLMIA General Board to help cover expenses (primarily leaders' travel to visit local units); the institutional Church did not provide funding for the YLMIA or other auxiliaries as a general rule. Indeed, by the late 1880s, the LDS Church's finances were in dire straits, a result of government anti-polygamy efforts. No doubt it was this situation that prompted President Wilford Woodruff to emphasize in a letter to Gates that her new magazine would have to “stand upon its own resources, independent of any aid from the Church, further than what moral support we can give in its interest.”²⁰

In serving the semi-autonomous YLMIA, then, the *Young Woman's Journal* took its place as a semi-independent entity. Gates's vision was always that her magazine would further the ideological work of the YLMIA, but she assumed ownership and financial responsibility. This meant, nominally, that she also assumed liability, but the affiliation of the magazine with the YLMIA and the complex relationships that ensued between Gates, the Cannon family, and the YLMIA seem to have shielded her from personal liability. The *Journal* was ex-

¹⁹Susa Young Gates, *History of the Young Ladies' Mutual Improvement Association of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints from November 1869 to June 1910* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1911), 89; hereafter cited as *History of YLMIA*.

²⁰Wilford Woodruff, Letter to Susa Young Gates, October 2, 1888, Box 77, fd. 12.

pected to pay for itself through subscriptions and advertising. No matter how valuable its ideological and institutional mission might be, it was a business; and at some point, business imperatives had to be satisfied.

Moreover, the business dealings of the *Journal* were complex in relation to the cash economy. An alternative economy had long functioned in Mormondom through the Tithing Office system of exchange and credit, attempting to keep the Mormon economy separate from the national “gentile” economy and compensating for the scarcity of cash. Individual businesses also issued scrip or credit that substituted for cash. At least initially, the *Young Woman’s Journal* seems to have participated in this alternative economy. For example, a letter to Gates in August 1889 from Abraham (“Abram”) H. Cannon, the son of George Q. who had managerial responsibility for the publishing company, noted that he was forwarding \$42 in cash and confirming \$12 in Beaver Woolen Mills credit.²¹ Letters between Gates and Cannon over the next several years frequently mention credit of various kinds being used as payment, but it is clear that the preference (on both ends) was for cash. At the end of the 1890s, a letter from longtime contributor Julia Macdonald Pace acknowledged that “T.O. [tithing office] coupons” were not valid “under the new order” as they had been previously.²² By this time, the *Journal* had evidently transitioned to an entirely cash basis.

Although Gates seems to have had great confidence in her writing and editorial abilities, she was less sure about managing its business. In a letter of approval for her plan, Joseph F. Smith, a counselor in the First Presidency and a personal friend, had expressed his opinion that the new magazine ought to be entirely produced by “home-female talant [sic],”²³ and in her letter to the YLMIA presidency, Gates had proposed the names of a few women who might serve as business manager for the new journal. A letter from Romania Pratt, physician at the Deseret Hospital and Gates’s close friend who had originally proposed the idea of a young women’s magazine, alluded to the

²¹Abraham H. Cannon, Letter to Susa Young Gates, August 15, 1889, Box 77, fd. 22.

²²Julia Pace, Letter to “Young Woman’s Journal,” October 16, 1899, Box 80, fd. 3.

²³Joseph F. Smith, Letter to Susa Young Gates, August 10, 1888, Box 77, fd. 12.

“need for a good business manager,” and Gates brought up the topic repeatedly in her letters.²⁴ She seems to have been concerned about balancing her magazine work with her “home duties”—natural enough given that, in the fall of 1889, she had four children, one of them a baby born shortly before their departure from Hawai‘i. She predicted that she would be “crowned many more times yet with the bliss of motherhood” and, in fact, gave birth to four more children during her editorship. Moreover, Susa knew that she would have to travel regularly from her home in Provo to conduct *Journal* business in Salt Lake City.²⁵

For reasons unknown, Gates did not initially try to find a female business manager but instead turned to Abram Cannon, who was about her age and whom she had likely known from childhood. Gates had written for the *Juvenile Instructor* and had an established business relationship with Cannon in that capacity. Cannon was an able and trusted young businessman and Church leader; he was called into the Quorum of Twelve Apostles in October 1889, just as the new magazine was being launched.

On Friday, January 24, 1890, Cannon recorded that he had “agreed with Susa Young Gates this morning to become a half owner in her magazine, *The Young Woman’s Journal*.” Gates was to have “full charge of the Editorial department,” he wrote, “and I am to control the entire business.” They would “share alike” in profit or loss.²⁶ It is not clear whether this arrangement represented a new partnership, or whether it simply formalized an understanding that had been in

²⁴Romania B. Pratt, Letter to Susa Young Gates, August 12, 1888, Box 77, fd. 12.

²⁵Susa Young Gates, Letter to YLMIA Presidency, August 24, 1888. Gates later recalled, “Twice a month, or oftener, I went up to the city, sometimes with my nursing baby and little Lulu [daughter Emma Lucy] as day nurse.” Susa Young Gates, “Hail and Farewell,” *Young Woman’s Journal* 40 (October 1929): 678.

²⁶Abraham H. Cannon, Journal, January 24, 1890, L. Tom Perry Special Collections (hereafter Perry Special Collections), Mss 62, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah; hereafter cited as Cannon, Journal, by date. Cannon also wrote in this entry that he had stipulated that he was “not to be known in connection with the business.” It is not clear what he meant by this statement, since it was no secret that Cannon & Sons did the publishing. Perhaps he did not want to be seen as having a fi-

place since the magazine's launch the previous fall, but Cannon's involvement in the magazine turned out to be a crucial factor in its survival. Cannon repeatedly expressed his faith in the *Journal's* potential, and, more importantly, he patiently carried much of the cost of production for seven years without demanding payment.

It is important to note the complexity of the relationship between Gates and Cannon in regard to the *Journal*. They were long-time friends and fellow Latter-day Saints. As an apostle, Cannon held a position of authority and stewardship in the community, and his interest in seeing the *Young Woman's Journal* succeed was driven by this dynamic as much as by his financial interest. The traditional Mormon economy had a strong emphasis on "home industries," and Saints were encouraged to consecrate their means and their abilities for the good of the community. This "ethic of consecration," as I call it, had profoundly shaped the Mormon economy for decades. While individual effort, enterprise, and even profit were encouraged, there was a clear expectation that one's resources should be dedicated to the good of the community, and the lines between individual ownership and economic interest were not always clearly separated from communal, religious purposes. Cannon does not seem to have hesitated to allow the resources of his company to be used to essentially subsidize the operation of the young women's magazine for several years, placing the benefit of the community ahead of profit.

In addition to the influence of local structures, the relationship between Gates and Cannon was shaped by business practices common in the publishing industry. Susan Coultrap-McQuin has identified two models of business as conducted by nineteenth-century publishers. First was the "Gentleman Publisher," the "prescribed model for all respectable publishers" that reached its height of influence at mid-century. These men (and virtually all publishers in the United States during this time were men) conducted their business in a way that emphasized personal, sometimes paternalistic, relationships with writers; they "claimed to have noncommercial goals to advance culture and/or provide a public service"; and they saw themselves as

nancial interest in the *Journal* since his firm owned and promoted the *Juvenile Instructor*, to which the new publication could have been seen as a competitor.

“moral guardians” of society.²⁷ It is not difficult to see how Cannon and his company fit into this paradigm, especially in regard to the *Young Woman's Journal*. Cannon and Gates initiated and conducted their business on the basis of a personal relationship, overlaid with a common loyalty to their religion; and while they certainly hoped to make a profit, they also saw themselves as serving the good of the community by publishing Church-related materials and local authors.

By the last quarter of the century, another business model was taking shape in the publishing industry. Coultrap-McQuin calls this the “Businessman Publisher,” characterized by aggressive, profit-driven management that valued audience appeal over moral guardianship and explicitly cultivated a “masculine” style.²⁸ While Cannon & Sons retained its communal, religious orientation and therefore maintained the Gentleman Publisher dynamic to some extent, events will show that, by the end of the 1890s, a definite shift signaled a stronger push for cash and profits, even at the expense of an established publication that was clearly benefiting the community.

OPTIMISTIC BEGINNINGS

Upon Gates's return from the Sandwich Islands in the spring of 1889, she immediately began working on plans for her new magazine. She was deeply invested in the project, in every sense of the word. “The work would be a labor of love for you know how I love writing,” she had written to Zina D. H. Young. “My whole soul is for the building up of this kingdom. I would labor so hard to help my sisters in this same work.” Gates also characterized her literary ambitions as the “paths which I once hoped to walk in up to glory and increased usefulness.”²⁹ In writing to the YLMIA general presidency to propose her plan, she called writing her “beloved pursuit.”³⁰ Women in nineteenth-century America had to be very careful in what they said about

²⁷Susan Coultrap-McQuin, *Doing Literary Business: American Women Writers in the Nineteenth Century* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990), 34.

²⁸*Ibid.*, 48.

²⁹Susa Young Gates, Letter to Zina D. H. Young, May 5, 1888, Box 77, fd. 12.

³⁰Susa Young Gates, Letter to YLMIA Presidency, August 24, 1888, Box 77, fd. 12.

their professional ambitions and desires, as there was a taboo against their “openly expressing or even harboring ambitions as artists.”³¹ In Gates’s case, this broad cultural taboo was overlaid with the imperative that her talents be channeled into religious expression and consecrated to the good of the community. “To uplift the youth of her people with her pen was a mission given her by Pres. Young,” as one colleague put it.³² Gates’s circumspect effacing of her ambition demonstrates her internalization of these norms, but her hopes nonetheless become palpable in her carefully chosen expressions of desire and purpose.

If it was forbidden to voice artistic aspirations, it was even more delicate to express financial ones. American women writers had long defended their participation in the marketplace either by emphasizing their religious and moral objectives or by justifying financial motivations in terms of supporting their children (and thus fulfilling their primary domestic role). Indeed, by the late nineteenth century, it was widely known that writing was one of the few occupations for white, middle-class women that was both respectable and potentially lucrative.³³ In the Mormon economy, the ethic of consecration meant that financial motives could be even more delicate to navigate than artistic ones. Gates did not ever record her feelings or hopes about making money from her magazine, but it seems likely that she harbored at least some desires in that direction.

In proposing the idea of a young women’s magazine to Gates, Romania B. Pratt had predicted glowingly, “It will pay you handsomely if well canvassed & enable you to hire all your wood cut & your

³¹Anne E. Boyd, *Writing for Immortality: Women and the Emergence of High Literary Culture in America* (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004), 3.

³²Estelle Neff Caldwell, “Susa Young Gates,” in *History of YLMIA*, 124.

³³Coultrap-McQuin, *Doing Literary Business*, 7–26, esp. 23–24. By the 1890s, traditional forms of women’s writing faded in popularity and literary production became increasingly industrialized; writers, especially for the periodical market, became “proletarianized workers.” Richard Brodhead, “Literature and Culture,” *Columbia Literary History of the United States*, edited by Emory Elliott (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), 470. These conditions had not yet permeated the Mormon market, and the traditional understanding of women writers prevailed.

water drawn & babies well tended.”³⁴ To a burdened young mother of a constantly increasing family, such visions must have been sweet. In another letter, Pratt reaffirmed the possibility of financial recompense: “In time and a short time I feel sure you could make the enterprise not only self supporting but actually remunerative.”³⁵ Pratt’s basis for making such predictions is not clear; probably she did not know how precarious an existence most local publications led. For that matter, the astounding attrition rate among magazines discussed above suggests that many others in nineteenth-century America (perhaps including Gates herself) held the same optimistically naive views.

Perhaps the most telling statement Gates made about her financial hopes came in an article she published under the pen name “Mary Howe” in the *Journal*’s October 1891 issue as the inaugural installment in a series titled “Professional and Business Opportunities for Women.” “If women once taste the delight of supporting themselves, they will never again willingly consent to ask any man for every cent of money they wish to spend,” she said. “Once you get into the way of earning your own money, it is so delightfully independent that it is very difficult to return to dependence.”³⁶ At this point, she was certainly not making any money from the *Journal*, but she had long been paid for her writing in other venues. She carefully shielded such subversive sentiments behind a pseudonym, but no doubt they represent at least one very strong source of Gates’s motivation for proposing and staying with her struggling project.

Whatever the exact equation of literary ambition, financial hope, and ideological investment, then, the *Young Woman’s Journal* was a deeply personal project for Susa Young Gates. “She was as sanguine financially as she was spiritually,” Gates later wrote of herself,³⁷ and she certainly threw herself into the work with great energy. “The *Journal* was, at first, largely personal,” she recalled, explaining her vo-

³⁴Romania B. Pratt, Letter to Susa Young Gates, June 26, 1888, Box 77, fd. 12.

³⁵*Ibid.*, August 12, 1888, Box 77, fd. 12.

³⁶Mary Howe, “Professional and Business Opportunities for Women,” *Young Woman’s Journal* 3 (October 1891): 25. Gates later identified “Mary Howe” as one of her pen names. Gates, “Hail and Farewell,” 678.

³⁷*History of YLMIA*, 106.

luminous contributions as “filling in the gaps” between available space and willing writers.³⁸ Certainly it was more than that. Gates became the central voice of the *Journal* (and, by extension, of the YLMIA), holding forth with great energy on a vast array of topics religious, domestic, educational, political, scientific, medical, historical, and personal—not to mention her almost constant output of fiction. By my count, she wrote as much as a third of any given issue of the magazine; and while some of this volume was certainly driven by necessity, it is also clear that it reflected her own interests, concerns, and self-image as a person with something to say. While she may not have earned much cash from her position as editor of the *Young Woman’s Journal*, Gates’s work did indeed turn out to be “actually remunerative” in terms of social and cultural capital.³⁹

Letters between Abram Cannon and Susa Young Gates show plans for the *Journal* taking shape and help to reconstruct the costs of publication. In the original bid, Cannon wrote: “We will be pleased to print for you in first class style, using the best material, 3,000 copies of a monthly magazine.”⁴⁰ At this quantity, an issue of thirty-two pages, with cover, would run \$150–170, depending on the quality of paper used, and the yearly cost of production would have been \$1,800–2,040. After the first five issues, the magazine expanded to forty-eight pages, which would have increased the price by a third, but Gates recorded later that 2,000 volumes per year had been published, not the 3,000 estimated in the original bid.⁴¹ Cannon also mentioned the possibility of reducing the cost by using “inferior material.” The cor-

³⁸Gates, “Hail and Farewell,” 677.

³⁹Social and cultural capital, as articulated by Pierre Bourdieu, refers to the social, intellectual, and cultural assets that individuals possess and that enable them to “profit,” monetarily or otherwise, from their identity and social relations. Bourdieu, “The Forms of Capital,” in *Cultural Theory: An Anthology*, edited by Imre Szeman and Timothy Kaposy (Oxford, N.Y.: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011), 81–92.

⁴⁰Abraham H. Cannon, Letter to Susa Young Gates, May 18, 1889, Box 77, fd. 22.

⁴¹Untitled history of the *Young Woman’s Journal*, typescript, Gates Papers, Box 79, fd. 9, n.p.; hereafter cited as Manuscript History YWJ. Gates prepared this brief account sometime after 1900, but as far as I have found, it was never published.

respondence does not clarify whether they made this decision.⁴²

The exact cost of production is therefore impossible to determine, but about \$2,000 per year seems like a reasonable figure. Cannon's production estimates did not include paying writers, but Gates insisted that writers "should receive something, if ever so little, for their work,"⁴³ nor did it include any compensation for Gates herself. I have not found any records that give a definite rate for contributions to the *Young Woman's Journal*, but one contributor was paid \$4.00 for a five-page short story, "Spiritualism, or What Became of Murphy," in the first issue, and \$2.50 for a nonfiction article, "Tell the Truth," which ran three pages in the December 1889 number. If these rates were typical, contributors were paid about 80 cents per page.⁴⁴ By comparison, national journals such as the *Atlantic Monthly* paid \$6–10 per page.⁴⁵ Some records suggest that Gates may have received a comparable rate for her work published in the *Juvenile Instructor*. An 1891 letter from Abraham Cannon notes payment of \$60 for her January and February articles. Unless she contributed additional work under an unknown pen name, her articles in these two issues consisted of about nine pages of a serialized short story, "Harry's Wife," which ran through several issues and appeared under the pseudonym "Homespun."⁴⁶ Depending on how the fractions of columns were computed into the page total, this payment equaled about \$6 per page, a marked increase from the *Journal's* rate. Whatever the rate of payment and the frequency of remuneration for authors in the *Journal*, it was credited against the account at Cannon & Sons and added in some measure to the debt of the venture.

Gates certainly intended to incorporate advertising—the secret to the success of national magazines—in the *Journal*, but it is difficult

⁴²Examination of extant magazines suggests that the paper used in printing the *Young Woman's Journal* is the same as that used for the *Juvenile*, which would presumably not have been "inferior material."

⁴³*History of YLMIA*, 107.

⁴⁴Ellen Jakeman, Letter to Susa Young Gates, January 15, 1890, Box 77, fd. 25.

⁴⁵Tebbel and Zuckerman, *The Magazine in America*, 60. Mark Twain was paid two cents per word for his work in the *Galaxy*.

⁴⁶*Juvenile Instructor* Office, Receipt to Susa Young Gates, Gates Papers, March 10, 1891, Box 77, fd. 22.

to determine how much advertising actually appeared during the *Young Woman's Journal's* early years. Following the pattern of the *Juvenile Instructor* and the *Contributor* (which, in turn, reflected the practices of the family house magazines), advertising was kept at the periphery of the magazine, printed on separate pages and on the covers. Unfortunately, when the individual issues were later bound into volumes, the covers and advertising pages were usually discarded. I have examined a few loose issues of the *Young Woman's Journal* from the early 1890s, which I will have to treat as representative of general trends. In the June 1890 issue, there is one advertisement, for the Rio Grande Western Railway, at the bottom of the contents page immediately inside the front cover. Inside the back cover is a large ad for Spencer & Kimball's "Fine Boots and Shoes," and on the back cover are three smaller advertisements, one for the Union Pacific System Overland Route, one for W. M. Hill, a Provo photographer, and one for the Gates Snow Furniture Company—also in Provo and co-owned by Gates's husband. The correspondence frequently deals with Rio Grande Railroad credit, which may mean that she ran Rio Grande ads in exchange for free commuting between Provo and Salt Lake City. By contrast, the March 1891 issue of the *Contributor* contained eight pages of advertising in the front of the magazine and ten pages in the back, including both sides of the back cover. Many of these ads were for Eastern companies.⁴⁷

This comparative skimpiness of advertising in the *Journal* probably results from the disadvantage of being a new publication, while already-established magazines had first claim on local businesses' advertising dollars. Moreover, with no business manager, no one was regularly out drumming up advertising sponsorship. (When Ellen Jakeman assumed that position in 1891, her efforts began to pay off quickly.) And finally, the economic downturn following the Panic of 1893 complicated all financial efforts.

Gates had assured the YLMIA presidency that she had "capital sufficient" to start the enterprise, but the primary source of revenue for the new magazine would be subscriptions.⁴⁸ Subscriptions were set at \$2 a year, identical to those of the *Juvenile Instructor* and the *Contributor*, but much higher than many of the most popular national

⁴⁷Great thanks are due Brittany Chapman of the LDS Church History Library for tracking down these individual issues for me.

⁴⁸Susa Young Gates, Letter to YLMIA Presidency, August 24, 1888,

magazines. At the original bid of 3,000 copies per issue, this price would have generated \$6,000 annually, generously covering the costs of production. The actual press run of 2,000 copies should have generated \$4,000, more than covering expenses, but even this reduced number turned out to be overly optimistic, and continued overproduction seems to have been the primary cause of the *Journal's* early financial struggles. Gates reported 800 subscriptions for the first year, leaving an overrun of 1,200 copies.⁴⁹ Apparently, Gates and Cannon continued to print 2,000 copies per issue, even though subscriptions did not catch up to this number for eight years, and the unsold magazines continued to pile up. This pattern is perhaps the central mystery in reconstructing the business development of the *Journal*. Neither Cannon nor Gates left any explanation of why they continued these print runs in the face of the obvious deficit. Gates simply recorded that “always 2,000 [volumes] a year” were printed.⁵⁰ Both Cannon and Gates were initially optimistic about the prospects for the new magazine, an exuberance that might explain overproduction for a year or even two, but it does not explain why that overproduction continued for so long, especially since Cannon was, by any measure, a careful and skilled businessman.

By 1897, circulation had finally exceeded 2,000, but Gates reported that subscribers still numbered fewer than 3,000.⁵¹ Compared to membership statistics for the YLMIA—8,000 in 1891 and 10,000 in 1893—the low subscription rates for the *Young Woman's Journal* were a source of frustration to Gates and her colleagues.⁵²

It is unclear how much professional time Cannon & Sons contributed to subscriptions and renewals. Gates lamented in her undated manuscript history that Abram Cannon's efforts on behalf of the *Journal*, conducted in “what time he could spare,” were “wholly in-

Box 77, fd. 12. Gates mentioned her “capital” in a few other places, but she never specified how much she had or how much she invested in the *Journal*.

⁴⁹Manuscript History YWJ.

⁵⁰Ibid.

⁵¹Susa Young Gates, Editorial, *Young Woman's Journal* 8 (June 1897): 426.

⁵²“Report of the Young Ladies' Mutual Improvement Associations of Utah,” *Young Woman's Journal* 2 (May 1891): 383; “Our Girls,” *Young Woman's Journal* 5 (December 1893): 162.

adequate.”⁵³ Cannon & Sons had paid agents working on behalf of their other publications. Presumably those same agents could have added the *Journal* to their sales repertoire, but Gates retrospectively attributed the *Journal*'s financial struggles to “lack of agents’ work in the field.”⁵⁴ Each stake, and perhaps each ward, YLMIA was requested to appoint young women to canvass for subscriptions. Gates regularly exhorted these “girls” to increased efforts while expressing gratitude for their work.⁵⁵ They were paid 15 percent of the amount they collected; nonetheless, their efforts were highly variable and generally inadequate.

ELLEN JAKEMAN, BUSINESS MANAGER

As the *Journal* moved into its second year, Gates acted to improve its fortunes by entering into a business partnership with Ellen Lee Jakeman. Jakeman, who was, like Gates, in her mid-thirties, lived in Ephraim in Sanpete County, where her husband, James, published the local newspaper and owned newspapers in at least two other towns.⁵⁶ The couple had five children. Ellen was deeply involved in her husband’s business and was also a talented writer.⁵⁷ Her sister, Lucinda Lee Dalton, was a well-known women’s rights advocate who contributed regularly to the *Exponent*. Jakeman published several

⁵³Manuscript History YWJ.

⁵⁴*History of YLMIA*, 108.

⁵⁵For example, see “Attention, Girls!” *Young Woman’s Journal* 2 (August 1891): 524–26.

⁵⁶On James T. Jakeman’s involvement in several early Utah newspapers, see J. Cecil Alter, *Early Utah Journalism: A Half Century of Forensic Warfare, Waged by the West’s Most Militant Press* (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society, 1938).

⁵⁷An article in the Ephraim newspaper noted, “During all these years of uphill work, he [James Jakeman] has been ably seconded by his cultured and talented wife, a lady who has a reputation in literary circles whose influence is far more extended than that of the Sentinel. Her name is identified more or less with all the great journals of Utah. Besides her literary labors, it seems to be her mission to fill many public positions in both church and other matters.” Quoted in Don A. Carpenter, *A Century of Journalism in Manti, Utah, 1867–1967* (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1968), 32.

pieces in the *Young Woman's Journal*, contributing to the first issue, and hers was some of the most artistically accomplished fiction. Jakeman probably hoped to benefit socially and professionally from her relationship with Gates; Gates saw Jakeman's experience in the publishing business as a valuable offset to her own lack of expertise in this area.

Over the course of 1891, this initially promising relationship eventually devolved into a serious dispute that involved the First Presidency (then consisting of Wilford Woodruff, George, Q. Cannon, and Joseph F. Smith). The root cause seems to have been conflicting visions for the magazine; its resolution solidified the communal/institutional orientation of the publication and moved it irrevocably away from the personal, literary project Gates had originally envisioned.

Gates became acquainted with Jakeman soon after her return from Hawai'i when she began work on the *Young Woman's Journal*. No shrinking violet herself, Gates encountered in Jakeman an equally strong personality. J. Cecil Alter, in researching early Utah journalism, heard the following possibly apocryphal anecdote about Ellen and James: "The story is told by old-timers in Manti, that Manager Jakeman was too busy to cut wood, consequently Mrs. Jakeman dragged a firelog into the house and placed one end of it in the fireplace, and the other end on a chair—Jakeman's easy chair—so the atmosphere would be suitably warm for his homecoming!"⁵⁸ A less colorful profile in the *Deseret News* characterized Ellen as "outspoken" and a "forcible public speaker" who "makes a strong impression on an audience." She possessed "magnificent health" and "indefatigable energy," which she devoted to literary and political work.⁵⁹ The photograph accompanying this newspaper article shows a large, dark-haired woman wearing a dark dress, her hair arranged in a high top-knot, her smile cheerful and energetic. Jakeman's strong personality was noted by people she met. Emmeline Wells, who knew Ellen as a fellow suffragist and was as potent in personality as she was diminutive in size, disapprovingly recorded that she "scarcely approved" of Jakeman's "radicalism" on

⁵⁸Alter, *Early Utah Journalism*, 112.

⁵⁹"Notable Utah Women: Mrs. Ellen C. Jakeman." *Deseret Evening News*, April 7, 1900, 14. It is unclear what the "C" in Jakeman's name refers to. This is the only place I have seen it used.

women's issues⁶⁰ and further described Jakeman as "a very bright young woman but too dictatorial altogether[;] she somehow antagonizes one on almost every subject." Wells concluded, "She is indeed very aggressive—a person I could not be happy with closely associated."⁶¹ When Jakeman was elected Utah County treasurer in 1896, she became embroiled in a series of disputes with the county commissioners, whom she called "horrid men" in public.⁶² Even allowing for probable misogyny in the newspaper accounts of these conflicts, it seems clear that Jakeman was an assertive, forceful, even abrasive personality who often rubbed people the wrong way.

In light of subsequent events, much of Jakeman's "aggressiveness" may have been fueled by personal frustrations. James Jakeman seems to have been somewhat restless and perhaps an inadequate financial manager. After moving to Provo in 1890, apparently on the basis of Ellen's job with the *Journal*, the Jakemans attempted to establish another newspaper, but it folded in less than a year. Ellen's salary as the *Journal's* business manager may have been the family's only income.

Then in the summer of 1892, James Jakeman became embroiled in a series of legal troubles that culminated in his arrest for a string of fraudulent checks. In August 1893, Ellen Jakeman lost her home to foreclosure, and in January 1894 she was granted a divorce on grounds of "failure to support."⁶³ Jakeman's association with Gates had ended two years earlier, but these events suggest possible sources for her hard-driving focus. Jakeman had told Gates early on that "there is a bread and butter side of the question with me," meaning that she needed to make money from her writing.⁶⁴ Given James's apparent unreliability as a provider, Ellen's dispute with Gates may have

⁶⁰Emmeline B. Wells, Diary, February 11, 1894, Mss 1407, Perry Special Collections.

⁶¹Ibid., March 19, 1894. Apparently the feeling was mutual, as Jakeman wrote to Gates, "I think [Emmeline Wells] is the most disagreeable woman I ever met, without exception." Ellen Jakeman, Letter to Susa Young Gates, August 15, 1891, Box 77, fd. 25. My thanks to Cherry Silver for identifying these references from the Wells diary.

⁶²"County Treasurer," *Provo Daily Enquirer*, November 12, 1896, 1.

⁶³"Court Matters," *Provo Daily Enquirer*, January 4, 1894, 4.

⁶⁴Ellen Jakeman, Letter to Susa Young Gates, October 19, 1890, Box

been fueled by the frustrations—even desperation—of her financial situation. While Jakeman occasionally expressed faith in the religious mission of the journal, her letters make it clear that she saw her work primarily in financial terms.

In addition to Jakeman's written contributions—she had published over a dozen items in the *Journal* by the spring of 1891—she kept up a regular personal correspondence with Gates, in which she hinted early on that she was interested in becoming more involved with the *Journal*. “To tell you the truth Susie, I believe I could do something with the business end of the journal,” she wrote in her October 1890 “bread and butter” letter.⁶⁵ Three months later, she suggested: “I have been thinking perhaps if you mailed the maga. to all the country papers yourself, with a suitable notice enclosed it would be more sure of receiving proper recognition.” Citing her own experience, she advised, “I know how easily such things are overlooked in an office where work is not classified. Having talked with a number of people, I find the Journal is growing in popularity, and I do not think it will be a hard matter to work it up.”⁶⁶

Within weeks, the partnership was taking shape. On February 24, 1891, Abram Cannon noted: “I went to the Lion House at 9 a.m. to see Susa Y. Gates. She desires to form a partnership with Ellen Jakeman for the entire business of the Young Woman's Journal, he alone to do the printing and mailing. The general office of the magazine she will establish at Provo. I was perfectly agreed to this plan, and encouraged her in fact to do this.” Cannon's equanimity concerning this new arrangement may seem surprising, since the original arrangement had been an “equal partnership” with Gates. However, he was swamped with other business duties and ecclesiastical responsibilities, especially since his father relied on him heavily in managing investments, family crises, and day-to-day business operations. He must have seen the new partnership with Jakeman as a chance for Gates to receive more help than he could give her. Fur-

77, fd. 25.

⁶⁵Ibid.

⁶⁶Ellen Jakeman, Letter to Susa Young Gates, January 5, 1891, Box 77, fd. 25. In her next letter, Jakeman closed, “I heartily wish that we were out of SanPete! There, I have never said that before.” Again, this could be read as a hint to Gates. Ellen Jakeman, Letter to Susa Young Gates, January 18, 1891, Box 77, fd. 25.

thermore, if the *Journal* became more solvent, the likelihood that his company could recoup its investment in the magazine increased. Since his enthusiasm for Jakeman quickly waned, it seems likely that he did not know her well and was thinking only of the potential benefit to the *Journal*.

In any case, Gates and Jakeman announced their plan in the very next issue (March 1891) of the *Journal*. "Sister [Elmina] Taylor sanctioned the choice of Sister Ellen Jakeman as business manager of the JOURNAL," Gates reported. Both women had met with the First Presidency, who had "heartily approved the new appointment" and had "blessed and set apart" Jakeman.⁶⁷ This ecclesiastical benediction added another layer to the relationship. Although Jakeman's job description was specifically to improve the magazine's finances, she and Gates were not simply business partners; they were also fellow laborers in building the kingdom of God, working for the good of the community. Gates emphasized this aspect of Jakeman's work in introducing her to subscribers. She solicited the "faith and prayers" of her young readers and urged them to give Jakeman "substantial assistance . . . whenever she shall visit you in your towns."⁶⁸

In May, Gates and Jakeman formalized their agreement with a one-year contract. Jakeman assumed the title of "Business Manager and Agent" with the option of later becoming half owner of the magazine. She would receive a salary of \$75 per month plus transportation costs.⁶⁹ Jakeman's efforts had already begun to bear fruit. In the March 1891 issue, a new feature appeared: "Our Shopping Department." Here Gates engaged in the common practice of editorial

⁶⁷Editorial, *Young Woman's Journal* 2 (March 1891): 285. Gates reported that President George Q. Cannon spoke the blessing.

⁶⁸Ibid.

⁶⁹There are two versions of this contract in the Gates papers. One, which Jakeman evidently forwarded to Elmina Taylor in the midst of the later dispute, is dated May 18, 1891 (Box 77, fd. 25). It is handwritten and signed by both women. The other is dated August 1, 1891 (Box 78, fd. 1). The origin of the August version, which is unsigned, is unclear; it may have been drawn up in anticipation of formalizing the arrangement if the board approved. This version is also handwritten, and its language is much more legalistic, though the terms of the contract are essentially the same. Jakeman was to become half owner "without a money consideration, by assuming one half of the liabilities, and receiving one half of the profits as re-

“puffery” to promote selected businesses that paid for the publicity. “It is to be a guide and a real friend to these, the readers of this JOURNAL, that this department has been organized,” Gates declared before moving on to describe twenty different businesses in almost five continuous pages of text. Thus, in its initial appearance, the Shopping Department was one of the longest items in that issue.⁷⁰ The feature continued in the next issue and into the summer, assuring readers that “all these firms are our people [i.e., Latter-day Saints] and the girls will be perfectly safe to deal with any firm advertised in our pages.”⁷¹ By the end of August, Cannon’s statement of the *Journal* account showed that Jakeman had secured \$130 worth of advertising—a substantial amount given that most businesses paid \$4 or less for their notices.⁷²

Jakeman’s letters from May to August trace a north-to-south plan of attack. She would first meet with local male leaders, bearing a letter of introduction written by Gates (probably signed by the YLMIA general presidency). Through these contacts, Jakeman would be introduced to the local young women’s leaders and would hold meetings, or perhaps speak in Sunday evening sacrament meetings, at which she delivered a “lecture” that was both spiritual and promotional.⁷³ While in town she would also canvass the businesses for advertising support and would personally solicit subscriptions and/or organize local agents to do so.

muneration for services.”

⁷⁰“Our Shopping Department,” *Young Woman’s Journal* 2 (March 1891): 286–90.

⁷¹“Our Shopping Department,” *Young Woman’s Journal* 2 (April 1891): 336. This column shows that the practice of general conference sales has a long history in Salt Lake City. “During the Conference season,” Gates reported, the Western Shoe and Dry Goods Co. “are giving to every customer who buys \$5.00 worth of goods, a dress pattern,” a promotion that has “already proved a grand success” in bringing in new customers.

⁷²“Young Woman’s Journal,” handwritten ledger sheet of assets and liabilities, August 29, 1891, Gates Papers, Box 77, fd. 13. Jakeman discussed charges to specific businesses in several of the letters quoted herein.

⁷³In a letter dated March 5, Jakeman reminds Gates, “Do not fail to send me the points for my lecture which you agreed to write.” Ellen Jakeman, Letter to Susa Young Gates, March 5, 1891, Box 77, fd. 25.

On May 1, Jakeman wrote from Logan, reporting that she had met with Apostle Moses Thatcher, who was very supportive. “Bro Thatcher asked me if we were endorsed by the Presidency,” Jakeman told Gates, “and when I told him no, he laughed and said well he would endorse the Journal.” Thatcher gave her a supportive letter addressed to the stake president and was, as Jakeman put it, “very kind and cordial,” promising to do “all that I require in the way of assistance.”⁷⁴ In her next letter, Jakeman reported that Thatcher had given her \$20 to help cover “non paying subscribers,” a generous gesture.⁷⁵

Jakeman’s letters indicate that she was working hard and seeing some good results. There was interest in the magazine. “Nearly all who have had it once are eager for it again,” she reported. Moreover, “the merchants here seem well disposed to advertise.”⁷⁶ “I have done \$169.00 worth of business since I left Salt Lake,” she reported on May 6; and by August she was writing from Ogden, “I am getting subscriptions at the rate of about \$100.00 to \$150.00 per week.”⁷⁷ In one letter she claimed that even if the *Journal* was not “even” at the end of the volume in September, “it will be at least \$1000 dollars better off for my work,” seemingly a valid claim.⁷⁸

But there were problems. First was the lack of ready cash. “There is no cash in the place,” she wrote in her first letter from Logan.⁷⁹ “It is simply a matter of no money in circulation,” she wrote a few days later.⁸⁰ From Ogden in August she reported that, even though she was signing up a significant number of subscriptions, she

⁷⁴Ellen Jakeman, Letter to Susa Young Gates, May 1, 1891, Box 77, fd. 25.

⁷⁵Ellen Jakeman, Letter to Susa Young Gates, May 6, 1891, Box 77, fd. 25.

⁷⁶Ibid.

⁷⁷Ellen Jakeman, Letter to Susa Young Gates, August 8, 1891, Box 77, fd. 25.

⁷⁸Ellen Jakeman, Letter to Susa Young Gates, May 8, 1891, Box 77, fd. 25.

⁷⁹Ellen Jakeman, Letter to Susa Young Gates, May 1, 1891, Box 77, fd. 25.

⁸⁰Ellen Jakeman, Letter to Susa Young Gates, May 6, 1891, Box 77, fd. 25.

was not “taking enough spot cash to pay my wages.”⁸¹ The lack of cash was not only a problem in absolute terms, but it also created a larger issue: the question of who was to be held liable for unpaid subscriptions. The usual procedure was for local agents—the “girls”—to sign up subscribers and then collect payment on their accounts, forward the money to Cannon & Sons and receive 15 percent as their share. But what if the subscriber failed to pay? The magazines had been sent out, so the publisher had lost out on that amount. Should the agent then be held responsible to pay for the subscription herself?

Jakeman quickly found herself at odds with Cannon & Sons over this question. She believed that the publisher should take the loss and accept responsibility for collecting delinquent accounts. Cannon & Sons, in contrast, maintained that it was the agents’ responsibility to collect. “If we allow agts to rebate at the end of the vol. for bills uncollected from this class of subs they are apt to take advantage of it,” one of Cannon’s managers wrote to Jakeman in response to her inquiry.⁸² In other words, the threat of having to pay for uncollected subscriptions would encourage agents to be careful about who received credit—certainly a legitimate point from the company’s perspective.

However, Jakeman saw this policy as unfair to the young women who were working on behalf of the *Journal*—and, more importantly, unfair to herself. As the magazine’s chief agent, she was signing up many more subscriptions than any one agent and therefore assuming a frightening level of liability were she to become responsible for payment. Jakeman knew that it was inevitable that some subscribers would not come through with payment; however, she felt that a certain amount of delinquency could be tolerated for the sake of publicity and goodwill toward the magazine. She spelled out her case to Gates forcefully. In the worst case, she predicted, “It is not likely that we shall loose [sic] more than ten percent; which is less than the percent we have paid the agents”; moreover, she added, “Every book disposed of is the very least of an advertisement.” Jakeman then turned

⁸¹Ellen Jakeman, Letter to Susa Young Gates, August 8, 1891, Box 77, fd. 25.

⁸²Letter to “Mrs. Ellen Jakeman,” April 3, 1891, Box 77, fd. 25. The signature on the letter, which is handwritten on *Young Woman’s Journal* letterhead, is illegible, but the letter was clearly not written by Abraham Cannon himself. It is likely that Jakeman’s inquiry about the matter had been referred to one of the subordinate managers.

personal in her objections, apparently in reply to something Gates had said. "You ask me to assume them!" she said. "But put that out of your mind. I would not work a day where I was required to risk more than I was making. . . . It is simply a risk to the business and should be charged to the business."⁸³

Two days later Jakeman followed up with a lengthy letter setting forth her case in numerical terms, calculating that if she were required to assume liability for unpaid subscriptions, it would create "a premium in favor of taking things easy. I am not willing to leave a poor record behind me, neither can I refuse the Journal to good honorable people who are thoroughly imbued with the idea that it has become a necessity to their children, because they have not the money in hand," she argued. Invoking a spiritual dimension for her case, Jakeman affirmed that she had "fasted and prayed" about the matter and believed that "with the help of the Lord your Journal will live and prosper, that I shall be able to get advertising both here and in Odgen" (her next planned stop)—if, she added, she was "left free to pursue my own course."⁸⁴

We do not have any letters for June or July, but it appears that Jakeman continued to work energetically on behalf of the *Journal*—and to resist the position that Cannon & Sons still held. By August she was becoming quite forceful in directing the management of the magazine. On August 8, she instructed Gates, "I want you to write [illegible] Juvenile office, now and tell them that we expect a thorough clearing up and balancing of acts., by the 15th of Sep. and without fail! Have them divide the debt of the first and second years, for before we consummate our arrangements, that should be understood." She ended the letter on a caustic note, apparently in reference to the ongoing dispute about agents' liability: "The Juvenile is hustling now let me tell you; and don't you let them soft-soap you into believing that we had better conduct our business some other way."⁸⁵ Jakeman's tone here implies that she saw Gates as less assertive, and perhaps less savvy, than she herself was, both of which may very well have been

⁸³Ellen Jakeman, Letter to Susa Young Gates, May 6, 1891, Box 77, fd. 25.

⁸⁴Ellen Jakeman, Letter to Susa Young Gates, May 8, 1891, Box 77, fd. 25.

⁸⁵Ellen Jakeman, Letter to Susa Young Gates, August 8, 1891, Box 77, fd. 25.

true. But Gates certainly must have felt caught in the middle, given her personal and business relationships with both Jakeman and Cannon. A couple of weeks later, Jakeman told Gates that she had “expressed myself pretty outrageously to Brother Lewis,” a manager at Cannon & Sons, over a misunderstanding about what was to be published in the next issue, another incident that must have distressed Gates.⁸⁶

In addition to prosecuting her dispute with the publisher, Jakeman advocated that the *Journal* adopt techniques similar to those employed by national magazines. First, she suggested that they begin offering premiums instead of cash percentages to agents and subscribers. From Logan she had written that she was working “at the premium business” with all her spare time, expressing her hope that “agents and traveling can be done away with for the new vol.”⁸⁷ Evidently she believed that subscriptions could become self-perpetuating and more reliably collected through use of the premium system, presumably at lower net cost than the 15 percent paid to agents.

Premiums were a well-established promotional strategy for magazines. Following the lead of the popular *Youth's Companion*, which did not originate premiums but became the national leader in their use, other publications had begun offering items such as “books, pictures, clothes, tools, machines, pianos, even church bells,” and, most popularly, chromos to individuals or groups who subscribed. Tebbel and Zuckerman report that “the *Literary World* half seriously advised its readers that young couples could furnish their first house entirely with premiums if they only subscribed to enough magazines.” By 1885, premiums were generally declining in popularity, but they continued to be used effectively in women’s magazines—the publications to which Gates was most closely attuned—for many more years.⁸⁸

As a second suggestion, Jakeman reported that one of the local businessmen had “expressed himself as very much pleased with the *Journal*, but suggested that the excerpts from popular Eastern maga-

⁸⁶Ellen Jakeman, Letter to Susa Young Gates, August 22, 1891, Box 77, fd. 25.

⁸⁷Ellen Jakeman, Letter to Susa Young Gates, May 8, 1891, Box 77, fd. 25.

⁸⁸Tebbel and Zuckerman, *The Magazine in America*, 60.

zines like ‘Youth’s Companion’ would add greatly to its attractiveness.” While asserting that she “nearly [threw] this out as a suggestion,” Jakeman nonetheless expressed her opinion that this practice had worked well for others. “In looking over ‘Perry’s’ I find that his most attractive pages are filled thus,” she said, adding from her own experience, “Some of the most successful newspaper people have been those who were most clever in making extracts, squeezing the juice out of long articles, and making pithy comments.”⁸⁹

The *Journal* did attempt to employ the premium system in 1892 (discussed below), possibly as a result of Jakeman’s suggestions. The idea of reprinting “Eastern” material, however, was a nonstarter for Gates, a difference of opinion that most clearly shows the grounds of conflict between the two women. Jakeman was thinking in commercial terms, animated by a vision of making the *Young Woman’s Journal* popular and successful (and therefore profitable) on much the same terms as other magazines. Gates saw this idea as compromising the essential nature and mission of her magazine by diluting its Latter-day Saint voice. Certainly she wanted the magazine to succeed, but not at the cost of its Mormon identity. At stake, then, were differing visions for the magazine and its relationship to the community.

END OF THE PARTNERSHIP

By August, the correspondence reveals a range of disagreements between Jakeman and Gates, and Jakeman was sometimes openly abrasive. She chided Gates for her “derelictions in the shopping department” by failing to print notices for some of the companies she had canvassed.⁹⁰ A week later, Gates responded defensively, and Jakeman called Gates’s letter “pretty sassy,” maintaining that she was “morally sure” she had given the notices to Gates, and declaring, “I never was generous enough to be willing to share blame where I did not merit it.”⁹¹ It was shortly after this disagreement that Jakeman reported she had “expressed herself outrageously” to Brother Lewis at Cannon & Sons.

⁸⁹Ibid. *Perry’s* was a commercial Utah magazine.

⁹⁰Ellen Jakeman, Letter to Susa Young Gates, August 8, 1891, Box 77, fd. 25.

⁹¹Ellen Jakeman, Letter to Susa Young Gates, August 15, 1891, Box 77, fd. 25.

Around this same time, Cannon and Gates began having second thoughts about the partnership with Jakeman. On August 12, Cannon recorded in his diary that he had “advised Sister Gates not to let her [Jakeman] have one-half interest, but to retain the control in her own hands. I expressed a belief that it would not be long before Sister Jakeman would possess the whole thing if she were given so good a start. She said she felt just as I did about the matter.”⁹² It seems that Jakeman’s “aggressiveness” was threatening the integrity of the magazine’s identity and making Gates and Cannon wary of her involvement in general. Perhaps as a result of this meeting, Gates discussed the matter with Elmina Taylor, who decided that the YLMIA general board would make a final decision about the Gates-Jakeman partnership at its upcoming meeting held before October general conference.⁹³

As reflected in the notice in which Gates announced Jakeman’s appointment, Taylor had been fully involved in the original discussions. Gates and Jakeman’s contract specified that Jakeman’s appointment was for “the twelve months next ensuing.” It would seem, then, that defaulting a decision to the general board represented a renegeing on the contractual terms. If Jakeman saw it this way, she did not say so explicitly, though she did wryly remark in one letter that “were it not for the anticipated board meeting which may relieve me of my future interest in the matter I would say a good deal to you on the subject” of the recent dispute with the Cannons.⁹⁴ Jakeman likely felt constrained by the favored relationship Gates had with Elmina Taylor and Abram Cannon.

Gates’s misgivings about the partnership are not entirely clear but can be surmised. While the YLMIA did not own or directly subsidize the *Journal* and in spite of her personal ambitions for the project, Gates clearly intended that it be affiliated with that organization and considered herself subject to its leaders’ counsel and decisions. It may be that Gates felt she had been wrong to partner with Jakeman without the board’s approval. It may also be that her plan to go to the

⁹²Cannon, *Journal*, August 12, 1891.

⁹³Elmina S. Taylor, Letter to Susa Young Gates, August 18, 1891, Box 36, fd. 3.

⁹⁴Ellen Jakeman, Letter to Susa Young Gates, August 22, 1891, Box 77, fd. 25.

board for approval of the partnership provided cover for her to dissolve the arrangement, a move she wanted to make anyway.

In September matters became even more tense when Gates received complaints from a ward where Jakeman had presented her lecture/sales pitch. Jakeman's response in self-defense on September 17 indicates two specific complaints: she spoke too long in a sacrament meeting and she had made unorthodox statements.⁹⁵ It is not clear what role this incident played in the final dispute, but matters deteriorated rapidly. Elmina Taylor wrote to Gates on September 23 expressing regret that Gates was "so distressed" about the situation. Jakeman had met with her and Maria Young Dougall, her counselor, and had shown them the agreement she and Gates had signed. Jakeman had offered to resign; Taylor reported that she "did not even say nay," but she was unsure what to do, since "I don't know where you can find her equal in many respects." Taylor was concerned that she might not have treated Jakeman "exactly just."⁹⁶ This letter obviously left the situation up in the air. A week later, Abram Cannon recorded his own disenchantment. After a "long talk" with Gates, he concluded that "the sisters" (a term in which he obviously included Taylor and Dougall, as well as Gates) "greatly overestimate her talents."⁹⁷

At the YLMIA conference meetings in early October, the board and presidency decided to retain ownership of the *Journal* in Gates's name, essentially dissolving the partnership between Gates and Jakeman. On October 9, two days after the public conference, Jakeman visited Cannon, accompanied by Maria Dougall. At this point, Jakeman no longer regarded Gates as an ally and was lobbying the YLMIA leaders and Cannon directly. In the disputes that followed, Jakeman was somewhat inconsistent about whether she was fighting for her position on the *Journal* or simply asking for a financial settlement. Cannon noted in his diary, "Sister Gates feels, and quite properly so, that Sister Jakeman is not entitled to half the business" because Jakeman had been paid a monthly salary for her work, while Gates had received no compensation. Cannon agreed that Jakeman "had received . . . all to which she was entitled," but "in view of the promises which Sister

⁹⁵Ellen Jakeman, Letter to Susa Young Gates, September 17, 1891, Box 36, fd. 3.

⁹⁶Elmina S. Taylor, Letter to Susa Young Gates, September 23, 1891, Box 77, fd. 25.

⁹⁷Cannon, Journal, September 29, 1891.

Gates had made her I did not know but what she should receive something additional.”⁹⁸ Jakeman wrote to Elmina Taylor, making clear that she considered herself the injured party but claiming that she did not wish to “further contest the matter.”⁹⁹ On October 15, she met with Cannon alone, still pleading her case. On the 20th, Jakeman, Gates, Taylor, and Dougall met in Cannon’s office in an attempt (in Cannon’s words) “to get Sisters Gates and Jakeman reconciled to each other.” At this meeting, Gates offered to give Jakeman a one-third ownership in the business or to pay her “a money consideration.” Jakeman refused the offer, insisting on half ownership and affirming (somewhat contradictorily) that “she would not continue to work with Sister Gates on any terms whatever.” Cannon repeated his opinion that even though Jakeman had already been paid fairly for her services, she ought to receive some compensation. Taylor and Dougall agreed, but “after considerable talk Sister Jakeman took offense and left the room in tears, and said she would have nothing more to do with the matter. She said she always would feel that Sister Gates had done her an injustice.”¹⁰⁰

The next day, Jakeman returned, a bit sheepish but still determined. Cannon’s entry for the day records that she “apologized for her unceremonious conduct of yesterday. She still feels to refuse any remuneration for her loss, and says she cannot consent to longer labor for or with Sister Gates.”¹⁰¹ That same day, Gates wrote to Jakeman, attempting to defuse the conflict: “I know I was not kind, and I allowed sarcasm to show in my words,” she acknowledged, and repeated her offer of one-third ownership in terms that illuminate the nature of the dispute: “You seemed to feel . . . unwilling to be subordinate to me”—hence the proposal of dividing the ownership into thirds. “Then you could attend to all the outside work, Bro. Cannon could attend to the inside, (if he accepts my offer, of course), and I to do the editing. If you will not accept this, then let me pay you the

⁹⁸Ibid., October 9, 1891.

⁹⁹Ellen Jakeman, Letter to Elmina S. Taylor, October 11, 1891, Box 77, fd. 25. Jakeman wrote to Taylor that she would “complete [her] engagement at Lehi,” suggesting that she had made it that far south in her canvassing tour and had continued her work in spite of the dispute.

¹⁰⁰Cannon, Journal, October 20, 1891.

¹⁰¹Ibid., October 21, 1891.

\$500.00 and then let there be good feeling between us. Why are you so hard?" She closed, "If neither of these plans suit you, just write freely and tell me what will induce you to forgive and forget the unpleasantness and once more be at peace with me. . . . I am willing to do anything in reason to retain your friendship, and good will."¹⁰²

It seems, then, that the issue was one of relative power. Jakeman believed she had been offered a position on par with Gates's, but when that assumption was made fully visible—and its implications manifested in Jakeman's ambitious plans for the magazine—Gates, Cannon, and the YLMIA leadership balked. In a letter to Taylor on October 11, Jakeman had insisted that Gates had "always considered me her equal in the Journal."¹⁰³ This was exactly the point Cannon had tried to blunt by advising Gates and the YLMIA leaders against letting Jakeman have an equal share in the business: that she would seize control and turn the magazine into something different than their vision for it. Gates's three-part arrangement would have kept majority ownership of the magazine in the hands of those whose loyalties were primarily institutional but still have given Jakeman part ownership in a way that would not render her directly subordinate to Gates. Of course, Jakeman did not see it this way. For her, the arrangement was first and foremost a business deal—a source of much-needed income for herself and family; half-ownership would obviously have been more profitable. From this perspective, the third-ownership arrangement would have rendered her in fact more subordinate than the original halves because she would have been answerable to both Gates and Cannon and, through them, to the YLMIA Board.

Evidently the parties either had other meetings or correspondence that has not survived, since Jakeman finally accepted Gates's offer of a \$500 settlement. The arrangement had been finalized and Jakeman wanted her money by November 23, when Cannon wrote to Gates about arrangements. He and Elmina Taylor had discussed the matter, and he had proposed giving Jakeman a note, signed by the *Journal* owners (Gates, Cannon, and the YLMIA general board). Would Gates see if Jakeman could redeem it at a Provo bank? "Of

¹⁰²Susa Young Gates, Letter to Ellen Jakeman, October 21, 1891, Box 77, fd. 25.

¹⁰³Ellen Jakeman, Letter to Elmina S. Taylor, October 11, 1891, Box 77, fd. 25.

course, as you well understand," he continued, "the *Journal* was to pay you this proposed \$500.00 out of the first profits of the business, and hence we would expect you to be charged with the interest on this note till the profits from which it is to be paid accrue." As this letter makes clear, the *Journal* was still operating at a deficit and that \$500 would present a real hardship, creating a further debt to Cannon & Sons. Cannon had concluded, however, that "the best way to do is to settle this thing up now in full, and not allow it to drag along and bother us further."¹⁰⁴

The matter seems to have dragged out anyway, probably because of a lack of cash, and in February Jakeman took her case to unspecified higher authorities (Cannon recorded that she had "appealed to the brethren"¹⁰⁵), pleading for their help in avoiding foreclosure on her mortgage. Cannon noted in his diary that he had discussed the matter with Church President Wilford Woodruff "several times," with the result that "the brethren took the [matter] up and sought some means whereby to relieve her. It was finally arranged that Br. James Jack would arrange with the Bank for Sister Jakeman to get the needed money by giving a mortgage upon the place which is now bonded, and I am to do what I can to see that the amount which Sister Gates promised to pay her is settled by the Fall."¹⁰⁶ Again, it is not clear exactly how the matter was finally resolved; but in a later letter to Jakeman, Gates clearly said: "I have paid you a sum of money."¹⁰⁷ At Jakeman's request, Gates also published a notice in the January 1892 issue explaining that "through circumstances beyond her control" Jakeman had been unable to complete her canvass of the territory "so bravely undertaken and energetically prosecuted." Her work was "entirely satisfactory" and the presidency is "grateful for what has been accomplished" and "fully exonerates her for retiring from a work for which she was set apart and much desired to com-

¹⁰⁴Abraham H. Cannon, Letter to Susa Young Gates, November 23, 1891, Box 36, fd. 3. There is no mention of this note or of Gates's liability for it in subsequent correspondence.

¹⁰⁵Cannon, *Journal*, February 3, 1892.

¹⁰⁶*Ibid.*

¹⁰⁷Susa Young Gates, Letter to Ellen Jakeman, October 15, 1892, Box 36, fd. 3.

plete.”¹⁰⁸ Apparently, Jakeman found this notice insufficient; another, more prominent one appeared several months later, perhaps at the time Gates finally paid the money to Jakeman.¹⁰⁹

Gates’s papers contain a letter to Jakeman dated October 15, 1892, a full year after the dispute had come to a head. Gates may have written this letter when she made Jakeman’s final payment. Her papers contain no response from Jakeman; possibly, Gates never mailed the letter. In it she expresses her lingering uneasiness and pain over the conflict, and it once again highlights the complexity of the relationships involved. Writing in a cold and formal tone, Gates professed that she was “not unwilling to ask you kindly and sincerely to forgive whatever may have been done to hurt your feelings,” but she framed her half-apology in terms of maintaining harmony in the community and following the counsel of religious authority: “I have submitted to the judgement [sic] of Brother Cannon in paying you a sum of money, and I would not be truthful if I did not acknowledge that on both these occasions, I submitted not because I could agree with the wisdom of the decision in my own mind, but because I do have an earnest desire to comply with the words of those who are set to counsel me.”¹¹⁰

Likewise, Cannon seems to have seen his involvement primarily in terms of his religious position. He counseled Gates at the height of the crisis, “You can not afford to take chances on your future blessing by continuing to harbor animosity or feelings that are improper towards one that you consider has done you the wrongs which she has.” He advised Gates to do whatever was necessary to be reconciled to Jakeman. “This is my plain counsel to you,” he concluded, “and I believe if you will act upon it, the result will be blessing to yourself and to

¹⁰⁸Untitled notice, *Young Woman’s Journal* 3 (January 1892): 192.

¹⁰⁹Editorial, *Young Woman’s Journal* 4 (September 1892): 563.

¹¹⁰Susa Young Gates, Letter to Ellen Jakeman, October 15, 1892, Box 36, fd. 3. The letter is typewritten on *Young Woman’s Journal* letterhead. Most of the items in Gates’s papers that are typewritten date from a later time than 1892; it is possible that this is a copy of an original that Gates later made and inserted into her record. Gates did not typically preserve copies of her outgoing correspondence during this period, so the presence of this item suggests that she considered it important. None of these points, however, provides conclusive evidence that she actually sent Jakeman the letter.

all concerned.”¹¹¹ Moreover, Cannon’s intervention in the matter of Jakeman’s mortgage also blurred the line between personal relationship, business arrangements, and religious authority.

BETWEEN TWO ORDERS

The Jakeman incident reveals some important insights about the background dynamics of the *Young Woman's Journal* and shows its uneasy position between two economic and ideological orders. Indeed, the ultimate cause of the dispute could be seen in terms of a conflict between the dual aspects of the magazine—business and religious—and the multiple roles and motives of the people involved. Gates was inexperienced in business matters and perhaps a bit naive. Whatever financial motives Gates pursued, she did so within the larger framework of “building the kingdom of God,” with all that the concept implied in terms of consecration and cooperative effort, and she seems to have assumed that Jakeman’s motivation was the same. Moreover, Gates could afford to set aside financial considerations, as her husband, Jacob, owned a furniture business in Provo that provided adequately, if not luxuriously, for the family. She already wielded a certain amount of cultural capital by virtue of her identity as Brigham Young’s daughter and as a respectably married woman (after a youthful marriage that had ended in divorce). She had an impressive range of social connections. Being recognized as editor of the magazine with institutional ties to the YLMIA, she stood to solidify her position as an influential voice in the community. Jakeman, on the other hand, needed money. She wanted to write, but that desire took second place to her urgent need for an income. Given the *Journal's* seemingly lucrative potential based on contemporary models, she did not see why she could not parlay her work—which was obviously effective—into a remunerative endeavor.

Finally, the incident shows the relationship of male LDS leaders to the *Journal*. The women turned to Cannon for counsel and intervention in their dispute, and it is impossible to separate his roles or determine which was more crucial—as business advisor or Church leader. His letters to Gates and her subsequent comments to Jakeman suggest that the religious leader role was primary, both to Gates and in

¹¹¹Abraham H. Cannon, Letter to Susa Young Gates, October 15, [1891], Box 36, fd. 3.

his own view. However, he probably would not have become involved, even as a Church leader, if he had not already occupied an important position in regard to the business.

In the course of this incident, Gates and Cannon demonstrated their orientation toward the old economy of personal relationships and the ethic of consecration. There was no clear line of authority or accountability for the business, and the dispute was resolved through a combination of personal interactions and financial liabilities. Ellen Jakeman, meanwhile, represented the new economy in which profit, loss, and commercial methods were paramount. There is no reason to believe that Jakeman was not an active, believing Latter-day Saint, and she certainly expressed allegiance to the religious mission of the magazine, but her vision for its success allowed for a greater degree of commercialism than Gates's.

CONTINUING STRUGGLES, 1892–96

In the wake of the Jakeman dispute, Gates, Cannon, and Taylor formalized a new arrangement for the management of the journal. On October 27, 1891, Cannon recorded in his journal: "I submitted to Sisters Gates and E.S. Taylor today a proposition in regard to our partnership in the Young Woman's Journal. We are to become equal partners and share all the profits after paying to Susa Y. Gates for her past services the sum of \$700.00. She is to do the editing. I the business, and Sister Taylor is to have a general oversight of all matters in the interest of the Y.L.M.I. Associations."¹¹² Evidently it took a few months to finalize the arrangement, as Cannon recorded the signing of "the articles of co-partnership" on January 12, 1892.¹¹³ While its implications may not have been fully visible at the time, this arrangement was an important step in shifting the magazine away from Gates's original vision. It had always been understood that the YLMIA and its leaders had an interest in the *Journal*; now that interest was quantified and formalized. More importantly, this move signaled Gates's initial steps in relinquishing her ownership of and financial claim on the business.

Over the next four years, Gates and her colleagues continued to promote the *Journal* and expand its subscription list as they were

¹¹²Cannon, Journal, October 27, 1891. The \$700 credited to Gates presumably included the \$500 to be paid to Jakeman.

¹¹³Cannon, Journal, January 12, 1892.

able. In 1892 Gates took a cue from national publishing practices by offering premiums to anyone who acted as an agent in collecting subscriptions for the *Journal*. In the September issue, she ran a notice offering “your choice of several articles which we have imported in wholesale quantities from the East” as possible rewards. Any reader, as long as she herself was a subscriber, could secure subscriptions and earn the 15 percent commission or take the premium.¹¹⁴ Evidently, the premium plan (which was likely a holdover from Jakeman’s work) did not bear fruit; it was not mentioned again in subsequent volumes.

Gates regularly appealed to the loyalty of readers and described the *Journal*’s precarious financial situation. “Girls, let me make one request of you: Don’t lend your JOURNALS . . . In a neighborhood of twenty people, if one or two people subscribe for the JOURNAL, and the rest know they can get it by borrowing, there will be little use for a canvasser to urge those borrowing people to subscribe.” Borrowing, Gates declared, is a “species of imposition” anyway, but “in the case of our own home periodicals that are struggling for existence, it is a positive nuisance as well as an injustice.” Resolve now, she advised, that you will not lend your magazines; instead, “use your powers of persuasion to get the person to be a subscriber.”¹¹⁵

Such pleas notwithstanding, economic reality meant that many girls who read the *Journal* did so by borrowing. Local MIA reports suggest that it was common for a group to have one or two subscriptions that would circulate among the members. For example, the Fairview Ward MIA in rural Wyoming reported in April 1892 that the magazine was “looked anxiously for by all the association, and all are eager for their turn to come to read it.”¹¹⁶ Around the same time, the president of the Weber Stake MIA, which included Ogden, Utah’s second-largest city, reported having about 400 subscriptions.¹¹⁷ This number, though substantial, certainly did not begin to approach a one-to-one ratio of members to subscriptions.

The general and local leadership of the YLMIA did what they

¹¹⁴Editorial, *Young Woman’s Journal* 4 (September 1892): 568.

¹¹⁵Editorial, *Young Woman’s Journal* 1 (August 1890): 429–30.

¹¹⁶“Our Girls,” *Young Woman’s Journal* 3 (June 1892): 432.

¹¹⁷“Y.L.M.I.A. Conference,” *Young Woman’s Journal* 3 (April 1892):

could to support the *Young Woman's Journal*. At the semi-annual conferences in Salt Lake City, the magazine was frequently discussed and leaders enlisted to promote it in their local associations. Minutes of these meetings were published in the "Our Girls" department, further reinforcing and disseminating the message. "We must sustain our YOUNG WOMAN'S JOURNAL, or it will go down," President Elmina Taylor exhorted at the Utah Stake conference.¹¹⁸ In a circular letter published in the November 1892 issue, the YLMIA general presidency pled with local leaders, "Keep the JOURNAL continually before your associations and encourage everyone to become a subscriber. The JOURNAL is read by our sisters and also by our brethren; and many are the encomiums we receive of its worth . . . Shall we then weary in well doing?"¹¹⁹

Support for the *Journal* also came in the form of creative contributions by readers. Volume 2, for example, featured a poem by well-known poet Lula Greene Richards (first editor of the *Woman's Exponent*) titled "Number Twelve." It praised the *Journal* for its continued improvement.

I want to say to each dear sister "writer,"
The present year to me has been made brighter
By this acquaintance with you—old or new.

