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LETTER

Stakes in Canada

David B. Marshall's useful article, "The Latter-day Saints, the Doughnut, and Post-Christian Canada," *Journal of Mormon History* 39, no. 2 (Spring 2013): 35–77, incorrectly cites the chronology of LDS stakes in Alberta.

In 1903, the Taylor Stake, named after Apostle John W. Taylor, was created in Raymond, Alberta. The Lethbridge Stake was created in 1921, with Hugh B. Brown as president. At that time, the Lethbridge Stake extended north to the North Pole and included units in Edmonton and Calgary. The Calgary Stake was formed in 1953. I accompanied my father, Francis C. Russell, on some of his stake presidency visits from Lethbridge to Calgary in the 1940s and early 1950s.

More information is available in *A History of the Mormon Church in Canada*, (Lethbridge, Alberta, Canada: Lethbridge Herald Co./Printing Division, 1968). No author or editor is identified, but Asael E. Palmer, chair, identifies in a preface the committee appointed by the Lethbridge Stake presidency and high council: Asael E. and Maydell C. Palmer, Francis C.

and Hilda P. Russell, and Reed C. and Eva R. Ellison. Palmer, Russell, and Ellison were former Lethbridge Stake presidency members. Neither the committee nor the members are formally designated as authors or editors. The foreward is by N. Eldon Tanner.

Used copies of the book are still available from Amazon. Some incorrectly list Melvin S. Tagg as editor, because he wrote the first seven of twenty-one chapters.

Francine Russell Bennion
Provo, Utah

Correction

Cheryl L. Bruno, "Keeping a Secret: Freemasonry, Polygamy, and the Nauvoo Relief Society, 1842–44," *Journal of Mormon History* 39, no. 4 (Fall 2013): 159 note 2, cites "flyer pictured in 'The Minutes to the Very First Relief Society Meeting,'" taken from <http://wwwldswomenofgod.com/?p=1013>. This flyer is not a historic document but is a modern image available for commercial sale at <http://templehousegallery.com/FRAMED-RELIEF-SOCIETY-NOTICE-NAUVOO-3487.htm>

THE PEOPLE ARE “HOGAFFED OR HUMBUGGED”: THE 1851–52 NATIONAL REACTION TO UTAH’S “RUNAWAY” OFFICERS

PART 2

Ronald W. Walker and Matthew J. Grow

IN LATE SEPTEMBER 1851, four territorial officers left their posts in Utah and traveled to Washington, D.C., where they leveled serious charges against the Mormons. Part 1¹ of this article explored the chain of events that led to the officers’ clash with Brigham Young and the Latter-day Saints and their hasty exodus from Utah Territory following no more than twelve weeks on duty. This article focuses on the fall-out on the national political stage and in public opinion for both the Latter-day Saints and the officers. A major

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¹Ronald W. Walker, “The Affair of the ‘Runaways’: Utah’s First Encounter with the Federal Officers, Part 1,” *Journal of Mormon History* 39, no. 4 (Fall 2013): 1–43.

point of our argument is to demonstrate that Mormon and Utah history must be told not only from the perspective of Salt Lake City, but also from Washington, D.C. While Mormonism had attracted the interest of the American public many times before, the territorial structure ensured that the problems in Utah would capture the attention of both national policymakers and the public. Perhaps more than ever before, Mormon polygamy and theocracy became major national topics, and Americans once more showed how much they feared and distrusted the Latter-day Saints.

However, this time there was a twist. Despite the uproar, national leaders reacted cautiously when fashioning their Mormon policy—unlike the actions of the decision-makers half a decade later when the Utah Expedition rolled toward the territory to enforce, as they thought, federal law on rebellious citizens. Indeed, unlike future territorial disputes between the Mormons and appointed officials, which continued in territorial Utah for the next several decades, the Mormons emerged victorious in the skirmish. They successfully labeled the departed officials as “runaways” who were derelict in their duties, and President Millard Fillmore even nominated (though the Senate declined to confirm) leading Mormons as some of their replacements. The incident showed that Mormon leaders were not anxious to set up an independent religious kingdom in the Great Basin as some historians have claimed. In fact, the political experience of Utah was in many ways like that of other western territories: Westerners wanted to make their own decisions and be represented by individuals from their own region, not by outsiders.

While John M. Bernhisel, Utah’s territorial delegate in Congress, was staying in New York City in early November 1851, he learned that the officials—judges Perry E. Brocchus and Lemuel Brandebury, secretary Broughton Harris, and Indian subagent Henry Day—had left their posts. Bernhisel reported to Young that the publication of the officers’ charges, full of grievance and accusation, was creating “a profound sensation which diffused itself over the whole of this wide spread Republic.”² He hurried to Washington, stopping briefly in Philadelphia to consult with Thomas L. Kane, the

²John M. Bernhisel, Letter to Brigham Young, December 5, 1851, Brigham Young Papers (hereafter cited as Young Papers), LDS Church History Library.

most influential non-Mormon supporter of the Saints.³ At the nation's capital, Bernhisel found that the excitement against the Latter-day Saints was "very great." He took a room in the National Hotel, where many national politicians at the time lodged but soon rented a room in a private home, which he dedicated to the work of the Lord. The place became his refuge during the next several months.⁴

At first Bernhisel had little context for understanding the uproar. When he had left Utah in early September, the territory was quiet, at least on the surface. Since coming east, he had no reason to think that these conditions had changed until newspapers printed the officials' public letter and other comments. The letter's author was identified only as "a judicial officer," but it soon became an open secret that the author was Perry E. Brocchus, a Virginia native in his mid-thirties, who had been appointed by President Fillmore as one of Utah's three federal judges. Brocchus had quarreled with Young, then drafted the letter while he was still in Utah. Although he had been resident in Utah for only a few weeks, Brocchus proclaimed, "I am sick and tired of this place, of the fanaticism of the people, followed by their violence of feeling towards the '*gentiles*.'" ⁵ ("Gentiles" was how the Latter-day Saints often referred to non-Mormons.)

Brocchus's inflammatory letter repeated several of the charges he had leveled against the local people in a lengthy speech delivered at a session of the Latter-day Saint general conference in September. Describing that speech, one of the most memorable in Utah's pioneer history, Brocchus quoted Young as saying during a Pioneer Day celebration, "*Zachary Taylor is dead and gone to hell, and I am glad of it.*" In response, Brocchus stated that in his September speech, "I endeavored to show the injustice of their [Mormons'] feelings towards the Government, and alluded boldly and feelingly to the sacrilegious remarks of Governor Young towards the memory of the lamented Taylor." Brocchus claimed that during his public remarks he warned

³John M. Bernhisel, Remarks, June 19, 1853, George D. Watt Papers, MS 4534, Box 4, disk 9, images 167–83, shorthand transcribed by LaJean Purcell Carruth, December 8, 2009, LDS Church History Library.

⁴Bernhisel to Young, December 5, 1851.

⁵"Extract of a Letter from a Judicial Officer of the Government," at Great Salt Lake City, September 20, 1851, in *Message from the President of the United States*, 32d Congress, 1st session, H.R., Ex. Doc. 25, p. 6; emphasis in original.

Young that if he did not “early repent of the cruel declaration, he *would perform that task with keen remorse upon his dying pillow.*” The charge that Young defamed the memory of Taylor, a Mexican War hero and a U.S. president who had died in office about a year earlier, was certain to enflame emotions. Brocchus’s letter also claimed that the Saints held “intolerant sentiments” toward the U.S. government and federal officers. As evidence, Brocchus referred to Daniel H. Wells’s Pioneer Day oration delivered in July 1851. Wells, a prominent Mormon leader who commanded the territory’s militia, had supposedly spoken “bitterly of the course of the United States towards the church of ‘*Latter day Saints.*’”⁶

One of the most inflammatory sections of the public letter gave Brocchus’s version of Young’s angry rebuttal after Brocchus ended his two-hour speech: “The ferment created by his [Young’s] remarks was truly fearful. It seemed as if the people (I mean a large portion of them) were ready to spring upon me like hyenas and destroy me. The governor, while speaking, said that some persons might get their hair pulled or *their throats cut on that occasion.* His manner was boisterous, passionate, infuriated in the extreme; and if he had not been afraid of final vengeance, he would have pointed his finger at me, and I should *in an instant* have been a dead man.” Brocchus said that the excitement in the community grew following his speech. “How it will end I do not know. . . . I hope I shall get off safely. God only knows.”⁷ The officers later added another indictment, accusing Young of stealing \$20,000 in government funds to pay off the Church’s debts instead of using the money, as intended, to construct a state capitol.⁸

The officials’ charges were designed to raise a storm, and they did. The *New York Herald* was forced to end its respectful reverie about the Mormons, only several weeks old, when the newspaper had praised the Latter-day Saints as a modern miracle that defied the “wildest inventions of romance.” It had marveled, “Such a people, so

⁶“Extract of a Letter from a Judicial Officer,” 5–6.

⁷*Ibid.*, 6.

⁸“The Mormon Territory,” *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel*, November 11, 1851, 2/1 [page/column]; “Late from Utah Territory—Details of Governor Young’s Conduct—Escape of Harris with Government Money,” *New York Daily Times*, November 14, 1851, 3, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

gifted for hard work, singing, and prayer, cannot fail."⁹ But now, responding to Brocchus, the *Herald* spoke of the "seditious sentiments of Brigham Young" and the Mormons' embrace of "practical nullification," using one of the more incendiary political terms of the time which evoked the much-feared breakup of the Union. "Let a squadron of dragoons, with a light field piece or two, escort the territorial officers to Salt Lake, and let the dragoons remain there, and there will be no further trouble," it said.¹⁰ During this first public outburst, Philadelphia's *North American* accused the Mormons of wanting to take Oregon and California by conquest.¹¹ One Missouri newspaper remembered the state's problems with the Latter-day Saints more than a decade earlier. The Mormons, it said, were back at their old game of creating difficulties with their neighbors.¹²

Once Bernhisel got to Washington, he went to see President Fillmore, who kept an open-door policy. Bernhisel was uncertain about what happened in Utah after his departure and hoped the president had more details. He also wanted to assure Fillmore of the loyalty of Utah's people. The president seemed friendly, even apologetic. He thought he might have made a mistake in nominating Brocchus, who possibly was reacting out of failed ambition. The Mormons, and apparently Fillmore, too, thought that the judge had come to Utah in the hope of being elected as its delegate to Congress. "If an officer goes out there [to Utah] he must take his chance with the rest of being returned to Congress," the president said. This conversation did not mention some of the recent behind-the-scenes maneuvers that had taken place. Fillmore, a Whig, had selected Brocchus, a Democrat, in the political maneuvers following the Compromise of 1850. But Fill-

⁹"Summary of the Latest News," *New York Herald*, October 18, 1851, 4/1.

¹⁰"The Latter-day Saints and the Government—Practical Nullification," *New York Herald*, November 8, 1851, 4/3; "The Mormon Difficulties," *New York Herald*, November 14, 1851, 2/2.

¹¹Quoted in "The Latter-day Saints and the Government—Practical Nullification," *New York Herald*, November 8, 1851, 4/3.

¹²*St. Louis Republican* as reprinted in "Late from Utah Territory—Details of Governor Young's Conduct—Escape of Harris with Government Money," *New York Daily Times*, November 14, 1851, 3, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

more did not want a Democrat to represent Utah if he could help it. He had privately asked Young to select a Whig, and Young selected Bernhisel, a choice that Utahns had unanimously ratified in a July 1851 election.¹³

When the men ended their talk, Fillmore asked Bernhisel to write a letter describing how the Saints had received the news of the creation of Utah Territory. This information might show their patriotism and help to refute Brocchus. The president also asked Bernhisel to include any other item that might explain the current difficulty. Bernhisel, for his part, tried to be amicable. He said Young had been thinking of sending Fillmore a heavy gold chain along with \$120 as tokens of gratitude for his role in making Utah a territory.¹⁴ Neither Bernhisel nor Fillmore apparently blushed at the offer, which by modern standards seems to approach the thin line between gratitude and graft. Young had earlier sent a set of Deseret's gold coins east, and these had been made into signet rings for leading editors and perhaps politicians.¹⁵

Several days later Bernhisel was back at the Executive Mansion with his letter.¹⁶ Bernhisel explained that the Saints had joyously celebrated the establishment of Utah as a U.S. territory and insisted that the government officers had been received warmly. As proof, he gave the president a petition from the local people asking that the officers' pay be increased, since the officers had complained about the territory's high prices.¹⁷ Bernhisel had more difficulty in answering Brocchus's specific charges. He simply did not know the details. Nevertheless, Bernhisel had been present during the Pioneer Day cele-

¹³John M. Bernhisel, Letter to Brigham Young, December 5, 1851, Young Papers.

¹⁴Ibid.

¹⁵Thomas L. Kane, Letter to Brigham Young, September 24, 1850, Thomas L. Kane Collection, L. Tom Perry Special Collections and Manuscripts Division, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

¹⁶Bernhisel to Young, December 5, 1851.

¹⁷John M. Bernhisel, Letter to Millard Fillmore, December 1, 1851, in *Message from the President of the United States*, January 9, 1852, 32d Cong. 1st sess, H.R., Ex. Doc., 25; "Memorial of Territorial Officials to Congress on Their Salaries," n.d., Miscellaneous Letters of the Department of State, 1789–1906, NARA, Series 179, microfilm, US/CAN Film 1,841,983,

bration and assured Fillmore that Young said nothing about Zachary Taylor. Bernhisel also knew, just by reading Brocchus's letter, that it was not telling the full truth. "I do not remark upon this strange mode of springing an insult upon a public meeting, after its patience had been tired by a *two hours* oration," Bernhisel wryly commented.¹⁸

After his two visits with Fillmore, Bernhisel wrote an open letter to the press asking for everyone to suspend judgment about Brocchus's charges until more "authentic information" could be received. Bernhisel's letter seemed to check some of the rush to judgment. "Our friends here were much pleased to see it, and seem now to breathe freer," Bernhisel wrote Young. Secretary of State Daniel Webster thanked Bernhisel and asked permission to publish parts of the earlier letter Bernhisel had written to Fillmore.¹⁹

The problem, of course, was the two thousand miles that separated Washington and Salt Lake City, and the months-long lags in communications before the completion of the transcontinental telegraph and railroad lines. The result was two parallel universes, one in the East and the other in the Great Basin, each reacting uncertainly and after a dysfunctional time delay. The Mormons had done their best to provide information. During the taut days of September following the encounter at general conference, they began to send warning letters and messengers to their contacts in the East. One of the first letters went from Brigham Young and his counselors in the First Presidency, Heber C. Kimball and Willard Richards, to Kane, the Philadelphia blue-blood whose lectures and public letters to the press—and his visits with public officials and widely read pamphlet *The Mormons*, published the previous year—had won the Mormons great sympathy. Perhaps never before nor later in the nineteenth century was the public standing of the Saints so high as in the last months of 1850.²⁰ Kane's work helped Utah to achieve territorial status with Young as its governor. Young's letter to Kane was partially a response

frames 368–377, LDS Family History Library.

¹⁸Bernhisel to Fillmore, December 1, 1851; Bernhisel to Young, December 5, 1851; emphasis in original.

¹⁹Bernhisel to Young, December 5, 1851; Daniel Webster, Letter to Millard Fillmore, December 3, 1851, reel 32, microfilm edition of Millard Fillmore Papers, Buffalo and Erie County History Society, New York.

²⁰Matthew J. Grow, "The Suffering Saints: Thomas L. Kane, Demo-

to Kane's own letters. During the summer, a handful of letters from Kane arrived in Utah. Kane had written one of them more than a year and half earlier in July 1850; an additional two, also written by Kane, were almost as ancient, written in September 1850 and February 1851. The delay of these letters could be explained only partly by the plodding U.S. mail. In addition, Kane wrote two letters to Young on April 7, 1851, asking the Mormons to cordially receive the appointed officers.²¹ The earlier letters from Kane told the Mormons of Kane's recent public relations successes. He claimed that he "fully vindicated" the Saints' "character." In the February 1851 letter, Kane included a question that only Mormon insiders could have appreciated. Kane asked Mormon leaders whether the blessing he received from Church Patriarch John Smith, the brother of Joseph Sr., the first Church patriarch, still held good.²²

Mormons believed that patriarchal blessings, given by specially ordained men, promised Church members blessings in the future if they continued in the faith. Kane had received such a blessing after a life-threatening illness during his visit to the Mormon camps near the Missouri River bottoms in 1846. Although these blessings were reserved generally for faithful members, Church leaders made an exception for Kane. Patriarch Smith sealed upon Kane "the blessings of the new and everlasting Covenant"—Abraham's compact with God renewed for worthy men and women in the restoration of Christ's church in modern times. John Smith had also promised God's watchful care: "He hath given his angels charge over thee in times of danger to deliver thee out of all thy troubles and defend thee from all thine enemies, not an hair of thine head shall ever fall by the hand of an enemy, for thou art appointed to do a great work on the earth and thou shalt be blessed in all thine undertakings and thy name shall be had in honorable remembrance among the Saints to all generations. . . . No

cratic Reform, and the Mormon Question in Antebellum America," *Journal of the Early Republic* 29 (Winter 2009): 681–710.

²¹Thomas L. Kane, Letters to Brigham Young, April 7, 1851, Young Papers.

²²Thomas L. Kane, Letter to Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, and Willard Richards, July 11, 1850, Young Papers; Thomas L. Kane, Letter to Brigham Young and "Immediate Advisors," September 24, 1850, Young Papers; and Thomas L. Kane, Letter to Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, and Willard Richards, February 19, 1851, Young Papers.

power on earth shall stay thy hand." Smith had pronounced a flood of additional promises, too, but one of them—the promise of marriage and children—had special meaning to Kane.²³ Because of Kane's chronically poor health, he had, at age twenty-four, almost given up hope that he would marry and have children.²⁴

Replying to Kane's letters in mid-September with Utah's recent news, Young, Kimball, and Richards told their Philadelphia friend about the strained relations with the outside officers. For two days, they had heard rumors that these officials were planning on leaving Utah, even though the Mormons had received them with "cordiality." They expressed themselves as baffled: "It will require some abler historian to define the cause of its present position," the First Presidency wrote.²⁵

By passing on these rumors, the Mormons were warning Kane to expect difficult times in the East if the officers should leave. Their letter also revealed their doubt that, at the beginning of the controversy over the "runaways," Kane's public relations and political victories could last. "The War between the Kingdom of God, and the Kingdoms of the world (of Satan) will wax hotter and hotter," they predicted, "with occasional slight intervals of rest, in appearance only, as you have seen." They warned that Kane was also at risk—that they were dropping "this hint to a friend that he may not be found with his armor off, while spies attack him when asleep or be ambushed in the rear. It is all skirmishing as yet, the great battle is bye and bye." The Mormons were revealing how deeply past persecution had affected their psyche and how dark the future seemed to be. "All the cliques, parties, Divisions, and sub-divisions of the age, in poli-

²³"A blessing by John Smith[,] Patriarch of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints upon the head of Thomas L. Kane," September 7, 1846, Kane Collection, Perry Special Collections.

²⁴Thomas L. Kane, Letter to Brigham Young, July 10, 1855, Young Papers. Kane wrote this letter to Young after the birth of his first child, Harriet. Referencing the patriarchal blessing, he stated, "After my hemorrhage, after the Ague, after my resolve of celibacy; after the cholera and dysentery, after my wife's miscarriage and pronounced peculiar state of health even,—it has come to pass; and I am the father of a daughter."

²⁵Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, and Willard Richards, Letter to Thomas L. Kane, September 15, 1851, Kane Collection, Perry Special Collections.

tics, are easily cast in two grand moulds, Truth and Falsehood,” they said.²⁶ For the Mormons, the world was a duality of right and wrong, good and evil.

As the members of the First Presidency were preparing their letter, Patriarch Smith dropped by the office, and they posed Kane’s question about his patriarchal blessing to him. “It shall hold,” the seventy-year-old Smith firmly replied.²⁷ Kane, whose belief in established churches ranged from his usual deep skepticism to occasional moments of hope, found Smith’s blessing to be compelling. “It has not failed so far,” he had assured them in his February 1851 letter, “though there have been times plenty when I could not have insured on it at 99½ per cent.”²⁸ The blessing supported his sense of mission and stiffened his resolve to defy odds, especially the limitations of his health and political opposition.

The First Presidency’s warnings about the rumored plans of the federal officials reflected their usual millennial foreboding and also suggested they had access to accurate information. Although the officials were present for the legislative session that began on September 22, they left the city on September 28 and 29.²⁹ After this hasty departure, on September 30, Mormon officials followed up with letters briefing Bernhisel. Daniel H. Wells summarized events and personalities for the territorial representative. He barely mentioned Henry Day, the departing Indian subagent who never figured prominently in the controversy. Brandebury, the chief judge, seemed conflicted over his need for his salary and his sympathy for the protesting offi-

²⁶Ibid.

²⁷Ibid.

²⁸Kane to Young, Kimball, and Richards, February 19, 1851.

²⁹For the September 28 date, see Brigham Young, Letter to Millard Fillmore, September 29, 1851, in *Message from the President of the United States*, 32d Cong., 1st sess, H.R., Ex. Doc. 25, 29. Broughton Harris’s wife, Sarah, later recalled that they were going to travel initially with “several merchants and traders.” However, “at the last moment, an accident happened to one of our carriages which delayed us one day”; most of the party left immediately, presumably on September 28, while Brandebury, James Livingston, and the Harrises left the following day and traveled “alone to Fort Bridger,” where they met up with the other officers. Sarah Hollister Harris, *An Unwritten Chapter of Salt Lake, 1851–1901* (New York: Privately printed, 1901), 59.

cers. Broughton Harris, the twenty-eight-year-old territorial secretary, who was, according to reports, unusually good looking, was "young and likely," thought Wells, "but as stubborn as a Mule, his beauty ruined his intellect." Wells saved his sternest critique for Brocchus. Once Brocchus began his famous denunciation of the community's morals "nothing could stop him," Wells said. While speaking, Brocchus had "indulged freely" and when he finished he seemed not to recall "many things which he did say"—criticisms either of his excessive talking or perhaps a hint that the disapproving Wells thought Brocchus might have been drinking. Brocchus had "betrayed the most profound ignorance in relation to the history and feelings of this people." The departing men had been pretentious and overbearing, Wells claimed, but actually had done little with their assignments. He called them "loafers."³⁰

Two other letters left Salt Lake City for Washington at that time. The first was a formal memorial—a protest from the territorial assembly to President Fillmore dated September 29—that mingled pleas with outrage. The legislators were furious that Harris had defied the assembly by leaving Utah with \$23,000 that Congress had appropriated for the territory's expenses. (This was a separate appropriation from the \$20,000 delivered earlier for construction of a state capitol building.) Harris's act had left Utah's government unfunded and in shambles—without effective courts and with no one to sanction official acts. Furthermore, they complained stiffly, the officers had made their departure a "studious violation of etiquette" that had conveyed "burlesque, contempt, and indignity." The Mormons had been sometimes accused of wanting to set up an independent regime in the West, and their original State of Deseret (never sanctioned by Congress) was supposedly a vehicle for this ambition. However, the memorial defended the Mormons against this claim. Rather, the legislators reversed the blame. The provisional state had never been more than a stopgap measure, organized only because Washington had not given the local people a government of any sort, despite their pleas. However, now that territorial status had been achieved, the legislators wanted Washington to recognize that Utahns were a "sovereign peo-

³⁰Daniel H. Wells, Letter to John M. Bernhisel, September 30, 1851, Young Papers.

ple” with the right of “franchise and of self-government.”³¹ In short, Utah, like other western territories, wanted both a territorial government and local decision-making. There was even a rising constitutional theory to justify such an arrangement. “Popular sovereignty,” or “squatter sovereignty” as it was sometimes called, would soon become a plank of the platform of the dominant Democratic Party.³²

Governor Young wrote his own message to President Fillmore—the second missive eastbound in protest and correction. He wrote a long review of the crisis and its causes, accompanied by more than a dozen supporting documents. It was a classic example of Young’s approach to criticism; his weapons of choice were a prolix defense augmented by a daunting array of sworn affidavits, petitions, and legislative resolutions, a strange approach for a leader who so detested lawyers and legal proceedings. Young admitted that he had sidestepped several technical requirements in Utah’s Organic Act, the Congressional order that had established the territory. To get a representative in Congress as soon as possible, he acknowledged, he had moved ahead with local elections without taking the required census and had called the Legislative Assembly into session on September 22 without Harris’s signature as territorial secretary. Circumstances required such action, he argued. The census forms had not yet arrived and Harris was not performing his duties. Young felt that the spirit of law that burdened him with getting a new territory up and going surely justified bypassing a few technical points.³³

“We have sought to obtain an authorized [territorial] government, and the people have been well satisfied with the government,” Young wrote. “If the men appointed had endeavored to be active in

³¹“Memorial Signed by Members of the Legislative Assembly of Utah to the President of the United States,” September 29, 1851, in *Message from the President of the United States*, 32d Cong., 1st sess. H.R., Ex. Doc. 25, 32–33. For the amount that Harris carried east, see Statement, Office of the Assistant Treasurer at St. Louis, November 24, 1851, Broughton D. Harris Papers, LDS Church History Library.

³²Ronald W. Walker, “Buchanan, Popular Sovereignty, and the Mormons: The Election of 1856,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 81, no. 2 (Spring 2013): 108–32.

³³Brigham Young, Letter to Millard Fillmore, September 29, 1851, in *Message from the President of the United States*, 32d Cong., 1st sess. H.R., Ex. Doc. 25, 28–32.

the discharge of their duties, all would have been well." Instead, Young claimed, Harris and the other officers had been directed to "watch for *iniquity*, to catch at shadows, and make a man 'an offender for a word;' to spy out our liberties, and, by manifold misrepresentations, seek to prejudice the minds of the people." Under the circumstances, Young half-threatened that it might be best for Utah to retreat to its old provisional government until it could be admitted as a state. Concluding his letter, however, Young tempered his outburst with more loyal language: "Be assured that it is and has been my intention to discharge faithfully every duty pertaining to my office; and that I shall receive very gratefully any instructions that you will please to give."³⁴ Two weeks later in mid-October, Young sent another letter to Fillmore, informing him that Willard Richards had been chosen as acting territorial secretary until Washington chose a new man for the post.³⁵

Young's complaints seemed almost part and parcel of the U.S. government's territorial system. Although the Mormons, with their checkered history of conflicts with local, state, and federal government, were predisposed to view any but their own people with suspicion, some of the blame had to do with the men that Washington appointed. As historian Howard Lamar observed almost a half century ago, the territorial appointees, both in Utah and elsewhere, "were political hacks, defeated congressmen, or jobless relatives of congressmen and cabinet members. These appointees owed their loyalty neither to the territory nor to the branch of government they represented."³⁶ As a result, they often had little sympathy for the people they had been appointed to serve.

Oregon Territory, for example, had been created in 1848, but it was a year after their appointments when its federal officials as-

³⁴Ibid.

³⁵Brigham Young, Letter to Millard Fillmore, October 15, 1851, in *Message from the President of the United States*, 32d Cong., 1st sess., H.R., Ex. Doc. 25, 7-8; Brigham Young, Proclamation, October 15, 1851, Miscellaneous Letters of the Department of State, 1789-1906, frames 625-626.

³⁶Howard Roberts Lamar, *The Far Southwest, 1846-1912* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1966), 13-14. Another classic study of federal officials from 1861 to 1890 found that nearly 70 percent failed to finish their term of service. Earl S. Pomery, "Carpet-baggers in the Territories, 1861 to 1890," *The Historian* 2, no. 1 (December 1939): 53.

sumed their duties, only to find a “well-organized and efficient [provisional] government already functioning.” Even without the religious differences that existed in Utah, tension arose almost immediately between the appointees and the Oregonians. Oregon’s first chief justice stayed only six months before returning east in October 1849, though he did not resign his position until January 1851. Without an effective judiciary in the territory, Oregon’s delegate to Congress proposed that territorial justices be locally elected, but Congress refused authorization. Other disputes in Oregon which mirrored some of the complaints in Utah included poorly managed or nonexistent post offices, the location of the state capitol, and the disbursement of federal funds. At the same time that Washington was learning about Utah’s “runaways,” the Oregon territorial legislature passed resolutions of protest against their federal officials and asked that Oregonians be allowed to elect their own men to these positions. Oregon legislators complained that the “system of appointment by the President, of men to execute and construe our laws, who are strangers to our wants, our customs, our sympathies and our feelings, is intrinsically wrong.” Tensions over local decision-making did not wane in Oregon Territory until it achieved statehood in 1859.³⁷

Likewise, the Fillmore administration had to deal with accusations coming from New Mexico settlers against their federally appointed governor and chief justice.³⁸ Similar squabbles later became a pattern in Wyoming and other western territories.³⁹

The point is that Utah’s difficulties require the context of what took place in other American territories during an era of rough-and-tumble politics. The demand for local control, the breakdown of federal courts, the incompetence and greed of too many political ap-

³⁷Robert W. Johannsen, *The Frontier, the Union, and Stephen A. Douglas* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989), 3–18. For a difficulty in Oregon at the same time that Fillmore was attempting to resolve conditions in Utah, see Millard Fillmore, Letter to Daniel Webster, April 8, 1852, Miscellaneous Letters of the Department of State, frames 505–506.

³⁸Millard Fillmore, Letter to Daniel Webster, April 6, 1852, Miscellaneous Letters of the Department of State, frame 491.

³⁹Duane A. Smith, *Rocky Mountain West: Colorado, Wyoming, and Montana, 1859–1915*, *Histories of the American Frontier* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1992), 71–72.

pointees, the "rings" of local citizens seeking federal spoils, the hard-fisted political infighting, and even the outbreak of extralegal violence—each of these situations simmered throughout the West's territories, frequently coming to a full boil. What happened in Utah was a variation on common themes, and no explanation of events there can be complete without understanding the nature of the West's fledgling democracy.

About the same time Young was writing Fillmore, Young learned that Harris had left the territorial seal at the non-Mormon mercantile establishment of Livingston and Kinkead. Acting as governor, Young went with U.S. marshal Joseph L. Heywood, a Mormon, to seize it. At first James Livingston, an ally of the departing officers, refused to give it up. Young berated Livingston for not supporting the local people who kept his establishment afloat with their purchases and soon returned to his own office with the seal under his arm.⁴⁰

The letters and the documents the Mormons had prepared in late September went east by special courier to Jedediah Grant, who had left Salt Lake City a couple of weeks earlier.⁴¹ During the summer, Church leaders had asked Grant to help manage the migration of Latter-day Saints in the East who were destined for Utah. However, on October 1, a few days after the officers left Utah on September 28, Young and other Mormon leaders authorized Grant to "repair to Washington as agent of the citizens of Utah."⁴² When these documents caught up with him on the overland trail, Grant decided to stop in Philadelphia en route to Washington to consult with Kane.

Grant was one of the most unusual men of the Mormons' first

⁴⁰Joseph L. Heywood, "Incident Concerning the Utah Territorial Seal," February 13, 1877, LDS Church History Library.

⁴¹Grant apparently left Salt Lake City on September 22, 1851, Journal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (chronological scrapbook of typed entries and newspaper clippings, 1830–present), September 22, 1851, LDS Church History Library.

⁴²Brigham Young, Willard Richards, and W. W. Phelps, Letter to Jedediah M. Grant, October 1, 1851, cited in David W. Parker, *Calendar of Papers in Washington Archives Relating to the Territories of the United States (to 1873)*, Papers of the Department of Historical Research, edited by J. Franklin Jameson (Washington, D.C.: The Lord Baltimore Press, 1911), 395.

generation.⁴³ Following a Mormon miracle that healed his mother, he was baptized at age seventeen and never looked back. Although the leaders in that first generation were markedly youthful, Grant became one of the First Council of the Seventy at age twenty-nine and was an apostle by age thirty-eight in April 1854. Tall, gaunt, and angular, he wore a beard that looked like a thin filigree pasted to his lower chin. There was, however, nothing theatrical or decorative about him. "I am not of that class that believes in shrinking," he once said. "If there is a fight on hand, give me a share in it."⁴⁴ Small wonder that he would be nicknamed "Brigham's sledge hammer."⁴⁵

Grant was traveling a week or so ahead of the "runaways" on the overland trail, but apparently soon fell behind them. His party was slowed by weak horses and his own persistently poor health. He had left Salt Lake City with a case of "inflamed" eyes that worsened on the plains: "a violent cold in my head and eyes," he reported in a letter to his family.⁴⁶ Willard Snow, a missionary who traveled with Grant for part of the journey east, left an account of the uproar the officers were creating. The public reaction to Brocchus's letter and to his speeches was so strong that the citizens in St. Joseph, Missouri, "talked of putting a chain and ball to my leg without Judge or Jury," Snow reported.⁴⁷

The vigilantes allowed Snow and his companions, including Grant, to leave town at night, on the same riverboat that was carrying Brocchus and his companions. Snow caustically reported that Brocchus "was seated at the head of the table three times a day in the gentlemen's cabin & had an extra table set in the ladies cabin twice and three times a day with wine, women and sweet meats both of the flesh & fish fowl and fruit." The missionary claimed that, once the party reached St. Louis, the high-living Brocchus could not pay his

⁴³Gene A. Sessions, *Mormon Thunder: A Documentary History of Jedediah Mormon Grant* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1982).

⁴⁴Mary G. Judd, *Jedediah M. Grant* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1959), 34, 129.

⁴⁵Sessions, *Mormon Thunder*, 120.

⁴⁶Jedediah Grant, Letter to Susan Grant and Family, December 11, 1851, Susan N. Grant Papers, LDS Church History Library.

⁴⁷Willard Snow, Journal, undated entries, ca. October/November 1851, LDS Church History Library.

bill.⁴⁸ Snow and Grant began to encounter the same blast of newspaper reports that Bernhisel was enduring in New York and Washington. Grant said that Brocchus's public letter was creating sensation and outrage on every side—"all the filth and slang that they could think of or write . . . crying, 'Treason, Poligamy, Profanity, Abominations.'"⁴⁹

Church leaders likely selected Grant as their envoy to Kane in part because the friendship between the two men dated back to 1846. When Kane was desperately ill during that summer, Grant had provided shelter for the ailing attorney in his tent, and his wife, Caroline, had nursed him. Kane confessed a special attachment for those "who helped me, nursed me" at that time.⁵⁰ Grant had been sent to Philadelphia in the summer of 1847 to help Kane lobby government officials for permission for the Mormons to remain on American Indian lands in the Midwest during their preparation for the trek west; at that time, Grant wrote that Kane's "hand, heart and feelings are as warm as ever."⁵¹ Now, four years later, Grant found Kane still ready to help his Mormon friends. "His zeal is unabated and his ambition unchecked," Grant reported to his family in Utah. Kane had optimistically assured Grant that "all will come out right" despite the gathering storm.⁵²

After giving Kane the Mormon version of what had taken place in Utah, Grant left Philadelphia for Washington. He arrived on December 8, two days after the officers got to town and on the very day they were making their highly colored report to Fillmore at the Executive Mansion.⁵³ The place was in turmoil, and Bernhisel seemed at a loss to express his alarm in the report that he sent Brigham Young in February 1852. The public excitement was as if a "tornado" had "swept over the city with fury and threatened common ruin," he said. Emotions were "ugly," even shoving aside the usual courtesies extended on the floor of the House of Representatives. Some friends of

⁴⁸Ibid.

⁴⁹Grant to Grant, December 11, 1851.

⁵⁰Kane to Young, Kimball, and Richards, February 19, 1851.

⁵¹Jedediah M. Grant, Letter to Brigham Young, August 15, 1847, Young Papers.

⁵²Grant to Grant, December 11, 1851.

⁵³Ibid.

the Mormons were wavering or were drifting toward the opposition.⁵⁴ Grant arrived to find that Bernhisel's health was faltering before the onslaught.⁵⁵ However, Grant's news and letters gave Bernhisel a surer footing from which to respond. Kane may have also come to Washington, D.C.; several days later on December 9 when Kane was back in Philadelphia, Bernhisel asked him to draft a memo of his proposal but to have someone else address it so Kane's distinctive handwriting would not be recognized.⁵⁶ Apparently the times required stealth.

To have any chance of managing the crisis successfully, the Mormons needed to know the plans of the "runaways" and the information they were telling Fillmore. Seeking such information, Bernhisel wrote to Fillmore on December 9. Kane probably ghost-wrote the letter, or at least provided Bernhisel with its first draft.⁵⁷ Bernhisel recognized that "the tide of public sentiment is . . . strongly against us," and he asked Fillmore that he "be informed at the earliest convenient moment, of any [formal] allegations which the officers who had recently returned from Utah Territory may prefer." Bernhisel then visited Fillmore on December 12; the president informed the Mormon delegate that he had told the officers to put their charges in writing. Though Fillmore promised that the Mormons would be allowed to respond to the officers' report before it became public, the interview did nothing to quiet Bernhisel's apprehensions.⁵⁸

Bernhisel believed in quiet diplomacy, which meant keeping Grant out of public view. He asked Grant not to speak with con-

⁵⁴John M. Bernhisel, Letter to Brigham Young, February 13, 1852, Young Papers; Bernhisel, Remarks, June 19, 1853.

⁵⁵Jedediah Grant, Letter to Brigham Young and Council, December 30, 1851, Young Papers.

⁵⁶John M. Bernhisel, Letter to Thomas L. Kane, December 9, 1851, Thomas L. Kane Papers, Special Collections, Stanford University, Palo Alto, California.

⁵⁷John M. Bernhisel, Letter to Thomas L. Kane, December 11, 1851, Kane Collection, Perry Special Collections.

⁵⁸John M. Bernhisel, Letter to Brigham Young, December 12, 1851, Young Papers; Bernhisel to Kane, December 11, 1851, Kane Collection, Perry Special Collections; Bernhisel to Fillmore, December 30, 1851, in *Message from the President*, 27; Grant to Grant and Family, December 11, 1851.

gressmen, newspaper editors, or with the president.⁵⁹ Although Grant did his best to be a silent partner, he did not like the role. He acknowledged that Bernhisel was a decent and hard-working man but thought he lacked religious spunk—what Grant called “Mormon Thunder,” a quality Grant had in quantity. Bernhisel “thinks me indescend,” Grant complained, after Bernhisel tried to diminish Grant’s public conspicuousness. Grant’s frustration grew as he took Washington’s political pulse.⁶⁰

Indeed, political events seemed to be turning sharply against the Mormons. Fillmore suspended Young’s salary as governor. In a letter to Fillmore, Secretary of State Daniel Webster, whose authority included managing the government’s business in the western territories, called the Mormons a “diabolical society” and their transactions “abominable.”⁶¹ It appeared as a “fixed fact” that Young would soon lose his office as governor, Bernhisel surmised.⁶² Among the men rumored to replace him was Alexander Doniphan—the Mormons’ old friend from Missouri, who had prevented Joseph Smith’s execution after a drumhead court-martial had convicted him of treason in 1838. Far more alarming to the Mormons were the names of Brocchus and Harris as possible gubernatorial successors.⁶³ During the next several months, the names of other candidates for the Utah governorship floated to the surface. In a letter to Fillmore, James Arlington Bennet—the nineteenth-century gadfly who had been in and out of Mormon history since 1841 and whom Joseph Smith invited to become his running mate in the 1844 presidential election—added the

⁵⁹Jedediah M. Grant, Letter to Susan Grant, March 7, 1852, Susan N. Grant Correspondence; Jedediah M. Grant, Letter to Brigham Young, March 10, 1852, Young Papers.

⁶⁰Grant to Grant, March 7, 1852.

⁶¹Daniel Webster, Letter to Millard Fillmore, December 23, 1851, in Charles M. Wiltse and Michael J. Birkner, eds., *The Papers of Daniel Webster: Correspondence, Volume 7, 1850–1852* (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1986), 299.

⁶²John M. Bernhisel, Letter to Brigham Young, March 10, 1852, Young Papers.

⁶³Grant to Young and Council, December 30, 1851.

office of Utah's chief executive to his several fantasies.⁶⁴ "I might, through policy & moderation & by adopting their Religion, a La Napoleon, in Egypt, buy them [secure their loyalty] under the laws of the Union," Bennet proposed to Fillmore.⁶⁵

Meanwhile, Bernhisel gave Fillmore an article published in the Mormon-owned *Deseret News* containing excerpts of Daniel Wells's Pioneer Day oration. As Bernhisel told Kane, the account "contained a remark which was disrespectful to the government, but the speech contained much more that was favorable to the government than it did against it." The published version had scrubbed up Wells's oration and said nothing about Wells or any other Mormon belittling Zachary Taylor. Even so, Bernhisel admitted to Kane that Grant "thinks that the Governor [Young] did make a remark somewhat similar, though less severe, in regard to General Taylor, on some occasion prior" to the early September meeting in which Brocchus and Young had their confrontation.⁶⁶ In fact, in his July 24 speech, Young had stated, "It was said by Zach Taylor—said the poor Mormons ought to be driven from the face of the earth—but as providence would have it—he is in hell and we are here about 1000 miles from hell."⁶⁷

As tensions grew in Washington, everything seemed to depend on the official report of the "runaways." Fillmore had promised Bernhisel that he would have time to respond to it, but deadlines were growing shorter. The government had announced that the report would be released along with other documents on December 29. Finally, late in the afternoon of Wednesday, December 24, Webster sent word to Bernhisel that he had received the report, but Webster could not yet provide a copy. State Department clerks were leaving the office for the Christmas holiday; then came the weekend, and the re-

⁶⁴Lyndon W. Cook, "James Arlington Bennet and the Mormons," *BYU Studies* 19 (Winter 1979): 247–49.

⁶⁵James Arlington Bennet, Letter to Millard Fillmore, February 7, 1852, Fillmore Papers.

⁶⁶John M. Bernhisel, Letter to Thomas L. Kane, December 17, 1851, Kane Collection, Perry Special Collections.

⁶⁷Richard S. Van Wagoner, ed., *The Complete Discourses of Brigham Young* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2009), 1:446.

port was due to Congress on Monday.⁶⁸

Bernhisel, believing that a quick and detailed response was crucial in his public relations fight, felt that events might be swirling out of his control. He returned to the Executive Mansion early Friday morning, December 26, bringing Grant with him. Possibly he thought that a little "Mormon Thunder" might be helpful after all. The two Mormons pled for time and complained that the deadline was unfair. But Fillmore refused to budge. With this avenue apparently foreclosed, the Mormons parried with smaller issues. Bernhisel showed the president several daguerreotype views of sketches for the projected Utah capitol—an attempt to convince him that the Mormons were serious about the building and that Young had not taken the appropriated money. Fillmore commented, according to Bernhisel and Grant, that the Mormons were planning a "beautiful building" and noticed that the design displayed a patriotic American eagle.⁶⁹

After the polite but disappointing meeting with Fillmore, Bernhisel and Grant hurried to the State Department. At first Webster refused to provide a copy of the report, perhaps because it was already midday on Friday and the document ran eighteen pages in foolscap. The Mormons were allowed to read it, however, which increased their anxieties—a "tissue of gross exaggerations and misrepresentations," Bernhisel complained in a letter on January 10 to Young. The Mormons refused to be put off, and Webster finally promised them a copy in four hours. Bernhisel and Grant picked it up at 4:00 P.M., just before the offices closed. An hour later, Grant was on an evening train to Philadelphia to meet with Kane, whom they were consulting at every turn.⁷⁰

The officers' report was unrelenting in its criticism, its tone set in its first sentences. "It becomes our duty, as officers of the United States for the Territory of Utah," Brandebury, Brocchus, and Harris wrote,

⁶⁸Daniel Webster, Letter to John M. Bernhisel, December 24, 1851, Domestic Letters of the Department of State, 1784–1906, U.S. National Archives, NARA M40, Vol. 39, fd. 3, p. 410; copy also in John M. Bernhisel Papers, LDS Church History Library.

⁶⁹John M. Bernhisel, Letter to Brigham Young, January 10, 1852, Young Papers; Bernhisel, Remarks, June 19, 1853.

⁷⁰Bernhisel to Young, January 10, 1852.

to inform the President that we have been compelled to withdraw from the Territory, and our official duties, in consequences of an extraordinary state of affairs existing there, which rendered the performance of those duties not only dangerous, but impracticable, and a longer residence in the Territory, in our judgment, incompatible with a proper sense of self-respect, and the high regard due to the United States. We have been driven to this course by the lawless acts and the hostile and seditious feelings and sentiments of Brigham Young, the Executive of the Territory, and the great body of the residents there, manifested towards the Government and officers of the United States in aspersions and denunciations so violent and offensive as to set at defiance, not only a just administration of the laws, but the rights and feelings of citizens and officers of the United States residing there.

The document continued with a list of general complaints. Mormon leaders controlled everything—judges, legislators, and the military. No man could oppose Young “without a military force,” said the officers, hinting that the government should send troops to Utah. The Church circulated its own money, regulated the disposal of public land, and subjected Oregon- and California-bound immigrants to “lawless exactions.” The officials dramatically recounted Brocchus’s patriotic speech and Young’s fiery rejoinder. The men called for a radical change in the territory: “The Government has the power and the inclination to maintain its dignity and enforce obedience and respect to the laws, upon every part of its territory where there is not patriotism enough in the people to do it.”⁷¹

Kane and Grant probably met in Kane’s office in the historic Philadelphia State House where the U.S. Constitution had been drafted. Kane at first passed over one item as a stale rumor: the “run-aways” explosive claim that the Mormons practiced plural marriage. There was an awkward pause, as Grant, with difficulty, reported to Brigham Young on December 30. “I found myself. . . under the disagreeable necessity of volunteering to tell him how far . . . [the charge of plural marriage] was false and how far it was true.”⁷² Kane was stunned and wrote in his diary: “Heard this day first time Polygamy at Salt Lake.” He followed it the next day with another entry. “This I re-

⁷¹“Report of Messrs. Brandebury, Brocchus, and Harris to the President of the United States,” December 19, 1851, in *Message from the President of the United States*, January 9, 1852, 32d. Cong. 1st sess. H.R., Ex. Doc. 25, 8–22.

⁷²Grant to Young and Council, December 30, 1851.

cord as the date of this great humiliation, and I trust final experience of this sort of affliction." He compared the news to a husband learning of a wife's infidelity.⁷³ Writing to Bernhisel a day or two later, Kane spoke of his "deep pain and humiliation" for which he "was indeed ill prepared."⁷⁴ For a time he set aside his Mormon labor, plunging instead to support the campaign of the Hungarian revolutionary, Louis Kossuth, then on a tour of the United States. He viewed this activity as "fortunate labors to earn forgetfulness."⁷⁵

Rumors of Mormon polygamy had been going around since before Kane first met the Mormons in 1846, but he had a long history of dismissing them. When Fillmore appointed Young governor in 1850, Kane's belief in Mormon purity led him to assure Fillmore and members of Congress that Young was a monogamist, and he had staked his honor and public reputation on it. Kane had continued these assurances when the *Buffalo Courier*, a newspaper in Fillmore's hometown in upstate New York, published an article in July 1851 charging that, among other misdeeds, the Mormons were practicing plural marriage. Fillmore, who had appointed Young as governor, was deeply embarrassed by the report and demanded an explanation that summer: "You recollect that I relied much upon you for the moral character and standing of Mr. Young [when making the nomination]," the president wrote Kane. "You are a Democrat, but I doubt not will truly state whether these charges against the moral character of Governor Young are true."⁷⁶ Fillmore was asking that partisan politics be put aside in the interest of getting at the truth.

Kane had replied immediately to Fillmore on July 11 with two letters, one public and another marked "personal." The first, intended for publication, praised Young's abilities and his "irreproachable moral character." The second letter had more detail. "Young is a hard working, conscientious, well-trying man, whose erotic inclina-

⁷³Thomas L. Kane, Journal, December 27 and 28, 1851, Kane Collection, Perry Special Collections.

⁷⁴Thomas L. Kane, Letter to John M. Bernhisel, December 29, 1851, draft, Kane Collection, Perry Special Collections.

⁷⁵Kane, Journal, December 29, 1851.

⁷⁶Millard Fillmore, Letter to Thomas L. Kane, July 4, 1851, *Frontier Guardian* [Kanesville, Iowa], September 5, 1851, 1/3. The original is in the Gilder-Lehrman Collection, New York Historical Society, New York City.

tions may fitly match those of the Utah Church Patriarch [John Smith], a venerable octogenarian and long-respected Presbyterian elder.” Kane invoked the image of Mary Ann Angell Young, the governor’s wife. She comes “of a very respectable New England stock,” Kane told Fillmore, “charitable as St. Bridget, and proud of her husband as Queen Victoria” is of hers. Kane said that Mary Ann made it a point to rise above “every fresh piece of nastiness” about her husband—a suggestion, perhaps, for the president to do likewise.⁷⁷ Before the incident was over, according to Kane’s assurances to the First Presidency, he had written several letters to the press, some of them unsigned and thus apparently coming from other non-Mormon defenders.⁷⁸

It seems improbable that Kane could have been so naive. The Mormon camps of Iowa and Nebraska must have been full of tell-tale clues about plural marriage when he visited them in 1846. Since then the public press had carried one report after another about polygamy, some written by reliable travelers passing through Utah Territory. Yet Kane was so captivated by the cause of Mormonism that he had failed to see what was in plain sight. Kane’s naiveté was matched by the Mormons’ lack of candor to their defender.

Grant, who was certainly in an uncomfortable spot, defended plural marriage to Kane with social and religious theory. He told Kane that faithful Mormon females outnumbered faithful men by a ratio of three to two, “showing that one third of our women must remain single, or marry out of the church.” Mormon practice was “limited and strict in its nature,” Grant asserted. Furthermore, Grant appealed to Kane’s interest in women’s rights by stating that “the rights of women among us are sacredly regarded and respected.” Women “are kindly treated[,] well provided for[,] and saved in the scripture sense of the word.” The practice was a special dispensation authorized by God, Grant insisted.⁷⁹

Other men might have changed their course. Plural marriage was anathema to Kane, who saw himself as a modern reformer. Old

⁷⁷Thomas L. Kane, Letters to Millard Fillmore, both dated July 11, 1851, and both published in the *Frontier Guardian*, September 5, 1851, 1/2–4.

⁷⁸Thomas L. Kane, Letter to Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, and Willard Richards, July 29, 1851, Young Papers.

⁷⁹Grant to Young and Council, December 30, 1851. See also David J.

Testament polygamy seemed archaic. He probably suffered more from his false certitudes. His personal honor was precious to him; he had not only been deceived, but he had also unknowingly deceived others, including Fillmore. Yet, after Kane's first dreadful pause, he reenrolled in the cause. A few days following his dramatic interview with Grant, Kane wrote to Bernhisel on December 29 that, while the news had brought him "deep pain and humiliation," he could still be counted on.⁸⁰ Grant claimed that he had no doubts about Kane's loyalty. "I am satisfied he will not fail to do all in his power to help us in the present crisis of affairs," Grant told Salt Lake City officials. "He declares that he will never leave us when we are in trouble."⁸¹

In his letter to Bernhisel on December 29, the day Fillmore was scheduled to release the Utah documents, Kane unveiled a strategy. Because the charges of the "runaways" could not be quickly or simply answered, Kane suggested that the Mormons play for time by asking the House of Representatives to establish a committee to look into Utah. Such a committee might require a visit to the distant territory and many months to complete its work. Meanwhile, many of the charges might be put to rest and the public's anger toward the Mormons could cool. However, on one point Kane was insistent: The Mormons must not make any more false statements about plural marriage. Indeed, he suggested that the Mormons write "an Explanation to the Public" on plural marriage "in advance of the Inquiry by the Committee."⁸²

Plural marriage put Bernhisel in a bind. He knew that he could not make a public announcement; something so important had to come from Young or have his approval. The result was closely phrased words. No "elaborate" response could be made to the officers' report because the Mormons had so little time to consider it, Bernhisel wrote Fillmore. "Nor indeed could I feel myself authorized, under any circumstances, to enter into, countenance, or admit

Whittaker, "The Bone in the Throat: Orson Pratt and the Public Announcement of Plural Marriage," *Western Historical Quarterly* 18, no. 3 (1987): 293-314.

⁸⁰Kane to Bernhisel, December 29, 1851, draft.

⁸¹Grant to Young and Council, December 30, 1851.

⁸²Kane to Bernhisel, December 29, 1851, draft.

an official discussion of either the religious faith or the moral habits to the people of Utah.” The opaque sentence signaled that Bernhisel was no longer denying plural marriage but that his hands were tied about making a public declaration. The same letter announced his intention to ask the House to authorize a committee of inquiry. As for the rest of the officers’ complaints, Bernhisel offered an “unqualified” rejection.⁸³

As it turned out, the Mormons had more time to respond than they thought. The deadline for sending copies of the administration’s documents to Congress had come and gone—twice—and now a new deadline was set for Wednesday, January 7. The officers likely needed more time to polish their document. Bernhisel, however, was not told about the new date or the officers’ revision, an omission that did not sit well with him when he learned of it a week or two later. Webster apparently was not being forthright with him.⁸⁴ The wait was unbearable for Bernhisel and Grant as they reflected on what changes the three officials might be making to their damaging declarations. Each day increased their suspense, which spilled over into despair. It now seemed certain to them that Young would be replaced as governor and that troops would be dispatched. Bernhisel wrote to Young that he should expect no leniency about the \$20,000 Congressional appropriation for the construction of a territorial capitol. If Young did not earmark the funds or actually start construction of the building, he should expect to hand over the money to the new governor. Bernhisel thought the Saints were in a “serious and perilous” situation and that even bloodshed was possible. He was also aggravated by the intemperate remarks of some of the “brethren,” he lectured Young, as “our enemies can torture [these remarks] into the slightest disrespect to the government or the officers thereof. We all believe that this is the freest and best government on God’s footstool,” Bernhisel wrote, “but our enemies have been for years busily engaged both privately and through the press, to induce the people, members of Congress, and the officers of this and former administrations to believe that we are unfriendly to it.” While Bernhisel’s castigations did not mention anyone by name, he probably was

⁸³Bernhisel to Fillmore, December 30, 1851, 27.

⁸⁴Bernhisel, Remarks, June 19, 1853.

thinking that Wells and Young were among the chief offenders.⁸⁵ The millenarian Grant echoed Bernhisel's despair: "The Spirit of the Lord is being withdrawn from the earth more and more," he warned. "The end draweth near."⁸⁶

As the Washington political community awaited the release of the documents, the *New York Herald* scored a coup by publishing a version of the officers' report on January 5, followed the next day by a slightly different version in the *New York Tribune*.⁸⁷ The source of the leaks never was known. Bernhisel called the identity of the leaker a "great mystery."⁸⁸ In a flurry of strongly worded letters, the officers accused the Mormon delegate of releasing the document to take some of the expected sting out of the official publication. Bernhisel responded with his usual unflappable denials.⁸⁹ Indeed, the copy that the Mormons had in their possession was too different from the versions published in the two New York newspapers to make Bernhisel (or Kane or Grant) the likely leaker.

Less than a week later, on January 9, Fillmore's *Message . . . in Reference to the Condition of Affairs in the Territory of Utah* reached the House. After brief letters from Fillmore and Webster, the *Message* included nine documents, six of them Mormon. These included memorials and letters written from Utah after the officers left their posts, including documents by Young, the Utah Legislative Assembly, and

⁸⁵John M. Bernhisel, Letter to Brigham Young, January 7, 1852, Young Papers.

⁸⁶Grant to Young and Council, December 30, 1851.

⁸⁷"Highly Important and Extraordinary Development of Mormonism," *New York Herald*, January 5, 1852, 2/4-6; "The Territory of Utah," *New York Tribune*, January 6, 1852, 6/1-4.

⁸⁸Bernhisel, Remarks, June 19, 1853.

⁸⁹Broughton D. Harris and Lemuel G. Brandebury, Letter to John M. Bernhisel, January 6, 1852, January 7, 1852 (two letters on January 7), January 9, 1852, January 16, 1852; Bernhisel to Harris and Brandebury, January 6, 1852, January 7, 1852; Harris and Brandebury to Millard Fillmore, January 16, 1852. All these letters are in Miscellaneous Letters of the Department of State. Also see David K. Cartter, January 6, 1852, *Congressional Globe*, 32nd Cong. 1st sess, 211, and *Letter of Judge Brocchus, of Alabama, to the Public upon the Difficulties in the Territory of Utah* (Washington, D.C.: Henry Polkinhorn, Printer, 1859), 4-5.

Judge Zerubbabel Snow, a Mormon. Snow's letter explained his decision to remain in Utah. The Mormon materials also included two Bernhisel letters, including his request for an official investigation.⁹⁰ However, the *Message* conspicuously omitted some important documents. The many documents that Young had appended to his letter of September 29, 1851, illustrating the step-by-step development of the crisis in Utah either never made their way into the government files or else were mislaid when Fillmore or his staff was assembling his *Message*. Neither Fillmore nor Daniel Webster ever found them.⁹¹

The officers' documents included a version of Brocchus's public letter that began the controversy, as well as a Harris letter describing the struggle to control the congressional appropriation. The chief item was the officers' report. The final draft was longer but similar in substance to the first. A few months later, Brocchus claimed that the report had been made public in a "mutilated and ridiculously interpolated form."⁹² If a longer version was written, it was never published and has not been found.

Brocchus's claim of the existence of a longer document may have been his way of explaining why the report received mixed reviews. The *New York Herald* proudly took credit for being the first to disclose the report. Its exclusive news story, it said, contained "some of the most interesting intelligence from the great country of the West, that has ever been published to an enlightened and an astounded world." The report showed the Mormons' "violent hostility to the usual principles of Christianity."⁹³ However, eight days later on January 13, 1852, and four days after the delayed release of the documents, the *New York Tribune* took a pro-Mormon stand. Why should Brocchus, Brandebury, or Harris be sent to Utah as proconsuls to do

⁹⁰*Message from the President of the United States*, January 9, 1852, 32d. Cong. 1st sess. H.R., Ex. Doc. 25. The material was also published in "Report from the Secretary of State," January 9, 1852, in *Appendix to the Congressional Globe*, 32nd Cong., 1st sess, 84–93.

⁹¹Millard Fillmore, Letter to Daniel Webster, April 5, 1852, Miscellaneous Letters of the Department of State, 1789–1906, NARA, Series 179, frame 985; Daniel Webster to Millard Fillmore, April 5, 1852, microfilm reel 26, Daniel Webster Papers, Library of Congress.

⁹²*Letter of Judge Brocchus, of Alabama, to the Public*, 4–5.

⁹³"Highly Important from the Mormon Country—Progress of the New Religion and Polygamy," *New York Herald*, January 5, 1852, 2/1–2.

police duty, the newspaper asked, particularly in light of their undistinguished report? The men had shown "no special qualities." And even if the Mormons had wanted independence, which the newspaper doubted, the *Tribune* saw no reason for troops. How would an independent Mormon state hurt the Republic as long as the Saints did not disturb American travelers or interrupt transcontinental business? American policy toward the Mormons, the newspaper argued, should be fair and cautious, based upon law and the Constitution.⁹⁴ The editorial likely reflects Kane's influence on his friend Horace Greeley, the *Tribune's* editor and publisher.

The officers had likely overplayed their hand. They had promised a hard-hitting exposé, but their report had little evidence of actual wrongdoing. The few examples they provided were hearsay. Utah's census and election irregularities, for example, were the kind of thing that might be expected in a new, distant territory. When the returns of the Utah census—based on old surveys conducted in the State of Deseret—got to Washington at the end of January 1852, Joseph Kennedy, the superintendent of 7th U.S. Census, called them "as complete as any received at this office," a written appraisal that Bernhisel shared with members of Congress.⁹⁵

National politicians already seemed to be losing interest in the scandal, and a new national mood regarding the Mormons seemed to be setting in, more business-like and less aroused. Fillmore invited Bernhisel to the Executive Mansion for a social evening and dinner. To Bernhisel, the president appeared even friendlier than usual.⁹⁶ However, Fillmore did not confide plans about future moves to Bernhisel, saying he wanted to hear more of the Mormon side of the argument before making a decision.⁹⁷ Nor was the House anxious to take precipitate action. On January 9, the same day it received the Fillmore documents, the House remanded the material to its Committee on

⁹⁴"The Mormons in Utah," *New York Tribune*, January 13, 1852, 6/2.

⁹⁵Joseph C. G. Kennedy, Letter to John M. Bernhisel, January 29, 1852, enclosure with Bernhisel, Letter to Brigham Young, January 31, 1852, Young Papers. See also John M. Bernhisel, Letter to Brigham Young, April 9, 1852, Young Papers.

⁹⁶Bernhisel to Young, February 13 and March 10, 1852.

⁹⁷John Greene, Statement in "Brigham Young History," April 29, 1852, LDS Church History Library.

Territories and asked for a recommendation. Bernhisel had wanted the *Message* to go to the Judiciary Committee instead, apparently hoping its lawyers and former judges might give the Mormons a more favorable hearing.

During these parliamentary maneuverings, Bernhisel appeared nervous and uncertain but seemed to hold his own in the House. He said the charges of the “runways” were “intended to prejudice and render odious a distant and dependent people, and to involve them in inexplicable difficulties with the General Government.” Their claims were “*ex parte*,” “false and perverted.” They challenged “credulity and stag[g]ed belief.” He told the chamber he intended to ask the speaker of the House or the president to appoint a committee to go to Utah to investigate.⁹⁸ As the debate proceeded, Joshua R. Giddings of Ohio helped Bernhisel. Giddings was a Free Soiler from the Western Reserve and had known many of the Church leaders when they lived in his district.⁹⁹

The *New York Herald*, which had been criticized for publishing the unauthorized version of the report, clearly enjoyed the spectacle, boasting that its draft closely corresponded with the official version, “notwithstanding the reports to the contrary got up by some of the slow-and-easy newspapers.” In the *Herald*’s view, the stronger case of the argument seemed to be on the side of the officers, but with each side denying the claims of the other, the full truth was still to come out: “Then we shall ascertain whether the Mormon system of practical socialism was not sufficiently frightful to cause a complete stampede, not only among Judges, but all other respectable folks. It is a very rich quarrel as it stands.”¹⁰⁰

Two weeks later, the Mormon question again arose in the House chamber. Representative George Briggs, a Whig from New York, wanted to deny Bernhisel his seat. “It has been said that there was money corruption there,” Briggs said of Bernhisel’s election, “and that money was paid to Brigham Young as a condition upon which he should obtain a seat here. I do not know it; I cannot prove it, but it has been so stated.” Bernhisel responded by telling his colleagues that he

⁹⁸Bernhisel, Remarks, June 19, 1853.

⁹⁹*Congressional Globe*, January 9, 1852, 32nd Cong. 1st sess., 240–41; “House of Representatives,” *New York Herald*, January 10, 1852, 2/3–4.

¹⁰⁰“This Morning’s Summary,” *New York Herald*, January 10, 1852, 4/1.

had been elected unanimously and had a certificate of election signed by Harris. Bernhisel once more received help. Representative Alexander Stephens of Georgia refused to accept Briggs's "out-doors rumors" and suggested referring the matter to the Committee on Elections to identify any hard evidence. Stephens, a small wisp of a man, was a long-time Whig, a constitutionalist, and strong advocate of states' rights who would later serve as vice-president of the Confederate States of America.¹⁰¹

In the succeeding days, Bernhisel called on Briggs at least twice, and the New York congressman now seemed to be convinced that the officers had misled him. Bernhisel urged him to bring up the matter once again to the full House, apparently to clear the air. The second debate over Bernhisel's election was as stormy as the first, with Speaker Linn Boyd, a Democrat from Kentucky, struggling at times to retain control of the House. Several congressmen gathered around Bernhisel's desk to offer support and consolation. "I came off most gloriously and triumphantly," Bernhisel wrote Young when Briggs's resolution was overwhelmingly rejected. Bernhisel believed his victory was a blow "against the unscrupulous and diabolical attempts of the late officers to 'crush' us."¹⁰² The following morning, Bernhisel walked across the chamber, sat next to Briggs, and "manifested some regret" to him that the incident had ever arisen. Briggs did not disagree and said he wanted no further part of the affair.¹⁰³

Strengthened by his victory, Bernhisel raised a new item. Seeking to exploit a weakness, he noted that each version of the report had different details. There were now four: (1) the draft copy that Bernhisel and Grant had received on December 26 from Webster's office, (2) the version published on January 5 by the *New York Herald*, (3) the slightly different version published by the *New York Tribune* on January 6, and (4) the official report sent to Congress by Fillmore on January 9. Which was to be believed, Bernhisel asked the House? The tactic was little more than a rearguard action, but the Washington and New York newspapers picked it up for editorial comment. "It looks

¹⁰¹*Congressional Globe*, January 24, 1852, 32nd Cong. 1st sess., 353-54.

¹⁰²Bernhisel to Young, January 31 and February 13, 1852, Young Papers.

¹⁰³Bernhisel, Remarks, June 19, 1853.

like a collusion,” the *New York Herald* wrote, “if not a conspiracy, between the returning officers from Utah and the administration to get up a rumpus with these Mormon people.”¹⁰⁴ Embarrassed and irritated, Webster called Bernhisel to his office to complain that the Mormon representative was undermining the people’s confidence in his operation of his department.¹⁰⁵

Although the public clamor was dying down, Bernhisel still regarded the situation as serious,¹⁰⁶ a reaction that speaks well for his intuition, since he did not know the half of what was happening behind the scenes. Shortly after the administration submitted its official report to Congress, Webster, at Fillmore’s request, polled each of the “runaways” to see whether he was willing to return to Utah and under what conditions.¹⁰⁷ In separate letters, they demanded major changes in Utah’s government as a requirement of their return.¹⁰⁸

At the end of January, Webster asked Harris and the other “run-aways” for recommendations. They responded with seven points:

First, the removal of Brigham Young and all other Mormons serving as territorial officers.

Second, the dissolution of both houses of the Utah legislature and the creation of a new legislative council consisting of the territorial officers. These men would have the power to frame Utah’s laws and administer them.

Third, authorizing the U.S. marshal to select and summon juries and to execute “all processes directed to him by the courts.”

Fourth, establishing a salaried, non-Mormon postmaster in Salt Lake City.

Fifth, stationing at least one thousand U.S. soldiers in the territory to protect the territorial officers and other non-Mormons, to pa-

¹⁰⁴“Our Washington Correspondence,” *New York Herald*, January 25, 1852, 4/2.

¹⁰⁵Bernhisel, Remarks, June 19, 1853.

¹⁰⁶Bernhisel to Young, January 10 and 19, 1852.

¹⁰⁷Daniel Webster, Letter to Millard Fillmore, January 12, 1852, reel 33, 2, Fillmore Papers.