After praising the editor, Richards concludes:

In every household may, a welcome guest,
Be found this aid to Mutual Improvement,
The latest number always being best.¹²⁰

Another poem is more direct. "Jennie" writes about "Our Paper":

There is a work for this paper to do
In printing stories that are ever true,

¹¹⁸"Y.L.M.I.A. Conference," *Young Woman's Journal* 5 (February 1894): 261.

¹¹⁹"Circular Letter to Y.L.M.I.A.," *Young Woman's Journal* 4 (November 1892): 92–93.

¹²⁰Lula, "Number Twelve," *Young Woman's Journal* 2 (October 1890): 4.

And things that will our faith renew,
In the *YOUNG WOMAN'S JOURNAL*.

She concludes with a pledge:

So now I'll cease writing for today,
And for its welfare will ever pray
That all who subscribe will try to pay
For the *YOUNG WOMAN'S JOURNAL*.¹²¹

Such literary promotions are taken to another level in humorous stories that dramatize canvassing activities of subscription agents. In one, a farmer's wife agrees to subscribe after reading one story: "I would feel paid for the money in reading this one piece alone. Blossom [her daughter] must have it sure, and father [her husband] has several other girls [presumably daughters by other wives] who would enjoy it just as well as mine."¹²² In a serialized story, "Out with Our Canvasser," arguments for and against the magazine are dramatized in various settings, presumably giving young women readers training in salesmanship.¹²³ These stories and articles, along with the existing correspondence, suggest that there were various canvassing efforts at different times, though all such efforts were slow to yield results, and the situation of the magazine remained precarious.

Gates periodically expressed discouragement about the enterprise, and Abraham Cannon continued to encourage her by expressing his faith in the ultimate success of the magazine. A financial statement dated July 15, 1893, showed a deficit of \$552.42, "which is considerably less than it was a year ago," he observed. "I think that with the help of yourself and the associations, we will be able to wipe out the whole loss by another year through the increase of the subscrip-

¹²¹Jennie, "Our Paper," *Young Woman's Journal* 8 (May 1897): 390.

¹²²Zina Y. Card, "Seeing," *Young Woman's Journal* 6 (January 1895): 173. The title of this story refers to the popular response among customers when solicited: "We'll see."

¹²³Albert Jones, "Out with Our Canvasser," *Young Woman's Journal* 7 (April and May 1896): 306-9, 382-87.

tions to the magazine.”¹²⁴ This view was certainly optimistic, since Cannon’s statement also showed \$2,559 worth of “stock on hand,” meaning unsold back issues that in fact represented a substantial debt to the publisher. I have found no correspondence in which Cannon ever pressured Gates regarding the *Journal’s* debt.

This statement was sent around the time that the effects of the Panic of 1893 were setting in, and the general economic climate rapidly deteriorated, hitting Utah particularly hard. Furthermore, the Church itself was struggling financially, not only from the residual effects of federal receivership of its property (part of the anti-polygamy pressures resolved three years earlier by the Woodruff Manifesto of September 1890) but also because completing the Salt Lake Temple, dedicated in 1893, had fund-raising priority throughout the Church but especially in Utah. In spite of these difficulties, and apparently in response to an expression of despair by Gates, Cannon wrote encouragingly:

Concerning the YOUNG WOMAN’S JOURNAL, I can only say, as I have said to you so often, that I believe it has a field and is gradually growing in favor. Still, if you are so discouraged in that which you call “competition” with the JUVENILE INSTRUCTOR and CONTRIBUTOR, of course you are at liberty to discontinue the paper if you desire. I do not say this because I have lost a particle of faith in regard to the future of the magazine, but you get so discouraged every once and a while that I sometimes feel my efforts to keep up your interest and faith in the publication are without fruit.¹²⁵

Cannon & Sons experienced severe financial difficulties during the depression, and it seems that the Gateses themselves were also struggling; Cannon’s letters suggest that Susa was pressing him for payment on articles she had written for the *Deseret News* and the *Juvenile Instructor*. In the summer of 1894, indeed, Gates seems to have been asking for a salary for her work on the *Journal*. On paper, she was being credited with \$50 per month, but that sum was still a theoretical charge against the magazine’s future profits. Cannon gently but firmly deflected such talk, apparently responding to Gates’s complaint that he was giving the *Contributor* more resources: “Every dollar we get from

¹²⁴Abraham H. Cannon, Letter to Susa Young Gates, July 15, 1893, Box 77, fd 22.

¹²⁵Abraham H. Cannon, Letter to Susa Young Gates, July 12, 1894, Box 36, fd. 3.

any source is paid for the issuance of the magazine [*Contributor*], and not one dollar is paid for editorial service or business management.” He added: “Every magazine and newspaper in the Territory at present is required to cut corners in order to save means, and a young magazine like the *JOURNAL* should be issued at the bare cost of publication, without any additional expense for editorial or business services, or having to pay for articles which are published.”¹²⁶ It was a crisp reminder that paying authors had been Gates’s requirement and that, however, laudable in intent, it was negatively impacting the magazine’s health.

Through all of these struggles, Gates refined her vision for the *Young Woman’s Journal*. She retained the “woman’s magazine” ideal, publishing a wide range of material about matters of interest to women—dress and fashion, cooking and homemaking, education, women’s organizations and activities, fiction and poetry—always filtered through the lenses of Mormon beliefs and generational concerns. She continued to write a substantial quantity of the magazine’s contents, and she clearly relished her position as the central voice of the *Journal* in her monthly editorial columns. By the mid-1890s, however, Gates’s energies were increasingly divided. She was becoming more involved in the National Council of Women and at the end of the decade would serve as Chairman of the Press Committee and as a delegate to international conventions. She helped organize and participated actively in the National Household Economic Association. Closer to home, she was serving on the Board of Trustees of Brigham Young Academy, where she also organized and taught classes in “special physiology” and “Domestic Economy.” She organized and taught for seven years a Sunday School class of sixty young women, helped to organize the Daughters of the Utah Pioneers and the Utah Women’s Press Club, in addition to hosting a long list of dignitaries and, almost incidentally, keeping her household (“with sometimes fifteen in the family”) going.¹²⁷ And on top of all the work she did for the *Young Woman’s Journal*, Gates also served on the YLMIA board and created the first “guide lessons”—the first course of centrally prescribed curricu-

¹²⁶Abraham H. Cannon, Letter to Susa Young Gates, August 17, 1894, Box 36, fd. 3.

¹²⁷Gates’s family situation during these years is a lengthy story in itself, one that I am still in the process of reconstructing. To give only the briefest outline, when Gates began the *Journal* she had six living children, including the two eldest from her first marriage. By 1900, she gave

lum—for the YLMIA and wrote most of the first *Guide* book, which was published in 1896.¹²⁸ It is no wonder that Elmina Taylor wrote to her in response to a query about the Kindergarten movement, “I can’t for my life see how you can find time to interest yourself in more than you have at present, upon your shoulders.”¹²⁹

And yet Gates’s “whole soul” was still “for the building up of this kingdom,” as she had written to Zina D. H. Young in 1888. She saw her activities as part of this overriding goal; and in one way or another, most of these interests and activities made their way into the pages of the *Journal*. She was determined to preserve her magazine as the authentic and authoritative voice for young Mormon women, all the more urgently in the midst of the “radical changes” that she perceived taking place in the community. The *Journal* was to “stand on the watch tower and give the word of warning and admonition,” she declared, implicitly identifying herself as the sentry.¹³⁰

So the *Journal* struggled on precariously, and remarks like those of Mattie Tingey were standard at public and private gatherings:

Counselor M. H. Tingey gave some figures in regard to the JOURNAL; and spoke eloquently of the need of supporting our own paper. If it is not so good from a literary standpoint as some others, with the aid of all our people we will be able to raise its standard; and though it may now lack in this way, it yet breathes the spirit of the Gospel. It needs not only the support to be given by more subscribers, but the writers should receive the benefit of our faith and prayers. Expenses are very heavy, and unless we support it well it may have to succumb. It is not a money-making scheme, and we should not look upon it as such.¹³¹

In 1896, Gates gladly reported that the *Journal* was “not now running in debt,” meaning that its operating expenses were being

birth to four more and buried five, three of whom died under unusually tragic circumstances. Her count of “fifteen in the family” must have included extended family members or others living temporarily in the Gates home.

¹²⁸Gates, “Hail and Farewell,” 676–77.

¹²⁹Elmina S. Taylor, Letter to Susa Young Gates, October 27, 1896, Box 78, fd. 14.

¹³⁰Editorial, *Young Woman’s Journal* 2 (June 1891): 425.

¹³¹“General Conference,” *Young Woman’s Journal* 6 (December 1894): 131.

covered by the income, but acknowledging that a large debt still remained from its early years.¹³² As with Ellen Jakeman years before, some called for the magazine to improve its fortunes by adopting a different approach, both in business and contents. In an important editorial in the June 1897 issue, Gates rebutted these suggestions and once again articulated her vision for the magazine: The first suggestion offered by “some of our friends” was that the *Journal* could offer stock for purchase by “various wealthy people” and thus obtain funding. This idea was unacceptable, Gates wrote, because “Sister Taylor is anxious that this JOURNAL shall never pass out of the hands and control of the Mutual Improvement Associations.” Other Church publications had followed a similar plan and the stock had eventually been “absorbed by a few rich men . . . not of our faith,” resulting in the “object and aim” of the publication being altered to suit the stockholders.¹³³ “Now, therefore, just as the JOURNAL is reaching an independent and paying basis, she does not wish us to do anything which will cause us to lose control over our paper.”¹³⁴

Besides suggesting a reorganization of the business arrangements of the magazine, “there are a few of our friends who express a little friendly criticism as to some of the features of the JOURNAL,” Gates observed. The “strongest objection,” she noted, “seems to be its price,” especially in comparison to “many of our Eastern magazines and periodicals.” Her explanation of those magazines’ prices would fit well into any modern scholarly study of American magazines:

Now, what is the secret of their cheapness? It is simply the advertising. The paper on which these magazines are printed, the bare paper alone, would cost about ten cents [for] each magazine laid down in Salt Lake City. This then would bankrupt the firm at once, if it were not for one thing. The advertising which they procure is rich and so profitable that they can afford to throw in all the pictorial and literary matter just to sell the advertising. Take one of these Eastern periodicals and observe the immense quantity of advertising which is given. It is like giving

¹³²“Y.L.N.M.I.A. Officers’ Meeting,” *Young Woman’s Journal* 8 (October 1896): 45. The initials stand for Young Ladies National Mutual Improvement Association, a name that it, like the Relief Society, used briefly.

¹³³I have been unable to determine what publication(s) Gates had in mind for this example.

¹³⁴Editorial, *Young Woman’s Journal* 8 (June 1897): 425.

away an almanac for the medicine advertisement.

This system was not possible for the *Young Woman's Journal*, Gates explained. "Now, when you remember that the circulation of the *Munseys* is over two hundred thousand, and that the circulation of this little JOURNAL is not three thousand, you can see that when we ask a firm to advertise with us, the first reply is 'Oh, your circulation is too small!'" Moreover, Gates added, "it has been the determination of the publishers to refuse advertising which was not such as could be recommended by this paper."¹³⁵ In sum, there was simply no way a magazine like the *Journal* could compete with popular commercial magazines. Its circulation base was too small to attract enough advertising, and its religious orientation kept it from being willing to fully exploit advertising as a means of support, even if the circulation and the advertisers would support it.

The other main criticism Gates reported was that "one can get more reading, and that of a better literary character from these same Eastern publications." To this complaint, Gates acceded but did not surrender. "This is quite true, too," she declared, "but do not stop there in your argument, carry it to its completion." By this logic, she argued, one could also get better "lectures and entertainments," and "more polish and culture" in worldly sources than were available in the locally produced *Journal*. "But, is it true that you can afford to throw away a diamond because it is not polished, for a piece of glass which has been cut and polished?" she asked. Instead, readers should feel to say, "Our JOURNAL is the best and the most suitable magazine in all this world for girls, for it is written and prepared by those who have the Spirit of the Lord burning in their hearts, and every word of it is for me, and for my dear girl friends."¹³⁶

As Gates wrote this stirring editorial, a plan was already taking shape through which the magazine would finally achieve solvency, a plan that had been made necessary by the unexpected and shattering death of Abram Cannon on July 19, 1896, an event that brought the *Journal's* always wobbly status to a crisis.

"SOMETHING MUST BE DONE SOON, OR NOT AT ALL"

Abraham Cannon's financial situation had been precarious for several years, exacerbated by the Panic of 1893. His own affairs and

¹³⁵Ibid., 426.

¹³⁶Ibid., 427.

those of Cannon & Sons—plus other investments he managed for his father—were found to be in dire straits.¹³⁷ As Cannon & Sons reorganized, it became clear that the loss of Abraham Cannon's management and personal support would present new difficulties for the *Young Woman's Journal*. Hugh Cannon, Abram's half brother, was appointed manager, and the company soon began pressing Gates and the YLMIA to settle their outstanding debt, amounting to "thousands of dollars."¹³⁸ The days of Abraham Cannon's "Gentleman Publisher" arrangement were over.

For years MIA leaders remembered this crisis as a turning point in the *Journal's* fortunes, even though at the time it was not at all clear what the outcome would be. "To continue to publish it, or to let the periodical die at the close of its eighth year, was the tormenting question," remembered Estelle Neff Caldwell, the *Journal's* business manager from 1898 to 1905.¹³⁹ Ann Mousley Cannon, Abram's sister and YLMIA general secretary, recalled "three different occasions when the members of the Young Ladies' General Board convened with the distinct idea of giving up the publication of the *Young Woman's Journal*, the financial difficulties were so great."¹⁴⁰

Apparently, Gates herself went through a period of uncertainty and faltered in her responsibilities. Her papers include letters written during the fall of 1896 from both Cannon & Sons and from Elmina Taylor remonstrating with her for failure to provide material or deal with the affairs of the *Journal*. "You act so very differently from what you have formerly done," Taylor wrote to Gates on October 4. "You said at our meeting the other [sic] that the *Journal* had come to stay. I tell you it cannot stay while there is so little being done for it as there is at present."¹⁴¹ "What shall we do? Must we abandon the *Journal*?" Taylor wrote pleadingly two weeks later. She asked Gates to help write

¹³⁷See Horne, *An Apostle's Record*, 35–38, for a discussion of Cannon's business affairs.

¹³⁸*History of YLMIA*, 108.

¹³⁹Estelle Neff Caldwell, "Epoch Two," *Young Woman's Journal* 40 (October 1929): 678.

¹⁴⁰Ann M. Cannon, "Looking Backward and Forward," *Young Woman's Journal* 40 (October 1929): 681.

¹⁴¹Elmina S. Taylor, Letter to Susa Young Gates, October 4, 1896, Box 78, fd.14.

a circular letter to be sent out to local leaders to “enable us to regain our almost forfeited position.”¹⁴² There is no indication of Gates’s response, but ten days later, Taylor reported that the first form of the next issue had been printed.¹⁴³ Apparently the general board decided to continue publication; but behind the scenes, the financial situation remained desperate.

Whatever the cause of her momentary lapse, Gates gathered her energies and reasserted her leadership. “In this dark hour, the indomitable spirit of the *Journal*’s founder-editor, Susa Young Gates, kept it alive,” Estelle Neff Caldwell recalled.¹⁴⁴ Gates proposed an ambitious plan to canvass the territory, recruiting new subscriptions and selling its back issues, which were, as she expressed it, “at the same time the assets and the cause of the liabilities of the concern.”¹⁴⁵ Gates made what she called two “trial trips” to northern Utah communities, traveling for six weeks.¹⁴⁶ She brought with her official letters from the First Presidency and the YLMIA General Board, which she presented to local leaders in each community she visited. The letter from the First Presidency was addressed to “Presidents of Stakes and Bishops of Wards.” After explaining Gates’s mission, they added: “The Sisters are always willing helpers in all needful public or private labors, and in this move they are desirous of obtaining much needed help to forward along their own work, which meets with our cordial approval; and we hope you will cheerfully render, so far as you can, such help as they require.”¹⁴⁷

The male leadership of the church was thus mobilized in support of the efforts of the women. Since George Q. Cannon was serving as first counselor in the First Presidency, he had both an ecclesiastical and a business interest in seeing the *Journal* survive and thrive.

¹⁴²Elmina S. Taylor, Letter to Susa Young Gates, October 17, 1896, Box 78, fd. 14; emphasis hers.

¹⁴³Elmina S. Taylor, Letter to Susa Young Gates, October 27, 1896, Box 78, fd. 14.

¹⁴⁴Caldwell, “Epoch Two,” 678.

¹⁴⁵*History of YLMIA*, 108.

¹⁴⁶*Ibid.*, 109.

¹⁴⁷First Presidency [Wilford Woodruff, George Q. Cannon, Joseph F. Smith], Letter “To Bishops of Wards and Presidents of Stakes,” August 20, 1897, Gates Papers, Box 77, fd. 15.

The results of this “arduous” journey were encouraging: Gates returned with over \$600.¹⁴⁸ Based on this success, it was decided to send out other members of the YLMIA board on similar visits, and a letter of instructions was prepared outlining the procedure to be followed. Just as Ellen Jakeman had done years earlier, the YLMIA representatives were to work through the local leaders and hold meetings at which they could make their sales pitch, though they were not to present their financial mission as primary. They were first to hold a general meeting with the stake’s young women—“a spiritual meeting not necessarily mentioning the special object of your visit, but speaking upon such subjects as the Spirit may suggest to you.” Second, the visitor would “invite all officers of the YLMIA and the Bishopric to remain, and then proceed with your business,” explaining that the board was endeavoring to sell out the back issues by June 1, 1898. More than a simple request or sales pitch, this appeal was to be forcefully advanced as a duty of the local officers. “If you find a President with a despondent spirit about accomplishing this,” the letter instructed, “explain to her that it is a call from headquarters, and with faith and energy all can be done quite well.” “Do [not] let one ward in the Stake be left out.” The letter continued with specific instructions about how to record and process the orders.¹⁴⁹ These efforts by the YLMIA leaders included an aggressive effort to also secure new subscribers and advertisers.

The effort was well underway by the time Gates wrote her June 1897 editorial about the *Journal* in which she discussed her vision for the magazine and explained the new plan to her readers. “It has been decided to call some of our brightest and best sisters on a mission to present these matters to the girls in their own associations,” Gates explained, describing the successful efforts already undertaken in Utah,

¹⁴⁸Manuscript History YWJ. Here, Gates says that Estelle Neff accompanied her. In her official history of the YLMIA, Gates does not record that she had company on her trip and reports the amount earned as “over seven hundred dollars.” (*History of YLMIA*, 109). She probably took multiple trips, and the discrepancies in these accounts can probably be attributed to the lapse in time before she wrote about them.

¹⁴⁹“Instructions to Sisters Visiting the Stakes in the Interests of the Young Woman’s Journal,” n.d., Gates Papers, Box 77, fd. 15. This document is written in Gates’s hand and likely served as the draft for a printed letter distributed to other leaders.

Sanpete, and Sevier counties. “The reports from the Stakes already visited are of the most gratifying character, and not only have they met with the most generous response in the financial question, but they have held a series of meetings in which the Good Spirit has been poured out in greatest abundance upon speakers and hearers.”¹⁵⁰ Gates was evidently beginning to feel some optimism about the prospects for the magazine at this point because she mentioned that the *Journal* was reaching “an independent and paying basis,” though she did not mention the status of its debt to Cannon & Sons.

Despite the public optimism, Taylor and Gates were confronting the still-dire reality. On October 18, Taylor wrote to Gates, “We greatly fear that the only course open for us is to suspend the publication of our *Journal* for six months or so. . . . I greatly fear this will not meet your mind, but what else can we do? You know we have no money, and we must, in the future, pay as we go.”¹⁵¹ Taylor instructed Gates to bring “all other papers in your possession bearing upon the business” to their next meeting, in preparation for a formal meeting with the managers of Cannon & Sons about the *Journal*’s debts.

On November 8, Taylor informed Gates that they had finally held the “long talked of, and much dreaded interview” with the Cannons. She did not record a date, but it must have been within a day or two of the letter, as she clearly considered this business important and would have acted quickly to inform Gates of the outcome.¹⁵² Taylor, her counselors Mattie Tingey and Maria Dougall, and secretary Ann Cannon, met with Hugh Cannon and his father, George Q. As Taylor described it, the meeting was discouraging:

They placed the indebtedness at \$8,000, but generously (as they declared) proffered to take \$6,000. After considering the case carefully, we offered them the running accounts, for \$2,000 they to collect it, as they had better facilities for so doing, and \$1,000 down, and

¹⁵⁰Editorial, *Young Woman’s Journal* 8 (June 1897): 425.

¹⁵¹Elmina S. Taylor, Letter to Susa Young Gates, October 18, 1897, Box 78, fd. 15; emphasis hers.

¹⁵²It is not clear why Gates did not attend the meeting in person; probably her family obligations in Provo kept her from making it to the city that day. It may be that the Cannons and/or Elmina Taylor worked the meeting into their schedule at short notice, preventing Gates from being able to arrange her affairs to be there.

\$1,000 in cash within a year. [This would have been a total of \$4,000.] Br. Cannon [presumably George Q.] would not consider the offer for one moment but insisted that we should pay the whole \$6,000, and would not take the running accounts to collect on any account, insisting that we could do this much better than they can.

"We see no way out of our difficulty. No rift in the cloud," Taylor lamented. "Still both Hugh and his father say, don't give up the *Journal*. Keep it up. But how! how! how!" "Something must be done soon, or not at all," she concluded, signing herself, "Yours in tribulation, in prosperity, and forever."¹⁵³

Ten days later, Taylor informed Gates of a new development in the situation. "I have received a note that the directors of Cannon & Co. had re-considered the case & would hold a meeting to-day, and although they will not reduce the amount, they probably will make some concessions that will give us more time." Because of the financial difficulties and uncertainty about the future, the *Journal* had suspended publication for the last three months of 1897. Taylor said that now they would be able to "go on immediately with the publication of the *Journal* so as to have it commence with the new year, but have it issued by Christmas."¹⁵⁴ While there is no more information in the records about the details of the final settlement with Cannon & Sons, this letter seems to confirm Gates's later statement that "the Firm of Cannon & Sons . . . were exceedingly broad and noble in their treatment and settlement of this vexed matter."¹⁵⁵ The Gentleman Publisher arrangement was over, but the ethic of consecration apparently still held enough sway to help resolve the situation.

In addition to the offer from the Cannons, several factors contributed to the resolution. The efforts to sell off back issues yielded "thousands of dollars," Gates recorded. A contribution of \$500 from Gates's wealthy friend Elizabeth Claridge McCune helped. Gates also

¹⁵³Elmina S. Taylor, Letter to Susa Young Gates, November 8, 1897, Box 78, fd. 15; emphasis hers.

¹⁵⁴Elmina S. Taylor, Letter to Susa Young Gates, November 17, 1897, Box 78, fd. 15. Prior to this point, volumes of the *Journal* had run from October to September. Beginning in 1898, the volume year began with the calendar in January.

¹⁵⁵*History of YLMIA*, 110.

credited “the faithful efforts made by the girls of the associations.”¹⁵⁶ Those efforts were undoubtedly, if less visibly, augmented by the fact that the economic depression was beginning to lift by this time, possibly resulting in more money for people to spend. Moreover, Abraham Cannon had taken over ownership of the young men’s magazine, the *Contributor*, in 1892. It had ceased publication after his death, thus eliminating a major source of competition for the *Journal*.

Gates later recorded that the debt was settled in two years,¹⁵⁷ but the fortunes of the magazine improved immediately. When the new volume commenced with the January 1898 issue, the magazine featured an attractively redesigned appearance, with more white space and illustrations. The contents also shifted, taking on a more “progressive” tone and focusing on women’s club work and public activities as well as YLMIA organizational business and records. “You see we have made a few changes and improvements,” Gates wrote in the editorial, promising that “more will follow as fast as your subscriptions pour in to aid us.”¹⁵⁸

The numbers show that such aid did “pour in.” The following year, subscriptions increased to nearly 7,000, and from that time forward the magazine was financially secure.¹⁵⁹ In 1899, the subscription price was dropped to one dollar, and the *Guide* lessons, the course of instruction for local YLMIA meetings that had formerly been published separately, began to be included in each month’s issue. As a result, the magazine became a necessary part of the program in each local association.¹⁶⁰ In 1900 the subscription list was nearly 8,000; in 1901, 10,000 copies were published, and the circulation continued to increase after that.¹⁶¹ In a retrospective celebrating the *Journal*’s history when it was subsumed into the *Improvement Era* in 1929, its business manager reported that each issue ran to between sixty-four and seventy-four pages with sixteen pages of “up to date ad-

¹⁵⁶Ibid.

¹⁵⁷Manuscript History YWJ. Presumably this would date the resolution to 1899, but Gates was not specific with dates in her account.

¹⁵⁸“With the Editor,” *Young Woman’s Journal* 9 (January 1898): 43.

¹⁵⁹Manuscript History YWJ.

¹⁶⁰*History of YLMIA*, 111.

¹⁶¹“New Year’s Greetings,” *Young Woman’s Journal* 12 (January 1901): 38–39.

vertising.”¹⁶² She did not give circulation numbers, but it is clear that the magazine was still viable.

SOLVENCY AND SHIFTS

Accompanying the magazine's newfound solvency were some important shifts that further realigned the *Journal's* economy. In July 1897, Gates announced that “an office has been opened in the Constitution Building . . . for the united use of the General Board of the Y.L.N.M.I.A. and the work of the *YOUNG WOMAN'S JOURNAL*.” In addition, an office staff member had been hired full time to “attend to all the *YOUNG WOMAN'S JOURNAL's* business.”¹⁶³ This woman was Estelle Neff, who had graduated “at the head of her class” from Brigham Young Academy in Provo that spring. It was probably through Gates's teaching in the academy that she became acquainted with Neff and offered her the opportunity, as she put it, “to establish the *Young Woman's Journal* on a sound business basis, with only dim prospects of success ahead, and the road strewn with plenty of big disappointments.”¹⁶⁴ Neff took on several of the roles Ellen Jakeman had proposed to fill six years earlier, working for eight years as “general business manager, scribe, assistant to the editor, counselor-at large, and comforter”; she also served as an “aid to the General Board” after 1902.¹⁶⁵

This change was part of a substantial evolution in the magazine's management, both financially and editorially—shifts that rendered it more of an institutional publication and less of a personal literary project. Beginning with Volume 9 in January 1898, the YLMIA general board “assumed direct charge of the management” of the magazine, and committees were appointed to oversee the literary and business concerns. While Gates remained as nominal editor of the *Journal* for three more volumes, it was actually the Literary Com-

¹⁶²Agnes S. Campbell, “Young Woman's Journal,” *Young Woman's Journal* 40 (October 1929): 683.

¹⁶³“Fifty Years of History” (editorial), *Young Woman's Journal* 8 (July 1897): 466–67. The Constitution Building was located at 34 South Main; the YLMIA office occupied Room 536. The *Woman's Exponent* office was also in this building.

¹⁶⁴“Estelle Neff Caldwell,” biographical sketch in *History of YLMIA*, 244–45.

¹⁶⁵*Ibid.* There is no record of how much Neff was paid for her work.

mittee—Adella W. Eardley, May Booth Talmage, and Augusta W. Grant—that did much of the work. Indeed, from Volume 9 forward, many of the editorials seem to have been written by this committee, and Gates’s inimitable voice faded as the central influence. While Cannon & Sons continued to print the *Journal*, its business management was now entirely in the hands of the YLMIA officers. Along with business manager Estelle Neff, a Business Committee, consisting of Martha Tingey, Agnes Campbell, Mae Taylor, and Sarah Edgington, took charge of the publication’s financial affairs. It was a point of pride to these women, as Gates later recalled, that all “came into the work without previous training” but made a success of the venture anyway.¹⁶⁶ Ironically, it was at this point of withdrawal that Gates finally began receiving some regular compensation for her work as editor. A letter from the presidency of the YLMIA, dated December 20, 1898, alludes to payments of \$20 per month during the previous year. Enclosed with the letter was a check for \$100, following through on a promise that “if our finances would permit we would add to this [the monthly salary] whatever we felt justified in doing.”¹⁶⁷ In Gates’s papers there are typewritten contracts for 1899 and 1900, engaging her to “be responsible for the correct editing and proof-reading of the *Journal*” at a salary of \$50 per month, with an additional \$25 monthly allowance for “illustrations and contributions.”¹⁶⁸

Gates attributed her resignation as editor at the end of 1900 to health considerations. As she later expressed it poetically (but without providing any details), “Came the time when my trembling grasp relinquished hold of the ship’s helm, for death walked with me for two years and almost conquered.”¹⁶⁹ At the time, Elmina Taylor wrote to her in concern: “It appears to me that you are nearing a crisis in your life, of serious import, and that if Father does not interfere, the results will be disastrous to you and bring deep and disastrous sorrow to true

¹⁶⁶*History of YLMIA*, 113.

¹⁶⁷YLMIA Presidency, Letter to Susa Young Gates, December 20, 1898, Box 78, fd. 16.

¹⁶⁸“Agreement,” 1899, typescript, Gates Papers, Box 77, fd. 16. There is an identical document for 1900.

¹⁶⁹Gates, “Hail and Farewell,” 675.

and faithful friends who have stood by you in every emergency.”¹⁷⁰ In her unpublished account of the *Journal's* history, however, Gates attributed her departure from the *Journal* to her “interests [leading] in other directions.”¹⁷¹ Probably it was a combination of both factors. While Gates was still writing frequently for the *Journal* and other LDS publications, after 1898 her literary output, the “home literature” fiction to which she had devoted so much effort in previous years, decreased dramatically.¹⁷² The burning literary ambition with which she began her magazine was being channeled into other causes and activities, especially her work on the National Council of Women and her increasing involvement in supporting her daughters as they pursued their own education and professional activities. Gates completely relinquished her personal investment, in every sense of the word. From 1900 on, the *Young Woman's Journal* would be a thoroughly institutional publication, shaped by the corporate voice of its committees and officers rather than the personal interests and expressions of its editor. Its ambitions to become an ideal “woman's magazine” faded as it became firmly established in service of the organization.

These changes did not seem to bring controversy. Probably they were seen as necessary and organic. Nonetheless, they served to profoundly realign the *Young Woman's Journal* with a new economic order—one in which “sound business principles,” as Wilford Woodruff had written twelve years earlier, were the bottom line. No more informal subsidies were available in the name of serving the kingdom. The *Journal's* embrace of its institutional identity also turned out to be a canny business move. Publishing the curriculum for each year's YLMIA programs in the magazine made it an indispensable part of the organization and created immediate inherent demand. The reduction in subscription price was also a clever marketing tool—one that ironically aligned the *Journal* with commercial trends in the magazine industry. The change in management from the individual, al-

¹⁷⁰Elmina S. Taylor, Letter to Susa Young Gates, September 14, 1900, Box 78, fd. 17.

¹⁷¹Manuscript History YWJ.

¹⁷²I am still in the process of compiling a complete bibliography of Gates's published writings, but I have found no fiction by her in the *Journal* after 1897.

most ad hoc efforts of Susa Young Gates, Elmina Taylor, and Abraham Cannon to a rationalized system of committees and officers also modernized the *Young Woman's Journal*.

Thomas Alexander has written that the trend in turn-of-the-century Mormondom was toward greater centralization, as “rational organization and fixed rules replaced a sense of community as the means of establishing norms which the Saints were expected to observe.”¹⁷³ The Church auxiliary organizations, including the YLMIA, were an important locus for these changes, developing them from semi-autonomous voluntary club-like entities to central features of the institutional church, still comparatively autonomous in comparison with their modern counterparts but under priesthood oversight.¹⁷⁴ All of these changes took place in dialogue with the larger American context of “progressive” rationalization and reordering of society. In this process, the modern LDS Church was created. The business development of the *Young Woman's Journal* in the 1890s is a microcosm of that process in motion—the profound and irreversible movement from one economic order to another.

¹⁷³Thomas G. Alexander, *Mormonism in Transition: A History of the Latter-day Saints, 1890–1930* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1996), 94.

¹⁷⁴*Ibid.*, 125–56.

“AS BAD AS I HATED TO COME”: LUCY HANNAH WHITE FLAKE IN ARIZONA

David F. Boone

EARLY IN 1894, ASSISTANT CHURCH HISTORIAN Andrew Jenson traveled through the settlements of Arizona in an ongoing quest to preserve the history of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. His message to the Saints in Snowflake was, in part, an admonition to keep a personal journal. One who heard and heeded the invitation was Lucy Hannah White Flake.¹ She noted: “The last of February [1894] Brother Andrew Jenson Chirch Historian came here to snowflake for church history he encouraged every one to write a jurnal I had wished a great meny times in the last twelve years that I had comenced to write in a jurnal he encouraged it so

DAVID F. BOONE {david_boone@byu.edu} is an associate professor of Church history and doctrine at Brigham Young University. His research interests include the colonization of the western United States and especially the Southwest. He is a great-grandson of Lucy Hannah White Flake. He presented an earlier version of this paper at the Mormon History Association’s annual meeting at Tucson, Arizona, May 2002.

¹Lucy’s daughter Roberta Flake Clayton wrote a fictionalized biography about her mother titled *To the Last Frontier: Autobiography of Lucy Hanna White Flake* (Mesa, Ariz.: Roberta Clayton, 1923). The title contains two errors. It is not an autobiography, and on Church, civic, government, and family records Lucy’s middle name is consistently spelled “Hannah.”

strong that I have made this feeble effort.”² With this entry Lucy Flake, age fifty-two, embarked on an intellectual odyssey—making a record of her life.³

Lucy’s “feeble effort” to keep a journal produced a two-volume day-by-day record. A third volume contains a retrospective reminiscence of the years before she began her daily record. She continued her diligent efforts to write of her experiences until the end of her life. The typed transcription of her journals is more than four hundred pages. Supplemental annotations, bibliography, and textual notes bring the total to almost 450 pages.

Lucy Flake was a faithful Latter-day Saint whose devotion and commitment took her to the harsh Arizona frontier and sustained her there. In Illinois, several members of her family “embraced the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints” in 1837, “before I was born” (1:1). Lucy’s earliest memories are of Nauvoo. She later remembered crossing the plains at age eight. She recalled an enjoyable childhood and a largely carefree period of adolescence before she married at age sixteen, bore thirteen children, and endured the day-to-day struggles of pioneer life. Repeatedly she helped establish pioneer communities in the Utah and Arizona territories, only to be asked to move on and begin yet another. She persevered despite the harshness and drudgery of the environment and made do with what

²Lucy Hannah White Flake, *Journal*, 1:60. The holograph journals were donated to the L. Tom Perry Special Collections and Manuscripts, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University (hereafter Perry Special Collections), in 1953 by Curator Chad J. Flake. In 1973 Chad and Hyrum F. Boone, a grandson and great-grandson respectively, edited the journals, made the typescript, and added several pages of annotations. All quotations from the journal of Lucy Hannah White Flake in this article are from this typescript and are cited parenthetically in the text by volume and page. Occasionally I have added terminal punctuation or initial capitalization and minimal clarifying words in brackets. Lucy was incorrect in identifying Jensen as the Church historian. He was an assistant Church historian.

³Another who heard Jensen’s plea was May Hunt Larson. In May’s early attempt to write, she noted, “Andrew Jensen [sic] came to our ward of Snowflake and in gathering up records, dates, etc., he advised all families to keep a record and a journal. In compliance there with, I . . . concluded to try and write a little of our lives.” May Hunt Larson, “*Journal, 1886–1907*,” holograph, Perry Special Collections.

she found available. She experienced hunger, survived natural disasters, and endured isolation, loneliness, and grief. Lucy was the first wife in a plural marriage, a relationship to which she consented because she and her husband, William Jordan Flake, considered it a higher order of living the gospel. Deeply and tenderly in love with her husband, she helped him choose her sister-wife and then worked at the relationship day by day in the years that followed.

Thousands of other Mormon women in the West lived in plural marriages. All of them endured significant physical and emotional obstacles in the process. By keeping a daily record, unlike many of her counterparts, Lucy made her experiences and feelings available to the generations that would follow her. She had a very limited education—not unusual for the time period—but she did not let it thwart her. Neither did she, in most instances, attempt to correct spelling and punctuation, except for isolated strikeouts. She never seems to address any particular audience, so unlike many such records, she was not keeping it primarily for her descendants. Thus, it appeared to be a personal release where, in her own limited world she could vent, confide, share, and report activities around her. Her journal seemed to be something of a companion to whom she related her intimate feelings and experiences. “I have had comfort in writeing this [journal]” she confided. “[I] have e[n]joyed much of the Spirrit of God while writing it has brought meny things to my mind of the past” (1:64).

She made this comment after the autobiographical segment covering her birth in 1842 up until 1894 when she began her day-to-day record. This section covers nearly all of Volume 1 or nearly one hundred pages of the Flake and Boone annotated typescript. Years later, Lucy again reflected: “I have taken great joy in this book feeling very thankfull that I comenced to write my life work [even] if it was late in life. I say I feel glad there is comfort in this work for me. I hope we may improve in our labors and usefullness is my great desire” (2:277). Omitted days are infrequent; and only during her final illness, which lasted twenty-seven days, was there a noted neglect of her record.

Not only did she confide her feelings in her entries, but through her unvarnished portrayal of events, she disclosed much of the society and times in which she lived, providing significant glimpses into pioneer life in Utah and Arizona through the eyes and experiences of a nineteenth-century Latter-day Saint woman.

REMINISCENCES, 1842–94

Lucy began her record with a brief overview of her life and her family's genealogy. She was born in Knox County, Illinois, on August 23, 1842. Her paternal ancestors came from Massachusetts and Connecticut, while her maternal ancestors were immigrants from England to New York and thence to Illinois. Her parents, Samuel Dennis White and Mary Hannah Burton White, "was drove from place to place," Lucy wrote (1:1). She was the oldest of eleven children, although all did not live to adulthood. "They embraced the gospell of Jesus Christ of Latter day Saints before I was born" (1:1) She recorded: "My first recollection is of Nauvoo remember some things about the Temple my mother took me to see the Profet Joseph after he was murdered (1:1). She would have been less than two when the bodies of Joseph and Hyrum Smith, Church president and patriarch respectively, lay in state at the Mansion House in Nauvoo on Saturday, June 29, 1844,⁴ two days after they were murdered at Carthage, Illinois, and is conscientious about differentiating this experience, which she learned about from her mother, from her own memory of the temple: "My father took me by the hand and led me up the staires to the top" of the Nauvoo Temple. "It was butiful" (1:1). The building was being used as a meetinghouse as early as October 1842, but members would have had access to it until they evacuated the city, usually in 1845–46.

Lucy did not record the date of the White family's departure from Nauvoo, but she recalls, "My parents were among the last to leave Nauvoo, he [her father] stayed and helped the rest [of the saints] off" (1:1). After a stay at Winter Quarters, they traveled west with the Aaron Johnson Company in 1850, arriving "in Salt Lake City the last day of August. . . . We eat [ate] our last provisions in the morning and got in some time in the day." The Salt Lake Valley "looked butifull with its nice stacks of Wheat and Hay corn and vegetables" (1:1–2).

After visiting with family and friends in Salt Lake City, the family settled in Lehi, Utah, nearly thirty miles to the south, arriving six months before the town was laid out and about a year and a half be-

⁴Andrew Jenson, *Church Chronology: A Record of Important Events Pertaining to the History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1899), 26.

fore Lehi became a municipal entity in 1851.⁵ Lucy was baptized there “about June of this year.”⁶ In June 1851 Lucy would have been nine. “We did not have much to eat,” she recalled, “but we always had bread” (1:2–3).

One of Lehi’s first public buildings in 1851 was a schoolhouse and “that winter my school days commenced.” She may have been homeschooled instead of attending the community school, for she comments that her mother, a former schoolteacher, “taught me letters out of the Bible as [we] had no school book[s]” (1:3).

Two years later, the family was “continually rejoicing and improving,” but her father returned home from October general conference “and told Mother he was called to move South three Hundred miles. Mother felt dreadful bad for she had been seperated from her people so much and now we were settled so near them she thought it cruel she had to go a way so far” (1:4).⁷ They were among the fifty families that Apostles George A. Smith and Erastus Snow had been assigned to lead south “to strengthen the settlements of Iron County.”⁸

With only weeks to prepare, the Whites left in November, taking with them Uncles Joel White and David Savage and Lucy’s widowed grandmother, Lucy Miranda Bailey White. Lucy recalled, “There was a large company went when we did to strengthen Parawan and Cedar

⁵“On February 5, 1852, David Evans, the ward’s first bishop, presented the residents’ request for incorporating the community of Dry Creek. The request was granted, but the community was named Lehi. This name was chosen because Lehi’s descendants in the Book of Mormon had frequently moved, like the pioneers. John W. Van Cott, *Utah Place Names: A Comprehensive Guide to the Origin of Geographic Names, A Compilation* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1990), 224.

⁶The Personal Ancestral File (PAF) records the date for this ordinance as February 1852. The Temple Index Bureau, (TIB) however, which is a primary document, notes the information as contained in the text, which corroborates Lucy’s journal. In addition, another primary, but restricted source, “Salt Lake Records, Endowment House Records, Book D, 1861–1864,” microfilm 0,183,404:47, also records the date as 1851.

⁷The first white male buried in what is now Lehi, Utah, was John Griggs White, Lucy’s paternal grandfather. *Daughters of Utah Pioneers, Marker Directory* (Salt Lake City: Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1990), 91.

⁸Jenson, *Church Chronology*, 49.

[City] as the Indians was hostile.” After three weeks, the company arrived at Cedar City “before Christmas.” The community had been settled on November 11, 1851, by Henry Lunt and a small group (about fifty people) from Parowan, Utah.

At the time of the move, Lucy was eleven. Her memories of the rest of the 1850s are of hanging stockings at Christmas time, celebrating the 24th of July, and the births of the fifth and sixth of her ten siblings, Dennis Charles (b. 1851) and George Burton (1853), both born in Lehi. She was fourteen when the “Reformation” reached her community in the winter of 1855–56. It was a time of renewed zeal and devotion. “We were called on to repent from all our sins if we stole or injured any body we had to make it right then we ware caticised. . . . I was . . . [re]baptised in February. The chunks of ice was running in the Mill race Where we was baptised these were very inthuseastick times” (1:5).

Interestingly, Lucy makes no mention whatever of the Mountain Meadows Massacre on September 11, 1857, even though her family was less than thirty miles away and Joel White was a captain in the Utah Territorial Militia (Nauvoo Legion) for Cedar City. He was further identified as a Captain of Company D of the 10th Regiment Battalion and testified at both of John D. Lee’s trials.⁹ White also gave an affidavit in 1896 which indicated, among other things, that “there was no high Chief or any Chiefs among the Indians there [at Mountain Meadows]. . . . If there had been any Chiefs the Indians would not have dilly-dallied around waiting for John D. Lee to collect more Indians and assemble more white men.”¹⁰ Lucy’s silence about the massacre is a conspicuous omission in her typically very candid journal. I consider it an anomaly for reasons known only to herself.

Four and a half years after reaching Cedar City and a year after Mountain Meadows, sixteen-year-old Lucy met William Jordan Flake,

⁹Morris A. Shirts and Kathryn H. Shirts, *A Trial Furnace: Southern Utah’s Iron Mission* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 2001), 491–92; Robert Kent Fielding and Dorothy S. Fielding, *The Tribune Reports of the Trials of John D. Lee for the Massacre at Mountain Meadows, November, 1874–April, 1877* (Higginum, Conn.: Kent Books, 2000), 215.

¹⁰“Joel White Cross Examination—Lee’s First Trial,” 1896, Special Collections, Gerald R. Sherratt Library, Southern Utah University, Cedar City; also Janiece Johnson, email to David Boone, September 26, 2007. Janiece is transcribing the court testimony in the Lee trials.

who was part of the San Bernardino settlers then returning to Utah because of the advancing federal troops.

THE FLAKE FAMILY

William, the eldest of seven children, was born on July 3, 1839, to James Madison Flake and Agnes Haley Love Flake, in Anson County, North Carolina. William “was tall and well built,” noted Lucy, and was “well mannered and chivalrous as becomes a son of the South.”¹¹ When his parents married in 1838 in Anson County, North Carolina, each was given a slave as a wedding present. James’s slave, Green Flake, came to Utah with Brigham Young’s vanguard company in 1847. Agnes’s slave was Liz or Carlotty L.¹² When San Bernardino was largely disbanded, she remained in California and became a prominent citizen in that area. Through the succeeding years, Liz was periodically visited by the Flake children.

The Flakes had been converted in 1843 by Benjamin Clapp in Kemper County, Mississippi, where they had moved. James traveled to Nauvoo where he received a patriarchal blessing from Hyrum Smith only fifteen days before the Smith brothers were killed. James sold the Mississippi farm and brought his family to Nauvoo where Agnes received her patriarchal blessing on November 14, 1845, from John Smith, the newly ordained patriarch.

The Flakes joined the exodus west, spent the winter of 1846–47 at Winter Quarters, then traveled with the Amasa Lyman Company to Salt Lake City, arriving in October 1848.¹³ They settled in Cottonwood, a few miles southeast of the city and one of the earliest settlements in the Salt Lake Valley without the protection of a fort.¹⁴ Two years later, James accompanied a group of “gold missionaries” to California where he died in an accident on June 15, 1850, in the San Joaquin Valley.

¹¹Quoted in Roberta Flake Clayton, *Pioneer Women of Arizona* (Mesa, Ariz.: Roberta Clayton, 1969), 140.

¹²“Carlotty” appears in the LDS Church Historical Department “Mormon Pioneer Overland Travel: 1847–1868,” www.lds.org/A-Z/Index/Pioneer-list/Surname,Flake (accessed February 2007).

¹³Osmer D. Flake, *William J. Flake: Pioneer-Colonizer* (Phoenix, Ariz.: n.pub., n.d.), 12.

¹⁴Van Cott, *Utah Place Names*, 92.

In 1851, Agnes took their three surviving children—ranging in age from eleven to four years—and moved to San Bernardino, California, with other Southerners under the leadership of Apostles Amasa Lyman and Charles Rich. Agnes died there from tuberculosis on January 25, 1855.¹⁵ The orphaned William Jordan, Charles Love, and Sarah James, according to their mother's wishes, lived with the Lyman family, the two sons becoming lifelong friends of Francis Marion Lyman and Amasa Jr.¹⁶

When Brigham Young called the outlying settlers back to Utah in 1857, eighteen-year-old William Flake and Marion Lyman, drove a herd of horses to Utah and shared the Lyman home in Cedar City before establishing homes of their own. "William Flake remained in Cedar City and we became acquainted," Lucy summarized briefly. "In due time he offered his hand in Marage My Parents being Willing we were Married" with Apostle Lyman officiating on December 30, 1858. "Apostle Lyman gave us very good council told us how to treat each other. . . . he said we was not set in our way like we would be if we were older he used most all the evening talking and counciling it was very plesant indeed [He] called us children [William] was 19 in July myself 16 in August" (1:9).¹⁷

The next month, the newlyweds moved to Beaver, fifty-three miles north, where Lucy's parents also lived. William and Lucy established a farm and built their first home, a cabin, three miles west of Beaver, where Greenville, Utah, is now located.

¹⁵Amasa Mason Lyman recorded the death in his journal: "Sister Agness Flake . . . had her reason till the last She fell asleep in peace and has gone to Meet her departed husband." Lyman, Journal, January 25, 1855, George S. Tanner Collection, Special Collections, J. Willard Marriott Library, University of Utah, Salt Lake City; "Maria Lousia Tanner Lyman," ACCN 1316, Box 27, fd. 1.

¹⁶William Jordan Flake was born July 3, 1839, and Francis Marion Lyman on January 12, 1840. Charles Love Flake was born August 31, 1842, and Amasa Mason Lyman Jr. was born on February 22, 1846.

¹⁷John D. Lee recorded, "went to Bro. A. Lyman. . . . I was here invited to attend a Wedding & Supper at Bro. S. White's. The weddingers were Wm Flak & Miss Lucy White. I accepted the invitation & passed off[f] the Evening verry pleasantly." Robert Glass Cleland and Juanita Books, eds., *Mormon Chronicle: The Diaries of John D. Lee, 1848-1876*, 2 vols. (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1983), 1:187.

In addition to farming and raising livestock, William was a freighter, often hauling grain between Salt Lake and the southern settlements. During the winter, he would travel to California for goods which he would deliver to merchants in Utah. Lucy provided some details: “[William] went to freighting on the western mail line from Camp Floid [Floyd]” (1:11), meaning that he hauled grain, presumably to feed the livestock along the mail route between Salt Lake City and an unknown terminus in California. He made a respectable twenty-five cents per pound to freight merchandise,¹⁸ which he undoubtedly earned due to exposure to the elements, scarcity of water, and multiple dangers along the road. Through hard work, sacrifice, and perseverance, William and Lucy made a comfortable life for themselves. “We had very little to keep house with but we were just as happy as could be,” Lucy remembered. “We loved each other and our home and felt truly thankful. My parent[s] lived close by and greatly assisted us” (1:9–10). William’s parents had initially been well off, but crossing the plains, investing in the San Bernardino settlement, and their deaths at a young age left the children without an inheritance. “So we commenced from the bottom to clime up the ladder,” Lucy wrote cheerfully (1:10). On November 8, 1859, their first child, James Madison Flake, was born.¹⁹ This son brought great joy to their home. His birth was especially comforting to Lucy as she was alone so much during the early years of their marriage. In 1850, for example, William was gone from July to October, then before the month’s end, left on a second trip and was gone until late December.

Although William’s parents were converts and he and his siblings were raised in Mormon communities, Lucy had a keener interest in religious practices than he. According to their son, Osmer, when Lucy encouraged William to begin praying with her, he resisted. Lucy explained: “William was not rligious being brought up in California after he was twelve and haveing no father to teach him” (1:10). In an attempt to put her off, he promised, before a long and difficult freighting trip, that “if he ever got home again” he would “have prayer with her.” When he returned after a three-month, tedious, cold trip to Los

¹⁸Osmer Flake, *William J. Flake*, 31.

¹⁹James Madison Flake was named for William’s pioneer father. Since that time for several generations, the oldest son of the oldest son was alternately named James Madison, William Jordan, James Madison, and William Jordan again.

Angeles, Lucy “reminded him of his promise” on his first night home. “He kept faith with her, knelt in prayer that night and always afterward when he was home with his family.”²⁰

Lucy was a strong advocate of prayer. She prayed constantly alone and with others when the opportunity presented itself, and taught her children the efficacy of prayer.²¹ In January 1861, a second son, William Melvin Flake, was born. “He seemed a fine healthy child [and] was blessed by my Father.” This child “was called away” on March 20. “I can say his death was the first trial of my faith,” recorded Lucy, “it seemed my prairs had always been answered before but in his sickness it seemed like my prairs did no good but still I kept trying to get my Heavenly Father to here me . . . but it seemed he could not here me” (1:10).

Lucy also longed for her and William to receive their temple blessings and to be sealed. Such a commitment required an arduous trip to Salt Lake City, of between one week and two by team and wagon. William, it appears, was not unwilling, but never found a convenient time for this ordinance. After nearly three years of marriage, when William was returning from one of his many freighting trips from California, Lucy, her father, and their bishop, Philo T. Farnsworth, met William in Salt Lake City. The Bishop “said Brother William I want you and your wife to come to the endument House and have your Enduments. . . . If the Bishop had told him to go to England he could not [have] felt more surprised. He tried to get excused said he did not think himself Worthy but the Bishop would not let him off. . . . That night I was so thankfull [I] hardly slept. . . . The 9th October 1861 we recieved that great blessin[g] and was seled for time and all Eternity” (1:11).

The summer of 1862 was a happy one. “We milked cows made butter and chees and that seemed the happiest summer of my life my husband raised a good crop and every night he was home that seemed so good for most all that time he had been gon from home since our marrage for he had to work at anything he could to make a

²⁰Osmer Flake, *William J. Flake*, 34–36.

²¹According to Velma Flake Hatch, *Joel White Flake* (Phoenix, Ariz.: Roberta Clayton, 1974), 150, in a biographical sketch of her father, Joel White Flake, “From . . . early childhood she [Lucy] taught him of God in Heaven who hears and answers prayers and if we asked He will help us accomplish the tasks we need to do. Her example, faith and diligent prayers were his guide line all his life and kept him out of much trouble.”

liveing” (1:12). Charles (“Charlie”) Love Flake was born October 18, 1852, and named for William’s young brother, Charles, who lived with the family in Beaver for a few weeks.

The next year on October 27, 1864, their fourth son²² was born and named Samuel Orson for Lucy’s eldest brother. Again, however, “we was onely permitted to keep this Precious treasure a short time as he Died 21 of December. My faith was not so much shaken this time but felt my troubles was more then almost any one else” (1:13–14). In the spring of 1865, William was assigned to take his team and wagon east to the staging area where the European converts had gathered, then bring them back to Salt Lake City. These “Down-and-Back” trains were much more economical for the Church and the immigrating converts than purchasing wagons and teams in the frontier towns.²³ When William returned, he began freighting again.

Their first daughter, Mary Agnes, was born February 16, 1866, followed by Osmer Dennis Flake, their sixth child, on March 6, 1868. An abrupt change came to the family in that year (1868) when an unidentified priesthood leader counseled twenty-nine-year-old William to marry a plural wife, and he asked for Lucy’s consent. For both of them, this challenging order of marriage was a divine commandment, obedience to which would bring blessings.

PLURAL MARRIAGE

According to son Osmer, William believed it “was his duty to obey the principle,” and Lucy’s journal entry for this pivotal decision is two reticent sentences: “William concluded to take another Wife. I was quite willing” (1:16). Lucy apparently also gave her consent to William’s choice, eighteen-year-old Prudence Jane Kartchner.”²⁴ “Prudence never lacked for ardent admirers,” her daughter Sarah

²²Irene Stratton Flake and Gerda Hendrickson Flake, comps., *Family of William Jordan and Lucy Hannah White Flake* (N.p., n.pub., December 1985), p. 2-1.

²³William G. Hartley, “Down and Back Wagon Trains: Bringing the Saints to Utah in 1861,” *Ensign*, September 1985, 26–31; Hartley, “Brigham Young’s Overland Trails Revolution: The Creation of the ‘Down-and-Back’ Wagon-Train System, 1860–61,” *Journal of Mormon History* 28, no. 1 (Spring 2002): 1–30.

²⁴Osmer Flake, *William J. Flake*, 49.

Emma Flake Freeman later wrote, “and she had several offers of matrimony. . . . But it was the answer to her prayers when William Jordan Flake approached her and asked her to be his plural wife.” The Kartchners were then living in Beaver, but her family had just been called to the Muddy River Mission in Nevada.

Prudence asked William “for a little time to think, pray, and to decide on such a momentous question. It was decided, if she chose to cast her lot with him, she would let her family go on toward their new home . . . and she would wait for his arrival.”²⁵ “She must have had a great struggle to decide whether she would go on with her family or whether she would become the wife of a man who already had a wife and four children. . . . The day arrived for her family to leave for Nevada; she rode with them as far as the crossroads. Then, bidding them all a tearful and affectionate goodbye, she bade them go on without her.”²⁶ William found her at the crossroads, her presence the answer to his invitation to join his family.

The most popular account of this turning point in William and Lucy’s life was written by daughter Roberta Flake Clayton, a highly colored version that must be taken with considerable caution. Although her title calls it an “autobiography,” there is no indication that Lucy had any input in the preparation of this manuscript, much less wrote it herself, since the volume was published more than twenty years after her death. Roberta herself was not born for another nine years. She could have relied on Lucy’s oral recounting of her experiences, but she does not mention talking to her mother about it. According to Roberta’s version, William, after being counseled to take another wife, came home, and “taking my face in his hands he turned it around so that he could look into my eyes and asked, ‘Lucy, dear, could you share your husband with another woman?’”²⁷

Roberta’s version continues with a dramatic “inner battle” that lasted for days during which Lucy was dissolved in tears; but she eventually conquered her conflicted feelings and asked William, “Who is the young lady we are going to marry?” He had already selected Prudence as his choice, to which Lucy again assented, trying “hard to be as enthusiastic as he” but, as soon as she was alone, she “cried until I

²⁵Sarah Emma Flake Freeman, “Prudence Jane Kartchner Flake,” n.d., 4–5; copy in my possession.

²⁶Clayton, *To the Last Frontier*, 44.

²⁷*Ibid.*, 40–41.

was tired.”²⁸ These romantic details do not, as stated above, appear in any other family document.

Prudence left no known personal writings, and only limited biographical information is available about her. According to a brief sketch written by Sarah Emma, “Prudence contributed many articles of value to the *Woman’s Exponent*, and wrote many articles for local papers, for birthdays and other special occasions. She used good English, and would submit her writings to some educated person for correction before submitting them to the public. She was a good penman for her age and time.”²⁹ However, an electronic index for the *Woman’s Exponent* reveals not a single reference to Prudence although several of her sisters, sisters-in-law, and her sister-wife, Lucy Flake, each were identified as authors or were at least mentioned in the publication.³⁰ Most of the information about Prudence, however, comes from other sources, foremost among them Lucy’s journal.

Prudence was born March 15, 1850, to William Decatur Kartchner and Margaret Jane Casteel Kartchner. They had arrived in the Salt Lake Valley only five days after Brigham Young’s vanguard company because they had wintered in Pueblo, Colorado, with the group known as the Mississippi Saints. Prudence, the third of their eleven children, had developed asthma as an infant, a condition that worsened as she grew older.³¹ Perhaps in compensation, she excelled in singing, played the guitar and other musical instruments, and loved to dance. When she was unable to dance because of difficulty in breathing, she would call the dances, thereby becoming a favorite among her peers.

She loved education but her opportunities were hampered during her formative years. Shortly after their marriage, William arranged to send her to Richard S. Horne’s school in Beaver.

²⁸Ibid., 50–54.

²⁹Freeman, “Prudence Jane Kartchner Flake,” 4.

³⁰Prudence may have used a pseudonym, written anonymously, or contributed to articles for which she was not given individual credit. Lucy’s friend and the author of her obituary, May Hunt Larson, mentioned that Lucy was “a constant subscriber to the *Exponent*, only missing the year they moved to Arizona.” May Hunt Larson, “Obituary, Lucy H. Flake,” *Woman’s Exponent* 28, nos. 20–21 (March 15 and May 1, 1900): 119.

³¹Freeman, “Prudence Jane Kartchner Flake,” 2.

In October 1868, Lucy, baby Osmer, William, and Prudence attended October general conference in Salt Lake City; William and Prudence were sealed on October 9 in Lucy's presence, Wilford Woodruff officiating. Lucy recorded: "Sister E R Snow asked me was I willing said yes she asked do you think you can live in that principle I said am quite willing to try my Mother and sister live in it and I think [I] can do as much as them and besides I wanted my Husband to go into that principle before I was old because I think it right." Eliza R. Snow responded: "She said my reward would be great because I was willing and she said Sister you never shall get old and she gave me a great blessing and every time she saw me that day she blest me" (1:16). The blessing that she would not grow old seems, on the face of it, an ambiguous one; and in fact, Lucy, a tireless worker and endlessly willing to help others, died at the comparatively young age of fifty-seven.

William, Lucy, and Prudence delayed their departure from Salt Lake City because Lucy's father, who had accompanied them, "caught a severe cold which settled in his lungs." It evidently turned to pneumonia, and "I bade him goodbye as I feared I would never see him again."³² Samuel "said we had better start home as we could do more good at home . . . we started home on the 18 of October he passed away" and was buried in Salt Lake City (1:16). Lucy gave birth to her seventh child and second daughter, Lucy Jane, on March 13, 1870, followed by Wilford Jordan, on September 12, 1872. But "he was born before his time . . . lived twelve days Died Sep 24." Then she added, "So we laid three little baby boys in Beaver Graveyard and hope to be worthy to rais them where there is no sin" (1:18). Her ninth child and seventh son, George Burton Flake, was born on April 16, 1875.

MOVING TO ARIZONA

Two years later came another momentous change in their lives. By 1877, Lucy had given birth to nine children, only five of whom had survived: James, Charles, Mary, Osmer, and George. (Prudence had no children at this point.) The family owned 240 acres of good quality farm land west of Beaver, maintained a summer home on the farm and a winter home in town, raised livestock, and were respected in the community. At April 1877 general conference, held in con-

³²Clayton, *To the Last Frontier*, 45.

junction with the dedication of the St. George Temple, Brigham Young called William to help colonize Arizona. Lucy candidly recorded: William “had rather go to England. He felt dreadfull bad but we was called and there was no other way. We had to begin to make preparations to go” (2:21). According to a family story, President Young said, “If William Flake is anything like his father, he will stick.” William asked if he could go for a few years to help in the colonization process and then return to his holdings in Beaver. The Prophet counseled William, “Sell all that you have, that you can’t take with you. Take your family and go there to settle [with] the Saints. Leave nothing to come back to.”³³

Another family change was promised at this same conference. After eight and a half years of marriage when Prudence still had no children, she accompanied William to St. George in April 1877. There she received a blessing (from whom is not recorded), which promised that she would bear a son. Between 1879 and 1893, she gave birth to five daughters and two sons, all born in Arizona.³⁴

Lucy was pregnant at the time and after Roberta, their third daughter and tenth child, was born on August 19, 1877, the family left Beaver on November 9. William “had fixed the wagons as comfortable as possible—one for . . . Lucy and one for . . . [Prudence] with beds in the back and a small stove in the front.” Along the way, the family experienced below-zero temperatures, the birth of the first grandchild (to James Flake and Nancy Hall Flake), serious cases of diphtheria among Lucy’s youngest daughters (Lucy Jane and baby Roberta), and Lucy’s concern when fifteen-year-old Charlie had to be left behind with a hired man to fend for themselves, drive the cattle, and

³³Freeman, “Prudence Jane Kartchner Flake,” 6; Osmer Flake, *William J. Flake*, 56, in Irene Stratton Flake and Gerda Hendrickson Flake, eds., *Descendants of William Jordan Flake* (N.p.: William Jordan Flake Family Association, December 1985), 1–18.

³⁴Prudence’s children were Sarah Emma (b. May 22, 1879), Lydia Pearl (b. December 2, 1881), Joseph Franklin (b. January 7, 1884; d. October 3, 1885), twins Mark Augustus and Jane Margaret (b. and d. June 7, 1886), Wilmirth (July 7, 1887), and Anna Belle (b. December 28, 1893). www.familysearch.org and *Descendants of William Jordan Flake*, 2–159.

feed them by cutting branches from trees for browse.³⁵

PIONEERING ON THE LITTLE COLORADO

After an extremely difficult trip and much suffering due to the intense cold, the Flakes arrived in the Little Colorado River region of northern Arizona on January 15, 1878. They stopped temporarily with unidentified friends in Ballenger's Camp (now Winslow, Arizona), then at Sunset, which no longer exists, and third at "Old Taylor" (so-called now to differentiate it from the current Taylor), where William herded the community's livestock.

The Little Colorado River posed immense difficulties. When it rained, it became an uncontrollable torrent, only to be reduced to a mere trickle or even dry up altogether during drier seasons. Even today it is not uncommon for the river to spread beyond its banks during the spring while the water sinks into the ground, only to resurface miles downstream during the summer. According to Roberta Clayton (again, attributing this description to her mother), "The water was so laden with mud that nothing we tried settled it. We would fill our barrels with it, . . . but at best there would only be three or four inches [of usable water] on the top of the barrel, after it stood overnight. This we could dip off carefully and use for cooking."³⁶ Much illness resulted from the poor water, heat, and limited food. The Flakes were living in a wagon box, and the community's only improvements were a dining hall and a stockade.

Despite efforts to live the United Order, the community suffered from internal strife. According to historian Charles S. Peterson, "The United Order villages . . . enjoyed only the most fleeting success." By 1879 four of the five "had collapsed."³⁷ William withdrew and found another place to live, accompanied by Alma Z. Palmer. Since they were leaving a Church-sponsored United Order settle-

³⁵*Descendants of William Jordan Flake*, 1–24; Freeman, "Prudence Jane Karchner Flake," 6; Osmer Flake, *William J. Flake*, 61.