¹⁰⁸Broughton D. Harris, Letter to Daniel Webster, January 13, 1852; Lemuel G. Brandebury to Webster, January 14, 1852; Perry E. Brocchus, Letter to Daniel Webster, Miscellaneous Letters of the Department of State, frames 134, 162–163, 164–165.

trol the overland trail, and to prevent Indian depredations.

Sixth, increasing territorial officers' remuneration to reflect Utah's high cost of living.

And seventh, giving consideration to investing the federal courts with exclusive probate jurisdiction, usually a local prerogative, further wresting control of the judiciary away from Mormon hands.¹⁰⁹

The punitive recommendations raised the possibility of placing Utah's executive, legislative, and judicial branches of government in the hands of about a half dozen men—all outsiders—who would also enjoy police and military power to enforce their decisions. The proposals denied self-government and such constitutional guarantees as the right to be tried by a jury of one's peers. For the persecution-conscious Mormons, the proposals would have seemed antithetical to the American system of self-government; nothing in the history of the American experience provided a precedent, except perhaps the military rule of British authorities during the American Revolution.

The officials also continued to take their complaints to a larger public. In February, Harris published a letter in Washington's *National Intelligencer* under the pen name "Truth" that criticized the Mormon decision to build the territorial capitol in the new village of Fillmore City. Mormon leaders, "with their usual cunning," were trying to expose future federal officers to hostile Indians and prevent them from seeing what was taking place at Church headquarters, Harris argued.¹¹⁰ The complaint was not an important aspect of the ongoing controversy, except to show how easily the officers' suspicions could be aroused. Church leaders had chosen the capitol's site because of its central location. When the officers continued to agitate for troops, Bernhisel responded cordially that the troops would provide a welcome market for the produce of local farmers.¹¹¹

Fortunately for the Mormons, the Committee on Territories

¹⁰⁹Broughton D. Harris, Lemuel G. Brandebury, and Perry E. Brochus, Letter to Millard Fillmore, January 31, 1852, Miscellaneous Letters of the Department of State, frames 638–643. Drafts of these recommendations are in the Broughton D. Harris Papers, LDS Church History Library.

¹¹⁰*National Intelligencer*, February 13, 1852, 3/2; Bernhisel to Young, February 13, 1852.

¹¹¹Bernhisel to Young, April 9, 1852.

seemed in no hurry to bring recommendations to the full House, putting off its first deadline until sometime in April. Its chairman, Representative William A. Richardson, a Democrat from Illinois, privately told Bernhisel he was “sorry” the Utah difficulty had taken place and hoped that “minor” steps, rather than sending troops, might resolve it. Nevertheless, Richardson accepted the officers’ recommendation that the U.S. marshal for Utah have the power to choose juries. Utahns must accept some kind of federal oversight, Richardson warned. If they came into collision with Washington, the Mormons would be destroyed.¹¹²

Since arriving in the East, Grant had been on the sidelines, bursting with unspent energy. “I have got my righteous indignation up to its very zenith,” he said. He enthusiastically wanted to not only take on the “runaways” but also to defend polygamy as well, which was everyone’s “bone in the throat” and causing no end of “coughing and sneezing wind.”¹¹³ By February, he finally found an outlet. He and Kane were working on a series of letters that they hoped to publish in the eastern newspapers. The idea apparently was Kane’s, and it received Bernhisel’s half-hearted nod. As Kane and Grant worked, Kane provided the “long-quill” and many of the words and Grant the inspiration. It was an uneasy collaboration. Grant had doubts about Kane’s “peculiar” style, and Kane must have worried about his partner’s exuberance.¹¹⁴ But in the end, the synergy of their personalities worked well, imposing balance and bringing out some of the best of each man.

At first the plan was to write as many as six letters, but Grant and Kane settled on three. The *New York Herald* accepted only the first for publication.¹¹⁵ A pamphlet containing the letters was then issued under the title *Three Letters to the New York Herald, from J. M. Grant, of Utah*.¹¹⁶ Because Kane, as usual, preferred to work behind the scenes, only Grant’s name appeared on the byline. But as the two men must

¹¹²Bernhisel to Young, March 10, 1852.

¹¹³Grant to Grant, March 7, 1852; Grant to Young, March 10, 1852.

¹¹⁴John M. Bernhisel, Letter to Thomas L. Kane, February 4, 1852, Kane Collection, Perry Special Collections; Jedediah Grant, Letter to Brigham Young, April 15, 1852, Young Papers.

¹¹⁵Bernhisel to Young, April 9, 1852.

¹¹⁶*Three Letters to the New York Herald, from J. M. Grant, of Utah* ([New York?]: n.p., [1852]).

have understood, this was a good literary device, too. A bumptious, first-person narrative written by Salt Lake City's mayor, fresh from the wilds of Mormon country, was the kind of copy that editor James Gordon Bennett of the *Herald* liked to give his readers.¹¹⁷

The letter began with a flourish. "There is a great curiosity everywhere to hear about the Mormons," Grant said, "and eagerness to know all the evil that can be spoke of them. . . . I am no Writer; but, with the help of the Power of Light, am not afraid of what you can say against us." Grant told his readers that they should not expect him to be a "gentleman," and specifically contrasted himself with the polite Bernhisel. The Utah delegate's decorum "is all very well, and very high and mighty and dignified certainly; but while the grass grows the cow starves—while Congress is taking its months to do the work of a day, the verdict of the public goes against us . . . and we stand substantially convicted of any thing and everything that any and every kind of blackguard can make up a lie about." Grant promised to "blurt out all the truth I can. I may not be discreet, but I will be honest."¹¹⁸

Grant went through one item after another. The "runaways" were "small-fry politicians," who in other circumstances might be seen "keeping tavern together at a railway water station" but who had come to Utah for personal advantage at Uncle Sam's expense. "To our misfortune they were not kept in their proper spheres." Grant said something about each of the three main actors. Brandebury was "rather slow" and clumsy, which Grant confirmed by telling stories about his soiled shirt and the large umbrella he unfailingly carried about, even during Deseret's rainless summer days. Harris was briefly dismissed as "a smart youngster. . . . from a Vermont printing office."

Broccus was the largest target. "I make [him] out to be one of those characters that it would be difficult to examine or educate anywhere out of the District of Columbia," Grant wrote. The Judge knew "convenient" people and lobbied them "as only those men can who have nothing else to do—always ready to hold big men's horses, and willing to blow their noses all day in the waiting room for the chance." Finally, Grant described Broccus as a disappointed office seeker, who after getting to Utah found that the job he wanted—Utah's congressional delegate—was already filled. Men of Broccus's type had

¹¹⁷Grant to Young, April 15, 1852.

¹¹⁸"Letter from the Mayor of Salt Lake City," *New York Herald*, March 9, 1852.

fluency in a conversation or letter, but “break down miserably if called on for a speech or essay upon a continuous [substantive] subject.”¹¹⁹ There was enough truth in each of Grant’s caricatures to make them effective.

The other two public letters attributed to Grant were published too late to have much effect upon the crisis but nevertheless are significant historical documents. For the first time in public, the Mormons answered the officers’ report in detail. Many responses relied upon common sense. The provisional state of Deseret had coined money—what was the crime in that? Utahns had issued land deeds because the federal government had neither made land surveys nor established a land office in the territory, an omission that would not be corrected until 1869. The Church collected tithing, not taxes, and past persecution helped to explain Wells’s Pioneer Day rhetorical flourishes. Intriguingly, Grant also argued that the Mormons, by settling on the frontier, had in a few short years become a “westernized” people—its proud young men, especially, had come to speak and act with a bold sense of justice.¹²⁰

The officers’ revulsion for Utah often came down to their uneasiness about Brigham Young, and the *Three Letters* had a long passage about him. It was one of the best short sketches written in the nineteenth century about the Mormon leader, although some of Kane’s phrases and Grant’s arguments were florid and overstated. While Young had a “wonderful talent for business and hundred horse power for industry,” he lacked what many men might call intellectual “Cleverness or Quickness.” Nevertheless, “Brigham naturally can judge between right and wrong quicker than any mortal I ever saw,” Grant said, and had rich “spiritual endowments.” He “is nice in his person, and must have everything ‘just so’ about him; his pride, moreover, is in his affectionate and joyous temper, and a humanity that makes the dogs and cattle know him to love him.” He “can’t smile and stab in the same wink, as they learn to do in Washington.” He is “the article [that] sells out West,” with “manners and [speaking] customs growing up in our Basin.” He has the ability to “mix up devotion and drollery, eloquence and old English, quaintness and magnanimity, with a variety that only the most highly educated order of perception can fully appreciate.” How then could the

¹¹⁹*Ibid.*

¹²⁰*Three Letters to the New York Herald*, 21–22, 31.

officers have misunderstood him, Grant wondered?¹²¹

The *Herald* published the first of the letters with some misgiving. "We apprehend that the government will yet have some trouble with these Latter Day Saints and angels," the newspaper warned, "and that there is some truth in the reports that they have broken out into open mutiny." The newspaper also believed the Saints had not yet made up their mind whether they were willing to recognize federal power or whether they wanted to be on the right side of having only one wife.¹²² Despite the *Herald's* hesitation, Bernhisel was seeing good results within a week. He reported that Congress by a growing majority now believed the officers were "incompetent and without character or standing." Thomas Corwin, secretary of the Treasury, was delighted by Grant's humor, describing the letter as "the best thing he ever read."¹²³ Hannibal Hamblin, one of Maine's senators (and later Lincoln's vice president), said the published pamphlet confirmed his suspicions that the "officers were d—d scoundrels."¹²⁴ Bernhisel, who had been thinking about a major floor speech in the House on the officers' allegations, laid it aside.

As Washington's politicians were deciding what to do with the Mormons, they had the advantage of the reports, in at least preliminary form, of two U.S. Army officers, who had spent time in Utah. Captain Howard Stansbury and Lieutenant John W. Gunnison, both West Pointers and army topographical engineers, arrived in the Salt Lake Valley in August 1849 to conduct a survey of the Great Salt Lake and its valley and stayed for the winter. They knew the Saints as well as any outsiders, and each wrote a book about his experiences. Stansbury's volume—an official report titled *Exploration and Survey of the Valley of the Great Salt Lake* (partly ghostwritten by Gunnison)—was at its publisher by late March 1852, and Fillmore was aware of it a couple

¹²¹*Three Letters to the New York Herald*, 26–30.

¹²²"Elder Grant's Defense of the Mormons—Curious and Interesting Letter," *New York Herald*, March 9, 1852, 4/3.

¹²³John M. Bernhisel, Letter to Thomas L. Kane, March 18, 1852, Kane Collection, Perry Special Collections.

¹²⁴John M. Bernhisel, Letter to Thomas L. Kane, July 17, 1852, Thomas L. Kane Collection, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut.

weeks later, either in its draft or published version.¹²⁵ Stansbury described Utah society as safe, orderly, and even high toned. On the titillating question of plural marriage, he found a people devoted to dutiful religion, not “gross licentiousness.” While past persecutions had left Utahns with a “stern determination” never to submit again to such outrages, he was convinced that “a more loyal and patriotic people cannot be found within the limits of the Union.” Furthermore, Stansbury described Young as possessing “great shrewdness,” “grasp of thought,” and a “clear, sound sense, fully alive to the responsibilities of the station he occupies.” He believed that Young’s integrity—“personal, official, and pecuniary”—was above reproach.¹²⁶

Although Gunnison’s book did not appear until later in the year, he was in Washington when the “runaways” made their report.¹²⁷ “I laugh at their being frightened so easily,” Gunnison wrote to his Mormon friend Albert Carrington. “Some Senators have asked my opinion about the matter, & I told them it was a matter of moonshine, fright and homesickness . . . You Know that I was aware of the feeling entertained about the ‘ladies man’ [Broccus], and I told them [the Senators] he was not the one to lecture on chastity under that prejudice—All seemed to think the Judges were more scared than hurt.” Gunnison gave no credence to the rumor he was hearing about the Mormons declaring their independence. “That is of course nonsense,” he judged, and hopefully predicted that the coming years might see Utah admitted as a state in the Union, despite its polygamy and “theo-democracy.”¹²⁸ Gunnison was comfortable using—and accepting—the Mormons’ description of their unusual political system.

The improving political atmosphere for the Mormons may have influenced Fillmore, who again asked Bernhisel to visit him. In

¹²⁵Daniel Webster, Letter to Millard Fillmore, April 5, 1852, Microfilm, reel 26, Webster Papers.

¹²⁶Howard Stansbury, *Exploration and Survey of the Valley of the Great Salt Lake of Utah* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo & Company, 1852), 4–5, 84–85, 122–23, 127, 133–34, 144.

¹²⁷John W. Gunnison, *The Mormons, or Latter-day Saints, in the Valley of the Great Salt Lake* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo, & Co., 1852).

¹²⁸John W. Gunnison, Letter to Albert Carrington, March 6, 1852, in Brigham D. Madsen, ed., “John W. Gunnison’s Letters to His Mormon Friend, Albert Carrington,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 59 (Summer 1991): 260–71.

a revealing interview, Fillmore told Bernhisel he was anxious to do his duty to his office as well as to the Mormons. He feared his term might be ending and thought a successor might not be so friendly. These words were about the presidential politics of 1852 as well as the growing tension between Fillmore and Webster. Tumult over the Compromise of 1850 had largely defined Fillmore's years at the Executive Mansion. When he ascended to the office in July 1851, Fillmore strongly supported the compromise, as had his choice for Secretary of State, Webster. But the compromise had proved unpopular, and state elections during 1850 and 1851 were calamitous for the Whigs.¹²⁹

There was another dynamic. Webster, who greatly desired to be president, and Fillmore, who initially seemed to have little interest in running for another term, were jockeying for political position in the upcoming presidential campaign.¹³⁰ For several months, Fillmore told his cabinet and other close associates that he did not intend to run. However, on January 22, 1852—shortly before the “runaways” submitted their recommendations for Utah—the administration's newspaper wrote that Fillmore would not withdraw from the presidential race, infuriating Webster and his allies. Fillmore had become convinced that only he, not Webster, could stop the other potential Whig candidate, General Winfield Scott, whose loyalty to the Compromise of 1850 was in doubt. The Utah question must have increased the trouble between Fillmore and Webster. According to Sarah Hollister Harris, the wife of Broughton Harris, the decamped territorial secretary, her husband met with Webster many times after getting to Washington. The two men reportedly agreed that Utah was in a state of rebellion and “must be treated as such.” Webster wanted troops to be sent to Utah and may have been ready to support the other demands of the “runaways” as well.¹³¹

Fillmore held back, not so sure. Shortly after the controversy began, the president began to study carefully the Utah situation and the Mormons generally. The Stansbury report seemed to be

¹²⁹Michael F. Holt, *The Rise and Fall of the American Whig Party: Jacksonian Politics and the Onset of the Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 672.

¹³⁰*Ibid.*, 636.

¹³¹Harris, *An Unwritten Chapter of Salt Lake*, 81.

especially important in his consideration, and he told Webster to make sure Congress was aware of it.¹³² By the first week in April, Fillmore announced his decision about the Mormons in a private letter to Webster, which was a model of political caution and circumspection. Fillmore noted that Congress had not taken action (Fillmore apparently had earlier sent a letter to Illinois Senator Stephen A. Douglas to learn whether the Senate was secretly working on any Utah laws),¹³³ which meant that the administration had no congressional authority for sending troops. Although an alarming report had recently reached Washington from Oregon that the Mormons had declared independence, he acknowledged that the report lacked confirmation, and he seemed reluctant to believe it.¹³⁴ More pressingly, he recognized that Utah was without officers and, with the coming of spring and another year of overland travel, it was time to get territorial officers back into the territory. He seemed unwilling to make judgments, writing, "As the matter now stands between them and the other officers and people of Utah, I do not think we can safely condemn either."¹³⁵

Fillmore had read Grant's *New York Herald* article, along with an extract from the Mormon *Frontier Guardian* published at Kanesville (now Council Bluffs), Iowa. In it, Apostle Orson Hyde seemed to concede that the Saints were practicing plural marriage. Hyde's article was republished in the eastern press during the first part of Febru-

¹³²Stephen Douglas, Letter to Millard Fillmore, December 15, 1851, reel 32, Fillmore Papers; Millard Fillmore, Letter to Daniel Webster, April 5, 1852, Miscellaneous Letters of the Department of State, frame 483; and Daniel Webster, Letter to Millard Fillmore, April 5, 1852, reel 35, Fillmore Papers. The Senate, at Douglas's request, had ordered the printing of five thousand copies of Stansbury's report. "News by Telegraph," *New York Herald*, February 10, 1852, 1/1.

¹³³Stephen A. Douglas, Letter to Millard Fillmore, April 12, 1853, reel 35, [n.p.], Fillmore Papers.

¹³⁴"Later from Oregon," *New York Herald*, February 29, 1852, 1/6; "Utah and the 'Saints,'" *New York Daily Times*, March 3, 1852, 2/1-2; and "The Mormons—A Card," *New York Daily Times*, March 4, 1852, 3/2.

¹³⁵Millard Fillmore, Letter to Daniel Webster, April 7, 1852, Miscellaneous Letters of the Department of State, frames 498-502.

ary.¹³⁶ Even so, Fillmore believed that unpopular religious beliefs did not justify taking political action against the Mormons and certainly not without the approval of Congress. "Whatever may be our opinions of the Mormon faith and religion," he told Webster,

it is very clear, that under our constitution the civil power cannot and ought not, to interfere with it, so long as the Mormons respect and obey the laws of the country. It is certainly according to the theory of our institutions, that each separate organized community, consisting of a state or territory, should be permitted to regulate its own domestic affairs, so long as it is done by a republican form of government, and in conformity with the Constitution of the United States. It is said that the religious creed of this [Mormon] people tolerates polygamy. This is rather a political, than a religious question, and must be regulated by law. But . . . the remedy is clearly not with the Executive Government, and must be regulated, either by the territorial Legislature, or by the interposition of the supreme power of Congress. Any [Executive] action, therefore on our part with reference to this state of things, would probably be justly deemed an assumption of power, and a persecution of the Mormon Church, and like all other persecutions, would be more likely to increase, than diminish the evil.

Fillmore further believed that the Mormons had generally treated transcontinental immigrants well and therefore saw no strategic reason to protect the overland route. "When we shall be convinced of the contrary," he concluded, "it will be time enough to use the military power of the government to protect our own citizens who are not of the Mormon faith."¹³⁷ According to Sarah Harris, the debate between Fillmore and Webster on Mormon policy was whether the administration had legal power to intervene without an act of Congress, though Fillmore seemed to be in no hurry to act even with the approval of the legislative branch.¹³⁸

Still, Fillmore wanted more assurances from Bernhisel. Were the Mormons seeking independence? Why were Utahns building the new territorial capitol so far from their main settlements? Had Young improperly used federal money? Was there another man whom the

¹³⁶"Mormonism Defended—Apology for Polygamy," *New York Herald*, February 7, 1852, 6/4.

¹³⁷Fillmore to Webster, April 7, 1852.

¹³⁸Harris, *Unwritten Chapter of Salt Lake*, 81.

local people might accept as governor? Bernhisel answered each question with his usual patience, including the one about fraud. While Bernhisel was uncertain how Young had used the federal appropriation, he was “very certain” that there had been no dishonesty. Either the building would be built or the government would have its money. As the talk between the two men closed, Fillmore confessed that he believed Brocchus had been the problem, although he was uncertain whether Brocchus and the other officers could be removed without proof of misconduct. Of course, the same standard might apply to Young as well. For the first time, Bernhisel began to think Fillmore might retain Young.¹³⁹ Several weeks later, after another visit to the Executive Mansion, Bernhisel described the president to Young as a “noble, high minded, accomplished gentleman; and the more intimately I become acquainted with him, the more he excites my respect and admiration.”¹⁴⁰

The House Committee on Territories had been postponing its decision throughout the late spring and early summer; and when the votes came up on giving the federal marshal the power to choose juries and on moving the territorial capitol back to Salt Lake City, the committee was deadlocked.¹⁴¹ The committee next wanted to see Utah’s new code of laws before making a decision.¹⁴² However, when the code failed to reach Washington by the middle of the summer, the committee quietly tabled action, which became its answer to the six-month battle. Neither the committee nor the full House—nor any body in the Senate—ever took action on the officers’ report. During these crucial months, Bernhisel had continued to work behind the scenes, meeting with most House committee members, endeavoring, he said, to “enlighten their minds on the subject of the proposed bills, and to prevent if possible at present any affir-

¹³⁹Bernhisel to Young, April 9, 1852.

¹⁴⁰John M. Bernhisel, Letter to Brigham Young, May 8, 1852, Young Papers. See also Millard Fillmore, Letter to John M. Bernhisel, April 28, 1852, John M. Bernhisel Papers.

¹⁴¹Bernhisel to Young, April 9, 1852, August 12, 1852, August 13, 1852, Young Papers; Statements of Charles E. Stuart and William A. Richardson, May 20, 1852, *Congressional Globe*, 32nd Cong. 1st sess., 1412–14.

¹⁴²John M. Bernhisel to Brigham Young, May 14, 1852, Young Papers.

mative action being taken on them."¹⁴³

Judge Zerubbabel Snow, the only remaining federal judge in Utah, added his voice, too. His public letter, written at the end of February but reaching Washington during the first week of May, gave his version of the "runaway" crisis. Snow claimed Young had tried to patch up the difficulty before the officers left Utah, and he defended the Mormon attempts to secure control of the federal money. He also discussed Young's abilities. "Judge Brandebury and Brocchus are better informed in the little practical workings of the law than Gov. Young," Snow said, "but as great general thinkers they cannot touch him with a ten-foot pole."¹⁴⁴

"The dust has settled in the Country that the Judges kicked up, and a good deal went into their own eyes and ears, & has made them speechless," Grant announced colorfully in a letter to his family on April 15, 1852. "I do not know but they have been winked at by blind people, & kicked a cross [across] lots by crip[p]les, & nib[b]led to death by young Ducks & car[r]ied to hell through the key hole by bumble bees." Grant gave much of the credit to the first *Herald* letter, although the officers' fortunes probably were already declining by the time it was published.¹⁴⁵ On April 7, the day Fillmore wrote Webster that he decided not to intervene, the administration told the officers they must return to the posts or be replaced.¹⁴⁶ But too many bridges had been burned for their return to Utah to be a possibility.¹⁴⁷ Brandebury and Harris resigned the first week of May, but Brocchus refused to follow them. Rather, before being replaced in office, he wrote a lengthy

¹⁴³Bernhisel to Young, August 12, 1852.

¹⁴⁴Letter of Judge Snow, February 28, 1852, newspaper clipping, enclosed with John M. Bernhisel to Brigham Young, May 8, 1852, Young Papers.

¹⁴⁵Jedediah Grant, Letter to Susan Grant and Family, April 15, 1852, Susan N. Grant Correspondence, LDS Church History Library.

¹⁴⁶Daniel Webster, Letter to Lemuel G. Brandebury, April 7, 1852, Domestic Letters of the Department of State, 1784–1906, 40:64–65. Identical letters were sent to Harris and Brocchus. Also see Daniel Webster, Letter to Perry E. Brocchus, April 28, 1858, in *Letter of Judge Brocchus, of Alabama, to the Public*, 5; Bernhisel to Young, April 15, 1852.

¹⁴⁷Millard Fillmore, Letter to Daniel Webster, April 28, 1852, Miscellaneous Letters of the Department of State, frames 758–759.

letter of complaint to Webster in which he denounced Young and the Mormons in the strongest terms.¹⁴⁸

The administration discharged the three officers and began the process of appointing new ones. Earlier, Webster had written a legal opinion arguing that territorial officers were “legislative [in their creation] and not Constitutional officers” and therefore could be removed without showing cause.¹⁴⁹ Although Fillmore nominated Heber C. Kimball and Orson Hyde as chief justice and associate justice, Congress balked. At least on the record, this decision was not so much because they were Mormons but because they lacked legal credentials and experience.¹⁵⁰ “The circumstance of a member of the Church having been nominated to that high office,” Bernhisel said of Hyde’s nomination, “indicates the condemnation of the conduct of the fugitive officers by the administration.” He permitted himself a rare note of triumph: The “runaways” had been routed “horse, foot, and dragoons.”¹⁵¹

By the summer of 1852, the issue shifted from what the government should do to the Mormons to the question of paying the officers’ salaries. Should the men receive pay for the six months they had been away from Utah? Defenders of the officers protested a contemplated law that would have denied salaries to any territorial officers in the West who were absent from their posts for more than sixty days; the debate involved questions not only about the Utah officers, but officials from New Mexico and Oregon as well. David K. Cartter, a Democrat from Ohio who may have had a role in originally selecting the Utah officers, used the salary debate to verbally assault the Mormons. He called the Mormon men “ruffians” and their women “harlots.” Cartter thought Young should have been “officially beheaded as soon as the lighting tracks [the telegraph] would carry the intelligence of his infamy.” Although Joshua R. Giddings once more came to the aid of the Mormons, the officers

¹⁴⁸*Letter of Judge Brocchus, of Alabama, to the Public*, 5–6; Bernhisel to Young, May 8, 1852; Perry E. Brocchus, Letter to Daniel Webster, April 30, 1852, Miscellaneous Letters of the Department of State, frames 800–808.

¹⁴⁹Webster’s legal opinion, February 17, 1852, in Millard Fillmore Papers, reel 33.

¹⁵⁰Bernhisel to Young, May 8, June 8, and August 13, 1852, Young Papers.

¹⁵¹Bernhisel to Young, June 8, 1852.

apparently received their pay. If so, it was a small victory for the officers in a cause that was already lost.¹⁵²

Meanwhile, in Utah, Mormon leaders did not learn of the controversy in the East until the end of January when the first mail dispatches of the winter got through. The news confirmed their fears, growing since the preceding September, that the officers wanted to overturn their political system. The Mormons, however, showed none of the "sedition" of which the "runaways" said the local people were guilty. Instead, Utahns hoped for a peaceful solution that would allow them to remain in the Union. Willard Richards, writing to Kane, said some local citizens were talking about going back to a provisional government to await statehood. But Richards claimed everyone "to a man" wanted "union" and remained in "perfect loyalty" to the government "unless they are forced from their moorings as were the colonies of '76. This is an eternally settled question and admits of no argument."¹⁵³

The Utah Legislative Assembly, in session since early January, passed one memorial after another confirming its desire to stay in the United States. Legislators asked Washington for roads, prisons, and Indian treaties, which the hard-pressed local people knew that they could not afford without federal money.¹⁵⁴ One memorial asked Congress for permission to hold a convention to form a state government, "preparatory [for Utah's] . . . taking her place beside her elder

¹⁵²*Congressional Globe*, May 20, 1852, 32nd Cong. 1st sess., 1412-18; "House of Representatives," *New York Daily Times*, May 21, 1852, 3. This congressional debate did not end in a resolution, but Bernhisel believed that the officers "in all probability" would "receive their salaries." Bernhisel to Young, June 8, 1852, Young Papers. The Broughton D. Harris Papers at the LDS Church History Library contain several letters related to Harris's pay as well as the disposition of the federal funds that Harris had taken with him from Utah.

¹⁵³Willard Richards, Letter to Thomas L. Kane, February 29, 1852, Willard Richards Papers, LDS Church History Library.

¹⁵⁴*Acts, Resolutions, and Memorials, Passed by the First Annual, and Special Sessions of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah, Published by Authority of the Legislative Assembly* (Salt Lake City: Brigham H. Young Printer, 1852), 210-31.

sisters in the great Federal Union.”¹⁵⁵ In April Church leaders issued the “Seventh General Epistle of the Church,” which invited converts in Europe to “flee to the land of Zion,—to America—to the United States.” “Our national organization originated in the heavens,” the document told these Church members.¹⁵⁶ On May 1, the Mormons completed another of their giant petitions, containing 3,448 signatures and asking that Willard Richards be appointed territorial secretary with Heber Kimball and Orson Hyde as justices.¹⁵⁷

Young was an intriguing character study during the anxious months of early 1852. Bernhisel’s gloomy letters, written in December and January, brought responses of unfailing assurance from Young, who relied upon his customary sense of an overruling providence. “Go ahead, never doubting,” Young wrote encouragingly, “although the sun and all else may appear dark around you, yet the dark curtain will be rent asunder.”¹⁵⁸ When Bernhisel’s reports grew darker still, Young wondered if the Church might have to begin another exodus into the wilderness. “Although many of us might fall into our graves, victims to exposure and hardships, . . . if . . . the Lord wills it, all right, to die is nothing. I should a thousand times rather encounter the ‘grim monster’ than to have my religion, and the love and adoration which I feel towards God become a secondary consideration for me.”¹⁵⁹

After Bernhisel reported that some California emigrants were complaining of their treatment while passing through Utah, Young appealed to common sense. “Now Dr., has it really become necessary that we should keep a standing army of scribes and clerks to answer and refute all the lies and false charges that every thieving scoundrel shall publish about us?” Perhaps Bernhisel might find some kind of “machine or yankee contrivance approximately as near a perpetual

¹⁵⁵“Memorial to Congress for Calling a Convention to Form a State Government,” February 28, 1852, in *Acts, Resolutions, and Memorials*, 222.

¹⁵⁶Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, and Willard Richards, “Seventh General Epistle of the Presidency of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints,” *Millennial Star* 14, no. 21 (July 17, 1852): 321–26.

¹⁵⁷Petition to President Millard Fillmore, May 1, 1852, photocopy, LDS Church History Library.

¹⁵⁸Young to Bernhisel, January 31, 1852.

¹⁵⁹“History of Brigham Young,” 1852, 11.

motion" to churn out responses to everything that was being said about Utah. "It truly becomes a matter of regret that the people of the United States, are so easily hogaffed or humbugged, as to become so easily excited [about the Mormons], and then again to have their excitement so easily allayed. It is almost like the 'vive la Roi' today and 'vive la Republique' tomorrow of Paris or Mexico."¹⁶⁰

Meanwhile, Young signaled a willingness to step aside as governor if Fillmore decided to make a change. He was not opposed to Alexander Doniphan being nominated as his successor, or even Salt Lake merchant James A. Livingston, who had close ties to the federal officials.¹⁶¹ But on the question of the Mormons' political theocracy—the item that the officers found so objectionable—Young wanted no compromise. On February 1, 1852, about the time that he learned that the "runaways" had commenced their agitation in Washington, Young strongly defended the Mormons' special kind of government in an unpublished discourse. As Young defined it, the Mormon theocracy was designed to protect religious rights, including those of non-Mormons. It aimed to end bitter, partisan fights. Such a spirit required legislators to study the Bible and the Book of Mormon and to listen to his prophetic advice, in and out of their legislative councils. "Send another governor here [and] I shall [still] govern the people," he said.¹⁶² Whatever the outward form of government, Young believed he had the influence to continue to control events.

While the situation seemed to hang in the balance, Young and other Church leaders drew up a detailed rejoinder to the officers' accusations. Work on the project went on for several weeks, and Mormon leaders "in council" carefully reviewed it.¹⁶³ The document, over seventy pages in manuscript, was given the title "Beating against the Air," an allusion to the impossibility of fully explaining what had

¹⁶⁰Brigham Young, Letter to John M. Bernhisel, May 27, 1852, Young Papers.

¹⁶¹*Ibid.*

¹⁶²Brigham Young, Remarks, February 4, 1852, transcribed by LaJean Purcell Carruth, George D. Watt Papers, MS 4534, Box 1, fd. 3, LDS Church History Library.

¹⁶³Historians' Office Journal, May 25, 1852, LDS Church History Library.

happened with the “runaways.”¹⁶⁴ In addition to trying to set matters straight on the events leading to the officers’ departure, the document revealed more of Young’s attitudes. Whatever might be the fate of the Republic, Young insisted the nation would never owe its downfall to “Mormon sedition, Mormon insurrection, Mormon Secession, or Mormon Treason.” Rather, Young claimed that Mormon principles were about sustaining and building up—never about “pulling to pieces and throwing down.”¹⁶⁵ “Beating against the Air” was neither circulated nor published. When it arrived in Washington in a sealed metal box, the crisis was winding down, and Bernhisel quietly put it on a shelf, then returned it to Young.

By the mid-summer 1852, the Saints looked upon the previous half year with some satisfaction. The government had not sent troops, the departed officials had been successfully labeled as “runaways,” Young was still governor, and the officers’ report was being officially ignored. For a people who had experienced so much difficulty in their short history, they had found men in high places who helped them in small but significant ways: Joshua Giddings, Horace Greeley, John Gunnison, Joseph Kennedy, Howard Stansbury, and Alexander Stevens.

Fillmore had been especially significant. Bernhisel believed that the president, who had wavered before the “pitiless storm” when the controversy began, had since “honestly and sincerely” tried to do right.¹⁶⁶ Moreover, Fillmore was generous privately and confidentially. When he learned that a “very indigent” Mormon woman needed help, he reportedly gave her cash and promised more if she needed it.¹⁶⁷ By summer, Fillmore was a lame duck, having lost to Winfield Scott in the Whig national convention on the fifty-third ballot after both he and Webster, though much closer ideologically and politically to each other than to Scott, had refused to capitulate or help the other.

¹⁶⁴Brigham Young, Remarks, June 13, 1852, transcribed by LaJean Purcell Carruth, George D. Watt Papers, CR 100/317, Box 1, fd. 16, LDS Church History Library. The term “Beating against the Air” was drawn from 1 Corinthians 9:26: “so fight I, not as one that beateth the air.” The image is the futility of landing a blow when boxing the air.

¹⁶⁵“Beating against the Air,” May 1852, 3–8, 63, Young Papers.

¹⁶⁶Bernhisel to Young, May 8, 1852.