³⁶Clayton, *To the Last Frontier*, 64; see also Roberta Flake Clayton, "Pioneer Source Book," Federal Writers Project, Work Projects Administration, Luhrs Library, Arizona State University, Tempe.

³⁷Charles S. Peterson, *Take Up Your Mission: Mormon Colonizing along the Little Colorado River, 1870–1900* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1973), 93.

ment, other Church members ostracized them as apostates.³⁸ After much searching, William found a little valley approximately thirty miles south of the site of present-day Holbrook, Arizona, called Rancho Rio de la Plata, or Silver Creek, now Snowflake.

William viewed the \$12,000 asked by James Stinson as exorbitant; but Lucy, a very frugal and practical homemaker, offered, "Go buy the place, I will do his [Stinson's] washing, sewing, anything to help pay the bill, but I can't stay here."³⁹ Thus encouraged, William purchased the entire valley, payable in Utah livestock each fall over the next three years.

While William was absent, working out these arrangements, Lucy was suffering through the loss of another child. Three-year-old George had been a sickly child but had an endearing personality. He now became very ill and Lucy nursed him around the clock. "I did all I could with medicen and also with faith," she recorded. "My prairs did not seem to be herd but several times each day I went a way from my wagon in secret and prayed." Finally, "on the morning of July 6th, [18]78 I was so deep in sorrow it seemed I could not bare it any longer I went out in some brush . . . and asked my Father in Heven to take him home for I could not bare it any longer my burden was hevier then I could bare. That prair was simple but from my hart I wint to him he breathed afew times and passed a way so sweetly" (1:25). William arrived an hour later. Lucy prepared the little body, made his burial clothes, dressed him, and painted his coffin. George was buried the next day at Allen's Camp (now Joseph City), the closest permanent LDS settlement to where they lived. Neither Lucy's diary nor any other source mentions any assistance from anyone other than the immediate family during George's final illness, nor did anyone assist William with the burial.

Thus, they left a little grave behind them when they moved to Silver Creek Valley on July 21. Lucy called it "a butiful place. We felt truely thankfull for the nice clear Watter the hills was all covered with green grass every thing looked like we was welcome here" (1:26). She was thirty-five, William was thirty-nine, and Prudence was twenty-eight.

³⁸Osmer Flake, *William Jordan Flake*, 64.

³⁹*Ibid.*, 66.

IN SNOWFLAKE, ARIZONA

Within weeks, some of the same individuals who had ostracized them had joined them. The town was incorporated that same year (1878) and named by Apostle Erastus Snow for himself and William Flake.

When he purchased the land, Flake took his chances and drew for a share along with the rest and no more. He had opened the valley he purchased to others and welcomed all comers, even feeding many of them through the first year. Stinson had warned William: "If you will keep the place for your family alone, you will have a fine place. . . . There is just enough water here for this small farm, . . . but if you let anyone else in, you will all starve." Flake responded, "You could not give me the place, if I had to live here that way. I am going to have a town and farm all of the land." Upon which Stinson answered, "You won't have enough water. I use it all, and then don't have enough in the dry season."⁴⁰ Acting on faith, William told upstream settlers to continue using the water, that "there was plenty of water for all and they were welcome to it."⁴¹ Flake affirmed: "When the Mormons come, the water will increase."⁴² Shortly after they moved, it rained for twenty-six days without stopping (1:26). Stinson, who was trying to harvest his last crop, reportedly grumbled, "I wish the hell the Mormons had stayed away until I had my crop gathered."⁴³

Fish believed that many of the Saints who came to the valley took advantage of Flake's hospitality by using more water than they were entitled to or never paying according to their agreement, but William continued to buy up farms and allow others to settle them on unusually liberal terms. In time he was responsible for having purchased and helped settle at least a half-dozen LDS town sites in north-eastern Arizona.⁴⁴

In September 1878, less than two months after moving to Silver Valley, Lucy and some of the children accompanied William on a business trip to Utah to trade for cattle to help pay for the Silver Creek

⁴⁰Osmer Flake, *William J. Flake*, 74.

⁴¹Joseph Fish, "History of the Eastern Arizona Stake of Zion and of the Establishment of the Snowflake Stake," ca. 1879-93, 48.

⁴²Osmer Flake, *William J. Flake*, 74.

⁴³*Ibid.*, 75.

⁴⁴Fish, "History of the Eastern Arizona Stake," 40-41.

Valley. They encountered Erastus Snow on the road, and he asked William for a report of his activities. "William got up on his carriage steps and told him all. . . . William said ever[y] one but his Wife tried to discourage him He told Bro Snow a dreem he had when he felt troubled he thought he met President Young and told him about buying this place He thought President Young ran his hand in his pocket as if to pull out money." William said, "I don't want money, I want to know if I done right then he woke up." Elder Snow said, "That was all the council you kneed." Then he "blessed William" (1:26–27). Brigham Young, who had called William to Arizona, had died in August 1877.

After being uprooted and moving five different times before their arrival in Snowflake, Lucy finally had the home she would live in for the rest of her life. She had moved progressively south from Salt Lake City, Lehi, Cedar City, and Beaver, each of which has survived as a permanent town. She was present for the early history of four additional town sites in Arizona—Brigham City, Sunset, Taylor, and Snowflake. In her autobiographical sketch in 1894, she put the experience in perspective: "As bad as I hated to come I now beleave . . . we have done a great amount of good and . . . the Lord wanted us here" (1:32). While home-building for the last time in Silver Creek Valley did not end all her problems, it did give her a degree of permanence and peace.

In this home were born her eleventh and twelfth children: Joel White, on July 21, 1880, and John Taylor Flake, on December 28, 1882.

Meanwhile, the promised children were being born to Prudence. When her first child was a daughter, Sarah Emma, born May 22, 1879, William pointed out that, according to the blessing, she would have at least one more child.⁴⁵ Her second child was also a daughter, Lydia Pearl, born December 2, 1881, followed by the promised son, Joseph Franklin, born January 7, 1884, but who died twenty-one months later; and premature twins Mark Augustus and Jane Margaret, who died the day of their birth, June 7, 1886. The final two children were healthy daughters: Wilmirth, born July 7, 1887, and Anna Belle, born December 28, 1893.

WILLIAM: A PRISONER FOR CONSCIENCE'S SAKE

Two years after John's birth came another family landmark. At

⁴⁵Clayton, *Pioneer Women*, 149.

the height of federal prosecution for unlawful cohabitation, William was indicted by a grand jury in September 1884, convicted in December, and sentenced to six months' incarceration in the Arizona Territorial Prison at Yuma. Apparently, the territorial marshal gave William ample notice of his intention to arrest him, and William could have easily disappeared into the "underground," as many did. However, he made a different decision, greeting the marshal and asking him in to dinner. "I felt so bad I left the room [and] would not see him," recorded the usually hospitable Lucy. "After dinner he [the marshal] went back to Holebrook" (1:33), leaving William to follow on his own. William traveled the thirty miles to Holbrook in time to board the train for Prescott in the marshal's company.

Lucy recorded little of her husband's absence, but Prudence's daughter, Sarah Emma, reflected: "I wonder if his poor, dear wives didn't really suffer even more than he did, for they knew him well enough to know that he would not compromise and just how it would terminate, they did not know."⁴⁶ At that point, James, age twenty-five, was married and had children; Charles, twenty-two, was serving a mission in the Southern States. The other children were Mary Agnes, eighteen; Osmer Dennis, sixteen; Lucy Jane, fourteen; Roberta, seven; Joel White, four; John Taylor, two. These children were all still living at home and missed their father keenly. In addition, Prudence had three children: Sarah Emma, five; Lydia Pearl, three; and Joseph Franklin, who turned one during William's imprisonment.

"When we received a letter telling he was convicted," Lucy recorded, "it lo[o]ked dark to us It cost him fifteen hundred dollars and seven month[s] away from home" (1:34). William was imprisoned for six months and fined five hundred dollars, but he also had to account for lost wages, out-of-pocket travel expenses, attorney fees, food, and lodging during the trials. Lucy mentions seven months; the additional month was taken up in his travels to and from Prescott and the time he waited between his indictment and trial. "It just about broke us up when we got it all paid," she summarized (1:34). While Lucy was certainly not responsible for the debt, it nevertheless required the combined efforts of the whole family over several years to meet the obligation.

Part of the financial burden was that William signed as surety for a friend and fellow colonizer, Miles Romney. When Romney

⁴⁶Freeman, "Prudence Jane Kartchner Flake," 13.

jumped the bond and left the country, William asked for permission to go after him and bring Romney to the court, but it was the money more than the man that was wanted, and William was honor bound to pay the forfeited bail.⁴⁷

In prison, William “kept a journal . . . which is very interesting.”⁴⁸ Although it documents several significant events, the record includes little information about how his family fared in his absence, nor does Lucy focus on that theme. Rather, she spent far more space in her journal on his welcome home party in Snowflake after completing his sentence on June 11, 1885. After the speeches praising his sacrifice, he reportedly said “that he could afford to serve another term, if it were necessary, but that he could not afford to deny a principle of the Gospel.”⁴⁹ He retained his striped prison garb and wore it at parades, and local celebrations, “suggesting that he took some pride in the experience, or in surviving it.”⁵⁰ While he may have seen it as a badge of honor, it was likely a painful reminder to Lucy of the loneliness and struggle experienced in his absence. According to a family story, Lucy or one of her daughters finally burned it because of its unpleasant associations.

Perhaps an even more powerful symbol is that both Lucy and Prudence gave birth to another child after William’s return home. Prudence’s twins, Mark Augustus and Jane Margaret Flake, were born and died on June 7, 1886. Lucy gave birth to Melissa, her thirteenth child and fourth daughter, a few weeks later on July 28, 1886. Lucy wrote, “Oh how happy we was for this butifull child we was now paid for all our trials of the Prison and seperation” (1:37). Two and a half

⁴⁷Osmer Flake, *William J. Flake*, 110–11.

⁴⁸*Ibid.*, 33. This diary was feared lost but was actually in the possession of William and Prudence’s daughter Lydia Pearl Flake, and her husband, Francis (“Frank”) McLaws, in whose home William J. lived after Lucy’s death. Lydia and Frank’s daughter, Prudence McLaws Fyffe, donated the journal to the Harold B. Lee Library on September 26, 1978. In 1983 the journal was transcribed, annotated, and published as David F. Boone and Chad J. Flake, “The Prison Journal of William Jordan Flake,” *Journal of Arizona History* 24, no. 2 (Summer 1983): 145–70.

⁴⁹“Eastern Arizona Stake Quarterly Conference,” *Deseret News*, June 26, 1885, 1.

⁵⁰Boone and Flake, “Prison Journal of William Jordan Flake,” 149.

months later, this baby died of pneumonia.⁵¹ Lucy wrote with resignation, “Our sweet babe was taken a way. The Lord knew what was best for us. . . . every thing was don that could be done but she did not come to stay” (1:37).

PRUDENCE’S DEATH

Prudence’s four surviving daughters were a great comfort and help to her, caring for her during her periods of illness. Emma remembered that Prudence consistently prayed “that she might live until we older girls could care for ourselves and our younger sisters” and that “she could retain her mental faculty as long as life lasted.”⁵² Both desires were realized. According to Sarah Emma, Prudence’s “fight for breath was so severe at times that she told us . . . that there was no pain she had been called upon to suffer that compared to that . . . [and] that meant the birth of seven children without a doctor or aneshtesia.”⁵³

She died at age forty-six on February 8, 1896. Lucy recorded: “Prudence was very low all night.” Anxiously, William and Emma sat up “all night” with her. Prudence asked, “Tell the Lord if my work is done I am willing to go”—“the first time that she has seemed willing to go. . . . Pa [William] dedicated her and she Passed away like a babe going to sleep. . . . We would have gladley kept her longer for her childrens sake but she has been a great suffer for meny years it seems our Father was very Murciful to take her from her sufferings” (2:161).

Prudence’s prolonged illness undoubtedly caused additional work and worry for Lucy, but Lucy never mentions anything in her journal suggesting the least doubt of her commitment to her sister-wife, their husband, or the doctrine of plural marriage.

Interestingly, Snowflake had had the custom for several years to have the funeral at the meetinghouse but to leave the coffin at the home. Three months before Prudence’s death when Apostle Francis Marion Lyman visited Snowflake, Lucy “asked him if it was right for our dead to be left at home while the friends went to the meeting house. . . . He seemed very much out of patiance. . . . He said no, take them to the meeting house every time.” As a result, Prudence’s body

⁵¹Death certificate of Melissa Flake, October 28, 1886, Register of Deaths, Snowflake, Arizona, 1878–1951; photocopy in my possession.

⁵²Freeman, “Prudence Jane Kartchner Flake,” 13.

⁵³Ibid., 9.

was in the chapel for the funeral. Lucy continued, "Everything passed off so nice the singing was grand and the surmonds was very good and full of comfort very meny good things was said of Prudence" (2:161).

Prudence's daughters remained in their home. Emma and Lydia, ages sixteen and fifteen, cared for nine-year-old Wilmirth and three-year-old Anna Belle. They formed a self-reliant set of sisters under their father's care. Lucy made only brief references to them after Prudence's death, apparently manifesting a continued interest but without interfering.

A RECORD OF DAILY FARM LIFE

On Saturday, May 16, 1896, Lucy recorded, "I will Just write my morning chores get up turn out my chickens draw a pail of watter take it over to Brother Whipples chickens let them out then draw [more] watter watter hot beds make a fire put potatoes to cook then brush and sweep half inch of dust off floor and everything feed three litters of chickens them [sic] mix bisquites get breakfast milk besides work [in] house and this morning [I] had to go half mile after calves this is the way of life on the farm" (2:177). On another occasion, she and her twelve-year-old son, John, "milked as usual then got breakfast . . . picked sixteen Ducks then came in and done up my work" (2:314). Just before Christmas 1898, she "made seventeen pies done up all my work nice . . . came home and fixed a cushion for rocking chair and now 11 oclock I must go to bead" (3:340-41). Any farmwife worked hard, but Lucy was phenomenal.

The wind and the fine grit it brought complicated her life and appears as a persistent theme in her diary. For example, on Wednesday, March 13, 1895, Lucy noted, "The wind blew so dredful hard my eyes is dredfull bad with the earicipulous⁵⁴ and I stayed in the house all day." The next day, "My eyes are a little better [but] it blow[s] so fearfull hard William did not go to work it sprinkles a little but blows to[o] hard to rain." And the following day, "The wind still blows but

⁵⁴Erysipelas is a skin disease which causes inflammation and "a hot, dry, raised rash," caused by a bacterial streptococcus infection. It is not likely that this infection was in her eyes, but the infection on her face could have had a secondary effect on her eyes. It is therefore uncertain what had infected or irritated her eyes. Dr. Joseph Brent Muhlestein, conversation with David Boone, March 2003.

not so hard but very cold” (2:97).

On April 8, 1896, she wrote with relief: “It seems so nice no wind.” On April 9, “the Wind blows quite hard.” On April 10, “This beats all the days for wind we have had this spring every thing [is] covered with Sand. . . . It was so bad we could hardly eat.” On April 11, “I churned washed the dishes [and] cleaned the cellar out cleaned all day till three o clock every thing just buried in sand” (2:171).

Lucy loathed the wind, but she never mentions wishing she was somewhere else. It was simply a condition of life—to be dealt with and endured. And recorded. Perhaps too, having a permanent home of her own, despite the constant wind, was preferable to moving once again.

Lucy’s first home in Snowflake was one building with separate apartments in which Prudence had her own living quarters. Later both women had separate homes, with Lucy’s serving as hotel, courthouse, school, post office, and local polling place. Visiting dignitaries, such as the territorial governor and Church authorities, routinely stayed there. Rare was the meal without company or the night without guests. Her youngest son, John, remembered that, if they had more company than beds, he would go to the home of John Hunt, the ward bishop, and sleep with the Hunt boys. When he came home late one night and found his bed already occupied, there was still a space available, so he undressed in the dark and quietly slid in beside the sleeping guests. He awoke early and was startled to find that his bed partners were two women. Since they were still asleep, he noiselessly dressed and left, leaving the ladies none the wiser.⁵⁵

The new pioneers enlivened the hard work with parties, plays, socials, and dances. In 1898 Lucy attended a character ball representing Eliza R. Snow (3:337), perhaps a personal heroine after their meeting in the Endowment House thirty years earlier. Lucy made note of visiting Church leaders, the local celebration of the ninety-sixth anniversary of Brigham Young’s birth (1897) (2:240), and reading in the *Deseret News* about the jubilee of the pioneers’ arrival in Utah (1897) (2:251). One of the great experiences of her life was to participate with her husband, Prudence, son James, and others in the 1893 dedication of the Salt Lake Temple: “The Temple was grand and butifull . . . be[y]ond description” (1:54). On April 8, only two days after the

⁵⁵Chad J. Flake, interviewed by David Boone, March 2002. Chad was John’s son.

initial dedicatory session on April 6, Elder Francis M. Lyman gave Prudence a blessing for her health in the temple and provided the opportunity for them to perform ordinances. William Melvin, Lucy and William's second son, had died in infancy. He and James, the oldest son, had been born before William and Lucy were sealed. James was sealed to them with Elder Joseph F. Smith officiating, while Elders Francis M. Lyman and John Henry Smith acted as witnesses. Then James served as proxy for William Melvin's sealing. Consequently, the Flake family performed the first ordinances in the Salt Lake Temple for both the living and the dead.⁵⁶ Dedicatory sessions continued through most of April, and the next ordinances were not performed until May 24, 1893.⁵⁷

Also, as a special kindness, Elder Joseph F. Smith "took us in several different rooms, showed us around and explained many things to us" (1:55). According to a family story, Elder Lyman consoled Lucy for the recent death of their son, Charles, by explaining that it would have been impossible for some of his patriarchal blessing to be fulfilled in this life but "he had been taken in his early manhood and was busy on the other side carrying out the work he was promised he would do by the patriarch."⁵⁸ This assurance seemed to give her comfort and courage.

A SAGA OF SUFFERING

Lucy's diary shows her unwavering concern for her neighbors and showed great sympathy with illness, injuries, and deaths. She recorded more than twenty instances of severe suffering or accidental deaths, even though she knew that early death was a reality that affected almost every western family. Doubtless her grief at the deaths of four of her own babies gave her profound sympathy with others who were bereaved. Her daughter, Roberta, describes the community response to a death:

When death came, it cast a gloom over the entire community and any social event or celebration was cancelled, even if it were a small

⁵⁶"Sealing Children to Parents in the Salt Lake Temple," Book A, 1893–1895, April 8, 1893, LDS Family History Library, Special Collections, Salt Lake City.

⁵⁷Temple Index Bureau, "Ordinance Index-Sealings, April 8, 1893."

⁵⁸Clayton, *Pioneer Women*, 143.

child, out of respect for the family. There were so few, none could be spared. The neighbors all came, the men to offer to dig the grave or make the casket, or even to furnish some of their treasured lumber for its construction. The women folks to make the clothes and help lay out the dead, and all volunteered to sit up with the corpse during the time between the death and the burial. The body had to be kept as cool as possible and watched that cats did not get inside the room and eat it.⁵⁹

Unquestionably, the greatest grief of Lucy's life was the murder of her thirty-year-old son, Charlie. Charlie had attended Brigham Young Academy, served in the Southern States Mission, and was considered refined and a gentleman. After the move to Arizona, he married Christabelle ("Belle") Hunt, the daughter of John and Lois Hunt, on September 16, 1885, and they became the parents of five children. Charlie, Snowflake's only law officer, was also partners with his brother James in the general store, in which was located the community's only telegraph. On December 8, 1892, Charles received an urgent message from Nat Greer, sheriff at Holbrook, that Deputy Sheriff William Goodin (or Goodwin), from Socorro County, New Mexico, was following a bank robber calling himself Will Mason or James Taylor, who was headed in their direction. The outlaw had reportedly killed seven men, beginning with his own brother, when he (the outlaw) was only thirteen.⁶⁰

The gunman had, in fact, rented a room in Snowflake. James left an account of what happened next:

Charles engaged him in conversation I came up behind him and told him we had authority to arrest him. He partly turned and asked [by] what authority, and then made a spring backward. I threw my right arm around his body and gripped his right arm. He drew his pistol with his left and shot right up Between us at me, filling my face with powder and shooting me through the rim of the left ear, He then made another spring Backward and got loose. . . he whirled and shot Charles, through the neck severing his Jugler vein, and going through his spine, at the same instant I shot the robber through the mouth: and as he partly turned to face me I shot him in the right cheak [sic] the Ball going

⁵⁹Clayton Papers, "Pioneer Source Book," fd. 19.

⁶⁰James H. McClintock, *Mormon Settlement in Arizona* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1985), 165; "In His Boots," *Arizona Republic*, December 10, 1892, 1.

through and coming out at th[e] top of his head. He died almost without a struggle, and my Bro: after lying unconscious for over two hours passed away.⁶¹

Phoenix's *Arizona Republic* reported the episode on its front page, then concluded that the bank robber "was considered an all-around hard man, and his death is a good riddance."⁶² James was dazed for months, partially lost his hearing in his left ear from the gunshot, and suffered eye problems from the powder burn. By the time of his death at age eighty-six in February 1946, he was nearly completely blind.

Lucy recorded: "It is no use to try to tell of our sorrow. How our harts did ache no one but our Hevenly Father will ever know. We could not eat or sleep poor James would stand by his Brother and say oh if you could have lived and me been taken. . . . It almost killed him" (1:48). Belle, who was pregnant, gave birth to their fifth child after Charlie's death. Each year Lucy mourned on Charles's birthday, October 18, and on the anniversary of his death, December 8. Her friend, Mary Jane West, confided to Lucy's children after Lucy died in 1899: "She told me once that . . . she wanted to see Charley so bad she could hardly endure it" (3:396).

The next family loss came on April 6, 1894, when James's wife, Nancy, died from pneumonia at age thirty-six. They were the parents of nine children, and almost a year later on a windy afternoon, Lucy reflected: "We have had many trials and sorrows but the Lord has greatly blessed us. . . . My thoughts have ran over the past and I think of our dear Nancy she was taken from us like a flash. . . . she was young and seemed helthy and tough" (2:113). At the time of Nancy's death, Lucy had recorded: "James sent for me at three this Morning She is gradually getting weaker She has dredfull hard work to swallow She never shut her eyes all day yesterday or last night. . . . She gradually grew weaker and twenty minutes past three her gentle spirit took its flight" (2:101). Lucy attempted to understand a higher purpose in her family's loss: "There seems to be a mistery a bout these things but our Hevenly Father doeth all things well but we in our Weekness are not permitted to know the cause . . . but she was wanted on the other

⁶¹S. Eugene Flake, comp., *James Madison Flake, Nov. 8, 1859–Feb. 4, 1946: Pioneer, Leader, Missionary* (Bountiful, Utah: Wasatch Press, 1970), 41.

⁶²"Killed by a Desperado," *Arizona Republic*, December 10, 1892, 1.

side and we have to do the best we can" (2:113).

An additional source of worry for Lucy was her eleventh child, Joel. On January 6, 1898, seventeen-year-old Joel "has quit going to school" (3:282). From Lucy's diary, Joel seemed restless and lacked direction. He would periodically leave home, sometimes to travel long distances and live with different relatives or friends, return home, work for a while, and then move on once again. For example, Lucy recorded on April 19, 1897: "Joel stayed all night with me ate his breakfast then went to the farm as I thought in afternoon Brother Flake came home and said he [Joel] did not go to the farm but went to Conshow [Concho, a nearby Latter-day Saint community]. No person knows the sorrow in my hart but my Father in Heven he [God] a lone knows. I will not try to describe my feelings. it would be useless for me to attempt" (2:233). Three days later, "Joel came home last night stayed all night ate breakfast cut some wood then started off to hunt work said he wanted to go and work a month then he would come home I hope he will come home then and feel satisfied. It is a gret sorrow to me for him to be away" (2:233)

In May 1898 when Joel was eighteen, Lucy further recorded: "We have concluded to let Joel go to Mexico on the cars [train]. . . . He is not contented he wants to go we think he will learn to apriceate his home and Parents he works a few days good then goes off and spends a few days doing nothing and it makes us feel bad." Lucy recorded her own uncertainty: "I have fasted and prayed much and I feel to acknowledge the hand of the Lord in this I asked him [God] meny times to hedge up the way if it was not right for him to go and open up the way for him to go it [if was] right. . . . The way did open up so he starts tomorrow" (3:306-7). In Mexico, Joel stayed with his older sister, Lucy Jane, who with her husband, Peter Wood, and family, were living in the Church's colonies in northern Mexico, established as a refuge for polygamists avoiding federal prosecution. Joel wrote only twice in seven months, the second time asking for money so he could return home. William sent the money, and Lucy recorded: "I am thankful to my Heavenly Father that he is coming home" (3:318).

On Sunday morning, July 24, Lucy heard from a neighbor that her traveling boy had returned to Snowflake, but he had not even come to his own house. She found him later that morning at his sister Mary's home where he had spent the night. However, Joel had apparently outgrown his wanderlust, and Lucy's diary records little more about him other than his employment.

As an adult, Joel became a responsible citizen, devoted family man, and faithful Church member. According to his descendants, he “has a large posterity, all dedicated to church work. His last years were spent doing temple work [in Mesa]. The record he made of the hours and days spent in the temple would be hard to surpass.”⁶³

LUCY'S LONELINESS

Lucy's diary was an outlet to which she confided her loneliness, especially since she began keeping it 1894 when most of her children were grown and in homes of their own except for Roberta, age seventeen, fourteen-year-old Joel, and twelve-year-old John. She seems to have missed William more intensely during these years and seldom mentions Prudence, suggesting that despite their harmonious relationship, it was not a close friendship. Through all the years of their marriage, William was often away from home. In Arizona, he was absent for weeks at a time, riding the range and tending their livestock. On October 4, 1895, for example, Lucy lay awake during a “dreadful hard” rainstorm feeling “so anxious about William and Joel.” Joel came home the next day, but “I have been here two weeks . . . and William has not been home in all that time and it has been lonely it has seemed like passing through a cloud but I pray for the Lord to assist us and give us his Holy Spirit to lead and guide us.” Her relief was palpable when William came home that very night. “We was so glad to see him” (2:133–34).

Without explicitly saying that William's absence left her lonely, the connection is revealed in entry after entry: “Brother flake went to Holbrook to day. . . . have felt so depressed in my spirits.” “Brother Flak got home this evening . . . felt better today.” “Brother Flake and Joel went up to the farm to work I felt depressed in my spirits” (3:281–82). Lucy was unquestionably an independent woman, but she loved William and missed him during his absences.

LUCY'S FRIENDSHIPS

In addition to Lucy's deep love for her husband and children, she also formed some very close friendships with community women who no doubt helped fill the void left by her distant mother and sisters. One of the closest was Lois Hunt, the wife of Bishop John Hunt

⁶³*Descendants of William Jordan Flake*, 1:30.

and the mother of Charlie's wife, daughter-in-law, Christabell. Another close friendship developed with Mary Jane West, a spiritual soul-mate.

During William's imprisonment, on March 9, 1885, Lois "was found almost burnt to death," Lucy recorded. "She was in the house a lone and was sweeping the floor . . . and fell into the fire when one of he[r] little daughters ran in the house her clothes was most all burnt off [her.] This was the most deplorable sight I ever witnessed in my life" (1:35). Lois survived in great pain for nearly six hours, greatly distressed at John's absence in hiding from the marshals' raids on polygamists. Lucy recorded Lois's lament: "John John why cant you be here you have been home most all of your life and now have to be a way from me." Lois's closest friends formed a prayer circle, each praying for her in turn. Lois remained conscious until the end, asking that the sisters not pray for her to live if it meant she would be a cripple. "It was hart rendering [for] such a good Woman to have to suffer such a death. . . . The Lord was kind in releaseing her," wrote the anguished Lucy (1:35-36).

Another very close friend was Mary Jane West, the wife of John A. West, who was a distinguished and long-term missionary for the Church. Mary Jane experienced significant privations while he was gone in her efforts to support him and to provide for their children. Several aspects of Mary Jane's life paralleled those of Lucy's—they worked together, prayed together, served in Church assignments together, genuinely loved each other, and constantly found comfort and solace in each other's presence. Both women were seen as leaders in the community, especially among women, as evidenced by their Church callings and the confidence of their husbands and file leaders. Once at a stake leadership conference, Lucy counseled her sisters, "The first thing for us to do, is to do the will of the Lord, and He will make up to us all we lack. All of us have missions to perform, and we should seek the Holy Spirit to direct us."⁶⁴ It is not clear what calling she was holding at the time.

Lucy trusted Mary Jane and, after Sunday School on February 23, 1896, sought out "my dear Sister West. We went up stares and prayed together I was feeling very much tired in my feelings after we had prair Sister West said she felt impressed to bless me which she did and she gave me one of the greatest blessings I ever got" (2:163).

⁶⁴Della Fish, "Snowflake Stake," *Woman's Exponent*, June 1, 1889, 23.

On another occasion, Lucy, again feeling discouraged after completing the ironing, went to “My Dear Sister West and we talked and then went up staires and poured out our soles in prair we had a glorious feast of prair and blessings We felt the power resting upon us.” She concluded, “I always get comfort when we offer our prairs up to gather” (3:282).

In addition to this particularly sweet relationship, Lucy served valiantly, bringing her into contact with many of her neighbors. She served as first counselor in the ward Primary presidency for fifteen and a half years, as a Sunday School teacher for at least five years, and, in November 1895, was called as stake Primary president, “in which position she gained the love and respect of the children; as well as the parents, by making regular and frequent visits to the different Primaries in the Stake.”⁶⁵ Lucy records traveling extensively, organizing the local Primaries, and training, encouraging, counseling, and instructing local leaders. The Snowflake Stake was organized December 18, 1887, with eleven wards and two branches.⁶⁶ Approximately 140 miles separated the northernmost and southernmost wards, with sixty miles between the easternmost and westernmost wards. A horse-drawn wagon or carriage would require several days to complete visits to the units farthest from her home in Snowflake.

Another interest shared by Lucy and Mary Jane was woman’s suffrage. Although Utah women were the first to vote in a territorial election, suffrage became something of a political football in the contest with the federal government over plural marriage. Lucy’s first recorded comment, on May 15, 1895, was a thoughtful analysis: “I don’t beleave in equal rights I would like the Franchise but feel willing for the men to kill the snakes build the bridges and smoothe down the high places and hold the offices I would like to see womens rights respected and held sacrid at all time[s] and in all places” (2:108).

Her next mention came nearly seventeen months later when she noted attending a suffrage meeting with a neighbor, taking sixteen-year-old Joel along (2:202). Two months later, she “went to sufferage club” (2:212). Over the winter, momentum seemed to build. On February 17, 1899, she “went to see Dear Sister West a bout Woman

⁶⁵Larson, “Obituary,” 119; Osmer Flake, *William J. Flake*, 143.

⁶⁶Andrew Jenson, “Snowflake Stake,” *Encyclopedic History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1941), 801–2.

suffrage,” then both called on an unidentified Sister Smith and “President Smith” (presumably Stake President Jesse N. Smith and his wife), and arranged to send James as a “Delegate to help get the Bill on Woman Suffrage” passed in Arizona Territory’s House of Representatives. On the home front, Lucy and six other women on February 19 held “a prair meeting for Jamesis benefit. We had a good time” (3:350). It remained an active interest of hers until her death. Woman suffrage was passed in Arizona in 1912, its statehood year, and in 1920 became an amendment to the U.S. Constitution.

LUCY’S FINAL ILLNESS AND DEATH

The fall and winter of 1899 was a season of losses for Lucy. The first was the decision of the West family in September 1899 to move back to Utah to provide better education for their children. When Lucy said, “It seems lonely without her” (3:384), it was an understatement.

Her final illness began on Thursday, December 7, 1899: “I worked so hard yesterday am sick today.” Her illness was an unspecified “affliction of the bowels,” according to May Hunt Larson.⁶⁷ Even when James insisted on bringing the doctor two weeks later, Lucy’s only comment was: “The first time we ever had a Doctor in our House.” She recorded days of pain and weakness followed by slow improvement but felt well enough to host “a Christmas Dinner here at our Home for the Familey” (3:389–90) for what must have almost a score of guests, including several non-relatives. On January 2, however, “she was again taken down, suffering very severely, and not eating a meal from then till the end came. All that could be done by husband, children and living friends was done for her, but all to no purpose.”⁶⁸ She died January 27, 1900, at age fifty-seven.

Lucy’s daughter, Roberta, completed her mother’s journal, entering information about her passing and the funeral: It “was the largest assembly I ever saw at a funeral,” wrote Roberta. A particularly touching tribute came from the Primary children from several wards who brought “a lovely wreath of white flowers and green leaves,” and joined the funeral procession, marching in order of age and carrying a banner, and singing, “Did You Think to Pray,” before

⁶⁷Larson, “Obituary,” 119.

⁶⁸Ibid.

the grave was dedicated (3:393–94).

Roberta also copied into the journal tributes and expressions of sympathy to the family. One of them was a letter from Mary Jane West on January 30, 1900: “She [Lucy] always called me the comforter, but not so—she never knew how much comfort and support she was to me—we have prayed in tears—when none but the Lord knew. . . . I knew she was as true a friend to me as was my own sainted mother” (3:396).

In the only known obituary of Lucy’s life, May Hunt Larson recorded, “As members of the Relief Society to which she was so faithful, we deeply deplore her loss and sympathize with her husband and children, and pray that we may emulate her honest, upright course in life, that our reward may be as sure as we feel dear Sister Lucy H. Flake’s will be.”⁶⁹

The value of Lucy’s legacy today is not so much in what she did or endured—as impressive as her day-to-day struggles and her truly eventful life were—but rather in the fact that she recorded her daily experiences as a faithful Mormon, a tender mother, a devoted wife, and a pioneer on two frontiers.

William never remarried. He lived for an additional thirty-two years, served a mission to the Southern States Mission in 1901, sponsored genealogical research, continued ranching, and periodically visited his children and grandchildren in the western United States and Mexico. When the National Cowboy Hall of Fame was established in Oklahoma City in 1955, William was inducted in 1959 as Arizona’s fourth entry.⁷⁰ He died at age ninety-three on August 10, 1932, in Snowflake.

⁶⁹Larson, “Obituary,” 119.

⁷⁰“Pioneer Honored by Cowboy Hall of Fame,” *Arizona Weekly Gazette*, March 31, 1959; National Cowboy Museum, http://www.nationalcowboymuseum.org/i_west.html (accessed November 12, 2007). Only thirteen Arizonans have received this honor.



This elegant silver goblet and others like it were part of LDS sacrament services until concerns about public health prompted their withdrawal in the first half of the twentieth century. Courtesy LDS Church History Library.

THE LORD'S SUPPER DURING THE PROGRESSIVE ERA, 1890–1930

Justin R. Bray

In no way that I can conceive of, is there a more prolific source of spreading contagion than that of the public drinking cup or glass that is passed from mouth to mouth in the service of the Lord's Supper. –Seymour B. Young, First Council of Seventy, 1912¹

THE MURRAY FIRST WARD HAD “the remains in a sacrament cup” tested by the Salt Lake County Physician’s Office in March 1916, and the physician found “not less than six contagious diseases.” Disgusted by the results, members of this ward wrote to Church headquarters: “We feel that another Sunday should not pass until we can abolish this most unsanitary practice. We, therefore, subscribe our names to the following amounts.” They then sent three pages of signatures attached to their “petition” as well as a receipt of \$75.50 (the equivalent of about \$1,450 today) for buying individual sacrament cups with their own money.²

Since its organization in April 1830 until the early 1900s, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints had administered the sac-

JUSTIN R. BRAY {jbray@ldschurch.org} is an archivist at the LDS Church History Department, Salt Lake City. A version of this paper was published in the proceedings of the 2011 BYU Religious Education Student Symposium.

¹Seymour B. Young, “Public Drinking Cups and Sacramental Service,” *Deseret Evening News*, February 7, 1912, 2.

²Murray [Utah] First Ward, Granite Stake Petition, 1916, LR 5888 31, LDS Church History Library.

ramental water, or wine, in a common goblet. This practice originated from the New Testament, when Jesus commanded “all” of his disciples to drink from “the cup” (Matt. 26:27). The single cup, passed from person to person, reflected a sense of unity and equality among members of the Church, since everyone sipped from the same cup regardless of age, health, gender, or social standing.

However, in the early 1900s, new medical knowledge caused progressive-minded members of the Church to take sanitation more seriously. They noticed how contaminated the germ-ridden goblet had become and consequently expressed their concerns at partaking of the sacrament by this traditional method. These members of the Church began a grassroots movement against the common cup and suggested to leaders a change to individual drinking vessels. The First Presidency was initially reluctant to modify such a sacred rite, but the Spanish influenza pandemic of 1918 accelerated the spread of individual cups Churchwide.

THE PROGRESSIVE MOVEMENT

The Progressive Movement (1890–1920) was an attempt to cure the ills in American society left over from massive industrial growth in the late 1800s. Muckraking journalists launched the movement by publicizing problems in factory conditions, child labor, and political corruption. Public health activists also petitioned reform in sanitation, which became a “battle” that “raged continuously” throughout the United States from the effects of rapid urbanization.³ In the late 1800s, immigrant families settled in large American cities in hopes of acquiring jobs in industrial ventures. By 1900, almost half the nation was living in urbanized areas. The overwhelming population growth resulted in poor ventilation, inadequate sewer systems, foul air, and a higher susceptibility to disease.⁴

Sanitation problems not only plagued the urbanized Northeast but also affected more rural areas like Utah. In fact, George E. Waring, a scientist in the field of sanitation, warned those living in rural areas that “the causes of grave infection are precisely the same in the city that they are in the country, and they grow in both cases from im-

³As quoted in Sherilyn Cox Bennion, “*The Salt Lake Sanitarian: Medical Adviser to the Saints*,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 57, no. 2 (Spring 1989): 129.

⁴Daniel Eli Burnstein, *Next to Godliness: Confronting Dirt and Despair in Progressive Era New York City* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2006), 37.



These cups, chained to a drinking fountain ornamented with Mormonism's iconic beehive, stood on the grounds of the Mormon Tabernacle in Salt Lake City. Courtesy LDS Church History Library.

proper protection against the emanations from the organic filth which is a necessary product of all human life.”⁵

Utahns may have improperly protected themselves from sanitation problems since their arrival in the 1840s, for in the spirit of self-sufficiency, Church leaders tended to instruct the Saints to take care of their own health needs. Brigham Young even publicized his disdain for doctors: “Doctors and their medicines I regard as a deadly

⁵George E. Waring, quoted in *ibid.*, 37.

bane to any community. . . . I am not very partial to doctors.”⁶ Perhaps this position resulted in poor sanitation in Utah, particularly in Salt Lake City, from its founding until the late 1880s.

When sanitation became an increasing concern among Utahns, a magazine called the *Salt Lake Sanitarian* began publication in 1877. The magazine informed members of the Church about the latest developments and improvements in medicine “that they might better understand first aid, home nursing, and sanitation.”⁷ The editors, though members of the Church, abandoned the “anti-physician attitudes” held by some Church leaders and included only principles that were “established by the light of science” with the “sanction of professional authority.”⁸ However, the editors’ complicated medical jargon and scientific terminology failed to communicate adequately with Utahns, and the magazine stopped publishing after only three years.⁹ Although the *Sanitarian* lasted briefly, it was the first step taken by progressive members of the Church to improve sanitation in Utah.

Toward the end of the nineteenth century, Americans in general took precautions to stop the spread of disease through the mouth. Many objected to chewing on the caps of public pens; some detested spitting on sidewalks; others encouraged the brushing of teeth. While these ideas proved helpful, many Americans chose to rally around the banishment of the public drinking cup.

The public drinking cup was a mug chained to a running fountain of water in public schools, parks, and railroad cars. All people, including sick persons, drank from the same cup, which provided a means by which disease could spread quickly. Some of the larger East Coast cities like Boston, New Orleans, Hartford, and Philadelphia began excluding the cup from public venues in the mid-1890s, while more rural areas lagged. In an attempt to remove the public drinking cup from all schools, Dr. Alvin Davison, a professor of biology at Lafayette College in Easton, Pennsylvania, authored a series of articles, detailing the dangers of the cup with gut-churning stories. For example, one student in Ohio infected the entire student body and faculty

⁶Brigham Young, August 8, 1869, *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (London and Liverpool: LDS Booksellers Depot, 1855–86), 14:109.

⁷Bennion, “*The Salt Lake Sanitarian*,” 131.

⁸*Ibid.*, 132, 137.

⁹*Ibid.*, 136.

with measles. In Massachusetts, a school district excused thousands of students and faculty after an outbreak of mumps and gripe.¹⁰ Davison warned Americans that the public drinking cup was responsible for more than one million cases of serious illness each year and that over 400,000 of these cases were fatal.¹¹

Utah did not banish the public drinking cup until February 1, 1912, when the State Board of Health prohibited the cup's use in public venues, including schools, parks, public buildings, and railroad trains. The new law did not, however, prohibit the cup's use in "congregations of worship."¹² The various denominations in Utah, therefore, were to decide for themselves whether to continue using the common cup in their communion services.

REACTION IN DIFFERENT DENOMINATIONS

The cup was an issue for more than Mormons, of course. Some faith groups were willing to ban the common cup from worship services, while others remained reluctant. For example, Protestants embraced the Social Gospel Movement, which was an attempt to perfect American society through Christian values. Many Protestants believed that improvements in public health would benefit not only one's physical well-being but one's spiritual life as well. The abandonment of the common cup in worship services, therefore, was not seen as sacrilegious, even though it stemmed from scientific sources.¹³ Besides, in many congregations multiple chalices were already being passed from person to person, so "if two, why not twenty? If twenty, why not two hundred?"¹⁴

Catholics, on the other hand, remained reluctant to abandon the common communion cup. They felt that accepting outside, pro-

¹⁰Alvin Davison, "Slaughter of the Innocents," *Technical World Magazine* 11, no. 4 (June 1909): 343.

¹¹Alvin Davison, "Death in School Drinking Cup," *Technical World Magazine* 9, no. 1 (March 1908): 629.

¹²Young, "Public Drinking Cups and Sacramental Service," 2.

¹³Howard S. Anders, "Prophylaxis in Churches Needed by the Adoption of Individual Communion Chalices or Cups," *Proceedings of the Philadelphia County Medical Society* 15 (1894): 345-52.

¹⁴"A Defense of the Individual Cup," *Literary Digest* 17 (July 1898): 110.

gressive ideas and forgoing the common cup would reflect a “secularization of the Christian creed,” because they would be adjusting their doctrine to accommodate modern trends.¹⁵ Instead, they wished to remain a “confessional, ritual-oriented” denomination, refusing progressive ideas that they felt threatened their religious observance.¹⁶

While American Catholics and Protestants established their stance on the public drinking cup, Latter-day Saints neither immediately embraced nor rejected the cup’s use in religious services. However, adoption of individual cups seemed inevitable. Many members, including General Authorities, were progressive individuals. Especially around the turn of the century, Church leaders continuously made efforts to be less isolated from and more open to the rest of the country and its ideas. In 1896, Utah became a state; in 1904, a Second Manifesto was pronounced to assure that Mormons no longer taught or practiced plural marriage; in 1906, President Joseph F. Smith emphatically encouraged Apostle Reed Smoot to run for his second term in the U.S. Senate despite the long-drawn-out and bitter challenge to his presence during his first term. Thus, the Church’s actions in shedding its isolated image reflected openness to progressivism.

Accordingly, as medical knowledge spread, some members began expressing their “qualms” with the traditional way of administering the sacrament in a common cup.¹⁷ For example, according to William A. Hyde, president of the Pocatello Idaho Stake, members were adopting methods of “refined living” and very sensitive “dispositions” that hindered them from “drinking after another.”¹⁸

These members were mostly concerned with those who smoked, drank liquor, chewed tobacco, and failed to maintain personal hygiene. During this time, the Word of Wisdom was not heavily enforced and those neglecting it had been allowed to take the bread and water. Thus, users of tobacco and liquor could freely drink from the same cup as the rest of the congregation. Some, especially young

¹⁵Thomas E. Woods, *The Church Confronts Modernity: Catholic Intellectuals and the Progressive Era* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004), 57.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, 54.

¹⁷William A. Hyde, “The Sacrament of the Lord’s Supper,” *Improvement Era* 14, no. 7 (May 1911): 569.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, 578.

women, considered this method “utterly repulsive” and detested taking the sacrament after some of the “full-bearded old men.” Some also disliked drinking the sacrament after “those with whom they were not particularly friendly.”¹⁹ It was not “unfrequent to taste the peppermint or other flavor, good or bad, which the predecessors had left with their use of the sacrament cup.”²⁰

Some members bemoaned the use of the cup by children. They believed babies should be taught to take the sacrament but not while they still had “dewey lips.” Often, babies would snack on food during sacrament meetings, and their lips would be caked with “particles.” Some wards even provided a decoy cup so that it would “be distinguished and known by the children, so that those who need may drink.”²¹

The common cup caused a stir among some Latter-day Saint congregations and showed that the very ordinance that was supposed to bring communion among members of the Church was dividing them. For example, one member from Sanpete County in central Utah, James L. Jacobs, later related his observations of the sacrament: “It was interesting to watch people as the water goblets were passed to them. Some would carefully turn the goblets so they could drink right over the handle. Others placed their hands on each side of the goblet and tipped it up, but did not actually touch their lips to it. Still others sipped obediently, then wiped their lips vigorously with handkerchiefs to remove any trace that might have been picked up from previous drinkers.”²² The deacons were often amused at members who rotated the cup so that they sipped at the rim over the handle. This “supposedly untouched spot quickly became the most used part of the cup’s rim.”²³

The editors of the *Improvement Era*, which was rapidly becoming

¹⁹James L. Jacobs, “Sacrament at Conference,” *Saga of the Sanpitch* 15 (1983): 8.

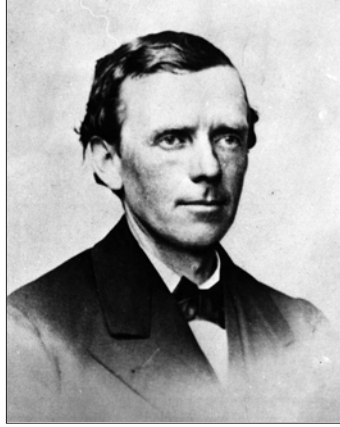
²⁰Irwin Clawson, Letter to Clarence E. Nelson, March 16, 1954, Helen Clawson Wells Papers, Special Collections, J. Willard Marriott Library, University of Utah, Salt Lake City.

²¹Hyde, “The Sacrament of the Lord’s Supper,” 579.

²²Jacobs, “Sacrament at Conference,” 8–9.

²³Edward L. Kimball, *Spencer W. Kimball: Twelfth President of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1979), 55–56.

Selden Clawson, an inventor and member of Salt Lake Eighteenth Ward, was among the first to urge abandoning the common sacrament cup for sanitary purposes. Courtesy LDS Church History Library.



the principal LDS magazine for adults, also believed that reform in the sacrament was a “necessity,” but there were no signs from the First Presidency of imminent change.²⁴

Apparently Church leaders were aware that individual drinking vessels were strongly advocated “in the East” as early as 1897, but they still resisted altering the administration of the sacrament.²⁵ Eventually the efforts of Selden Irwin Clawson, an inventor from Salt Lake City, together with other progressive-minded members of the Church, helped eliminate the common cup from the sacrament.

EARLY LATTER-DAY SAINT EXPERIMENTS

In December 1900, Selden Clawson, a member of the Eighteenth Ward in Salt Lake City, visited George Q. Cannon, first counselor in the First Presidency, and suggested the use of individual cups in the sacrament. President Cannon was “favorably impressed” and agreed to discuss the matter with the rest of the First Presidency upon his return from Church business in California. However, Cannon died of influenza in California. Clawson, discouraged, wondered if Cannon’s death was an “omen from the other world” warning him

²⁴Editor’s note preceding Hyde, “The Sacrament of the Lord’s Supper,” 569.

²⁵Journal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (chronological scrapbook of typed entries and newspaper clippings, 1830–present), October 29, 1897, 2.

not to urge changes in the sacred ordinance.²⁶ Clawson thus shelved the idea for the next ten years.

In 1910, Salt Lake City began installing new water fountains without a public drinking cup attached. Public drinking cups had not yet been outlawed in Utah, but debate over whether they were sanitary had already begun. These new fountains prompted Clawson to once again suggest individual cups in the sacrament. He “talked it over with some of his friends” who “pressed him to go on with the improvement.”²⁷

He brought up the matter in one of the Eighteenth Ward Sunday School classes, and members quickly became divided on the subject. According to Clawson, “A strong conservative group opposed any change. Because the goblet system was introduced and used by the Prophet Joseph Smith and further how would it be possible for any harm to come from the sacrament when it had been blessed by the authorized servants of the Lord. The progressive group said that wine was used by the Savior and wine contained alcohol which was a strong antiseptic and would kill away any contagious germs in the goblet. But when water is used there is nothing to kill the germs. Therefore, they could pass from one person to another.” After “the feeling between the two groups became very strong,” a committee was formed by the members themselves to investigate the matter and report their findings to Bishop Thomas A. Clawson, Selden’s half-brother. In addition to Selden, the committee consisted of “Mrs. B. H. Roberts, Mrs. Lucien Ray, and Allen Spencer.” Upon being added to the committee, Sister Roberts declared, “I would rather be on that committee than be president of the Relief Society!”²⁸

The committee suggested the idea of individual sacrament cups to the bishop and stake president, but both denied the authority to make a change to the ordinance. Selden and his brother eventually met with President Joseph F. Smith about the matter. President Smith was “impressed but reluctant to change the time-honored method of administering the sacrament water.” He also felt that members would “prefer to use the old system,” and he did not want a failed attempt with individual cups to “be charged against him.” Selden concluded that “the out-

²⁶Selden Clawson, Notes, n.d., Helen Clawson Wells Papers.

²⁷Ibid.

²⁸Ibid.

look seemed bad for us.” However, President Smith suddenly stopped talking and “looked at the floor a minute or two, then he looked at us and smiled and said, ‘I have it. I’ll turn the matter over to the Council of the Twelve. Then they can take the blame for the failure.’”²⁹

According to President Smith’s diary, he met with the Council of the Twelve on December 15, 1910, and “the question of the use of these individual cups was discussed and approval given for their use in the 18th Ward.”³⁰ That same day, President Smith met once again with Selden and Thomas Clawson and gave permission to test the cups, but he instructed them to pay for the cups themselves. President Smith said, “I can pay for it, but I do not want any one to say of me after I am dead that I spent the hard earned tithing money” on experiments with sacrament cups.³¹

Selden, with the help of “a lot of friends,” had a sacrament set made, and on June 18, 1911, individual cups were used officially for the first time.³² The set consisted of silver trays and glass cups. The Eighteenth Ward accepted it “enthusiastically,” and soon the entire Ensign Stake adopted the new cups.

JACOB SCHAUB AND METAL CUPS

The Ensign Stake was, for the next ten months, the only stake to use individual cups. On March 19, 1912, Jacob Schaub, a convert to the Church from Logan, Utah, presented a new type of individual sacrament cups to the Deseret Sunday School Union General Board. According to the minutes, “The general superintendent [Joseph F. Smith] asked the Board to suspend the regular order of business and listen to the proposition of Elder Jacob Schaub of Logan. Elder Schaub addressed the Board and presented a model of a Sacrament set manufactured by him, which included what he claimed to be a perfect system of sterilization. He proposed to manufacture the sets and put them on the market, giving the Deseret Sunday School Union the exclusive agency,

²⁹Ibid.

³⁰Irwin Clawson to Richard L. Evans, March 22, 1954, Helen Clawson Wells Papers, Special Collections, J. Willard Marriott Library, University of Utah, Salt Lake City.

³¹Selden Clawson, Notes.

³²Ibid. See also Ruby K. Smith, *One Hundred Years in the Heart of Zion* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1961), 76.

provided they should be approved by the Church authorities.”³³

Two days later on March 21, President Smith, together with his counselors Anthon H. Lund and Charles W. Penrose, released a statement to stake presidents suggesting—but not mandating—the use of individual sacrament cups in all wards. The First Presidency asked that wards interested in individual cups “defer purchasing from outside manufacturers” and buy only the metal sacrament cups and trays that Jacob Schaub had patented and was then selling through the Deseret Sunday School Union Bookstore.³⁴ The First Presidency praised the Schaub sacrament set, noting that it was “not only more durable, but more sanitary, and more easily cared for and handled.”³⁵

Schaub took full advantage of the First Presidency’s support. After the First Presidency’s letter to stake presidents, Schaub began advertising his sacrament set in Church periodicals—the *Improvement Era*, *Juvenile Instructor*, and *Relief Society Magazine*. (These magazines all defrayed their publication costs by accepting advertisements, which were printed on the inside covers as well as in the interiors.) In the advertisements, Schaub pointed out that he had “the approval of the First Presidency” and that they “endorsed” and “recommended” his set. Schaub even included the First Presidency’s letter in some of his various ads. Apparently, according to Schaub’s patent application, the glass cups already being used in other wards were “open to objection upon sanitary grounds” because members’ hands would come in contact with the rim of the cups while being washed. Schaub’s sacrament tray, however, was designed so that all 144 cups could be sterilized at the same time, in the same trays used to pass them, while remaining untouched by human hands. There had also been problems with the glass cups breaking while members washed and prepared them for use; Schaub’s metal cups were naturally more durable.³⁶

Schaub also tried to appeal to the popularity of the progressive

³³Deseret Sunday School Union General Minutes, March 19, 1912, LDS Church History Library.

³⁴Deseret Sunday School Union Bookstore advertisement, *Improvement Era*, June 1912, cover.

³⁵James R. Clark, ed., *Messages of the First Presidency of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1833–1964*, 6 vols. (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1965–75), 4:269.

³⁶“Jacob Schaub Communion Service Application,” United States



Upon receiving endorsement from the First Presidency, Jacob Schaub, a Church member in Logan, Utah, sold his “sanitary” sacrament set through the Deseret Sunday School Union Bookstore. This advertisement appears on the inside cover of the April 1914 *Juvenile Instructor*. Courtesy LDS Church History Library.

movement. For example, in one advertisement Schaub noted that “all progressive wards are buying” his sacrament service.³⁷ In most other ads, Schaub asked: “Is your ward up-to-date?”³⁸

Still, members continued using cups sold by outside manufacturers. Even though advertisements of these other companies did not appear in Church periodicals right away, the Schaub advertisements suggest significant competition with other sacrament cup-selling en-

Patent Office, May 8, 1912, Patent Number 1156319.

³⁷Deseret Sunday School Union Bookstore advertisement, *Juvenile Instructor*, April 1914.

³⁸Deseret Sunday School Union Bookstore advertisement, *Juvenile Instructor*, July 1914.

"That buyer gains* who deals with Daynes"

The DAYNES Sanitary Sacramental Set

Those who are familiar with the uses of the few sacramental sets which are being offered, are enthusiastic in their praise of the Daynes' Set. It is light and easy to handle. Meets the wishes of the bishops as it is the only perfect sanitary set on the market. More now in use than all others combined and 15 per cent cheaper than any other style.



ESTABLISHED
1862
Daynes
JEWELRY CO.
128 MAIN ST.

Send for circular and prices

SAY THAT YOU SAW IT IN THE JUVENILE INSTRUCTOR

The "Daynes Sanitary Sacramental Set," advertised in Church magazines, emphasized sanitation, light weight, and cheapness.

terprises. For example, by the end of 1914, Schaub acknowledged a market in sacrament cups and publicized his as "the most easily and most quickly filled" set of them all.³⁹ However, Schaub continued losing business to other companies selling sacrament sets. By January 1915, the Schaub advertisement had to reassure customers that they were "still on the market."⁴⁰

Even though the First Presidency endorsed Schaub's cups, members objected that they did not "meet the wishes of the bishops" with regard to sanitation.⁴¹ For example, the Schaub sacrament cups were prepared in tall rows and placed in deep tanks that were filled with hot, soapy water. These tanks, although they effectively filled the

³⁹Deseret Sunday School Union Bookstore advertisement, *Juvenile Instructor*, October 1914.

⁴⁰Deseret Sunday School Union Bookstore advertisement, *Juvenile Instructor*, January 1915.

⁴¹Daynes Jewelry Company advertisement, *Juvenile Instructor*, October 1921.

cups quickly, were deep and narrow, making them hard to clean. Church members consequently stored clean cups in unclean containers. Also, when the cups were washed, they would be stacked one on top of the other, guaranteeing contact between the part touched by members during the service and the inside of another cup. As a result, Schaub began losing business even before the local outbreak of the Spanish flu, which hit Utah in 1918.

THE INFLUENZA PANDEMIC OF 1918–20

At the end of World War I, servicemen in Europe returned home to various parts of the world, spreading what became known as the Spanish Influenza. Its symptoms consisted of a cough and headache, “followed by intense chills and a fever that could quickly hit 104 degrees.” Along with these typical symptoms, “deep brown spots would appear on a victim’s cheeks and a thick, bloody fluid would begin to overwhelm his lungs” and sometimes “drown” them.⁴² One doctor reported: “The first case of influenza would occur, and then within the next few hours or days a large proportion—and occasionally every single individual of that community—would be stricken down with the same type of febrile illness, the rate of spread from one to another being remarkable.”⁴³ The disease eventually killed 21 million people worldwide and approximately 675,000 Americans—ten times as many as World War I.⁴⁴

The disease effectively shut down much of the United States, including Utah. For example, on October 10, 1918, the Utah Board of Health banned all public gatherings, including theater performances, school classes, and religious services. Public health officials advised Utah citizens to wear protective masks over their mouths. Whole cities were quarantined. Some cities, like Ogden, allowed people to enter only with a doctor’s certification of good health.⁴⁵ However, even after the ban on public gatherings, the disease spread

⁴²John Galvin, “Spanish Flu Pandemic: 1918,” *Popular Mechanics*, July 31, 2007, 1.

⁴³A. A. Hoehling, *The Great Epidemic* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1961), 18.

⁴⁴Leonard J. Arrington, “The Influenza Epidemic of 1918–1919 in Utah,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 58, no. 2 (Spring 1990): 166.

⁴⁵“The Great Pandemic: Utah,” The United States Department of

within Utah; 1,500 cases and 117 deaths were reported in just the four weeks after the prohibition of public gatherings.⁴⁶

On November 19, 1918, President Joseph F. Smith died of pneumonia—a lung inflammation caused by the influenza virus. Religious services were still banned at the time of his death, and no public funeral was held. Heber J. Grant was not sustained until June 1919, the influenza epidemic having delayed the Church's semi-annual general conference in April.

The influenza outbreak proved to be a wake-up call to the Church about hygiene. Joseph F. Smith and his counselors in the First Presidency had been reluctant to abandon the use of the common goblet for the sacramental water. They allowed the use of individual cups for six years (1912–18) but did not strongly encourage it, and the use of individual cups seem to have been mostly confined to the Salt Lake Valley. However, under Heber J. Grant, the Church immediately took a different position on the use of individual sacrament cups. Grant served on the board of directors and as vice president of the Utah Public Health Association from 1916 to 1924. He was progressive by temperament, diligently campaigning for “better city ordinances and state laws on the question of proper sanitary conditions.”⁴⁷

During the June 1919 general conference, Grant revealed that over one thousand members had died from influenza in just nine months.⁴⁸ Later statistics showed that over 2,600 Utahns alone died from the disease between 1918 and 1919.⁴⁹ Grant's father, Jedediah M. Grant, and Joseph F. Smith had both died of respiratory diseases; and although their fatal illnesses were not linked to the common sacrament cup, Grant had more motivation than any of his predecessors to make the ordinance more sanitary and to accelerate the use of

Health and Human Services, http://1918.pandemicflu.gov/your_state/utah.htm (accessed October 10, 2010).

⁴⁶Arrington, “The Influenza Epidemic in Utah,” 169.

⁴⁷Thomas G. Alexander, *Mormonism in Transition: A History of the Latter-day Saints, 1890–1930* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1986), 196.

⁴⁸Heber J. Grant, *Report of the Semi-Annual Conference of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, June 1, 1919 (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, semi-annual), 74; hereafter cited as *Conference Report*.

⁴⁹William G. Hartley, “The Church Grows in Strength,” *Ensign*, September 1999, 32.

individual cups Churchwide.

The spread of individual cups was evidenced in several Church publications after Heber J. Grant was sustained as president in the June 1919 general conference. First, advertisements for individual cups snowballed. These ads were increasingly printed on the inside covers of the *Improvement Era*, *Juvenile Instructor*, and *Relief Society Magazine*, suggesting greater endorsement of individual cups from the Church's highest authorities.

Second, the *Improvement Era* and *Juvenile Instructor*, the Church's primary publication arms and chief organs for spreading information to the Saints, also began printing definitive instructions regarding the sacrament. For example, after a number of wards wrote to headquarters in Salt Lake City "regarding the administration of the sacrament" in 1923, a thirteen-step process for preparing, blessing, distributing, and cleaning up the emblems was printed in the Priesthood section of the August *Improvement Era*. These instructions stressed that the sacramental water must be distributed in "individual glasses" and "carried in trays." Ideally, someone was also to "pass empty trays to gather the glasses so as to save time." The article even directed priesthood holders to properly sterilize the individual cups after each sacrament meeting. There was no mention of common cups in these procedures or any other ensuing Church publication.⁵⁰

CONCLUSION

Individual cups are just one aspect of a number of changes in the administration of the sacrament since the earliest days of the Restoration. The switch from a common cup to individual glasses, triggered by concerns of progressive-minded Latter-day Saints, is a reflection of the Church's emergence "out of obscurity" during the early 1900s. Perhaps just as importantly, Church members today need not worry about drinking from the same cup as those who "had recently been chewing peppermint, or had eaten onion or fish."⁵¹

⁵⁰"Method of Administering the Sacrament," *Improvement Era* (August 1923), 938–39.

⁵¹Irwin Clawson, Letter to Richard L. Evans, March 22, 1954, in Helen Clawson Wells Papers.

“A CONTINUATION OF THE SEEDS”: JOSEPH SMITH AND SPIRIT BIRTH

Brian C. Hales

TODAY, AN ACCEPTED DOCTRINE of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints interprets verses in Doctrine and Covenants 132 as references to the birth of spirit offspring by exalted married couples in the celestial kingdom:

And again, verily I say unto you, if a man marry a wife by my word, which is my law, and by the new and everlasting covenant, and it is sealed unto them by the Holy Spirit of promise, by him who is anointed, unto whom I have appointed this power and the keys of this priesthood . . . shall inherit thrones, kingdoms, principalities, and powers, dominions, all heights and depths . . . and they shall pass by the angels, and the gods, which are set there, to their exaltation and glory in all things, as hath been sealed upon their heads, which glory shall be a fulness and *a continuation of the seeds* forever and ever. (D&C 132:19; emphasis mine)

This revelation, dictated in the summer of 1843, came in response to mounting tensions over plural marriage between Joseph Smith and his legal wife, Emma. Apparently, she had threatened divorce and/or exposure of his extra-legal marital unions. So to assuage her concerns, Hyrum Smith, the Prophet’s brother, encouraged him to dictate a revelation to create a document which, he was confident,

BRIAN C. HALES {brianhales@msn.com} is an anesthesiologist in Layton, Utah. He is webmaster of www.JosephSmithsPolygamy.com and author of *Joseph Smith’s Polygamy: History and Theology*, 3 vols. (Salt Lake City: Greg Kofford Books, 2012).

he could use to convince her of restored polygamy's legitimacy. William Clayton recorded in his journal on July 12, 1843: "This A.M, I wrote a Revelation consisting of 10 pages on the order of the priesthood, showing the designs in Moses, Abraham, David and Solomon having many wives and concubines &c. After it was wrote Presidents Joseph and Hyrum presented it and read it to E[mma] who said she did not believe a word of it and appeared very rebellious."¹ The revelation did not allow Hyrum to accomplish his desires, but it may have contained the first iteration of important doctrines, doctrines that may never have been formally written in the history of this world. Two and a half years earlier, another revelation explained: "For I deign to reveal unto my church things which have been kept *hid from before the foundation of the world*, things that pertain to the dispensation of the fulness of times" (D&C 124:41; emphasis mine). There is no way to know when or how "things which have been kept hid" would be revealed, but it is possible that the teaching of spirit birth would qualify

¹George D. Smith, ed., *An Intimate Chronicle: The Journals of William Clayton* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1995), 110. See also William Clayton, Letter to Madison M. Scott, November 11, 1871, MS 3423, fd. 1, LDS Church History Library; William Clayton, Statement, 1874, Ms 3423, fd. 1, LDS Church History Library. Joseph C. Kingsbury made a copy of the original shortly thereafter. Kingsbury, Affidavit, May 22, 1886, MS 3423, LDS Church History Library; Joseph Kingsbury, Deposition, Temple Lot Transcript, Respondent's Testimony, Part 3, p. 178, question 19. The Kingsbury holograph transcript is currently housed in the LDS Church History Library, but the Clayton original was burned at Emma's insistence; however, the accounts describing the details of its destruction are contradictory. Orson Pratt, October 7, 1869, *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (London and Liverpool: LDS Booksellers Depot, 1855-86), 13:193; William Clayton quoted in Andrew Jenson, "Plural Marriage," *Historical Record* 6 (July 1887): 226; Brigham Young, August 9, 1874, *Journal of Discourses*, 17:159; Joseph F. Smith, at Utah Stake quarterly conference, March 3-4, 1883, Utah State Historical Society #64904, p. 271; Isaac Sheen quoted in Charles A. Shook, *The True Origin of Mormon Polygamy* (Cincinnati: Standard Publishing, 1914), 153; William E. McLellan, M.D., Letter to President Joseph Smith [III], Independence, Missouri, July 1872, original in Community of Christ Library-Archives, copy at LDS Church History Library, MS 9090; Mary B. (Smith) Norman, Idaho Falls, Idaho, to Ina (Smith) Coolbrith, March 27, 1908, original and typescript, Miscellaneous Letters and Papers, P13, f951, Community of Christ Library-Archives.

since research supports that the doctrine does not appear explicitly in any previous teaching, scripture, or revelation. (See below.) Even today, many observers believe that the idea that exalted couples bear spirit offspring in the eternities did not originate with Joseph Smith but was a later addition to the LDS theology.

Today, the Church's official interpretation is that this verse declares that "those who abide in the covenant and are exalted in the highest degree of the celestial kingdom will have spirit children in the eternities."² This explanation underlies the declaration of identity in the 1995 "The Family: A Proclamation to the World," which states: "Each [individual] is a beloved spirit son or daughter of heavenly parents, and, as such, each has a divine nature and destiny."³ Clearly, this belief is a central point in the Mormon theology of families and eternal progression.

This article investigates the doctrine of "spirit birth," examining the evidence to help determine whether it was authored by Joseph Smith or whether it arose as a later addition to LDS theology, tracing the known references to it over time but particularly in Mormonism's early years. I begin the discussion by examining the alternate view affirming that spirits are uncreated and not birthed by exalted beings.

AN ALTERNATE VIEW

Few if any scholars today dispute that Joseph Smith taught of eternal marriage. In fact, the idea that matrimony might continue beyond

²*Doctrine and Covenants and Church History: Gospel Doctrine Teacher's Manual* (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1999), 110. See also *Gospel Principles*, 2d ed. (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 2009), 275, 277, which served as the 2010–11 study manual for Melchizedek and Relief Society classes, <http://www.lds.org/manual/gospel-principles/chapter-47-exaltation?lang=eng> (accessed May 14, 2012). Earlier (though less official) commentary by influential General Authorities include Joseph Fielding Smith, *Doctrines of Salvation: Sermons and Writings of Joseph Fielding Smith*, compiled by Bruce R. McConkie, 3 vols. (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1954–56), 2:44, 3:143; Bruce R. McConkie, *Mormon Doctrine*, 2d ed. (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1966), 257; and McConkie, *The Millennial Messiah: The Second Coming of the Son of Man* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1982), 23.

³"The Family: A Proclamation to the World" (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1995), 1.

death was taught by other religious visionaries in the decades prior to Joseph's birth in 1805. Beginning in 1741, inventor and scientist Emanuel Swedenborg (1688–1772) professed prophetic gifts, including dreams and visions designed to reform Christian thinking. Among his ideas was a belief that, "since from creation woman is for man and man for woman, thus the one is the other's, and since this love is innate in both, it follows that there are marriages in heaven as well as on earth."⁴ However, Swedenborg's view of heavenly marital relations did not extend to procreation in the hereafter: "Marriages in the heavens differ from the marriages on earth in this, that marriages on earth, in addition to [their other uses], are for the procreation of offspring; but not in the heavens. In place of that procreation there is in the heavens a procreation of good and truth."⁵ It appears that heavenly procreation was at best an uncommon theme, if not openly rebuffed, among religionists of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Nor is there any evidence that Joseph Smith was influenced by Swedenborg's thought.⁶

Concerning the source of the spirit birth teaching, Mormon scholar Van Hale noted that "one of the cherished doctrines of Mormonism, that spirits are the literal offspring of God, has been taught by virtually all Mormon leaders. The notable exception is probably Joseph Smith, whose direct statements teach a doctrine contrary to that of his closest associates."⁷ Similarly, LDS scholar Blake Ostler dates the earliest spirit birth teachings to the year after the Prophet's death: "The view that man originated when spirit matter was organized into

⁴Emanuel Swedenborg, *Heaven and Hell and the World of Spirits from Things Heard and Seen* (1758; rpt., Boston: Swedenborg Printing Bureau, translation by John G. Ager, 1900), 219; PDF in my possession.

⁵Samuel M. Warren, ed., *A Compendium of the Theological Writings of Emanuel Swedenborg* (New York: New Church Board of Publication, 1880), 449. However, Swedenborg also taught: "Sexual intercourse is enjoyed in Heaven as on Earth." William White, *Emanuel Swedenborg: His Life and Writings*, 2 vols. (London: Simpkin, Marshall, and Company, 1868), 2:360, but such relations do not result in the procreation of infant beings.

⁶D. Michael Quinn, *Early Mormonism and the Magic World View* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1987), 174, observes: "Early Mormonism's only convert from Swedenborgianism, presiding bishop Edward Hunter, reported a comment by Smith in 1839 that indicates Smith was familiar with Swedenborgianism, at least by the late 1830s."

⁷Van Hale, "The Origin of the Human Spirit in Early Mormon

an individual through literal spiritual birth seems to have been the only view consistently elucidated from 1845–1905.”⁸ Charles Harrell, author of *“This Is My Doctrine”: The Development of Mormon Theology*, observed:

The belief that man is literally the offspring of God in the spirit . . . does not explicitly appear in the scriptural or other writings and recorded sermons of Joseph Smith. Furthermore it is conspicuously absent from the records of his associates during his lifetime. It appears that during the Prophet’s lifetime the Saints’ thinking conformed to the traditional belief that the fatherhood of God was only figurative and not to be taken literally. . . . While it is interesting that the first recorded teaching of premortal birth did not occur until after Joseph Smith’s death, to suppose that the doctrine entirely originated at that time would be as erroneous as believing that the fully developed doctrine was preached from the early beginning of the Church.⁹

Jonathan Stapley asserts even more strongly that Joseph Smith did not teach of spirit birth. Calling “viviparous spirit birth” a “wildly popular folk belief,” he explains, “Regarding a ‘continuation of the seeds,’ I think Joseph Smith is talking about retaining kinship, as opposed to being separate and single.”¹⁰ In other words, a “continuation of the seeds” is the ability for mortal parents to continue to relate to and preside over their earthly children (their “seed”) in eternity. Those who are unworthy live singly without any family structure in the next life.

Similarly, in his impressive volume, *In Heaven as It Is on Earth: Joseph Smith and the Early Mormon Conquest of Death*, physician-scholar Samuel Brown dismisses spirit birth out of hand: “[Humans] had no beginning. In the phrase of the Mormon revelation, ‘Man was also in the beginning with God. Intelligence, or the light of truth, was not

Thought,” in *Line upon Line: Essays on Mormon Doctrine*, edited by Gary James Bergera (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1989), 124.

⁸Blake T. Ostler, “The Idea of Pre-Existence in the Development of Mormon Thought,” *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 15, no. 1 (Spring 1982): 68.

⁹Charles R. Harrell, “The Development of the Doctrine of Preexistence, 1830–1844,” *BYU Studies* 28 (Spring 1988): 88–89.

¹⁰Jonathan Stapley, email to Brian Hales, March 26, 2011; quoted by permission.

created or made, neither indeed can be' [D&C 93:29]."¹¹ According to Brown's interpretation of Joseph Smith's teachings, the preexistent order of heaven does not include Heavenly Parents who give birth to spirit offspring. Instead, the "sacerdotal heaven family"¹² is formed on earth as mortal friendships and relationships are welded permanently in place by priesthood ordinances to form a "cosmic Chain of Belonging."¹³ "Families [in eternity] may continue to expand in the afterlife," Brown explains, "through a kind of sacerdotal adoption rather than through the familial physical processes of conception, gestation, and parturition."¹⁴ This "broad kinship group" comprises "the actual structure of heaven"¹⁵ and the "postmortal glory [of exalted individuals is] derived from the scope of one's location within the family tree."¹⁶ Brown affirms: "To [Joseph] Smith, in a way he never entirely worked out, the family of divinities had no end."¹⁷ By disallowing spirit birth, there is no obvious mechanism by which the "family of divinities" in the Chain of Belonging would achieve the status of having "no end," causing Brown to conclude that Joseph Smith must have "never entirely worked out" the process.¹⁸

Several of Joseph Smith's teachings and revelations seem to sup-

¹¹Samuel Morris Brown, *In Heaven as It Is on Earth: Joseph Smith and the Early Mormon Conquest of Death* (New York: Oxford Press, 2011), 250–51.

¹²*Ibid.*, 151.

¹³*Ibid.*, 229. See also Samuel Brown, "The Early Mormon Chain of Belonging," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 44, no. 1 (Spring 2011): 20, 27.

¹⁴Samuel Brown, "Brown Responds" (letter to the editor), *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 45, no. 1 (Spring 2012): ix.

¹⁵Brown, *In Heaven as It Is on Earth*, 204.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, 226.

¹⁷Brown, "The Early Mormon Chain of Belonging," 30; see also Brown, *In Heaven as It Is on Earth*, 273.

¹⁸Brown, "The Early Mormon Chain of Belonging," 26, describes unexalted beings as "neutered angels who would endure salvation" implying perhaps that exalted individuals are not "neutered." (See also D&C 132:16–17.) But without spirit birth, it is unclear how exalted beings would be any different. Brown also quotes W. W. Phelps's funeral sermon for Joseph and Hyrum Smith (p. 32) but does not include Phelps's comments that speak of "multiplying and replenishing new worlds" after the resurrection:

port this interpretation: “The Spirit of Man is not a created being,” he preached at some point in 1839 before August 8: “It existed from Eternity & will exist to eternity. Anything created cannot be Eternal.”¹⁹ On April 7, 1844, he commented, “God never did have the power to create the spirit of man at all.”²⁰ Substantiation for this view appears in the Book of Abraham, which Joseph Smith translated and published in the *Times and Seasons*, March 15, 1842: “If there be two spirits, and one shall be more intelligent than the other, yet these two spirits, notwithstanding one is more intelligent than the other, have no beginning; they existed before, they shall have no end, they shall exist after, for they are gnolaum, or eternal” (Abr. 3:18).²¹ This view posits that premortal spirits are eternally formed (uncreated) therefore, “a continuation of the seeds” has nothing to do with a procreative spirit birth.

A contrasting view is that those references are actually referring to spirit *matter*, which is uncreated and eternal. On two occasions in Nauvoo Joseph Smith spoke of the “eternal duration of matter.”²² He also taught:

There is no such thing as immaterial matter. All spirit is matter, but it is more fine or pure, and can only be discerned by purer eyes; We cannot see it; but when our bodies are purified we shall see that it is all matter. (D&C 131:7–8)

An attempt to assimilate these different teachings posits that,

“The best of saints from many creations, will hold a grand jubilee, of prophets, priests and kings, with their wives, and children, for the purpose of crowning the faithful to enter into the joys of their Lord; prepar[a]tory to their going into eternity to multiply and replenish new worlds.” W. W. Phelps, “The Joseph/Hyrum Smith Funeral Sermon,” edited by Richard Van Wagoner and Steven C. Walker, *BYU Studies* 23, no. 1 (Winter 1983): 11–13.

¹⁹Andrew F. Ehat and Lyndon W. Cook, eds., *The Words of Joseph Smith: The Contemporary Accounts of the Nauvoo Discourses of the Prophet Joseph Smith* (Provo, Utah: BYU Religious Studies Center, 1980), 9.

²⁰*Ibid.*, 60.

²¹“The Book of Abraham,” *Times and Seasons* 3 (March 15, 1842): 720. The Book of Abraham was canonized in 1876.

²²Ehat and Cook, *The Words of Joseph Smith*, 37 (August 30, 1840); 203 (May 17, 1843).

through spirit birth, a portion of uncreated spirit matter (of unknown organization and intelligence) is formed into a living spirit, bestowing upon it greater organization and/or intelligence.

SUPPORT THAT JOSEPH SMITH TAUGHT SPIRIT BIRTH

No explicit and unambiguous public statements from Joseph Smith explaining spirit birth have been located. The question remains whether he taught it privately. The earliest private report that Joseph Smith taught of spirit birth comes from Parley P. Pratt. While writing his autobiography in 1855, he recalled a visit with Joseph Smith in Philadelphia in the winter of 1839–40 during which the Prophet told him that “the result of our endless union [celestial marriage] would be an offspring as numerous as the stars of heaven, or the sands of the seashore.”²³ Pratt apparently made no immediate record of this conversation; but if he accurately recalled it, then the Prophet was teaching as early as 1840 that exalted beings would have offspring after the resurrection.

The earliest contemporary account mentioning “spiritual birth” appears in a letter from Lorenzo Snow to an “Elder Walker” on February 14, 1842. Snow was then serving a mission in England, for which he had left Nauvoo on May 20, 1840.²⁴ Elder Walker had “wish[ed] to know and dwell upon big things of the kingdom,” stated Snow, who continued: “Let us indulge our follies at this time and wander a moment into the field of imagination.”²⁵

Some thirteen thousand years ago in Heaven or in Paradise (say) we came into existence or in other words received a spiritual organization according to the laws that govern *spiritual births* in eternity. We

²³Parley P. Pratt Jr., ed., *Autobiography of Parley Parker Pratt, One of the Twelve Apostles of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1972), 297–98, (1985 edition, 259–60).

²⁴Eliza R. Snow, *Biography and Family Record of Lorenzo Snow* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1884), 46. I have found no correspondence between Lorenzo Snow and Joseph Smith during the two years of this mission in which such a doctrine is discussed.

²⁵Lorenzo Snow, Letter to “Elder Walker,” February 14, 1842, in Lorenzo Snow, Notebook, typescript, 75–76, MS 2737, Box 1, fd. 1, LDS Church History Library; see also Hale, “The Origin of the Human Spirit in Early Mormon Thought,” 119–20.

were there and then (say) born in the express image and likeness of him by whom we received our *spiritual birth* possessing the same faculties & powers but in their infantile state yet susceptible of an elevation equal to that of those possessed by our *Spiritual Father*. But in order to effect this we must needs be planted in a material tabernacle. Accordingly the great machine was set in motion whereby bodies for the immortal sons and daughters of God came into being; Previously redeemed souls sang together. And the sons of God or the spirits awaiting to be perfected shouted with joy in anticipation of one day being like their Father in all things both in relation to becoming the *Father of Spirits* and that of Glorified bodies so that God might be “all in all” so we might be called by his name by spirits yet unborn and thus have an everlasting and *ever increasing kingdom* of our own like unto that of his own.²⁶

While Snow admitted that he was indulging his “imagination” and did not attribute his ideas to Joseph Smith, Snow referred twice to both “spiritual births” and a spiritual father. These ideas either sprang from Snow’s personal speculations or else he was repeating teachings received earlier from someone else. These ideas are remarkably similar to recorded expositions from Brigham Young after the Prophet’s death and are consistent with the Prophet’s private teachings regarding birth after the resurrection (quoted below).

On May 16, 1843, Joseph Smith privately instructed a small group of Latter-day Saints gathered at home of Benjamin F. Johnson and his wife, Melissa LeBaron Johnson, in Ramus, Illinois. William Clayton, who was also in attendance, recorded Joseph’s words:

Except a man and his wife enter into an everlasting covenant and be married for eternity while in this probation by the power and authority of the Holy priesthood they will *cease to increase* when they die (i.e. they will not have any *children in the resurrection*), but those who are married by the power and authority of the priesthood in this life and continue without committing the sin against the Holy Ghost will *continue to increase* and have *children in the celestial glory*. . . . He also said that in the celestial glory there was three heavens or degrees, and in order to obtain the highest a man must enter into this order of the priesthood and if he don’t he can’t obtain it. He may enter into the other but that is

²⁶Lorenzo Snow, Letter to “Elder Walker,” February 14, 1842, underlining Snow’s, italics mine. See also Hale, “The Origin of the Human Spirit in Early Mormon Thought,” 119–20.

the end of his kingdom he cannot have *increase*.²⁷

The accuracy of Clayton's verbatim entry is unknown, but its meaning seems clear. Having "children in the resurrection" is the process through which an exalted couple "increase" their "kingdom." This concept suggests that having "children in the celestial glory" is more than simply the perpetuation in that realm of earthly familial relationships. At the end of the world, the genealogical chain back to Adam and Eve will constitute a static and finite network of kinship ties. It will inherently have an "end." However, having "children in the resurrection" will bring "increase" to a "kingdom"—thus allowing a literal enlargement of the number of "children." The begetting of literal offspring could "increase" the number of inhabitants of that couple's "kingdom" and the potential for "increase" could be infinite and eternal.

About five weeks later on June 23, 1843, Heber C. Kimball penned a prayer in his personal journal: "I Love my dear family, and may it increase more and more, that now [no] power can sepperate us from Each other, that we may dwell to gether through out all Eternity, and thare be in throned [enthroned] on worlds, to propagate [sic] that thare may be *no end to us or our Seeds*."²⁸ Kimball's reference to propagating his "seeds" in eternity seems to reflect the same meaning as having children in the resurrection and extends beyond the interpretation of simply continuing his earthly familial relations. If so, then the likely source of these doctrines is the Prophet himself. If Joseph Smith was willing to privately counsel with William Clayton and the Johnsons weeks previously, then learning that he also shared the instructions with his trusted apostle, Heber C. Kimball, during this period would not be surprising.

On July 16, 1843, just four days after dictating the revelation on eternal marriage, Joseph gave a public discourse in which, according to Franklin D. Richards, he spoke of eternal covenants (e.g., mar-

²⁷George D. Smith, *An Intimate Chronicle*, 102; emphasis mine. See also D&C 132:1-4; and Danel W. Bachman, "The Eternity of the Marriage Relationship," in *Riches of Eternity: 12 Fundamental Doctrines from the Doctrine and Covenants*, edited by John Scott and John K. Challis (Salt Lake City: Aspen Books 1993), 195-221.

²⁸Stanley B. Kimball, ed., *On the Potter's Wheel: The Diaries of Heber C. Kimball* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books/San Francisco: Smith Research Associates, 1987), 52; emphasis mine.

riage) and a “multiplication of lives”:

No man can obtain an eternal Blessing unless the contract or covenant be made in view of Eternity[.] All contracts in view of this Life only terminate with this Life. Case of the woman & 7 husbands Luke 20-29 &c Those who keep no eternal Law in this life or make no eternal contract are single & alone in the eternal world (Luke 20-35) and are only made Angels to minister to those who shall be heirs of Salvation never becoming Sons of God having never kept the Law of God ie eternal Law The earthly is the image of the Heavenly shows that [it] is by *the multiplication of Lives* that the eternal worlds are created and occupied that which is born of the flesh is flesh that which is born of the Spirit is Spirit.²⁹

If Richards correctly recorded Joseph’s sermon, the Prophet may have been explaining the dissimilarity between the progeny of mortals and exalted beings by differentiating between mortal offspring (“that which is born of the flesh is flesh”) and resurrected offspring (“that which is born of Spirit is Spirit”). He later taught that the function of blood in human beings is performed for resurrected beings by “the Spirit of god flowing in the vains in Sted of blood.”³⁰ Hence, it would seem consistent for resurrected beings to produce “spirit” offspring characterized by a purer spirit essence in their bodies, but inconsistent to produce mortal offspring characterized by blood.

Whether many of the listeners in the Prophet’s audience understood these points is unknown. However, within a few days, Franklin D. Richards, in commenting on this sermon, wrote: “From the above [his notes of the discourse] I deduce that we may make an eternal covenant with our wives and in the resurrection claim that which is our own and enjoy blessings & glories peculiar to those in that condition even the multiplication of spirits in the eternal world.”³¹

About six weeks later in his sermon on August 27, 1843, reported by William Clayton, Joseph Smith apparently made another oblique reference to these doctrines: “The power of the Melchisek

²⁹Franklin D. Richards, “Scriptural Items,” July 16, 1843, MS 4409; emphasis mine; see also Ehat and Cook, *The Words of Joseph Smith*, 232.

³⁰Ibid., 370–71; see also 1 Cor. 15:50.

³¹Richards, “Scriptural Items,” July 16, 1843; see also Ehat, and Cook, *The Words of Joseph Smith*, 293 note 7.

P'd [priesthood] was to have the power of an 'endless lives.'"³²

The next identifiable reference to spirit birth came the following year when Orson Pratt was sent to Washington, D.C., where, on April 14, 1844, with fellow Apostle Orson Hyde, he presented a memorial and petition for redress about the Missouri persecutions to members of the Senate Judiciary Committee.³³ From there Pratt traveled to New York, arriving about June 1, 1844. In his spare time in the East, Pratt composed a *Prophetic Almanac for 1845*. The New York newspaper, *The Prophet*, announced the twenty-four-page booklet on June 22 as being at the printer,³⁴ and it was available for purchase on August 3, by which time Joseph and Hyrum Smith had been killed at Carthage.³⁵ This publication contains Pratt's exposition on spirit birth:

What is man? The offspring of God. What is God? The father of man. Who is Jesus Christ? He is our brother. What is man in Embrio [sic]? He is a helpless babe. What is man in progress? He is a man. What is man perfected? He is as Christ; and Christ is as the Father; and they all are one. How many states of existence has man? He has three. What is the first? It is spiritual. What is the second? It is temporal. What is the third? It is immortal and eternal. How did he begin to exist in the first? He was *begotten and born of God*. How did he begin to exist in the second? He was begotten and born of the flesh. How did he begin to exist in the third? By the Resurrection of the dead. What is his final destiny? to be like God. What has God been? Like man. . . . How many Gods are there? "There are lords many, and gods many: but to us there is but one God." [1 Cor. 8:5-6] How many heavens are there? They are innumerable. Where will heaven be? On the earth; and on all other glorified worlds.³⁶

Pratt's exposition echoes Joseph Smith's teachings in the King

³²Ehat and Cook, *The Words of Joseph Smith*, 247.

³³Elden J. Watson, *The Orson Pratt Journals* (Salt Lake City: Elden Jay Watson, 1975), 214; Peter Crawley, *A Descriptive Bibliography of the Mormon Church*, 2 vols. (Provo, Utah: BYU Religious Studies Center, 1997), 1:256. The memorial, introduced in Congress, died in committee.

³⁴Advertisement, *The Prophet* 1, no. 1 (June 22, 1844): 4.

³⁵Crawley, *A Descriptive Bibliography of the Mormon Church*, 1:270-71.

³⁶Orson Pratt, *Prophetic Almanac for 1845*, no. 1 (New York: *The Prophet* Office, 1844), 5-7; emphasis mine.

Follett Discourse, which was given just days before Orson's departure from Nauvoo.³⁷ But it also goes beyond the King Follett declarations by stating that, while God has been "like man," man is also "the offspring of God," that man's spiritual beginning came by being "begotten and born of God." Was Orson publishing Joseph Smith's private teachings regarding spirit birth or was he printing his own speculations, which he was known to have done years later?³⁸

In summary, these few quotations do not provide definitive evidence that Joseph Smith taught spirit birth as a doctrinal concept

³⁷"Man the Offspring of God," *Millennial Star* 19 (November 21, 1857): 738. Orson Pratt was then the *Star's* editor and is probably the author of this article.

³⁸Orson Pratt authored numerous articles that he published in *The Seer* in Washington, D.C., between January 1853 and August 1854. The *Millennial Star* reprinted several of them. Brigham Young inserted the following notice, "Publications," *Millennial Star* 17, no. 19 (May 12, 1855): 298: "A monthly periodical called the 'Seer,' published by Elder Orson Pratt at Washington City, D.C., contains beautifully written articles; but notwithstanding the general beauty of the style, and the apparent candour and minuteness of the reasoning, the 'Seer' has many items of erroneous doctrine. As it would be a lengthy and laborious operation to enter minutely into their disapproval, I prefer, for the present, to let the Saints have opportunity to exercise their faith and discernment in discriminating between the true and erroneous; and simply request them, while reading the 'Seer,' to ask themselves what spirit they are of, and whether the Holy Ghost bears testimony to the truth of all the doctrines therein advocated." In 1860 Orson admitted: "Some of the doctrines I had advanced in the 'Seer,' at Washington were incorrect." "Instructions to the Saints," *Deseret News*, July 25, 1860, 2, col. 2. The First Presidency responded to Pratt's confession: "One of the Elders of Israel had written a long revelation which he deemed to be very important, and requested br. Joseph to hear him read it. The Prophet commended its style in glowing terms, remarked that the ideas were ingeniously advanced, [etc., etc.] and that he had but one objection to it. 'What is that?' inquired the writer, greatly elated that his production was considered so near perfect. The Prophet Joseph replied, 'It is not true.'" Quoted in Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, and Daniel H. Wells, "Instructions to the Saints," *Deseret News*, July 25, 1860, 3, col. 1; see also Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, and Daniel H. Wells, "Hearken, O Ye Latter-Day Saints, and All Ye Inhabitants of the Earth Who Wish to Be Saints to Whom This Writing Shall Come," *Deseret News*, August 23, 1865, 2-5.

during his lifetime. However, Clayton's firsthand quotations, Lorenzo Snow's 1842 letter, Heber C. Kimball's 1843 written prayer, Franklin D. Richards's notes, and Orson Pratt's declarations composed in the spring of 1844, supplemented by Parley P. Pratt's late reminiscence, support the possibility.

DOES SECTION 132 TEACH SPIRIT BIRTH?

An obvious question is whether the July 12, 1843, revelation on celestial marriage, canonized in 1876 in the LDS Doctrine and Covenants as Section 132, mentions spirit birth. While the wording is far from conclusive, Joseph's allusion to "a continuation of the seeds" is not the only possible reference to the procreation of spirit offspring by exalted beings after the resurrection. For example, the revelation substitutes "eternal lives" for "life eternal," in an otherwise familiar New Testament verse, John 3:17: "This is *eternal lives*—to know the only wise and true God, and Jesus Christ, whom he hath sent" (D&C 132:24; emphasis mine). Also altered is Matthew 7:14: "Strait is the gate, and narrow is the way, which leadeth unto life . . ." Instead, Doctrine and Covenants 132:22 reads: "For strait is the gate, and narrow the way that leadeth unto the exaltation and *continuation of the lives* . . ." (emphasis mine). Joseph left no commentary explaining these changes. However, he had in 1832 received a revelation identifying all inhabitants of the terrestrial and telestial kingdoms as "heirs of salvation" (D&C 76:88) who would receive "eternal life," meaning that they never die after the resurrection (D&C 76:39). Hence, it would appear that "eternal lives" and "continuation of the lives" in the celestial glory signify something greater than "eternal life" or a "continuation of life."

Similarly, verse 17 declares that unexalted angels "cannot be enlarged, but remain separately and singly, without exaltation, in their saved condition, to all eternity" (D&C 132:17). Logically, then, exalted beings are capable of being "enlarged" and do not live "separately and singly," a description consistent with an expanding eternal family.

Verse 30 cites a promise to Abraham of "innumerable" descendants: "Abraham received promises concerning his seed, and of the fruit of his loins—from whose loins ye are, namely, my servant Joseph—which were to continue so long as they were in the world; and as touching Abraham and his seed, out of the world they should continue; both in the world and out of the world should they continue as innumerable as the stars; or, if ye were to count the sand upon the sea-

shore ye could not number them” (D&C 132:30).

This verse identifies “seed” as “the fruit of his loins.” Although, “loin” technically refers to “the lateral portions of the lumbar region,”³⁹ the King James Version, whose language strongly influenced Joseph Smith’s revelations and translations, routinely used the term euphemistically for reproductive anatomy that is covered with a “loincloth.” For example, Genesis 35:11 records God’s command to Jacob to “be fruitful and multiply; a nation and a company of nations shall be of thee, and kings shall come out of thy loins.” Lehi told his son Joseph: “Thou are the fruit of my loins” (2 Ne. 3:4). Accordingly, the “fruit” of a person’s “loins” would seem to be literal offspring on earth and possibly after the resurrection.

A question arises whether Abraham’s “seed” could become “innumerable” without spirit birth. Joseph Smith taught that, by receiving the gospel on this earth, those who are not biological descendants of Abraham can become his “seed” (Abr. 2:10; D&C 84:34). So could the number of Abraham’s “seed” through both biological and adopted progeny on earth fulfill the prophecy to become “innumerable”? The point is moot because large but finite groups found elsewhere in the scriptures are labeled “innumerable” (Luke 12:1; Alma 58:8) and are also sometimes compared to sand or stars (Heb. 11:12; D&C 76:109). In other words, large numbers that are actually finite but difficult to count might be labeled “innumerable.”

However, the next verse states: “This promise is yours also, because ye are of Abraham” (D&C 132:31). In other words, Joseph Smith, like Abraham (and by extension all exalted beings?), was promised that “his seed, and the fruit of his loins” would be “innumerable.” Joseph Smith’s biological offspring, even today, is very small when compared to Abraham’s, comprising no more than a few thousand.⁴⁰ Therefore, it is unclear how this promise will be fulfilled. Even with the addition of thousands of priesthood adoptions, the number would still be compar-

³⁹Noah Webster, *An American Dictionary of the English Language; Exhibiting the Origin, Orthography, Pronunciation, and Definitions of Words*, 3rd ed. (New York: S. Converse, 1830), *s.v.* loin, 503.

⁴⁰Joseph and Emma Smith had four sons who lived to maturity: Joseph Smith III (b. November 6, 1832), Frederick Granger Williams Smith (June 29, 1836), Alexander Hale Smith (June 2, 1838), and David Hyrum Smith (November 17, 1844, born after Joseph’s death). Their combined descendants are probably measured in the thousands, not tens of thousands.

atively small. Also, if the promise in the verse applies to all exalted beings, including those born in the very last generation of this earth (individuals who will have no mortal children), then it is even less clear how this promise could be realized without spirit birth.

In addition, verse 63 returns to a relevant point, stating: “. . . for they [plural wives] are given unto him [a husband] to multiply and replenish the earth, according to my commandment, and to fulfil the promise which was given by my Father before the foundation of the world, and for their exaltation in the eternal worlds, that they may bear the souls of men; for herein is the work of my Father continued, that he may be glorified” (emphasis mine). The meaning of “bearing the souls of men” is subject to interpretation. Is it a reference to spirit birth, mortal birth, or some other process? One of Joseph’s theological statements, now canonized, is that “the spirit and the body are the soul of man” (D&C 88:15), seeming to require a physical body. The context in verse 63 of “exaltation in the eternal worlds” argues for some form of procreation in that realm.

Perhaps the most interesting possible reference to spirit birth in the revelation is found in the statement mentioned earlier: that exalted beings receive a “continuation of the seeds” (D&C 132:19). Webster’s 1830 dictionary defines a “seed” as: “1. The substance, animal or vegetable, which nature prepares for the reproduction and conservation of the species. 2. That from which any thing springs; first prin-

The strongest evidence that the Prophet had children by his plural wives is a second-hand source identifying Olive Frost (sealed to him in the spring or summer of 1843); she gave birth to a child who died and she also died; no death dates are available but it was before the Saints left Nauvoo. Joseph E. Robinson, *Autobiography*, entry dated October 26, 1902, Ms 7866, LDS Church History Library; James Whitehead, interviewed by Joseph Smith III, April 20, 1885; original in possession of John Hajicek. Better evidence exists for the second child, Josephine Rosetta Lyon, who was born February 8, 1844, to Sylvia Sessions Lyon who was sealed to Joseph in the fall of 1843 after the excommunication of her legal husband, Windsor Lyon. Sylvia confided her daughter’s parentage to her “just prior to [her] mother’s death in 1882,” and Josephine made an affidavit about her mother’s statement. Josephine R. Fisher, *Affidavit*, February 24, 1915, LDS Church History Library, Ms 3423. Josephine married John Fisher in 1863 and gave birth to ten children, seven of whom lived to adulthood. www.FamilySearch.org (accessed March 14, 2012). Josephine’s offspring would also measure in the thousands.

ciple; original. 3. Principle of production. 4. Progeny; offspring; children; descendants. 5. Race; generation; birth.” Joseph Smith would have been fully familiar with these definitions that generally refer to the reproduction of “species, progeny, offspring, children, descendants, race etc.” The definition and the scripture imply procreation with offspring that can grow to become like the parents.⁴¹ Typically, a seed, if planted, can produce fruit and more seeds, hence the popular saying: “You can count the number of seeds in an apple, but not the number of apples in a seed.” It seems that, if “a continuation of the seeds” meant simply a continuation of earthly parent-child relationships as defined in the genealogical tree, the verse would instead have promised a “continuation of the roots and branches.”

While the interpretation of these verses in Section 132 continues to be debated today,⁴² a question arises regarding how some of Joseph Smith’s polygamy confidantes would have interpreted them. Two months before Joseph dictated the revelation, William Clayton recorded that Joseph taught of “children in the resurrection” and “children in the Celestial glory.”⁴³ Just weeks earlier, Heber C. Kimball prayed to be enthroned in eternity “on worlds, to propragate [sic] that thare may be no end to us or our Seeds.”⁴⁴ Four days after Clayton wrote Doctrine and Covenants 132 to Joseph’s dictation, Franklin D. Richards recorded his already quoted comment that the Prophet

⁴¹Hale, “The Origin of the Human Spirit in Early Mormon Thought,” 121–22, cautioned: “Here Smith implies that gods procreate but does not specify that their offspring are spirits. There is no known explanation from Smith on this subject. In a sermon on July 16, 1843, he explained ‘that he could not reveal the fulness of these things untill the Temple is completed,’ which was not accomplished until after his death. However, the conclusion some of his contemporaries drew, and the one which has prevailed through Mormon history, is that children born after the resurrection to exalted couples will be spirit children for future worlds.” Hale points out that, in Joseph’s thought, “it is equally unclear if the alternative possibility, that the offspring of the gods are physical children, would be any more plausible in the prophet’s thinking.

⁴²See Brian C. Hales, “Spirit Birth and ‘Chains of Belonging’” (letter to the editor), *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 45, no. 1 (Spring 2012): vi–viii.

⁴³George D. Smith, *An Intimate Chronicle*, 102. See also D&C 132:1–4.

⁴⁴Kimball, *On the Potter’s Wheel*, 52.

taught of a “multiplication of Lives that the eternal worlds are created and occupied that which is born of the flesh is flesh that which is born of the Spirit is Spirit.”⁴⁵ Nine months later, Orson Pratt wrote plainly that man is “the offspring of God” and that humankind’s “spiritual” beginning started when they were “begotten and born of God” prior to earth life.⁴⁶ All four of these men are known to have conversed with Joseph Smith regarding his deeper doctrines.⁴⁷ That some of them might have understood the revelation to refer to spirit birth, not just once, but many times, is a possibility.

POST-MARTYRDOM TEACHINGS, 1845–47

Historical sources exist supporting the conclusion that Joseph Smith had taught the concept of spirit birth privately to trustworthy friends before his death, concepts that they apparently explicated in the months and years after his death. For example, W. W. Phelps, preaching his funeral sermon for Joseph and Hyrum Smith on June 29, 1844, taught that exalted beings

can go on from birth to age; from life to lives; and from world to heaven; and from heaven to eternity; and from eternity to ceaseless progression . . . from glory to glory; from wisdom to wisdom; from system to system; from god to god, and from one perfection to another, while eternities go and eternities come, and yet there is room—for the curtains of endless progression are stretched out still and a god is there to go ahead with improvements. . . .

The best of saints from many creations, will hold a grand jubilee, of prophets, priests and kings, with their wives, and children, for the purpose of crowning the faithful to enter into the joys of their Lord; prepar[a]tory to their going into eternity to multiply and replenish new worlds.⁴⁸

To “multiply and replenish” the earth was God’s command to Adam and Eve to have offspring (Gen. 1:28). Phelps uses this same language to describe the Saints’ behavior in eternity with respect to “new worlds,” which implies the creation of children after the resur-

⁴⁵Richards, “Scriptural Items,” July 16, 1843, quoted in Ehat and Cook, *The Words of Joseph Smith*, 232.

⁴⁶Pratt, *Prophetic Almanac for 1845*, 5–7.

⁴⁷See Brian C. Hales, *Joseph Smith’s Polygamy: History and Theology*, 3 vols. (Salt Lake City: Greg Kofford Books, 2012), Vol. 3, chaps. 6, 8, 10.

⁴⁸Phelps, “The Joseph/Hyrum Smith Funeral Sermon,” 11–13.

rection. That he taught this concept only two days after the martyrdom at Joseph Smith's own funeral suggests that he learned these ideas from the Prophet.

Six months later at the dedication of the Seventies Hall in Nauvoo on December 31, 1844, Joseph Hovey, who was present, recorded that Brigham Young "spoke of the relation we held to our Father in Heaven and to our Mother, the Queen. If we are faithful we will come in their presence and learn of our first estate."⁴⁹ Spirit birth requires exalted couples which, in LDS theology are a resurrected father and mother. Also for that dedicatory service, W. W. Phelps composed a hymn, a portion of which reads:

Come to me; here's the myst'ry that man hath not seen:
Here's our Father in heaven, and Mother, the Queen,
Here are worlds that have been, and the worlds yet to be:
Here's eternity,—endless; amen: Come to me.⁵⁰

Eliza R. Snow, who was one of Joseph's plural wives, wrote a poem in 1845 titled "My Father in Heaven," that, set to music, become a popular Mormon hymn, "O My Father," still in the current hymnal.⁵¹ One verse refers to heavenly parents:

I had learned to call thee Father,
Through thy Spirit from on high,
But until the key of knowledge
Was restored, I knew not why.
In the heavens are parents single?
No, the thought makes reason stare!

⁴⁹Joseph Grafton Hovey, Journal, 1812–47, pp. 24–25, MS 1576, LDS Church History Library; digitized version, <http://www.boap.org/LDS/Early-Saints/JHovey.html> (accessed January 29, 2010). Joseph Grafton Hovey, born November 17, 1812, was baptized in 1839, moved first to Nauvoo, and then to Utah where Brigham Young commended him for his devotion and obedience. Young, February 24, 1856, *Journal of Discourses*, 3:236–40.

⁵⁰W. W. Phelps, "A Voice from the Prophet: 'Come to Me,'" *Times and Seasons* 6 (January 15, 1845): 783.

⁵¹Eliza R. Snow, "O My Father," *Hymns of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1985), no. 292.

Truth is reason, truth eternal
Tells me I've a mother there.⁵²

Similarly on November 24, 1846, while camped at Council Bluffs, Parley P. Pratt penned a verse to his “wife.” By that time, he had been sealed to eight women, seven of whom were still living. It is unclear to whom the poem is addressed or if it was meant for all seven. Regardless, in it he refers to “kindred spirits” and “Offsprings of Deity”:

Ye kindred spirits from world's celestial!
Offsprings of Deity;—Sons and daughters
Of Eternity;—Ye nobles of heaven
Whose dwellings were of old among the Gods

⁵²Eliza R. Snow, “My Father in Heaven,” *Times and Seasons* 6 (November 15, 1845): 1039. Wilford Woodruff considered the words of the song to be inspired: “With regard to our position before we came here, I will say that we dwelt with the Father and with the Son, as expressed in the hymn, ‘O My Father,’ that has been sung here. That hymn is a revelation, though it was given unto us by a woman—Sister Eliza R. Snow. There are a great many sisters who have the spirit of revelation. There is no reason why they should not be inspired as well as men.” “Discourse by Wilford Woodruff,” *Millennial Star* 56 (April 9, 1894): 229. Susa Young Gates left this account: “Although no one thought to ask Sister Snow in life to recount the incidents connected with the composition of the famous and inspired hymn entitled ‘O my Father,’ we know from two of her associates, Sisters Bathsheba W. Smith and Emmeline B. Wells, a little of the surroundings of the poetess at this time. She was living in Nauvoo at the home of Stephen Markham and had for her own room a tiny upstairs chamber, whose sloping roof was all unfinished inside, but which sheltered its inmate from snows and sun, while it provided a quiet retreat for occasional contemplation and composition. The room was severely plain in its furnishings, with one small window to light the dim gloom of the half-completed story. . . . It was in such environments that the simple but divine words of that matchless Mormon hymnal were written.” Susa Young Gates, “Eliza R. Snow Smith,” in Gates’s *History of the Young Ladies’ Mutual Improvement Association: From November 1869 to June 1910* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1911), 15–16 footnote. See also Jill Mulvay Derr and Karen Lynn Davidson, eds., *Eliza R. Snow: The Complete Poetry* (Provo, Utah: BYU Press/Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2009), 312–14.

In everlasting mansions, and who stood
In the councils of the High and lofty . . .⁵³

On December 6, 1847, while meeting with members of the Quorum of the Twelve in Kanesville, Iowa, Brigham Young explained that exalted beings will have powers to beget spirits: “We have power to beget children with flesh, bones, & blood—When bodies are celestialized our power is increased—[W]hy not get [a] Sp[irit] without bodies [?]-Sp[irits] are susceptible of Sp[irit] as body with body—[W]e will have powers to beget Sp[irits]—& tell them to take tabernacles—[T]hen you put the inclinat[io]n. into man & woman to beget bodies—God is the Fat[her]. Of our Sp[irit] yet not the Fat[her]. Of our bodies—We shall beget Sp[irits] & send these Sp[irits] into the world.”⁵⁴

These teachings, enunciated so soon after Joseph Smith’s death, could either represent a rapid evolution or elaboration of his private instructions or they may represent a more public disclosure of doctrines he was hesitant to proclaim openly.

JOSEPH SMITH’S RETICENCE ON SPIRIT BIRTH

Despite these quotations and statements, as observed above, some scholars have concluded that Joseph Smith did not teach that resurrected couples would give birth to spirit offspring or that he gave only general hints that were expanded or possibly conflated by Church members like Lorenzo Snow, Heber C. Kimball, Orson Pratt, Brigham Young, William Clayton, Parley P. Pratt, W. W. Phelps, and Eliza R. Snow.

Another interpretation is that Joseph Smith privately taught

⁵³Parley P. Pratt, *An Apostle of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Was in the Island of Great Britain, for the Gospel’s Sake; And Being in the Spirit on the 21st of November, A.D. 1846, Addressed the Following Words of Comfort to his Dearly-Beloved Wife and Family, Dwelling in Tents, in the Camp of Israel, at Council Bluffs, Missouri Territory, North America; Where They and Twenty Thousand Others Were Banished by the Civilized Christians of the United States, for the Word of God, and the Testimony of Jesus* (London: J. B. Franklin, 1851), 1; also published in Parley P. Pratt Jr., ed., *Autobiography of Parley P. Pratt* (New York: Russell Brothers, 1874), 389; rpt, Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1975, 350.

⁵⁴*Minutes of the Apostles of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1835–1893* (Salt Lake City: Privately published, 2010), 141.

spirit birth to these men and possibly others, but was hesitant to publicly preach the doctrine.

For example, in a discourse delivered on May 21, 1843, he referred to “the Spirits in the Eternal world” and then characterized God as “He who rules in the heavens.”⁵⁵ Joseph gave no hint of any special connection or familial relationship between the spirits and God. More striking are the Prophet’s comments in the King Follett Discourse as reported in the *Times and Seasons* several weeks after the martyrdom: “All the spirits that God ever sent into the world are susceptible of enlargement. . . . God himself finds himself in the midst of spirits and glory, because he was greater, and because he saw proper to institute laws, whereby the rest could have a privilege to advance like himself, that they might have one glory upon another, in all that knowledge, power, and glory, &c., in order to save the world of spirits.”⁵⁶ In this statement Joseph Smith acknowledged the existence of premortal spirits before they were “sent into the world.” Then he explained that God “finds himself” in their midst and is motivated out of compassion to help them because “he was greater.” There’s no mention of how or why God would “find himself” in their company. Nor is there discussion regarding any possible kindred tie between Him and these spirits.

Similar language is also found in the Book of Abraham, Chapter 3, which recounts a vision in which God shows Abraham the premortal beings. According to Abraham, God refers to them as “spirits,” (vv. 19, 21), “intelligences” (vv. 21-22), and “souls” (v. 23), without any hint that they might be His spirit offspring. In addition, no reason is given as to why He would associate with them. Instead, He states simply: “I dwell in the midst of them all. . . . I came down in the beginning in the midst of all the intelligences thou hast seen” (v. 21) and “stood among those that were spirits” (v. 21).

It seems that the wording used by both Joseph Smith and Abraham supports a conscious effort to avoid revealing that the relationship between God and the premortal spirits could be that of a literal parent and child. Accordingly, these accounts and scriptures might support the position that spirit birth is a false teaching or that it did not originate with Joseph Smith. However, it is also possible that spirit

⁵⁵Ehat and Cook, *The Words of Joseph Smith*, 207.

⁵⁶Joseph Smith, “Conference Minutes,” *Times and Seasons* 5 (August 15, 1844): 615; sermon given April 7, 1844.

birth is a true principle that was known to the Prophet (and possibly also Abraham), but that both men were taking pains to avoid making such a declaration. Perhaps spirit birth was a doctrine designed to be “kept hid from before the foundation of the world” (D&C 124:41) and revealed only in the last dispensation through Joseph the Seer. While he was incarcerated in Liberty Jail, on March 20, 1839, he was promised: “God shall give unto you knowledge by his holy Spirit, yea, by the unspeakable gift of the Holy Ghost, that has not been revealed since the world was until now” (D&C 121:26).⁵⁷

If so, the question arises: Why would God withhold knowledge of spirit birth from previous followers and even prophets, possibly for thousands of years? Several hypotheses may apply. First, it seems that such details could be easily perverted. As listeners naturally hypothesize regarding the mechanics of procreation in heaven, many might draw a direct parallel to sexual relations on earth, possibly leading to conjugal perversions in the name of deity. Satan, who is labeled in Joseph Smith’s revelations as “the father of all lies” and who constantly seeks “to deceive and to blind men, and to lead them captive at his will” (Moses 4:4) would exploit such knowledge if he could. In addition, while such lofty teachings might inspire some individuals to greater obedience, a more likely response is greater curiosity about unanswerable mysteries that could give Satan power over them as they end up contemplating carnality in the name of divinity. In the arithmetic of eternal salvation, the problems introduced by such revelations could easily outweigh the potential benefits.

Also, theories about spirit birth might facilitate more open discussions of sexuality, discussions that would better be given by “par-

⁵⁷According to available texts, New Testament authors did not address the possibility of marriage in the hereafter, possibly because they were unaware or because they believed that Christ’s teaching that “they which shall be accounted worthy to obtain that world, and the resurrection from the dead, neither marry, nor are given in marriage” (Luke 20:35) would preclude the perpetuation of marital relationships after death. See Ehat and Cook, *The Words of Joseph Smith*, 232. Paul referred to the union of husbands and wives as a “great mystery” saying: “a man leave his father and mother, and shall be joined unto his wife, and they two shall be one flesh. This is a great mystery . . .” (Eph. 5:31–32). He apparently never explained the mystery, possibly because he lacked knowledge of the details, or the proper forum to discuss it, or authorization to do so.

ents” to their “children in Zion” in the family setting (D&C 68:25, 29:48). Joseph condemned “idle thoughts” (D&C 88:69), “lusting” (D&C 42:23, 63:16), and “lustful desires” (D&C 88:121) and criticized the Saints in an 1839 letter:

How vain and trifling have been our spirits, our conferences, our councils, our meetings, our private as well as public conversations—too low, too mean, too vulgar, too condescending for the dignified characters of the called and chosen of God, according to the purposes of His will, from before the foundation of the world! We are called to hold the keys of the mysteries of those things that have been kept hid from the foundation of the world until now.⁵⁸

Was Joseph Smith thinking about the concepts taught in the revelation on eternal and plural marriage when he wrote these concerns? We do not know because the chronology of his own understanding is undocumented. Regardless, the historical record shows that he did not commit those supernal concepts to paper until dozens of polygamous unions had been performed and until problems in his own life seemed to demand such disclosures.

Even for believers today, teaching spirit birth with the Spirit (D&C 42:14) is a challenge. When contemplating such ideas, it may be helpful to resist the temptation to assume an exact parallel between the creation of earthly children, which begins with sexual relations. For example, the role of blood in the physiological processes of fertilization, gestation, labor, and delivery is indispensable. Joseph Smith clearly took the position that resurrected beings’ bodies do not contain blood. Replacing blood with “spirit” in resurrected tabernacles might have little impact on physiological processes, but it might just as easily completely transform everything medical science understands. Many questions exist. Do resurrected bodies have stomachs and intestines to digest and absorb nutrients from ingested foods? Do they have livers that make enzymes like acetylcholinesterases? Do they possess kidneys to extract bilirubin from the “spirit” flowing in the arteries and veins? In addition, specific questions arise respecting spirit reproductive physiology. Are the ovaries in resurrected females

⁵⁸Joseph Smith, Epistle to “the Church,” March 20–25, 1839, quoted in *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, edited by B. H. Roberts, 2d ed. rev., 7 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1978 printing), 3:295–96.

capable of producing an unlimited supply of spirit eggs? (The number is finite in mortal women.) Does conception require physical conjugality? Is a forty-week gestation period required for spirit births? Speculating or quoting the opinions of others regarding possible answers to these questions will not yield verifiable conclusions or orthodox teachings.

Whether Joseph Smith's hesitancy was divinely inspired, he had other reasons to withhold such meaty teachings from his listeners. He could not soon forget the ferocious outcry generated both internally and externally by the novel doctrine of plural marriage, and the memory would have naturally deterred him from asserting yet another innovative doctrine at a time when he was also launching a campaign for the U.S. presidency and secretly developing both the endowment and the Council of Fifty.

It would also have been realistic for Joseph to expect both honest inquiries and scandalized reactions concerning the process through which spirit children are created in the afterlife. The accusation that he was teaching sexual relations in heaven would have been a predictable consequence of those who were already accusing him of "spiritual wifery."⁵⁹ Just months earlier former assistant counselor to the First Presidency, John C. Bennett, now disgraced and excommunicated, had vigorously denounced the Prophet as "an unprincipled libertine, unequalled in the history of civilized man" and lamented that Joseph "should so deliberately and shamelessly have gone to work to gratify, in so monstrous a manner, his abominable lusts."⁶⁰ To avoid a repeat of such a public backlash, Joseph may have prudently decided that such lofty discussions should take place in carefully screened circles where trusted followers could hear, have their questions answered, and seek spiritual confirmation.

Three months before delivering the King Follett Discourse, Jo-

⁵⁹See, for example, Orson Pratt, "Celestial Marriage," *The Seer* 1 (October 1853): 158–59; Brigham Young, June 18, 1865, *Journal of Discourses*, 11:122; Parley P. Pratt, *Key to the Science of Theology: Designed as an Introduction to the First Principles of Spiritual Philosophy; Religion; Law and Government; as Delivered by the Ancients and as Restored in this Age, for the Final Development of Universal Peace, Truth and Knowledge* (Liverpool, England: F. D. Richards, 1855), 51.

⁶⁰John C. Bennett, *The History of the Saints: Or an Exposé of Joe Smith and Mormonism* (Boston: Leland & Whiting, 1842), 228, 225.

seph lamented: "There has been a great difficulty in getting anything into the heads of this generation it has been like splitting hemlock knots with a corn dodger for a wedge and a pumpkin for a beetle. Even the Saints are slow to understand I have tried for a number of years to get the minds of the Saints prepared to receive the things of God, but we frequently see some of them after suffering all they have for the work of God will fly to pieces like glass as soon as any thing comes that is contrary to their traditions."⁶¹

SUMMARY

While the evidence is far from complete, I conclude, based on the contemporaneous or near-contemporaneous evidences presented in this article that the Prophet personally taught that resurrected couples would be able to procreate and that spirit birth would occur. That Joseph Smith would have initially broached these ideas privately is not surprising, given the potential for incredulity and confusion. Years earlier, he had been warned: "For they cannot bear meat now, but milk they must receive; wherefore, they must not know these things, lest they perish" (D&C 19:22).⁶²

⁶¹Ehat and Cook, *The Words of Joseph Smith*, 319.

⁶²See Brian C. Hales, "Historical Truth and Gospel Meat: Teaching the Milk Drinkers," *Sunstone*, forthcoming.

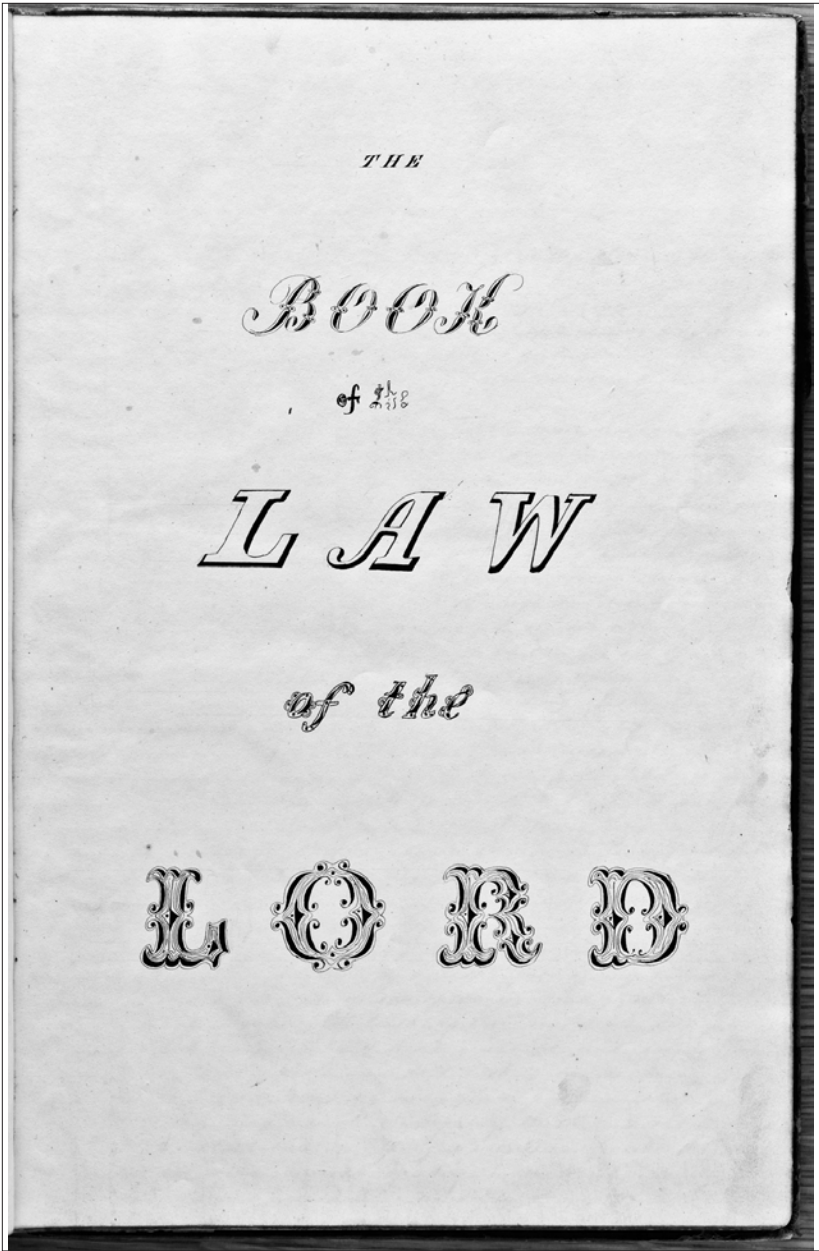
THE BOOK OF THE LAW OF THE LORD

Alex D. Smith

THE LARGE, ENIGMATIC TOME THAT IS the Book of the Law of the Lord is a complex artifact. One of the most significant documents from the Nauvoo period in LDS history, it is at once a repository of revelations, a record of donations for the construction of the temple, and the home of Joseph Smith's journal entries between December 1841 and December 1842. This article analyzes both internal and contextual evidence illustrating the relationships between the seemingly disparate texts in the volume and provides some clues about Joseph Smith's developing vision of record-keeping.

To provide a better understanding of the Book of the Law of the Lord, this article will begin with an explanation of the record-keeping efforts that preceded the book. Following this historical background, I next describe the Book of the Law of the Lord as a physical artifact, examine its content, and explore the theological motivations for cre-

ALEX D. SMITH {SmithAD@ldschurch.org} is a research historian and document editor with the Joseph Smith Papers in the LDS Church History Department. ACKNOWLEDGMENTS: Much of the research for this paper is derived from work on the Nauvoo volumes of the Journals series of the Joseph Smith Papers project. I express appreciation to my colleagues on these volumes—Andrew H. Hedges, Mark Ashurst-McGee, and Richard Lloyd Anderson—and to the rest of the Joseph Smith Papers staff for invaluable insights and discussions. Thanks also to those who offered advice on the article, including Jonathan A. Stapley, Robin Scott Jensen, Whitney Hinckley, Ronald K. Esplin, Richard E. Turley Jr., and Kyle R. Walker. Portions of this article were presented at conferences of the Mormon History Association in 2006 and the John Whitmer Historical Association in 2011.



Title page of the Book of the Law of the Lord. Courtesy of the Church History Library, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Photograph by Welden C. Andersen.

ating the record. Finally Joseph Smith's developing conception of the manuscript's purposes will be considered, along with the role of the book as the first tithing record of the Church, its relationship to its successor volumes, and a brief overview of later usages and provenance of the volume.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Because the Book of the Law of the Lord contains a variety of texts, understanding the genesis of the record requires a brief chronology of pivotal events relating to Joseph Smith's journal-keeping effort and to the Church's financial records.

While incarcerated in the jail at Liberty, Missouri, Joseph Smith sent a now-famous letter to the Saints, dated March 20, 1839, directing them to gather accounts and statements of loss incurred during their expulsion from Missouri during the winter of 1838–39. The letter also suggested that a committee be formed to record these statements, and to “gather up the libilous publications that are afloat and all that are in the magazines and in the Insiclopedias and all the libillious histories that are published and that are writing.”¹ The purpose of this effort was to make the atrocities committed against the Saints in Missouri known broadly and to petition the government for redress of grievances. After escaping from Missouri authorities, Smith arrived in Quincy, Illinois, on April 22, 1839, and the same day commissioned one of his previous journal-keepers, James Mulholland, to begin keeping a new journal.²

Two weeks later, a general conference near Quincy appointed Almon Babbit, Erastus Snow, and Robert B. Thompson as the committee Smith had recommended in his letter from Liberty Jail. The conference minutes confirmed the committee's purpose: “to gather

¹Joseph Smith et al., Letter to the Church of Latter Day Saints, at Quincy Illinois, March 20, 1839, Revelations Collection, LDS Church History Library, Salt Lake City. Portions of this lengthy two-part letter were later canonized and are presently LDS Doctrine and Covenants 121–123.

²Joseph Smith, “Minute Book, 1839,” Joseph Smith Collection, LDS Church History Library. Unless otherwise noted, all Joseph Smith documents are from this collection. While the journal was begun on April 22, 1839, one retrospective entry precedes that entry. It reads: “Escaped Aprile 16th.”

up and obtain all the libelous reports and publications which have been circulated against our Church, as well as other historical matter connected with said Church which they can possibly obtain.”³ The language of these instructions suggests that the initial objective had already expanded beyond documenting the Missouri experience to encompass a larger history-writing project. The following month, on June 10–11, Mulholland recorded in both his own journal and Joseph Smith’s that he had begun drafting—with Smith dictating—a history of the Church.⁴ Between June 11 and October 29, when the Prophet’s party departed with their petition to Washington, D.C.—the efforts of Smith and Mulholland to create a history resulted in both draft notes and the first portion of the completed manuscript of what the Joseph Smith Papers project terms “Joseph Smith’s 1838–56 history” (using creation and completion dates and creating/commissioning author), as well as the “Extract, from the Private Journal of Joseph Smith Jr.,” published in the first issue of the *Times and Seasons* in November 1839.⁵ Title notwithstanding, it was not truly a Joseph Smith journal (or an extract of any extant or known journal) but rather a brief summary of the Mormon War in Missouri.

Joseph’s first Illinois journal is more appropriately linked contextually and chronologically with Smith’s other 1830s journals.

³Minutes, May 4, 1839, General Church Minutes, 1839–1877, LDS Church History Library.

⁴James Mulholland, Journal, June 10–13, 1839, and Joseph Smith, Journal, June 10, 11, 1839. George Robinson had begun work on a history of the Church in 1838, which Mulholland apparently used as the basis for the history he started compiling in June 1839. Dean C. Jessee, ed., “The Writing of Joseph Smith’s History,” *BYU Studies* 11 (Summer 1971): 450, 464.

⁵“History of Joseph Smith” (Mulholland draft), 1839, LDS Church History Library; “Extract, from the Private Journal of Joseph Smith Jr.,” *Times and Seasons* 1, no. 1 (November 1839): 2–9. For more discussion of these histories, see Jessee, “The Writing of Joseph Smith’s History,” 439–73; Dean C. Jessee, ed., *The Papers of Joseph Smith. Vol. 1: Autobiographical and Historical Writings* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1989), 210–11, 230–31, 265–67; and Dean C. Jessee, Mark Ashurst-McGee, and Richard L. Jensen, eds., *Journals, Vol. 1: 1832–1839*, in *The Joseph Smith Papers*, general editors Dean C. Jessee, Ronald K. Esplin, and Richard Lyman Bushman (Salt Lake City: Church Historian’s Press, 2008), 333, 340.

6

3

A revelation given to Joseph Smith, January 19th 1841

Unto mine saints in the Kingdom of God I say unto you my servants Joseph Smith, I am well pleased with your offerings and ardent prayers which you have made for unto this end that I visit you up, that I might show forth my wisdom through the more things of the earth.

Your prayers are acceptable before me, and in answer to them I say unto you, that you are now called, immediately to make a solemn proclamation of my gospel, and of this Kingdom, which I have planted to be a corner stone of Zion, which shall be polished with that refinement, which is after the similitude of a palace. This proclamation shall be made to all the things of the world, to the four corners thereof; to the honorable President elect, and the high ministers, Governors and Nation in which you live, and to all the nations of the earth, scattered abroad, that be written in the spirit of meekness and by the power of the holy ghost, which shall be in you at the time of the writing of the same; for it shall be given you by the holy ghost to know my will concerning these things and authorities, even what shall befall them in a time to come. For I should be about to call upon them to give heed to the light and glory of Zion, for the set time has come, to favor them.