¹⁶⁷Bernhisel to Young, August 12, 1852.

Kane was the Mormons' most consistent supporter, despite the strain that his belated awareness of polygamy put upon his feelings. As always, he worked behind the scenes, his story known only partly even to his Mormon friends. But Grant knew enough to thank him before returning west: "We can never in this world cancel the Debt we owe you. But when the Saints judge the world, some may be forgotten, but the poor Mormons, will never forget Col Kane."¹⁶⁸ By this point, the strain between Kane and Fillmore apparently had been patched up, and with this rapprochement came a new offer for political office. "You have decided against the Governorship of Utah, haven't you," wrote Kane's fiancée, Elizabeth Wood, to him in May 1852.¹⁶⁹ Fillmore apparently had asked Kane a second time to take the Utah governorship. If the Mormons knew about it, they never mentioned it.

After 1852 Lemuel Brandebury returned to the obscurity from which the controversy had summoned him, remaining a lawyer in Washington, D.C.¹⁷⁰ In contrast, Fillmore offered Harris the position of secretary in New Mexico Territory. Knowing a consolation prize when he saw one, Harris declined.¹⁷¹ Instead, he turned to his native Vermont, where over succeeding decades he participated in local and state politics and developed "intimate" friendships with George F. Edmunds and Justin Morrill, leading anti-Mormon politicians over the next several decades. Through these relationships and the advice he may have imparted, Harris may have had a "last word" about the Mormons after all. Harris invested in railroad-building, and reportedly made a fortune. Said one local history: "His native ability and this inborn habit of mind and character made him the recognized companion, intellectually and socially, of the men who gave Vermont her

¹⁶⁸Jedediah Grant, Letter to Thomas L. Kane, May 5, 1852, Kane Collection, Perry Special Collections

¹⁶⁹Elizabeth D. Wood, Letter to Thomas L. Kane, May 2-5, 1852, Kane Collection, Perry Special Collections.

¹⁷⁰1860 U.S. Census, Washington First Ward, Washington, D.C., 28; 1870 U.S. Census, Washington First Ward, Washington, D.C., 150.

¹⁷¹W. Hunter, Letter to Broughton D. Harris, May 1, 1852; Harris, Letter to Daniel Webster, May 3, 1852; Harris to Hunter, May 7, 1852, all in Broughton D. Harris Papers, LDS Church History Library.

fame in the eventful days after 1860.”¹⁷² In the 1890s, Broughton and Sarah Harris returned to Salt Lake City as part of a tour of the West. They drove through the city and looked without success for familiar sites. We “were not sorry when our train left for Denver,” Sarah wrote.¹⁷³

Perry Brocchus was appointed a territorial judge in New Mexico in 1854, where he served for more than a decade and a half. Controversy continued to follow him as the local people complained of his absenteeism and how much he enjoyed a good fight. He was “uncannily adept at using his fists,” said one account, and several incidents proved it. During one judicial proceeding, he ordered the sheriff to clear the court, which allowed him to thrash an attorney who had ignored his instructions about proper decorum. But there were favorable reports, too. Some citizens in New Mexico praised his generosity and good-heartedness, his impeccable manners and dress. There was a common denominator to both the criticism and praise: Brocchus was a man who enjoyed making grand gestures and being in the center of things.¹⁷⁴

His feeling about the Mormons continued to be strong. In 1859, a pamphlet appeared (presumably with his involvement) that printed two letters he had written in 1852, one to the public and one to Webster. The tone he struck must have appealed to many Americans in the wake of the Utah War. “The true and only thorough remedial policy of the Government is to get rid, entirely, of those unfriendly, disloyal and vicious people,” he wrote. While “the spirit of the age” and circumstances would not permit the actual extermination of the Mormons, he suggested as an alternative that the Latter-day Saints be removed “to some distant land—some island of the ocean, or some far-off region which we do not now, and never will possess.” Brocchus believed that if the Mormons were permitted to stay anywhere in the United States, they would congregate like

¹⁷²Mary R. Cabot, comp., *Annals of Brattleboro, 1681–1895*, 2 vols. (Brattleboro, Vt.: E. L. Hildreth & Company, 1922), 2:687.

¹⁷³Harris, *An Unwritten Chapter of Salt Lake*, 86.

¹⁷⁴Arie W. Poldervaart, *Black-Robed Justice: A History of the Administration of Justice in New Mexico from the American Occupation in 1846 until Statehood in 1912* (Santa Fe: Historical Society of New Mexico, 1948), 62, 64–65, 72–73, 76–81.

"swarming bees," and "their sting will be felt."¹⁷⁵

Notwithstanding Brocchus's statements, the Mormons had won the fight of 1851–52, but hardly the war. In the long history of disputes between Mormons and territorial officials, which lasted from the early 1850s into the 1890s, this episode represented the only significant occasion when the Mormons prevailed in the halls of Congress and in the press.¹⁷⁶ Bernhisel knew of their weakness. He told Young not to soon expect any federal appropriations for local needs. The feeling against the Saints, despite the favorable resolution to the current crisis, was "denser than Egyptian darkness," he warned in August 1852.¹⁷⁷ The Mormon representative hoped that, with patience and continuous hard work, some of the growing anti-Mormonism might be managed. However, with Fillmore no longer in office to help them, the Saints would suffer one setback after another in Washington until, in 1857—with the exit from Utah of a second wave of federal appointees—the feared dispatch of federal troops took place and the Utah Expedition took the trail toward the territory.

The "runaway" controversy was thus a prologue. The national system of territorial government—with officials appointed by Washington but serving in the far-away West—virtually guaranteed that the Mormons would remain on the national agenda and that the inevitable disputes between the Latter-day Saints and the appointed officials would become national business. Throughout the affair, the Mormons made no effort to establish an independent kingdom, whatever their millennial beliefs and occasional pulpit preaching. Like residents in other western territories, they agitated for favorable appointments, more local self-government, and statehood. Nevertheless, the suspicion of Mormon disloyalty remained; and the proposals of Brocchus, Harris, and Brandebury, including their call for troops, foreshadowed many of the strategies used over the next half century to diminish Mormon control of Utah Territory.

¹⁷⁵*Letter of Judge Brocchus, of Alabama, to the Public*, 27–28.

¹⁷⁶For an insightful recent study of the entire episode, arguing that it marked "the high point in the Americanization of Mormons," see Gerrit John Dirkmaat, "Enemies Foreign and Domestic: U.S. Relations with Mormons in the U.S. Empire in North America, 1844–1854" (Ph.D. diss., University of Colorado, 2010), 365–95.

¹⁷⁷Bernhisel to Young, August 12, 1852.

In its beginning, the Utah War followed the same script as the “runaway” crisis. In both cases, the federal officials noisily exited the territory, led by a federal judge prone to scandal and controversy (William W. Drummond in the Utah War case). In 1852 and 1857, territorial officials sent negative reports to the president and his cabinet and appealed to the national press with stories of Mormon outrages—particularly revolving around Latter-day Saint defiance of the officials and their practice of plural marriage, but involving such charges as the treatment of emigrants, land settlement disputes, and relations with American Indians. Both sets of federal officials placed blame primarily on Governor Brigham Young and called for his removal.

However, the outcomes in 1852 and 1857 were strikingly different, likely resulting more from the shifting national political scene than from the personalities involved. Democrat James Buchanan, a long-time diplomat and the incoming president in 1857, was just as cautious in many ways as Fillmore. Even so, the issue of Utah and Mormonism had by that point become even more entangled with sectional politics, as the newly formed Republican Party tied polygamy to slavery and linked both to the Democrats’ embrace of popular sovereignty. If local citizens could decide the status of slavery in the territories, the logic went, what would prevent them from legalizing polygamy?

For Buchanan, the political environment motivated him to protect the key Democratic principle of popular sovereignty by disassociating it from the disreputable cause of Mormon polygamy. In addition, the Mormons’ open acknowledgment of plural marriage—announced in August 1852, hastened by the “runaway” controversy—meant they would receive much less sympathy in the national press in 1857 than 1852. Indicative of this changed atmosphere, Kane largely abandoned his public relations maneuvering, instead attempting to influence events behind closed doors rather than through the press. As a result of these dynamics, President Buchanan and his cabinet favored a military solution in Utah that their predecessors five years earlier had rejected.

“SMOOT SMITES SMUT”: APOSTLE-SENATOR REED SMOOT’S 1930 CAMPAIGN AGAINST OBSCENE BOOKS

Michael Harold Paulos

POINTING TO A PILE OF CONFISCATED BOOKS stacked high on the desk of Senator James Watson (R-Indiana), the indignant Apostle-Senator Reed Smoot (R-Utah), emphatically denounced their contents as obscene: “They are lower than the beasts! . . . They are not only obscene, but they are damnable. . . . They are disgusting. They are beastly, beastly!”¹ Smoot’s rhetorical horror directed at risqué novels imported from foreign shores was delivered in the midst of the federal government’s eighteen-month debate on his signature piece of

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¹U. S. *Congressional Record*, 71st Congress, 2d sess., 1930 [sic; the Congressional fiscal year was March to February/March], Vol. 72, Part 5, pp. 5,414, 5,417 (hereafter *Congressional Record*, 72); “Senators Bury Dignified

legislation, referred to by contemporaries as the Smoot-Hawley Tariff, and which today serves as an infamous bookend to Smoot's otherwise forgotten career.² Specifically, Smoot was arguing for an amendment that reinstated the law, originally passed in 1842 and amended in 1890 and 1922, that empowered Treasury Department employees or customs inspectors to prevent ribald novels from entering U.S. ports of entry. The ensuing national conversation on the topic of book censorship elicited mirth in the press, which caricatured Smoot as a "twitting" prude and a zealous crusader who exhibited "grandmotherly concern" in his attempt to "save Uncle Sam from the moral damnation and political destruction of 'bad books.'"³

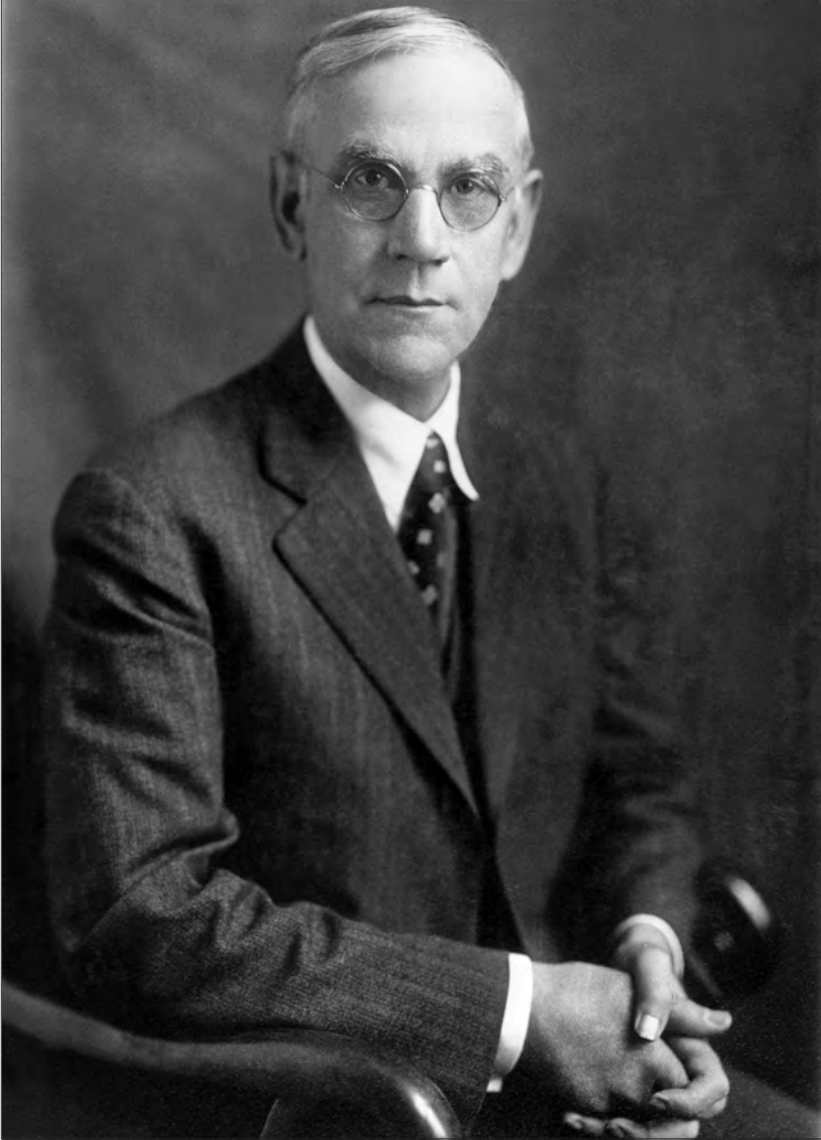
In January of 1930, Ogden Nash famously published in the *New Yorker* his "Invocation," a cynical, iconic poem, which parodied Smoot's efforts to ban obscene novels.⁴ Another contemporary source satirically opined, "Brigham Young, leaning from the Mormon

Noses in Risqué Books," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, March 18, 1930, 1, 10; "Sen. Smoot Brings Books to Support Tariff Argument," *Deseret News*, March 18, 1930, 3.

²Tariff legislation was frequently "named for the Ways and Means Committee chair first" since the Constitution requires that revenue measures originate in the House. However, because of Smoot's extensive involvement in the legislative process of this bill, it was commonly referred to at the time as the "Smoot-Hawley Tariff" rather than the "Hawley-Smoot Tariff." See Douglas A. Irwin, *Peddling Protectionism: Smoot-Hawley and the Great Depression* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2011), 3.

³"Smoot's Book Ban Draws Crossfire," *New York Times*, February 24, 1930, 2; "Smoot Renews Book Fight," *New York Times*, December 24, 1929, 10; Edward Weeks, "The Practice of Censorship," *Atlantic Monthly*, January 1930, 17–25; "Senate Votes Censorship on Obscene Books," *Chicago Tribune*, March 19, 1930, 1; Thomas H. Mullen, "Censorship," *Chicago Tribune*, March 21, 1930, 14; William Allen Neilson, "The Theory of Censorship," *Atlantic Monthly*, January 1930, 13–16.

⁴Ogden Nash, "Invocation," *New Yorker* *New York Times*, January 11, 1930, 30; reprinted in David Stuart, *The Life and Rhymes of Ogden Nash* (Lanham, Md.: Madison Books, 2000), 31–40. Stuart adds that this was his first of many Nash poems published in the *New Yorker*. He was paid \$22 for it, which in current dollars would equal \$306.65. At the time of its publication, he was an editor at Doubleday, and the poem was intended to be "generic comment on [all] politicians" who chased "front page" headlines.



Senator Reed Smoot of Utah. A devout believer and proponent of both trade protectionism and book censorship legislation, Senator Smoot was sixty-nine years old at the time his signature legislative achievement, the Smoot-Hawley Tariff, passed in 1930. Courtesy Utah State Historical Society.

heaven, with his seventeen wives beside him, and a memory of the United States defied, must have shaken his great chest with Homeric laughter when Senator Smoot demanded that the virginal innocence of the United States be protected from every book suspected of an idea conventional moralists could doubt or politicians complain of.”⁵

Throughout his public career, the Mormon senator’s religious ethos of frugality and self-reliance drove him “to wage a war” on inefficiency in government.⁶ According to one contemporary news source, “Waste of anything affects [Smoot] disagreeably like the presence of a civet cat or a strong infusion of mustard gas.” Moreover, Smoot’s cultural upbringing in Great Basin region instilled a belief in the “divinely ordained” doctrine of economic independence, a canonized teaching constructed by Church founder Joseph Smith and aggressively pursued by his successor, Brigham Young, in the Utah Territory. For the apostle-senator, economic self-sufficiency was not only sound theology but also the best factually based economic policy available by which America could pursue its interests.⁷ Tariffs, used as shelters to help domestic industries grow, were the legislative expression of Smoot’s spiritual and secular worldview, and as such, he

⁵“Minds Not Fit for Books,” *Saturday Review of Literature* 6, no. 36 (March 29, 1930): 1.

⁶Alfred Pearce Dennis (Democrat), “The Diligent Senator Smoot,” *World’s Work*, May 1930, 62–64. This publication also explained that “waste of government money pains [Smoot] acutely,” and, over his career in Congress, he was famous for his “passion” to save the “Treasury of United States a many million dollars.” Also see Milton R. Merrill, *Reed Smoot: Apostle in Politics* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1990), 349–93.

⁷Leonard J. Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom: An Economic History of the Latter-day Saints, 1830–1900, New Edition* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2011), 26, 112–13, 205–6, 521. Arrington notes that in 1830 (actually 1831), Joseph Smith received a revelation that counseled: “Let all thy garments be plain, and their beauty the beauty of the work of thine own hands, . . . contract no debts with the world.” See also Robin Scott Jensen, Robert J. Woodford, and Steven C. Harper, eds., *Manuscript Revelation Books, Facsimile Edition*, Vol. 1 in the Revelations and Translations series of THE JOSEPH SMITH PAPERS, general editors Dean C. Jessee, Ronald K. Esplin, and Richard Lyman Bushman (Salt Lake City: Church Historian’s Press, October 2009), 103–5.

spent his political career zealously promoting this public policy.⁸

Now in the twilight of his thirty-year senate career, the sixty-eight-year old Smoot stood on the precipice of achieving a substantial legislative victory that offered protection to the laborers and youth of America from foreign interference, though he gave specific emphasis to shielding farmers and young girls. In the senator's mind, home-grown industries and American children needed his tariff bill; and to get it passed, he accepted ugly political accommodations, which, at the time and "forever" thereafter, branded the bill as the textbook case for unseemly horse-trading, "logrolling, special interest politics, and inability of members of Congress to think beyond their own district."⁹

Despite these offensive aspects from the political accommodations and the fact that a plurality of economists then and now have declared the legislation blundering, misguided, unnecessary, and detrimental to the economic recovery, to the end of his life, Smoot believed unwaveringly in the righteousness of his actions and the correctness of the cause. His biographer Milton Merrill summarizes: "There is no suggestion in any speech or letter of his after the act was passed that he had the slightest tremor of doubt about its [Smoot-Hawley's] wisdom or beneficence," and Smoot always insisted that "conditions would be much worse" had the bill not been passed.¹⁰

It was mid-March of 1930, and Smoot, then serving as chairman of the Finance Committee in his fifth elected term, was enjoying the

⁸Smoot had substantial involvement in drafting and influencing five pieces of major tariff legislation over his thirty-year political career. Merrill, *Reed Smoot*, 283–347.

⁹Irwin, *Peddling Protectionism*, 91, 99. Merrill, *Reed Smoot*, 335, explained that Smoot took a different tactical approach to moving this bill along. Instead of being "moderately irascible, occasionally querulous, unduly argumentative . . . [and] outwardly militant" during the tariff debate, Smoot was "patient, understanding, [and] considerate" in moving the bill to passage. Ironically, the irritable Smoot was on display for much of the obscene novel discussion.

¹⁰Merrill, *Reed Smoot*, 338–39; Smoot issued a press release five months after the Smoot-Hawley Tariff's passage expressing dismay about the "current statements . . . that the new tariff is retarding business recuperation." His reply was unabashed: "The question now is whether the tariff is high enough, not whether it is too high." "Statement of Honorable Reed

high-water mark of his power and visibility in Washington.¹¹ Aware of the historic moment, Smoot depleted his political capital to pass a messy, unpopular tariff bill at a time when America was entering its most severe economic downturn. Known in the Senate for being an encyclopedic resource for tariff schedules, Smoot's foregoing remarks on imported obscenity ignited two days of uproarious Senate debate on the subject of censorship as well as the proper role the government should play in protecting its citizens from foreign subversion.¹² To the senator, these tandem topics represented crucial instances where the government had a moral obligation to exert its influence to shape outcomes.¹³ As such, Smoot embraced the correctness of these matters as fundamental truths, advocating for their ve-

Smoot Issued to the Press," November 15, 1930, Reed Smoot Papers, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah (hereafter cited as Smoot Papers). See also "Democrats Deny Delaying Tariff," *New York Times*, October 8, 1930, 15. Historian Paul S. Boyer, *Purity in Print: Book Censorship in American from the Gilded Age to the Computer Age* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2002), 237, inaccurately states, without any supporting evidence that "Smoot could hardly have recalled with much satisfaction this phase of the debate over the tariff law which bears his name." Despite some other factual errors (e.g., he claims that Smoot's father, Abraham O. Smoot, was a member of the Quorum of Twelve Apostles), Boyer provides an excellent summary of Smoot's role in the censorship fight.

¹¹As the tariff bill was being debated in the House, a drawing of Smoot's bust adorned the cover of *Time: The Weekly Newsmagazine*, complemented with a laudatory article about Smoot's character and his passion for tariff legislation. See "Lion-Tiger-Wolf," *Time: The Weekly Newsmagazine* 13, no. 14 (April 8, 1929): cover, 11–12.

¹²"Mr. Smoot's Fight on Tainted Books," *Literary Digest* 104, no. 13 (March 29, 1930): 11. One contemporary publication tabbed Smoot the "Magnificent Man of Figures" and claimed that he knew 30,000 different facts about his tariff bill. "The Diligent Senator Smoot," *World's Work*, May 1930, 62–64.

¹³Smoot strongly believed that bad literature would subvert the morals of American citizens and was unconvinced that "prohibit[ing] obscene literature conflicts with a man's liberty." Ultimately, Smoot argued, "We would have practically no reform legislation if we listened to these arguments about liberty." *Congressional Record*, 72, 5,415–16. Smoot's belief in

racity with the same religious zeal and "unshakable faith" as he would have "displayed for [the truthfulness of] the Book of Mormon."¹⁴ However, Smoot's legislative victories on trade protectionism and book censorship did not last. Over the ensuing years, American culture, policy, and jurisprudence on these matters liberalized toward freer economic markets and more personal freedom. Ultimately, his 1930 accomplishment proved to be a short-term victory, with congressional oversight of tariff policy and the executive branch's control of trade censorship each being discontinued—fading into a dim status as relics of the past.¹⁵

Twenty-seven years earlier, Smoot's political career was almost derailed by a national protest during his first term. When he was first elected, opportunistic politicians and religious groups staged a campaign to remove him from the U.S. Senate. These groups feared, with irrational zeal, that his position as a high-ranking authority in the Mormon Church would impact inimically, though ambiguously, on the nation's interests.¹⁶ Smoot's most vociferous critics were eventually proven wrong. With the passage of time, he gained the respect of the country and trust of GOP leaders.

government intervention on economic matters applied only to international tariffs. According to Merrill, *Reed Smoot*, 399–401, Smoot defended domestic free markets and viewed regulatory legislation as "unnecessary, discouraging, and undesirable. . . . Entrepreneurs could be trusted to distribute their gains with equity modified by charity."

¹⁴Merrill, *Reed Smoot*, 170, 285–87, 329.

¹⁵Irwin, *Peddling Protectionism*, 183–203; Boyer, *Purity in Print*, 242–43, 280; Paul S. Boyer, "Gilded-Age Consensus, Repressive Campaigns, and Gradual Liberalization: The Shifting Rhythms of Books Censorship," in Carl F. Kaestle and Janice A. Radway, eds., *Print in Motion: The Expansion of Publishing and Reading in the United States, 1880–1940* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009), 298.

¹⁶For background and context on the Reed Smoot hearings, see Merrill, *Reed Smoot*, 11–104; Kathleen Flake, *The Politics of American Religious Identity: The Seating of Senator Reed Smoot, Mormon Apostle* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004); Jonathan H. Moyer, "Dancing with the Devil: The Making of the Mormon-Republican Pact" (Ph.D. diss., University of Utah, 2009); Harvard S. Heath, "The Reed Smoot Hearings: A Quest for Legitimacy," *Journal of Mormon History* 33, no. 2 (Summer 2007): 1–80. For a one-volume abridgment of the Smoot hearings, see Michael

Thus, it is more than ironic that this censorship fight allied Smoot with strange bedfellows. He joined forces with some of his former opponents—groups such as the Woman’s Christian Temperance Union (WTCU) and other anti-vice societies—which just thirty years prior had vigorously opposed his entrance into Congress based on his religious affiliation and ecclesiastical position. Smoot’s gravitation toward political harmony with religious adversaries on moral issues presaged the LDS Church’s current alliances on political issues with faith-based groups that still condemn Mormonism as unauthentic and cultish.¹⁷

While Smoot worked to maximize what his biographer has described as an “opportunity to achieve worldly and political immortality” in passing the Smoot-Hawley Tariff,¹⁸ the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints prepared for its centennial-year celebration. The Utah senator’s acceptance in Washington symbolized the public-relations progress that Mormons had made in the American mind.¹⁹ The celebration was held in Salt Lake City as part of the Church’s

Harold Paulos, ed., *The Mormon Church on Trial: Transcripts of the Reed Smoot Hearings*, (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2008).

¹⁷Boyer, *Purity in Print*, 2, 100–101, 152, 227–30; Joan Smyth Iversen, *The Anti-Polygamy Controversy in U.S. Women’s Movements, 1880–1925: A Debate of the American Home* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1997), 217–28.

¹⁸Merrill, *Reed Smoot*, 329.

¹⁹According to Jan Shipps’s study of the coverage of Mormonism by American periodicals between 1860 to 1960, attitudes toward Mormonism shifted generally from negative to positive in the mid-1930s. Shipps, *Sojourner in the Promised Land: Forty Years among the Mormons* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2000), 51–97. Flake, *The Politics of American Religious Identity*, 171, observes insightfully that the “conservative morality Smoot represented on the floor of the Senate [during the obscene book debate] communicated a radically different and, for the L.D.S. Church, more comfortable stereotype of Mormonism.” While this analysis is undoubtedly true, the paucity of news coverage and editorial opinion in the Church-owned *Deseret News* on Smoot’s censorship efforts is striking. Nor did Church leaders make any effort to capitalize on the Church’s retooled, mainstream image. In my review of the *Deseret News* in the weeks before and after the March 17 debate, I found only a single story, located inconspicuously on page 3 and no editorials. The *Salt Lake Tribune*, by contrast, has multiple news stories and one editorial piece.

April semi-annual general conference; and according to B. H. Roberts, author of the Church's six-volume centennial history commissioned for the celebration, media reports of the affair were carried "throughout the land . . . [and] world," covering such items as the Salt Lake Temple lighting and the gospel-themed Sunday evening pageant featuring music from the Tabernacle Choir. Most notable, in the context of Smoot's anti-obscenity campaign, was President Heber J. Grant's seemingly spontaneous "blessing on the world" that invoked good favor upon "the United States of America, and the liberty loving nation of Great Britain," two key countries that factored saliently into Smoot's grotesque attack on obscene novels.²⁰

LDS opposition to novel reading had an eighty-year history dating back to the 1850s after Brigham Young arrived in the Salt Lake Valley. Rhetoric criticizing fiction was not unique to Mormonism. Rather, it was a quintessential echo of prevailing nineteenth-century Victorian attitudes toward this genre. Beginning around the time the LDS Church was organized in 1830, "cheap printing" was becoming "readily available in both England and America."²¹ Large quantities of so-called "penny newspapers" were available to the lower-income classes at affordable prices, providing entertainment options for the first time to this socioeconomic group. By the time the 1850s rolled around, "dime-novels," also known as "yellow-colored" or "yellow-back" novels, so-called based on the "color of its paper wrappers," served as the primary source of "entertainment for the common man." Inexpensive novels provided "excitement," including romantic tales, to both "the city people and the rural populations." Novels proved popular enough that prolific authors could enjoy full-time writing careers.²²

Typically sold for five cents, rather than ten cents as the moniker implies, dime novels targeted youthful audiences by dangling be-

²⁰B. H. Roberts, *A Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Saint: Century I*, 6 vols. (1932; rpt., Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1965), 6:536–49. Grant had been mission president in England during the Smoot hearings (1903–6). Grant also invoked heavenly blessings upon Canada and Mexico. *Conference Report*, April 1930, 25.

²¹B[ruce]. W[ayne]. Jorgensen, "Heritage of Hostility: The Mormon Attack on Fiction in the 19th Century," *Wasatch Review International* 4 (1996): 80.

²²Vickie Anderson, *The Dime Novel in Children's Literature* (Jefferson,

fore them stories filled with violence, crime, and other sensational topics. Concerned by the negative influence these publications were having on the youth of America, religious leaders and other “moralists of the day” attempted, with limited success, to limit the spread of these books and blunt their influence by denouncing them as subversive to moral character and spiritual development. Religionists instead preferred that the youth and the working classes spend their time reading “self-help” books that reinforced traditional mores such as the value of a strong “work ethic” or the “importance of close-knit family life.”²³ But it was too late culturally. The proverbial dikes had broken, as it were, and yellow novels deluged American communities. Readers around the country found them irresistible.

Brigham Young voiced similar concerns when he counseled Mormon adherents to consume only materials “that are of worth,” such as the “Book of Mormon,” “Doctrine and Covenants,” sermons published in the *Deseret News*, and “reliable history” rather than reading “trifling, lying novel(s).”²⁴ At other times, Young declared novels “pernicious,” unproductive, and akin to vices like “card playing,” “swearing,” and intoxication.”²⁵ Young believed that “novels allure the mind and are without profit,” distracting readers from gaining the “real advantages of living as a family.” Speaking more specifically, Young warned that when “our young women and boys” indulge in

N.C.: McFarland & Company, 2005), 1–6, 72–85.

²³Jorgensen, “Heritage of Hostility,” 75–82; Anderson, *The Dime Novel*, 1–6, 72–85.

²⁴Richard S. Van Wagoner, ed., *The Complete Discourses of Brigham Young*, 5 vols. (Salt Lake City: Smith-Pettit Foundation, 2009), 4:1,951, 5:3,152. In 1862, Young averred that he “would rather that persons read novels than read nothing.” *Ibid.*, 4:1,951. Fifteen years later, he gave slightly different advice in a letter to his missionary-son in Annapolis, Maryland. After cautioning that reading novels was not a “wise means of increasing your desire to read,” Brigham compared reading novels to using poisonous herbs or berries to salve a “poor appetite. . . . It is a remedy that is worse than the complaint.” Dean C. Jessee, ed., *Letters of Brigham Young to His Sons* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1974), 313–15. In comparing novel reading to poison, Brigham foreshadowed Smoot’s future arguments used to combat obscene novels.

²⁵Van Wagoner, *Complete Discourses of Brigham Young*, 5:2,939, 4:2, 941.

"yellow covered literature" it causes them to get "perfectly restless [and desperate] in their feelings." Some of our young women, "with tears" streaming down their faces, "hope and pray, if they ever thought of prayer" that "some villain would come along and steal me and carry me off," while exclaiming, "I want to be stolen, . . . I want to be lost with the Indians, I wanted to be ship wrecked and to go through some terrible scene."²⁶ Rhetorical flourishes like Young's proved futile in stemming the cultural tide of novels entering Utah Territory. Parodying his own alarm, he denounced these novels for infiltrating his own "house," the "houses of my counselors [or] . . . the houses of these Apostles, . . . Seventies[,] . . . High Priests[,] . . . High Council [and] . . . Bishops."²⁷

Brigham Young died in 1877, but his campaign against cheap fiction overlapped slightly with the career of Anthony Comstock, the late nineteenth-century icon of book censorship.²⁸ For five decades beginning in the early 1870s, Comstock crusaded against the "Infidels, Liberals, and the Free-Lovers" who were advocating "for the repeal of obscenity laws" in postbellum America. In his *Traps for the Young*, Comstock argued similarly to Young that "half-dime" novels

²⁶Ibid., 5:2,987–2,988, 3,152. Grant Underwood, in his study on nineteenth-century Mormon chiliasm, explained that both Evangelicals and Mormons viewed novels as a corrupting influence, instead preferring "their literature moralistic and didactic." Grant Underwood, *The Millenarian World of Early Mormonism* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993), 100. Young, who used "graphic imagery to emphasize his views," not infrequently used profanity and slang in his sermons. His comments about novel reading fit into this larger motif. See Russell W. Stevenson, "'Negro Preacher': The Worlds of Elijah Abels," *Journal of Mormon History* 39, no. 2 (Spring 2013): 241. See also Stephan Kent Ehat, "How to Condemn Noxious Novels by Brigham Young," *Century 2* 1, no. 4 (December 1976): 37–48.

²⁷Van Wagoner, *Complete Discourses of Brigham Young*, 5:2,929.

²⁸In an act nicknamed the "Comstock Act" (1873), the federal government added an additional option to regulate obscenity at port of entry. Boyer, *Purity in Print*, 1–22. According to Boyer, Comstock's "outlandish appearance—potbelly, thick neck, jutting jaw, mutton-chop whiskers—and vivid prose" was legendary in his day, and elevated him to a "permanent niche in the gallery of American folk heroes." Moreover, Comstock is part of a select group in popular American culture whose name has been canonized into a common noun.

give the youth who consume them “utterly false and debasing ideas of life;” breed “vulgarity, profanity, [and] loose ideas,” which lead to impure thoughts that “render the imagination unclean.” Moreover, novels “destroy domestic peace, desolate homes, cheapen women’s virtue, and make foul-mouthed bullies, cheats, vagabonds, thieves, desperadoes, and libertines.”²⁹ Acting as a sort of “vigilante against vice,” Comstock led anti-vice societies in the New York area to identify and purge “materials about sex and other immoralities” from the public domain. At the same time, Comstock foreshadowed Smoot’s congressional circus when he traveled “to Washington” armed “with a satchel filled with illustrations collected to document the nature of the problem,” which he used to shock the sensibilities of federal politicians then considering legislation limiting the interstate distribution of prurient materials by making them illegal to send through the mail.³⁰

After Brigham’s death in 1877, other LDS leaders—particularly George Q. Cannon—continued to inveigh against novel-reading in Church publications and other venues.³¹ Apostle Reed Smoot, not yet a senator, added his voice to this chorus in 1902 when he coun-

²⁹Anthony Comstock, *Traps for the Young* (New York: Funk & Wagnalls Company, 1883), 24–25; Anthony Comstock, *Frauds Exposed* (New York: J. Howard Brown, 1880), 388–415.