Call ye, therefore, upon them with loud proclamation and with bold testimony, fearing them not, for they are as grass, and all their glory as the flower thereof, which soon shall wither away; that they may be left else without answer, and that I may visit them in the day of visitation when I shall punish the fear of my coming, to appoint the pattern of the oppressor among hypocrites, who shall be gnashing of teeth; if they reject my servants and my testimony, which I have revealed unto them. And again, I will visit and soften their hearts, many of them for your good, that ye may find grace in their eyes, that they may come to the light of truth, and the fruit of the exaltation or lifting up of Zion; for the day of my visitation cometh suddenly, in an hour when ye think not of, and when shall be the safety of my people and

First page of text in the Law of the Lord the January 19, 1841, revelation now LDS Doctrine and Covenants 124. Courtesy of the Church History Library, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

Kept by Mulholland until Smith's departure for Washington in late October 1839 (they were in Quincy on November 1, 1839),⁶ the journal follows Smith's move from Quincy to Commerce, Hancock County. The journal entries were recorded sporadically, frequently summarizing the events of three or four days—sometimes even a week or more—in a few words. Mulholland died unexpectedly on November 3, 1839, the week after Smith's departure, and the extant records show a gap in Joseph's journal for two years—until December 13, 1841.

Dean C. Jessee has provided some explanation for the absence of a Joseph Smith journal during the previous two years. On Smith's trip to Washington he asked traveling companion Robert Foster to keep a record of the trip, but it is unclear whether Foster complied. Smith wrote to Foster after the trip requesting Foster's journal, but if the document existed it has not been located.⁷ Mulholland's death partly explains why the contemporary journal was not continued on Smith's return.⁸ However, Robert Thompson served as Joseph Smith's clerk during the period between the Commerce and Nauvoo journals.⁹ Ultimately, it is unclear why no journal was kept during this period.

The creation of the donation record in the Book of the Law of the Lord, like the journal entries, can be partially explained by preceding events. Illinois law allowed every religious organization to elect up to ten trustees who would be legally responsible for the institution's property. Pursuant to this law, on January 30, 1841, Joseph Smith was elected "Sole Trustee" for the Church, and filed notice of

⁶Sidney Rigdon, *Appeal to the American People: Being an Account of the Persecutions of the Church of Latter Day [sic] Saints and of the Barbarities Inflicted on Them by the Inhabitants of the State of Missouri* (Cincinnati: Glezen and Shephard, 1840) inside cover; Letter, Joseph Smith, Sidney Rigdon, and Hyrum Smith, Quincy, Illinois, to The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints Scattered Abroad, November 1, 1839; photocopy of original in private possession.

⁷Joseph Smith, Nauvoo, Illinois, Letter to Robert D. Foster, Beverly, Illinois, March 11, 1840.

⁸Dean C. Jessee, *The Papers of Joseph Smith, Vol. 2: Journal, 1832–1842* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1992), 334.

⁹Jessee, "The Writing of Joseph Smith's History," 441, 446, 450–52.

the election with Hancock County.¹⁰ As trustee-in-trust, it was Joseph Smith's responsibility to oversee the Church's financial matters, chief among them donations for constructing the Nauvoo Temple. William Clayton, one of Smith's clerks and temple recorder, identified a correlation in his 1845 history of the Nauvoo Temple between Smith's role as trustee and the beginning of recording donations in the Book of the Law of the Lord. After describing the earliest donations in the book and noting which page they were recorded on, Clayton wrote, "A short time previous to this President Joseph Smith was appointed, 'Sole Trustee in Trust for the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints,' and consequently it became his prerogative to receive all the donations for the Church and the Temple."¹¹

Joseph Smith's desire to have work on his history resumed and the need to record temple donations combined on December 13, 1841, when Willard Richards began recording both accounts in the Book of the Law of the Lord.

ARTIFACT DESCRIPTION AND CONTENT ANALYSIS

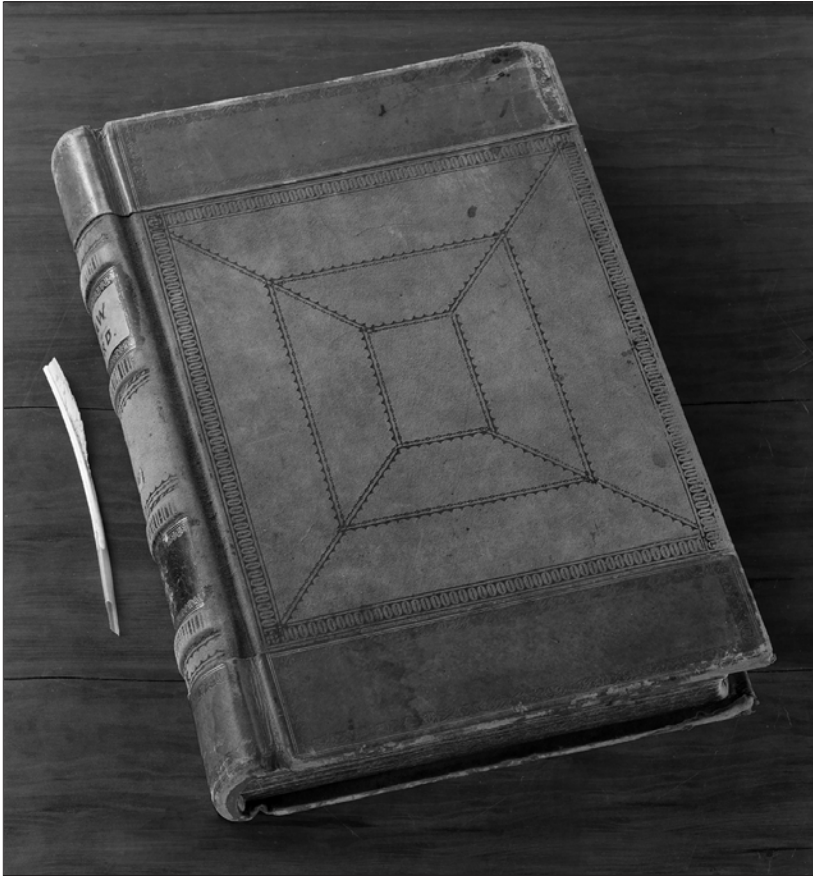
The first pages in the Book of the Law of the Lord were actually filled earlier in the year when general Church clerk Robert B. Thompson recorded nine revelations prior to his death on August 27, 1841.¹²

Six of these revelations were later canonized and are presently sections 124, 125, 105, 111, 87, and 103 (in order of their appearance in the Book of the Law of the Lord) in the LDS Doctrine and Covenants. The first of the three uncanonized revelations is dated March 20, 1841, and authorizes William Allred and Henry Miller to be stock

¹⁰"An Act Concerning Religious Societies," February 6, 1834, *Laws of the State of Illinois, Passed by the Ninth General Assembly, at Their First Session, Commencing December 1, 1834, and Ending February 13, 1835* (Vandalia, Ill.: William Walters, 1837), 147–48, sec. 1; Appointment, February 2, 1841, Hancock County, Illinois, Bonds and Mortgages, Vol. 1, p. 97, microfilm 954,776, U.S. and Canada Record Collection, LDS Family History Library, Salt Lake City.

¹¹William Clayton, "History of the Nauvoo Temple," ca. 1845, holograph, 16–17, LDS Church History Library.

¹²"Death of Col. Robert B. Thompson," *Times and Seasons* 2, no. 21 (September 1, 1841): 519.



The Book of the Law of the Lord. LDS Church History Library. Photograph by Welden C. Andersen. Courtesy of the Church History Library, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

agents for the Nauvoo House Association. The other two were both given on January 12, 1838, in Kirtland. The first, “Trial of the First Presidency,” responds to the query of whether a stake may try the First Presidency.¹³ The second answers the question of whether a branch can become a stake without sustaining the First Presidency—both revelations emerging from the hasty departure of Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon from Ohio that month (18). While the first three

¹³Book of the Law of the Lord, 17, LDS Church History Library; hereafter cited parenthetically in the text.

revelations (D&C 124, the Allred/Miller revelation, and Section 125) are presented in chronological order and were copied into the book during the year they were received, there is no apparent intrinsic relationship among the nine revelations.¹⁴ They range chronologically from 1832 to 1841, and cover topics as diverse as Zion's Camp, a prophecy on war in the United States, and building the Nauvoo House and Nauvoo Temple.¹⁵

On December 13, 1841, four months after Thompson's death, Willard Richards was appointed "Recorder for the Temple, and the Scribe for the private office of the President" (26). Richards may have written the first journal-like entry of daily events in the book the same day since that entry includes the words: "The recorder entered on the duties of his office" (26). At this point, beginning with pages 26 and 27, Richards began keeping the daily entries and donations record that constitute the remainder of the book.

These earliest entries in the book may be more appropriately termed "historical" entries rather than "journal" entries, as apparently the record was not immediately viewed as a journal for Joseph Smith. A number of headings in the early journal-entry portion of the book indicate a developing conception of the book's purpose. Manuscript page 26—the first in the book containing entries—bears no heading at the top of the page, nor is there one until page 44. Here "Visit" appears, centered on a line of its own above the entry for December 30–31, 1841. The following section describes a visit by Calvin

¹⁴Given Robert Thompson's death on August 27, 1841, and the date of the first revelation copied in the book (January 19, 1841), now LDS Doctrine and Covenants 124, it is clear the nine revelations were copied during the first eight months of 1841. William I. Appleby, who kept a journal, apparently contemporaneously with events though recorded later in his "Biography and Journal," further narrows the window in which at least the first revelation was recorded in the Book of the Law of the Lord. On May 5, 1841, Appleby wrote, "To day I paid Br Joseph a visit, received instruction concerning 'Baptism for the Dead.' Read the revelation as given by the Lord last January concerning the same, and Recorded in the 'Book of the Law of the Lord.'" William I. Appleby, *Biography and Journal*, May 5, 1841, LDS Church History Library.

¹⁵The revelations copied into the Book of the Law of the Lord, all in Robert Thompson's hand, begin on page 3 of the manuscript (the first lined page) and end on page 25.

Warren, Mark Aldrich, and Daniel Witter, representatives from the towns of Warren and Warsaw, Illinois, promoting their lands as suitable for settlement by the Mormons. Other content-related headings are located on pages 48 (“Prophecy” and “Coal Mine”) and 57 (“The New Year”).¹⁶

Then finally, on page 58—thirty-two pages after the entries begin—the heading appears: “Journal of President Joseph.” Additionally, the first few months of entries are not always in chronological order, and occasionally entries bear the same date as earlier entries (for instance, the month of January 1842 contains several instances of multiple entries with the same date but different content). Willard Richards moved in with the Smith family on January 13, 1842, and the “Journal of President Joseph” heading preceding the January 15 entry reflects Richards’s increased proximity to Smith, and a new function of the record.¹⁷ After this point, the chronology of the entries became more regular—though still with a few duplicate entries.

The journal entries and donations are kept concurrently, sometimes alternating every other page, until page 215. From that point, the journal entries of Joseph Smith’s activities appear in the four small volumes that Richards kept from December 21, 1842, in the first volume to June 22, 1844, in the fourth volume. The record of donations continues from page 216 to 477—the end of the volume.¹⁸ Of the first 215 pages only ninety (slightly less than one-fifth) contain journal entries. On June 29, 1842, Willard Richards, about to start east for Massachusetts to join his wife, Jennetta, and their young son, Heber, transferred the book to William Clayton (126).¹⁹ With the exception of correspondence copied briefly into the journal by Eliza R. Snow and Erastus H. Derby, the remainder of the manuscript is in

¹⁶These headings appear to have been written at the same time as the surrounding entries. Some appear in the middle of a manuscript page, and there is no indication that they were later insertions.

¹⁷Willard Richards, Journal, January 13, 1843, holograph, Willard Richards Collection, LDS Church History Library.

¹⁸Page numbers in the Book of the Law of the Lord are written by hand in the upper outside corners. While the last numbered page in the manuscript is 477, there are actually 478 pages, because there are two pages numbered 453.

¹⁹Willard Richards, Journal, July 1, 1842, holograph, LDS Church History Library.

Clayton's handwriting (126–477). While the Book of the Law of the Lord contains journal entries, revelations, and donations, it also contains some internal evidence that these materials are related and that there was a unifying motivation behind the creation of the book.

THEOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS OF THE BOOK

The imposing title, the Book of the Law of the Lord, immediately raises the question of the book's purpose. What does it mean, and how does the material in the book relate to the title? The most apparent clue that the title provides is that the book was designed to have a sacred aspect to its nature.²⁰ The point in the text's correction at which the title was decided on, or when the title page and spine label were crafted, is unclear. Without knowing this chronology, it is impossible to say with certainty whether the revelations that Robert Thompson copied into the beginning of the book were viewed as part of a larger corpus of texts that were consciously linked. It is possible that the title refers only to the donation record, or to the combination of donations and journal entries.

The creation of the Book of the Law of the Lord appears to have been a conscious attempt to fulfill directions given by Joseph Smith almost ten years before the book's genesis. Both the title of the book and the curious combination of texts it contains support this assertion. In a letter of revealed instruction in Kirtland to William Phelps on November 27, 1832, Joseph Smith wrote, "It is the duty of the lords clerk whom he has appointed to keep a history and a general church record of all things that transpire in Zion and of all those who consecrate properties and receive inher[i]tances legally from the bishop and also there [their] manner of life and the faith and works and also of all the apostates who apostatize after receiving ther inheritances."²¹ The relationship between the consecrations recorded in the Book of the Law of the Lord and those mandated in the letter is clear.

²⁰A "book of the law of the Lord given by Moses" and presented to Josiah's scribe, Shaphan, was found during the temple's repair (2 Chron. 34:8–21; 2 Kgs. 22:3–13).

²¹Joseph Smith, Kirtland, Ohio, Letter to William W. Phelps, Independence, Missouri, November, 27 1832, in Joseph Smith, Letterbook 1, p. 1. The quoted portion of the letter was first canonized in the 1876 edition of the LDS Doctrine and Covenants and is part of Section 85 in the current

Evidently, Smith considered a personal journal to be a fulfillment of the injunction to keep a history or record of “their manner of life, their faith, and works.” The same day he wrote this letter, November 27, 1832, he had begun his first personal journal with the words “Joseph Smith Jrs Book for Record Bought on the 27th of November 1832 for the purpose to keep a minute account of all things that come under my obse[r]vation &c-.”²²

The combination of donation accounts and journal entries is not the only evidence to suggest that the Book of the Law of the Lord was considered one attempt to fulfill the assignment given in the revelation. A variation of the title itself appears three times in the letter to Phelps as “book of the law of God” and “book of the law,” describing the book in which the names and deeds of the faithful would be kept. Excerpts from the letter to Phelps were not canonized until 1876; whether Smith considered the instructions in the letter to be revealed commandments or not, the similarities between the description in the letter and the Book of the Law of the Lord, begun almost a decade later, reflect the Prophet’s continuing belief that such a record was necessary.

William Clayton’s 1845 “History of the Nauvoo Temple” offers a possible explanation for the inclusion of the revelations recorded in the beginning of the Book of the Law of the Lord. When Willard Richards departed for Massachusetts in the fall of 1842 and transferred the Book of the Law of the Lord to him, Clayton recorded Joseph Smith’s instructions: “Brother Clayton I want you to take care of the records and papers, and from this time I appoint you Temple Recorder, and when I have any revelations to write, you shall write them.”²³ Although there is no record that Smith gave the same mandate either to Robert Thompson (who recorded the first revelations in the book) or to Willard Richards after him, Clayton’s account demonstrates that Smith considered the recording of revelations to be a function of the office of temple recorder. Thompson’s contribution in the beginning of the Book of the Law of the Lord was copying the revelations—a different function than Clayton’s, who recorded revelations as Joseph dictated them. It is significant that, while Willard

(1981) edition.

²²Joseph Smith, Book for Record, November 1832–December 1834, holograph.

²³William Clayton, “History of the Nauvoo Temple,” 30.

Richards's calling was as both "recorder for the temple" and "scribe for the private office of the president" (26; December 13, 1841), he refers to himself, without exception, throughout the Book of the Law of the Lord as "recorder" or "rec," rather than as "secretary," "sec," or "secy," implying that keeping the records in the Book of the Law of the Lord was part of the responsibility of the temple recorder.

That the Book of the Law of the Lord was intended for recording the names of the faithful is nowhere more explicit than with the journal entries of August 16 and 23, 1842—the only two entries in Joseph Smith's Illinois journals that are unquestionably dictated. Smith dictated these entries while he was in hiding to avoid attempts by Missouri and Illinois law officers to arrest him in connection with the attempted assassination of ex-Missouri Governor Lilburn Boggs. In his dictation, Smith takes pains to recollect the names of those who have remained loyal and faithful to himself and the Church. In the August 16 entry, while recollecting the good deeds of his wife, Emma, Newel K. Whitney, William Clayton, and a number of others, Joseph Smith reflected on his relationship with his brother Hyrum and stated, "Hyrum, thy name shall be written in the Book of the Law of the Lord, for those who come after thee to look upon, that they may pattern after thy works" (164). Later in the same paragraph Smith again alluded to the religious significance of the book: "The names of the faithful are what I wish to record in this place" (164).

Taking up the subject again on August 23, William Clayton records Smith's words, "While I contemplate the virtues and the good qualifications and characteristics of the faithful few, which I am now recording in the Book of the Law of the Lord. . . ." Again, "There are a numerous host of faithful souls, whose names I could wish to record in the Book of the Law of the Lord" (179). When remembering his deceased brother Alvin, the Prophet dictated, "Shall his name not be recorded in this book? Yes, Alvin; let it be had here, and be handed down upon these sacred pages, forever and ever" (180). The repeated reference to the title of the book, rather than to "my journal" or a similar phrase reflects a conscious acknowledgment of the book's purpose.

In addition to the title and supporting journal entries, the arrangement of the content of the Book of the Law of the Lord provides clues to its intended design. The concurrent and interspersed journal entries and donations evince a unifying purpose or, at the very least, a common function of the recorder's responsibilities. The alternating

donations and entries, with their contemporaneous dates, and the degree to which they are interspersed, suggest that they were kept at the same time. On occasion, either the donations or journals were recorded for some time, with the other added in when time permitted. For instance, one sentence in the August 16, 1842, journal entry referred to earlier is divided, mid-sentence, by twenty-eight pages of donations—an indication that space left between the donations was being used to record journal entries (135–64). At times, the journal entries and surrounding donations are concretely related, with one elucidating the other. The entry of March 28, 1842, reads, “Received P[arley]. P. Pratts donations from England. and transacted other business at the office.” Eleven pages later, these seven donations are recorded under the same date (March 28), clarifying that all were cash, delivered personally by Stephen Nixon, and that they totaled \$250 (92, 103). Similarly, John Snider brought donations with him when he returned from his mission to Great Britain on January 23, 1843. Referred to in multiple journal entries, the donations are recorded on a single date (June 20, 1843) as “consecrations for the building of the Temple” from various church branches in Britain.²⁴

A note in Willard Richards’s hand preceding the first donations recorded in the volume explains that they are “A Record of the consecrations and Tythings of the church of Jesus christ of Latter Day Saints for the building of the Temple of God in the city of Nauvoo” (27). The donation entries are listed by date of receipt and record the name of the donor, the donation’s description (most often in kind), and its assigned monetary value. It is noteworthy that, while values are ascribed in a column running down the right side of each page, the totals are never tallied, implying that this is not an account book or ledger in the traditional sense.²⁵

Like some of the journal entries, there are occasional donation entries in the Book of the Law of the Lord that seem to have been

²⁴The donations are recorded on pp. 319–25. Journal entries in the Book of the Law of the Lord discussing Snider’s mission are on pp. 36 (December 22, 1841), 59 (January 28, 1842), and 67 and 92 (March 26, 1842). Joseph Smith, Journal, January 23, 1843, notes Snider’s return to Nauvoo.

²⁵The exception to the rule that dollar amounts are never tallied occurs when itemized lists of donations are delivered by a single person, spanning more than one page—an example being the donations referred to above, brought by John Snider from his mission to Great Britain. These are

written with the express purpose of recording the donor's faithfulness. For instance, while Apostle Orson Hyde was on a mission (departed from Nauvoo on April 15, 1840), his wife, Marinda Johnson Hyde, on January 29, 1842, "presented her offering for the Temple. a Table cloth value \$5.00. which was accept[e]d and returned to her again, for her benefit. she having to support herself. & two little. children by her industry while her husband is absent, and this offering shall be her memorial To all Generations. wherever the knowledge of the building of the Temple of the Lord in the city of Nauvoo shall come" (71). Nor is this the only example in the Book of the Law of the Lord of donations being accepted, recorded, and returned for the donor's use. Two days after Marinda's offering, on January 31, 1842, Agnes Moulton Coolbrith Smith, the widow of Joseph Smith's brother Don Carlos, "presented her offering, four large, & twelve smaller glass. curtain knobs value. \$8.—and 1 fir. for a coat collar. \$2.—which was accepted and retur[n]ed to her. benefit. & her three little daughters. and may the blessings of Abraham be sealed upon them forever through the new & everlasting covenant. & the priesthood of the son of God. Amen—" (71). A few days earlier on January 18, 1842, Willard Richards records that another donor "offered a silver watch, purchased and saved by her own labor, as she stated to the Recorder. beside supporting her children, her husband having neglected his family the past year; contrary to the principles of Righteousness, her offering was accepted. and returned to her again, for the purpose of assisting her to provide for her children. and the priviliges of the Font. given her. & her children. – and may the blessings of Abrahams God rest upon her forever & ever Amen—" (55). Though extensive notes like this one are atypical in the tithing record, "priviliges of the Font" illustrates the relationship between temple access and documentation of worthiness in the Book of the Law of the Lord.

The similarities between the records of donors and donations, and the journal entries recounting the loyalty of faithful members suggests that the book was kept for the purposes Smith stated in his 1832 letter to Phelps. The nature of the financial donations—with their emphasis on worthiness, the title of the book, and Smith's desire to record the names of faithful Church members in the book provide evidence that the Book of the Law of the Lord was a physical reflec-

then effectively treated as a single composite donation, with a total value ascribed.

tion of the Prophet's developing conception of a "book of life."

The largest portion of the book—373 pages of its total 478, or almost 80 percent—records donations. While earlier documents note individual or group donations to the Church, the Book of the Law of the Lord is the earliest known tithing or consecration book.²⁶ It is also the first financial record to combine the element of worthiness with the concept of the "tithe." As the donations were initially to be entirely for the construction of the temple, it appears that Joseph Smith viewed the Book of the Law of the Lord as a literal fulfillment of the instruction to keep a "Book of the Law of God"—"a general church record . . . of all those who consecrate properties."²⁷ Expanding on the revelatory language in the letter to Phelps that Church members "whose names are not found written in the book of the law . . . in that day shall not find an inheritance among the saints of the Most High," Smith introduced the principle that a physical record of worthiness—as demonstrated by the payment of tithes—on the pages of the Book of the Law of the Lord was a requirement of eligibility for the blessings of the temple. In a meeting on March 7, 1844, addressing the topic of the future dedication of the Nauvoo Temple, according to Willard Richards, Smith stated: "In relation to those who give property on the temple, be careful into <whose> hands it come[s] that it may be ent[ere]d into the church books. that those whose names are found in the church book shall have the first claim. in that house.—I int[e]nd to keep the door at dedication myself—& not a man

²⁶Tithing donations recorded in the Book of the Law of the Lord frequently represent more than one tenth of an individual's property or increase. Tithing in Nauvoo also began with a temple-building emphasis. A December 13, 1841, letter to the Saints by the Quorum of the Twelve defined tithing for the temple as "one tenth of all any one possessed at the commencement of the building, and one tenth part of all his increase from that time till the completion of the same, whether it be money or whatever he may be blessed with. Many, in this place, are laboring every tenth day for the house, and this is the tything of their income, for they have nothing else." Published as Brigham Young et al., "Baptism for the Dead," *Times and Seasons* 3 (December 15, 1841): 626.

²⁷Joseph Smith, Kirtland, Ohio, Letter to William W. Phelps, Independence, Missouri, November 27, 1832, 1–2, Joseph Smith, Letterbook 1.

shall pass who had not paid his bonus.”²⁸

In addition to reflecting general worthiness, donations made for temple construction were seen more literally as denoting ownership in the temple. For instance, in a message to the Saints in Britain, Wilford Woodruff wrote, “I wish the Female Society, in all the branches, to *continue* their subscriptions for the temple until it is finished; let their money and names be brought together the same as all other tithings and offerings, that, when the temple is finished, the whole amount they have paid may stand opposite their names in the Book of the Law of the Lord, that it may be known who are the owners of the house.”²⁹

The November 15, 1845, issue of the *Millennial Star* included a two-page text titled “A Dream,” unsigned but written by Wilford Woodruff, according to his journal. He says he dreamed of a shepherd sent to “dwell among the great lions of the east,” who was commanded to see that the names of his sheep be recorded in a “great book” kept in a tower. The dream mentions the book and tower repeatedly, after which, Woodruff recounts: “While I was overwhelmed with joy at the magnificence of the sight, I cast my eyes upon a conspicuous part of the tower and beheld written in large Hebrew letters ‘*Tower of Joseph, the Seer.*’ At this moment I heard the Lord of the field say to the leader of the twelve principal shepherds, go and bring the

²⁸Joseph Smith, Journal, March 7, 1844. By “church book,” Joseph Smith meant the Book of the Law of the Lord. Following his election as trustee for the Church and after repeated difficulties with donations not being properly recorded, Smith had, in December 1841, dictated that all tithing and temple donations be directed to him and recorded in the Book of the Law of the Lord by the temple recorder before any disbursements took place. Young et al., “Baptism for the Dead,” 626; Joseph Smith, Journal, December 11, 13, 1841, October 1, and November 28, 1842, and April 6, 1843. The “bonus” that would be required for admission to the temple may refer to a five-dollar donation that Smith described at a meeting of the First Presidency, Quorum of the Twelve, and Temple Committee on March 4, 1844. Speaking of the completion of the temple, Smith stated, “No man shall pass the threshold till he has paid \$5,00 and ev[e]ry stranger shall. pay \$5.00 as I will not have the house dirt[i]ed.—” Joseph Smith, Journal, March 4, 1844.

²⁹Wilford Woodruff, “To the Officers and Members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in the British Islands,” *Millennial Star* 5, no. 9 (February 1845): 140; italics in original.

great book from the tower and read the names of my shepherds and sheep who have build this tower, and as he brought out the book, I saw on its back the following words, ‘*Book of the Law of the Lord.*’” Woodruff lamented that the names of some sheep known to him did not appear in the book, then wrote, “Then I heard the voice of the Lord of the field commanding the twelve principal shepherds, saying—call in all the shepherds and sheep whose names are written in the great book of the tower, and let all the great gates of the outer wall be shut, and let the shepherds gather all the sheep under the cover.” At the end of the dream, Woodruff requested that anyone with the gift of interpreting dreams provide a true interpretation and thereby “confer a favour on a Shepherd of the East.”³⁰

Church leaders’ emphasis on recording donations, both for access to the temple once it was completed and as a demonstration of general worthiness, gave members motivation to ensure that their donations were recorded in the book. Apparently responding to complaints that contributions were not being properly recorded, Joseph Smith repeatedly counseled that all donations for the temple’s construction be collected only by authorized agents, directed to the trustee, and logged by the temple recorder in the Book of the Law of the Lord.³¹

Another indicator of members’ desire to have their donations recorded in the Book of the Law of the Lord appears in a notice by William Smith published in *The Prophet* in New York City in February 1845:

All the Saints that gave money into my hand at Peterborough, Lowell, new Bedforb [sic] New York and other places for the Temple, shall have their names and receipts when presented faithfully recorded in

³⁰“A Dream,” *Millennial Star* 6, no. 11 (November 15, 1845): 169–70; italics in original. See also Woodruff, Journal, November 7, 1845, holograph, Woodruff Collection, LDS Church History Library: “The cogitations of my mind while upon my bed this night will be found in the 11 No of the VI vol of the Star under the similitude of a dream.”

³¹For instance, at the conference on April 6, 1843, Joseph Smith stated, and recorded in his journal for that date: “It is wrong for the church to make a bridge of my nose in appropriati[n]g chu[r]ch funds,” an idiom that meant members were donating directly to the temple building committee without going through him. For similar complaints, see Joseph Smith, Journal, December 11, 13, 1841.

the Book of the Law of the Lord, as soon as I can get to Nauvoo in the Spring. Wm. Smith.

N. B. The Saints will understand that a book is now open at the Prophet office by Elder P. P. Pratt, so that all the eastern churches under his presidency can forward their tithing and have their names recorded. This you will see Brethren is a new arrangement authorized by the authorities at Nauvoo, this however will not prevent those who have paid their tithing to send their receipts to Nauvoo for recording or forwarding to Elder Pratt their Temple donations by responsible persons. Wm. Smith.³²

Had William Smith given a record of these funds to the temple recorder, they would not have been recorded in the Book of the Law of the Lord but rather in its first successor tithing book, "Record No. 2." The pages in the Book of the Law of the Lord reserved for general tithing donations had been filled in May 1844. Either William Smith was unaware of this fact (he had been on a mission in the East since May 1844), or he was identifying the continuing tithing record as an extension of the Book of the Law of the Lord.³³

The most prominent theme throughout the Book of the Law of the Lord is the Nauvoo Temple. From the first text recorded in the book (the January 19, 1841, revelation commanding the temple's construction) to the last inscriptions (the Relief Society donations of nails and glass), the Nauvoo Temple and its construction are preeminent.³⁴ While virtually all of the donations were to be used for temple construction, some entries are directed specifically to this purpose.

³²"Notice," *The Prophet* 1, no. 37 (February 1, 1845): [2].

³³Kyle R. Walker, "William B. Smith," in Kyle R. Walker, ed., *United by Faith: The Joseph Sr. and Lucy Mack Smith Family* (American Fork, Utah: Covenant Communications, 2005), 247–307; esp. 269–71.

³⁴The last portion of the book to be written was not actually at the physical end of the volume. Following the transfer of the journal entries (manuscript p. 215) in December 1842 to the four small books that Willard Richards was keeping, a sixteen-page space was left before the next set of donations began on page 232. This donation record was then kept chronologically until the end of the volume (page numbered 477). The next donations recorded—the Relief Society's nail and glass contributions—filled the remaining space (216–31), with a note at the bottom of page 231: "Carried to Record B. Page 551." "Record No. 2"—referred to here as "Record B"—is discussed in greater detail below.

Also, many of the tithing payment donations record a transfer of the donation to the temple committee. The following are typical examples of each: “Received of Elisha Hoopes \$3.00 for the Temple, as per Receipt of committee Nov 17” (30) and “Received of Andrew Cotton 1 cow value \$18. on his Tything & delivered the same to the Temple Committee this day” (30). A cash donation of September 12, 1842, from Mrs. N. A. Webber, Mrs. Theresa C. Johnson, and Miss Sarah Grant is preceded by the note that these “three ladies are not members of the Church but are disposed to assist with their mite in building the Temple” (29).

Between the termination of the Joseph Smith journal on page 215 and the volume’s end are a handful of journal-like entries interspersed with the donation accounts. Each one relates either to a temple donation or to the temple committee. One note, for instance, situated between the donations of June 7 and 8, 1843, eulogizes recently deceased temple committee member Elias Higbee (315). Another, on October 23, 1843, notes Hyrum Smith’s appointment as Higbee’s replacement (366). A third entry dated March 15, 1844, records three hundred dollars in gold and silver given “for the benefit of the Temple,” by a member returning to activity in the Church (449).

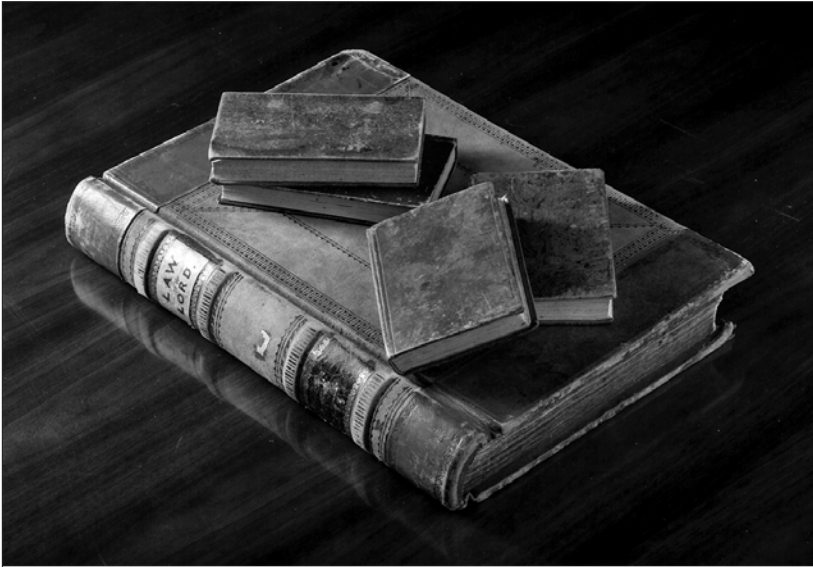
THE DEVELOPING RECORD AND ITS SUCCESSOR VOLUMES

Willard Richards and William Clayton refer to themselves as the temple “recorder,” and many of the journal entries deal with the temple as part of their scribal duties. The operations of the temple committee are recorded regularly throughout the journal, including challenges confronting them, complaints against their operation, and Smith’s instructions to them.³⁵ The December 11, 1841, entry calls Joseph Smith the “trustee in trust for the Temple,” a responsibility related to his position as trustee in trust for the Church (33).³⁶

On June 29, 1842, when Willard Richards left to fetch his wife and son back to Nauvoo (departing on July 1), he “committd the Law

³⁵For examples of these issues, see Joseph Smith, *Journal*, December 11, 1841; October 1, 1842; and November 23 and 28, 1842 (*Book of the Law of the Lord*, 33, 205–7, 210–11).

³⁶Smith is often referred to as “Trustee in Trust.” *Journal*, December 13 and 16, 1841; January 20, October 10, November 7, and November 28, 1842; pp. 26, 31, 58, 206, 210–11 respectively. Smith had been elected the Church’s “sole trustee” on January 30, 1841, in Nauvoo, with authority to



*Joseph Smith's Nauvoo journals. Willard Richards, William Clayton, Eliza R. Snow, and Erastus Derby kept Smith's 1842 journal in the large ledger titled *The Book of the Law of the Lord*. On December 21, 1842, Willard Richards began keeping Smith's journal in the first of four small memorandum books that would contain the journal for the last years of the Prophet's life. Courtesy of the Church History Library, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Photograph by Welden C. Andersen.*

of the Lord To W^m Clayton to continue this Journal &c in his absence." Clayton was Richards's obvious replacement as he had been assisting Richards in the recorder's office since February 10, 1842.³⁷ Clayton's journal entry for Joseph Smith on the very day of the transfer reads: "Heard the Recorder Read in the Law of the Lord" (126–27). On June 30, Clayton recorded two events which had occurred during the previous eight months: the dedication of the baptismal font and a miraculous healing in it, and the items deposited in the temple's cornerstone. These entries show that Smith was not always intimately involved in journal keeping and that temple-related events

"receive, acquire, manage, or convey property" for the Church. Joseph Smith, Certificate, February 2, 1841; see also "An Act Concerning Religious Societies," March 1, 1835, *Laws of the State of Illinois* [1835], 147–49.

³⁷Richards, Journal, July 1, 1843; Clayton, Journal, July 1, 1843.

were considered appropriate for inclusion.³⁸

From that point, Willard Richards kept Joseph's journal for the last year and a half of Smith's life in four small volumes. Their relationship to the journal kept in the Book of the Law of the Lord is clear, since the last page of entries (215) in the Book of the Law of the Lord notes, in Richards's hand—not Clayton's—"Carried to small memorandum Dr Richards."³⁹ The last journal entry in the Book of the Law of the Lord is dated December 20, 1842, and the first entry in Richards's first notebook is dated December 21. Where the Book of the Law of the Lord began with revelations and historical entries, however, the first small Richards volume is titled "President Joseph Smith's Journal . . . as kept by Willard Richards," and its first entry reads: "President Joseph at his own house . . . made a particular request that W. Richards would act as his private se[c]retary & historian."⁴⁰ During Richards's absence, Clayton was appointed Temple Recorder on September 3, 1842.⁴¹ After Richards returned from the East on October 30, 1842,⁴² he resumed keeping Smith's journal on December 21, 1842 and consistently referred to himself as "secretary," "sec," or "secy"—again identifying the particular office under

³⁸These additions may have been included at Joseph Smith's direction, following his review of the manuscript the previous day. Alternatively, Clayton may have included a record of these events in an effort to fulfill the responsibilities of his new office as temple recorder.

³⁹Richards's use of "memorandum" for the four small volumes is significant. Aside from the portions of Smith's journal in the Book of the Law of the Lord under the heading "Journal of President Joseph," Richards's quartet of four volumes were the only accounts of Joseph Smith's daily activities titled "President Joseph Smith's Journal," even though Richards's note on the Book of the Law of the Lord (225) says "Carried to small memorandum." The 1832–34 volume is titled "Book for Record"; the 1835–36 volume: "Sketch Book"; the 1838 book kept largely by George Robinson: "The Scriptorium Book"; the brief 1838 record kept by James Mulholland: "Memorandum"; and the 1839 Mulholland volume: "Minute Book." In each case, particularly the cryptic 1838 Mulholland "Memorandum," the inclination to categorize these records as "journals" imposes artificial and potentially erroneous limitations on an understanding of the nature of the documents.

⁴⁰Joseph Smith, Journal, December 21, 1842.

⁴¹Clayton, "History of the Nauvoo Temple," 30.

⁴²Woodruff, Journal, November 1–5, 1842.

which he was keeping Smith's journal.

Where the Book of the Law of the Lord is complicated, the Richards volumes are relatively straightforward. Though this later journal also reveals the limitations inherent in a personal journal being kept by a second party, its intent is the traditional function of a journal: describing the subject's actions and environment. The difference between the physical artifacts in which the earlier Smith journals and this new Richards journal is kept is extreme and significant. The Book of the Law of the Lord is a massive tome, measuring 11 5/8 inches by 17 inches, with thick, leather-covered boards. The physical appearance immediately conveys the sense of a formal, official record. In fact, the Book of the Law of the Lord is virtually identical (though two-and-a-half inches taller) in binding and cover design to the "Docket of the Municipal Court of the City of Nauvoo," suggesting that these books were companion volumes purchased at the same time, or at least from the same vendor. The four Richards volumes, on the other hand, are small, leather-bound books measuring only 4 inches by 6½ inches, communicating less formality.

The size of the Book of the Law of the Lord also communicates its primary role as a financial ledger. It was occasionally transported for consultation. At the April 1841 conference, John C. Bennett read the January 1841 revelation about building the temple and about the Church's organization from this book; but usually it was kept in the recorder's office, initially the "counting room" on the ground floor of Joseph Smith's Red Brick Store.⁴³ The physical size of the Book of the Law of the Lord and the refinement in defining Willard Richards and William Clayton's responsibilities made the advantages of beginning a new set of smaller journals obvious.

The reason for the delay between Richards's return to Nauvoo and his resumption of his journal-keeping responsibilities is unclear; but in September, during Richards's absence, Clayton had been appointed to permanently replace Richards as temple recorder and, hence, as custodian of the Book of the Law of the Lord. Also, a month after Richards's return, he became involved in another project when Smith instructed him to resume work on his history on December 1,

⁴³"Minutes of the General Conference of the Church . . ." *Times and Seasons* 2 (April 15, 1841): 386–87; Young et al., "Baptism for the Dead," 26.

1842.⁴⁴ Additionally, attempts to arrest Joseph for alleged complicity in Lilburn Boggs's attempted assassination had left Joseph in hiding during much of August and parts of September and October.⁴⁵ By October, Smith was usually openly living at home in the city, but on-going tensions may have given the keeping of his journal a lower priority.

In December 1842, a delegation of the Prophet's associates traveled to Springfield, Illinois, to consult with Stephen A. Douglas, Thomas Ford, and others about Missouri's ongoing extradition efforts. The district attorney, Justin Butterfield, transmitted the counsel of Governor Ford and six of the Illinois Supreme Court justices that Smith should come to Springfield for a habeas corpus hearing. They felt confident that Smith would be safe in Springfield and that the requisition from Missouri was "illegal and insufficient to cause [Joseph Smith's] arrest."⁴⁶ As Smith was not a member of this party but both Richards and Clayton were, the Book of the Law of the Lord remained in Nauvoo with no one keeping a contemporary account of Smith's activities. When they returned to Nauvoo, Clayton made a summary entry covering December 9–20, 1842—the last journal entry recorded in the Book of the Law of the Lord.

The day after the Springfield party returned to Nauvoo, Joseph Smith appointed Richards as his private secretary and historian, and Richards made the first journal entry in the first of the four small memorandum books. Having a portable journal would be advantageous when Smith traveled to Springfield for the recommended habeas corpus hearing. The division of labor between Clayton and Richards had been left open for two months; but Clayton's summary covering December 9–20 also included copied documents: Lilburn

⁴⁴Joseph Smith, Journal, December 1, 1842. In Clayton, "History of the Nauvoo Temple," 30, he explained his replacement of Richards as the temple recorder: "This was done on account of E[ld]e[r] Richards having more work than he could attend to, being engaged with the Church history and the president was anxious to have it progress as fast as possible."

⁴⁵Andrew H. Hedges, Alex D. Smith, and Richard Lloyd Anderson, eds., *Journals, Vol. 2: December 1841–April 1843* (Salt Lake City: Church Historian's Press, 2011), esp. August 8, 1842–January 6, 1843, in The Joseph Smith Papers, general editors Dean C. Jessee, Ronald K. Esplin, and Richard Lyman Bushman.

⁴⁶*Ibid.*, December 9–20, 1842; Thomas Ford, Springfield, Ill., Letter to Joseph Smith, Nauvoo, Ill., December 17, 1842.

Boggs's affidavit, Missouri Governor Thomas Reynolds's requisition of Smith and Porter Rockwell, and letters from Thomas Ford and Justin Butterfield (213–15). The experience of making the recent trip without Smith's journal, followed by the subsequent need to record events and documents after the fact, together with Smith's plan to leave Nauvoo for an extended trip accompanied by his journal-keepers and the reassignment of Clayton's and Richards's clerical roles likely encouraged the decision to keep the journal separate from the Book of the Law of the Lord.⁴⁷

While Richards was in the East, the temple recorder's office was moved on October 1, 1842, to the temple building committee's "committee house" near the construction site.⁴⁸ On November 2, only a few days after Richards's return, Clayton moved the temple committee books, including the Book of the Law of the Lord, to a new, small brick structure built by the temple committee to serve as the recorder's office.⁴⁹ Clayton may have needed closer access to the temple committee, and Richards may have needed more office space in Joseph Smith's counting room in the Red Brick Store to work on the history. In any event, the tasks of writing the history and keeping

⁴⁷Though the first entry of the new "President Joseph Smith's Journal" bears the date December 21, 1842, the day on which Smith appointed Richards his new secretary and historian, the first few entries may have been written retrospectively sometime between December 21 and 27. Based on an analysis of ink and handwriting, the first entry that is demonstrably written contemporaneously is the December 27 entry, the day on which Joseph Smith and his companions departed for Springfield. By at least December 24, the decision had been made to have Wilson Law arrest Smith and take him to Springfield as that day's entry discusses Smith's efforts to procure funds for the trip. Joseph Smith, Journal, January 21, 24, 26, and 27, 1842.

⁴⁸Joseph Smith, Journal, October 1, 1842.

⁴⁹Clayton recorded: "Spent this A.M in removing the books, desk &c from the store over to the house." Joseph Smith, Journal, November 2, 1842. A few years later, Clayton wrote in his "History of the Nauvoo Temple, 35: "It was also agreed that the Recorders office should be moved to the committee house near the Temple for the better accommodation of the business. Accordingly the committee built a small brick office for the Recorder and on Wednesday November 2nd the Recorder moved his Records, books, papers &c to the new office and commenced business forthwith."

A Record of the consecrations and offerings
 of the Church & also a list of Latter Day Saints
 for the building of the temple of God in the city
 of Nauvoo, which was commenced on the 20th day
 of August A.D. 1841. (Book kept since said temple
 is built in the names of prominent Nauvoo Saints
 1841.) Building Committee.

Received Dorset Van Dusen, Junr. 10. Richard, one Virginia as consecration. value returned to Committee 1841	\$ 5.00
Received Dorset of Malatiah Snow, per 10. Richard, Ten dollars, in silver, as consecration, dated 2. 6. 1841	10.00
Received Dorset of Austin H. Merrill thirty one dollars in labour it being one year tything ending the twelfth of October as per receipt of the committee & was also	31.00
Received Dorset of Austin H. Merrill, nineteen dollars, over his last years tything in labour, so apply on the present year, as per receipt of committee	19.00
Received Dorset of John Linsey one horse, value forty dollars on his tything, as per receipt of committee	40.00
Received Dorset of Nancy Reader two sheep value of eight dollars, as per receipt of committee as donation	8.00
Received Dorset of Albert Benson in property twenty five dollars, as per receipt of committee	25.00
Received Dorset of Cornelius B. Lott forty dollars which he certifies is 4/10 of his property, as per receipt of committee	40.00
Received, ^{as per receipt of Temple Committee} Decr 11 th 1841 of Levi Stewart thirty one dollars as his tything for one year ending the 12 th of Oct. 1841, which was a donation to the building of the Temple of the Lord in the City of Nauvoo	31.00
Received Decr. 11 th 1841 of Dominick B. Huntington thirty one dollars for his tything to the Temple of the Lord in the City of Nauvoo. up to the 12 th Oct. 1841 as per receipt of Temple Committee	31.00

First page of donation records in the Book of the Law of the Lord in Willard Richards's handwriting. Courtesy of the Church History Library, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Photograph by Welden C. Andersen.

Smith's journal were now combined, while the temple recorder became the keeper of the Book of the Law of the Lord.

THE BOOK OF THE LAW OF THE LORD AS A CONSECRATION RECORD

After the transfer of Joseph Smith's journal into the new memorandum books, the remaining 263 pages of the Book of the Law of the Lord were used exclusively for recording financial donations. The original intent may have been to document only construction donations, but the Book of the Law of the Lord became the foundation for the Church's general tithing record.

An "Index to The Book of the Law of the Lord And Accounts Current with The Temple Committee & Store Nauvoo, December, 1841" included references only through the first 263 pages and ended with donations entered on December 6, 1842—about the time Richards began keeping Joseph's journal in smaller books.⁵⁰ The index is arranged alphabetically on tabbed pages at the beginning of a separate tall ledger book and records not only the names of donors but also indexes significant events recorded in the Book of the Law of the Lord. Examples are "Deposites Nauvoo H[ouse]" (items in the cornerstone recorded on December 29, 1841), "New Year," "Store opened," and "Journal." Revelations in the Book of the Law of the Lord—those copied by Robert Thompson in the first pages of the book as well as those recorded in journal entries throughout the volume—are indexed under "Revelation."

A second and complete index was made in 1845 which includes all of the donations but excludes the references to revelations or journal entries.⁵¹ The existence of the two indexes for the Book of the Law of the Lord demonstrate that the book was considered a working reference volume in addition to the book's other purposes.

⁵⁰Trustee-in-trust, Index and Accounts, 1841–47, LDS Church History Library. Following the index, the volume includes various financial records, including records of disbursements to the temple committee, credits and debits of various Nauvoo Saints and entities (for instance, the printing office), Nauvoo House Association stock certificate donations), and three pages of "Consecrated Notes." These last are dated between May 9, 1842, to October 30, 1844, and seem to be records of notes owed Church members and donated to the Church.

⁵¹Index, 1842–45, Indexes, Trustee-in-Trust, 1841–, LDS Church History Library.

Donations recorded in the Book of the Law of the Lord were recorded concurrently in day books. The first of these has not been located but presumably contained a copy of donations recorded in the Book of the Law of the Lord between November 30, 1841, and December 20, 1842.⁵² The second day book, “Tithing Day Book B” (“Record No. 2”), begins with donations recorded on December 21, 1842—not coincidentally the same day Joseph Smith’s journal was transferred out of the Book of the Law of the Lord.⁵³

The Book of the Law of the Lord is intricately related to the second tithing book which records donations for 1844–46.⁵⁴ This “Record No. 2” is a massive 758-page ledger, continuing the financial record seamlessly from the Book of the Law of the Lord. The final tithing entries in the Book of the Law of the Lord are dated May 4, 1844, and the first entries in Record No. 2 are dated May 6. The 1845 Relief Society donations entered in the middle of the Book of the Law of the Lord (216–31) were continued toward the end of Record No. 2 (551–55).

LATER USAGE AND PROVENANCE

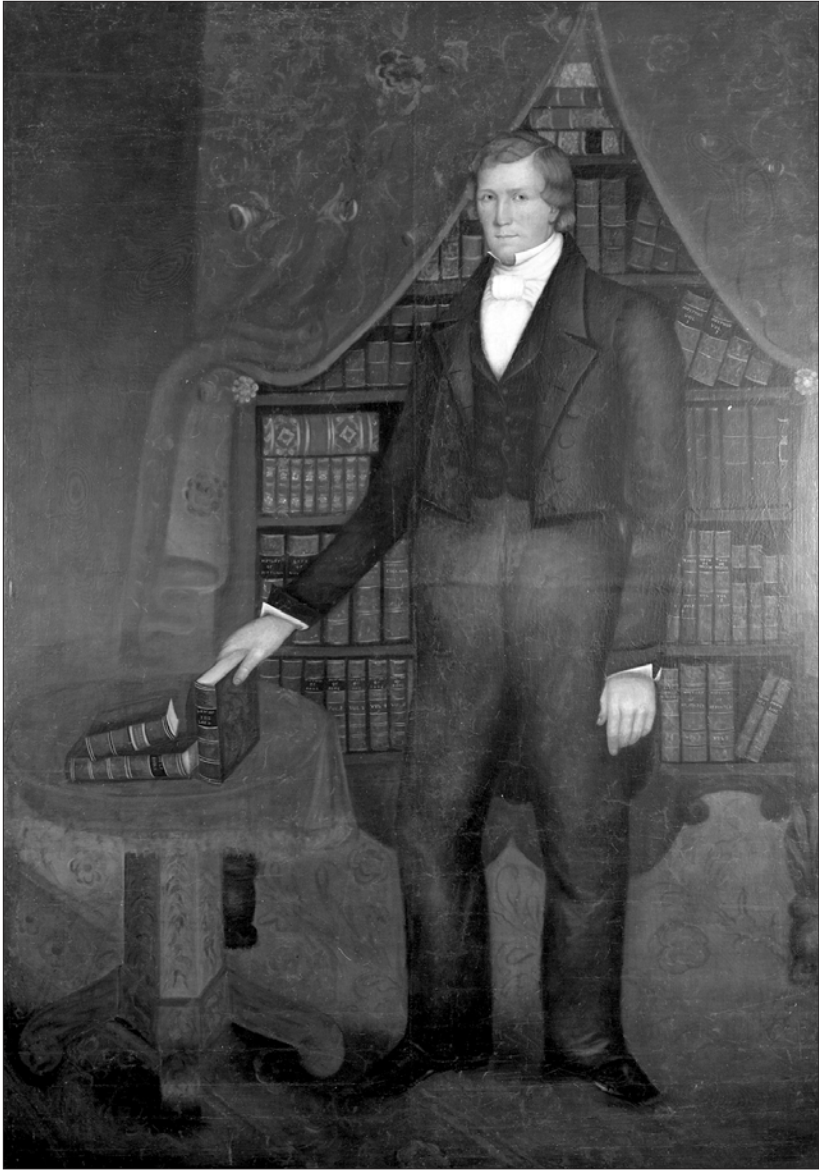
The extent to which Joseph Smith considered the tithing record to be the primary purpose of the Book of the Law of the Lord is unclear, but it presumably motivated in part his decision to transfer his journal to another record and devote the remainder of the Book of the Law of the Lord to donations. Two later Church presidents identified the tithing records as an extension of the Book of the Law of the Lord. George D. Watt reported a sermon on September 16, 1860, in which Brigham Young stated, “The means which you donate for supporting our Missions shall be entered in the book of the law of the Lord, that the record thereof may go down to your posterity.”⁵⁵ The Book of the Law of the Lord had been filled fifteen years earlier, but

⁵²The first donations in the Book of the Law of the Lord, recorded on manuscript p. 27, were dated in December 1841, but one donation midway down the page was dated November 30.

⁵³“Tithing Day Book B,” Tithing Daybooks, Trustee-in-Trust, 1841–, LDS Church History Library.

⁵⁴Tithing and Donation Record, 1844–46, LDS Church History Library.

⁵⁵Brigham Young, September 16, 1860, *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (London and Liverpool: LDS Booksellers Depot, 1854–86), 8:170.



Brigham Young holding the Book of the Law of the Lord, portrait painted July 1845 by Seala Van Sickle. The title on the spine reads "Law of the Lord." The other two books on the table are the Bible and the Book of Mormon. Courtesy Pioneer Memorial Museum, International Society Daughters of Utah Pioneers, Salt Lake City.

Young equated the successor tithing books with it. Second, at the April 1901 general conference, Joseph F. Smith said, “Those who are and continue to be enrolled in the book of the law of the Lord—on the tithing records of the Church—will continue to prosper . . . while those whose names are not recorded in the book of the law of the Lord will begin to diminish in that which they possess.”⁵⁶

It was proposed, at least for a time, to publish the Book of the Law of the Lord jointly with Joseph Smith’s history of the Church. A draft title page in Thomas Bullock’s hand, reads: “History | of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints. | also | The Law of the Lord. | and | Biography of Joseph Smith, | The Founder, First Apostle, and President of the Church. | By | Brigham Young | President of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints.” (Vertical lines represent line breaks.) The only other notation on the document reads “Nauvoo Title Page—Aug. 15. 1845 To the Law of the Lord.”⁵⁷ The unusual identification of Young as “President of the Church” in August 1845 (the First Presidency was not reorganized until December 1847) is duplicated in a copyright for the book filed five days later on August 20 by William Pope, clerk of the federal court for the district of Illinois. It reads: “Brigham Young <President of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints> of this District hath deposited in this office the title of a Book, as follows to wit: History of the Church of Jesus Christ of latter day saints: also the Law of the Lord and Biography of Joseph Smith, the Found[e]r First Apostle, and President of the church, By Brigham Young. President of the Church of Latter Day Saints-.”⁵⁸

The “Law of the Lord” is listed in inventories of Church records made in Salt Lake City in the 1850s.⁵⁹ In 1880, John Taylor, then president of the Twelve, read from the book at a stake Relief Society con-

⁵⁶Joseph F. Smith, April 7, 1901, *Conference Reports, 1901* (Salt Lake City: Hawkes Publishing, n.d.), 70.

⁵⁷This notation appears on the verso of the second leaf of the bifolium, a piece of paper folded in half to effectively create two leaves or four pages.

⁵⁸Copyright, August 20, 1845, in Copyright Registry Records for Works Concerning the Mormons to 1870,” LDS Church History Library.

⁵⁹“Inventory. Historian’s Office. 4th April 1855,” [1]; “Inventory. Historians Office. G. S. L. City April 1. 1857,” [1]; “Historian’s Office Inventory G. S. L. City March 19. 1858,” [1]; “Historian’s Office Catalogue Book

ference in Salt Lake City.⁶⁰ The book was eventually housed with the papers of Joseph Fielding Smith, apparently during his tenure as Church historian and recorder (1921–70) and became part of the First Presidency’s papers when he became Church president in 1970.⁶¹ In 2010, the First Presidency gave custody of the book to the Church History Library.⁶²

For today’s researchers, the journal entries in the Book of the Law of the Lord are frequently the most primary sources for descriptions of Joseph Smith’s daily activities during 1842. Certain details about key events (e.g., the organization of the Female Relief Society of Nauvoo, John C. Bennett’s expulsion from the Church, the second attempt to extradite Joseph Smith to Missouri, the creation of the Nauvoo Masonic Lodge, and the construction of the temple and Nauvoo House) are found only in this book. Some of the earliest extant drafts of a few of Joseph Smith’s revelations are found here. It is the Church’s first tithing book, and its record of financial donations are a rich cultural history resource—providing valuations of common goods and services. Internal evidence regarding the creation and development of the book give clues about Joseph Smith’s changing vision of record keeping. The Book of the Law of the Lord and later tithing volumes were a reflection of the Prophet’s ongoing conception of a “book of the law of God.”⁶³ Perhaps the greatest importance of the book lies in its theological implication—a record decreed by revelation to record for heaven and earth the deeds and consecrations of the Saints. As a historical record of the early Church, the Book of the Law of the Lord is supremely significant.

March 1858,” [11], Historian’s Office, Catalogs and Inventories, 1846–1904, LDS Church History Library.

⁶⁰Emmeline B. Wells, “Salt Lake Stake Relief Society Conference,” *Woman’s Exponent* 9, no. 3 (July 1, 1880): 22; John Taylor, August 8, 1880, *Journal of Discourses* 21:267–68.

⁶¹“Inventory of President Joseph Fielding Smith’s Safe,” May 23, 1970, First Presidency, General Administration Files, LDS Church History Library.

⁶²Letter of transfer, January 8, 2010, LDS Church History Library.

⁶³Joseph Smith, Kirtland, Ohio, Letter to William W. Phelps, Independence, Missouri, November, 27 1832, in Joseph Smith, Letterbook 1, p. 1.

APPENDIX
CONTENTS OF THE BOOK OF THE LAW OF THE LORD

Manuscript Page(s)	Content	Scribe	Revs.
1–25	Nine JS Revelations: January 19, 1841 (D&C 124); March 20, 1841 (uncanonized revelation); March 1841 (D&C 125); January 12, 1838 (two uncanonized revelations); June 22, 1834 (D&C 105); August 6, 1836 (D&C 111); December 1832 (D&C 87); February [24], 1834 (D&C 103)	Robert Thompson	
26	Historical Entries: December 13–17, 1841		
27–30	Temple and Tithing Donations: November 30, 1841–December 16, 1841		
31	Historical Entries: December 15, 1841–January 5, 1842		
32	Donations: December 17, 1841–December 20, 1841		
33	Historical Entries: December 11, 1841–December 13, 1841		
34–35	Donations: December 20, 1841–December 22, 1841		
36	Historical Entries: December 22, 1841		
37–38	Donations: December 22, 1841–December 27, 1841		
39	Historical Entries: December 24, 1841–December 28, 1841		
40–42	Donations: December 27, 1841–December 31, 1841		
43	Historical Entries: December 29, 1841–January 17, 1842; Donations: August 2, 1841–October 6, 1841		
44	Donations: December 31, 1841; Historical Entries: December 30, 1841–January 5, 1842		
45–47	Donations: January 1, 1842–January 6, 1842		
48	Historical Entries: January 4, 1842–January 16, 1842		
49–55	Donations: January 6, 1842		
56–57	Historical Entries: January 17, 1842–January 6, 1842		
58–61	JS Journal Entries: January 15, 1842–February 26, 1842	Willard Richards	Donations and Journal Entries

	Donations and Journal Entries		Journal Entries	Dtns.
62-65	Donations: January 20, 1842-January 28, 1842			
66-67	JS Journal Entries: January 23, 1842-January 28, 1842	Willard Richards		
68-87	Donations: January 28, 1842-March 5, 1842			
88-95	JS Journal Entries: February 27, 1842-May 14, 1842			
96-121	Donations: March 5, 1842-May 17, 1842			
122-126	JS Journal Entries: May 15, 1842-June 29, 1842			
127-135	JS Journal Entries: June 30, 1842-August 16, 1842			
136-163	Donations: May 18, 1842-September 12, 1842	William Clayton		
164-167	JS Journal Entries: August 16, 1842-August 21, 1842			
168-171	JS Journal Entry (Copied Correspondence): August 21, 1842	Erastus Derby		
171-189	JS Journal Entries (Copied Correspondence and Regular Entries): August 21, 1842-September 4, 1842	William Clayton		
189-190	JS Journal Entry (Copied Correspondence): September 4, 1842	Eliza R. Snow		
190-192	JS Journal Entries (Copied Correspondence and Regular Entries): September 4, 1842-September 8, 1842	William Clayton		
192-196	JS Journal Entry (Copied Correspondence): September 8, 1842	Eliza R. Snow		
196	JS Journal Entries: September 9, 1842-September 11, 1842	William Clayton		
196-201	JS Journal Entry (Copied Correspondence): September 11, 1842	Eliza R. Snow		
201-215	JS Journal Entries: September 11, 1842-December 20, 1842			
216-231	Donations (Relief Society Penny and Nail): July 3, 1844-April 25, 1845			
232-477 [478]	Donations: September 12, 1842-May 6, 1844	William Clayton		

Proportions of manuscript pages in the Book of the Law of the Lord by various scribes: William Clayton 71⁰/₆; Willard Richards 21⁰/₆; Robert Thompson 5⁰/₆; Eliza Snow 2⁰/₆; Erastus Derby 1⁰/₆

OX IN THE MIRE? THE LEGAL AND CULTURAL WAR OVER UTAH'S SUNDAY CLOSING LAWS

Timothy G. Merrill and Brian Q. Cannon

INTRODUCTION

THE CONTROVERSY OVER SUNDAY CLOSING LAWS in Utah spanned more than a quarter of a century, between 1943 and 1971, Sunday closing laws were attacked and defended on constitutional and religious grounds. “Blue laws” in Utah stretch back to the days before statehood, when Sunday business was proscribed in the Territory under the heading of “Crimes and Offenses Against Good Morals.”¹ While blue laws were not endemic to Utah, Mormonism had a dramatic impact on the cultural arguments advanced by both sides.

TIMOTHY G. MERRILL {merrill.timothy@gmail.com} graduated *magna cum laude* in history from Brigham Young University and later received his juris doctorate from its J. Reuben Clark School of Law. For the past nine years he has taught as an adjunct professor of religion at BYU. He practices law and resides in Lehi, Utah with his wife, Taralyn Abbott Merrill, and three children. BRIAN Q. CANNON {brian_cannon@byu.edu} is professor of history and director of the Charles Redd Center for Western Studies at Brigham Young University

¹*The Compiled Laws of the Territory of Utah* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1876), chap. 7, p. 599. The origin of the term “blue laws” is unclear. One of the most common views is that the New Haven Code of Laws was printed on blue paper in 1665 and so its laws were coined “blue laws.” For

The polemics of politics and piety surrounding Sabbath-day observance provide an excellent example of the tension between law, religion, economics, and society in Utah. For a time, Sunday closing became the poster child in the debate over how much influence religion should have in public life. Political scientists and historians have recognized and pointed to LDS Church support for Sunday closing laws as a noteworthy example of church political involvement in the 1950s and 1960s, but this important issue in Utah and Mormon history has remained largely unexplored.²

ORIGINS OF SUNDAY CLOSING IN UTAH

Sunday laws in America date back to 1610, when Virginia enacted an ordinance stating, "Every man and woman shall repair in the morning to the divine service and sermons preached upon the Sabbath day, and in the afternoon to divine service, and catechising, upon pain for the first fault to lose their provision and the allowance for the whole week following; for the second, to lose the said allowance and also be whipt; and for the third to suffer death."³ The version enacted by the pioneer legislators in the Territory stated, "Every person who keeps open on Sunday any store, workshop, bar, saloon,

further discussion, see David Laband and Deborah Heinbuch, *Blue Laws: The History, Economics, and Politics of Sunday-Closing Laws* (Lexington, Mass.: D. C. Heath & Co., 1987), 8; and Craig Harline, *Sunday: A History of the First Day from Babylonia to the Superbowl* (New York: Doubleday, 2007), 285–86, 312–15, 377–78.

²See, for example, F. Ross Peterson, "Utah Politics since 1945," in *Utah's History*, edited by Richard D. Poll, Thomas G. Alexander, Eugene E. Campbell, and David E. Miller (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1978), 516; James B. Allen, "The Mormon Search for Community in the Modern World," in *The Restoration Movement: Essays in Mormon History*, edited by F. Mark McKiernan, Alma R. Blair, and Paul M. Edwards (Independence, Mo.: Herald House, 1979), 321; D. Michael Quinn, *Elder Statesman: A Biography of J. Reuben Clark* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2002), 274–75; D. Michael Quinn, *The Mormon Hierarchy: Extensions of Power* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1997), 362; Q. Michael Croft, "Influence of the LDS Church on Utah Politics, 1945–1985" (Ph.D. diss., University of Utah, 1985), 90, 189. See also Russel J. Thomsen, *Latter-day Saints and the Sabbath* (Mountain View, Calif.: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1971), 115–40.

³Quoted in Laband, *Blue Laws*, 30.

banking house, or other place of business, for the purpose of transacting business therein, is punishable by fine not less than five nor more than one hundred dollars.”⁴ It is not surprising that Sunday closing laws found a place in the jurisprudence of the territory considering that one of Joseph Smith’s revelations decreed that Sunday was “a day appointed . . . to rest from your labors, and to pay thy devotions unto the Most High” (D&C 59:10). The statute made ample provision for the proverbial “ox in the mire” (Luke 14:5)—exempting hotels, boarding houses, baths, restaurants, taverns, livery stables, drug stores, and manufacturing operations—and criminalized only “unnecessary business on Sunday.”⁵ Since the law did not define what “unnecessary” meant, people were left to guide themselves by their conscience and the rulings of the courts, which created an ambiguity that contributed to the law’s ultimate demise. After Utah became a state, the law was codified in 1898 and remained substantively unchanged for nearly half a century.

Utah’s Sunday closing statute was first challenged in 1903 by a barber who claimed that the law denied him personal liberty without the due process of law. After the Utah Supreme Court upheld the law, the issue was not raised again for another forty years; but by then, Utah’s state legislature had extracted the law’s teeth in 1937 when it expanded the list of exemptions:

The provisions of the preceding section do not apply to persons who keep open hotels, boarding houses, baths, restaurants, bakeries, taverns, livery stables, garages, automotive service stations, golf courses, bowling alleys, ball parks, theatres, bathing resorts, ice stations, news stands, skating rinks, confectionary stores for the sale of confections only, tobacco stores for the sale of tobacco, pharmacies, or the prescription counters of retail drug stores on Sunday, for the legitimate business of each, or such industries as are usually kept in continuous operation.⁶

With so many exceptions, the law mainly affected retail and grocery sales.

⁴*The Compiled Laws of the Territory of Utah* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1876), chap. 7, § 150, p. 600.

⁵*Ibid.*, chap. 7, §§ 151, 154, p. 600.

⁶Jim Fitzpatrick, “Sunday Closing Law Rates as Oldtimer,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, January 25, 1963, 25, 35.

CONTROVERSY OVER CONSTITUTIONALITY

In 1943, a store owner in Price challenged his arrest for selling a cantaloupe and bag of potato chips on Sunday. In *Broadbent v. Gibson*, the Utah Supreme Court acknowledged that Sunday closing laws “have been enacted in nearly every state” and that such statutes “have been uniformly upheld.” Nevertheless, the court struck down the law because it seemed to arbitrarily exempt certain services while discriminating against similarly situated ones. For example, “Confectionary stores may keep open under the statutes to sell soft drinks and confections; grocery stores which sell the same items must close.” The court was unable to find sufficient legal reason in the statute’s classification of which items could and could not be sold and where. Following the court’s ruling the law became inoperative.⁷

Five years later, in 1948, the court addressed the matter again in *Gronlund v. Salt Lake City*, which challenged a city ordinance on the same grounds on which *Broadbent* had challenged the state statute. The court affirmed its previous ruling and struck down the ordinance, reasoning that “boxing gloves and baseball bats are at least as staple as butter and bananas.” The inconsistency in the law troubled the court, which felt “it is arbitrary to permit the sale of a can of beer on Sunday and prohibit the sale of a can of orange juice.”⁸ After the Utah Supreme Court struck down Sunday closing, the legislature began to consider how to enact a law that would pass constitutional muster and satisfy the justices. Over the next twenty-five years legislators tinkered with Sunday closing in a showdown between liberty and regulation, agency and accommodation, and majority versus minority rights.

A FOUR-ROUND DEFEAT IN 1953

In January 1953 the House of Representatives passed, 45 to 9, a bill that prohibited the sale of beer, groceries, clothing, and footwear after 1:00 A.M. on Sundays. The bill was described as “easily the most combustible proposal to emerge this session” and produced “some of the hottest debate” on Capitol Hill that year. The Senate was poised to pass the bill when public protest forced lawmakers to refer the matter to committee for a public hearing. A *Deseret News* editorial heartily en-

⁷*Broadbent v. Gibson*, 140 P.2d 939, 943, 946 (Utah 1943).

⁸*Gronlund v. Salt Lake City*, 194 P.2d 464, 467-68 (Utah 1948).

dorsed the bill, even though it conceded: "It is not perfect; it will not please everybody." Opponents feared that the law would adversely affect Utah's tourist industry. "It is bad enough for state legislatures to attempt to legislate morals of people living within the purview of their laws," one citizen complained under the pseudonym Pro Bono Publico. "It is intolerable as well as bad business to force your opinions on non-residents." Closer to home, critics claimed the law would be detrimental to housewives "when unexpected company arrives or the milk supply unexpectedly needs replenishing." One working woman wondered, "Wouldn't it be horrible if I couldn't run to the corner grocery and get those extras that you don't plan on needing?"⁹

Opponents were chiefly concerned that the bill was religiously motivated and constituted unwarranted, religiously grounded meddling in private conduct by the Mormon majority. The *Deseret News* sidestepped such attacks by pointing out that unions also supported Sunday closing. "It would be a great error to think that the fight for Sunday closing is one in which only religious elements are interested. Organized labor is one group which has long resisted the opening of business on Sunday." Unions in Utah generally supported Sunday closing, but their support was low-key except for the Meat Cutters and Food Handlers' Union. That union, which had a penalty provision of triple overtime pay for Sunday work written into its contracts with chain stores, endorsed "a uniform Sunday closing law" because it feared that smaller and independently owned grocery stores operating on Sunday were creating a "dog-eat-dog" condition since many of

⁹M. DeMar Teuscher and Conrad B. Harrison, "House Passes Bill Banning Sabbath Sales," *Deseret News*, January 28, 1953, A1; O. N. Malmquist and Patrick R. Eckman, "Anti-Beer Bill Passes Utah House 45 to 9," *Salt Lake Tribune*, January 28, 1953, 1; Conrad B. Harrison and M. DeMar Teuscher, "Solons Send 141 Bills to Committees," *Deseret News*, February 14, 1953, A1; O. N. Malmquist, "Senate Advances Sunday Closing," *Salt Lake Tribune*, February 11, 1953, 1; "Sunday Closing Law Blasted, Praised in Stormy Session," *Salt Lake Tribune*, February 5, 1953, 17; "Sunday Closing Would Benefit Many" (editorial), *Deseret News*, January 29, 1953, B2; "At Cross Purposes" (letter to the editor), *Salt Lake Tribune*, January 30, 1953, 12A; "Can't We Learn?," *Salt Lake Tribune*, February 2, 1953, 8; "An Unfair Law" (letter to the editor), *Salt Lake Tribune*, February 1, 1953, 12A; Bonnie M. Curl, "Surprising Thing" (letter to the editor), *Salt Lake Tribune*, February 13, 1953, 10A.

the larger chain stores were closed on Sunday and were losing business on that day.¹⁰

In the Senate, Clifton Kerr (R-Tremonton) framed the matter entirely in nonreligious terms, saying it was “a purely business issue to combat a growing widespread use of the Sabbath day in the form of unfair competition.” The *Deseret News* partly agreed, citing various misconceptions surrounding the bill, including the idea that it was solely backed by religious groups: “It is true that it has won the wide support of LDS officials and Protestant clergy. But its support is much wider than that. It has been endorsed by the Utah Council of Retailers representing some 12,000 firms; by Roy Reese, president of the American Federation of Labor; by the entire Ogden City Council and 95 percent of the Ogden grocers; by 80 percent of all businesses in Magna, including at least 50 percent of the tavern owners, and by innumerable other individuals and groups.”¹¹

But the community could not divorce the bill from religion. Nearly all of the letters to the editor in both the *Deseret News* and *Salt Lake Tribune* dealt with the law on religious grounds. For example, one reader of the *Tribune* wrote, “If—as some people think—it’s the chain stores that are behind this extremely unjust bill, then I for one will take my small amount of business to the little corner grocery every day. I can’t help but believe though that the bill is principally religious.” Another citizen complained, “We can’t legislate a man into heaven. Utah never gives up trying, however. . . . Make him unhappy on Sunday! Surely he will then go to Church.” Some students at the University of Utah rallied against the bill, urging in both Salt Lake papers, “Let’s keep America the land we love, and strengthen the wall between church and state, by doing what we can to defeat Senate Bill 28.”¹²

On the morning of the public hearing, hundreds flocked to the Capitol, requiring a change of meeting rooms to accommodate the

¹⁰“Sunday Closing Would Benefit Many” (editorial), *Deseret News*, January 29, 1953, B2; see also “House Hears Debates on Sunday Trade,” *Deseret News*, February 4, 1953, B1, B5; R. L. Reese, “Union View on Sunday Closing” (letter to the editor), *Salt Lake Tribune*, January 31, 1959, 12.

¹¹Conrad B. Harrison and M. DeMar Teuscher, “Sunday Sales Ban Clears First Hurdle,” *Deseret News*, February 11, 1953, A3; “Let’s Correct the Governor’s Mistake” (editorial), *Deseret News*, February 17, 1953, A14.

¹²P.S., “Why Close Groceries?” (letter to the editor), *Salt Lake Tri-*

crowd. Speaking in behalf of the bill was A. Lewis Elggren, a food broker who said he represented Salt Lake City's twenty-two LDS stake presidents and was himself president of the Liberty Stake. He said the bill would improve public morals and benefit employees. Opponents decried the bill as a reenactment of the "inglorious days" of Prohibition. Minister R. L. Benton of the Seventh-day Adventists cautioned, "We do not believe that it is necessary for the Legislature to deal in matters of religion. When and how we are to observe our Sabbath day is a matter between a man and his God." Many others agreed with the pastor. "However shocking it may be—not everyone is a Christian!" one man wrote, "Must God resort to civil courts? Is not the threat of hell and the reward of heaven enough? Is anyone so foolish as to think that empty churches can be filled with force?" Despite the vocal opposition, many religious leaders in the community backed the bill, including the Salt Lake Ministerial Association—an association of clergymen from twenty mainline non-Mormon denominations. Reverend Fenwick T. Fowler of the First Baptist Church in Salt Lake City reasoned, "If we don't have some sort of legislation, how long before Sunday is just another day? How long before all stores . . . will be open on Sunday?"¹³

In the wake of the public hearing, letters to the editor poured into Salt Lake's newspapers. Gloria Taylor, a Latter-day Saint from Bountiful, supported voluntary Sunday closing but was concerned that the legislature was going too far: "God, when planning this earth, rejected Satan's suggestion of forcing people to live righteously. He chose instead the right of free agency, proposed by Jesus. I would prefer that not only grocery stores, but any business not essential, be

bune, February 9, 1953, 8; J.G.W., "Never Gives Up Trying" (letter to the editor), *Salt Lake Tribune*, February 4, 1953, 10; Student of University of Utah, "Charges Sunday Closing Infringes on Liberty" (letter to the editor), *Deseret News*, February 3, 1953, A14; Rue L. Clegg, "Sorry Inconsistencies" (letter to the editor), *Salt Lake Tribune*, February 6, 1953, 16A.

¹³"500 Swamp Capitol Over Closing Law," *Ogden Standard-Examiner*, February 4, 1953, 1; "House Hears Debates on Sunday Trade," *Deseret News*, February 4, 1953, B1, B5; "Sunday Closing Law Blasted, Praised in Stormy Session," *Salt Lake Tribune*, February 5, 1953, 17; Ron Davis, "Another Inquisition?" (letter to the editor), *Salt Lake Tribune*, February 11, 1953, 10; "S.L. Pastors Back Sunday Closing Rule," *Deseret News*, February 10, 1953, B1.

closed on Sunday. I do not feel, however, that forcing people to do right is the way now anymore than it was when the earth was being formed." A disgruntled citizen complained that the bill was hypocritical, pointing out that under the proposed law "(1) Can buy tobacco but not bread. (2) Can eat a hamburger at a stand but not in your car off premises. (3) Buy flowers for your mother on Mother's Day and be subject to arrest." Another unhappy citizen wrote the *Tribune* proposing that, instead of closing stores on Sunday, the legislature should pass a law closing church, and encouraging lawmakers to "discontinue making Utah a most obnoxious state."¹⁴

After two weeks of divisive debate, the Senate passed the bill 14 to 8. Apostles Harold B. Lee and Henry D. Moyle had lobbied Mormon legislators for more than two years on the matter, suggesting its importance to LDS Church authorities.¹⁵ When the bill passed, its author, Elmer G. Thomas, a legislator and property manager for the LDS Church, said with satisfaction, "Some of the best legal talent in Utah have worked to make this bill constitutional in every way and I am certain we now have a good law and one which is legally and morally right."¹⁶ Time would prove Thomas to be a better politician than prophet.

The bill was sent to non-Mormon Governor J. Bracken Lee for his signature, by no means an assured outcome. Apostle Marion G. Romney told a Mormon congregation in Ogden, "I hope the governor will sign the Sunday closing law." President J. Reuben Clark of the First Presidency contacted Governor Lee to discuss the bill. Lee told

¹⁴Gloria Taylor, "Free Agency Should Decide Sunday Closing" (letter to the editor), *Deseret News*, February 9, 1953, A10; John Anderton, "Close the Church" (letter to the editor), *Salt Lake Tribune*, February 10, 1953, 8.

¹⁵For information on Lee's and Moyle's work as liaisons between the Church and legislators, see Richard D. Poll, *Working the Divine Miracle: The Life of Apostle Henry D. Moyle*, edited by Stan Larson (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1999), 120–24.

¹⁶O. N. Malmquist and Patrick R. Eckman, "Sunday Close Bill Clears Utah Senate," *Salt Lake Tribune*, February 12, 1953, 1; Quinn, *Elder Statesman: A Biography of J. Reuben Clark* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Signature Books, 2000), 274. Evidence of Church leaders' lobbying comes from Moyle's diary entries for March 2, 1951, and January 31, 1953. Conrad B. Harrison and M. DeMar Teuscher, "Sunday Law, Gas Hike Gain Approval," *Deseret News*, February 12, 1953, A1, A3.

Clark he objected to the bill on three grounds: It failed to protect the rights of the minority, the state attorney general believed it was unconstitutional, and it dealt with a problem that was best left to city government. Clark, who claimed he had “never read the bill,” wondered “if there is a legal right to trade on Sunday,” meaning a fundamental constitutional right. In response to the governor’s concern about Jews and Seventh-day Adventists, Clark reasoned, “It seems to me that in matters affecting, as we think this does, the religious and moral welfare of a community, I am wondering if the minority, where there is no legal right, whether the minority should control.” The governor, however, chose to veto the bill because he felt there was “a serious question as to the constitutionality of the proposed law.” Lee announced his decision a mere hour and a half after receiving the bill from Senate President Mark Paxton. “The proposed bill, in my opinion, would be an undue invasion of the rights and liberties of the people,” Lee explained. He justified his veto as being in the interest of the “fundamental spirit of the American tradition of government—the idea of inalienable rights of the individual.” He believed the law was an attempt by the majority to legislate Sabbath observance for religious and economic purposes. While it was debatable whether the right to buy high heels on Sunday constituted an “inalienable right,” Lee remained true to his brand of independent political conservatism by voicing alarm at government’s increasing willingness to regulate people’s personal lives.¹⁷

As Lee’s biographer Dennis Lythgoe observed, the governor’s veto “marked the first decline” in his “church support.” The *Deseret News* spared no ink in its blunt rebuttal of the governor’s veto, declaring that the veto offended the majority of the citizens of Utah and revealed Lee’s “shallow view of the moral aspect of the legislation.” Referring to the governor’s statement regarding individual liberty, the

¹⁷Alfred Gladwell, “Apostle Hopes Lee Signs Sunday Law,” *Ogden Standard-Examiner*, February 16, 1953, 4B; J. Reuben Clark, Office Diary, January 30, 1953, Box 18, fd. 1, J. Reuben Clark Papers, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah; “Gov. Lee Vetoes Sunday Closing Act,” *Deseret News*, February 16, 1953, A4; “Lee Tells House of Reasons for Closing Bill Rejection,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, February 17, 1953, 6. See also D. Michael Quinn, *The Mormon Hierarchy: Extensions of Power* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1997), 362; Quinn, *Elder Statesman*, 275.

paper asked, “Has he thought of the ‘rights and liberties’ of the small grocer . . . who sticks to his religious convictions, remains closed, and thereby loses business to the unfair competition of the man down the street who opens up?” The editorial concluded with a passionate plea: “Governor Lee has made a mistake. We join the mass of public opinion in urging the Legislature to correct that error by a prompt and unmistakable overriding of the governor’s veto.” The *Tribune*, on the other hand, congratulated Lee on his choice, “We applaud the Governor for a message which teaches all who will read and think a lesson on just and fair and democratic government; and we are proud of him for taking a stand, based on honest conviction, and that alone, which required real political courage.”¹⁸

The House of Representatives quickly rebuffed Lee’s veto, dramatically overturning it 43 to 13. The *Tribune* was unimpressed: “As was expected, the House of Representatives, always more susceptible to pressure tactics than the Senate, quickly passed the bill over the veto.” The bill was then sent to the Senate, where it would require 16 votes to override the veto. Although Apostles Moyle and Lee engaged in what historian Richard Poll called “an all-out effort to override” the veto through last-minute lobbying, the bill received only 15 votes—one shy of the override. Only one senator who had previously opposed the measure, A. I. Tippetts, switched sides to overturn the veto. He explained to his colleagues that he had discovered that 90 percent of his constituents in Sanpete County favored the bill and so he was yielding to their will.¹⁹ With its defeat in the Senate, Sunday closing was tabled for another session.

¹⁸Dennis L. Lythgoe, *Let ‘Em Holler: A Political Biography of J. Bracken Lee* (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society, 1982), 99; “Let’s Correct the Governor’s Mistake” (editorial), *Deseret News*, February 17, 1953, A14; “An Undue Invasion of People’s Liberties” (editorial), *Salt Lake Tribune*, February 18, 1953, 10.

¹⁹O. N. Malmquist, “Senators Uphold Veto of Closing,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, February 18, 1953, 1, 4; Conrad B. Harrison and M. DeMar Teuscher, “Senate Kills Sunday Law,” *Deseret News*, February 18, 1953, A1; M. DeMar Teuscher and Conrad B. Harrison, “Sunday Closing Veto Overridden in House,” *Deseret News*, February 17, 1953, A1; Poll, *Working the Divine Miracle*, 122. After it became apparent that the bill would not pass, another senator switched sides, rendering the final vote 14 to 8. Moyle and Lee’s frustration at the final vote in the Senate contributed to their enthusiastic cam-

THE 1959 CRUSADE

In 1959 the matter of Sunday closing again served as a lightning rod for public debate over the role of government in regulating morals. "This whole Sunday closing law business smacks of high pressure from Utah big business and church officials," one citizen cautioned. "It's unfair to the little store owners and several minority religious organizations that keep the Sabbath on Saturdays." In protest of the bill, one man stated he "would change our state song to 'Nevada Here We Come 'Cause It's Sin We Are Forbidden From.'" All of the concerns over tourism, small business, individual choice, minority rights, discrimination, and separation of church and state were rehashed, and not for the last time.²⁰

The Senate introduced the bill and passed it with a decisive majority, 16 to 9. On February 5, the House debated the bill for the entire day and then passed it 42 to 22. Before its passage, opponents in the legislature mocked the bill, saying it would incite "breadlegging"—a spoof on "bootlegging" during Prohibition. The bill reached Governor George D. Clyde, a practicing Latter-day Saint, who stated that he was "personally wholly in sympathy" with the bill's supporters because he shared their "basic aim of reverence for and observance of the Sabbath." Clyde sought the advice of Attorney General E. R. Callister, who told him that the constitutionality of the bill was open to question. In addition to Clyde's misgivings about the bill's constitutionality, he was also concerned that the bill's ambiguity might jeopardize the Sunday operations of mines and factories and thereby cause "irreparable damage." He was worried principally over Kennecott Copper Corp., the Geneva Steel plant, and the state's canneries,

paigining in 1954 for a reapportionment referendum that would give every county in the state a single seat in the Senate. Moyle predicted that the referendum would give the Church a measure of influence over twenty-six of the state's twenty-nine senators. Gregory A. Prince and William Robert Wright, *David O. McKay and the Rise of Modern Mormonism* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2005), 341. The best study of the reapportionment campaign is Jediah Smart Rogers, "'When the People Speak': Mormons and the 1954 Redistricting Campaign in Utah," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 71 (Summer 2003): 233–49.

²⁰G. C. Woodbury, "At It Again" (letter to the editor), *Salt Lake Tribune*, January 29, 1959, 16; Milton Hepworth, "New State Song" (letter to the editor), *Salt Lake Tribune*, February 17, 1959, 10.

which operated continuously. He also found the bill's exemptions to be inconsistent, illogical, and discriminatory. "I have been forced to the conclusion that the major support for Senate Bill 24 comes from a group of retail merchants who are seeking by this means to regulate competition within their own industry," he charged.²¹

But beyond business were the omnipresent religious problems. Clyde justified his veto because the bill "would force members of the minority religious groups to adopt one of two options: a. To work on their own Sabbath day—which is precisely what this bill is purporting to prevent; or b. To refrain from work on both Saturday and Sunday, thereby attempting to compete on the basis of a five-day week as compared to the six days available to their competitors." Like Governor Lee, Clyde's greatest concern with the bill appeared to be the religious minority's rights. Following Clyde's veto, the House and Senate each needed a two-thirds majority to override the governor's action, and the Senate was unable to muster enough votes for the override.²²

The backlash was immediate and appeared to Clyde to be unfair. While the *Tribune* characterized Clyde's veto as a "great credit," "excellent," "right," and "a matter of principle," the Church-owned *Deseret News* editorialized that the veto was "a bitter disappointment," "an affront," "astonishing," "unaccountable," and a "decision to flaunt the will of the people's representatives." A week later, the

²¹O. N. Malmquist, "Sunday Closing Wins in Senate," *Salt Lake Tribune*, February 3, 1959, 1, 6; M. DeMar Teuscher, "Solons Pass Sunday Bill," *Deseret News*, February 3, 1959, A1, A4; Jerome K. Full, "Sunday Closing Passes in Utah," *Salt Lake Tribune*, February 6, 1959, 1. "Sunday Closing Law Validity Questioned," *Deseret News*, February 17, 1959, B1-2; Miles Ferry, telephone interview conducted by Timothy Merrill, September 2003, notes in Merrill's possession; "Main Points of Clyde Veto," *Deseret News*, February 19, 1959, A10.

²²Richard P. Hronek, "Clyde Veto Kills Sunday Curbs," *Salt Lake Tribune*, February 19, 1959, 1, 8; M. DeMar Teuscher, "Clyde Veto Kills Sunday Closing Bill," *Deseret News*, February 19, 1959, A1, A12; the complete text of the governor's letter to the Utah Senate explaining the reasons for his veto, addressed to senate president Sherman P. Lloyd, is published in "Clyde Tells Why on Sunday Closing," *Salt Lake Tribune*, February 19, 1959, 7; see also George D. Clyde, Letter to Sherman P. Lloyd, February 18, 1959, Folder labeled "Sunday Closing," Reel 31, Series 192, Papers of George D. Clyde, Utah State Archives, Salt Lake City.

Church News published an editorial entitled “Sunday Buying and Selling” in which members of the Church were admonished, “What should be the position of Latter-day Saints in this Sunday closing dispute? There is but one answer, and that is: Keep the Sabbath Day holy. And how can the average Latter-day Saint help to do so? By not buying on Sunday.” The editorial underscored the economic reality that the ultimate authority remained with the people and their decisions about shopping on Sunday, thus placing accountability at the feet of shoppers, not the merchants. The *Church News* affirmed, “If the people of this state really want a sacred Sabbath, all they have to do is to make it so, and they may do this by their own actions.”²³

Clyde felt he was being unjustly criticized by the *Deseret News* and by the Church, and he forwarded a copy of his reasons for vetoing the bill, along with letters he had received from dozens of civic and business leaders opposing the bill, to his fellow Republican, Apostle Ezra Taft Benson. In a mildly conciliatory response, Benson conceded nothing but expressed a willingness to “discuss this matter” further.²⁴ Addressing the Church’s April 1963 general conference senior Apostle Joseph Fielding Smith reminded Latter-day Saints that, four years earlier “a bill was passed and vetoed by the governor, asking that businesses be closed, prohibited to operate, on the Sabbath day.” He then repeated pointedly, “It was defeated by veto.”²⁵

1967: THIRD VETO

Following the inauguration of a new governor in 1965, Calvin Rampton, a nominal Mormon, advocates of Sunday closing decided again to attempt a Sunday closing bill. This time, the LDS Church offered little direct support; but from the wings, Church authorities lobbied the governor’s office. In 1967 a two-hour public hearing on the bill was held in which thirteen people spoke for it and ten against. Pro-

²³“Governor Clyde’s Fortright Veto” (editorial), *Salt Lake Tribune*, February 20, 1959, 18A; “A Disappointing Veto” (editorial), *Deseret News*, February 20, 1959, A16; “Sunday Buying and Selling” (editorial), *Church News*, February 28, 1959.

²⁴Ezra Taft Benson, Letter to George D. Clyde, March 17, 1959, folder labeled “Sunday Closing,” Clyde Papers.

²⁵*Report of the 133rd Annual Conference of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, April 1963), 21.

ponents argued that by closing on Sunday, stores could cut overhead and save money, which would then lead to lower prices for consumers. They also argued that the bill would reunite working parents with their children and curb delinquency. The *Tribune* observed, “Oddly enough no proponent defended the bill on the basis that it would require observance of the Christian Sabbath. Perhaps this was because of fear it would thus be interpreted as a religiously-motivated” issue. Opponents presented statistics showing that 144,000 persons shopped on Sunday in Salt Lake County alone. One of them, Midvale housewife Janie Montoya, asserted her “constitutional right to shop on Sunday if I so desire.” On behalf of those who opposed the measure, Pastor Lawrence Davidson of the Seventh-day Adventist Church said, “I can’t believe that LDS people wish to repeat persecution on others that they themselves once suffered when they were a minority group.” A *Deseret News* editorial confronted the fact that large numbers of citizens shopped on Sunday: “Many Utahns do shop on Sunday, to be sure. So do many people in Maine, for example, where a recent survey of Sunday shoppers showed that 75% said they could get along without Sunday shopping.”²⁶ Despite its efforts, the *News* was never able to fully convince its readership that Sunday shopping was not a right but a convenience.

Senator Reed Bullen, an LDS stake president who sponsored the bill, said he did so “because of the many people who came to me because they wanted a day off.” Carl Fors, a citizen who favored the bill, reasoned, “What about men and women who serve us in the stores? I have spoken to many of them. Oh, how they would welcome being free on Sunday so they might associate with their children.” Legislator Stanford Darger recalled that he lobbied for the bill because he wanted to shield Mormons from working on Sunday: “Part of the problem was the young people in the LDS Church, if they are going to leave the church, often they leave about the age of 15 or 16. And about the only place those age children can get jobs is as a bagger or a

²⁶Del Van Orden, “Sunday Issue Debated at Hearing,” *Deseret News*, February 8, 1967, A4; “Proving False Sunday Closing Basis” (editorial), *Salt Lake Tribune*, February 9, 1967, A10; Lawrence Davidson, “Opposes Sunday Closing” (letter to the editor), *Deseret News*, February 9, 1967, A20; “Utah Sunday Closing Facts Vs. Fallacies” (editorial), *Deseret News*, February 11, 1967, A12; Janie Montoya, “Let Sunday Shoppers Be” (letter to the editor), *Salt Lake Tribune*, March 9, 1967, 16A.

stock person in a grocery store. If they have to work on Sunday, then it's very easy for them to [become inactive]."²⁷

The bill passed the Senate 16 to 12; the House approved it 41 to 27. The bill then went to Governor Rampton as, in the *Deseret News's* terms, a "monkey . . . on his back." Three years earlier during his bid for election, Rampton was quoted as saying that "the only thing Governor Clyde has done in the past eight years with which I agree was when he vetoed the Sunday closing law."²⁸ Now Rampton's personal position was being tested. He said, "I didn't like the idea of attempting to legislate morality."²⁹ Rampton called a special meeting on Capitol Hill to listen to spokespersons on both sides of the issue. At the hearing, Robert Yates, a representative of Grand Central Stores, claimed that "entire families relax as they shop in our stores on Sunday." A spokesman for Skaggs Stores reported that Sunday shopping was so popular that 16 percent of the chain's total sales for the week of February 26 had occurred on Sunday.³⁰

An editorial by the *Deseret News* encouraged Rampton to let the courts determine the validity of the law rather than vetoing it: "The course of best statesmanship for Governor Rampton to follow on this controversial issue would seem to be clear: sign the Sunday Closing bill or let it become law without his signature and then let the courts

²⁷"Solons' Views Clash on Sunday Closing," *Deseret News*, February 23, 1967, A14; Carl S. Fors, "Man-To-Man" (letter to the editor), *Deseret News*, February 23, 1967, A22; Stanford Darger, interviewed by Timothy Merrill, August 22, 2003, transcript in Merrill's possession.

²⁸M. DeMar Teuscher, "Senate Okays Sunday Law," *Deseret News*, March 4, 1967, A1; O. N. Malmquist, "Sunday Closing Bill Passes Utah Senate," *Salt Lake Tribune*, March 5, 1967, 1; Douglas L. Parker, "House Okehs Sunday Bill," *Salt Lake Tribune*, March 10, 1967, 1; "Rampton Calls Hearing," *Deseret News*, March 10, 1967, A1; Jim Beck, "Utah Needs Another Clyde" (letter to the editor), *Salt Lake Tribune*, February 14, 1967, 14.

²⁹"Closing 'Law' Hinges on Capitol Meet," *Salt Lake Tribune*, March 10, 1967, 1; M. DeMar Teuscher and Dexter C. Ellis, "135 Legislative Headaches; It's Rampton's Move Now," *Deseret News*, March 11, 1967; Calvin L. Rampton, *As I Recall*, edited by Floyd A. O'Neil and Gregory C. Thompson (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1989), 216.

³⁰Clark Lobb, "Voters Argue Bill on Sunday Closing," *Salt Lake Tribune*, March 14, 1967, 11; M. DeMar Teuscher, "Sunday Closing Debated," *Deseret News*, March 13, 1967, A1.

decide its legality; that's their job." Naturally, the *Tribune* felt differently: "We do not see how . . . Governor Rampton or any other chief executive would have any other choice than to veto this unwise and unconstitutional measure." Church officials made their wishes known as well to Rampton, who said, "I received a number of calls from church leaders of all ranks, including general authorities, urging me to sign it."³¹

Rampton chose to veto the bill on March 16 and issued a six-page explanation. His office had received more than 25,000 messages from concerned citizens regarding the legislation. He stated, "I would conclude that those individuals who feel deeply enough about their religious obligations . . . are not going to shop on Sunday regardless of whether the stores are open or not."³² In another scathing editorial, the *Deseret News* wondered, "Are we really to believe that a governor is a better judge of what's best for the state than its people and the combined judgments of their elected representatives? Or that his judgment on constitutional issues involved is better than that of the courts?" The *Tribune* applauded the veto.³³

The tenacity of the legislature was striking. In a mere quarter of a century, Sunday closing had been passed by the Utah legislature three times and vetoed by three separate governors. The legislators were not finished yet, however. They *would* have their day in court.

1970 SUCCESS

In January 1970, the Utah legislature was scheduled to meet in a budget session. Voters in 1968 had authorized a streamlined legislative session in even years that would focus largely upon budgetary matters. Bills unrelated to finances could be considered in these sessions only if two-thirds of the House and Senate voted to do so. Ironically, Sunday closing was poised to make its comeback in this uncon-

³¹"Let Courts Decide On Sunday Closing" (editorial), *Deseret News*, March 14, 1967, A12; "No Choice but Sunday Closing Veto" (editorial), *Salt Lake Tribune*, March 11, 1967, 12A; Rampton, *As I Recall*, 176.

³²David Jonsson, "Rampton Vetoes Controversial Sunday Closing," *Salt Lake Tribune*, March 17, 1967, 1, 6.

³³"Vetoed—But Not Dead" (editorial), *Deseret News*, March 17, 1967, A12; "Governor Acts Wisely to Stop a Bad Law" (editorial), *Salt Lake Tribune*, March 18, 1967, 20.

ventional session. As the legislature geared up for its meetings, Representative Stanford Darger, one of the sponsors of the unsuccessful 1967 Sunday closing bill, prepared to take a novel legislative approach to Sunday closing. Darger was executive secretary for the Salt Lake Downtown Retail Merchants Association, which included Church-owned businesses that were committed to revitalizing the downtown area. Darger had approached Arvo Van Alstyne, a University of Utah law professor and former president of the Los Angeles Stake, and asked him to help draft a Sunday closing law that would pass constitutional muster. Van Alstyne agreed to serve as an advisor but suggested that Darger recruit one of his former students, a talented young attorney named Bruce Hafen who had received his J.D. in 1967, to draft the bill. Hafen agreed and, researching the subject, found an article that “proposed a new approach to Sunday closing through the use of civil, rather than criminal, remedies.” Hafen’s bill identified Sunday as a day of relaxation, entertainment, family activity and diversion. It forbade “any person, firm or corporation” from “operat[ing] a place of business open to the public” on Sunday with the exception of businesses that chose to close instead on Saturday, but created so many exceptions that it primarily affected department stores and grocery stores. Unlike previous Sunday closing bills that the legislature had passed, no criminal penalties were stipulated for merchants who violated the law, and violators were exempt from arrest. However, a complainant could bring charges against a merchant for violating the law; and if a judge ruled that the defendant had actually broken the law, the establishment could be forced by court order to close its doors on Sunday.³⁴

The Downtown Retail Merchants Association was the key advocate; the LDS Church lent tacit support to the bill but maintained a low profile to avoid the divisive, religiously based arguments that had doomed previous Sunday closing bills. Darger invited Hafen to meet with a representative from the Church Special Affairs Committee to “be sure we knew of any concerns they might have.” The Church’s representative did not object to the bill, opening the door for Darger to assure LDS lawmakers that “the Brethren were aware of the bill.” Further encouraging the matter, the Church-owned *Deseret News* pub-

³⁴Darger, interview; Bruce C. Hafen, email to Timothy Merrill, September 20, 2003, e-copy in our possession; House Bill No. 8, *Laws of the State of Utah, 1970* (Salt Lake City: Lorraine Press, 1970), 56–59.

lished a list of legislative priorities selected by its editors, including the priority to “pass a Sunday closing law.” The caption for a photograph that accompanied the article underscored the Sunday objective, linking it to family solidarity: “With many department stores opening up on Sunday, do Utahns want as a goal for 1970 a Sunday closing law to strengthen family unity?” General Church leaders offered no public comment on the bill but leaders of some local stakes did so. For instance, the Presidency and High Council of the South Salt Lake Stake petitioned Governor Rampton to support a Sunday Closing Law. “Because of the present competition between stores, the situation is deteriorating to the point that people are not living a normal life,” the leaders averred.³⁵

In the final week of the legislative session, on January 27, 1970, Darger and two co-sponsors, C. DeMont Judd (D) and Franklin W. Gunnell (R), introduced a resolution on the House floor authorizing consideration of the Sunday closing bill, officially known as the “Common Day of Rest bill,” a move to keep the focus on family solidarity. After debating the resolution, the House approved it 47 to 17, opening the door to the bill’s consideration. Representatives justified consideration of the bill during a budgetary session on the grounds that the recent opening of department stores in the downtown area had created “an emergency situation.” Beatrice Marchant (D), an active Mormon lawmaker from Salt Lake City, was quoted in the *Deseret News* as saying that “many people who worked for stores had been involuntarily forced to change their way of life” by not being able to enjoy a day of rest.³⁶

Supporters and opponents of the resolution were prepared for its introduction. Within hours of the House’s vote to consider the bill, a full-page letter from Salt Lake entrepreneur Maurice M. Warshaw, owner of the Grand Central department and grocery stores, appeared in the *Deseret News* as a paid advertisement opposing the bill.

³⁵Hafen, email to Merrill; Joseph Lundstrom, “Utahns Eye ’70 Needs,” *Deseret News*, January 10, 1970, A1; William T. South et al., Letter to Governor Rampton, January 6, 1970, Box 21, fd. 7, Reel 33, Papers of Calvin L. Rampton, Utah State Archives, Salt Lake City; Danger, interview.

³⁶Dexter C. Ellis, “Sunday Bill Advanced,” *Deseret News*, January 27, 1970, A1; “Solons Set Stage for Ballot on Sunday Closing,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, January 26, 1970, 15; Dave Jonsson, “Commission Advised ‘Sunday Closing’ Shook Public Faith,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, December 1, 1970, 17.

Warshaw charged that the bill represented “special downtown interests . . . seeking to use the state’s police power to take away your freedom.” In contrast, the same issue of the *News* carried an editorial proclaiming, “Now is the time for Sunday closing.” The editor pointed to the domino effect of a merchant’s decision to open on Sunday, arguing that store after store was drawn into the decision to “meet the competition.” To prevent Sunday openings from “becom[ing] a way of life in Utah,” the newspaper advised lawmakers to “get a Sunday closing law on the books right away.”³⁷

On January 28, 1970, 150 people packed an auditorium in the State Office Building for a ninety-minute hearing on the bill in which equal time was given to supporters and opponents. Nine people spoke in its favor while five spoke against it. Many in attendance had been bused to the hearing by their employer, Auerbach’s, a downtown department store whose management supported the bill. Representing the Downtown Retail Merchants Association was Jack Pembroke, a downtown businessman who contended that families would be strengthened by having a common day of rest and that the same amount of money would be spent by consumers whether the stores were open six or seven days. However, John Mangum, a representative of Grand Central Stores, predicted that Sunday closing would necessitate layoffs and reduce tax revenue.³⁸

To the extent that the hearing was designed to press at least two-thirds of the Senate to take up Sunday closing during the budget session, it succeeded. On January 29, with only two days left in the legislative session, the Senate voted 21 to 6 to “consider” the Common Day of Rest bill. Senator Richard V. Evans of Salt Lake County denounced the bill’s late introduction as a “railroad . . . roughshod job.” But E. Lamar Buckner, a stake president from Ogden who shepherded the resolution through the Senate, justified consideration by saying that opinion polls showed there was widespread support for Sunday closing. Five hours after the Senate cleared the way for consideration of the bill, the House of Representatives passed it 48 to 21

³⁷Maurice M. Warshaw, “Sunday Closing—Not Again” (paid advertisement), *Deseret News*, January 27, 1970, B3; “Why Now Is the Time for Sunday Closing” (editorial), *Deseret News*, January 27, 1970, A18.

³⁸Dave Jonsson, “Day-of-Rest Bill Draws 150 to Public Hearing,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, January 29, 1970, 1-2.

with relatively little debate.³⁹

The bill encountered tougher opposition when the Senate considered it the next day on January 30. That morning, the *Salt Lake Tribune* had editorialized against the bill, arguing that it was vague, full of illogical exemptions, and “not so much concerned with preserving the family norm as with preventing competition.” Senator Richard Evans drew laughter from the gallery as he read a parody, “A Day of Rest,” about a gas station/convenience store that could not sell groceries or milk but could sell beer and fuel. In the account, a milkman “the milknapper” and a bread truck operator named “Jake the bread-legger” were hunted by the sheriff. Later in the day Evans and Edward T. Beck, both Salt Lake County Democrats, filibustered for an hour by reading aloud and discussing the state constitution before they were ruled out of order by the presiding officer in the Senate. After two hours of debate, the Senate approved the bill 17 to 10.⁴⁰ The most volatile issue in the 1970 budgetary session had been resolved.

Although the bill’s major support came from downtown merchants, the factors that motivated legislators to support the bill were a complex mix of economic and religious considerations. The bill’s sponsor in the Senate, Lamar Buckner, told the Senate that he supported the bill “as a father, as a stake president for the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and as a member of the board of directors for ZCMI Department Store.” Stan Darger, the bill’s chief sponsor in the House, claimed in retrospect that his primary motive was commercial; the trade association that employed him opposed Sunday openings and he “had worked with them for enough years that their challenges were my challenges.” But Darger admitted, too, that his religion likely influenced his heartfelt belief that “the community would be better off if unnecessary retailing was not conducted on Sunday.” He noted, moreover, that “without exception the LDS people, hearing in

³⁹M. DeMar Teuscher, “‘Rest’ Bill on Utah Agenda,” *Deseret News*, January 29, 1970, A1; Douglas L. Parker, “House Approves, Senate Mulls Sunday Closing,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, January 30, 1970, 1A, 6A; M. DeMar Teuscher, “Sunday Closing Issue Comes to Final Vote,” *Deseret News*, January 30, 1970, A1.

⁴⁰“An Impossible Bill” (editorial), *Salt Lake Tribune*, January 30, 1970, 18A; Douglas L. Parker, “Senate Approves Sunday Closing,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, January 31, 1970, 1–2; Rulon Garfield, Letter to Timothy Merrill, September [no day], 2003, in Merrill’s possession.

conference and other places very strong admonitions on this subject were easy to get, almost without exception, to go with us on closing.”⁴¹

Religion and perceptions of the LDS Church’s position played a prominent role in many legislators’ voting behavior although legislators generally recall no direct lobbying from the Church. Darger remembered religion as “the defining issue.” He “could get LDS legislators to vote for it and [the] few that weren’t LDS almost without exception were opposed to it.” Perhaps in response to the lobbying efforts of the Church-owned ZCMI and the *Deseret News*’s call for a Sunday closing law, rumors that the Church had endorsed the bill circulated on Capitol Hill, recalled Senator Rulon Garfield. As Representative Ron Inkley later explained, although the Church exerted little if any direct pressure upon legislators, in light of previous statements and editorials, “all of us knew what their position would be if they had one.” Moreover, the Church’s longstanding policy against Sunday shopping predisposed some active LDS legislators to sympathize with the bill. Representative Ronald Halverson could not remember ever being “contacted by the Church or any representative of the Church to influence my vote one way or the other” on the bill; however, he acknowledged, his Church membership and commitment to Sabbath observance did influence his vote: “I don’t think a person can separate himself from who he really is just because he is elected to the legislature.”⁴²

As political scientists Ronald Hrebenar, Melanee Cherry, and Kathanne Greene have observed, Utah legislators, many of whom are active Latter-day Saints, “often wonder aloud how the church would react to a proposed new policy or a change in existing policies.” The Church exerts a “pervasive impact on Utah culture and . . . political

⁴¹Douglas L. Parker, “House Approves, Senate Mulls Sunday Closing,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, January 30, 1970, 1A, 6A; Darger, interview. In a letter to the editor, Helen Horn vividly articulated the link between Sunday shopping and religious perspectives on good and evil. Writing of women who insisted on their right to shop on Sunday, Horn warned that they might someday find themselves asking, “What’s a nice gal like me doing in a hot place like this?” Helen Horn, “Selfish Reasons” (letter to the editor), *Salt Lake Tribune*, February 7, 1970, 10.

⁴²Garfield, Letter to Merrill; Darger, interview; Ron Inkley, Letter to Timothy G. Merrill, August 31, 2003, in Merrill’s possession; Ronald T. Halverson, Letter to Timothy G. Merrill, August 26, 2003, in Merrill’s possession.

socialization.” In these circumstances, “decisions are often made in Utah as though the church is concerned.”⁴³ That appears to have been the case in this matter.

By making Sunday opening a civil rather than a criminal offense, lawmakers overcame the constitutional scruples of Governor Calvin Rampton and “caught me in a bad spot,” as he put it in his autobiography. In defending his decision to veto the 1967 Sunday closing bill, Rampton had maintained that he did not see himself as “a third house of the legislature” and that he did not veto bills simply because he disliked them. Rather, he claimed, constitutional issues were at stake. Now that the constitutional issues had been dealt with and Republican Attorney General Vernon Romney had determined that the law was “within the scope of the constitution,” Rampton felt backed into a corner.⁴⁴ Following the passage of the 1970 bill, the *Deseret News* reminded the governor of his assertion in 1967 that he would only veto laws that required funds that were unavailable, contained serious defects in form, or were unconstitutional. “The new Sunday Closing bill certainly meets these tests. . . . Whatever the pressures to the contrary may be, the governor’s course is clear: The new Sunday Closing bill should be allowed to become law,” the paper editorialized. Although he disagreed with the bill’s use of coercive state power, Rampton allowed the bill to become law without his signature.⁴⁵

AFTERMATH AND APPEAL

When the bill became law, it polarized the community. Down-

⁴³Ronald Hrebenar, Melanee Cherry, and Kathanne Greene, “Utah: Church and Corporate Power in the Nation’s Most Conservative State,” in Ronald J. Hrebenar and Clive S. Thomas, eds., *Interest Group Politics in the American West* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1987), 115, 121.

⁴⁴Rampton, *As I Recall*, 215; Q. Michael Croft, “Influence of the LDS Church on Utah Politics, 1945–1985” (Ph.D. diss., University of Utah, 1985), 189.

⁴⁵“One for the Books” (editorial), *Deseret News*, January 31, 1970, A10; Lance Gudmundsen, “Won’t Veto Sunday Closing Bill, Rampton Indicates,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, January 31, 1970, 1; Dave Jonsson, “Governor ‘Passes’ Day of Rest Act without Signing,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, February 13, 1970, B1; M. DeMar Teuscher, “‘Day of Rest’ Bill Constitutional, Attorney Says,” *Deseret News*, February 9, 1970, B1; Dave Jonsson, “Opinion Clarifies ‘Day of Rest’ Exemptions,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, February 19, 1970, B1.

town department store owners in Salt Lake celebrated. Meanwhile, owners and managers of suburban department stores warned that the law would trim their profits and payrolls by 10 to 20 percent and hurt high school and college students who could not work during the week because of class schedules but relied instead upon weekend jobs. The Salt Lake Ministerial Association, which had supported a Sunday closing bill twenty years earlier, had abandoned a coercive approach to morality in the intervening years. It denounced the law, complaining that it had been passed hastily without adequate hearings, that it discriminated against certain classes of merchants while permitting others to operate seven days a week, and that it “violat[e] the free agency of individual citizens, regardless of religious faith.” A smaller group of conservative ministers representing thirteen evangelical denominations in the valley countered with a statement of their own, supporting the idea of Sunday closing on the grounds that a day of rest was “absolutely essential to the health and welfare of the Utah people.” A *Deseret News* editorial praised the legislature for having “acted wisely and responsibly” in passing the law and promoted the law as “anything but unique to Utah” and as “essential to the well-being of society.” Over 10,000 letters to the editor poured into the *Salt Lake Tribune’s* editorial offices, most of them favoring the act. However, the *Tribune* published letters opposing the act in a ratio of more than ten to one.⁴⁶

Some citizens mobilized to repeal the law. In March Betty Locke of Granger and John Teague, a University of Utah law student, called a meeting in the South Salt Lake City Hall in order to organize a repeal drive. Governor Rampton attended the meeting and answered questions regarding the law and how it might be overturned using the state’s initiative or referendum laws. Before an audience of about two hundred, Rampton defended his decision to allow the bill to become law on the grounds that it was constitutional. After the governor left, the audience organized Citizens for a Common Day of Freedom and

⁴⁶“Debate Rises on Store Closing Bill,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, February 3, 1970, 13, 32; “Utah Manufacturers Warn of Sunday Closing Dangers,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, February 11, 1970, 17; Carolyn Wycherly, “Clergymen’s Panel Castigates Day of Rest Act,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, February 12, 1970, B1; Carolyn Wycherly, “Evangelical Clerics Support Rest Act,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, February 13, 1970, B1; “Why All Should Obey Sunday Closing Law” (editorial), *Deseret News*, March 5, 1970, A14; “For Hundreds, ‘Day of Rest’ Means No Job,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, March 5, 1970, B1.

elected an executive committee of fourteen led by Romain Blyle, the owner of a carpet store in downtown Salt Lake. Their task was to organize a petition drive to place an initiative repealing the Sunday closing law on the ballot in November.⁴⁷

Within two weeks, Blyle and his committee had prepared a petition, calling for repeal of both the Common Day of Rest Act and a 1969 act that barred auto dealerships from doing business on Sunday. The petition maintained that the meaning of Sunday for Utah's pluralistic society was "complex" and that "orderly and peaceful accommodation among persons of diverse economic, social and religious backgrounds can best be achieved by laws which encourage diversity and freedom of choice rather than by laws which dictate a uniformity of conduct." The first person to sign the petition, Governor Rampton, praised the committee for "doing a great public service." He advised supporters as well as opponents of the law to "support the effort to get the Sunday closing question on the ballot . . . where it belongs."⁴⁸

Rampton's clear contempt for the law aroused the ire of Donald S. Brewer, the sales and merchandising manager of a meat products firm and president of Granite Park Stake. On April 19, 1970, in the Sunday session of stake conference, Brewer defended the statute as "a law to help us observe the Sabbath Day" and criticized Rampton for speaking out against it. Rampton's press secretary Mike Miller requested a copy of the talk and an apology from Brewer for reportedly "attack[ing]" the Governor.⁴⁹

Shortly before the law was scheduled to take effect, *Tribune* columnist and humorist Dan Valentine reported that an Evanston restaurateur was publishing a brochure promoting weekend vacations in Wyoming. "To compensate for the new Sunday closing law in Utah,

⁴⁷"Group to Discuss Day of Rest Act," *Salt Lake Tribune*, March 4, 1970, 8; "Rampton Defends Inaction in Day of Rest Dispute," *Salt Lake Tribune*, March 5, 1970, 8B; "Foes to Hold Meet on Closing Act," *Salt Lake Tribune*, March 11, 1970, 25; Mike Miller, Letter to Geneva Saunders, March 2, 1970, and Geneva Saunders, Letter to Calvin Rampton, February 23, 1970, Box 23, fd. 38, Reel 37, Rampton Correspondence.

⁴⁸"Sunday Closing Foes Open Drive for Vote on Issue in November," *Salt Lake Tribune*, March 18, 1970, 1B; "Rampton Name Tops Rest Act Repeal Petition," *Salt Lake Tribune*, April 2, 1970, 1B.

⁴⁹Donald S. Brewer, Letter to Mike Miller, April 20, 1970, Box 21, fd. 7, Reel 33, Rampton Correspondence.

we in Wyoming will try to do everything possible to make Sunday the most fun day of the week for you,” the brochure promised. The *Tribune* noted that the law was to take effect “fittingly . . . on April Fool’s Day.”⁵⁰ Stan Darger, the bill’s sponsor, attracted heated attention in an otherwise placid community. “Never a dinner without the phone ringing and the war of opponents that wanted to argue,” he recalled. His family was also affected: “Our youngest son went to a private school at that time. He became a pretty good boxer, because [of] the kids at that grade school hearing their parents’ violent reactions to what his father was doing.”⁵¹ Sunday closing had a powerful polarizing effect upon the community.

On the first Sunday in April most stores in Salt Lake County, including large retailers like Safeway, Albertson’s, Grand Central, Warsaw’s, K-Mart, Smith’s, Woolworth’s, Sprouse Reitze, Dan’s, and Skaggs, were closed. Other smaller establishments, including all 7-11 stores, remained open for limited sales. The Retail Merchants Association compiled a list of stores that had violated the act along with supporting affidavits. Skaggs Drug Centers filed a complaint against eighteen competing drugstores in order to precipitate an injunction, forcing the stores to close. “While we are closed, we think it only fair that other drug stores also close on Sundays,” the Skaggs complaint proclaimed. In a separate action, six University of Utah law students, represented by Bruce Hafen, filed a civil suit against twelve 7-11 stores, seven small markets, and a military surplus outlet.⁵²

On May 6, in response to the complaints brought by Skaggs and Hafen, Third District Court Judge Leonard W. Elton, a Lutheran, heard arguments for and against the law’s constitutionality and then took them under advisement. He intended to “decide the constitu-

⁵⁰Dan Valentine, “Nothing Serious,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, March 23, 1970, 17B; “A Law That Can’t Succeed” (editorial), *Salt Lake Tribune*, February 20, 1970, 18A.

⁵¹Darger, interview.

⁵²“7-11 Stores Plan Sunday Operation ‘As Usual,’” *Deseret News*, April 1, 1970, K5; Clark Lobb, “You Can Buy Most Anything—If You Go to the Right Places,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, April 6, 1970, 19B; “Drug Firm Asks Damages for Sales on Sunday,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, April 7, 1970, 15, 36; “Skaggs Sues 5 More Firms for Staying Open Sunday,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, April 10, 1970, 11B; “District Court Case Filed against 20 Alleged Utah Rest Law Violators,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, April 11, 1970, 17, 22.

tional question first” and then deal with the matter of injunctions if they were needed. Harold R. Waldo Jr., a prominent Salt Lake attorney and Presbyterian who had served as Skaggs’s legal counsel for more than a decade, held that the law was reasonable in granting exemptions for services “necessary to the maintenance of health, safety and life.” He noted that the U.S. Supreme Court had upheld the blue laws of Maryland, Massachusetts, and Pennsylvania. On the other hand, nine attorneys representing the defendants argued that the act had “religious motives” and was unconstitutional because it was vague and denied equal protection. Elton claimed the hearing was “the most scholarly and exhaustive preparation” he had experienced in his years on the bench.⁵³

Six days later on May 12, Judge Elton declared the Common Day of Rest Act unconstitutional “in its entirety,” promising that he would soon elaborate upon the reasons for his decision. He died the following day on May 13. He had been ill, but his death was unexpected. The *Deseret News* diplomatically praised Elton for his “careful scrutiny into the matter” and maintained that “the judge’s terse and speedy ruling was specifically designed to hasten the case to the Utah Supreme Court,” a debatable assertion. The most important matter, the paper maintained, was that the ruling was not “the final word on the act.” Attorneys for the plaintiffs indicated their intention to appeal. Maurice Warshaw, owner of Grand Central, Inc., expressed pleasure in the ruling and announced that his stores would reopen on Sundays. In the wake of the ruling, the petition drive to repeal the law foundered and was called off in June, with 22,000 signatures out of a required 42,101.⁵⁴

The following February 1971, Utah’s Supreme Court heard the arguments of both sides in the appeal of Judge Elton’s ruling. Bryce

⁵³“Court Will Decide Constitutionality of Rest Day Law,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, April 16, 1970, 1B; Jack Fenton, “Judge Predicts Ruling Soon on Rest Act’s Legality,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, April 25, 1970, 23; Jack Fenton, “Judge Delays Test of Sunday Closing,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, April 30, 1970, 1B; “Hearing Opens on Pros, Cons of Rest Day Act,” *Deseret News*, May 6, 1970, B1; “Judge Mulls Memos on Sunday Act,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, May 6, 1970, 25B; Jack Fenton, “Court Weighs Challenges to Rest Act, Dates Ruling,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, May 7, 1970, 1B; Gordon Kirby, “Rest Act Ruled Unconstitutional,” *Deseret News*, May 12, 1970, B1; Jack Fenton, “‘Day of Rest’ Law Unconstitutional,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, May 13, 1970, 1A–2A.

⁵⁴Gordon Kirby, “Rest Act Ruled Unconstitutional,” *Deseret News*,

Roe (a staunch advocate of the strict separation of church and state and a recent convert from Mormonism to Unitarianism) and Utah's controversial former Attorney General Phil Hansen argued against the law, while attorneys Bruce Hafen and Harold R. Waldo Jr. argued in its favor. Hansen charged that the act was motivated by religious concerns as well as by the desire of downtown merchants to close down competitors in the suburbs. Roe argued that the law contained "so many exceptions that it's not a general law at all." Hafen retorted that the statute's vagueness did not make it unconstitutional and pointed out that similar laws had been upheld in other states. He likened the Sunday closing law's attempt to "preserve the peace and quiet of Sunday" to environmental legislation; both sought to "maintain a higher quality of life." Hafen dismissed critics who alleged that the law was a "peculiar, local religious matter," pointing out that some form of Sunday closing laws existed in more than forty states as a reflection of "a widely recognized pattern to protect the public against interminable commercialization." Supreme Court Justice F. Henri Henriod, who had opposed Sunday closing laws for over a decade, was unconvinced. The fact that businesses could choose to close on either Saturday or on Sunday, he felt, proved that the law did "have some sort of religious flavor." On the following day, the Supreme Court upheld Judge Elton's ruling, affirming that the law was "so vague a person of ordinary intelligence could only guess at its meaning."⁵⁵

Writing for the court, Justice Robert LeRoy Tuckett, the only jus-

May 12, 1970, B1; Douglas L. Parker, "Many S.L. Stores to Resume Sunday Service," *Salt Lake Tribune*, May 13, 1970, 1-2; "Ruling on Rest Law Not the Last Word" (editorial), *Deseret News*, May 13, 1970, A10; Jack Fenton, "Jurists Uphold Elton Edict Voiding Day of Rest Act," *Salt Lake Tribune*, May 15, 1970, 1B; "Solution or Choice" (editorial), *Salt Lake Tribune*, May 16, 1970, 10A; "Day of Rest Foes Disband," *Deseret News*, June 11, 1970, A12; Dave Jonsson, "Sponsors Drop Drive to Win Rest Act Repeal," *Salt Lake Tribune*, June 12, 1970, 1B; Dave Jonsson, "Brief Asserts Utah Rest Law Illegal," *Salt Lake Tribune*, January 1, 1971, 1B.

⁵⁵Douglas Palmer, "Day of Rest Case Argued," *Deseret News*, February 11, 1971, B1, B14; Dave Jonsson, "Legality of Sunday Closing Aired before High Court," *Salt Lake Tribune*, February 12, 1971, 1B.

tice who did not belong to a church,⁵⁶ sidestepped questions of whether the law was motivated by religious or commercial interests or whether the legislature intended the statute to be an exercise of police power. Instead, he reasoned that “any statute whose terms are so vague that a person of ordinary intelligence could only guess at its meaning and differ as to its application fails to meet the standard of due process.” The *Salt Lake Tribune* praised the decision, arguing that the legislature had acted inappropriately: “Any such attempt not only imposes moral or religious principles on the unwilling, it hampers without discernable justification the ingenuity fundamental to a competitive, versatile, full service market place.” Strangely, the *Deseret News* offered no commentary, but the ruling fell short of what the paper had earlier called for: a precise identification of specific provisions that were “unconstitutional so that any defective part may be corrected.”⁵⁷

Champions of the law complained that religious prejudice played a role in the law’s demise. Darger recalled that “there wasn’t an LDS active member on the court,” or an active member of any church for that matter, and that “without any discussion” they overturned it, as if their ruling had been a foregone conclusion.⁵⁸ Hafen felt the same way: “The ‘defense’ of the bill before the Utah Supreme Court was quite unsettling to me, because it was so clear from the moment our argument began that a majority of the justices didn’t like the gen-

⁵⁶A native of Santaquin, Utah, Tuckett was appointed by Governor Rampton to the Supreme Court in 1966 and served there for ten years. *Provo Herald*, February 9, 1988, 4. The other four justices, E. R. Callister, F. Henri Henriod, Albert Hayden Ellett, and J. Allan Crockett, were Mormons. Stephen W. Julien, “The Utah Supreme Court and Its Justices, 1896–1976,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 44 (Summer 1976): 284.

⁵⁷*Skaggs Drug Centers Inc., v. Raedel E. Ashley et al.*, 484 P. 2d 723 (Utah 1971); “Day of Rest Act Declared Invalid,” *Deseret News*, April 17, 1971, B1; Dave Jonsson, “Top Utah Court Nullifies Sunday Closing Act,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, April 17, 1971, 23, 30; “Ultimate Sunday Closing Law Lesson Found in Supreme Court Ruling” (editorial), *Salt Lake Tribune*, April 20, 1971, 10; “Ruling on Rest Law Not the Last Word” (editorial), *Deseret News*, May 13, 1970, A10; Undated, typed notes from a conversation with Walt Budge regarding Sunday closing. Filed in folder labeled “Sunday Closing,” Reel 31, Series 192, Clyde Papers.

⁵⁸Darger, interview.

eral idea of Sunday closing. I sensed that they would probably strike down the law without worrying very much whether their opinion/rationale dealt in a thoughtful way with [our arguments].”⁵⁹

CONCLUSION

What is the status of Sunday shopping in Utah in the twenty-first century? Forty years after these events, the polarization of Sunday closing continues. Highland, Utah, repealed its city’s blue laws in July 2012. Highland’s Sunday closing ordinance drew the antagonism of the *Provo Daily Herald*, which editorialized in April 2012, “Yes, Satan is at work in Highland. The only thing that’s not clear is which side Satan is on—those who want to deprive people of their free agency, or those evil money-grubbers who want to do business on Sunday.”⁶⁰ A 2005 study revealed that approximately one-third of the state’s residents shopped frequently on Sunday while two-thirds of those surveyed said they seldom or never did. The report found that nine out of ten major stores were open on Sunday in Weber and Salt Lake Counties, compared to only half in Utah County. Statewide, 84 percent of stores were open on Sunday, which was slightly lower than the national average (90 percent). In the nation at large, as historian Craig Harline has observed, “Sunday shopping is far more common . . . than in church-avoiding Germany or Denmark. This is driven in part by those who view shopping as recreation, and in part by competition, but both are fueled by the supremely high value Americans place on consumer goods and a strong economy.”⁶¹

In retrospect, it is clear that Utah legislators were swimming upstream against a broad current that was sweeping away blue laws across the nation. In 1960, forty-seven states had Sunday blue laws on the books; by 1995 only twenty states retained some version of Sunday closing.⁶² In the 1960s and 1970s, Sunday closing laws were held in popular disdain even though the U.S. Supreme Court had upheld

⁵⁹Hafen, email to Merrill, September 20, 2003.

⁶⁰“Satan at Work in Highland” (editorial), *Provo Daily Herald*, April 1, 2012.

⁶¹Lee Davidson, “Open on Sunday? 84% of Major Utah Stores Do Business on the Sabbath,” *Deseret News*, January 23, 2005; Harline, *Sunday*, 376.

⁶²*American Jurisprudence*, 2d. ed., “Regulation and Enforcement of Sunday and Holiday Observance,” Chapter 73, §1, p. 714.

them in 1961. The *Wall Street Journal* expressed the feeling this way: "Laws are supposed to serve the general public's interest. A law does not do that when it's used to arrest businessmen for serving that public on Sunday."⁶³ In Kentucky the court invalidated the state's blue laws in 1966 because it found discriminatory enforcement; in New York, the highest court struck down the state's blue laws in 1976 because, like their colleagues in Utah, they found the classifications arbitrary. In contrast, the Maryland Supreme Court consistently upheld the state's Sunday closing laws. In response, the people of Maryland repealed the laws by referendum.⁶⁴

In Utah, judging from letters to the editor, letters to the governor, and public opinion polls, opponents of Sunday closing were the minority. Proponents of the law felt as if it had been defeated by activist, partisan judges. They felt the law was necessary for good morals, health, and business and mourned its passing, questioning whether minority rights should prevail over the voice of the majority and its elected representatives. Sunday closing entailed other ethical questions as well, even if they were rarely voiced in the debates. The bill which became the Common Day of Rest law was commissioned by downtown merchants who stood to benefit economically from it; by tapping into an emotional issue that resonated with Mormons and evangelicals they managed to advance their agenda while perhaps deflecting attention from their own economic interests and the fact that they stood to benefit if suburban retailers were forced to close their doors on Sunday. Was their attempt to turn a profit by appealing to religious sensibilities so different from suburban merchants' attempt to make money by secularizing the Sabbath?