³⁰James Magee, *Freedom of Expression* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 2002), 95–104. The bill ordered: “That no obscene, lewd, or lascivious book, pamphlet, picture, paper, print, or other publication of an indecent character, or any article or thing designed or intended for the prevention of conception or procuring of abortion, . . . shall be carried in the mail.” For the full text of this 1873 bill and other censorship bills, see “Free Speech and Censorship in American Law,” *Congressional Digest* 9, no. 2 (February 1930): 46–49.

³¹For some of George Q. Cannon’s opinions on novel reading, see Jorgensen, “Heritage of Hostility,” 77–78; George Q. Cannon, “Editorial Thoughts,” *Juvenile Instructor* 19 (October 15, 1884): 312. In 1889, President Wilford Woodruff preached: “There is no time to waste in reading novels. Read the Bible, the Book of Mormon, the Doctrine and Covenants and the records which the Lord has given unto us, and treasure up these revelations and see what the Lord has promised unto us.” Brian H. Stuy, ed., *Collected Discourses*, 5 vols. (Burbank, Calif.: B.H.S. Publishing, 1987), 1:326. Other LDS publications labeled novel reading “literary dram-drinking,” which “tends to make all other literary nourishment intolerable, just as

seled parents to be "suspicious of" their children, especially "if you can do it in a way that they will not realize it," by closely examining what they read to ensure they avoid the "evil effects of dime novel reading."³² Not all voices in Church publications decried fiction. In 1889, B. H. Roberts, writing as "Horatio," took a contrarian position by stratifying fiction into differing categories:

It is becoming generally recognized that the medium of fiction is the most effectual means of attracting the attention of the general public and instructing them. The dry facts of a theory respecting social reform must be made to live in persons and work out the results desired. . . . I can see no harm in such fiction as this [that teaches moral lessons]; on the contrary, I recognize an effective and pleasing method of teaching doctrine, illustrating principle, exhibiting various phases of character, and making the fact of history at once well known, and giving them an application to human conduct. . . . I hope these remarks will not be construed into a defense of those inflammatory, sensational novels. . . . [S]uch works of fiction cannot be too much condemned, not too severely barred entrance into the household, especially the households of the Saints.³³

Smoot's perspective on filthy or frivolous literature predated his Senate career. Like many of his other deeply held beliefs, he embraced them early in life, never feeling it necessary to reexamine or second-guess their veracity.³⁴

On fiction reading, Smoot was conservative in the strict definition of the word; his opposition to novel reading was the same as Brigham Young's and that of other former members of the previous

dram-drinking tends to make all true food intolerable." "Literary Dram-Drinking," *Contributor* 10, no. 1 (November 1888): 18–19; President Joseph F. Smith, *Gospel Doctrine* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1919), 407, announced: "Excessive novel reading we all know is detrimental to the intellectual development of those who engage in it."

³²Reed Smoot, *Conference Report*, April 1902, 26–27. This warning to parents is underscored by his struggles with his own adult children during the 1920s and 1930s. See Harvard S. Heath, "Reed Smoot: First Modern Mormon" (Ph.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1990), 1042–50.

³³Horatio [B. H. Roberts], "Legitimate Fiction," *Contributor* 10 (February 1889): 133–36.

³⁴Merrill, *Reed Smoot*, 286–88, 339.

generation of the Church hierarchy, which most likely included his father Abraham O. Smoot. He saw no reason to moderate his beliefs, these books were still dangerous to young minds, and the subsequent sixty years after Young's death had seen only an acceleration in the degeneracy of material available. Tabbed with the same "Lion" nickname as Brigham Young, Smoot argued doggedly to keep profane literature from being "admitted to the shores of our country."³⁵

Though uncharacteristically patient in the way he methodically moved the tariff bill to passage, Smoot sometimes used political warfare to rebut the opposition's arguments. At other unflattering moments, Smoot resorted to demagogic talking points to belie a counterfactual position. Officials of the National City Bank publicly opposed the increase of sugar duties with Cuba, citing the detrimental effect the tariff would have on the Cuban people and economy. The tariff was sacrosanct to Smoot and Utah, and he violently "charged that the bank's officials were more concerned over protecting their investments in Cuba than maintaining the sugar industry in the United States."³⁶ Tariff increases on sugar did, indeed, cause Cuba's economy to flounder, leading to political instability, an overthrow of the country's pro-American government, and later "a role in bringing about the 1959 communist revolution there."³⁷

After Representative Mary T. Norton (D-New Jersey), one of three women then serving in Congress, condemned Smoot's proposed tariff as being detrimental to a woman's "household and personal expenditures" since it would increase prices on "articles women buy" such as "boots and shoes." Not afraid to lambaste a lady, Smoot countered that Norton and other "Democratic managers" were "simply repeating the false tale told by the Democrats for many years," which was, in essence, that tariffs harm housewives. For Smoot, this

³⁵*Congressional Record*, 72, 5,415. Featured on the cover of *Time: The Weekly Newsmagazine*, Smoot was lauded for being "a lion for efficiency, a tiger for economy, a wolf for detail."

³⁶"Smoot Denounces City Bank on Tariff," *New York Times*, January 11, 1930, 4.

³⁷Irwin, *Peddling Protectionism*, 17, 21, 152, 162, 218. Prior to Smoot-Hawley, Cuba was one of the United States' strongest trading partners, and "perhaps the strongest ally, in the Western hemisphere." But after passage of the bill, many Cubans "developed a strong sense of having been betrayed and abused" by the United States.

interplay between women and Democrats was nothing more than a comical "tariff Punch-and-Judy" puppet show, performed occasionally to convince the "female sex" they were victims of Republican policies.

Smoot also erroneously claimed that tariffs have "nothing to do with the price level" and scoffed at the Democrats' "ancient claim" that tariffs "add to the cost of living" and "burden the masses."³⁸ Unmoved by the analysis and opinion of American economists, which indeed supported the conclusion that tariffs raised the cost of living, Smoot was impervious to the entreaties signed by more than one thousand economists urging Congress and the president to reject the tariff bill. These economists believed that the tariff would increase unemployment, provide little benefit to manufacturers, and "injure the great majority of our citizens" by resulting in higher prices and a higher cost of living. Smoot rejected the advice of these and other 'eminent economists,' stating they had made some "idiotic errors," that rendered their opinions "verbal rubbish."³⁹ Smoot also ignored the anti-censorship petitions sent to Washington by hundreds of prominent educators and librarians across the country.⁴⁰

Dating back to the Tariff Act of 1842, the Treasury Department was vested with power to determine, seize, and destroy obscene material at its point of entry. Subsequent tariff acts passed in 1890 and 1922, in addition to the Postal Act of 1873, expanded the federal government's reach to regulate lewd literature in narrow

³⁸"Smoot Makes Scathing Reply to Mrs. Norton," *Providence [Rhode Island] Journal*, September 2, 1929, clipping in Smoot Papers.

³⁹Irwin, *Peddling Protectionism*, 65–66, 222–26. Smoot felt that economists had no standing on matters such as a sugar tariff, since economists "have not the slightest practical knowledge of the subject."

⁴⁰"500 Join to Fight Tariff Censoring," *New York Times*, March 7, 1930, 18; "Senate Is Urged to Stop Federal Censorship," *Christian Science Monitor*, March 18, 1930, 1. Interestingly, the librarians' support of anticensorship represented a change of position, in the aggregate, for this group. Boyer, *Purity in Print*, 31–32, explained that, during the early years of the Progressive Era, librarians were "mainly concerned with keeping 'bad books'—a broad and infinitely flexible category—off their shelves," and successfully employed creative strategies to do so. Media like the *New York Times* and *Nation* magazine also reversed positions, going from defending Comstock to criticizing his "censorship efforts." Boyer, "Gilded-Age Consensus," 289.

Senator Bronson M. Cutting (R-New Mexico) was the leading voice in the Senate seeking to liberalize the federal government's censorship policy as codified in U.S. trade law from 1842 to 1930. Despite being in the same political party, Cutting quickly became Smoot's main political nemesis on keeping obscene novels from being imported into America.
Courtesy Library of Congress.



sections of society since individual states held full jurisdictional authority to legalize and regulate inappropriate material domestically.⁴¹ Federal gate-keepers represented the status quo for the entirety of Smoot's political tenure, and he was happy with how custom inspectors were executing the law.⁴² In essence, treasury agents working "on steamship docks" reviewed each piece of literature entering the country based on personal judgment, experience, and a published blacklist, to ascertain a book's legality, using a broad definition of "obscene."⁴³ After an inspector's decision, citizens had the option of appealing directly to the Secretary of the Treasury, but in most cases did not. Some public officials, most prominently Senator Bronson Cutting (R-New Mexico), expressed

⁴¹"Free Speech and Censorship in American Law," *Congressional Digest* 9, no. 2 (February 1930): 46–49. Smoot asserted his belief during the debate that his "amendment would strengthen the law of 1890," and that, if adopted, "there would be no more . . . rotten stuff com[ing] into the country." *Congressional Record*, 72, 5,490.

⁴²*Congressional Record*, 72, 5,415. Smoot had high regard for customs workers, calling them "veterans of the service, tried and true. I know from personal contact that many are men of education, legal training, and broad information." Moreover, Smoot considered an informed customs official as "the nearest approach to a jury trial that can be had."

⁴³"Decency Squabble," *Time: The Weekly Newsmagazine* 15, no. 13 (March 30, 1930): 15–16; Boyer, *Purity in Print*, 209.

incredulity about this process, pointing out that the Treasury Department and customs officials were "unequipped" for this kind of work,⁴⁴ while also chafing at the thought of customs officers dictating to the "American people" what they "may or may not read."⁴⁵ The senator from New Mexico contemptuously dismissed the published "black-list" of 739 books, developed collaboratively by the "experts" at the "Customs Bureau" and "postal censorship" headquarters and used by agents, as an "absurdity" of "bureaucratic government." According to Cutting, this blacklist contained 379 volumes written in Spanish, 231 books in French, ten in German, and five in Italian; leaving only 114, or 15 percent, of all banned "immoral books" written in the English language. Cutting found it arbitrary and ridiculous that the federal government would find "as many books written in Spanish as in all other languages put together that theoretically might corrupt the morals of any of our people, when we consider what a small proportion of the population are able to read books in Spanish."⁴⁶

In early October of 1929, Cutting caught Smoot by surprise dur-

⁴⁴"Senate Eliminates 'Obscene' Book Ban," *New York Times*, October 12, 1929, 1; "Obscenity Bypass," *Time Magazine* 14, no. 17 (October 21, 1929): 1; William Allen Neilson, "The Theory of Censorship," *Atlantic Monthly* January 1930, 13-16; *Congressional Record*, 71st Congress, 1st Sess., 1929, Vol. 71, Part 4, p. 4,446-59 (hereafter *Congressional Record*, 71); *Congressional Record*, 72, 5,417-19, 5,491, 5,508. Just prior to Smoot's initial censorship remarks, Senator Hiram W. Johnson of California asked for clarification on the amendment that gave the Secretary of the Treasury power to "admit the so-called classics or books of recognized and established literary or scientific merit, but may, in his discretion, admit such classics or books only when imported for noncommercial purposes." Smoot confirmed the intent of the provision, to which Senator Johnson replied, "That is something which strikes me as ludicrous and humorous." *Congressional Record*, 72, 5,415. Later in the debate, Cutting explained that he "did not feel that the customs clerks would be able to give the time or have the training or experience to judge of a work of literature of any kind." In contrast, "a customs official or almost anyone else could comparatively easily detect the difference between an indecent picture and a decent one." *Ibid.*, 5,496.

⁴⁵Cutting, quoted in Boyer, *Purity in Print*, 212.

⁴⁶"Is Official Censorship of Books Desirable?" *Congressional Digest* 9, no. 2 (February 1930): 50-51.

ing a committee session by proposing an amendment to liberalize customs laws by stripping authority from customs officers, who were at the time legally empowered by previous tariff legislation to seize “any obscene book, pamphlet, paper, [and] writing.”⁴⁷ More prepared than his opponents to argue against the book ban, Cutting persuaded a slight plurality of senators to vote for his amendment (38–36), which provided a short-term victory for anti-censorship voices. For his efforts, eastern elites at *Time: The Weekly Newsmagazine* lauded the “New York-born, Harvard educated” Republican senator as “sophisticated” and “broadminded,” personifying the progressive “New West.” Juxtaposed to the heroic Cutting was Smoot, whom *Time* branded as part of the “Old West”—insular, sanctimonious, and “Mormon-educated.”⁴⁸ Feeling ambushed by the passage of Cutting’s amendment, Smoot vowed to have the matter debated again when the “tariff bill is reported out” of committee.⁴⁹

For the previous sixty years, U.S. jurisprudence relied upon the

⁴⁷“Senate Eliminates ‘Obscene’ Book Ban,” *New York Times*, October 12, 1929, 1; Boyer, *Purity in Print*, 214–26.

⁴⁸“Decency Squabble,” 15–16. Smoot later deplored this outcome: “I have been saddened by the disclosure of laxity of views developed during the [October] debate. I have been distressed that in the Senate of the United States so few voices were raised . . . against a proposal to abolish the prohibition of the importation of obscene books. . . . The opinion . . . expressed in that debate . . . can not fail to react upon the Senate as a whole and lower it in the estimation of that very large part of our citizenry whose esteem we value most, but which it would appear from the debate are included by some Senators in the ‘unthinking class.’” *Congressional Record*, 72, 5,415.

⁴⁹“Obscenity Bypass,” *Time: The Weekly Newsmagazine* 14, no. 17 (October 21, 1929): 18; “Smoot Plans Tariff Vote in November,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, October 13, 1929, 1. Smoot argued against Cutting’s amendment in October 1929: “It were better, to my mind, that a few classics suffer the application of the expurgating shears than that this country be flooded with the books, pamphlets, pictures, and other articles that are wholly indecent both in purpose and tendency, and that we know all too well would follow the repeal of this provision.” Furthermore, “I realize . . . just as does the Senator from New Mexico, that mature, well-regulated minds may not be subverted by such matter. But such legislation is enacted to prevent such matter from coming into the hands of those whose minds are open to influence and whose morals are likely to be corrupted, and I am thinking particularly



Senator Hugo L. Black (D-Alabama), a future Supreme Court Justice, eloquently argued that empowering customs officers with sole and subjective discretion on book censorship decisions at the port of entry was a slippery slope dangerous to liberty. Black's persuasive floor speech led to a bill amendment that provided for a layer of judicial review in the custom's censorship process. Courtesy Library of Congress, LC-DIG-hec-21505.

"*Hicklin* test" to frame and adjudicate questions of obscenity. Initially formulated by a British jurist, Lord Chief Justice Alexander Cockburn, during the *Regina v. Hicklin* trial of 1868, the test broadly defined obscenity in the context of protecting children, meaning, generally, any material whose "tendency . . . is to deprave and corrupt the morals of those whose minds are open to such influence and into whose hands a publication of this sort may fall." Subsequent legal opinions, including some produced by the U.S. Supreme Court, more or less followed this international precedent.⁵⁰ By the time of the lewd literature debate, some legal thinkers as well as public officials, began to question the efficacy of relying on such a broad definition.

Furthermore, existing enforcement of obscenity using such a vague definition produced embarrassing situations where educators were blocked from receiving books intended for research and "non-commercial purposes." Under existing law, these books should have been allowed into the country because they fell under the provision of

of the youth of our country." *Congressional Record*, 71, 4457–58. This line of reasoning was refined and elaborated upon in the next debate, March 1930.

⁵⁰Joseph Tuman, "*Miller v California*," in *Free Speech on Trial*, edited by Richard A. Parker (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2003), 190; Keith Rollins Eakins, "Pornography and Obscenity," in *Encyclopedia of the Supreme Court*, edited by David Schultz (New York: Facts on File, 2005), 351; Wayne C. Bartee, *Litigating Morality: American Legal Thought and Its English Roots* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1992), 66–78; Boyer, "Gilded-Age Consensus," 279–82; *Congressional Record*, 72, 5,416.

having “recognized and established literary or scientific merit.” To illustrate this problem, Cutting pointed to a few instances. A Baltimore professor of medicine ordered a “medical book” from London, only to have it “pronounced obscene” by customs officials and sent back; a professor “writing a final and authoritative book on the subject of the Restoration Dramatists” had a major research source, the “works of Rochester, one of the most famous of politicians, statesmen, writers, and dramatists of the restoration period,” embargoed from importation.⁵¹

Senator Hugo L. Black (D-Alabama) articulated these concerns when he suggested to Smoot that “vesting in the hands of an individual judicial powers on matters of supreme importance with reference to the dissemination of human knowledge” was dangerous, because “a book that I might hold, from my idea, was bad some one else might hold was not bad for the public morals.” Black, who later served as a justice on the Supreme Court for more than thirty years, affirmed that some books “are so bad that by common consent it would be universally accepted that they should not be permitted to be circulated; but there are others that might offend some minds and not offend others.” This gray area constituted a “twilight zone,” so to speak, and Black preferred that the amendment add a formalized layer of judicial inquiry.⁵²

“I would rather keep out a thousand [books] than have one mistake made,” countered Smoot, establishing solidly that he would rather err “on the side of preventing [books] coming in than to let the country be flooded with them.”⁵³ Expanding on his 1902 general conference talk, Smoot staked out his moral motives: “I am not objecting to the admission of these books for any political reason, but I am objecting to the admission purely on my understanding of the duties of a father and an American citizen and a legislator in the interests of the great mass of our American citizenry.” Using well-worn political rhetoric, Smoot implored senators to act to save children from degeneracy. Obscene literature, he urged, “strikes at the morals of every young boy and girl in the United States.” Blocking “obscene matter”

⁵¹*Congressional Record*, 72, 5,415, 5,493.

⁵²*Congressional Record*, 71, 4,458–5,459; *Congressional Record*, 72, 5,418–21; “Senator Smoot’s Philosophy of Suppression Is Questioned,” *New York Times*, March 23, 1930, E5.

⁵³*Congressional Record*, 72, 5,418–19. An impassioned Smoot had previously declared in his opening remarks that “obscene literature . . . would only be admitted over my dead body.” *Ibid.*, 5,415.

was Congress's way "to throw the arms of protection around the army of boys and girls who must constitute the citizenship of our country a little later on." These books were licentious bilge, Smoot insisted, "worse than opium. . . . I would rather have a child of mine use opium than read these books" and "we do not hesitate to destroy" opium when "it comes in on a ship."⁵⁴ Senator James Heflin (D-Alabama), an opposition-party ally on this topic, concurred:

We have been spending weeks and months seeking to keep out of America the products of cheap labor. . . . I have seen Congress pass a law laying a quarantine against shrubbery, . . . because they carried a parasite that would spread a deadly disease amongst the peach trees and the shrubbery in the United States. . . . I have seen Congress pass a law to keep out cattle and horses that had the foot-and-mouth disease. . . . If we have busied ourselves to pass a law to protect these, will we overlook and neglect the offspring of the American home, the hope of the Republic in the years to come?⁵⁵

Smoot's hyperbolic comparison between obscene books and opium, with obscenity being the more dangerous, did not satisfy Senator Black's core concern about books in his "twilight zone." Like most senators debating the issue, Black agreed that "bad books" were harmful to the country, and he did not want them to "be circulated."⁵⁶ But he disagreed with Smoot's narcotics analogy since "all opium is bad,

⁵⁴Ibid., 5,415–16, 5,419–20; "Senators Debate Book Censorship," *New York Times*, March 18, 1930, 5.

⁵⁵*Congressional Record*, 72, 5,432.

⁵⁶Ibid., 5,417. Other senators who opposed aspects of Smoot's amendment but concurred that some offensive books should be banned were Thomas J. Walsh (D-Montana) and Millard Tydings (D-Maryland); Ibid., 5,413, 5,519; also see George F. Booth, "Smoot Smites Smut," *Evening Gazette* (Worcester, Mass.), February 11, 1930, unpaginated clipping in Smoot Collection. In another interesting subplot, "Striking at Smut," an editorial piece published by the *Salt Lake Tribune*, March 20, 1930, 6, expressed indifference toward "the senatorial ban on foreign books of questionable import" since it would not succeed in keeping dirty books out of the "hands of immature and impressionable readers." The *Tribune* disapproved of censorship but believed "the ban does not go far enough"—meaning that the domestic supply of inappropriate books remained voluminous and readily available. Ultimately, "if Senator Smoot's effort restricts in any

but all books are not bad.” Black was most likely referring narrowly to opium use as an addictive, illicit drug since derivatives of opium were being used worldwide for medicinal purposes.⁵⁷

Repositioning his argument slightly, Black shrewdly elucidated: “There are some who think that the Koran is poisonous and that it is dangerous to let it go into homes. There are people who think that the Bible is a dangerous book. There are others who think that the Book of Mormon is a dangerous book. . . . Who is to determine whether or not a book is poisonous? There was a time when all those books were considered poisonous, and that it was dangerous to let them go into the home.”⁵⁸ Whether Smoot was persuaded by the effectiveness of Black’s argument is unclear from the *Congressional Record*; but soon after hearing Black’s argument, Smoot relented

measure the distribution of filth, foreign or domestic, the country will be better off.”

⁵⁷Alan Baumler, *The Chinese and Opium under the Republic: Worse Than Floods and Wild Beasts* (Albany: State University Press of New York, 2007), 36; Anne L. Foster, “Models for Governing Opium and Colonial Policies in Southeast Asia, 1898–1910,” in *The American Colonial State in the Philippines: Global Perspectives*, edited by Julian Go and Anne L. Fosters (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2003), 111–12.

⁵⁸*Congressional Record*, 72, 5,420. Publisher George F. Booth, “Smoot Smites Smut,” similarly argued: “What might be called an obscene book in Boston might be used as a kindergarten text-book in San Francisco, say, or Seattle. Judgment varies as regards such things, and as this country is a big country pied with countless variations of temper—legitimate variation—it would be excessive hardihood which would set up a federal power to decide for the whole nation. The more localized the authority in such matter, the better.” Mormon scholars Bruce W. Jorgensen and Levi S. Peterson publicly addressed the dynamics and cultural redlines in Mormon society of pornography and prudery. Each author referenced D. H. Lawrence’s famous and “pugnacious essay entitled ‘Pornography and Obscenity,’” written to counter “critics who called *Lady Chatterley’s Lover* pornographic.” Neither author mentions that Senator Smoot was the leading Mormon critic of Lawrence’s book; actually they do not mention Smoot at all. In an ironic twist, Jorgensen unwittingly rebuts Smoot’s claim that obscenity equates to poison, “I find the poison . . . metaphors not only misleading but dangerous themselves: they all reduce us, in a way disturbing like the way porn reduces us, to less than the fully personal, free, and moral agents that we are. Porn is a moral problem, and only moral langue can begin to deal with it.” Levi S.

and accepted modified language that formalized judicial review. This decision not only met Black's concerns, enabling him to vote for the amendment, but also opened the door to allow some formerly blacklisted books to enter America based on court decisions that took a more liberalized view of classics "recognized and established [for] literary or scientific merit."⁵⁹

In preparing "ammunition" for his March exposition, Smoot spent his Christmas holiday at the Customs Bureau pouring through "salacious books" in search of "lascivious passages" that he and his staff blue-penciled or dog-eared for future reference.⁶⁰ Collecting approximately forty books containing what he viewed as unquestionably pornographic material, Smoot exclaimed, "The Senate will be so shocked by these books that it will all but unanimously strike the Cutting amendment from the bill."⁶¹ Unbeknownst to Smoot, his strategy was similar to that of Comstock's fifty years previous: using tangible evidence to illustrate the prurient dangers of these imported

Peterson, "In Defense of Mormon Erotica," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 20 (Winter 1987): 122-28; Bruce W. Jorgensen, "Groping the Mormon Eros," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 20 (Winter 1987): 128-37.

⁵⁹*Congressional Record*, 72, 5,415, 5,421-22; Christian Smith, *The Secular Revolution: Power, Interests, and Conflict in the Secularization of American Public Life* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 260. Some of the modified language reads: "Upon the appearance of any such book or matter at any customs office, the same shall be seized and held by the collector to await the judgment of the district court as hereinafter provided. . . . In any such proceeding any party in interest may upon demand have the facts at issue determined by a jury, and any party may have an appeal or the right of review as in the case of ordinary action or suits." *Ibid.*, 5,520. This statute was the first to specify the possibility of a jury trial.

⁶⁰"Smoot on Smut," *Time: The Weekly Newsmagazine* 15, no. 1 (January 6, 1930): 14. Smoot claimed: "I did not mark these books. They were so disgusting, so dirty and vile that the reading of one page was enough for me." *Congressional Record*, 72, 5,491-92.

⁶¹To reporters, "Senator Smoot showed some of the more unprintable things he had discovered and assured them that he already had the support of several colleagues, including Indiana's Watson, the G. O. P. floorleader, who had perused several of the books with shocked attention." "Smoot on Smut," 14; "Smoot Renews Book Fight," *New York Times*, Decem-

books. When debate began, the “tall and lean and lank”⁶² senator from Utah encouraged his colleague to peruse the confiscated books. Needing no encouragement, many senators enthusiastically became “bookworms,” while a handful “loftily ignored the contraband literature.” Senator William Borah (R-Idaho), who was opposed to Smoot’s platform of censorship, “took a weighty tome” and disappeared “with the volume under his arm” for three hours.⁶³

Later in the debate, Cutting displayed some “indecent literature” he had obtained at a “railway bookstall” in Chicago. Mocking Smoot’s tactic of circulating “these books among the Members of the Senate,” the New Mexico senator announced satirically:

I am not going to circulate these books among the Members of the Senate. . . . I do not think any risk should be run [of corrupting] the morals of the Members of this honorable body. I think their morals are quite as important as the morals of those who sit in the galleries and are listening to my remarks, because, after all, if we corrupt the legislative body of the country, that corruption, it seems to me, will, sooner or later, seep out all over the country in channels of contamination. If any Senator wants to see any of this literature, he can communicate with me, and, upon giving a certificate of good moral character, I shall consider showing it to him. [Laughter.]⁶⁴

In another humorous incident intended to draw attention to the

ber 24, 1929, 10. Some of the books reviewed and labeled profane by Smoot were: The classics of Rabelais and Boccaccio, *The Satyricon* of Petronius, Robert Burns’s “Unexpurgated Poems,” Honoré de Balzac’s “Droll Tales,” George Moore’s “A Story Teller’s Holiday,” Casanova’s *Memoirs*, Joseph Moncure March’s “The Wild Party,” Lawrence’s *Lady Chatterley’s Lover*, Frank Harris’s “My Life and Love,” “Gynecocryacy,” “Kama Sutra,” “Scented Garden,” and “Perfumed Garden.”

⁶²“Lion-Tiger-Wolf,” Cover, 11–12.

⁶³“Senators Bury Dignified Noses in Risqué Books,” 1; *Congressional Record*, 72, 5,415–16.

⁶⁴*Ibid.*, 5,493. Seven months after this debate, the *Chicago Daily Tribune* reported in “Books Senators Call Naughty Eagerly Sought,” October 10, 1930, 27: “Many of the books . . . loaned to various senators as exhibits in the tariff discussion have disappeared. Some have been returned . . . and some still repose in the senators’ offices, but a majority apparently are following an endless chain of borrowers and lenders.”



Current Salt Lake Tribune cartoonist Pat Bagley provides a modern interpretation of Reed Smoot's book censorship efforts to roast *Lady Chatterley's Lover* over his senatorial bonfire. During the Senate debate on preventing obscene novels from being imported into America, Smoot singled out D. H. Lawrence's *Lady Chatterley's Lover*, as a book "written by a man with a diseased mind and a soul so black that he would even obscure the darkness of hell." Courtesy Pat Bagley.

silliness of the exercise, Gerald Nye (R-North Dakota) planted a copy of the Bible, with certain passages "marked and underlined," in the pile of smutty books.⁶⁵

To amplify these show-and-tell works, Smoot singled out D. H. Lawrence's *Lady Chatterley's Lover*, claiming that it was "written by a man with a diseased mind and a soul so black that he would even obscure the darkness of hell. [Laughter.] Nobody would write a book like that unless his heart was just as rotten and as black as it possibly could be." This book, written in the 1920s, tells in descriptive detail the sexual escapades of an Englishwoman whose husband had been paralyzed by an injury in World War I. Cutting, whose mother was in the galleries, needled the vehement Smoot by declaring that *Lady Chatterley's Lover* was Smoot's "favorite work" because "the Senator has [appar-

⁶⁵"Senators Bury Dignified Noses in Risky Books," 1; "Sen. Smoot Brings Books to Support Tariff Argument," *Deseret News*, March 18, 1930, 3. Later in the debate, Cutting argued: "Anyone who will read the Bible altogether will be entirely in favor of the Bible, but anyone who will read selected passages from the Old Testament will realize that they could be misconstrued and could be considered in exactly the same class as the literature which the Senator is so insistent shall be excluded. The point is that books have to be read as a whole." *Congressional Record*, 72, 5,494.

ently] been reading it . . . since the Christmas holidays . . . and quoting it to Senators.” Then mocking the Utah senator for his presumed obsession, Cutting wryly suggested that Smoot “has given to this book” so much publicity that “he has made this book a classic.”⁶⁶ As such, “bookleggers,” who were selling illegal copies of *Lady Chatterley* had to be ecstatic about all the free advertising Smoot had given the book.⁶⁷

Then juxtaposing all the “vile” books on display with the “works of Shakespeare,” Cutting averred that “children today” are “reading [Shakespeare’s] books in the schools which at the time” of publication “might have seemed just as indecent as the books” Smoot was denouncing. For example, Cutting continued:

The first page of *King Lear* is grossly indecent; the love making of Hamlet and Ophelia is coarse and obscene; in *Romeo and Juliet* the remarks of Mercutio and the nurse are extremely improper; yet all three of those plays were compulsory reading in school when I went to school a good many years ago at the age of 15. There is no reason to think, after the publicity which the Senator has given to this book, that a hundred years from now *Lady Chatterley’s Lover* may not be compulsory reading, perhaps in the kindergarten classes.⁶⁸

While the galleries erupted in laughter, Smoot angrily shot back:

⁶⁶“Senators Bury Dignified Noses in Risqué Books,” 1; *Congressional Record*, 72, 5,490–92, 5,494–95; “Decency Squabble,” 15–16; Boyer, *Purity in Print*, 223. D. H. Lawrence had died a few weeks earlier. See also Pat Bagley, “Living History: Smoot Smites Smut,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, September 18, 2010, <http://www.sltrib.com/sltrib/home/50305864-76/smoot-books-cutting-senate.html.csp> (accessed May 5, 2013).

⁶⁷The media and senators grouped “booklegging” with the contemporary illegal practice of alcohol bootlegging during the debate. Cutting claimed that *Lady Chatterley’s Lover* was selling on the black market for \$25 (approximately \$340 when inflated to current dollars) while *Time Magazine* claimed that copies were running between \$15–\$30 (approximately \$200 to \$400 when inflated to current dollars). See also *Congressional Record*, 72, 5,494; “Decency Squabble,” 15–16; “Smoot’s Smut,” *Time: The Weekly Newsmagazine* 15, no. 5 (February 3, 1930): 6.

⁶⁸*Congressional Record*, 72, 5,490–92. For a brief summary of this Smoot/Cutting exchange, see Marjorie Barber, *The Use and Abuse of Literature* (New York: Anchor Books, 2011), 95–96. Barber inaccurately states that Smoot “undertook a public reading of blue passages from ‘foreign literature’” at the March vote. Barber may have been relying on media reports

"I have read Shakespeare, and there is no more comparison between what is in Shakespeare and what is in the books for which the Senator is speaking now than there is between heaven and hell."⁶⁹ In a moment of levity, James Couzens (R-Michigan), then acting Senate president, asked Smoot to clarify his theological conception of heaven and hell:

Mr. COUZENS. I would be much interested to have the Senator tell me the difference between hell and heaven. I have not been able to get any definition of it.

Mr. SMOOT. This is not the proper place; but I should be glad to give the Senator the first lesson to-morrow at his office.

Mr. COUZENS. Why is not this now the proper place to tell us the difference between heaven and hell?

Mr. SMOOT. That subject is not to be discussed at the present time.⁷⁰

Smoot's resentment toward Cutting's sarcastic comment "that Lady Chatterley's Lover is my favorite work" led him to clarify: "I have not read it. I did not mark these books. They were so disgusting, so dirty and vile that the reading of one page was enough for me. . . . I have not taken 10 minutes on Lady Chatterley's Lover, outside of just looking at its opening pages. . . . I think that it is most damnable to undertake to read such stuff."⁷¹ Senator Heflin, again providing Smoot with some bipartisan cover, admonished the Senate to use the Bible as a legislative guide and "abstain from every appearance of evil." Not only was this sordid literature "poisonous" but also dangerous. For illustration, Heflin pointed to the "anarchist . . . Czolgoz," who had assassinated President McKinley. Czolgoz admitted that he "had read this kind of literature . . . that defiled his mind and urged him to the

published before the debate in February 1930 claiming that "Senator Smoot is about to stage a meeting 'for men only' confined strictly to Senators . . . [where] he is to read salacious, seditious selections . . . from certain 'bad' books published abroad." "Smoot's Book Ban Draws Crossfire," *New York Times*, February 24, 1930, 2. Smoot did not publicly read any passage from an obscene book in the March debate.

⁶⁹"Court Censorship on Foreign Books Adopted by Senate," *New York Times*, March 19, 1930, 1, 5; "Senate Votes Censorship on Obscene Books," *Chicago Tribune*, March 19, 1930, 1.

⁷⁰*Congressional Record*, 72, 5,494.

⁷¹*Ibid.*, 5,491-95. After Smoot's objection, Cutting backhandedly withdrew his comment about *Lady Chatterley's Lover*.



"The Tariff Spirit" on its "Capitol Hill Endurance Flight" caricatures Senator Reed Smoot and Congressman Willis Hawley's (R-Oregon) determination to fight off all opposition, including "Democratic Attack[s]" and "Foreign Bombardment," to pass their much-disputed and controversial tariff. The House's version of the tariff bill passed in May of 1929. Senate hearings began the following month. Clifford K. Berryman, Washington Star, July 28, 1929. Courtesy L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Brigham Young University.

dastardly deed of striking down one of the kindest Americans that ever walked this earth." Finishing his entreaty with an emotional valediction, the Alabama senator adjured: "We can not go too far in protecting our Government against this evil. . . . Let us be true to those who sent us here and protect the boys and girls of America from the indecent, obscene, and immoral literature of foreign countries."⁷²

Smoot's insistence that the federal government prevent obscene

⁷²Ibid., 5,511.

literature from entering the country seemed to violate the spirit of Joseph Smith's philosophy of governing Nauvoo with such success: "I teach them correct principles, and they govern themselves."⁷³ The senator and his allies took a much less *laissez faire* approach to governance than Smith's enunciated political creed. Traditionalists believed, as expressed by Senator Coleman L. Blease (R-South Carolina), that the "virtue of one little 16-year old girl is worth more to America than every book that has ever come into it from any other country." Moreover, Blease found it preferable to "see both the democratic form of government and the republican form of government forever destroyed if that should be necessary in order to protect the virtue of the womanhood of America."⁷⁴

Exaggerated views such as these, though far out of today's mainstream, were successful in persuading some senators to change their anti-censorship October vote. Sensing this shift in the whip count, dissenting senators forcefully rebutted First Amendment restrictions using classically liberal arguments that more closely aligned with Joseph Smith's political philosophy. These men, appalled by the current legislative agenda, predicted "that historians 300 years from now will say that [this] Congress . . . was one of the most barbarous law-making bodies in the history of all mankind."⁷⁵ The word "barbarous," used by Senator Millard Tydings (D-Maryland), would have struck a chord with Smoot. Seventy years previous in its 1856 platform, the Republican Party declared Mormonism's religious practice of polygamy to be one of the "twin relics of barbarism," along with its more famous sibling, slavery. At that time in America, legal historian Sarah Barringer Gordon suggests that "barbarism" was associated with an "un-Christian" worldview—which is where contemporaries pigeonholed Mormonism—that symbolized "the inversion of progress,

⁷³Joseph Smith, quoted by John Taylor, "The Organization of the Church," *Millennial Star* 13, no. 22 (November 15, 1851): 339. According to Taylor, Joseph Smith made this statement in Nauvoo to answer this question posed by a member of the Illinois Legislature, "How it was that he was enabled to govern so many people, and to preserve such perfect order" when he had found it "impossible . . . to do anywhere else."

⁷⁴*Congressional Record*, 72, 5,431–32.

⁷⁵*Ibid.*, 5,511.

a Manichean counterweight to its successor, civilization.”⁷⁶ Smoot’s near ouster from the Senate during his first term was based in large part to the continued practice within his church of this GOP-defined form of barbarianism.

Tydings’s specific use of “barbarism” referred to Congress’s two-faced efforts “to appropriate millions of dollars for child welfare . . . [and] to prevent the spread of hoof-and-mouth disease,” while at the same time voting “to poison the alcohol which unfortunates may drink, giving them the death penalty for violation of a sacrosanct law.”⁷⁷ Tydings was decrying the federal government’s official program in the mid-1920s of intentionally poisoning alcohol as a way to enforce the Eighteenth Amendment (1919). The government enlisted chemists to carry out this ghastly policy because other enforcement mechanisms were abject failures in stopping both bootlegging and alcohol consumption. An estimated 10,000 people died as a result of this policy.⁷⁸ It is unclear from the printed record if Tydings intentionally used “barbarism” to ironically juxtapose the complex history between Smoot’s political party and faith, but what can be deduced from the Maryland Democrat’s stem-winder is that he took a distinctly libertarian view of government and salvation more aligned with twenty-first-century conservatism than did the Republicans serving with Smoot:

I do not want to be saved by legislation. . . . I do not want Senators to try to save me and to personally conduct me to heaven. I want to do that myself. . . . I do not want to come to Senators and ask what books to read. . . . If sin could be completely abolished by legislative enactment, we would be a nation of morons, because there would be nothing to develop the individuality and the spirit of resistance in us. . . . I do not want to be a good man simply because the law forbids me to do something untoward. . . . What good is any kind of salvation if it is achieved

⁷⁶Sarah Barringer Gordon, *The Mormon Question: Polygamy and Constitutional Conflict in Nineteenth-Century America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002), 55–58.

⁷⁷*Congressional Record*, 72, 5,511–13; Deborah Blum, *The Poisoner Handbook: Murder and the Birth of Forensic Medicine in Jazz Age New York* (New York: Penguin Books, 2010), 152–75.

⁷⁸Blum, *The Poisoner Handbook*, 152–75; Deborah Blum, “The Chemist’s War,” *Slate*, February 10, 2010, http://www.slate.com/articles/health_and_science/medical_examiner/2010/02/the_chemists_war.html (accessed April 28, 2013).

only at the point of the bayonet or threat of the prison bars? Let us go to the greatest lawgiver of all time Jesus Christ. Did he attempt to build a moral grandeur by force? No! He sought to inculcate into the hearts and minds of mankind truths, which would enable them, through teaching and application, to resist the temptation of this short journey we call life.⁷⁹

Another ironic note was struck by the discussion of Brigham Young's sermons, delivered in Utah but printed in the *Journal of Discourses* in England and shipped back to the States. According to Burton K. Wheeler (D-Montana), Apostle Smoot's proposed amendment would block President Young's discourses at point of entry because inspectors could construe some of the sermons subversive, intended "to stir up [a] rebellion." At first, Smoot presumed Wheeler was referring to Young's public views on polygamy and conceded, "If there is any literature he ever wrote or put into circulation which would fall under the ban of this amendment, it ought to be banned, and I would have no objection to it being banned." But Wheeler was not referring "to polygamy in any way, shape, or form." To the contrary, he was referring to "statements" made by President Young during times of persecution "which might be interpreted by some as calculated to stir up insurrection," specifically including the Utah Expedition when President James Buchanan dispatched the largest segment of the U.S. Army westward to enforce Mormon compliance.⁸⁰

Smoot's amendment originally contained a provision, borrowed from the existing postal law, prohibiting the importation of "any book, pamphlet, paper, writing, advertisement, circular, print, picture, or drawing containing any matter advocating or urging treason, insurrection, or forcible resistance to any law of the United States."⁸¹ Some educators publicly bemoaned the inclusion of this language,

⁷⁹*Congressional Record*, 72, 5,511–13.

⁸⁰*Ibid.*, 5,495–96. Even though Smoot conceded that Brigham's speeches should be blocked if they fit the definition of "treasonous," he quibbled that, since Brigham's sermons "were not delivered in England, . . . they might as well have been printed here." They were published by the LDS Booksellers' Office or the mission office, variously identified. "Smoot's Book Ban Draws Crossfire," *New York Times*, February 24, 1930, 2.

⁸¹*Congressional Record*, 72, 5,415; Boyer, *Purity in Print*, 211–12.

fearing that it would prohibit loyal citizens from obtaining “many of the classics of modern economics” including “Marx, Proudhon, Baukunin, or Stirner.”⁸² Throughout the debate, politicians arguing for the amendment sometimes conflated the dangers of so-called treasonous literature with that of obscene novels, but all were unanimous in identifying these genres as detrimental to youth.

Smoot’s nemesis, Senator Cutting of New Mexico, opportunistically seized the opening presented by the possible sedition in Brigham Young’s sermons to flay Smoot’s arguments by typecasting Mormons as historical victims of religious bigotry: “I believe the Mormon Church, more than almost any sect in the country, ought to be in favor of free speech and free thought. . . . I can not conceive how anyone interested in that church and familiar with its history could adopt the kind of intolerant attitude which we have seen here from the Senator from Utah.” And even though Cutting disagreed with opinions voiced by early Mormon leaders, he was “entirely in favor of the circulation of all the opinions of Brigham Young or of any of the other elders of the Mormon Church.”⁸³

Cutting’s support of Young’s constitutional rights reflected similar ideas offered by Thomas F. Jefferson’s in 1801 at his first inauguration, “If there be any among us who would wish to dissolve this Union or to change its republican form, let them stand undisturbed as monuments of the safety with which error of opinion may be tolerated where reason is left free to combat it.”⁸⁴ Double-teaming Smoot from the religious angle, Senator Wheeler likewise shared his bewilderment on how the apostle-senator could take such

⁸²“Senate Faces Foreign Wrath over High Tariff,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, May 31, 1929, 16.

⁸³*Congressional Record*, 72, 5,495.

⁸⁴Senator Walter F. George (D-Georgia) slightly paraphrased this Jefferson quotation earlier in the debate when he spoke against Smoot’s amendment. *Ibid.*, 5,429. A Smoot ally, Coleman Blease (D-South Carolina), strongly disagreed with Jefferson’s statement and argued: “If Mr. Jefferson could be living to-day, though he made the statement which is credited to him by the Senator from Georgia, I am satisfied he would not make that statement now.” *Ibid.*, 5,431. “Thomas Jefferson First Inaugural Address,” March 4, 1801, Avalon Project at Yale Law School, http://avalon.law.yale.edu/19th_century/jefinaul.asp (accessed April 23, 2013). For a range of contemporary views on foreign censorship, including Smoot’s and Cut-



Cartoonist Clifford K. Berryman jeers at the protracted time period it took for the tariff bill to pass. Senator Smoot (R-Utah) and Representative Hawley (R-Oregon) are typecast as pouting school boys dressed in uniforms bemoaning the fact that their tariff bill had not passed by the Spring of 1930. *Washington Star*, March 21, 1930. Courtesy L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Brigham Young University.

an intolerant view of freedom based on the persecution Mormons received from “some people in this country,” but especially given the religious discrimination the Utah senator incurred when first elected to the Senate.⁸⁵

Rocked back again on his rhetorical heels, Smoot reiterated that he had already agreed to “eliminate that [treasonous] part of the

ting’s, see “Is Official Censorship of Books Desirable?” *Congressional Digest* 9. no. 2 (February 1930): 50–64.

⁸⁵*Congressional Record*, 72, 5,495.



Cartoonist Clifford K. Berryman sardonically juxtaposes the birth of Senator Smoot's great-grandchild with the interminable wait for the tariff bill to pass. Peering through Smoot's Capitol Hill window where he is cradling the new family addition, Democratic obstructionists, here symbolized as a donkey and a goat, wonder sarcastically, "Senator maybe you'll be a Great Great Grandfather before we get Through!" *Washington Star*, February 8, 1930. Courtesy L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Brigham Young University.

amendment"⁸⁶ but maintained that intolerance is not the same thing as keeping "vile literature from the boys and girls of this country." Then, feeling the sting of having his religion turned against him, he launched into an emotional defense of the exemplary "record of the Mormon people," testifying that they were the most honest, industri-

⁸⁶*Ibid.*, 5,430, 5,496. Smoot proposed alternative language that deleted the phrase: "[material] containing any matter advocating or urging treason, insurrection, or forcible resistance to any law of the United States." However, several senators argued against this phrase, and the final bill contained the original language. *Ibid.*, 5,502–3, 5,514, 5,520.

ous, and virtuous people of any "who ever lived in all the world," and "if I should lose my virtue, the first thing I would do would be to leave the Mormon Church." Smoot's passionate outpouring revealed a person emotionally connected to his faith and heritage—a man who had nearly seen his opportunity for public service squelched by religious discrimination. He had come to Washington to improve the lives of the American people and bristled at the criticism of senatorial peers who reduced his altruism to nothing more than an inverse form of intolerant bigotry. Concluding his rant, Smoot exhumed past instances where his people faced existential threats, stories he had absorbed as a child in Utah ranging from the mobocratic events of the 1840s when his people were expelled from Nauvoo to the Utah Expedition of 1857 when "my father and my mother were driven from their homes in Salt Lake City" after "Johnston's army was coming to Utah to destroy a whole people on the basis of an absolute lie" told by Utah Supreme Court Justice W. W. Drummond to the U.S. government.⁸⁷

After two days and twelve hours of debate, a 54–28 procedural vote reattached the censorship amendment to the tariff bill. Smoot had achieved a hard-fought victory.⁸⁸ Debate had become more personal than expected, but he believed his effort was best for the country. Over

⁸⁷Ibid., 5,496–5,497; "Court Censorship on Foreign Books Adopted by Senate," 1, 5. Smoot's assertion that Drummond's report to the U.S. government drove Buchanan's decision to send a military force to Utah, has been, until recently, almost universally accepted. However, William P. MacKinnon revises this thesis by outlining "the substance and rhetoric in at least three other batches of material received in Washington," prior to Drummond's incendiary resignation, that "moved the President and his cabinet to dispatch military force." MacKinnon, *At Sword's Point, Part I: A Documentary History of the Utah War to 1858* (Norman, Okla.: Arthur H. Clark Company, an imprint of the University of Oklahoma Press, 2008), 99–120. Some of the materials received in Washington were letters sent by detractors lambasting Mormon governance in Utah, which Smoot would likewise have considered maliciously dishonest.

⁸⁸"Book Censor Plan Okehed; Smoot Wins," *Salt Lake Tribune*, May 19, 1930, 1–2. The abridged work, Harvard S. Heath, ed., *In the World: The Diaries of Reed Smoot* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1997), 721–22, includes only one journal entry on Smoot's book censorship efforts, "I called up the Cutting amendment which allowed obscene Books and literature to

On the evening his Smoot-Hawley tariff bill passed the Senate (March 28, 1930), a fatigued but pleased Reed Smoot took to the radio air-waves to explain and promote his bill. His speech was sent over the Columbia Broadcasting System network from WMAL in Washington. Courtesy Library of Congress, LC-H2-B-3915.



the course of ten months, Smoot had worked assiduously, not missing a single Senate hearing where “more than a 1,000 witnesses” were called, “resulting in 8,618 pages of testimony published in 18 volumes.”⁸⁹ The protracted effort took a toll on Smoot; he shed thirty-five pounds from an already skinny frame.⁹⁰ Less than a week later, “the Senate completed its deliberations and passed” a bill approximately 200 pages in length, mostly on partisan lines.⁹¹ It had been about a year since the House had passed its version, but Smoot was optimistic about the future. Setting practical expectations for the bill which proposed new rates for 3,300 different items, an exhausted Smoot announced: “Generally speaking [it is] a very, very good bill. . . . much better than I expected we could get out. . . . I am sure when it comes out of conference a good majority of the senators will be glad to approve it.”⁹² The Senate’s version did not contain everything he desired, since Washington’s sausage-making process forced political compromise; but overall it

enter the U.S. His amendment repealing existing law . . . [w]as successful in securing its defeat in a very spirited debate. Received many compliments and thanks for my actions in securing the Defeat.”

⁸⁹Daniel Griswold, “Review of *Peddling Protectionism*,” *Cato Journal* 31, no. 3 (September 2001): 662.

⁹⁰“The Diligent Senator Smoot,” *World’s Work*, 63.

⁹¹Irwin, *Peddling Protectionism*, 65–69.

⁹²“Senate Ends Work on Tariff,” *New York Times*, March 23, 1930, 1;

achieved Smoot's most salient wish—protection for American families from international attacks on morals and jobs.

By early summer, the Smoot-Hawley Tariff was passed and signed into law by the president after House-Senate negotiations further soured public opinion against it, both inside America and overseas. Along the way, Smoot received little public support or direction from Republican President Herbert Hoover, who preferred to stand aloof from the day-to-day legislative activities, except for threatening late in the process to exercise his veto if "flexible tariff authority" was not extended, giving the White House power to adjust some tariff rates after the fact without congressional approval. Hoover succeeded in persuading Congress to continue flexible authority, but this concession was a pyrrhic victory in the downward spiral of his presidency. Smoot-Hawley failed to provide stimulus to a sputtering economy shackled by unemployment, and the country veered into a severe recession.

Political defeats also ensued as Republicans and Hoover were blamed for the economic turbulence, plunging the Grand Old Party into a two-decade-long, involuntary electoral hibernation at the national level. During the 1932 presidential election, Democrat Franklin D. Roosevelt was swept into office by a landslide using talking points that "sharply criticized the Smoot-Hawley tariff, calling it the Grundy tariff for its association with lobbyists."⁹³ Smoot and Hawley were also not immune from the political carnage, both suffering humiliating political losses in 1932, the former failing to win a sixth term and the latter losing in a primary.⁹⁴ In a humorous postmortem commentary on the passage of the bill, Benjamin L. Rich, a partner at the same law firm as Carl A. Badger, Smoot's secretary during the Smoot

Irwin, *Peddling Protectionism*, 92.

⁹³Irwin, *Peddling Protectionism*, 40–42, 50–53, 69–79, 82–88, 90–92, 145–46, 190–94. Hoover has been widely considered a failed president, who presided over the 1929 stock market crash and whose incompetence and ineffectual policies (including the Smoot-Hawley Tariff) exacerbated the economic downturn. Alvin S. Felzenberg, *The Leaders We Deserved (and a Few We Didn't)* (New York: Basic Books, 2008), 151–57. In 2009, historians ranked Hoover as one of the ten worst presidents of all time. See <http://legacy.c-span.org/PresidentialSurvey/Overall-Ranking.aspx> (accessed April 30, 2013).

⁹⁴Irwin, *Peddling Protectionism*, 192–93. Heath, "Reed Smoot: First Modern Mormon," 1,022–36. Smoot was slaughtered in this election, los-

hearings, sent Smoot a *Vanity Fair* political cartoon displaying Smoot and Grundy on a trapeze bar wearing skin-tight, inappropriate outfits while performing a “hair-raising, high tariff exhibit.” Rich commented, “In the midst of all this serious business, of saving souls, saving the country, saving the Republican Party (and things look pretty badly) why not have a good laugh with the artist of *Vanity Fair*, in the October number. I am sure you will have to smile at this caricature and count it as one of the penalties of public life.”⁹⁵

From a legacy standpoint, “Smoot-Hawley” has become a pejorative term, blamed inaccurately for causing the Great Depression.⁹⁶ Additionally, Smoot-Hawley was an inflection point in the economic history of America as policymakers from both political parties “endorsed the idea that the executive branch should . . . conclude trade agreements with other countries.” The unwieldy process required to pass tariff legislation was hurting U.S. foreign policy; thus, Smoot-Hawley was “the last time Congress ever determined the specific rates of duty that applied to U.S. imports.”⁹⁷

Like any large piece of legislation, Smoot-Hawley had unintended and unforeseen consequences for the principals involved. Moreover, laws passed in one generation often lose relevance for later generations when cultural changes and technology advancements complicate or render the law’s utility obsolete. Such was the case regarding the Smoot’s judicial review concessions. For most

ing by 30,843 votes. Heath’s closing chapter provides superb background to and analysis of Smoot’s 1932 defeat; elements include examples of how Smoot had become hubristically complacent and how Utahns viewed him as a creature of Washington. The senator’s “diary entries for the year and a half preceding his defeat gave no indication of concern for himself, although there was concern for the Republican party in general and President Hoover in particular.”

⁹⁵Benjamin L. Rich, Letter to Reed Smoot, October 4, 1930, Smoot Papers.

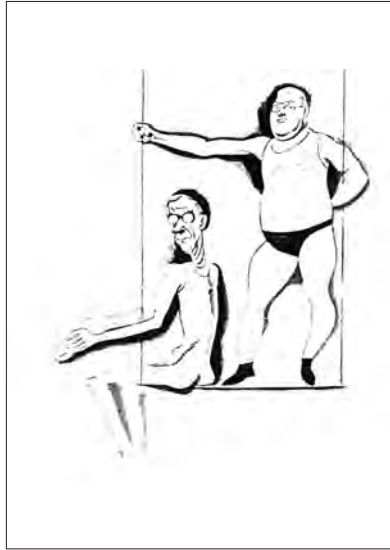
⁹⁶Irwin, *Peddling Protectionism*, 101–43, 218–21; Thomas G. Alexander, “Red Rock and Gray Stone: Senator Reed Smoot, the Establishment of Zion and Bryce Canyon National Parks, and the Rebuilding of Downtown Washington, D.C.,” *Pacific Historical Review* 72, no. 1 (February 2003): 1–2.

⁹⁷Irwin, *Peddling Protectionism*, 192–203. For examples of how the tariff bill adversely affected “international relations,” see “Senate Faces Foreign Wrath over High Tariff,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, May 31, 1929, 16.



Political allies Willis Hawley (R-Oregon), left, and Reed Smoot (R-Utah) congratulate each other in June of 1930 on the successful passage of their ill-timed and ineffective tariff. Harold Evans, The American Century (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1998), 237.

Senators Smoot (R-Utah) and Joseph R. Grundy (R-Pennsylvania) are ironically depicted wearing skin-tight, inappropriate clothing while performing “hair-raising, high tariff exhibit[s]” as trapeze artists. Before his short appointment to public service (December 1929 to December 1930), Grundy was a lobbyist for the manufacturing industry and notorious for organizing political horse-trading. Vanity Fair, October 1930. Courtesy L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Brigham Young University.



of the 1920s after the war, posited historian Paul S. Boyer, “a number of intellectual and technological currents converged . . . to contribute to” a dramatic upheaval in “taste and morals.” These developments translated into “hostile court decisions” at the state level for censorship proponents, leading to the legalization of some works previously banned.⁹⁸ Had Smoot been paying closer attention to these judicial and cultural trends, he likely would have been unwilling to concede judicial review. But neither this nor any other provision would have mattered. The country was moving inexorably toward a more flexible interpretation of the First Amendment, becoming more open to the expression and availability of “obscene” literature. Nothing in Smoot’s purview could have stemmed the tide.

A month after passage, news outlets reported that customs officers were seizing books “advertised [widely] by Senator Smoot,” including *Lady Chatterley’s Lover* and James Joyce’s literary landmark *Ulysses*.⁹⁹ First published in its entirety in France during the early 1920s, *Ulysses* was at the time—and is still today—considered a literary

⁹⁸Boyer, *Purity in Print*, 70–71, 99–100.

⁹⁹“Books Smoot Talked about Seized Here,” *Chicago Tribune*, July 26, 1930, 4.

classic of the first water.¹⁰⁰ Unintelligible to some, while boring to others,¹⁰¹ *Ulysses* employed the stream-of-consciousness literary technique to convey the "ever-shifting kaleidoscopic impressions" of a group of lower-middle-class people living in Dublin on a summer day in 1904.¹⁰² Thirty-thousand "bowdlerized and pirated editions" of *Ulysses* were sold in the 1920s based on "massive American demand,"¹⁰³ some "booklegs" selling for as much as \$50 each.¹⁰⁴ Recognizing the commercial opportunity that *Ulysses* presented, executives at Random House, holding the rights to publish *Ulysses* in America, believed it was time the book be published domestically and sought a "test case" under the judicial review provisions contained in the Smoot-Hawley Tariff.¹⁰⁵ In the watershed case, *United States v. One Book Called "Ulysses"* (1933), federal judge John Woolsey rejected the *Hicklin* test's definition of obscenity and approved James Joyce's book for admittance to the United States. Woolsey's decision proposed a new legal framework for defining obscenity, which was "that the legal test of obscenity must be a work's effect upon persons of 'average sex instincts' . . . rather than children or the particularly susceptible." Furthermore, Woolsey adjudicated, "Books were to be judged

¹⁰⁰On the "Modern Library" website, sponsored by Random House, *Ulysses* is ranked on the "Board's List" as the #1 all-time best novel. The "Reader's List" on the same website ranks *Ulysses* as the #13 all-time best novel. See <http://www.modernlibrary.com/top-100/100-best-novels/> (accessed May 3, 2013).

¹⁰¹"Brilliant But Dull," *New York Times*, December 8, 1933, 22.

¹⁰²Carmelo Medina Casado, "Legal Prudery: The Case of *Ulysses*," *Journal of Modern Literature* 26, no. 1 (Autumn 2002): 95.

¹⁰³Jonathan Green and Nicholas J. Karolides, Reviser, *Encyclopedia of Censorship* (New York: Facts on File, 2005), 584–85.

¹⁰⁴"Ban upon 'Ulysses' to Be Fought Again," *New York Times*, June 24, 1933, 14.

¹⁰⁵Boyer, *Purity in Print*, 247–54; "Test Set for 'Ulysses,'" *New York Times*, July 12, 1933, 15; Tiffany Middleton, "United States v. One Book Called *Ulysses*," in *The Social History of Crime and Punishment in America: An Encyclopedia*, edited by William R. Miller (Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications, 2012), 1,846–47.

in their entirety, not by isolated words or passages.”¹⁰⁶ A federal appeals court upheld the decision the next year.¹⁰⁷

No longer a senator, Apostle Smoot could not have been pleased with Judge Woolsey’s legal reinterpretation of “obscenity.” Brigham Young had failed to stop novels from entering the Utah Territory. Now Smoot faced his defeat when his crowning legislative accomplishment was turned on its head. Literature he considered opprobrious was now being allowed into the United States under the auspices of his law. Woolsey’s landmark *Ulysses* decision, enabled by Smoot-Hawley’s statutory language, “is often interpreted as a turning point in censorship law.”¹⁰⁸

Subsequent court decisions landed “blows against print censorship . . . [offering] overwhelming evidence that the censors were on the run.”¹⁰⁹ They culminated in 1957 when the Supreme Court revisited the “obscenity issue . . . in two linked cases: *United States v. Roth* and *Alberts v. California*.” Revising Woolsey’s new interpretation of obscenity, the “Court significantly extended First Amendment protection of the printed word, adopting a flexible, socially based definition: a work was legally obscene if ‘to the average person, applying contemporary community standards, the dominant theme of the material taken as a whole appeals to prurient interests.’”¹¹⁰ Under this new ruling, an “unexpurgated” U.S. edition of *Lady Chatterley’s Lover* was published for the first time in 1959, eighteen years after Smoot’s death, thus closing the loop on his resilient

¹⁰⁶“Court Lifts Ban on ‘Ulysses’ Here,” *New York Times*, December 7, 1933, 21; “‘Ulysses,’ under Ban for Years, on Sale Today,” *Chicago Tribune*, January 25, 1934, 15; Boyer, “Gilded-Age Consensus,” 296–97. While grappling with the problem of how to decide the case, Woolsey took a month to read and ponder *Ulysses* in the context of the legal definition of obscenity. “Court Undecided on ‘Ulysses’ Ban,” *New York Times*, November 26, 1933, 16. For a summary and analysis of Woolsey’s decision, see Casado, “Legal Prudery,” 90–98.

¹⁰⁷“‘Ulysses’ Upheld by Appeals Court,” *New York Times*, August 8, 1934, 15.

¹⁰⁸Rosa A. Eberly, *Citizen Critics: Literary Public Spheres* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2000), 57–59.

¹⁰⁹Boyer, *Purity in Print*, 281.

¹¹⁰Boyer, “Gilded-Age Consensus,” 297.

censorship battle.¹¹¹

Since the days when Brigham Young and Reed Smoot were smiting smut, Mormon attitudes toward fiction have liberalized generally on a par with larger societal trends. No longer is it considered taboo or unacceptable for Mormons to spend time reading literary works of fiction. LDS authors of fiction, notably Stephenie Meyer and Orson Scott Card, can be found on national lists of bestsellers. Works containing suggestive or explicitly pornographic material continue to be considered spiritually dangerous by Church leaders; however, the demarcating redlines defining what is unacceptable, and therefore obscene, have undoubtedly shifted. LDS Church-owned institutions such as Brigham Young University and retail franchise bookstore Deseret Book today grapple with controversial decisions about what book titles should be available on books shelves for a primarily LDS audience.¹¹² Employees at Desert Book or at BYU's library "[walk] a tightrope," so to speak, when they make sensitive book censorship decisions, similar to the function performed by customs inspectors more than a century ago.¹¹³ And if Smoot were living today, he would in all likelihood be pleased with the work they are doing.

¹¹¹Boyer, *Purity in Print*, 278.

¹¹²Tad Walch, "Romance Novels at BYU 'Tame,'" *Deseret Morning News*, October 5, 2004, <http://www.deseretnews.com/article/595096149/Romance-novels-at-BYU-tame.html?pg=all> (accessed May 5, 2013); Christopher Smith, "Racy Novels Spark Fiction Friction at Deseret Book; Racy Novels Put Deseret Book in a Bind," *Salt Lake Tribune*, November 5, 1995, A1; Dennis Lythgoe, "Deseret Book Says No to LDS Author," *Deseret Morning News*, November 14, 2002, <http://www.deseretnews.com/article/948569/Deseret-Book-says-no-to-LDS-author.html?pg=all> (accessed May 5, 2013); David Anderton, "Deseret Book Rethinks Offerings," *Deseret Morning News*, November 20, 2002, <http://www.deseretnews.com/article/948569/> (accessed May 5, 2013).

¹¹³Walch, "Romance Novels at BYU 'Tame.'"



A patch from the LDS Schools in Chile. Courtesy Dale Harding.

“COLEGIOS CHILENOS DE LOS SANTOS DE LOS ÚLTIMOS DÍAS”: THE HISTORY OF LATTER-DAY SAINT SCHOOLS IN CHILE

*Casey Paul Griffiths, Scott C. Esplin,
Barbara Morgan, and E. Vance Randall*

IN THE EARLY 1960S, LEADERS OF the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS) established a system of K–12 schools in Chile.¹ Beginning with two small elementary schools, this system grew until it enrolled nearly three thousand students in nine schools

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¹Our primary sources are the papers of Dale Harding and Lyle J. Loosle, two former superintendents of the schools in Chile. Both were very generous in providing materials from their time in Chile and in sharing insights into the events described in this article. To ensure that the story of the Chilean LDS schools was told not just by Americans, but by Chileans as well, a number of former teachers and administrators assisted by providing materials and context for this work. Among those who contributed are Lino Álvarez, Marlene and Rómulo Casos, Julio Garo, Margaret Dammaschke, Ercilia Ocampo, and María Requena. A substantive part of the information

throughout the country.² Over the course of their existence, the schools endured earthquakes, protests, and government upheavals. For a brief time, they even held the distinction of being the only Latter-day Saint schools to operate under a Marxist government.³ While the schools closed in the early 1980s, their story today offers keen insights into evolving LDS education policy, the spread of Mormonism around the world, and the adaptation of the faith into a new culture.

LATTER-DAY SAINT ROOTS IN CHILE

The larger context for LDS schools in Chile is the expansion of

found in this history comes from an unpublished history of the Chilean schools, “Mi Experiencia Vivida en los Colegios de la Iglesia de Jesucristo de los Santos de los Últimos Días en Chile” written by Benigno Pantoja Arratia, a former director of the Chilean Schools, (ca. 1979, copy provided by Lyle Loosle). Finally, Maya Yerman was an invaluable asset in translating and reviewing the materials provided by Pantoja.

²For a time, the Church also operated three other elementary schools in South America: in Lima, Peru; La Paz, Bolivia; and Asunción, Paraguay, respectively. Stephen Jones, “A Brief History of Elementary, Middle and Secondary Schools,” ca. 1997, 2, 7, unpublished document, CR 102 258, LDS Church History Library. For the purposes of simplicity, this article will focus only on the nine schools in Chile: eight elementary and one secondary school. (See Appendix.)

³A Marxist regime headed by President Salvador Allende led Chile from November 1970 until September 1973, when it was toppled by a military coup. The Chilean schools operated immediately following a decade when LDS rhetoric condemning Communism was at its peak. Prominent Latter-day Saint leaders and scholars, including David O. McKay, Ezra Taft Benson, W. Cleon Skousen, and others, frequently made public statements about the dangers of Marxist philosophies. Gregory A. Prince and William Robert Wright, *David O. McKay and the Rise of Modern Mormonism* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2005), 279–322; David O. McKay, *Statements on Communism and the Constitution of the United States* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1964); Ezra Taft Benson, *The Red Carpet* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1962); *An Enemy Hath Done This* (Salt Lake City: Parliament Publishers, 1969); W. Cleon Skousen, *The Naked Communist* (Salt Lake City: Ensign Publishing, 1962). Church leaders downplayed their public opposition to Communism following McKay’s death in 1970. See Prince and Wright, *David O. McKay and the Rise of Modern Mormonism*, 279, 321–22.

the international Church schools during the 1960s throughout the presidency of David O. McKay (1951–70), when the number of LDS schools outside the United States increased dramatically. Prior to McKay's presidency, LDS schools outside the United States were limited to such Church strongholds as Colonia Juárez, Mexico, Cardston, Alberta, and a handful of mission schools in the Pacific. During McKay's presidency, however, Church schools sprouted in New Zealand, Tonga, Samoa, and other locations around the Pacific Rim.⁴ By utilizing volunteer labor, an entire school system, complete with its own Board of Education, emerged throughout the region.⁵ In the late 1950s, another system of elementary and secondary schools commenced in Mexico.⁶

Chile was a natural starting point for a similar school system in South America. The historical roots of Mormonism in the continent began with Parley P. Pratt's brief attempt in 1851 to establish a Church presence in Chile.⁷ More than a century later, missionary work in Chile was rekindled when the first missionaries arrived in 1956. Five years later, the Chilean Mission was organized, with A. Delbert Palmer as the first mission president.⁸

Palmer was a successful businessman at the time of this call and had no formal background in education. However, the idea for LDS schools sparked shortly after a conference for new mission presidents held in June 1961 in Salt Lake City, when Palmer was invited to meet privately with the First Presidency. In that meeting, Henry D. Moyle, a counselor in the First Presidency, suggested that,

⁴David W. Cummings, *Mighty Missionary of the Pacific: The Building Program of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints—Its History, Scope, and Significance* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1961).