For Latter-day Saints, the tensions between two mutually exclusive theological principles were inescapable. Using the power of the legislature and the courts to close stores on Sunday seemed to safeguard the Sabbath as the Decalogue demanded, but in the process it abrogated individual moral agency. Active Latter-day Saints finding themselves on opposite sides of the issue could harmonize their opposing positions with their religious beliefs because of this tension.

At least in part, the quest for a Sunday closing statute emanated from the desire to create a morally pure community. In the mid-nine-

⁶³Quoted in "Sunday Closing Doesn't Benefit Public," *Salt Lake Tribune*, February 14, 1970, 14.

⁶⁴Laband, *Blue Laws*, 41-42.

teenth century, Mormon lawmakers had legislated morals unabashedly in their quest for social order. But when Utah became a state in 1896, its constitution strictly separated church and state. In the twentieth century, a non-Mormon and lapsed Mormon minority fiercely guarded their liberty while many active Latter-day Saints cherished political independence and resisted political endorsements and directives from religious leaders. Consequently, in the 1950s and 1960s, Church leaders operated largely behind the scenes in their quest to shore up Sabbath observance. Through editorials in the *Deseret News* and discreet meetings and telephone calls with state legislators, general Church officers unmistakably conveyed support for Sunday closing. Meanwhile, the Church's interests were served by the presence of capable and devout lay priesthood leaders committed to Sabbath observance who worked in the University of Utah Law School, the Salt Lake Retail Merchants Association, and the state legislature. But the Church's influence in the State Capitol was nevertheless fragmentary. Some officials recoiled at any ecclesiastical pressure, and others weighed it against their own perceptions of constitutionality or the public interest. Evidence lies in the gubernatorial vetoes of Sunday closing statutes in 1953, 1959, and 1967, the State Senate's failure to override Lee's veto in 1953, and the state judiciary's unsympathetic dismissal of the 1970 statute. The quest for Sunday closing statutes, stretching over the better part of two decades, illustrates the undeniable political influence of Mormonism in Utah politics in the middle decades of the twentieth century. Equally it highlights the institutional and social factors that checked and compromised that influence in even the most religiously uniform state in the nation.

SETTING THE RECORD STRAIGHT: BRIGHAM YOUNG'S BAPTISM DATE

H. Michael Marquardt

MANY BRIGHAM YOUNG BIOGRAPHIES and Latter-day Saint reference books state that Brigham Young's baptism occurred on either April 14 or 15, 1832, at Mendon, New York.¹ The earliest records—which I accept as the most accurate—date his baptism as April 9, 1832. Much confusion originated from Brigham Young himself. This article seeks to trace this development and how, over time, the date was moved to five or six days later.

Brigham, born June 1, 1801, married Miriam Angeline Works when he was twenty-three and fathered two daughters: Elizabeth and Vilate. The Brigham Young family was enumerated in the 1830 U.S. census in two New York locations: Canandaigua, Ontario County, and Mendon, Monroe County. This dual entry may represent the family's

H. MICHAEL MARQUARDT {research@xmission.com}, an independent historian and research consultant, is the compiler of *Early Patriarchal Blessings of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Smith-Pettit Foundation, 2008), and author of *The Joseph Smith Revelations: Text and Commentary* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1999). He has compiled a second volume *Later Patriarchal Blessings of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Smith-Pettit Foundation, forthcoming).

¹For example, Leonard J. Arrington, *Brigham Young: American Moses* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1985), 30; Leonard J. Arrington and Larry C. Porter, "Young, Brigham," *Encyclopedia of Latter-day Saint History*, edited by Arnold K. Garr, Donald Q. Cannon, and Richard O. Cowan (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2000), 1375.

Aprill 9th 1832
I was Baptized under the hand
of Elson Miller and ordained
preacht as opportunity presented
Baptized Rachel Flumerfelt
June went to Hector, preacht at ^{her} house
July, Baptized John D. Morgan
out went to Keding from their to
Hornby, held ^{Baptize 9. 3} meetings, then return
to Patten held 2 meetings, from
their to Keding, held 1 meeting, from
to Hector held 1 meeting from their
home, from their to Brown held 1 meeting
and in the adjacent towns Baptized
in Arvon ... Brother Nelson
Kimbel and Brother Joseph Young,
and my self went to Ohio Baptizing
sister Whitney, Father and then
returned home then to Woresee

Figure 1. Brigham Young's Journal, April 9, 1832. Courtesy LDS Church History Library.

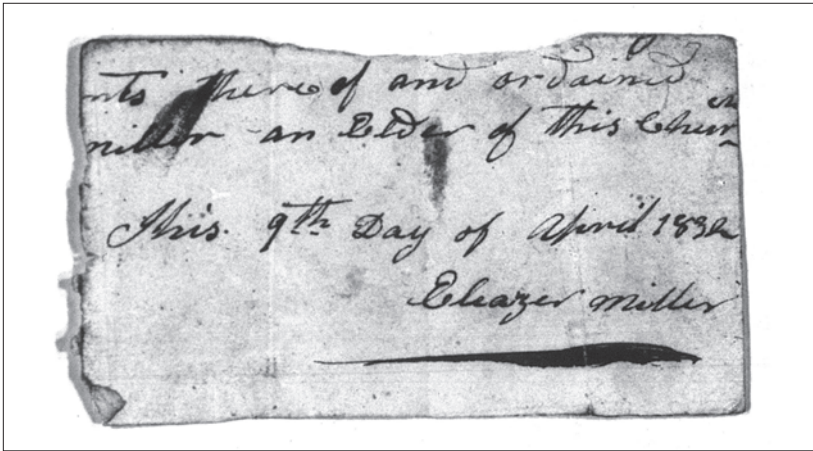


Figure 2. Reconstruction of Brigham Young's Elder's License, Courtesy, LDS Church History Library. The retained writing in the line-by-line transcript is in **bold**, line breaks indicated by /: This certifies that Brigham Young / was baptized into the Church of / Christ according to the articles & / covenants **there of and ordained** / by **Eleazer Miller an Elder of this Church** / **This 9th Day of April 1832 / Eleazer Miller**

move to Mendon from Canandaigua. Mendon is where Young was baptized, confirmed, and ordained an elder the same day. He started a journal with the first entry on April 9, 1832. As Figure 1 shows, he dates his baptism on "April 9th 1832."

Brigham's handwritten ordination license is severely damaged; but enough of it is preserved to conclude that he was ordained an elder by Eleazer Miller on April 9, 1832. See Figure 2.

In addition to these two contemporary documents, a third adds corroboration. At a family gathering on January 8, 1845, in Nauvoo, Illinois, Brigham Young spoke of his conversion. Clerk Thomas Bullcock recorded: "I was baptized in Melville [sic] by Ebenezer Miller April 9, 1832." The baptism location was corrected above the line to "Mendon, Monroe Co. N. Y." and Miller's first name to "Eleazer."²

The three historical records previously cited all concur that

²Brigham Young and Willard Richards Family Meeting Minutes, January 8, 1845, 8, General Church Minutes, 1839-77, CR 100 318, Box 1, fd. 28, LDS Church History Library, in Richard E. Turley, ed., *Selected Collections from the Archives of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 2 vols. DVD

April 9, 1832, was the day Brigham was baptized. Then, nine years after the Mormons settled in the Salt Lake Valley, those laboring in the Church Historian's Office commenced writing the "History of Brigham Young" in the fall of 1856. The information they received concerning Brigham's baptism, presumably but not certainly, came from him and was entered into the record in the first person. The first draft read: "During the month [added above the line, "of - [Blank space] 1832"] Having heard Eleazur Miller and others preach the new and everlasting Gospel as restored by the administration of an holy angel . . ."

The blank left for the month and day were filled in later and read: "14th 14 April." Other drafts of Brigham's history also incorporated April 14, 1832, as the date.³ Brigham may have been the source of this misinformation. The final fair copy read: "April 14, 1832, I was baptized by Eleazer Miller, who confirmed me at the water's edge. We returned home, about two miles, the weather being cold and snowy; and before my clothes were dry on my back he laid his hands on me and ordained me an elder, at which I marvelled."⁴

In 1858, the first part of Brigham's history, including the story of his baptism and ordination, was printed.⁵

On July 23, 1858, Brigham wrote a letter to an unidentified correspondent about the period of his life spent in Canandaigua, New York; and in it, he included the new date of his baptism: "I left Canandaigua in the first part of 1832, and returned to Mendon. April 14, same year, I was baptized into the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints."⁶ Since he was the author of this letter, then it strengthens the possibility that he supplied the mistaken date to those drafting his history in the fall of 1856.

(Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, [Dec. 2002]), Vol. 1, #18.

³Brigham Young History, Drafts, 1856–1858, CR 100 475, LDS Church History Library.

⁴Manuscript History of Brigham Young, holograph, CR 100 150, Box 3, LDS Church History Library. The number 9 was added at a later date in the left margin.

⁵"History of Brigham Young," *Deseret News*, February 10, 1858, 385.

⁶Brigham Young, Letter to unknown correspondent, July 23, 1858, *New York Semi-Weekly Tribune*, September 17, 1858, 4, reprinted from the *Ontario Republican Times*.

Then, in a discourse delivered on February 16, 1863, Brigham spoke of a third baptismal date: "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, and in that time I have gained quite an experience."⁷ April 15 fell on a Sunday in 1832, and Brigham continued to associate his baptism with this date. In another address to the Saints in 1870, he stated: "I recollect the Sunday morning on which I was baptized, in my own little mill stream; I was ordained to the office of an Elder before my clothes were dry upon me."⁸

This series of shifts—from Monday (April 9, 1832) to Saturday (April 14) in his history, and then to a Sunday (April 15)—shows how fluid a date can be when a person is recalling even an event as important as his own baptism. It is understandable when writers follow either Brigham's history or his correction to April 15, 1832, that the incorrect date becomes entrenched in telling his story. A few writers who have noticed the dating discrepancy have returned to the earliest documents for dating Brigham Young's baptism.⁹ I hope that this chronology of dates, clarifying when and (to some extent) how mistaken dates entered the historical record, will make it easier for future historians to use the correct date of April 9, 1832.

⁷Brigham Young, February 16, 1863, *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (London and Liverpool: LDS Booksellers Depot, 1854-86), 9:219.

⁸Brigham Young, July 17, 1870, *Journal of Discourses* 13:211.

⁹Richard Neitzel Holzapfel and R. Q. Shupe, *My Servant Brigham: Portrait of a Prophet* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1997), 58, suggest "9 April 1832 as the date of the baptism." See also Devery S. Anderson and Gary James Bergera, eds., *Joseph Smith's Quorum of the Anointed, 1842-1845: A Documentary History* (Salt Lake City: Smith-Pettit Foundation, 2005), 242.

**“DOES NOT PURPORT TO
COMPREHEND ALL MATTERS OF
CHURCH GOVERNMENT”:
THE LDS *GENERAL HANDBOOK OF
INSTRUCTIONS*, 1899–2006**

Michael Harold Paulos

“INDEED,” DECLARED LDS APOSTLE DALLIN H. OAKS, “one of the distinguishing characteristics of this Church is the fact that we have no paid or professional clergy in our thousands of local congregations and in the regional stakes, districts, and missions that oversee them.”¹ All across the world, selected male members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS or Mormon Church) re-

MICHAEL HAROLD PAULOS {mikepaulos@hotmail.com} is a graduate of Utah Valley State College, Brigham Young University, and the McCombs School of Business, University of Texas at Austin. He currently works in San Antonio, Texas, as an Outcomes Manager for the medical device company KCI. He is the author of *The Mormon Church on Trial: Transcripts of the Reed Smoot Hearings* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2008). He has also published articles in the *Salt Lake Tribune*, *Journal of Mormon History*, *Utah Historical Quarterly*, and *Sunstone Magazine*. He and his wife, Kimberly Gelean Paulos, are the parents of five children.

¹Dallin H. Oaks, “I’ll Go Where You Want Me to Go,” *Ensign*, November 2002, 67.

spond to invitations or “callings” from ecclesiastical superiors to donate their time and talents without financial remuneration to serve in leadership positions with formal stewardship authority over local and regional congregations that include from hundreds to thousands of Church members. After accepting these responsibilities, lay leaders become involved with and minister to the emotional, spiritual, and temporal details of numerous Church members’ lives. These men in most cases are not scholars of LDS doctrine or policy, have not been “professional[ly] train[ed] in theology,”² and do not possess expertise in the fields of psychology or counseling. Additionally, individuals who serve in these demanding capacities hold full-time jobs as the primary breadwinner to their families and, many cases, still have children at home.³ No specific professional background is required to be asked to serve as a local Church leader, and these men are “released” from leadership positions at the direction of their ecclesiastical superiors. Women serve as teachers and executives in auxiliaries serving women, teenage girls, and children but the presiding positions in wards, branches, stakes, Sunday Schools, priesthood quorums, and organizations for teenage boys are all held by men.

The basic congregational unit in the LDS Church is a ward or branch. Branches are smaller and usually less organized than wards. Wards are established in unique geographic boundaries and, in 2010, include an average of approximately 500 congregants. A stake consists of ten or fewer wards in a geographically contiguous area. For every ward or stake, three men are “called” to oversee the administrative details, spiritual well-being, and staffing requirements of each

²Frank O. May, Jr., “General Handbook of Instructions,” *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, 4 vols. (New York: Macmillan Publishing, 1992), 1:288.

³It is interesting to note that these leadership positions have not historically always been solely nonremunerative. Early handbooks outline the “bishop’s percentage,” which was tantamount to a salary, of 10 percent payment from total tithing receipts, but to be shared at a “mutually agreed upon” amount between the bishop and stake tithing clerk, for the “services rendered . . . in compiling the annual Stake reports.” *Instructions to Presidents of Stakes, Bishops and Clerks* (Salt Lake City: Presiding Bishop and First Presidency, 1900), 6–71; hereafter *Handbook 2*. All handbooks will be cited by full title and publication information on first appearance, then by a similar abbreviation and page number(s).

Latter-day Saint unit within the geographic boundaries. A bishop or branch president, with the assistance of two counselors, oversees and manages the ecclesiastical affairs in wards or branches; a stake president, with the assistance of two counselors, oversees and manages the administrative affairs of each stake. In 2010, nearly 95,000 men were voluntarily serving in leadership capacities at the local and regional levels.⁴

Understanding the inherent limitations of a lay leadership structure, the LDS Church hierarchy began issuing formalized “Instructions” designed to support volunteer leaders in their callings by establishing standardized guidelines for Church governance and fiscal operation. Mormon historian Lester Bush explained: “The *General Handbook of Instructions* evolved out of small circulars on tithing issued periodically by the First Presidency late in the nineteenth century.”

[From] 1886 on, these were apparently sent each December as “Annual Instructions.” Although not so designated at the time, the 1899 edition in this series, a fourteen-page pamphlet entitled [“]Instructions to Presidents of Stakes, Bishops of Wards and Stake Tithing Clerks,[”] marked the first in the numbered sequence of handbooks. . . . The next ten “Annual Instructions” after 1899 (“No. 3,” in 1901, was the first to carry a number) dealt almost exclusively with financial matters and, late in the decade, added a little about membership statistics. It was not until 1913, when the *Circular of Instructions No. 12 To Presidents of Stakes and Counselors, Presidents of Missions, Bishops and Counselors, Stake, Mission and Ward Clerks and all Church Authorities* was issued, that anything approximating a “general handbook” was made available to local Mormon leaders.⁵

The first sixteen handbooks were distributed under the aus-

⁴All statistics in this paragraph were obtained or calculated from the 2010 Statistical Report presented in April 2011 general conference. In 2010, the LDS Church self-reported 14,131,467 Church members, 28,660 wards and branches, and 2,896 stakes. Taking the sum of these two figures and multiplying by three volunteer leaders per unit results in a figure of 94,668 volunteers. Brook P. Hales, “Statistical Report, 2010,” *Ensign*, May 2011, 29, <http://lds.org/ensign/2011/05/statistical-report-2010?lang=eng> (accessed October 2, 2011).

⁵Lester E. Bush Jr., “Excommunication and Church Courts: A Note from the General Handbook of Instructions,” *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 14, no. 2 (Summer 1981): 77. In his essay on the LDS doctrine

pices of both the LDS Presiding Bishopric and LDS First Presidency, attesting to the important role that handbooks played in training local leaders. Beginning with the seventeenth handbook, printed in 1944, the First Presidency took over the responsibility of issuing general handbooks. In fact, the title page of the 1968 handbook reads “Published by The First Presidency.”⁶ Subsequent editions, beginning in 1983, omit any mention of the First Presidency or any other ecclesiastical governing body’s involvement, but generically identify the handbook as being “Published by The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.”⁷

In addition to the foregoing evolution in stated authorship, the

and practice of “confession,” Edward L. Kimball explains: “Through 1912, the *Circular of Instructions*, predecessor of the *General Handbook of Instructions*, gave bishops guidelines only with respect to tithes and business matters. Then in 1913, for the first time in that series of official written instructions, the bishop was specifically identified as having spiritual as well as temporal responsibilities and having a duty to maintain confidentiality of confessions (except as to matters of public notoriety). The 1913 instructions assume an already well-established practice of confessing to the bishop or bishopric, noting that public confession is not always required when offenses are not generally known.” Edward L. Kimball, “Confession in LDS Doctrine and Practice,” *BYU Studies* 36, no. 2 (1996–97): 58. Lastly, in January of 1914 *Annual Instructions* were sent out by the First Presidency explaining the transition between Circulars from financial documents to a general handbook: “As indicated in the notes for the Annual Instructions or Circulars for 1909 and 1910 (Circulars 10 and 11), these Circulars were gradually evolving into a handbook for Stake Presidents and Bishops and other officers of the Church.” James R. Clark, comp., *Messages of the First Presidency of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 6 vols. (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1965–75), 4:300.

⁶The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, *General Handbook of Instructions, Number 20* (Salt Lake City: First Presidency, 1968), 1; hereafter *Handbook 20*.

⁷*General Handbook of Instructions* (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1983), Title Page; hereafter *Handbook 22*. *General Handbook of Instructions, Number 21*, hereafter *Handbook 21*, was silent about the publisher but it was printed in the United States of America “and was copyrighted by the Corporation of the President of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.”

“publication [of handbooks] has generally grown—both larger in format and in number of pages.”⁸ The first fifteen handbooks were soft-bound, slim volumes averaging approximately fifty pages each.⁹ In the 1940s when the sixteenth and seventeenth handbooks were published, the number of pages exploded by 43 percent in 1940 and then by an additional 73 percent in the 1944. The 1944 handbook is the longest on record with 274 pages. Page increases in the 1940s can be circumstantially attributed to the influence of J. Reuben Clark, first counselor in Heber J. Grant’s First Presidency. Between 1940 and 1944, Clark’s biographer D. Michael Quinn explains, “[Clark] was often the only member of the First Presidency at the office for weeks or months at a time,” at a time when both Church President Heber J. Grant and Second Counselor David O. McKay were unable to perform day-to-day responsibilities because of health challenges. Over this five-year period, Clark shrewdly used his administrative acumen to propose innovative ways to streamline auxiliary programs and instruction manuals. And even though Grant rejected many of Clark’s suggestions at the time, his ideas later served as the inspiration behind the formation of Church Correlation. The 1940 handbook added a variety of new topics, but the most significant content expansion was on Church welfare, a program Clark was intimately involved with dating back to the Great Depression of the 1930s.¹⁰ Another interesting aspect of the 1944 handbook was that it remained in place for sixteen years and caused considerable administrative incon-

⁸Edward L. Kimball, “The History of LDS Temple Admission Standards,” *Journal of Mormon History* 24, no. 1 (Spring 1998): 173. Kimball’s article on the history of LDS temple admission standards is the best treatment of the handbooks and also contains a bibliography of each handbook from 1899 to the 1991 supplement of the 1989 edition. Additionally, the two latest handbooks (editions 1998, 2006) analyzed in this essay are substantially longer than the preceding (1989) edition.

⁹The first handbook included fourteen pages and the fifteenth handbook included 111 pp. The physical size of each handbook is listed in Kimball, “The History of LDS Temple Admission Standards,” 172–76. May, “General Handbook of Instructions,” 2:541, describes the 1899 edition as a “fourteen-page booklet of shirt-pocket size.”

¹⁰D. Michael Quinn, *Elder Statesman: A Biography of J. Reuben Clark* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2002), 84–106. Quinn is silent on Clark’s formal role and influence in the creation of the two 1940s Church hand-

venience for some ecclesiastical leaders when the edition became scarce. Addressing this problem was President David O. McKay, who at the April 1956 priesthood meeting, hoped that his words about the handbook would “not detract from the spiritual instructions received and the appeals made for our young people.” Then speaking directly to “stake officers, stake presidencies and bishoprics of wards,” President McKay quoted passages from the handbook, acknowledging: “Many of you bishops probably have not read [the handbook] because it has not been reprinted.”¹¹

From their inception, handbooks have been written to a limited audience, with the primary readership intended to be stake presidencies, bishoprics, and financial clerks in missions, stakes, and wards. Some early handbooks expanded recipients to include “High Counselors,”¹² “General Authorities in Zion,”¹³ “Presidents of Missions,”

books; however, Clark’s conceptual innovations during this period were particularly influential on future Church president Harold B. Lee, then a new member of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles. Quinn asserts that, in 1941, “the concepts [posited by Clark] sunk deep into the fertile mind of Harold B. Lee.” Lee later “implemented the idea . . . under the banner of Church Correlation.” The 1934 handbook had a twelve-page section entitled “Care for the Poor.” *Handbook of Instructions for Stake Presidencies, Bishops and Counselors, Stake and Ward Clerks, Number 15* (Salt Lake City: Presiding Bishop and First Presidency, 1934), 40–52; hereafter *Handbook 15*. The 1940 and 1944 editions renamed this section the “The Church Welfare Plan.” The welfare plan section in the 1940 handbook was thirty-one pages, while the 1944 handbook was sixty-two pages. *Handbook of Instructions for Stake Presidencies, Bishops and Counselors, Stake and Ward Clerks and Other Church Officers, Number 16* (Salt Lake City: Presiding Bishop and First Presidency, 1940), 31–62; hereafter *Handbook 16*; *Handbook of Instructions for Stake Presidents and Counselors, Bishops and Counselors, Stake and Ward Clerks and Other Church Officers, No. 17* (Salt Lake City: First Presidency, 1944), 213–74; hereafter *Handbook 17*.

¹¹David O. McKay, *Conference Report*, April 1956, 85–86.

¹²*Annual Instructions, No 5, to Presidents of Stakes and Counselors, High Counselors, Bishops and Counselors, and Stake Tithing Clerks in Zion* (Salt Lake City: Presiding Bishop and First Presidency, 1903–04), 1; hereafter *Handbook 5*.

¹³*Annual Instructions, Number Eight, to Presidents of Stakes and Counsel-*

“All Church Authorities,”¹⁴ and “Other Church Officers.”¹⁵ In 1963, the handbook included the following cautionary note printed on the back outside cover, “This Handbook is issued only for the use of those holding positions requiring it. If there is a change in the personnel of such position it should promptly be turned over to the successor.”¹⁶ Thirteen years later in 1976, the handbook, for the first time, admonished: “All vital items contained in previous editions of the *General Handbook of Instructions* and in past issues of the *Priesthood Bulletin* have been included in this edition of the handbook. Therefore, all previous editions of the *General Handbook of Instructions* and all previous issues of the *Priesthood Bulletin* should be discarded.”¹⁷ Additionally, this handbook included two additional admonitions, “One copy will be furnished to each stake, ward, mission, district, and branch library to be made available to priesthood leaders on a loan-and-return basis;” and “**CONTENTS OF THIS HANDBOOK SHOULD NOT BE REPRODUCED.**”¹⁸

Edward L. Kimball, in the footnotes of his excellent article on the history of confession in the LDS Church, conjectured four plausible reasons for institutional reticence on allowing widespread handbook distribution, “Limited access to the *Handbook* may reflect reluctance to have outdated versions in circulation, disinclination to explain changes from one edition to another, concern over spelling out policies that are subject to discretion, or the irrelevance of much of

ors, Bishops and Counselors, Stake Clerks and General Authorities in Zion (Salt Lake City: Presiding Bishop and First Presidency, 1906), 5; hereafter *Handbook 8*.

¹⁴*Annual Instructions, 1909, Circular No. 10, To Presidents of Stakes and Counselors, Presidents of Missions, Bishops and Counselors, Stake, Mission, and Ward Clerks and All Church Authorities* (Salt Lake City: Presiding Bishop and First Presidency, January 1, 1909), 1; hereafter *Handbook 10*.

¹⁵*Handbook 16*, title page.

¹⁶*The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, General Handbook of Instructions, Number 19* (Salt Lake City: First Presidency, 1963); hereafter *Handbook 19*.

¹⁷*Handbook 21*, foreword.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, iii. It was not until the 2010 edition (not covered in this article) that those authorized to receive copies included general auxiliary leaders.

the *Handbook* to the general membership.”¹⁹

As mentioned above, the first eleven handbooks dealt primarily with receiving, handling, and accounting for tithing. This focus can be contextualized as part of a larger fiscal campaign, instigated by President Lorenzo Snow and designated by Mormon historian E. Jay Bell the “1899 Tithing Reformation,” to rescue the Church from indebtedness. After Snow was ordained Church president in 1898, he was “alarmed” to learn that the Church was insolvent and on the brink of bankruptcy because it “maintained little fiscal supervision,” had “no budgetary controls,” and was sloppy in how it distributed funds, including surprising situations where fiscal decisions were made “ad hoc on an as-needed basis.” Furthermore, tithing receipts in the 1890s had “dropped off so steeply that the Church had to borrow \$105,000 to protect its business interests.”²⁰ Spurred by a

¹⁹Kimball, “Confession in LDS Doctrine and Practice,” 13. In recent years, the LDS Church has aggressively pursued entities that have infringed on the copyright of handbooks. For example, in 1999 the “Intellectual Reserve, Inc. (IRI), the corporation that holds the LDS Church’s intellectual-property assets” sued the Utah Lighthouse Ministry (owned and operated by LDS Church detractors Jerald and Sandra Tanner) for posting seventeen pages of the 1998 handbook on its website. Lisa Carricaburu, “LDS Church Asks Judge to Hold Critics in Contempt,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, November 6, 1999, D2; Sheila McCann, “Web Site Prompts Mormon Church to Sue Critics,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, October 15, 1999, A1. Nine years later in 2008 when the 2006 handbook was posted on the internet, the LDS Church “sent notice to the Wikimedia Foundation alleging a copyright infringement by its Web sites Wikinews and Wikileaks regarding posting of a virtual copy of the 1999 LDS Church Handbook of Instructions.” Carrie A. Moore, “LDS Church Alleges Wikimedia Site Infringed Copyright,” *Deseret News*, May 14, 2008, <http://www.deseretnews.com/article/700225944/LDS-Church-alleges-Wikimedia-site-infringed-copyright.html> (accessed May 18, 2012). In each of the foregoing cases, the handbook selections posted on-line were removed from the websites.

²⁰Bell does not correlate the standardization of tithing policies, and the inaugural 1899 Church handbook with the so-called “1899 Tithing Reformation.” He does, however, quote from the 1989 handbook twice in footnotes. See E. Jay Bell, “The Windows of Heaven Revisited: The 1899 Tithing Reformation,” *Journal of Mormon History* 20, no. 1 (Spring 1994): 45–83.

“publicly announced revelation on tithing,”²¹ the Church’s fifth president began to preach not only the necessity of paying a full tithing but also the blessings promised to the compliant.²² Echoing this message was the 1899 handbook, signed by President Snow, that adjured, “We desire to impress upon the presiding officers in the Wards and Stakes of Zion the necessity of diligently teaching and observing the law of tithing, urging its importance to the temporal and spiritual welfare of the Latter-day Saints and the many blessings promised to those who observe this law in the spirit and meaning thereof.”²³

From the twelfth handbook (1913) up to the twenty-sixth edition (2006), the handbook has evolved from dealing exclusively with monetary and temporary concerns to a guidance document that includes a large variety of instructions on general Church policies and procedures for many topics including but not limited to “(1) Church administration and meetings; (2) calling members to Church positions and releasing them from such calls; (3) ordaining members to priesthood offices; (4) performing ordinances and giving blessings; (5) doing sacred temple work and family history; (6) responding to calls for missionary service; (7) keeping records, reports, and account-

²¹D. Michael Quinn, “LDS Church Finances from the 1830s to the 1990s,” *Sunstone*, June 1996, 17–29, explains that Snow “liberalized the 1838 revelation on tithing” by “limit[ing] the law of tithing to one-tenth of annual income with no massive payment upon conversion [to paying tithing]. President Snow is best known for his emphasis on observance of this new definition of tithing.”

²²Bell, “The Windows of Heaven Revisited,” 67–68. Bell’s essay chronicles the historical context for Snow’s revelation as well as the limitations of documentary evidence linking the revelation on tithing with Snow’s alleged promise that rain would fall, thus ending the devastating drought occurring at that time. The narrative focusing on Snow’s promise was depicted in the 1963 Church movie, *Windows of Heaven*. According to Bell, this film was released at a time when the Church was facing a financial crisis, and recreated “for another generation of Saints Lorenzo Snow’s revelation for the temporal salvation of the Church some sixty years later.” Bell, “The Windows of Heaven Revisited,” 93.

²³*Instructions to Presidents of Stakes, Bishops of Wards and Stake Tithing Clerks* (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1899), 5; hereafter *Handbook 1*.

ing for finances; (8) applying Church discipline; and (9) implementing Church policies on such matters as buildings and property, moral issues, and medical and health issues.”²⁴

As current handbooks contain changes from the previous version not enumerated or elucidated upon, deciphering the exact reasons for the changes can only be surmised. Bearing this limitation in mind, it is my conclusion that most of the textual changes in the handbooks have been precipitated by membership growth or geographic expansion, societal and cultural changes both in and outside of the United States, and technological advancements and innovations.²⁵ Exceptions to these three categories exist, but remarkable consistency can be witnessed when reading the full collection of handbooks

²⁴May, “General Handbook of Instructions,” 2:541. To meet the historical goals of my article, I analyzed handbooks from 1899 to 2006.

²⁵May, who wrote a brief article, “General Handbook of Instructions,” for the *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, 2:541, suggests a similar thesis on why changes have been made to handbooks: “The most significant and constant change that has prompted the revisions has been the growth of the Church from 271,681 members in 1899 to more than 7 million in 1990. Other factors that have prompted revisions include the shift in North American members from an agrarian to an urban society, the immigration of converts, the Depression of the 1930s, the wars in the twentieth century, the increase of sensitive social issues, and the transitions from a membership centered in Utah to a membership in North America, and ultimately, to an international Church.” Furthermore, media outlets in Utah keep a keen eye on any revisions to the language of handbooks regarding contemporary social issues. News articles published on these topics include: Vern Anderson, “LDS Handbook Says Family Size Is Up to Couple, God,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, December 5, 1998, A1; Peggy Fletcher Stack, “New LDS Emphasis: Care for the Needy,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, December 9, 2009, http://www.sltrib.com/faith/ci_13965607 (accessed May 19, 2012); Peggy Fletcher Stack, “Updated LDS Handbook Softens Language on Gays,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, November 18, 2010, <http://m.sltrib.com/sltrib/mobile/50658721-89/church-behavior-homosexual-gay.html.csp> (accessed May 19, 2012); JaNae Francis, “LDS Church Handbook Changes; Gay Member Paragraphs Get Much Attention,” *Ogden Standard Examiner*, November 19, 2010, <http://www.standard.net/topics/religion/2010/11/19/lds-church-handbook-changes-gay-member-paragraphs-get-much-attention> (accessed May 19, 2012); Peggy Fletcher Stack, “Mormons Can Drink Caffeine? ‘Dew tell,’” *Salt Lake Tribune*, September 23, 2011, <http://www.sltrib.com/sltrib/politics/>

in chronological order. Moreover, new editions include an immense amount of verbatim boilerplate that simply repeats the previous edition; and in many cases, only minor or nuanced differences can be detected from the previous volume.²⁶ Only when compared across two or three decades do major differences in the handbooks' content and prose become clearly apparent.

When the 1913 handbook was distributed, it contained instructions that these "books should be preserved for reference and consulted frequently. Its perusal will serve to remind one of matters [sic] that require attention; and many of the questions that arise in stakes and wards may be answered by reference to its contents."²⁷ Subsequent handbooks described the contents as "precepts, regulations," "rules," "rulings," and "suggestions."²⁸ These strongly worded suggestions probably caused some Church officials to rely too heavily on the handbook; and in 1944, the handbook included for the first time the following careful caveat, "Though [the handbook] covers many items, yet it does not purport to comprehend all matters of Church government, nor is it an official statement of Church doctrine."²⁹ The next edition (1960) expanded this explanation: "This [handbook] is not to be construed as an official statement of Church doctrine. The revelations of the Lord as set forth in the Standard Works constitute the law and the doctrine of the Church."³⁰

However, despite these qualifications, the handbooks can, in

52615759-90/church-caffeine-dew-jorgensen.html.csp (accessed May 19, 2012).

²⁶For instance, the following handbooks pairs have similar content and prose: 1913 and 1921, 1928 and 1934; 1940 and 1944; 1960 and 1963, 1983 and 1985.

²⁷*Circular of Instructions to Presidents of Stakes and Counselors, Bishops and Counselors, Stake and Ward Clerks, Presidents of Missions and All Church Authorities, No. 12* (Salt Lake City: Presiding Bishop and First Presidency, 1913), 3-4; hereafter *Handbook 12*.

²⁸*Instructions to Bishops and Counselors, Stake and Ward Clerks, No. 13* (Salt Lake City: Presiding Bishop and First Presidency, 1921), 4; hereafter *Handbook 13*; *Handbook 16*, foreword; *The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, General Handbook of Instructions, Number 18* (Salt Lake City: First Presidency, 1960), preface; hereafter *Handbook 18*.

²⁹*Handbook 17*, 1.

³⁰*Handbook 18*, preface.

fact, sometimes be construed as LDS doctrine. In these circumstances, the handbook uses scriptural justification to establish rationale for a policy.³¹ For example, the 1921 handbook quotes from Doctrine and Covenants 42:89 to explain why “such things” as a confession from “persons guilty of adultery or fornication” should, in most cases, be kept private with the “Bishopric of the ward.”³² Another example of a doctrinal exposition appears in the 1976 handbook, the first to address abortion. It seems likely that this topic appeared in this handbook because of its relevance in U.S. society stemming from the watershed 1973 Supreme Court decision, *Roe v. Wade*, that legalized abortion in all fifty states. *Handbook* authors explained, “Members of the Church guilty of being parties to the sin of abortion are subject to the disciplinary action of the councils of the Church as circumstances warrant. In dealing with this serious matter, it would be well to keep in mind the word of the Lord stated in the 59th Section of the Doctrine and Covenants, verse 6, ‘Thou shalt not steal; neither commit adultery, nor kill, nor do anything like unto it.’”³³

Because handbooks are the de facto training guide for Church

³¹The 1960 handbook explains, “The revelations of the Lord as set forth in the Standard Works constitute the law and the doctrine of the Church.” *Handbook 18*, Preface.

³²*Handbook 13*, 41–42. This policy explains that each transgressor’s case “should be considered by [the Bishopric] on its own merits.” And that “where persons guilty of adultery or fornication confess their sin, and their transgression is known to themselves only, the confession to the Bishopric should not be made public nor recorded. But where publicity has been given to it, the confession should be made before the priesthood of the ward at the regular weekly priesthood meeting. In the case of women, their confession may be made to the Bishopric of the ward, and the Bishopric may make such explanations to the priesthood as they may consider necessary. The object of this restriction is to confine the confession as much as possible to the circle acquainted with wrong-doings and to avoid spreading the knowledge of sin, in accordance with the revelation contained in the Doctrine and Covenants, Section 42:89, which says that such things ‘shall be done in a meeting, and that not before the world.’” It is interesting to note that this 1921 policy uses the plural term “Bishopric” to designate the deliberative body to whom confession is made.

³³*General Handbook Supplement*, Number 1 (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, July 1, 1976), 6; hereafter *Handbook 21*:

leadership, lay leaders are encouraged to become intimately acquainted with the contents of the current handbook. However, several handbooks explicitly state that they are not designed to provide specific answers to every question or situation a Church leader might encounter. The 1960 handbook, for instance, cautions that handbooks are to teach principles and not “to cover all matters of Church government.” Instead, these publications are intended to be “helpful suggestions” that provide lay leaders with a framework for “dealing with many problems with which our officers are constantly confronted.” Because of this, Church officers are instructed “that there must be considerable flexibility in handling some of these matters and that inspiration and the direction of the Spirit must be sought for and followed.”³⁴ The 1976 handbook goes into more detail: “Every officer of the Church will need earnestly to seek the spirit of his calling and to live to be led by discernment in the many problems and complexities that are encountered.”³⁵ Lastly, the 1998 *Handbook* explains that studying the handbook “facilitate[s] revelation,” thus enabling Church leaders to better fulfill their duties and callings.³⁶

Despite the limited access and cautionary language associated with the distribution of handbooks, the LDS Church has recently denied that the handbooks contain anything secretive or sinister. In fact, according to a statement from the Church in 2008, the “Handbook of Instructions is a reference guide to assist local church leaders in managing church affairs. There is nothing particularly newsworthy in the

Supplement 1. This handbook allowed for abortion in “rare cases where, in the opinion of competent medical counsel, the life or health of the woman is seriously endangered or where the pregnancy was caused by forcible rape and produces serious emotional trauma in the victim. Even then it should be done only after counseling with the local bishop or branch president and after receiving divine confirmation through prayer.” Lastly, the abortion policy concluded with the following clarification, “As far as has been revealed, the sin of abortion is one for which a person may repent and gain forgiveness.” A significant revision between the handbook it was updating and the supplement is that the supplement makes no mention of physicians.

³⁴*Handbook 18*, preface.

³⁵*Handbook 21*, ix.

³⁶*Church Handbook of Instructions, Book 1, Stake Presidencies and Bishoprics* (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1998), xiii; hereafter *Handbook 25*.

material. In fact, the church regularly quotes from the Handbook when giving policy positions to journalists.³⁷ Adding weight to this assertion, the LDS Church in 2010 made available online the entire “red” volume from the two-volume handbook set which includes the “church’s position on a panoply of social issues.”³⁸ The companion book, known as the “blue” volume, has been “reserved” for Church leaders’ eyes only because it includes “information about counseling with members”; and the Church hierarchy, according to Michael Otterson, managing director of the LDS Church’s Public Affairs office, “worried that if it were widely read, some members ‘might decide they don’t need to go see their bishop.’”³⁹

One interesting aspect of the handbooks is the evolution of nomenclature used to describe aspects of the LDS Church experience. The first example of this relates to the volunteer service provided by members of each ward. (Although much of this service is genuinely voluntary, probably the bulk of it comes from members who accept “callings” from ecclesiastical leaders to serve for a temporary time pe-

³⁷Statement quoted in Moore, “LDS Church Alleges Wikimedia Site Infringed Copyright.”

³⁸An interactive online supplement at LDS.org provides “short videos that teach core leadership principles.” Its content outline . . . directly corresponds with the content of *Handbook 2*. “Leadership Training Library,” *Ensign*, April 2012, 77.

³⁹Michael Otterson, quoted in Peggy Fletcher Stack, “LDS Church Handbook on Social Issues Available Online,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, November 26, 2010, <http://m.sltrib.com/sltrib/mobile/50690125-89/church-handbook-says-members.html.csp> (accessed May 19, 2012). Additionally, the Church, through Brigham Young University, sponsored the four-volume *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, which contained several references to and lengthy quotations from the 1989 *General Handbook of Instructions* when explaining the Church’s position on such issues as abortion, adoption of children, artificial insemination, birth control, conferences, dedications, organ transplants and donations, prolonging life, sealing, stillborn children, sterilization, and suicide. See, respectively, 1:7, 1:20–21, 1:70, 1:116–17, 1:306–7, 1:367, 3:1051–52, 3:1159–60, 3:1288–90, 3:1417–19, 3:1422–23. For the 2010 *Handbook*, the LDS Church has posted “Handbook 2: Administering the Church,” which deals with the auxiliaries. <http://lds.org/handbook/handbook-2-administering-the-church?lang=eng> (accessed October 12, 2011).

riod in prescribed positions that include teaching and leadership roles. At the discretion of ecclesiastical leaders, Church members are released from the “callings” and in most cases given a new assignment.) From the time-periods associated with the earliest handbooks, bishops and stake presidents have had the responsibility of selecting Church members to fulfill these “callings” in the congregation for which these men have responsibility. The term “appointment,” replaced by “calling” in current Church parlance, was used in various ways in Church handbooks up to 1976.⁴⁰ In the 1983 handbook, the term “Appointments” was dropped and replaced by “Calls,”⁴¹ and by 1998 this term was expanded to the contemporary term “Callings.”⁴²

Another example of antiquated vocabulary is the use of “grade” to describe the different offices within the LDS priesthood. Orson F. Whitney attributed this term to Joseph Smith in the biography he wrote about his grandfather, Heber C. Kimball, in 1888. Quoting from Kimball’s “record,” Whitney relates a story from Adam-ondi-Ahman when Joseph Smith took a group of men, including Brigham Young, to where there “were the ruins of three altars built of stone”

⁴⁰Early handbooks, such as those for 1903, 1904, and 1905 discuss the “appointment” of bishops and stake tithing clerks. *Handbook 5*, 11, 22; *Annual Instructions, No 4, to Presidents of Stakes and Counselors, Presidents of Missions, High Counselors, Bishops and Counselors and Stake Tithing Clerks in Zion* (Salt Lake City: Presiding Bishop and First Presidency, 1902), 14, 27; hereafter *Handbook 4; Annual Instructions, No. 7, to Presidents of Stakes and Counselors, High Councilors, Bishops and Counselors, Stake Tithing Clerks in Zion* (Salt Lake City: Presiding Bishop and First Presidency, December 1, 1905), 27–28; hereafter *Handbook 7*. A few years later in 1908, the handbook mentions among the bishop’s responsibilities as managing “all releases from and appointments to the several offices of the ward.” *Annual Instructions, 1908, Circular No. 9, to Presidents of Stakes and Counselors, Presidents of Missions, Bishops and Counselors, Stake and Ward Clerks and General Authorities in Zion* (Salt Lake City: Presiding Bishop and First Presidency, 1908), 16; hereafter *Handbook 9*. *Handbook 21* published in 1976 entitled Section 3 “Appointments and Releases” See *Handbook 21*, 25.

⁴¹Section 3 of the 1983 handbook is titled “Calls and Releases.” *General Handbook of Instructions* (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1983), 17; hereafter *Handbook 22*.

⁴²Section 6 of the 1998 handbook is titled “Callings and Releases.” *Handbook 25*, 37.

and explained that these represented “the order of three grades of Priesthood.”⁴³ This term was seldom used in Church sermons, publications, and contemporaneous journals during Joseph Smith’s life, with only a slight uptick in usage frequency over the fifty years subsequent to his death. However, during the early to middle twentieth century, Church magazines and general conference speakers used the term more often to describe the priesthood offices ranging from deacon to high priest.⁴⁴ Church handbooks followed this trend. In 1910 the handbook described in generic terms the different “grades of the priesthood.”⁴⁵ Later handbooks, including the 1921, 1928, and 1934 editions, use the term “grade” when referring to “the three grades of the Aaronic Priesthood” or, in other words, the quorums of deacons, teachers, and priests.⁴⁶ After the 1934 handbook, “grades of the priesthood” was phased out of use in handbooks.

Occasionally Church handbooks introduced new policies needed to deflect negligence on the part of local leaders or based on the “best practices,” as it were, of congregations in the Church. One example appears in the 1906 handbook, which scolded “presiding officers” for being “careless,” “indifferent,” and “unacquainted” with

⁴³Orson F. Whitney, *Life of Heber C. Kimball* (Salt Lake City: Juvenile Instructor Office, 1888), 222–23.

⁴⁴Examples of LDS general conference speakers who used the term “grades” in referring to priesthood are: Rudger Clawson, *Conference Report*, April 1902, 29; Andrew Jenson, *Conference Report*, October 1906, 98; Charles W. Penrose, *Conference Report*, October 1917, 23; David A. Smith, *Conference Report*, April 1938, 58; and LeGrand Richards, *Conference Report*, April 1948. For examples of this terminology in the *Improvement Era*, see Joseph B. Keeler, “A Typical Ward Service,” 17, no. 8 (June 1914): 746–47; “Editor’s Table: Greetings from the First Presidency,” 29, no. 3 (January 1926): 295. Whitney possibly interpolated “grade” into this quotation from Joseph Smith as I have found no primary source in which Smith uses this terminology.

⁴⁵*Annual Instructions, To Presidents of Stakes and Counselors, Presidents of Missions, Bishops and Counselors, Stake, Mission, and Ward Clerks and All Church Authorities, Circular No. 11* (Salt Lake City: Presiding Bishop and First Presidency, January 1, 1910), 25; hereafter *Handbook 11*.

⁴⁶*Handbook 13*, 13; *Handbook of Instructions for Bishops and Counselors, Stake and Ward Clerks, No. 14* (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1928), 17; hereafter *Handbook 14*; *Handbook 15*, 14.

the “condition of the [Church] records in their Wards or Branches.” Handbook authors found this condition unfortunate because it “has often brought about the most unpleasant and embarrassing results” to the Church, including the current situation in which “thousands of members of the Church are . . . unable to obtain the correct data [dates] of their baptisms, ordinations and other blessings.” After this admonition, the handbook encouraged Church leaders to ensure that “proper inspection and auditing of the records” occurs at least “once a year.”⁴⁷ A second example of remonstrance relates to the preparation of young people planning to marry in the temple. The 1940 handbook describes the “unfortunate” situation of “young people [who] decide to marry” but “have neglected the preparation necessary to justify the issuance of Temple recommends by bishops.” Laying the blame mostly on parents, the handbook suggests that bishops “give instructions on this subject from time to time in sacrament meetings and, at reasonable intervals, speak personally, if possible, to every young man and woman prior to the time they become engaged, and particularly to those who may be careless and negligent, in order that all shall be informed of the necessary preparation for Temple marriage.” Of particular importance, bishops should call “attention . . . in a careful way, to the covenants they will be required to take upon themselves in going through the Temple and that they must evidence a willingness to observe the commandments of the Lord and attend their meetings so as to be worthy to receive the blessings desired.”⁴⁸

A final example of didactic instruction appears in the 1944 handbook. In this situation, the handbook provides the logic and rationale behind keeping “efficient boy leaders” in those Church positions for extended periods of time. “From time-to-time . . . urgent appeals [are] made to the leadership in stakes and wards to leave successful boy leaders in the boys’ program and not appoint them to unrelated or administrative positions which may be filled even better by persons not qualified to lead and teach young men.” Not retaining efficient men in these important callings entailed risk since “in some instances when a boy leader excels in his work he is taken into some other activity which takes him away from his boys and cuts the latter adrift perhaps with irreparable damage.” Tying a bow on this policy, the handbook explains: “A successful boys’ leader is not happy when

⁴⁷*Handbook 8*, 30–31.

⁴⁸*Handbook 16*, 123.

taken away from his work with young men. He is not looking for, nor expecting 'advancement.' He is contented right where he is. Why not leave him there to his own blessing and to the blessing of the boys who delight in his leadership[?]"⁴⁹

Many subjects related to priesthood administration and responsibility execution are covered in handbooks, though it is interesting to note that the handbooks never make explicit mention of the ban on ordaining worthy black boys and men to the priesthood, either before or after the 1978 revelation removing this ban. It has been conjectured that this policy was not included because it was widely known and enforced at the time the first handbook was published.⁵⁰ Tangentially relating to this topic of the priesthood ban is a section from the 1976 handbook that discusses priesthood qualifications. During this era, ward clerks using the "manual system" to track membership records were counseled. "If the person is a new convert or is a child of record . . . the [ward] clerk should write the words 'Not eligible' in both the column for priesthood and the column for endowments."⁵¹ The 1976 handbook, with the foregoing instructions, was published when the priesthood ban was in force, thus providing an implicit way for ward clerks to potentially account for male members with African lineage.

Also on the topic of priesthood was the sharp focus, published in the 1940 handbook, on avoiding "Formalism in Church Worship." Liturgical application of this guideline surrounded the clothing worn

⁴⁹*Handbook 17*, 169.

⁵⁰This interpretation that the priesthood ban was too well known to be explicitly included in the handbooks was made by Harold W. Simmons. Untitled letter to the editors, *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 3, no. 2 (Summer 1968), 7–8. Simmons was responding to Armand Mauss's essay on "Mormonism and the Negro: Faith, Folklore, and Civil Rights," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 2, no. 4 (Winter 1967): 19–39. Simmons posited that bishops are not explicitly instructed about the ban because of "the power of tradition—not just a tradition that Negroes shall be denied the priesthood, but a tradition that the word of General Authorities is the word of God." Responding to Simmons's comment, Mauss warned: "Not all 'instructions' are in the Handbook (which does not, by the way, explicitly exclude women from the priesthood either)." Untitled letter to the editors, *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 3, no. 2 (Summer 1968): 15.

⁵¹*Handbook 21*, 86–87.

by persons administering the weekly sacrament at Sunday services:

While it is very desirable that the clothing and the general appearance of those who administer and pass [the sacrament] should be neat, clean and appropriate, it is not desirable to require such uniformity in dress and action as to smack of formalism. Though white shirts and dark ties for the young men are proper, it should not be required that all be exactly alike in dress and general appearance. Proper encouragement can and should be given to them to be neat, clean, and appropriately dressed. Furthermore they should not be required to assume any particular posture or action while passing the sacrament, such as carrying the left hand behind the back or maintaining stiffness in walking or any tendency toward military order in action.⁵²

Two decades later, the 1960 handbook reiterated the policy explaining that “such uniformity in dress” would “smack of formalism.”⁵³ Later handbooks dropped the commentary on formalism but encouraged young men “to avoid gaudy colors and patterns in either ties, shirts, pants, or sports coats.”⁵⁴ In recent years, guidance from General Authorities has taken a different tone, stressing formalistic uniformity in sacramental comportment. Speaking in an October 1995 general conference, Apostle Jeffrey R. Holland recommended: “Wherever possible a white shirt [should] be worn by the deacons, teachers, and priests who handle the sacrament. For sacred ordinances in the Church we often use ceremonial clothing, and a white shirt could be seen as a gentle reminder of the white clothing you wore in the baptismal font and an anticipation of the white shirt you will soon wear into the temple and onto your missions.”⁵⁵

As the Church experienced membership growth, early twentieth-century handbooks provided guidance on how best to manage the

⁵²*Handbook 16*, 77–78.

⁵³*Handbook 18*, 45.

⁵⁴*Handbook 21*, 47–48.

⁵⁵Elder Jeffrey R. Holland, “This Do in Remembrance of Me,” *Ensign*, November 1995, <http://lds.org/ensign/1995/11/this-do-in-remembrance-of-me?lang=eng> (accessed October 26, 2011). Thirteen years later, Apostle Dallin H. Oaks repeated Elder Holland’s statement verbatim. Dallin H. Oaks, “Sacrament Meeting and the Sacrament,” *Ensign*, November 2008, <http://lds.org/general-conference/2008/10/sacrament-meeting-and-the-sacrament?lang=eng> (accessed October 26, 2011).

challenge of keeping and maintaining accurate membership records, particularly in cases of Church members “who move their residence from one ward or stake to another.”⁵⁶ When an LDS member moved out of a ward, bishops were asked to furnish the outgoing person(s) with a “recommend,” that included personal information such as their “complete genealogy,” to deliver by hand to the subsequent bishop of the individual’s new ward.⁵⁷ Not unexpectedly, this process yielded “deplorable condition[s]” because “through neglect,” “thoughtlessness,” and “carelessness a surprisingly large number of members have failed to identify themselves with wards into which they have moved and by the lapse of time, as well as from various other causes, they would seem to have lost all evidence of their membership in the Church.” In 1910, Church leaders revamped the system, making the “Presiding Bishop’s Office . . . a clearing-house for recommends.”⁵⁸ Bishops at this point were required, “when a member leaves a ward,” to send “a notice of such removal . . . to the Presiding Bishop’s Office; and . . . when a new member arrives in a ward a request for [a] recommend should be sent to the Presiding Bishop’s Office.”⁵⁹

Even in the modern Church with computers and other technological advancements, leaders continue to grapple with the challenge of locating lost members. In a 2005 interview with the *Salt Lake Tribune*, Elder Merrill Bateman, former Presiding Bishop, former president of Brigham Young University, and emeritus member of the Seventy, explained that approximately 180,000 or one-tenth of the LDS Church’s Utah membership are categorized as “in-transit Mormons” and placed in an “address unknown file” at Church headquarters. Bateman further explained that the Church does not “give up on people. . . . As long as they have not asked to have their names taken off the rolls of the church, we have a responsibility toward them [to make all efforts to find them] and believe in time . . . we will be an influence to help them find their way back.”⁶⁰

Temporal topics relating to the maintenance of physical facilities began to receive attention in the late 1920s when an entire section

⁵⁶*Handbook 11*, 2-3.

⁵⁷*Handbook 10*, 35.

⁵⁸*Handbook 11*, 2-3.

⁵⁹*Ibid.*, 27-28.

⁶⁰Matt Canham, “Church Won’t Give Up on ‘Lost Members,’” *Salt*

was published on the maintenance and oversight of “Ward and Stake Property.”⁶¹ Handbooks thereafter expanded this category to include such items as the purchase of real estate, the maintenance of “titles” for Church buildings, tax exempt status of Church property, and fire insurance requirements for meetinghouses and other Church property. By 1976, however, these instructions, along with other disparate topics ranging from “Secret Organizations” to “Birth Control,” were consolidated into a defined chapter with the title “Church Standards and Policies.”⁶²

Other early handbooks positioned topics differently than subsequent twenty-first-century handbook iterations. In some cases, these shifts can be explained by changes in societal mores. The first example of this dynamic relates to the tithing settlement. Beginning with *Handbook 5* (1903), the First Presidency and Presiding Bishopric mandated that the “Bishop and his Counselors are required to be present during the tithing settlement,” because the “Bishopric of the ward are” considered “common judges in Israel . . . and it is their duty to make proper enquiry at the time of settlement whether the tithing paid during the year is a full tithing or not.”⁶³ Defining the bishopric in the plural form as “common judges in Israel” was repeated in subsequent handbooks for more than forty years, at which point, handbook writers, likely because of increasing privacy concerns among the Church populace, scaled back the tithing settlement to being bishop’s responsibility alone and labeling him with the singular description of “common judge in Israel.”⁶⁴ Variations of this descrip-

Lake Tribune, October 17, 2005, http://www.sltrib.com/ci_3123952 (accessed May 21, 2012).

⁶¹The 1928 handbook was the first to include an entire denominated section on property, though previous handbooks contained similar information in a less unorganized fashion. *Handbook 14*, 57–62.

⁶²*Handbook 21*, 103–10. Handbooks in the 1960s were not organized into broad, specific categories like the handbooks published thereafter. *Handbook 19* (1963) was divided into more than thirty sub-categories that ran continuous throughout with no section breaks. *Handbook 20* (1968) divided its contents into four generic sections.

⁶³*Handbook 5*, 16–17.

⁶⁴*Handbook 16*, 30. The terms “Judge in Israel” and “common judge”

tion of bishops have been carried down to the 2006 handbook.⁶⁵

A second example, appearing for the first time in the 1940 handbook, relates to baptism. This policy designates it as “improper” for those performing the baptismal ceremony to use “waders or hip boots” as a way “to avoid wetting the clothing or to keep the water from coming in contact with the body.” Moreover, the same handbook prohibited the “wearing of bathing caps by women who are to be baptized.”⁶⁶ Policy language prohibiting waders and bathing caps appeared once more in the next handbook (1944), but was not included thereafter.⁶⁷

A third example of a historical policy change based on changing mores relates to temple recommends, a topic deftly treated by Edward

were used to describe bishops in a November 1831 revelation received by Joseph Smith, now canonized as LDS Doctrine and Covenants 107. See Robin Scott Jensen, Robert J. Woodford, and Steven C. Harper, eds., *Revelations and Translations: Manuscript Revelation Books, Facsimile Edition, in the Joseph Smith Papers*, general editors Dean C. Jessee, Ronald K. Esplin, and Richard Lyman Bushman (Salt Lake City: The Church Historian’s Press, 2009), 217–18. In 1849, Brigham Young explained that “the High Council are called to settle differences in the church and the bishop acts as the common judge.” See Richard S. Van Wagoner, ed., *The Complete Discourses of Brigham Young*, 5 vols. (Salt Lake City: The Smith-Pettit Foundation, 2009), 1:314–15. Thirteen years later in 1862, Young used the following phrase, “The Bishop is God’s High Priest, and a common judge in Israel.” Wagoner, *The Complete Discourses of Brigham Young*, 1,988. Finally, John Taylor in 1877 spoke of Bishops and their Counselors operating as “common judges in Israel” without enumerating any specific responsibilities. John Taylor, *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (London and Liverpool: LDS Booksellers Depot, 1855–86), 19:124. Twenty-two years later, Taylor was posthumously published as having said, without any mention of bishops, that the “lesser or Aaronic Priesthood can . . . act as common judge in Israel.” John Taylor, *Items on Priesthood: Presented to the Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Geo. Q Cannon & Sons Company, 1899), 30.

⁶⁵*Church Handbook of Instructions, Book 1, Stake Presidencies and Bishoprics* (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 2006), 13; hereafter *Handbook 26*. This handbook enumerates five “principal responsibilities” for bishops, including serving as “a common judge.”

⁶⁶*Handbook 16*, 119.

⁶⁷*Handbook 17*, 67.

L. Kimball in his 1998 *Journal of Mormon History* article on “The History of LDS Temple Admission Standards.”⁶⁸ Using the handbooks as the primary text, Kimball analyzed and summarized the most salient historical changes in temple admittance worthiness standards. One interesting item, not included in Kimball’s thorough study, is the implicit consideration given by the 1913 handbook to public health standards. In essence, this policy stated that temple recommends should be “issued only to those who are worthy,” and not “to [those] persons afflicted with infectious disease, or with offensive skin diseases.”⁶⁹ Interestingly, this policy disappeared from future handbooks, though almost identical instructions as these were given privately to bishops by President Joseph F. Smith in 1918, and Apostle George F. Richards in 1925.⁷⁰

A final example of changing culture influencing handbooks is demonstrated by the multi-layered approach in the 1989 handbook given to hypnosis. The first part of this policy approves hypnosis for medicinal purposes when administered by “competent, professional, medical supervision” in treating “diseases or mental disorders.” In such circumstances, hypnosis is considered “a medical question,” falling under the jurisdiction of “competent medical authority.” Within the same paragraph, the handbooks advised Church members to “not participate in hypnosis demonstrations” when used for enter-

⁶⁸Kimball, “The History of LDS Temple Admission Standards,” 135–76, is the best treatment of the handbooks; it also contains a bibliography of each published handbook from 1899 to the 1991 supplement.

⁶⁹*Handbook 12*, 21–22.

⁷⁰Devery S. Anderson, ed., *The Development of LDS Temple Worship, 1846–2000* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2011), 176, 213. Lester E. Bush Jr., *Health and Medicine among the Latter-day Saints* (New York: Crossroad Publishing Company, 1993), 98, conjectured that this “prohibition [of barring those with ‘skin diseases’ from participation in temple rituals] probably was derived from the continued use of a tub in the washing phase of the ceremonies. Later, tub washings were discarded in favor of an entirely symbolic administration, and the ‘skin’-related prohibition was dropped.” John-Charles Duffy, “Concealing the Body, Concealing the Sacred: The Decline of Ritual Nudity in Mormon Temples,” *Journal of Ritual Studies* 21, no. 2 (2007): 1–21, explains that during the 1920s, “tubs fell into disuse, and initiates received the washing and anointing while seated on a stool.” Duffy’s lengthy bibliography does not list any of the handbooks.

tainment purposes.⁷¹ These instructions were repeated in the two subsequent handbooks (1998, 2006). Around this time, Church leaders in American Fork, Utah, became “alarmed by the success of a [local] hypnosis show” and instructed bishops “to remind their congregations of the church’s stance.” Speaking to the Church-owned *Deseret News* newspaper, Stake President Craig Terry explained his rationale for reemphasizing the policy while also reiterating the stated purpose of Church handbooks: “We’re not trying to put anybody out of business; we’re just trying to teach principles.”⁷²

Since their inception in 1899, handbooks have served an important role in preparing and training LDS lay persons (especially priesthood holders) for demanding congregational assignments.⁷³ Certainly over the years, handbooks have been changed to adapt Church operation to a dynamic society and growing Church membership. What the future holds, given the Church’s growing visibility, internationalization, and changing response to social needs will certainly be reflected in its future handbooks, whatever form they take.

ADDITIONAL RESOURCES

Readers interested in obtaining more information on and analysis of past handbooks may consult the following sources:

Anderson, Lavina Fielding. “Leaders and Members: Messages from the *General Handbook of Instructions*.” *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 28, no. 4

⁷¹*General Handbook of Instructions* (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, March 1989), 11–5; hereafter *Handbook 24*; see also *Handbook 25*, 156; *Handbook 26*, 184.

⁷²Craig Terry, quoted in Jesse Hyde, “Provo Act Is Hypnotic,” *Deseret News*, June 16, 2004, <http://www.deseretnews.com/article/595070745/Provo-act-is-hypnotic.html> (accessed May 23, 2012).

⁷³An interesting sidebar to the calling of a bishop is that the non-official calling of being the bishop’s wife can be even more challenging and difficult. Kristen Moulton, “LDS Bishop’s Wife—One Tough ‘Calling,’” *Salt Lake Tribune*, May 7, 2010, http://www.sltrib.com/D=g/ci_15025098 (accessed May 23, 2012), noted that the bishop’s wife does not have the luxury of relying on a formal handbook that explains “how to shoulder all the child care when her husband is in endless meetings, how to support her spouse as he juggles a career and a seemingly full-time church assignment, how to be a role model without acting as if she has been appointed mother of the ward.”

(Winter 1995): 145–58. The first half of Anderson’s essay addresses her conclusion that women “are virtually invisible” in the 1989 handbook, with “explicit mentions of women” being “minimal.” But women, continues Anderson, “are not singled out for special treatment nor are they specifically excluded. Whether this can be interpreted as inclusiveness or erasure probably depends on the reader’s point of view.” The second half of the essay, “Leader/Member Dichotomy,” explores the imbalance of power between these two groups and how the *Handbook* reinforces this schematic.

- Bush, Lester E., Jr. “Excommunication and Church Courts: A Note from the General Handbook of Instructions.” *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 14, no. 2 (Summer 1981): 74–98. Bush’s essay provided context for the 1979 trial and excommunication of Sonia Johnson. Bush felt there was “remarkable ignorance of the criteria and mechanics [of excommunication]” among “faithful” Church members, and used this essay to provide “relevant guidance” from the *General Handbook of Instructions* on several topics including transgression, Church courts, and excommunication.
- Bush, Lester E., Jr. “Excommunication: Church Courts in Mormon History.” *Sunstone*, July–August 1983, 24–29. This lecture covers similar material as Bush’s *Dialogue* article; however, Bush posits an additional insight that John A. Widtsoe was largely responsible for the 1921 handbook’s standardization of Church court procedures.
- Kimball, Edward L. “The History of LDS Temple Admission Standards,” *Journal of Mormon History* 24, no. 1 (Spring 1998): 135–76. Kimball’s historical essay covers the “discernable changes” and shifts of “emphasis” in LDS temple admission standards dating back to the nineteenth century when questions of worthiness were “ascertained through personal acquaintance and observation” and coming forward to the formalized criteria for temple admission in the contemporary Church. Two broad categories for temple worthiness—matters of belief and matters of conduct—were considered by Kimball in this fascinating article.
- Kimball, Edward L. “Confession in LDS Doctrine and Practice.” *BYU Studies* 36, no. 2 (1996–97): 7–73. This lengthy treatise on the history, doctrine, and practice of confession in the LDS Church touches briefly on the handbooks. Kimball explains in this article that the “Church quotes from [the Handbook] in court documents . . . to establish the Church’s position on confidentiality of confessions . . . in both state and federal courts” (13).
- Oman, Nate. “The Evolution of Excommunication.” *Times and Seasons*, July 30, 2009, <http://timesandseasons.org/index.php/2009/07/the-evolution-of-excommunication/> (accessed October 12, 2011). Oman explains that he reviewed every handbook to analyze how the “operation of church courts . . . has changed over time.” Beginning with the 1920 handbooks, Oman explains, “procedures governing church courts were added. Gradually, more instructions were included in successive editions, until it became the general compendium of policies that it has become. For most of

its history, the section on church courts was based on what started out as a verbatim reproduction of the material on church courts from Widtsoe's *Priesthood and Church Government*. Over time, however, the wording was changed subtly until the early 1980s, when the entire church court system was overhauled under the direction of Dallin H. Oaks and the term 'disciplinary councils' was introduced."