⁵Leon R. Hartshorn, "Mormon Education in the Bold Years" (Ph.D. diss., Stanford University, 1965), 185.

⁶Clark V. Johnson, "Mormon Education in Mexico: The Rise of the Sociedad Educativa y Cultural" (Ph.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1977).

⁷A. Delbert Palmer and Mark L. Grover, "Hoping to Establish a Presence: Parley P. Pratt's 1851 Mission to Chile," *BYU Studies* 38, no. 4 (1999): 115–38.

⁸A. Delbert Palmer, "The Establishment of the LDS Church in Chile" (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1979), 104.

in addition to supervising missionaries and Church members, Palmer should look for ways to place the Church on firmer footings in Chile. He specifically asked Palmer to investigate the possibility of establishing Church-operated schools in Chile and asked Palmer to pause on his way to Chile, meet with Daniel Taylor, the superintendent of the LDS schools in Mexico, and observe his schools. Though this suggestion was also given to other mission presidents, Moyle believed that the first schools in South America should be in Chile.⁹

In Mexico, construction on new schools was underway at a rapid pace.¹⁰ Given school expansion in Mexico and the Pacific, some Church members wondered if schools would become a standard part of the Church program, especially in developing nations. David Cummings, who was involved in the labor missionary program, enthused in 1961: "Applying the same power of volunteer labor, and directed by the same sublime purpose of accelerating the progress of truth, the Building program is spreading to Mexico, South America, Europe, and the Orient. Envisioned in Millennial light, its ultimate scope will be—the world."¹¹

Chile, however, was new territory for the Church school plan. In the Pacific and Mexico, the Church had stable LDS populations stretching back nearly a century. In Chile, the most seasoned native members were converts of five years. Furthermore, Church leaders were concerned about the increasing power of Salvador Allende and his Marxist party. In 1958, Marxists received the second highest number of votes in the country's elections and their power was increasing.¹² Troubled by the political climate, Palmer wrote the First Presidency a few months after his arrival: "The Communists will take over in a few months and . . . it is useless to do missionary work

⁹Moyle's statement is recorded in A. Delbert Palmer, interviewed by Gordon Irving, 1973, 25, James Moyle Oral History Program, LDS Church History Library. See also Mark L. Grover, *A Land of Prophecy and Promise: Elder A. Theodore Tuttle in South America, 1960–1965* (Provo, Utah: BYU Religious Studies Center, 2008), 288.

¹⁰For a detailed history on the schools in Mexico, see Johnson, "Mormon Education in Mexico."

¹¹Cummings, *Mighty Missionary of the Pacific*, iii.

¹²Brian Loveman, *Chile: The Legacy of Hispanic Capitalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), 296.

under a situation of this kind.”¹³

Elder A. Theodore Tuttle of the First Council of the Seventy and the presiding Church authority for South America was also concerned about a Communist regime. According to his journal, he gave an address to members warning “of the spread of communism in South America, stating that the Church of Jesus Christ is the only thing that can save the people from that evil force.”¹⁴ However, he asked the First Presidency to urge Palmer to continue missionary work in the country.¹⁵ Tuttle also viewed Church schools as a protection against Communism. Thus, almost as soon as Delbert Palmer and his wife, Mable, arrived in Chile, Tuttle records efforts to launch a school program.¹⁶

Reinforcing their commitment was calls for increased educational opportunities from expatriate Church members like Wendall Hall, the director of a cultural institute in Valparaíso, and John M. Bailey, an employee of the United States Agency for International Development (USAID).¹⁷ Another key figure in the discussion was Dale Harding, a Church member on a Fulbright award in Santiago with the assignment of directing a government-operated elementary school. These expatriate members wanted the full extent of the Church’s educational opportunities for their families—another encouragement to launch the program.

Pleas from local members were a third incentive to establish Church schools. In February 1963, Juan Costa, a member of the lo-

¹³A. Delbert Palmer, quoted in David O. McKay, *Journal*, February 6, 1962, David O. McKay Papers, MS 668, Box 54, fd. 1, Special Collections, Marriott Library, University of Utah, Salt Lake City; unless otherwise noted, all McKay documents are cited from this collection.

¹⁴A. Theodore Tuttle, *South American Mission Journal*, September 30, 1961, MS 101, LDS Church History Library.

¹⁵McKay, *Journal*, February 6, 1962.

¹⁶Tuttle, *Mission Journal*, October 6, 1961.

¹⁷Author unknown, “History of Schools in Chile,” 2, unpublished typescript, photocopy in my possession, courtesy of Lyle Loosle. Though no author is listed in this document, it closely follows other histories written by A. Delbert Palmer, and he is the likely author. Wendall Hall was the director of the Chilean North American Cultural Institute in Valparaíso while John M. Bailey was a counselor in the mission presidency.

cal congregation at La Cisterna, made an unannounced visit to Palmer's office. He was representing a group of parents inquiring what the Church could do to provide schools for their children. The visit was only one of many such inquiries from local members.¹⁸ Dale Harding was visiting the mission home one evening when fifteen local members appeared: "They said that their children had been kicked out of their [Catholic] schools because they had joined the Church. They had no idea what to do because they wanted their children to have an education. They wanted to know if the Church, in any way, was thinking of starting a little school in that area."¹⁹ After the meeting, Palmer asked Harding to prepare a proposal for a school system in Chile.

When Hugh B. Brown, a counselor in the First Presidency, visited Chile in February of 1963, he consulted with Tuttle and Palmer about the prospective school system and enthusiastically encouraged their plans. Upon his return, the First Presidency requested a budget proposal. Tuttle submitted the proposal in May, accompanied by a letter arguing for the schools:

Brethren, the hope you now hold out to us of possibly having schools has greater potential than any other single program of the Church for accomplishing in South America what we must eventually do:

- (a) To free our members from the unjust persecution of the priests and nuns in Catholic schools.
- (b) To provide leaders for the next generation.
- (c) And to fulfill the promises of the Lord as recorded in the Book of Mormon concerning the discharge of our full obligations to his

¹⁸Ibid., 1. Harding was a graduate of Brigham Young University and taught at the BYU lab school. Shortly before leaving for Chile, he received his M.S. degree at BYU. Harvey L. Taylor, "The Story of LDS Church Schools," 2 vols., unpublished typescript, 1971, 2:53, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

¹⁹Dale J. Harding, interviewed by Mark Grover, February 6, 2001, 2, photocopy in my possession courtesy of Mark Grover. Apparently, this problem occurred in multiple Catholic schools in Chile. Several of the native Chileans consulted for this study mentioned the expulsions. Vivian Hadad stated that she had been expelled from one of the Catholic schools after she joined the LDS faith. Patricio and Vivian Hadad, interviewed by Casey Griffiths, August 14, 2012, 6-7, typescript, copy in Griffiths's possession.

Lamanite children.²⁰

In early June 1963, the First Presidency considered Tuttle's proposal. Its strongest advocate was Hugh B. Brown, who urged the importance of such schools in "liberat[ing] members of the Church from the domination of the Catholic school system." Henry D. Moyle joined Brown in voicing his support for the schools, referring to meetings with local officials who encouraged the Church to launch its own schools. President McKay commented that establishing the schools would "reliev[e] the government of its obligation" and thus establish better relations with it. On June 11, 1963, the presidency authorized opening two elementary schools for a "trial period" under the supervision of Palmer and Tuttle with Palmer and Tuttle reporting directly to the First Presidency rather than to the Church School System's board of education.²¹ One school would be at La Cisterna and the other at Viña del Mar. The instructions suggested that these schools could be considered a pilot program for expansion throughout South America.²² With elation, Tuttle recorded in his journal: "There is real hope for schools now. This is the greatest step forward for the Lamanites in this country since the Gospel was introduced."²³ On June 18, the First Presidency also discussed the possibility of establishing schools in Peru and Uruguay but decided to first see how the schools in Chile functioned.²⁴

The First Presidency authorized the appointment of Dale Harding as superintendent of the Chilean schools. It was both a professional assignment and a mission call. In August 1963, he traveled to Salt Lake City where the First Presidency ordained him a high priest and instructed both him and his wife, Mable, to open the schools by

²⁰"History of Schools in Chile," 1. Tuttle's request for schools also appears in McKay, Journal, May 17, 1963, McKay Papers, Box 53, fd. 4. The lack of any reference in this list of having members attend public schools or working to improve public education in Chile as alternatives is interesting.

²¹McKay, Journal, June 5 and 18, 1963, McKay Papers, Box 53, fds. 5 and 6 respectively.

²²"History of Schools in Chile," 3.

²³Tuttle, Mission Journal, May 29, 1963.

²⁴McKay, Journal, June 18, 1963.

March 1964.²⁵ Over the course of the next few weeks, Harding met with Elders Spencer W. Kimball²⁶ and Boyd K. Packer and arranged for necessary materials with officials at Brigham Young University.²⁷ On his way back to Chile, Harding also visited Daniel Taylor in Mexico City, toured the country's LDS schools, and obtained copies of Taylor's administrative and organizational plans.²⁸

PREPARATIONS FOR THE SCHOOLS

Harding's return marked the beginning of several months of intensive preparation. He later recalled, "It was a job to get those schools ready in one year. We had to build the furniture, write the curriculum, hire the teachers, and train the teachers. I suspect that I put in many twenty-hour days, six days a week, to get that done."²⁹ Harding worked with the local leaders to determine tuition and how to assist those unable to pay.³⁰ Touring the mission to raise support and interview prospective teachers, Harding received a mixed reception from the members. One branch president hesitated because of his congregation's economic situation.³¹ Others argued that the schools should operate for only a half day.³² While he was visiting in one area, a delegation from another branch arrived, also demanding a school. According to one member of this group, discrimination by the Catholic schools against Mormons was so severe that they were determined to start their own school, with or without Church assistance.³³

While preparations continued, Harding struggled to receive

²⁵Ibid., August 1, 1963, Box 54, fd. 1. McKay personally performed the setting apart for Harding. "History of Schools in Chile," 3. Chile's school year runs from March through December.

²⁶Harding, Interview, 5.

²⁷Harding, Journal, August 1–16, 1963. Packer was serving as an assistant to the Council of the Twelve and played an important role on the Church Board of Education.

²⁸Ibid., August 18, 1963.

²⁹Harding, Interview, 5.

³⁰Harding, Journal, September 22, 1963.

³¹Ibid., October 27, 1963.

³²Ibid., November 11, 1963.

³³Ibid., December 5, 1963. Why Harding does not mention the op-

both the necessary authorizations from the Chilean government and the materials for the schools. He later recalled, "We had a tremendous amount of opposition to Americans coming in here and starting a school."³⁴ Frustrated after struggling to make arrangements with a textbook company, he recorded in his journal, "I could easily lose my marbles dealing with these people."³⁵ Along with these responsibilities, Harding launched an intensive teacher-training program for his new recruits. He recalled, "I handpicked the teachers. I wanted teachers that were knowledgeable about education and curriculum, but not so engrained that I couldn't change them. We had eight weeks of seminars in my house prior to school. They trained ten hours a day on the way I wanted them to work with the kids."³⁶

Harding and his teachers received a visit from Elder Tuttle in January 1964 in which Tuttle charged teachers "to teach future Mormon leaders. We have their tender souls in our hands to mold. They will look to you for leadership and will pattern their lives after yours." He emphasized what was at stake. "This year the schools in Chile are a great experiment. The hope for schools in all of South America is on your shoulders. It is a serious responsibility for if you fail, there will be no schools in South America. If you succeed, there will be schools in all of South America one day. I have no doubt you will succeed."³⁷

Two weeks before school began, an accident nearly ended Harding's involvement in the program. While he was driving a newly recruited principal home from Viña del Mar, another driver ran a red light and hit Harding's car. Harding was knocked unconscious on impact, and Rosa Badilla, his passenger, was hospitalized with serious injuries. When Harding awoke, fortunately without injuries, he found himself en route to a Chilean jail, where he spent the next three days in a squalid cell.³⁸ He rented a bowl and spoon from one inmate while

tion of public schooling for these members is not clear.

³⁴Harding, Interview, 4.

³⁵Harding, Journal, December 18, 1963.

³⁶Harding, Interview, 9.

³⁷Tuttle, Mission Journal, January 5, 1964.

³⁸Harding, Journal, March 5, 1964. Current Chilean law dictated the

acquiring a mattress full of lice and ticks from another.³⁹

Despite the deplorable conditions, Harding came to view his time in jail as a blessing in disguise: "It's funny how the Lord teaches us. I figured I knew it all. I figured I was the smartest guy in education that ever lived. I learned more on what I should be doing those days in jail than any other time." During his time in prison, Harding conversed with the other inmates, gaining new insight into the problems of Chilean society. "We talked about moral values, such as having children without being married. We talked about marriage. I always gave the view point of the Church and the values of the family. All of these guys had kids and none of them were married. None of them supported their families. All of them said [they] would have liked to get an education but [they] couldn't afford it." Harding left the jail with a new perspective on his work. "It was an experience of a lifetime," he reported. "There were people that were in there for all sorts of things. Talking with them, seeing what their values were, and what they wanted out of life was valuable to me in that school system. I spent all day gabbing. I didn't sit in the corner and be quiet."⁴⁰

Released from prison only days before the opening of the schools, Harding kept up a frantic schedule to train the teachers and open the facilities. Both schools met in the rented buildings where the local Church branches worshipped on Sundays. Harding described the deplorable building in La Cisterna: "The plumbing was shot. Everything was shot. The missionaries, my wife, and I remodeled that building. We put down rugs and repainted the whole thing inside and out. We couldn't redo the plumbing, of course. That was always a problem because we had a big barrel of water in the top for the water system. That dumb thing would fall apart and dump the water down on the school with every tremor we had."⁴¹

THE FIRST YEAR

Despite the challenges, the schools successfully opened in March 1964. The school at Viña del Mar was christened the David O. McKay School and the school at La Cisterna was named the Hugh B.

incarceration of both drivers in any accident.

³⁹Harding, Interview, 11.

⁴⁰Ibid., 10, 12–13.

⁴¹Ibid., 6.



Students at the Colegio David O. McKay, March 25, 1964. Courtesy Dale Harding.

Brown School.⁴² The entire organization of LDS schools in Chile was named the “Asociación Mormona Educational y Cultural” (Mormon Educational and Cultural Association) but was commonly referred to by Chilean members as the “Colegios Chilenos SUD” (LDS Chilean Schools).⁴³ Within days, requests began to come from Saints in the nearby communities to enroll their children. Some of the requests

⁴²Tuttle, Mission Journal, March 9–10, 1964.

⁴³According to Taylor, “The Story of LDS Church Schools,” 2:54, the creation of an organization separate from the Church to manage the schools followed the same path followed by the LDS schools in Mexico,

came from people who were not members of the LDS faith. Shortly after the school opened in Viña del Mar, a woman asked Harding to enroll her children. When he informed her that the school was only for Church members, she told him she would join that very day if her children could be enrolled.⁴⁴

While some parents were frustrated with the state of Chilean education in the 1960s, the later half of that decade saw massive education reform and significant educational growth for many segments of Chilean society. The ruling Christian Democratic Party “designed a school supply expansion . . . that eventually led to near-universal primary education. Chilean education became the envy of Latin America.”⁴⁵ The reforms of 1965 increased compulsory education from sixth grade to eighth grade. By 1970, the illiteracy rate had dropped to 10.6 percent and 93 percent of the children ages seven to fourteen were enrolled in school; 54 percent of youth ages fifteen through eighteen were enrolled in secondary schools. The government built more than 3,000 elementary and secondary schools, revised the curriculum, improved teacher training, provided school breakfasts and clothing for children from poor families, and initiated a national testing system. Completion rates increased and dropout rates decreased. “The most important goal of [1965 education reform] was to improve educational opportunities for children—overwhelmingly the children of the poor—who had been left out of the schools, or who had left the

where a separate corporation was created to comply with local laws. See also Johnson, “Mormon Education in Mexico.” In the official history of the school by the former chancellor of Church schools, Harvey L. Taylor, the school organization is referred to as “Asociación Mormona Educacional y Cultural” (Mormon Educational and Cultural Association). Lyle Loosle, the former director of schools in Chile, has confirmed that local members invariably called them “Colegios Chilenos SUD” (Chileans Colleges, Latter-day Saints). Lyle Loosle email, October 17, 2012, copy in our possession. Neither of these names should be confused with the “Sociedad Educativa y Cultural” (Society for Education and Culture), which was the official name for the LDS schools in Mexico.

⁴⁴Harding, Journal, March 18, 1964.

⁴⁵Varun Gauri, *School Choice in Chile: Two Decades of Educational Reform* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1998), 15.

system early in the primary grades.”⁴⁶

On the surface these statistics seemed to indicate progress, but Harding’s observations and those of contemporary members indicated a growing gap between in the quality of education offered by the private, mostly Catholic, schools and the public schools. To accomplish its goals, the government erected “a dual system—*public* and *private*—and of extreme disparities in the educational opportunities of the rich and the poor.”⁴⁷ Dale Harding felt that Chilean public schools, characterized by an intense exam system with harsh penalties, were designed “to eliminate the children they didn’t have the money to educate.”⁴⁸ These disparities set the stage for the Leftist revolt of 1970.

Given this context, the influx seen at the LDS schools provides an insight into the struggles of Chilean education during this period. Parents in and out of the Church with children in public schools were anxious to put their children in private schools and may have seen the Church schools as a sound alternative. The success of the schools re-

⁴⁶Ernesto Schiefelbein and Joseph P. Farrell, “Selectivity and Survival in the Schools of Chile,” *Comparative Education Review* 22, no. 2 (June 1978): 326–41, 330; Ernesto Scheifelbein, “Constraints to Change in Traditional Educational Systems: Lessons from the Chilean Case,” *The Interchange* 2, no. 4 (1971): 41–51. See also Gregory Elacque, “Breve Historia de las Reformas Educacionales en Chile (1813–present): Cobertura, Condiciones, Calidad y Equidad,” presentation given at the Institute of Políticas Públicas at the Universidad Diego Portales, [http://bicentenario.camara.cl/seminario/pdf/mesa percent20percent20-percent20Gregorypercent20Elacqua.pdf](http://bicentenario.camara.cl/seminario/pdf/mesa%20percent20Gregory%20Elacqua.pdf) (February 11, 2013); Taryn R. Parry, “Decentralization and Privatization: Education Policy in Chile,” *Journal of Public Policy* 17, no. 1 (January–April 1997): 107–33; Ernest Schiefelbein and Joseph P. Farrell, *Eight Years of Their Lives* (Ottawa, Canada: International Development Research Centre, 1982); Cristian Gazmuri, Álvaro Gongora, and Patricia Arancibia, *Eduardo Frei Montal y Su Época, Vol. 2* (Santiago, Chile: Aguilar, 2000); John L. Rector, *History of Chile* (Gordonville, Va.: Palgrave Macmillan, 2000); Ernesto Schiefelbein, “Educational Planning Trends in Chile, 1950–1970,” *Education Planning* 2, no. 4 (1976).

⁴⁷Kathleen B. Fischer, *Political Ideology and Educational Reform in Chile, 1964–1976* (Los Angeles: UCLA Latin American Center Publications, 1979), 62.

⁴⁸Harding, Interview, 4.

sulted in a flurry of activity for Dale Harding. As superintendent, he regularly shuttled the two hours between the two elementary schools, training teachers, consulting with parents, and working to supply the schools with the necessary materials. The most frequent problem recorded in Harding's journal came from families who failed to pay tuition.⁴⁹ School officials fretted over the number of students who could not afford to attend the schools. Harding recorded multiple conversations with anxious parents, including a father of four eligible students who could afford to send only one of his children.⁵⁰ Yet after three months of operation, Harding recorded that attendance at the schools in June exceeded 90 percent of the students enrolled.⁵¹

The climax of the first year of the schools' operations came in December when government officials arrived to monitor the end-of-year exams. All Chilean schools at the time administered a set of written tests followed by oral examinations administered by a government inspector.⁵² As the exams began at the La Cisterna school, the students performed poorly. Harding recalled, "Some of the brilliant kids froze up and could [not] answer a thing. . . . Sister Palma came to the office almost in tears about how cruel and senseless the exams were."⁵³ In spite of the rough start, however, the children calmed down and focused. "All the kids passed with high ratings," wrote Harding gratefully. "At the end of the day, the examiner said 'I have dreamed about a school like this, I have read about them in books but I never thought I would see one.' He couldn't get over our equipment, methods, and the growth of the kids. . . . He wanted to know how he could get to teach in this school."⁵⁴

In his report to Church headquarters, Harding trumpeted the

⁴⁹See, e.g., Harding, *Journal*, March 31, May 5, May 11–14, September 21, 1964.

⁵⁰*Ibid.*, February 8, 1964.

⁵¹*Ibid.*, May 29, 1964. Harding notes in his journal that the average school attendance in Chile was 39 percent nationally, but this figure cannot be verified.

⁵²This information comes from a conversation with Julio Garo, a native Chilean who taught in the schools, June 21, 2012, notes in Griffiths's possession.

⁵³Harding, *Journal*, December 9, 1964.

⁵⁴*Ibid.*



Faculty at the Colegio de Deseret, ca. 1970. Lyle and Maria Loosle are in the front row on the far left of the photo. Courtesy Lyle J. Loosle.

schools' accomplishments. "One hundred percent of our students passed the valid government tests," Harding reported.⁵⁵ With one year of successful operations completed, plans were made to open another school at La República. Harding and his staff still faced a number of obstacles, but given a full year's operation and outstanding results on the government tests, the fledgling venture moved forward with increased optimism.

EXPANSION AND EARTHQUAKES

Only days into the schools' second year, a massive earthquake hit on March 29, 1965.⁵⁶ The building at La Cisterna was particularly hard hit, with parts of the roof caving in and broken water

⁵⁵For Harding's report, see Taylor, "The Story of LDS Church Schools," 2:53–58.

⁵⁶*Ibid.*, 2:56.

pipes flooding the entire building.⁵⁷ The school at Viña del Mar was so badly damaged that plans were made to demolish it. (They later repaired it sufficiently that it could continue its operations.)⁵⁸ Local members worked together to effect quick repairs, but some of the solutions were makeshift. Harding later recalled that the earthquake “broke all the bathrooms down. We had to put a bucket in the lavatory just to urinate in. When it got about full, one of the sixth graders threw it out the window.”⁵⁹ On one occasion, the contents of the bucket drenched the local branch president, Carlos Costa.⁶⁰ Harding recalled such incidents as typical: “That’s just the way those schools were. You never knew what you’d find the next day.”⁶¹

During the second year, the reputation of the schools continued to grow, resulting in a surge in the number of students who wished to enroll. An additional 200 students applied for enrollment, more than double the 157 students enrolled the first year.⁶² Some nonmembers also made inquiries after a local newspaper article detailed the schools’ methodology and equipment.⁶³ Part of the attraction came from Harding’s insistence on departing from the traditional pattern of lectures and exams common in other Chilean schools. He reported: “We have made some rather radical changes . . . and have found them to be highly successful. We are fostering individual work, group work, unit planning, in-service training, and seminars. It is a thrill to see how these children have grasped and developed leadership capacities in accepting the challenge of self-government in their schools.”⁶⁴ The teachers also felt motivated to innovate. Julio Garo, one of the teachers, recalled, “I was crazy because Dale Harding allowed me to do crazy

⁵⁷Harding, *Journal*, March 29, 1965.

⁵⁸*Ibid.*, May 2, 5, 1965.

⁵⁹Harding, *Interview*, 23.

⁶⁰Harding, *Journal*, November 10, 1965. Harding’s journal fails to indicate if this incident was deliberate or accidental.

⁶¹Harding, *Interview*, 23.

⁶²Harding, *Journal*, November 27, 1964.

⁶³*Ibid.*, December 7, 9, 1964.

⁶⁴Taylor, “The Story of LDS Church Schools,” 2:54.



Dale Harding, left, guides Hugh B. Brown on the tour of the school, assisted by a six-year-old translator. Courtesy Dale Harding.

things and they were good for the students and good for the school.”⁶⁵

Officials from Salt Lake City made frequent visits to the schools. Elder Spencer W. Kimball visited the school at La Cisterna only a few weeks after its opening.⁶⁶ President Hugh B. Brown visited the schools in March 1965. A. Theodore Tuttle, who accompanied President Brown during the visit, wrote in his journal, “We were greeted by the smiles and bright eyes of some 120 students who were out to recess upon our arrival. Also we saw a new flag flying alongside the Chilean flag which has a field of blue with a golden beehive in the center with a big, blue ‘M’ in the middle of that, which signifies “Mormon.”⁶⁷ The visits impressed Church leaders enough to begin planning expansion. Harding recorded receiving a “long letter from Apostle Kimball on school expansions proposals.”⁶⁸ Kimball also asked Harding to make detailed drawings of the new school to be sent to Tuttle’s office in Uruguay and to Church leaders in Peru.⁶⁹ It appeared that the dream of creating a continent-wide system of Church schools was taking root.

THE LYLE LOOSLE ERA

In August 1967, Dale Harding returned to the United States to pursue his doctoral degree at Utah State University, and Lyle J. Loosle arrived to take over as superintendent of schools.⁷⁰ During the six years of Loosle’s leadership (1967–73), enrollment and the number of schools expanded rapidly, but political conditions brought severe

⁶⁵Conversation with Julio Garo, June 21, 2012, notes in Griffiths’s possession.

⁶⁶Tuttle, *Mission Journal*, June 8, 1964; Harding, *Journal*, June 6–8, 1964.

⁶⁷Tuttle, *Mission Journal*, March 9, 1964.

⁶⁸Harding, *Journal*, July 26, 1964.

⁶⁹*Ibid.* In September 1965 the schools were also elevated in status from “mission schools” or schools operated directly under the supervision of the mission president and largely staffed by missionaries, to an official school system under the supervision of the Church Board of Education. Schools operating under the Church board were supervised directly by the Church Board, had a full-time paid staff, and seen as having more permanent status than mission schools. Taylor, “The Story of LDS Church Schools,” 2:59.

⁷⁰*Ibid.*, 2:58–59. Originally from Utah, Loosle held a master’s degree



Students during a cultural celebration at the school in Viña del Mar, ca. 1970. Courtesy Lyle J. Loosle.

tumult to the country.

New schools opened in Nunoa and Talcahuano in the following years.⁷¹ By 1970, the number of students more than doubled—from

from Utah State University and experience working for the U.S. government and several corporations. Prior to his arrival in Chile, he was teaching in the Church schools in Western Samoa. Loosle's wife, Maria, was Mexican American. Both were fluent in Spanish, helping his family to easily assimilate into the Chilean culture.

⁷¹Benigno Pantoja Arratia, "Mi Experiencia Vivida en los Colegios de la Iglesia de Jesucristo de los Santos de los Últimos Días en Chile," ca. 1979, unpublished typescript, 26. Mark Grover, an archivist at the Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, provided the authors with a copy of this history. Arratia provides the most detailed history of the schools in Chile after Loosle's arrival.

525 students in 1967 to 1,200.⁷² Other South American countries also branched out into education. In 1966, an LDS elementary school opened in Lima, Peru, welcoming children of any faith.⁷³ By 1971, similar schools were in operation in La Paz, Bolivia, and Asunción, Paraguay.⁷⁴ Loosle dispatched one of his school principals, Marlene Mueller, a native Chilean educated at BYU, to supervise the schools in Peru, Bolivia, and Paraguay.⁷⁵ Like most of the schools in Chile, classes were held in local chapels, with no buildings specifically designed to serve as schools.

With the increasing number of schools came a larger plan to build a unified school system throughout the continent. Shortly after Loosle's arrival, Harvey L. Taylor, the Chancellor of Church Schools, instructed Loosle to find a 150-acre plot for a Church-operated secondary school in Chile. According to Taylor's instructions, it would be a boarding school, acting as a hub for Church schools in Chile, similar to the role played by Benémerito de las Américas in Mexico City.⁷⁶

The Church Board of Education authorized the funds to purchase a ranch seven and a half miles from Santiago. However, in April 1969, Harvey Taylor explained to the Church Board of Education that the project would cost an estimated \$2 million over five years and then operate at a cost of about \$500,000 per year. According to the minutes of the meeting, "There ensued a lengthy discussion of the educational needs of Church members in many other countries and the importance of utilizing such Church funds that are available for educational purposes for the benefit of a maximum number of stu-

⁷²Taylor, "The Story of LDS Church Schools," 2:58.

⁷³Dale Christensen, comp., *History of the Church in Peru*, 94, 1995, MS 22485, LDS Church History Library. Although the school was announced in 1966, it apparently did not officially commence operations until 1968. See also (author unknown,) *History of the Church School in Lima, Peru*, photocopy in Griffiths's possession, courtesy of Lyle Loosle.

⁷⁴Jones, "A Brief History of Elementary, Middle, and Secondary Schools," 2, 7.

⁷⁵Marlene Mueller Casas, interviewed by Casey Paul Griffiths, November 19, 2011, notes in Griffiths's possession.

⁷⁶Taylor, "The Story of LDS Church Schools," 2:62. Benémerito was converted to a missionary training center in July 2013. The Academia Juárez in Colonia Juárez remains the last vestige of the Latin American school system operated by the LDS Church.



Students at the school in 1968 with an American missionary, Margaret Dammaschke, front row, fourth from the right. Courtesy Margaret Dammaschke.

dents,”⁷⁷ The board decided to table plans to begin construction pending further study.

Plans for a secondary school in Chile were revived more than a year later in June 1970 when Elder Gordon B. Hinckley, the supervising Church authority over Chile, learned that the St. George College, a Catholic school in suburban Santiago, was available for purchase. The cost was considerably less than the estimates for building a new school, and the facilities could accommodate 1,500 students. Within a month, the Church Board of Education approved purchase of the 3.75 acre site for \$600,000.⁷⁸ Church schools in the Santiago area were closed, and the students moved to the new campus, which was rechristened the Colegio Deseret (Deseret School).⁷⁹

Plans for expanding the Colegio Deseret came to a temporary halt when Salvador Allende and his Marxist Party came to power in

⁷⁷Ibid., 2:70.

⁷⁸Ibid., 2:73–74.

⁷⁹Ibid., 2:74. The school was sometimes known as the Pedro de

1970.⁸⁰ Allende promised a radical restructuring of all levels of Chilean society, causing concern about how the Church schools might be affected.⁸¹ Loosle wrote to Harvey L. Taylor in dismay: "The impossible was made possible last Friday when the Chilean people elected a Marxist as president. When his educational reform will take place is anybody's guess, but it is not likely to touch us (Church schools) for some time." Loosle's letter hedged between optimism and uncertainty: "Every time he says 'North America' or 'Capitalist' he bangs his desk . . . He is a personal friend and ardent admirer of Fidel Castro. I feel confident everything will be all right, but we will probably have to make adaptations in some of our policies. Only time will tell."⁸²

Loosle's letter was calmer than many Church members who felt sharp apprehension over the political situation. Maria Loosle recalled, "It was really a big upheaval. . . . [P]eople were leaving the country and of course the Brethren didn't know what was going to happen to the Church."⁸³ Elder Hinckley made an unplanned visit to Chile a few days later in September 1970 to meet with Loosle and other school officials and offer reassurance. As he led them in prayer, Lyle Loosle recalled: "We thought it was some heavenly messenger down there, Christ himself, because it really was a spiritual experi-

Valdivia school during its existence. However, in almost all of his correspondence, Lyle Loosle calls it the Colegio Deseret. Arratia, "Mi Experiencia Vivida en los Colegios de la Iglesia de Jesucristo de los Santos de los Últimos Días en Chile," 33. The schools in Santiago prior to this time were Nunoa, La República, and La Cisterna. Lyle Loosle, email to Casey Griffiths, November 22, 2012, copy in Griffiths's possession.

⁸⁰No party received a majority of the votes in the 1970 election. Allende received 36.3 percent of the vote and was then placed in the presidency by the Chilean Congress. See Loveman, *Chile*, 331–33, and Neal P. Panish, "Chile under Allende: The Decline of the Judiciary and the Rise of a State of Necessity," *Loyola of Los Angeles International & Comparative Law Review*, 9 (1987): 697–700.

⁸¹Panish, "Chile under Allende," 697–98.

⁸²Taylor, "The Story of LDS Church Schools," 2:75.