SOLOMON SPAULDING'S INDIANS, OR, WHAT THE "MANUSCRIPT FOUND" REALLY TELLS US

Adam Jortner

SOLOMON SPAULDING THOUGHT HE WAS writing a bestseller. Like many authors, he was imagining his book's success before he had even finished a draft: "When it is printed," he said, "it will bring me a fine sum of money, which will enable me to pay off all my debts."¹ The book never did bring him any money, but it did bestow posthumous infamy. His saga of misplaced Romans, dynastic wars, mammoth herding, and ancient American princesses finally achieved the notoriety Spaulding craved in 1834, when anti-Mormon polemicists Eber Howe and Doctor Philastus Hurlbut accused Sidney Rigdon and Joseph Smith Jr. of cribbing Spaulding's stories to create the Book of Mormon.

Hurlbut, an apostate Latter-day Saint, collected a series of affidavits from Spaulding's neighbors and relatives, who alleged that

ADAM JORTNER is an assistant professor of history at Auburn University and the author of *The Gods of Prophetstown: The Battle of Tippecanoe and the Holy War for the American Frontier* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011). He thanks Matthew Bowman and the *Journal's* editors and anonymous reviewers for their help in shepherding this work into print from its original form as a paper at the 2010 conference of the Mormon History Association.

¹Eber D. Howe, *Mormonism Unveiled* (Painesville, Ohio: E. D. Howe, 1843; rpt., New York: AMS Press, 1977), 285. Several affidavits mention Spaulding's remunerative hopes, and Spaulding is described as "somewhat vain about his writing" (281–83).

they recognized in the Book of Mormon a verbatim or near-verbatim rendition of Spaulding's own "particular account" of Indians, "their journey by land and sea, till they arrived in America, after which, disputes arose among the chiefs, which caused them to separate into different lands."² Spaulding died in 1816 and thus never knew how the stories he told and shared with neighbors in Conneaut, Ohio, were interpreted in Hurlbut's astonishing allegation.

Debunking and de-debunking that indictment has proved a mainstay of Mormon studies ever since; Mormon, anti-Mormon, and academic authors perennially resurrect and reevaluate the charges, like a comedian clinging to a running gag after the effect has worn off. In 1884, when "Manuscript Found" finally surfaced (in Hawaii), the LDS publisher of the volume crowed that the text itself "utterly dispels and demolishes a long existing error."³ It did not. New theories of a Spaulding origin of Mormon scripture shifted to a purported second volume by Spaulding, as yet undiscovered. Efforts to prove Spaulding to be the author of the Book of Mormon have been undertaken by scholars as recently as 2008.⁴

All this attention, however, has made "Manuscript Found" al-

²Ibid., 280.

³Anonymous introduction to Solomon Spaulding, *The Manuscript Found*, in *The Spaulding Manuscript: The Myth of the "Manuscript Found," or the Absurdities of the Spaulding Story and Manuscript Story* ([Salt Lake City: Deseret News Company, 1886]; Heber City, Utah: Archive Publishers, 2000), iv.

⁴The best summary of the long debate on the Spaulding Story and the nuances of its iterations is Lester E. Bush Jr., "The Spaulding Theory Then and Now," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 10, no. 4 (Autumn 1977): 40–69. For the Stanford study which claims Spaulding as an author of the Book of Mormon through wordprint analysis, see Matthew L. Jockers, Daniela M. Witten, and Craig S. Criddle, "Reassessing Authorship of the *Book of Mormon* Using Delta and Nearest Shrunken Centroid Classification," *Literary and Linguistic Computing* 23, no. 4 (2008): 465–491. A recent rebuttal has questioned the results of Jockers et al., particularly regarding the application of the nearest shrunken centroid methodology (developed in the field of genetics) to stylometric questions. See G. Bruce Schaalje, Paul J. Fields, Matthew Roper, and Gregory L. Snow, "Extended Nearest Shrunken Centroid Classification: A New Method for Open-Set Authorship Attribution of Texts of Varying Sizes," *Literary and Linguistic Computing* 26, no. 1 (2011): 77–88.

most unique as a historical document. Few unpublished works by frontier whites have received the scholarly and journalistic attention that Spaulding's has. Hurlbut's affidavits document the process by which Spaulding created and revised the work, and the manuscript unearthed in 1884 itself contained several different drafts; many sections were crossed-out and rewritten. Despite this surfeit of supporting materials, what has never yet been attempted is an analysis of the "Manuscript Found" in its own right: as a fictional frontier narrative of Native Americans from the Age of Jefferson.

Such narratives had more than literary influence. European and Euro-American understanding of Native Americans has always been tied to fiction and narrative, from the Spanish explanation of Aztecs as devil-worshippers to the ubiquitous captivity narratives of later decades that served, in two scholars' words, to "reflect the biases and racist preoccupations of white America."⁵ More recently, historians such as Peter Silver and Patrick Griffin have pointed to the stories of Indian brutality as more than mere reflection; the words whites wrote about Native Americans became the means by which white attitudes about Native Americans transformed into political and military responses. The stories themselves played a role in creating Indian policy in the eighteenth century by crafting a "white" community out of a polyglot European mix (as Silver argues) or by drafting stories of Indian barbarisms and valedictories about Indian-hating whites into political programs and philosophies (as Griffin has it). The stories of "fear and horror, with suitable repackaging" could "remake whole societies," as Silver argues.⁶

Yet at least one story created and retold in the American frontier—the "Manuscript Found"—did not tell such tales of fear and hor-

⁵Kathryn Zabelle Derounian-Stodola and James Arthur Levernier, *The Indian Captivity Narrative, 1550–1900* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1993), 53. See also Fernando Cervantes, *The Devil in the New World: The Impact of Diabolism in New Spain* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1994); Robert F. Berkhofer Jr., *The White Man's Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present* (New York: Vintage, 1978); S. Elizabeth Bird, "Introduction: Constructing the Indian, 1830s–1990s," in S. Elizabeth Bird, ed., *Dressing in Feathers: The Construction of the Indian in American Popular Culture* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press 1996), 1–12.

⁶Peter Silver, *Our Savage Neighbors: How Indian War Transformed Early America* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2007), xviii; Patrick Griffin, *American Le-*

ror. Spaulding's opus was instead a story of hope. The hubbub over its supposed relationship to the Book of Mormon has obscured for many years the real value of the "Manuscript Found"; concern over what the manuscript *could* be (a precursor to the Book of Mormon) has obscured what it actually *is* (an account of what a frontier Yankee thought about ancient Native America in 1811). "Manuscript Found" invents a Native America that is also a Jeffersonian utopia—an imagined world that almost exactly replicated the theories Thomas Jefferson and other like-minded republicans espoused about the nature of liberty, religion, and Native Americans. Understood this way, Spaulding's vision complicates historiographical conceptions of popular white understandings of race, history, and democracy in a violent and expanding white republic, suggesting that white preconceptions of Indians on the early republican frontier may have been more diverse and nuanced than historians have previously believed.

Spaulding's life coincides almost exactly with the great fifty-year struggle for control of the Ohio Valley; examining both events helps explain the origin and context of the "Manuscript Found." Spaulding was born in 1761, shortly before the French defeat in the Seven Years' War gave the British government a monopoly on diplomacy with North American Indians. The resulting series of perfidious treaties between colonial officials and the Iroquois Empire opened western Virginia, western Pennsylvania, and the Ohio country to white settlement—in theory. In practice, a pan-Indian Confederacy arose west of the Appalachians, spearheaded by the Ottawa leader Pontiac and inspired by a series of religious prophets, including the great Delaware visionary Neolin. Successful Indian resistance in the West prompted the British creation of the Proclamation Line of 1763. This ban on transmontane white settlement in turn helped prompt the American Revolution—which Spaulding joined, serving in the Connecticut patriot forces with several other members of his family.⁷

American independence gave Spaulding time to graduate from Dartmouth and undertake a career as a minister; it did not, however,

viathan: Empire, Nation, and Revolutionary Frontier (New York: Hill and Wang, 2007). Patrick Spero situates these newer narratives in the longer historiography of the American frontier in "Matters of Perspective: Interpreting the Revolutionary Frontier," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 132, no. 3 (July 2008): 261–70.

⁷Charles H. Whittier and Stephen W. Stathis, "The Enigma of Solo-

solve the trouble with the Ohio country. Though the alliances of the 1760s had long since fractured, by the late 1780s Native American groups in the Northwest Territory had reorganized themselves, forming a series of towns along the Maumee River. There, combined pan-Indian forces successfully stopped American encroachment from 1790 to 1794. Only Anthony Wayne's military victory at Fallen Timbers and his diplomatic cunning at the 1795 Treaty of Greenville secured the Ohio lands for white settlement. As the West opened, Spaulding followed many of his fellow Yankees across upstate New York to Ohio. He failed at a variety of tasks: ministry, law, business. By 1809, he had arrived in Conneaut, Ohio, where he tried to strike it rich by constructing a forge.⁸

As white Americans like Spaulding poured across the Appalachians, a series of accommodationist chiefs took power in the Old Northwest, notably Black Hoof in Ohio and Little Turtle in Indiana. Their influence did not go uncontested; while Spaulding watched, the prophetic pan-Indian movement rose once again. This time, the leadership came largely from Tenskwatawa, the Shawnee Prophet, who established two pan-Indian towns—in Greenville, Ohio, and Prophetstown, Indiana. Preaching a religious message from the Master of Life himself, Tenskwatawa and his brother Tecumseh insisted that Indians had a divine warrant to the land in the Old Northwest and that resistance to white encroachment was a spiritual and political necessity. The reaction of white governments to this divine message resulted first in the 1811 Battle of Tippecanoe, and then in the broader fighting between whites and Indians across the Old Northwest in the War of 1812.⁹

From his vantage point facing west, Spaulding could observe the rise and fall of multiple competing systems of religious and political

mon Spaulding," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 10, no. 4 (Autumn 1977): 70–73. As Whittier and Stathis point out, Spaulding is referred to in primary sources as both "Spaulding" and "Spalding"; I have used "Spaulding" except in quotations.

⁸Biographical information comes from Howe, *Mormonism Unveiled*, 278–79; Whittier and Stathis, "The Enigma of Solomon Spaulding," 70–73; and David Persuite, *Joseph Smith and the Origins of the Book of Mormon* (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland, 1985), 247, 253.

⁹Robert M. Owens, *Mr. Jefferson's Hammer: William Henry Harrison and the Origins of American Indian Policy* (Norman: University of Oklahoma

organization among Native American groups. The prophetic leadership (dubbed “nativists” by twentieth-century historians) adopted various teachings, but almost all of them claimed that the Master of Life—formerly a distant figure in Eastern Woodlands cosmologies—had returned to lead Indians to a new golden age. These prophets arose in different times and places—Neolin among the Delaware in 1763, Coochoochee along the Maumee in 1791, Handsome Lake among the Seneca in 1799, Tenskwatawa among the Shawnee in 1805—and they either revised existing religious teachings and ceremonies or introduced new religious doctrine. Handsome Lake, for example, added his grand Sky Journey to Iroquois spirituality. Coochoochee invigorated the Green Corn Festival with her nativist preaching.¹⁰

In 1809, in the new city of Prophetstown, west from Spaulding’s Conneaut, Tenskwatawa advocated a new dispensationalism, demanding novel dietary regulations, an end to tribal designations, a ban on alcohol, and a fierce resistance to white culture and political control. His demands could become violent. The Prophet partici-

Press, 2007); Jon Latimer, *1812: War with America* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press, 2007); Gregory Evans Dowd, *A Spirited Resistance: The North American Indian Struggle for Unity, 1745–1815* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), chap. 7; Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650–1815* (1991; rpt., New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), chap. 11 and epilogue; R. David Edmunds, *The Shawnee Prophet* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983); Adam Jortner, *The Gods of Prophetstown: The Battle of Tippecanoe and the Holy War for the American Frontier* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011).

¹⁰Alfred A. Cave, *Prophets of the Great Spirit: Native American Revitalization Movements in Eastern North America* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006), chap. 5; Anthony F. C. Wallace, *The Death and Rebirth of the Seneca* (New York: Vintage, 1969); Dowd, *A Spirited Resistance*, 107; Helen Hornbeck Tanner, “The Glaize in 1792: A Composite Indian Community,” *Ethnohistory* 25, no. 1 (Winter 1978): 15–39. The idea that Native American political organization consisted exclusively (or even primarily) of tribes is not necessarily the case. See the discussion of clan and tribal affiliation in Colin G. Calloway, *The Shawnees and the War for America* (New York: Penguin, 2007) and Timothy R. Pauketat, *Chiefdoms and Other Archaeological Delusions* (Lanham, Md.: AltaMira, 2007).

pated in witch hunts in the spring and summer of 1806, ostensibly to remove those who poisoned others with evil magic. Tenskwatawa nevertheless drew numerous Indians to Greenville and to Prophetstown, preaching a pointed political message: If all Indians were one people, then land sales could occur only if all tribes agreed. Such a position would essentially stop land sales altogether (a point Tenskwatawa and Tecumseh often reiterated) since white negotiators and governors usually bought land from tribes piecemeal. The nativist leadership attempted to create a new political community, derived from religious dictates, that would maintain a Native American world as a distinct cultural and political unit, ruled over by prophets and their allies.

Tenskwatawa (and other nativists) often reserved their fiercest ire for accommodationist Indians. Accommodationism was usually elucidated by civil chiefs (as opposed to the war chiefs, who tended to favor nativism) and maintained that further military conflict was futile. Accommodationists sought to incorporate the advantages of white technology and culture into the existing cultural lifeways of particular tribes. In practice, this approach usually meant a close cooperation with the federal government, who bought Indian land and in return provided annuities and goods. The strongest accommodationist effort in the Northwest had been put into operation at the Ohioan Shawnee town of Wapakoneta. There, Black Hoof worked assiduously to bring European-style agriculture and federal money to his settlement. "It is our desire to live like good Brothers & good neighbors," he told President Jefferson, as part of a speech that also stressed his numerous requests for funds and redress of grievances.¹¹ Nevertheless, Black Hoof watched in frustration in the first decade of the nineteenth century as more and more Indians of the Old Northwest gravitated to Tenskwatawa's nativist alternative; the Prophet, he lamented, only wanted to "gather all the bad Indians he can—he goes about among them to poison their minds."¹² Spaulding would have heard of and followed this grand struggle in the years when he was moving west, up to and including his move to the Ohio country in the most in-

¹¹Black Hoof, Letter to Thomas Jefferson, February 5, 1802, in Barbara B. Oberg and J. Jefferson Looney, eds., *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson, Digital Edition* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press/Rotunda, 2008).

¹²Black Hoof, quoted in Speech of Captain Lewis, et al., at Piqua Town, August 24, 1811, in the *Hudson, N.Y., Northern Whig*, September 30, 1811.

tense years of the Tenskwatawa-Black Hoof rivalry, although he would not have experienced that conflict firsthand.

What Spaulding likely did experience firsthand was the white response to the Native American political upheaval. Support for accommodationism (and its inherent paternalism and racism) began at the White House. Assimilation as a policy had a long genesis, claiming antecedents in the Washington administration and the Confederation Congress. The object, as Thomas Jefferson defined it, was to encourage Indians to abandon their agriculture and seasonal movements, so as ultimately to become “one nation” with whites. Indians needed to convert to white culture, and therefore Americans needed “to cultivate their love.” If whites could introduce Indians to western-style agriculture—convincing Native Americans to “withdraw themselves to the culture of a small piece of land”—Indians would no longer need hunting grounds or ancestral homelands, and could sell them to whites. Whites would get more land, and Indians would receive the benefits of western culture. It was, Jefferson wrote, a system that “will best promote the interests of the Indians and ourselves, and finally consolidate our whole country to one nation only.”¹³

For Jefferson, this policy was not merely misguided altruism. It fit into a larger political and ideological program for reforming the United States and crafting a system of perpetual liberty. As historian Peter Onuf has argued, Jeffersonian federal policy of the early nineteenth century was based on maximizing land ownership. Liberty and virtue depended on republican families free of debt and obligation. Consolidation of wealth by “land jobbers” and mercantile houses destroyed free action by introducing chains of financial dependency. A revolution in land eliminated the problem of aristocratic wealth and preserved liberty (and therefore virtue); a yeoman republic kept the generations independent of one another (and therefore free). In this struggle, Native Americans and white farmers had a common enemy: land speculators, who sought to buy up Indian lands and resell them in smaller lots at exorbitant prices, displacing Indians and impover-

¹³Thomas Jefferson, Letter to William Henry Harrison, February 27, 1803, in Andrew A. Lipscomb, ed., *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, 20 vols. (Washington, D.C.: Thomas Jefferson Memorial Association of the United States, 1903), 10:368–73. Jefferson’s Indian policy is further elucidated in Anthony F. C. Wallace, *Jefferson and the Indians: The Tragic Fate of the First Americans* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press, 1999), esp. chap. 7.

ishing whites. If the government could buy the land instead, and Indians could adopt agriculture, republican freedom from debt would rule in both communities. “The English persuade you to hunt,” Jefferson wrote to the Miamis and Delawares, but he advised them to pursue “temperance, peace, and agriculture” so that “your blood and ours united will spread again over the great island.” In the Jeffersonian mind, land formed the basis of liberty, and equalizing distribution of land ensured an equal protection for liberty. Converting Indian hunting grounds into farms was a key component of that operation.¹⁴

It was a utopian vision, but Jefferson nevertheless pursued it with vigor, encouraging his federally appointed territorial governors to buy as much Indian land as they could. In practice, this pressure on governors often resulted in treaties of questionable legality, but this detail rarely bothered the president or his underlings. After all, the land hunger of the whites would actually help the Indians: “What a brilliant aspect is offered to your future history, if you give up war and hunting,” Jefferson wrote in a paternalistic letter to a collection of tribes on the White River in 1808. It was their duty, he wrote, to adopt agriculture, to “give every man a farm.” After that, “once you have property, you will want laws,” he wrote, and “You will find our laws good for this purpose.” Everything would come together, civilization would transform Indian life, “and we shall all be Americans.” The mutual benefit of that future aspect was so evidently beneficial to Jefferson that he could not imagine any rational being coming to another conclusion; Indians who wished to keep their own government and culture were therefore irrational, duped by British motives—and betrayed by their own prophets.¹⁵

Those who mixed religion and politics often worried Jefferson, even when Native American prophets were not involved. He believed

¹⁴Thomas Jefferson, Letter to the Miamis, Potawatomies, Delawares, and Chippeways [Ojibwes], December 21, 1808, in Albert Ellery Bergh, ed., *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson* (Washington, D.C.: Thomas Jefferson Memorial Association of the United States, 1907), 16:438–40.

¹⁵Thomas Jefferson, Letter to Captain Hendrick, the Delawares, Mohicans, and Munries, December 21, 1808, in *ibid.*, 16:450–54. See also Peter S. Onuf, *Jefferson's Empire: The Language of American Nationhood* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2001), 46–52; Owens, *Mr. Jefferson's Hammer*, 77–78, 99–127, and Jortner, *The Gods of Prophetstown*, chaps.

that theocracy was antithetical to democracy, and he feared political-religious combinations that would “bring back the times of Vandalism, when ignorance put every thing into the hands of power & priestcraft.” The Christian system was benevolent, so long as believers would “fix reason firmly in her seat, and call to her tribunal every fact, every opinion,” but others who preached under the Christian mantle taught “mysterie and charlatanrie” and sought to keep their powers and privileges intact at the expense of the people. Similarly, Native American prophets poisoned the Indian body politic. Tenskawatawa was “no doubt a scoundrel” who could be bought by the highest bidder—and later, Jefferson added that that bidder was undoubtedly Britain, given that the Prophet was “more rogue than fool.” Similarly, western Jeffersonians warned, “The Shawnese Imposter has acquired such an ascendancy over the minds of the Indians that there can be little doubt of their pursuing any course which he may dictate to them.”¹⁶ Religious leaders could subvert the political order, bringing it under the control of tyrants.

This ideological bedrock of land, liberty, and the “whitening” of

10–12. Robert A. Williams, “Thomas Jefferson: Indigenous American Storyteller,” in James P. Ronda, ed., *Thomas Jefferson and the Changing West: From Conquest to Conservation* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1997), 43–74, underscores that Jefferson’s vision was still essentially racist and triumphalist; though Indians could continue to exist in Jefferson’s America, they could not exist *as Indians*, but rather, must become white farmers.

¹⁶Thomas Jefferson, Letter to Peter Carr, August 10, 1787, *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson, Digital Edition*; Thomas Jefferson, Letter to Joseph Priestley, March 21, 1801, *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson, Digital Edition*; Thomas Jefferson, Letter to Henry Dearborn, August 12, 1807, in Bergh, *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, 5:163; Thomas Jefferson to John Adams, April 20, 1812, *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson, Digital Edition*; William Henry Harrison, Letter to Henry Dearborn, May 19, 1808, in Logan Esarey, ed., *Messages and Papers of William Henry Harrison*, 2 vols. (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Commission, 1922) 1:290–91. On Jefferson and religion, see among many David L. Holmes, *Faiths of the Founding Fathers* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006) and Robert S. McDonald, “Was There a Religious Revolution of 1800?” in James Horn, Jan Ellen Lewis, and Peter S. Onuf, eds., *The Revolution of 1800: Democracy, Race, and the New Republic* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2002), 173–198.

Native American culture forms the narrative of Spaulding's "Manuscript Found." The "Manuscript" is a work-in-progress, a free-flowing retelling of overlapping stories, and probably represents many different "fireside tales" combined. The work tells the story of Fabius and his fellow Romans, living at some point after the establishment of Christianity in Rome but before Columbus. The "Manuscript Found" begins with a short introduction describing the unearthing of Fabius's ancient manuscript, whose contents form the story-within-the-story in "Manuscript Found." Having booked passage on a ship blown off course to "this butt end of the world" (North America), Fabius and his party encounter the "Deliwares" or the "Deliwan," whom Spaulding perhaps meant to represent the Delaware tribe of his own day. Fabius describes them as "hords of savages" who engaged in ritual dances of "indisdiscribable [sic] distortion . . . like a company of devils." The Romans nevertheless buy land, paying for it with cloth and metal trinkets.¹⁷

Sexual politics and interracial sex are the next immediate concern of the Roman settlers. The shipwrecked whites compare the Deliwán to the "Ourang Outang—let us keep aloof from them & not embark in the same matrimonial ship." As an alternative, Droll Tom (a sailor) suggests that the Roman men contract marriages with the handful of Roman women who had been on board. Once the white woman are all married off, another sailor opines that "I could pick out a healthy plum Lass from the copper coloured tribe that by washing and scrubing her fore & aft & upon labbord & stabbord [sic] sides she would become a whol[e]some bedfellow . . . as good hearted a christian as any of your white damsels" (10). Fabius and his commander allow this "experiment" to go forward, thus establishing interracial sex as a kind of second-class intimacy, although with considerable reservations and the explicit object of literally "whitening" the resulting children (15).

The incomplete and episodic nature of the manuscript makes it difficult to determine just how Spaulding intended the narrative to play out, but after two years, Fabius travels west, where he encounters

¹⁷Spaulding, "Manuscript Found," 9, 15, 6. Though the "Manuscript" refers to the "Deliwares" more frequently than "the Deliwán," I use "Deliwan" to avoid confusion between the historical Lenni Lenape nation (also known as the Delawares) and the fictional Deliwán. From this point, I cite additional quotations from "Manuscript Found" parenthetically in the text.

the Ohons. This episode constitutes the story-within-the-story-within-the-story, as Fabius relates the history of this second tribe. The Ohons are racially distinct—possibly even the legendary giant race of America. They have lighter skin than the Deliwan, and make their living by agriculture and animal husbandry—of mammoths (22). They possess a pragmatic architecture, “founded upon the true principles of Reason” and a distinct religious tradition (21–24).¹⁸

The manuscript spends some time describing the differences in the religious and family life of the Deliwan and the Ohons. The Deliwan practice a Manichean religion, praising their good god and avoiding an evil god. Before heading west, Fabius observes a Deliwan ceremony; several dogs (two black and two white) are sacrificed, and the white dogs eaten. This Deliwan ritual counterfeits an actual Iroquois practice: the white dog ceremony, resuscitated in 1798 and 1799 by prophets among the Mohawks and Oneidas and preached by the Seneca Prophet Handsome Lake. Participants in the historical Iroquois ceremony killed and roasted two white dogs in an act of thanksgiving. The Oneida leader Blacksmith made an explicit parallel between his religion’s sacrifice of dogs and the Christian practice of the eucharist: “The only difference is in the elements, the Christians use bread and wine, we use flesh and blood.” At Spaulding’s dog sacrifice, the Indians each consume a piece of the white dogs “in token that your offences have all evaporated in the smoke of the holy sacrifice” (12). Spaulding was writing a romantic saga, but he was also clearly trying to incorporate contemporary Native American religious practice into his ersatz history.¹⁹

In contrast to Deliwan dualism, Spaulding’s Ohons have a night-deist religion, written down in a code composed by Lobaska, the hero

¹⁸Designating mammoths as beasts of burdens was probably part of the response to Charles Willson Peale’s displays of mammoths and mammoth bones and the resulting American mammoth craze. See Gordon S. Wood, *Empire of Liberty: A History of the Early Republic, 1789–1815* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 393.

¹⁹On the white dog ceremony, see Wallace, *Death and Rebirth*, 206–8; Matthew Dennis, *Seneca Possessed: Indians, Witchcraft, and Power in the Early American Republic* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), 120; and Elisabeth Tooker, “The Iroquois White Dog Sacrifice in the Latter Part of the Eighteenth Century,” *Ethnohistory* 12, no. 2 (Spring 1965): 129–40. Blacksmith quoted in Wallace, *Death and Rebirth*, 207.

of their tribe, a foreigner to the Ohons who arrived from “a great distance from the westward,” and whose “complexion likewise was a little whiter” (32). Lobaska explains the workings of religion to the Ohons; his god is not a god of miracles, but of reason and reflection. Like the god of the deists, Lobaska’s god is known “thro the medium of his works” and believers must “admire with profound reverence & adoration his wisdom goodness & power which are visible in the formation & arrangement of all materiall [sic] bodies & spiritual beings.” Virtue and good works, not public proclamations of piety, comprise the worship of the Ohon god (31).

Ohons were also “taught by their religion” to manifest “a great regard for the rights of the other sex & always treated them with attention, civility & tenderness.” Religious virtue ensures that there is little crime; and “having been early taught to govern their passions & to regard the practice of virtue as their greatest good, it was generally the case, that love, friendship & harmony existed in families.” For good measure, Lobaska also teaches the Ohons the secrets of agricultural improvement that allow them to easily outpace their neighbors (41, 48, 51).

The Ohons protect their empire (and their liberty) by spreading themselves over the land—precisely the solution Jefferson would have suggested. “The causes of their increase & prosperity,” wrote Spaulding, were “their habits of industry & economy” as well as “an equality of property as to prevent the pride of wealth & the extravagance of luxury” (53). Such independent farms—divided into two great empires—spread across thousands of miles, and republicanism was preserved: “Pride was not bloated & puffed up with enormous wealth” and therefore “avarice & corruption did not contaminate the ruling powers” (52). Significantly, whenever these expanding states encountered “barbarous tribes,” the latter saw the benefits of civilization and annexed themselves to the Ohons, “& under the fostering care of the government became civilized wealthy & prosperous” (46).

Fabius’s narration of Ohon religion soon gives way to the final part of the narrative, in which the Ohon utopia collapses due to an improper marriage. A prince of Kentuck falls in love with a princess of Sciota, a problematic coupling given that the Sciotans practice strict endogamy, a tradition handed down as “the explicit injunction of the great founder of their government & religion” (59). The couple weds anyway; the resulting religious scandal results in an uprising in Sciota that brings a theocratic government to power. The country is now in

“the grasp of a pompous Tyrant . . . whose mind is blinded by the sordid advice of a menial junto of Councillors & priests” (64–65).

The government of the Ohon state of Kentuck defies the theocrats, but matters worsen in Sciota where a “class of men who were denominated prophets” gain control of the political order. These men knowingly invent false prophecies and fabricate magical powers to achieve influence in the councils of Sciota. They “pretended to have art of investigating the councils & designs of the heavenly Hierarchy & to have a knowledge of future events” and the people “thought it impious to question or to doubt their fulfillment” (74). The High Priest insists that only war “can satisfy the righteous demand of the Great & good Being—He therefore calls upon the civil power to execute his vengeance,” and “the harang of the High Priest determined the wav[e]ring mind of the Emperor” (78). The prophets and priests end five hundred years of utopian life for the Ohons. With promises that their actions are affirmed by heaven, the priests and politicians of Sciota declare war on Kentuck, and tens of thousands die in the battles that follow.

Spaulding died in 1816 having submitted his book to only one press. That press promptly lost the copy Spaulding sent them. In the 1830s, they explained the loss with a statement well-known to writers and historians: “Many M.S. books and pamphlets were brought to the office about that time, which remained upon their shelves for years, without being printed or even examined.”²⁰ That might have been the end of it, except that in 1834, Howe and Hurlbut began collecting incriminating stories about Joseph Smith Jr. Among the many affidavits Hurlbut collected were seven testimonies from residents of Conneaut who vaguely remembered the stories Solomon Spaulding had told about ancient Indians. Those testimonies declared that the Book of Mormon was nothing more than the stories of Solomon Spaulding, repackaged as religion. These affidavits made it into print with Howe’s 1834 *Mormonism Unveiled* and have been around ever since.

The evidence for a Spaulding genesis of the Book of Mormon is not the object of this essay, but brief recitation is probably in order. Howe (and others) assumed that Smith fabricated the story of the golden plates but that, as a self-taught farmer, he was not bright enough to write something like the Book of Mormon. Howe surmised that the Mormon preacher Sidney Rigdon obtained Spaulding’s

²⁰Howe, *Mormonism Unveiled*, 289.

moldering manuscript from the publisher's shelves in the 1820s; Rigdon then transmitted the book to Smith in 1827 when both men were in western Pennsylvania—and thus, the story goes, it became the Book of Mormon. Yet when the Spaulding manuscript turned up in 1884, the connections between Spaulding and the Book of Mormon were thin at best. Howe's affidavits claim that Spaulding had characters named Lehi and Nephi and that the principal protagonists came from Jerusalem. In fact, no such characters exist, and the principal protagonists in Spaulding are from Rome. Undaunted, critics have alleged that the "Manuscript Found" was only one work of Spaulding's and that Spaulding could have written a second manuscript, which in turn had been cribbed by Rigdon and Smith. David Persuitte has shown that this scenario is possible, not through Rigdon but through Oliver Cowdery.²¹

Much more striking than any parallels to LDS scripture or teachings, however, is the resemblance between the "Manuscript Found" and the ideology of Jeffersonian republicanism. The Jeffersonian dream of assimilation and the fear of prophetic response both appear in the "Manuscript Found": A white man shows up, teaches the Ohons deistic ideas and monogamy, and watches them become civilized—and whiter in color. Jeffersonian assimilation is also the plan of the Romans regarding the Deliwans: intermarry, raise the children as Christians, and, in the ugly racist language of the time, "wipe clean" both their savagery and their dark skins. And just as Jefferson assumed that the Native Americans would love this process of acculturation and eagerly embrace white culture, the ancient Americans of "Manuscript Found" adore their white benefactors. After the Romans cheat the Deliwans of their real estate and insult their culture, the simplistic Deliwans are full of nothing but praise for the white people. The chiefs and princesses are weeping with "ardent & sincere Friendship & the most earnest wishes & prayers for future prosperity and happiness" (19). Similarly, once the Ohons accept their religion from the light-skinned Lobaska, they create a system of civilization that incorporates the barbarous tribes into a equitable system of smallholder farmers. Accommodationism, in "Manuscript Found," works.

The danger to peace and prosperity was likewise the same on the

²¹Bush, "The Spaulding Theory Then and Now"; Persuitte, *Joseph Smith and the Origins of the Book of Mormon*, 254.

frontier and in "Manuscript Found." In the Indiana Territory, Governor William Henry Harrison complained that Native Americans in his territory had fallen under the theocratic control of Tenskwatawa, "a bold adventurer," the governor declared, "who pretends to act under the immediate inspiration of the Deity."²² Harrison (with typical Jeffersonian logic) viewed Tenskwatawa's pretence as a cover for baser political motives; the Shawnee Prophet was, in Harrison's opinion, "an Engine set to work by the British for some bad purpose."²³ In Spaulding's empires of Sciota and Kentuck, a similar "company of these necromancers or jug[g]lers," make similar pretensions to having personal communication with God and foreknowledge of future events. These fictional prophets, too, are merely cat's-paws for the political ambitions of a conniving Sciotan politician named Sambal, who seeks personal power through military buildup. "The arts of these Conjurers [sic]," Spaulding wrote, "were the consummation of Sambal's plan, to produce in the minds of the multitude an inthusias[m] [sic] & rage for war" (73–74). Spaulding's fictional accommodationist utopia was sabotaged by claims of Native American prophecy—the same kind of claims that were gaining traction in opposition to Jeffersonian land policy in the Northwest Territory in the early nineteenth century.

"Manuscript Found" is not a direct allegory in any sense, yet it echoes the events in the Ohio country after Spaulding's arrival in 1809: the withdrawal of Tenskwatawa and his followers to Prophetstown, the rivalry with Black Hoof's Wapakoneta settlement, the Prophet's successful defiance of land sales and surveys after 1809, the subsequent Battle of Tippecanoe, and the wider War of 1812. Given the context of the time of its creation, it is difficult not to see in "Manuscript Found" an ideological Jeffersonian commentary on the events of the day mixed in with the romance, adventure, and faux-travel narratives of a nineteenth-century novel.

If historians ought to read Spaulding's work as a Jeffersonian parable rather than as an antecedent to Mormonism, how should that reading change the historiographical interpretation of the Jefferso-

²²William Henry Harrison, Annual Message to the General Assembly of the Indiana Territory, November 12, 1810, in Esarey, *Messages and Papers of William Henry Harrison*, 1:487–88.

²³William Henry Harrison to Henry Dearborn, July 11, 1807, in Douglas Clanin, ed., *The Papers of William Henry Harrison, 1800–1815*, 10 microfilm reels (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1999), 2:840.

nian frontier? The rhetoric and lessons of the “Manuscript Found” represent a very different kind of frontier literature, one in which Indians and whites are allies rather than antagonists. It is clear that, at least in Ohio, frontier whites told stories in which ancient American nations were proto-Jeffersonians, because—thanks to Howe and Hurlbut—affidavits of the 1830s confirm that “Manuscript Found” was not just an unpublished story from Spaulding’s head; it circulated orally throughout the town of Conneaut, as well.

Ohioans remembered Spaulding reading the manuscript aloud to groups of listeners, as, for example, “I spent many hours in hearing him read said writings, and became well acquainted with its contents,” or “he would frequently read some humorous passages,” or “we sat down and spent a good share of the night, in reading them, and conversing upon them.”²⁴ Many years later, Spaulding’s wife confirmed that “neighbors would come in from time to time to hear portions read,” and that Spaulding would gather others around him to read from the manuscript at irregular intervals.²⁵ It seems that sometimes Spaulding would read them aloud, and sometimes give the manuscript to others to read aloud. At the very least, these stories made the rounds of firesides and evenings among friends; it is even possible—given the number of revisions written into the manuscript—that Spaulding changed the story based on suggestions from friends or new stories and legends that he encountered in the process of writing. If so, the Spaulding Story may represent a collection of oral traditions told among whites in Ohio, and its dissemination in the 1810s might be seen as a process of communal storytelling.

If Spaulding’s story did incorporate other Ohio legends, then perhaps other (now lost) legends of the mounds also made allusions to a Jeffersonian state in ancient America. Several accounts of the mounds from the Early Republic refer to oral traditions circulating among all kinds of Americans in taverns and at firesides. Ohio’s Caleb Atwater wrote one of the first academic treatises on the Native American earthworks; his 1820 paleoarchaeology of the mounds

²⁴Howe, *Mormonism Unveiled*, 281, 283, 286.

²⁵Statement of Matilda Davison, November 26, 1842, reprinted in John E. Page, *The Spaulding Story Concerning the Origin of the Book of Mormon* (1843; rpt., Plano, Illinois: Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, 1865), 3. Also found in the *Philadelphia Episcopal Recorder*, September 12, 1840.

opens with a complaint about “idle tales of persons incompetent” regarding the construction of the mounds. The “tourist” and “superficial observer,” Atwater grouched, offered up stories and theories of ancient Americans without “the industry, the opportunity, nor the ability to investigate a subject so intricate.”²⁶

In light of Hurlbut’s affidavits, Atwater’s ire might be explained by a tendency of locals to read contemporary Jeffersonian themes into the anthropological record. In 1807, Indian Agent John Sibley recorded in his journal having “heard of . . . white Indians on some of the head waters of the Missouri, their speaking the Welsh language, & having amongst them the Welsh Bible.”²⁷ In his investigation of the mounds, Bishop James Madison remarked on the “general opinion” that the Indian mounds across the Ohio Valley were “fortifications, of great antiquity.”²⁸ In American author Sarah Hale’s 1823 poem about the mounds, *The Genius of Oblivion*, the protagonist becomes fascinated by the mounds by listening to “travelers’ tales” about them and the “Kingdoms fled!” that had once flourished there.²⁹ Lucy Mack Smith’s 1853 *History* included her recollection from western New York of the “evening conversations” around the family fireside in which Joseph Smith Jr. regaled his family with descriptions of “the ancient inhabitants of this continent, their dress, their mode of traveling . . . their cities, their buildings, with every particular; their mode of warfare; and also their religious worship.”³⁰ Like most oral communication, of course, the stories heard by Atwater and Madison are long gone. The stories of Spaulding re-

²⁶Caleb Atwater, “A Description of the Antiquities Discovered in the Western Country,” in *The Writings of Caleb Atwater* (Columbus: Scott and Wright, 1833), 9–10. Atwater originally delivered this address to the American Philosophical Society in 1820.

²⁷John Sibley, Journal, entry for October 25, 1807; Arthur G. Mitten Collection, Box 6, Indiana Historical Society, Indianapolis.

²⁸James Madison, “A Letter on the Supposed Fortifications of the Western Country,” *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, vol. 4 (1809), 132–142. James Madison was the first Episcopalian bishop of Virginia and cousin to the American president of the same name.

²⁹Sarah Hale, *The Genius of Oblivion and Original Other Poems* (Concord (no state given): Jacob B. Moore, 1823), 24–25.

³⁰Lucy Mack Smith, *History of Joseph Smith by His Mother* (1853; rpt.,

main, perhaps as remnants of an earlier oral tradition that romanticized Indians into Jeffersonian republicans.

Whether or not the Spaulding narrative represented a more extensive oral tradition, it was not the kind of story whites were supposedly telling themselves about Indians in the post-revolutionary miasma of the Ohio country. Historians such as Peter Silver contend that frontier whites told stories about Indians as savage, violent subhumans and that this violent literary discourse shaped the political, military, and cultural response to Indians in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Silver describes such a situation on the Atlantic seaboard from the 1740s through the revolution, where a literary genre he dubs the “anti-Indian sublime” broadcast tales of Indian savagery and violence and thereby crafted a sense of white nationalism from diverse ethnic groups. In a similar vein, Patrick Griffin identifies the valorization of Indian-hating in the 1790s as the key to the implementation and success of the federal American enterprise in the west. Although the American state was the key element in the destruction of the Eastern tribes, Griffin writes, it was aided by a “common people’s idea of sovereignty” that was connected to a “notion of order rooted in racial violence.”³¹ Griffin and Silver are hardly the first to argue for the power of “Indian hating” in American history, but they have developed rather sophisticated theories to relate how white stories of Indian depravity connected to political and social control—how passions related to power.³² Whites dreamed “dreams of Indian treachery and American suffering,” and that dream, according to Silver, prompted an Indian policy based on removal or extermination, and

New York: Arno Press/New York Times, 1969), 85. Wallace, *Jefferson*, 130-132, notes that Jefferson too may have heard such tales about potential idyllic ancient Native American peoples.

³¹Griffin, *American Leviathan*, 167.

³²Analyses prior to those of Silver and Griffin focusing on the dynamics of anti-Indian racism and its effect on revolutionary America and the United States include James H. Merrell, *Into the American Woods: Negotiators on the Pennsylvania Frontier* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1999); Daniel Richter, *Facing East from Indian Country* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2001), chaps. 5–6; and Richard Drinnon, *Facing West: The Metaphysics of Indian-Hating and Empire Building* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1980).

the stillbirth of the accommodationist alternative.³³

Yet the “Manuscript Found” dreamed a different kind of dream—a frontier narrative that eulogized a utopian vision of Jeffersonian Indians happily engaged in the civilizing process. Nor is the “Manuscript Found” unique in this respect. Spaulding’s imaginary landscape was not a lone voice in white American discourse. While the Ohons had learned from Lobaska to “let industry & econemy [sic] fill up the measure of thy waking moments,” a host of Christian missionaries published reports claiming they could transform real Indian tribes in like manner. Elias Boudinot (the first president of the American Bible Society) wrote that whites and Indians could coexist because “the Indians are perfect republicans.”³⁴ Quaker missionary Gerald Hopkins reported from the Indiana Territory that “the [Miami] Indians drew a comparison between savage and civilized life, and in favor of civilization.”³⁵ Even as the Old Northwest tilted toward war, the former Presbyterian revivalist Richard McNemar still heard rumors that Native Americans on the Ohio “were in pursuit of religion and the means of an honest livelihood—were going to work.”³⁶

These kinds of white frontier rhetoric do not invalidate the contention that Indian-hating shaped the frontier and the history of white-Indian relations, but they do complicate it. If stories like the “Manuscript Found” were told in conjunction with an anti-Indian sublime—even if they were less prevalent than such narratives—such coexistence suggests that the success of Indian-hating was far from inevitable, and that American governments were not necessarily engaged in a race to the bottom to satisfy the worst, most violent tendencies of its white citizens. Assimilation was hardly less racist than the violent reprisals and removals that Indian-hating theoretically led to; but if the

³³Silver, *Our Indian Neighbors*, 291.

³⁴Elias Boudinot, *A Star in the West* (Trenton, N.J.: D. Fenton, S. Hutchinson, and J. Dunham, 1816), 160.

³⁵*A Mission to the Indians from the Indian Committee of the Baltimore Yearly Meeting to Fort Wayne in 1804* (Philadelphia: T. E. Zell, 1862), 187.

³⁶Richard McNemar, *The Kentucky Revival* (1807; rpt., New York: E. O. Jenkins, 1846), 124. McNemar quit the Presbyterian church over controversies surrounding revival techniques and subsequently formed his own presbytery; he later joined the Shakers.

question is the ways in which white conceptions of Indian culture and society affected policy, then the utopian stories of Spaulding must be part of the equation. Even though Spaulding's Indians were imaginary, so were the mythical bloodthirsty natives, born with a "natural propensity to Blood and Rapine," so feared by other frontier whites, to whom so much historical agency has been ascribed.³⁷ Yet white Americans did not simply tell horrific stories of Indian cruelty; they also told tales of interracial accommodation (on white terms, of course). If indeed the stories a society tells itself craft its politics, then these stories, too, must have forged the Anglo-Indian relationship on the American frontier.³⁸

The Spaulding Story will forever be tied to Mormonism; but while the controversy over the Spaulding manuscript is an interesting one for studies of Mormonism and anti-Mormonism in the 1830s, the Spaulding story itself is a story of the 1810s. A fictional saga written and then repeated on the American frontier on the verge of a war with Native Americans perhaps reveals more about white attitudes toward Indians than it reveals about Mormons—especially when that saga advocates for peaceful coexistence based on Jeffersonian ideology and western cultural supremacy. The evidences of Spaulding and Howe suggest a more complicated oral and written landscape on the American frontier, and therefore a more complex cultural background to U.S. Indian policy and practicalities. Spaulding's vision, as he shared it with his family and neighbors, never did make him any money, but it did preserve a utopian vision of Indian republics that

³⁷Resolutions of Citizens of Green & Champaign County, Ohio, August 4, 1807, Simon Kenton Papers, Draper Manuscripts 7BB41, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison.

³⁸Both Silver and Griffin focus on the Old Northwest (as does this article) where accommodationism ultimately failed. In the Southeast, things turned out differently, though stories of Indian-hating were certainly no less prevalent there. The southeastern tribes certainly did not "assimilate" in a Jeffersonian sense, but they did incorporate a number of "western" economic forms. Their success, although temporary, suggests a difficulty with attributing agency to Indian-hating as a generalized American phenomena in the post-revolutionary period. See William G. McLoughlin, *Cherokee Renaissance in the Early Republic* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1986), chap. 3; Theda Perdue and Michael D. Green, *The Cherokee Nation and the Trail of Tears* (New York: Penguin, 2007), chap. 2.

wove itself into white ideologies on the frontier. By examining that story for what Spaulding intended it to be—a story for the 1810s, and not a piece of anti-Mormon sophistry—historians can better understand that frontier, and perhaps return to Spaulding a little of the attention he so craved for his work.

REVIEWS

Tom Mould. *Still, the Small Voice: Narrative, Personal Revelation, and the Mormon Folk Tradition*. Logan: Utah State University Press, 2011. 448 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, afterword, appendix, notes, works cited, index. Hardback. \$39.95. ISBN: 978-0-87421-817-6

Reviewed by Jill Terry Rudy

With *Still, the Small Voice*, Tom Mould brilliantly focuses on personal revelation narratives. As an astute and empathetic fieldworker, Mould, associate professor of anthropology and folklore at Elon University, makes a valuable contribution to Mormon studies because these stories are understood as a powerful core traditional expression of Mormon everyday life.

This research spotlights personal revelation and stories about such revelations as a key Mormon doctrine, value, and experience. He notes, for example, that Mormon prophets are known by their striking personal revelation stories such as Wilford Woodruff's moving his wagon before it was crushed by a falling tree or young Harold B. Lee's heeding a voice warning him not to cross a fence to explore a neighboring shed. Mould also acknowledges that this genre is pervasive among lay Church members. He wants to pay "long overdue attention to the thriving oral tradition that puts a contemporary face to scripture" (2).

Mould defines personal revelation narratives as an etic form of memorate, or spiritual encounter story, and as an emic form in a larger genre of faith-promoting story within LDS culture. As a folklorist, Mould focuses on those personal revelation experiences that become narratives. He studies the contextual and textual aspects of the stories that tap central LDS values of faith, revelation, righteousness, and relationships between God and His children.

Mould, thus, has written the most important book on Mormon folklore since Austin and Alta Fife's *Saints of Sage and Saddle: Folklore among the Mormons* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1956). Mould's book brings Mormon studies into the twenty-first century with a focus on an utterly relevant and pervasive traditional genre that is shared in family groups, Sunday

School classes, ward parties, and sacrament meeting talks as well as in written life stories, conference talks, manuals, magazine articles, and books.

The book has an introduction and six chapters. The introduction notes the extensive Mormon literary and doctrinal tradition on revelation. Mould distinguishes his project from this tradition through his academic approach. Unlike some academics who feel squeamish about combining religion and spirituality with scholarship, however, he notes that his approach does not oppose the guidance that Church members seek and follow through personal revelation.

He situates his project within folklore studies generally and Mormon folklore studies specifically. He defines folklore as “those expressions of culture that reveal not only the artistry and aesthetics of communal traditions but the shared belief and values of a community” (4). Methodologically, he gathered and documented more than four hundred personal revelation narratives through ethnographic fieldwork in the Burlington North Carolina First Ward, through folklore archives and collections in Utah, and through Church publications. Although some folklorists still attempt to isolate oral tradition from other media, Mould includes written stories because he recognizes that Mormons as a “record-keeping people” communicate in all media (327).

Chapter 1 contextualizes personal revelation within the doctrinal and cultural significance of revelation in the Church. It also establishes a permeable distinction between formal and informal tradition. The chapter sets the genre parameters of personal revelation narrative as well.

Chapter 2 considers the performative issues of sharing these narratives. Mould charts the benefits and hazards (personal, for others, and for both) of telling personal revelation stories. Benefits include increased spirituality, and hazards include demeaning the sacred. Chapter 3 returns to genre issues addressing how narrators and audiences turn life experiences, especially spiritual ones, into stories.

Using narratological research on story structure, Mould discusses how storytelling becomes itself a *narrative event* of an occurrence that becomes the *narrated event* (146). Further, he distinguishes two types of personal revelation narratives: *prescriptive* (they guide present actions and leave the future ambiguous) and *descriptive* (they outline the future but leave the present ambiguous) (140). Mould analyzes ample, apt story examples from his fieldwork and the archives to illustrate his points.

Chapter 4 further works the structural aspects by analyzing the basic story components. Mould analyzes recurring motifs such as “quoting the Holy Ghost, ignoring initial promptings, repeating the number three, and proving fulfillment” (193). Mould documents in Chapter 5 that the most frequent story topics deal with daily concerns discussed under three broad categories: danger, domestic life, and Church work. All of these concerns tend to make for engaging, significant storytelling.

This analysis ties back to Chapter 3 because the telling of the story also involves a form of interpretation that depends on “retroactive revelation” or the ability to know from what *did* happen how to tell that a story about revelation was happening. While the most satisfying stories have a clear interpretation (the tree actually fell where the wagon would have been), Mould notes some personal revelation stories that have an ambiguous, or apparently erroneous, ending also (205–15).

Chapter 6 analyzes the written tradition of personal revelation narratives including journals, life stories, and especially a content analysis of all twelve issues of the 2007 *Ensign*. Mould found that 49 percent of the articles referenced personal revelation; omitting the conference issues, most of these were provided by lay members of the Church (349). As a superb folklorist, Mould also considers when stories from the magazines reenter oral storytelling in conversation, in a sacrament talk, or even in a folklore collection (363–72).

Mould’s folklore analysis is cutting-edge astute with contextualized performance approaches. He analyzes for discourse conventions, for persona, for rhetorical and spiritual risks of performing the stories, for key building blocks of the stories, and for recurring themes.

An example of this accomplishment comes from Chapter 3, “Transforming Life into Story.” Mould reviews several specific stories he has identified as descriptive personal revelation and discusses agency in connection with the stories:

Like prescriptive revelation, the climax in descriptive revelation comes when the truth of the revelation is confirmed. For Sandy, the climax [of the story structure] comes when she meets George and remembers the revelation, not when she actually marries. For Mrs. Patterson’s father, the climax occurs when he sees the house from his dreams, not when he buys it, officially making it his own. For Appolinia Cabot, the climax occurs when she sees the book that inspired her, not when she actually converts.

The narrative performance focuses on proof that the dream was revelation, deriving its dramatic tension from whether the dream was prophetic, and if so, how it will be fulfilled. As with all personal revelation, people must exercise agency. Having seen the image from revelation appear in life, the person must then act to attain the blessing. In most positive revelation, the action required is obvious. If the man you meet is supposed to be your husband, your actions require marrying him. If the book you dream about turns out to be religious scripture, you should convert. If the house you see is supposed to be your house, you should buy it. (165)

This passage seamlessly connects analysis with description to illustrate an important point about transforming life into story. When revelation is involved, the truth of the revealed image is recognized in actual life experience. This climax of the story then requires further agency and action to complete

the transformation of revelation to life to story to life, which usually has already been completed by the time of telling to add another round of story to the transformation.

This analysis, however, never overwhelms the stories themselves; more importantly, Mould never forces himself, his consultants, or his readers to accept or reject the truth claims of the stories. He explains, "Many stories do not claim fact, faith, or fiction, as narrators negotiate reality and wrestle with belief for themselves" (5). He allows that all of these stories say something about "the values of the people that share them" (5).

Mould, who is not an LDS Church member, did not set out to study Mormon folklore but came to this topic through his interest in studying prophesying and prophetic narratives. His fieldwork and publication of Choctaw tales encouraged the next project on prophecy. Knowing of Mormon stories of the second coming of Christ, Mould included Mormons in his projected new study.

As a good fieldworker, however, he let his project morph when the Mormons he met in the nearby Burlington North Carolina First Ward wanted to talk about what was "far more interesting to them personally, socially, and culturally . . . the personal revelations they received regularly, guiding them in their daily lives" (7). Rather than studying apocalyptic prophesy and many different folk groups, Mould centered on the nearby Mormon congregation and on personal revelation.

As Mould makes clear, his approach is academic (4). Charts-and-graphs academic. Theoretical syntheses at the end of chapters: academic. Online reviewer Blair Hodges notes his concern about combining an academic approach with such an important subject as personal revelation.¹ He gives Mould high praise for writing a book that provides fresh perspectives and creates an "oddly intellectual and devotional" experience. Hodges found the synthesis section of chapters interesting because it related the Mormon stories to narrative traditions in other groups. Furthermore, he notes that Mould accomplishes the very difficult academic task of providing substantive, thorough, and rigorous analysis while maintaining the inherent pleasures of the stories and storytelling settings.

There are some quibbles with the book. I find the dust jacket with its blue-sky color and quotation-mark cloud just odd. To me it suggests that the designers didn't quite know what to make of the book. Another is that the book remains a hefty tome at over four hundred pages; and although it de-

¹Blair Dee Hodges, Review of Tom Mould, "*Still, the Small Voice*," November 30, 2011, <http://bycommonconsent.com/2011/11/30/review-tom-mould-still-the-small-voice/> (accessed January 11, 2012).

serves a wide, wide audience, its length, hard-cover price, and academic apparatus may deter some readers. Despite these drawbacks, the book, or portions of it, should be taught in courses related in any way to Mormon studies.

While folklorists assume that traditions comment on the groups sharing them, doyen of Mormon folklore studies, William A. (“Bert”) Wilson has called such studies a possible “uncertain mirror for truth.”² In separate articles, Wilson has made this claim not only because of the scholar who holds the mirror but also because of the tendency to select the fantastic subject matter, such as Three Nephite stories, rather than more mundane expressions, for study. By listening to Mormon colleagues and consultants, Mould has documented and analyzed more than four hundred personal revelation narratives, stories so common that Mormon folklorists mostly have overlooked them. Anyone interested in Mormon religious life should read this book, and they will never overlook these stories again.

JILL TERRY RUDY {jill_rudy@byu.edu} is associate professor of English at Brigham Young University. Her research and teaching interests include the history of American folklore scholarship, North American Indian tale collections, foodways, personal narrative, and family folklore.

Edward L. Kimball. *Father of a Prophet: Andrew Kimball*. Provo, Utah: BYU Studies, 2011, xii, 273 pp. Photographs, notes, bibliography, index. Paperback: \$19.95. ISBN 978-0-8425-2795-8

Reviewed by Joann Follett Mortensen

Writing a biography of someone else is, from my experience, like putting a jigsaw puzzle together—only you don’t have a picture of the finished product to guide you. You are very fortunate if you have journals, correspondence, civic or church records to assist; but ultimately the biographer fits the pieces together, thus creating that somewhat illusive finished product. In this case, Edward L. Kimball, using research contributed by his father, Spencer W. Kimball, has constructed a plainly written and very candid story of his grandfather, Andrew Kimball, whom some would classify as an “ordinary” individual. Yet Edward’s opening description of Andrew qualifies him as something more than “ordinary”:

²William A. Wilson, “The Study of Mormon Folklore: An Uncertain Mirror for Truth” and his “‘Teach Me All that I Must Do’: The Practice of Mormon Religion,” both in his compilation, *The Marrow of Human Experience: Essays on Folklore* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 2006), 182–200, and 253–60.

Following the course of Andrew's experience allows us to see his life in small-town Salt Lake City, share his experiences as a missionary preaching without purse or scrip in the Indian Territory (and his supervision of that mission for ten years), follow his career as a traveling salesman servicing small communities in the Utah-Idaho area, and witness his service as a stake president in the Church-dominated community of Gila Valley of Arizona with the varied secular pursuits required to support his family.

Although stake leaders are not routinely the subjects of biographies, Andrew Kimball, a stake president for twenty-five years, warrants special attention because he provides a historic link between the beginnings of a church and our own time. (2)

Andrew Kimball (1858–1924), born in Salt Lake, was one of the numerous sons of Heber C. Kimball (1801–68), a member of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles under Joseph Smith and a counselor to Brigham Young. Spencer W. Kimball (1895–1985), Andrew's son, became the twelfth president of the Church. "In his teen years Andrew, then fatherless, may have been somewhat careless in his conduct, experimenting with smoking and drinking and avoiding Church duties," concedes Edward Kimball (11). However, his later dedication to the Church is demonstrated in his choice to be rebaptized at the age of twenty-one, his calling as a member of the elders' quorum presidency that same year, his appointment four years later as a president of the Thirtieth Quorum of Seventy, and a life dedicated to Church service, at times under less than ideal circumstances.

One example of that service was his dedication to missionary work, first serving for twenty-six months as a proselyting missionary in the Indian Territory Mission traveling without purse or scrip. After struggling with preaching the gospel in a very isolated and frontier environment, he was called to serve as president of that mission for ten more years. In contrast to such calls today, he did not live in the mission but supervised the elders serving there through occasional visits and letters. At the same time, he continued his work as a salesman to support his family and pay expenses incurred by his mission travel.

The story of Andrew's life is organized into nine specific topic areas, each containing photographs that add vividness to the entries, as well as appendices that contain family genealogical information. The topic areas contain journal entries and excerpts of letters written by Andrew and his wife, Olive ("Ollie") Woolley Kimball (1860–1906), and some of his siblings, as well as anecdotes garnered from interviews with their children and the extended family. Though this book is a biography of Andrew as a father, husband, missionary, and male Church leader, Edward Kimball has included enough material about Ollie to see their close relationship from the time of their marriage in 1881, the emotional and physical assistance they provided to each other in times of stress, and her feelings of being left alone to care for the home and children while he traveled much of the time for work or Church activities. Par-

ticularly poignant is their shared grief at the early deaths of three of their eleven children.

Andrew was an industrious worker and spent the first years of his married life working as a traveling salesman in Utah and Idaho. This required many days and sometimes weeks away from home as he represented multiple firms in an attempt to become financially secure. On one of these extended trips in November of 1897, while attending a stake conference in Richfield, Utah, he was told by the visiting apostle, A. Owen Woodruff, that he would soon be called as president of the St. Joseph Stake in southeastern Arizona. This call would mean a drastic change in the life the Kimball family was presently living and Andrew wondered how he would support his family. He and Ollie enjoyed living in Salt Lake close to family and friends, all the family had good health, and the children had access to good schools. Though there was never any serious question as to whether he would accept the call, it was a difficult time for them, requiring much contemplation and prayer.

As a young man Andrew stood “six feet tall, ramrod straight, and well proportioned” and weighed “about 180 pounds” with “dark hair and “black eyes,” usually wearing a “short moustache” (19). It is obvious he was a strong leader in family, community, and Church service. Beginning with only a fifth-grade education, he took every opportunity to improve his communication skills and abilities. He organized a night-school that met once a week to study basic topics, such as “grammar, spelling, punctuation, arithmetic” (23) and became a voracious reader. He kept a journal, wrote personal letters to his family, government, and Church leaders, and submitted stories and articles to the *Deseret News* and Arizona newspapers. He documented in a letter to his sister Ruth, that he had written over 2,000 letters in one year. He was well-known for his public speaking ability; and when traveling as a salesman throughout Utah and Idaho, he was often called on to speak in sacrament meetings. During his years as stake president he often spoke at funerals, occasionally more than one in a day.

In addition to family, work, and Church responsibilities, he was involved in local, state, and national organizations and politics. He began that service as a school trustee and a delegate to select candidates for the People’s Party ticket from the Nineteenth Ward area in Salt Lake. He was a Democratic delegate to the Utah Constitutional Convention where one of the important issues discussed was women’s suffrage which he strongly supported. Apparently valuing his opportunity to help draft and sign the Utah Constitution, he “practiced his signature before signing” (87). As stake president, he also served one term in the Arizona legislature, was on the Thatcher town council and its mayor, and changed his political party to Republican in 1918 because of what he viewed as corruption in the state’s Democratic leadership. He developed friendships with several governors and campaigned for such political issues as

prohibition, admitting Arizona and New Mexico to the union as one or two states, and women's suffrage.

One of the pieces of Andrew's story focuses on the variety of responsibilities he had as a stake president at that time in the Church. Because of that leadership role, he headed the stake board of education for the Latter-day Saints Academy which, at that time, was "the only high school in Gila Valley, the only LDS high school in Arizona, and for a time the largest high school in the territory" (104). Beginning in 1898 and continuing until 1923, he oversaw the school's development into a junior college, which still thrives as Eastern Arizona College. In addition to Church-specific assignments, because of Andrew's "concern for community welfare," he also spent time on local water needs, including flood control and canal projects, railroad construction, and negotiations regarding mine tailings.

Though Andrew tried to keep his views as Church leader separate from his role as a political and community leader, it was often difficult to maintain that distinction. "Mormons who disagreed with Andrew's views resented the fact that Andrew's views were often taken as 'the' Mormon views. He supported the right of others to disagree, but he felt free to express his personal political opinions," notes Edward Kimball (123).

Andrew was a leader during the time in Church history when some in that same position were being asked to practice polygamy. His journal entries indicate that he considered such a step. However, he never married plurally. After Ollie's death in 1906, he married Josephine Cluff, a teacher at the Latter-day Saints Academy, in 1907. After her death in 1922, he married Mary Connelly, a member of the Young Women's Mutual Improvement Association General Board, in 1923. She cared for him until his death a year later.

The pieces of Andrew Kimball's life as fit together in this biography do not depict him as a perfect individual but rather as very human in his behavior. His impatience and impetuosity often required him to make amends to his family and Church members, but he did so readily after he had calmed down. In an autobiographical sketch probably written between 1912 and 1920, he identified "himself first as stake president," placed "great emphasis" on his work for the agricultural needs of the community, and "wished to be seen as a self-made man— orphaned early, self-reliant, a skilled workman, night-school education, and active in many kinds of commercial enterprise" (250).

While Andrew's life should be of interest to many because of the Kimball name and the generational connection with apostles, and because of the interesting description of the variety of activities and responsibilities of an early-day stake president, it will be of particular interest to anyone who has a pioneer heritage in southeastern Arizona. Those individuals—like myself—who have ancestors who helped settle the Gila Valley and continue to live or have ties there now will appreciate the day-by-day information provided about life,

business, and church.

I highly recommend Andrew's story as an engaging one, containing both humor and sadness and leaving the reader wishing to know more of what is contained in Andrew's journals and correspondence.

JOANN FOLLETT MORTENSEN {jfmortensen@gmail.com} is a native of the Gila Valley and has spent her life there. She is the author of *The Man behind the Discourse: A Biography of King Follett* (Salt Lake City: Greg Kofford Books, 2011), her third great-grandfather, whose descendants were members of the St Joseph Stake during Andrew Kimball's presidency.