⁸³Lyle and Maria Loosle, Interviewed by Casey Paul Griffiths, February 9, 2011, 34, transcript in Griffiths's possession. See also Panish, "Chile under Allende," 705.

ence for us. . . . [I]t was a very emotional time.”⁸⁴ The official record of the Chilean mission simply records, “His [Hinckley’s] visit helped us greatly in this period of stress.”⁸⁵

Immediately after Allende’s election, rumors began circulating of a government takeover of all private schools as part of Allende’s massive educational expansion for all Chilean children and for adults as well. He envisioned a national, unified, comprehensive school system from elementary schools to postsecondary professional and technical schools, which would include both public and private institutions. This democratization of education for all was to be directed and sponsored by the national government. In addition, a revised curriculum for this national school system would promote the socialist ideology and agenda of the Allende government, which sought to create a new society for the *hombre nuevo* (new man).⁸⁶

However, the projected nationalization of Chilean education

⁸⁴Loosle, Interview, 34–35.

⁸⁵Chilean Mission Manuscript History, September 13, 1970, LDS Church History Library.

⁸⁶Omar Ramírez, Patricio Muñoz, and M. Elena Hurtado, *La Crisis Educacional*, Documentos Especiales (Santiago de Chile: La Empresa Editora Nacional, Septiembre 1973); Miguel Hernández, “La Política Educativa de la Unidad Popular (1970 a 1973): El Rol de la Escuela Nacional Unificada en la Estrategia Política de la UP,” (Tesis, Chile: Universidad Academia de Humanismo Cristiano, 2011), <http://bibliotecadigital.academia.cl/bitstream/123456789/202/1/tesis.pdf> (accessed February 11, 2013); Guillermo Labarca, *Educación y Sociedad: Chile 1964–1984* (Dordrecht, The Netherlands: CEDULA (Centro de Estudios y Documentación Latinoamericanos), 1985); María A. Oliva, “Política Educativa Chilena 1965–2009. ¿Qué oculta esa trama?,” *Revista Brasileira de Educação* 15, no. 4 (Maio/Ago 2010): 311–28, <http://www.scielo.br/pdf/rbedu/v15n44/v15n44a08.pdf> (accessed February 14, 2013); Sebastián S. Velasco, “La Libertad de Enseñanza Durante El Gobierno de Frie Montalva,” *Revista Chilena de Derecho* 31, no. 1 (2004): 137–54, http://dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/dcfichero_articulo?codigo=2650475 (accessed February 14, 2013); Hector Ramírez, Javier Rojas, Felipe Román, and Lorena Ubilla, “Seminario de Grado Las Transformaciones en la Educación Chilena durante el Siglo XX” (Tesis: University of Chile, 2006), http://www.tesis.uchile.cl/tesis/uchile/2006/ramirez_h/html/index-frames.html (accessed February 14, 2013). Very few of Allende’s education reform proposals were ever implemented.

dramatically threatened the country's Catholic school program. Ultimately, opposition groups including the Catholic Church coalesced in "a historical alliance" leading to the failure of the Allende regime.⁸⁷ Some even argue that the attempt to nationalize education "was one of the major factors leading to the downfall of the Allende regime. It served as a catalyst to unite divergent opposition groups and alienate a significant number of marginal middle-class supporters of the regime," including military officers whose support was critical.⁸⁸ One scholar noted, "The attack against the ENU [National Unified School] united all of the opposition for the first time, from the extreme right to the Christian Democratic sectors closest to the left. The campaign against the ENU above all served to isolate the government and to radicalize the legalist sectors of the opposition. . . . I am convinced that the most effective propaganda—besides the scare-crow of 'scarcity'—that mobilized the Chilean women and brought them to collective hysteria was the 'threat' to their children represented by the ENU. The specter of the ENU frightened very large sectors of the middle class."⁸⁹

Inevitably, these changes also impacted LDS schools. Loosle recalled, "[The government] put [schools] in firehouses, and [Allende] was taking over buildings and churches and so we got concerned about it, and . . . the minister of education came to me, and asked if they could put a second session in our building, which was common at that time."⁹⁰ An article then appeared in a local newspaper reporting rumors of government intervention.⁹¹ Loosle made an emergency trip to Salt Lake to confer with Elder Hinckley. Asked for a recom-

⁸⁷Varun Gauri, *School Choice in Chile: Two Decades of Educational Reform* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1998), 16.

⁸⁸Joseph P. Farrell, *The National Unified School in Allende's Chile: The Role of Education in the Destruction of a Revolution* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1986), 2. See also Kathleen B. Fischer, *Political Ideology and Educational Reform in Chile, 1964–1976* (Los Angeles: UCLA Latin American Center Publications, 1979), 115.

⁸⁹Farrell, *The National Unified School in Allende's Chile*, 2.

⁹⁰Loosle, Interview, 4.

⁹¹Photocopy in Griffiths's possession, courtesy of Lyle Loosle. Loosle also provided a copy of the newspaper article mentioned, though he could not recall the name of the newspaper that published it. See Panish, "Chile

mendation, Loosle proposed increasing the enrollment—even bringing in nonmember students—so that the schools would operate at maximum capacity all hours of the day. Such a plan would lessen the chances of a government takeover. The plan was approved, and the school staffs launched a massive recruiting drive.⁹² “We were occupying that building from 7 in the morning until 10 at night,” Loosle recalled. “We had an evening school, an adult evening school. . . . [The government was] happy, of course; they were happy with that. Because we weren’t spending any of their money, everything was coming from out of the country.”⁹³

In addition, at several different locations, new schools, mostly kindergartens, began operating using LDS chapels. Loosle recalls, “Wherever we could we would put kindergartens, have some sort of activity. . . . [I]t made the government happy and it saved them from takeovers.”⁹⁴ During the first two years of the Allende regime, LDS-sponsored kindergartens opened in Arica, Inquique, and La Calera. With new schools opening and students being shepherded into the already existing schools, enrollment swelled to nearly three thousand.⁹⁵

In some cases, nonmembers made up the majority of the students. At the kindergarten in Arica, for example, only four children out of the twenty-seven enrolled were from Church families. Across

under Allende,” 697–700, 705.

⁹²Loosle, Interview, 5. Fear of a government takeover of education is an interesting paradox, especially in light of David O. McKay’s initial observation that a Church school system in Chile would equate to “relieving the government of its obligation.” McKay Journal, June 5, 1963, McKay Papers, Box 53, fd. 5. Though Church leaders acknowledged government’s role in providing education, concerns over a Communist-influenced education system seem to have justified maintaining and even expanding the Church program. Pantoja Arratia, “Mi Experiencia Vivida en los Colegios de la Iglesia de Jesucristo de los Santos de los Últimos Días en Chile,” 27.

⁹³Loosle, Interview, 5.

⁹⁴Ibid., 7.

⁹⁵Loosle, “1972 School report.” Photocopy in Griffiths’s possession. The report lists the enrollment at all of the schools in South America, including schools in Peru, Bolivia, and Paraguay, producing a combined total of 2,969.

the entire system, 44.8% of the students were nonmembers by 1972.⁹⁶ Loosle knew that the schools were supported by Church funds and intended for the children of local members but felt that maintaining control over the schools was a higher priority. "It was about half [members] and half or even more than half non-members, and this didn't sit well with a lot of people up in Salt Lake," he recalled, "but it was saving the building[s]. The same thing happened throughout Chile."⁹⁷

An especially delicate situation developed at the site of the Colegio Deseret in Santiago. The school occupied an entire city block, save for one lot occupied by a large house. The owner inquired whether Loosle wanted to purchase the house. When Loosle replied they had no need, the owner became more insistent. He informed Loosle that Cuban officials had recently offered to purchase the home and turn it into the Cuban embassy. Loosle scrambled to find the necessary funds, but failed. The house was sold to the Cuban government. For the duration of most of the Allende regime, the Cuban embassy, a focal point of Communist activity for all of South America, shared the same block as the main Church school in Chile.⁹⁸

With the country in a state of constant political upheaval, it was not surprising that some conflicts also developed within the schools. It was difficult to find enough qualified teachers among Church membership, and one teacher began teaching with a Communist focus, a troubling development for many of the faculty.⁹⁹ Others among the faculty welcomed non-LDS staff as a missionary opportunity. In fact, several nonmember teachers joined the Church.¹⁰⁰ However, Church officials in the United States grew more concerned with the situation in Chile. Fearing the influence of Marxist philosophy on the youth, the Church launched seminary and institute programs to supplement the education of LDS students unable to attend Church schools. Richard Brimhall,

⁹⁶Ibid.

⁹⁷Loosle, Interview, 6.

⁹⁸Ibid., 10–12.

⁹⁹Pantoja Arratia, "Mi Experiencia Vivida en los Colegios de la Iglesia de Jesucristo de los Santos de los Últimos Días en Chile," 37.

¹⁰⁰Ibid., 38.

a seminary teacher with experience in the Indian seminary program, was dispatched to Chile in 1972 to start the seminary program. His initial impressions about the state of the schools and especially of the teachers was alarming. He observed "a tremendous conflict going on among the faculty between Marxists and non-Marxists, even at the student level. Politics permeated everything. Everybody was politicized and polarized to the right or the left."¹⁰¹ Brimhall felt that many of the faculty members "were members [of the Church] in name only. If anything, many of them were anti-Church, and most of them were Marxists. There was a tremendous conflict going on, and many of these people were in administrative positions that controlled and set policy."¹⁰²

THE TEACHERS' UNION

Shortly after Brimhall's arrival, Lyle Loosle returned to the United States to pursue additional education.¹⁰³ The Church Board of Education selected Jorge Rojas, an official from the LDS schools in Mexico, to head the Chilean schools. The Brimhall and Rojas families initially shared a house and, like Brimhall, Rojas became alarmed over the state of the schools in Chile. Brimhall recalls: "He [Rojas] and I spent till four o'clock in the morning talking about his first week. His conclusion was that the Church schools should be closed immediately."¹⁰⁴ Both men recognized the delicate situation, since many of the teachers and school officials also held ecclesiastical positions. Any recommendation to close the schools would be unpopular. Nevertheless, with Brimhall's backing, Rojas made that recommendation to Church headquarters.¹⁰⁵ Brimhall later recalled, "We did not voice this openly, but I told Brother Rojas that if he expressed that opinion to Salt Lake, that it was highly probable that he could be sent home." Both Rojas and Brimhall decided to voice their concerns over the schools through their respective lines of communication to

¹⁰¹Richard Brimhall and Lapriel Brimhall, Interviewed by E. Dale LeBaron, June 11, 1991, 21, manuscript in Griffiths's possession.

¹⁰²*Ibid.*, 47-48.

¹⁰³Pantoja Arratia, "Mi Experiencia Vivida en los Colegios de la Iglesia de Jesucristo de los Santos de los Últimos Días en Chile," 49.

¹⁰⁴Brimhall and Brimhall, Interview, 50.

¹⁰⁵*Ibid.*, 50-51.

Church headquarters.¹⁰⁶

While he awaited a decision on his recommendation, Rojas instituted several reforms. He dismissed two nonmember teachers, a move which created some contention among the faculty.¹⁰⁷ After the dismissals, a small group of teachers met secretly and formed a union to protest the new policies.¹⁰⁸ The group appointed Guillermo Peters, a philosophy teacher and Church member, as their spokesman and began recruiting other teachers. Unionization further fractured the faculty. Some were upset with Peters and his group for organizing without first consulting all of the teachers. Others expressed confusion over why the union was formed in the first place. Many felt that the existing structure was adequate to resolve the problems.¹⁰⁹ Tensions continued to escalate. Rumors circulated that the union and the students who supported it might take over the school.¹¹⁰ In the midst of this deteriorating situation, instructions arrived from Church headquarters reassigning Rojas to a position in the Mexican schools.¹¹¹

The Church board of education asked Lyle Loosle to return as superintendent of the Church's schools in Chile. He immediately conducted a thorough investigation of the teachers' union, while tensions within the school continued to mount. Fearing that many of the union members were poisoning students against the school administration, Loosle asked the union's three primary leaders—Guillermo Peters, Fresia Cabrera, and Ronald Gray—to end the conflict by resigning peacefully.¹¹² They refused, and he discharged them. A few days later, they arrived at the school with a government official, demanding re-

¹⁰⁶*Ibid.*

¹⁰⁷Pantoja Arratia, "Mi Experiencia Vivida en los Colegios de la Iglesia de Jesucristo de los Santos de los Últimos Días en Chile," 51.

¹⁰⁸*Ibid.*, 52.

¹⁰⁹Union Investigation Report, n.d., 1; photocopy provided by Loosle.

¹¹⁰*Ibid.*, 55.

¹¹¹Brimhall and Brimhall, Interview, 52.

¹¹²Peters and Cabrera were both Church members; Gray was not. Lyle Loosle, email to Griffiths, November 22, 2012.

instatement on the faculty.¹¹³

Seeking to quell the growing conflict, Loosle called a meeting of all the teachers and delivered a presentation entitled, "A Cry for Repentance." With emotions running high, Loosle pled with the teachers to stop fighting against the school administration. One participant recalled a strong spirit in the meeting, and the wounds caused by the union conflict began to heal. A few union members renounced the organization entirely; others asked for forgiveness.¹¹⁴ Loosle allowed the three union leaders to return to their positions, though Guillermo Peters later retired because he felt that being a member of the union seemed like fighting against the Church to him.¹¹⁵

Even several decades later, strong feelings remain over the conflict with the teachers' union. Brimhall and Rojas felt that the problems with the schools were insurmountable and that the schools should be closed. After Rojas was reassigned, Brimhall moved out of his offices inside the Colegio Deseret, completely separating the seminary program from the Church schools.¹¹⁶ Loosle felt that the conflict with the union had resulted from poor communication, escalating out of proportion through personal conflicts. In his official report to the Chilean government, he wrote that there was not a single grievance with the union that could not have been resolved by a simple conversation with the superintendent.¹¹⁷ Given the tremendous upheaval occurring within the country during this time, Loosle felt the commotion within the school was minimal. He later recalled, "We were the only school that was not bothered by the government in some way. The (outside) students were trying to get all private schools to strike against the government, and they would go by the school with

¹¹³Union Investigation Report, 2.

¹¹⁴Pantoja Arratia, "Mi Experiencia Vivida en los Colegios de la Iglesia de Jesucristo de los Santos de los Últimos Días en Chile," 62.

¹¹⁵*Ibid.*, 66.

¹¹⁶Brimhall still feels that the schools in Chile became a growing liability as time progressed. Brimhall, telephone conversation with Griffiths, September 15, 2012, notes in Griffiths's possession; see also Brimhall, Interview, 54. Rick Brimhall contacted Rojas at the authors' request, but he declined to comment, not wishing to revisit the events in Chile.

¹¹⁷Union Investigation Report, 3. Also see Panish, "Chile under Allende," 698–99.

their banners and yelling and so forth and trying to get our students to go; we were the only school that didn't."¹¹⁸ Even with the commotion, Loosle felt the schools were absolutely critical in maintaining control over Church property during the period of Marxist rule.

The differences in opinion over the administration of the Church schools in Chile illustrate some of the challenges in adopting Church educational practices to different parts of the world. Brimhall, Rojas, and Loosle were all non-Chileans who found themselves forced to adapt rapidly to changing circumstances in an unstable political environment. To Loosle, the influx of nonmember students was necessary to prevent the seizure of Church property by the Allende government. He saw the hiring of nonmember teachers as a way to reach out to the community, while allowing the schools to serve as a missionary tool. Rojas and Brimhall saw the schools as a liability in establishing the Church in Chile. One Chilean teacher from the schools felt that the non-Chilean administrators simply overreacted to Chilean culture's normal passions and societal conditions. He compared strikes and protests to earthquakes; when one happens in the United States, everyone panics, but in Chile, they happen so often that people accept them as a part of everyday life and do not get too ruffled over them.¹¹⁹

Despite their differences, Loosle, Brimhall, and Rojas continued as committed advocates of Church education. Loosle left his doctoral studies almost at a moment's notice when he heard about the trouble in the schools. He remained in the country for over a year, smoothing over relations between the administration and the teachers. Rick Brimhall continued to work tirelessly to establish the seminary program throughout Chile. After he was recalled from Chile, Rojas continued to serve in the Church schools in Mexico. He was later called into the Church hierarchy as a member of the Second Quorum of the Seventy in 1991.¹²⁰

FALL OF THE MARXIST GOVERNMENT

These reconciliations over the union quelled the internal

¹¹⁸Loosle, Interview, 5.

¹¹⁹Julio Garo, Interviewed by Casey Paul Griffiths, June 22, 2012, 12, transcript in Griffiths's possession.

¹²⁰"Elder Jorge A. Rojas," *Ensign*, May 1991, <http://www.lds.org/ensign/1991/05/news-of-the-church/elder-jorge-a-rojas-of-the-seventy?lang=eng&query=bilingual> (accessed April 25, 2013).

problems in the schools at the same time the political problems in the country became more severe. The economic and social reforms attempted by the Allende government met widespread disapproval from the citizens. Violence in the streets of Santiago, political terrorism by both the left and the right, and the general state of political chaos resulted in a call by the majority opposition in the Chilean Congress for the military to intervene.¹²¹ In September 1973, the Chilean military, led by General Augusto Pinochet, conducted a well-coordinated and swift overthrow of the Allende government.¹²² While the Church schools were not directly involved in the coup, the turmoil surrounding the last days of Allende's regime resulted in a few harrowing experiences. A few days before the overthrow, a member of the underground movement against Allende informed Loosle about the coup and plans to seize both the presidential palace and the Cuban embassy next door. This plan involved driving tanks across the school grounds to seize the Cuban headquarters. Loosle was told, "We can't go down that street so the best way is to go right through your property. You've got to have your kids ready."¹²³ Prior to this incident, Loosle was planning to return to the United States to resume his doctoral studies, but the imminent danger to the school gave him second thoughts. He called the teachers together and asked them to develop an evacuation plan but could not tell them the reason for this strategy. Loosle didn't know the exact date of the takeover and delayed his departure as long as possible. "I was scheduled to come home. I'd been released and was coming home and I waited and waited. . . . Just about two days later they took over."¹²⁴

The coup occurred on September 11, 1973; and tanks did attack the Cuban embassy, although they did not cross the school grounds. The school was evacuated without harm to any of the students or faculty, though Benigno Pantoja Arratia, the head of the school, was

¹²¹Loveman, *Chile*, 345; see also Panish, "Chile under Allende," 693-709.

¹²²Loveman, *Chile*, 345.

¹²³Loosle, Interview, 12-13.

¹²⁴*Ibid.*, 13.

briefly detained by the military.¹²⁵ When asked years later about his knowledge of the coup, Loosle stressed that none of the LDS school officials or its students were active participants in the movements against the Allende government. Dissatisfaction with the government was widespread throughout Allende's rule, and Loosle's top priorities were keeping the schools open and the students safe—which involved close cooperation and willing compliance with the government officials. Church officials in Salt Lake City closely monitored the situation in Chile, with Loosle making several trips to Salt Lake City to report to Elder Hinckley. Thousands of Chilean students joined in protests throughout the country, but Church leaders constantly admonished Loosle to keep the students at the LDS schools out of the fray. Some Church leaders from the United States even foresaw the possibility that peaceful existence in Chile could open the door for the Church to operate in other countries with Marxist governments.¹²⁶

However, LDS students could not avoid being caught up in the maelstrom of events surrounding Allende's overthrow. In another part of Santiago, Rick Brimhall observed the coup along with twenty seminary students visiting from the north part of the country. He recalled, "We laid on the roof and watched them come in and shoot the missiles into the [Chilean] White House."¹²⁷ The city was locked down, and the entire group stayed in the Brimhall home for two weeks before being allowed to leave. Brimhall remembered: "Helicopter gunships were flying over every 15–20 minutes all night long, picking off snipers that were trying to get up into our neighborhood. . . . It was very, very hectic, and that's why we couldn't go to the windows, because in many places, there were snipers who were shooting at the military as they patrolled the streets at night."¹²⁸

After Allende was overthrown, a relative calm settled over the country. Many of the changes initiated to cope with the radical re-

¹²⁵Pantoja Arratia, "Mi Experiencia Vivida en los Colegios de la Iglesia de Jesucristo de los Santos de los Últimos Días en Chile," 103–4; Loosle, Interview, 13.

¹²⁶Lyle Loosle, conversation with Griffiths, February 9, 2013, notes in Griffiths's possession.

¹²⁷Brimhall and Brimhall, Interview, 99.

¹²⁸*Ibid.*, 67–68.

forms launched by the Allende regime were reversed. All three of the kindergarten schools launched to keep Church buildings out of government hands closed within two years of the fall of the Allende government.¹²⁹ The schools also underwent a reformation of sorts. Elder Boyd K. Packer was dispatched in 1973 to assess the state of the schools, organize a new local board of education, and address worthiness issues among school faculty.¹³⁰ After Loosle returned to the United States in September 1973, Benigno Pantoja Arratia, a native Chilean and long-time administrator in the schools, took over as head of the system.¹³¹ Reforms in the schools continued over the next few years. In 1975, Berkley A. Spencer, an American school administrator, was appointed as head of the school system in South America. Reviewing some of the excesses undertaken in order to maintain schools during the Allende regime, Spencer reported, "We worked out a system of appropriate interviews with ecclesiastical authorities, which should have been in existence before, but because of the Allende period and just a lot of confusion many things had not been fully instituted. So that first year I think we lost something like sixty people in the system as they were let go."¹³²

CHANGING SCHOOL POLICY AND THE CLOSURE OF THE SCHOOLS

During the 1970s, the Church examined its policies regarding the creation of new schools in international areas as well as the educational priorities of the global Church. In 1970, the operations of Church universities, Church elementary and secondary schools, and seminaries and institutes, were brought under the direction of Neal A. Maxwell, who was appointed Church Commissioner of Education in 1970. While the three systems had been loosely affiliated before this move, their complete unification raised a number of questions about the strategic growth and direction of the worldwide Church ed-

¹²⁹Jones, "A Brief History of Elementary, Middle and Secondary Schools," 2.

¹³⁰*Ibid.*, 26.

¹³¹Loosle, email to Griffiths, November 22, 2012.

¹³²Berkley A. Spencer, Oral History, interviewed by Gordon Irving, 1979, typescript, 26, James A. Moyle Oral History Program, LDS Church History Library.

educational system. Under the new unified system, religious educational programs were given top priority, and a gradual reduction began in Church elementary and secondary schools. A 1971 report by the office of the Church Commissioner of Education stated that “the general policy for governing the Church Educational System rests on the assumption that non-religious education is usually provided by the state.” Allowing for some exceptions, the report indicated that the Church would continue to provide secular education “where other educational systems are nonexistent, seriously deficient or inaccessible to our members.”¹³³

In 1977, the Church applied these policies to its educational system in Chile, announcing a planned phase-out of the schools. Reacting to the decision, Spencer commented privately, “Very clearly in terms of the Board criteria that were established . . . the system in Chile is not justified. There is a fairly decent educational system in Chile. The Chilean public school system is probably one of the best in all of South America . . . so there are schools available.”¹³⁴ Spencer was called as the mission president over the Chile Santiago Mission in 1977, leaving Benigno Pantoja Arratia as the head of the schools once again. When Arratia asked Church leaders about the school closures, Arratia was given two reasons: “1. That the Church has grown in an extraordinary way in [Chile] and the schools cannot keep pace, therefore, a great ma-

¹³³*Seek Ye Learning Even By Study and Faith: Report for 1971 from Commissioner of Education of the Church*, 2 (Salt Lake City: Church Educational System, 1971), M260 S451, LDS Church History Library.

¹³⁴*Ibid.*, 24–25. This evaluation of Chile’s educational quality may have been true leading up to and during the Allende regime and the first seven years of the Pinochét regime, but in 1980 Pinochét embarked on drastic education reformation. Government education expenditures were cut in half between 1980 and 1990. Manuel Riesco, an economist, describes this action as a “dismantling of the public system” with education decision-making substantially decentralized and privatized. The result was “poor quality, social segmentation, and inequity of the privatized educational system.” Many students were forced to leave public schools and, with the help of government subsidies, enroll in private schools. Manuel Riesco, “Is Pinochét Dead?” *New Left Review* 47 (September–October 2007): 5–20, quotation on p. 9. See also Kalman H. Silvert and Leonard Reissman, *Education, Class, and Nation: The Experiences of Chile and Venezuela* (New York: Elsevier, 1976), 136–37.

jority of the young people of the Church will not be receiving the blessings of Church-operated schools, and 2. The government of Chile is now able to provide education for all Chilean youth.”¹³⁵ The second reason fit closely with the policies established in the 1971 Commissioner’s report, but the first reason added a new facet to the policy regarding Church schools: rapid growth that made it difficult to provide education resources for Church youth around the world.

It is tempting to tie the school closures in Chile to the political upheavals in the country. However, the school closures more likely resulted from the general shift in Church policy away from operating schools in countries with adequate educational systems. Furthermore, during the 1970s, the major priority for Church education shifted to religious education, with new seminary and institute programs launched in almost every country with a sizable Church population. At the same time, Church schools closed around the world. The last Church schools in Chile closed their doors in 1981.¹³⁶ The schools in Peru, Bolivia, and Paraguay all closed the same year.¹³⁷ All but two of the Latter-day Saint schools in Mexico closed during the 1980s,¹³⁸ and a number of schools in the Pacific closed during this period.¹³⁹ While the schools proved popular with local members and effective at training the youth of the Church, they were also expensive

¹³⁵Benigno Pantoja Arratia, quoted in Palmer, “Establishing the LDS Church in Chile,” 165.

¹³⁶Jones, “A Brief History of Elementary, Middle and Secondary Schools, 2.

¹³⁷*Ibid.*, 2, 7. According to Marlene Casos, former director of the school in Lima, Peru, it was taken over by local Latter-day Saints and continues to operate as a private school unaffiliated with the Church. Marlene Casos, Oral History, Interviewed by Casey Paul Griffiths, audio file, November 19, 2011, copy in Griffiths’s possession.

¹³⁸Jones, “A Brief History of Elementary, Middle and Secondary Schools,” 2, 3, 7. Two exceptions in Mexico were the academy in Colonia Juárez and the Benémerito School near Mexico City. The Juárez Academy filled a historic and unique role in the colonies, and the Benémerito school represented a considerable investment for the Church before July 2013, now an MTC. See Roger G. Christensen, Oral History, Interviewed by Casey Paul Griffiths, September 1, 2010, 10, typescript, in Griffiths’s possession.

¹³⁹Scott C. Esplin, “Closing the Church College of New Zealand: A

and limited in the number of youth they could serve. Seminaries and institutes were less expensive and did not duplicate the efforts of already existing school systems. Maxwell saw the restructuring as a necessary, though difficult, move for the growing worldwide Church: "We didn't contemplate major expansion of either higher education or church schools. . . . We felt that seminaries and institutes could follow the Church wherever it went, whereas you couldn't fund additional schools and universities and colleges."¹⁴⁰

THE IMPACT OF THE CHILEAN SCHOOLS

What is the legacy of the Latter-day Saint schools in Chile? Those most closely associated with them felt that their benefits outweighed their costs. Berkley Spencer reflected on the value of the schools: "Some accusations were made and some feelings expressed that the schools made no contribution to the development of the Church in Chile. Of course the [local] stake presidents felt very much to the contrary. We began to look and see, to look at the number of missionaries that had come out of the school system, the number of leaders that were involved in the school systems, and so forth. In that sense the schools made a tremendous contribution to Chile."¹⁴¹ Benigno Pantoja Arratia found the timing of the closure appropriate, especially with the LDS schools on the mend after the end of the Allende regime:

Many times I have asked myself the question: Why now have the authorities decided to close the schools when practically all of the problems through which they have passed have been solved? Why were they not closed when the very serious problems occurred, especially when the labor union was formed? But the promptings of the Spirit have brought me to understand that the Church schools fulfilled a purpose in the growth of the kingdom in Chile. . . . The schools had a mission to fulfill and perhaps, thanks to the existence of the schools during the difficult times, they helped mature and train many leaders and to prepare

Case Study in Church Education Policy," *Journal of Mormon History* 37, no. 1 (Winter 2011): 86.

¹⁴⁰Neal A. Maxwell, Oral History, Interviewed by E. Dale LeBaron, March 3, 1992, 2, copy in Griffiths's possession.

¹⁴¹Spencer, Oral History, 32.

good missionaries.¹⁴²

Lyle Loosle felt strongly about the importance of the schools, especially during the crucial years of the Allende regime. Decades later, he stated, "The schools really were the big instrument in saving the Church and definitely a lot of the Church buildings during that Marxist regime."¹⁴³ Spencer agreed: "There are a number of people who feel that the schools probably saved the Church in Chile during the Allende years. . . . I think if it hadn't been for the schools, which were seen as something that the Allende government could benefit from, the Church might have been eliminated from Chile."¹⁴⁴

The last Church school in Chile closed its doors in 1981. The same year part of the Colegio Deseret was torn down and used as the site for the Santiago Temple.¹⁴⁵ The Church Educational System exists today throughout South America, consisting of seminary and institute programs. The story of the Chilean schools presents a tantalizing "what if?" in the examination of how Mormonism spread into new countries. The founder of the schools, Dale Harding, reflecting on them decades later, remarked, "I think starting the school system is one of the most constructive things the Church has ever done for a country."¹⁴⁶ It may be impossible to measure the impact of the schools on the Church in Chile. In the ensuing years, Church membership grew dramatically, and the schools played a role in laying a foundation for this growth.¹⁴⁷ While the Latter-day Saint schools in Chile are no longer in operation, their story is a fascinating account in the larger history of the establishment of Mormonism as a global religion and its attempts to adapt to new cultures and circumstances.

¹⁴²Pantoja Arratia, quoted in Palmer, "Establishing the LDS Church in Chile," 166.

¹⁴³Loosle, Interview, 3.

¹⁴⁴Spencer, Oral History, 32.

¹⁴⁵Jones, "A Brief History of Elementary, Middle and Secondary Schools," 2.

¹⁴⁶Harding, Interview, 41.

¹⁴⁷According to the *Deseret News 2010 Church Almanac* (Salt Lake: Deseret News, 2010), 455, Church membership in Chile in 2009 was 554,749, representing 3.35 of the population, or one out of every 30 people.

APPENDIX
LATTER-DAY SAINT SCHOOLS IN SOUTH AMERICA (NOVEMBER 1972)

K = Kindergarten E = Elementary S = Secondary

<i>School</i>	<i>LDS Students</i>	<i>Non-LDS Students</i>	<i>Totals</i>
Deseret Básicos (E)	481	573	1,054
Deseret Medios (S)	327	264	591
Brisas del Maipo (E)	256	114	370
Bio Bio (E)	110	79	189
Viña del Mar (E)	91	39	92
Quilpue (E)	45	28	73
La Calera (K)	5	12	17
Arica (K)	4	23	27
Barrios Altos (Lima, Peru) (E)	63	73	136
Mormón Bolivia (La Paz) (E)	97	72	169
Moroni (Asunción, Paraguay) (E)	93	28	121

Note: These figures represent the LDS schools in South America at their height during the Allende regime. Unless otherwise indicated, all schools were located in Chile. Three other schools existed in Chile prior to 1970 at Nunoa, República, and La Cisterna. These schools were incorporated into the Colegio Deseret when it opened. Source: Lyle Loosle School Report, November 1972, and Lyle Loosle, email to Griffiths, November 22, 2012.

“REDEEMED FROM THE CURSE PLACED UPON HER”: DIALOGIC DISCOURSE ON EVE IN THE *WOMAN’S EXPONENT*

Boyd Jay Petersen

IN WHAT MAY BE THE FIRST WORK of modern feminist literary criticism, the 1929 classic, *A Room of One’s Own*, Virginia Woolf argues that women would achieve literary greatness only after they possess sufficient freedom—financial, educational, social, and domestic—to allow them their creativity. In short, Woolf contends, “Give her a room of her own and five hundred a year” and a woman can be free to write great literature.¹ Denied such freedom, women instead serve as “looking glasses,” reflecting back to men the image men want to see of themselves.² The essay’s central argument, as one literary critic put it, is that “women are simultaneously victims of themselves as well as victims of men and are upholders of society by acting as mirrors to men.”³ Throughout her text, Woolf uses John Milton as a symbol of the patriarchal universe. His *Paradise Lost* portrays Eve as but “a fair defect of Nature” whose words to

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¹Virginia Woolf, *A Room of One’s Own* (New York: Harcourt Brace & Company, 1991), 103.

²*Ibid.*, 38.

³Maggie Humm, *Modern Feminisms: Political, Literary, Cultural* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992), 21–22.

Adam are “God is thy law, thou mine: to know no more / Is woman’s happiest knowledge and her praise.”⁴ In Milton’s world like Woolf’s own, not only do men govern, but they also hold “the power and the money and the influence. He [a patriarch] was the proprietor of the paper and its editor and sub-editor.” For women to realize their full potential, they must see “past Milton’s bogey,” as Woolf puts it, and seize the full landscape of life, “for no human being should shut out the view.”⁵

Searching for this expansive, emancipated, literary woman, one would not think to find her in late nineteenth-century Mormonism. At the time, the eastern press depicted Mormon women as enslaved in polygamous marriages, helpless and exploited subjects of their husband’s rule. Nevertheless, in “one of the neatest ironic contradictions of the period,” as Claudia L. Bushman puts it, “the ‘enslaved harems’ of Utah produced some of America’s most efficient early feminists.”⁶ Some fifty years before Virginia Woolf published *A Room of One’s Own*, many Mormon women not only had a room of their own, but they also had their own printing press, acting as proprietors, editors, and sub-editors. Within the pages of the *Woman’s Exponent*, an independent Mormon periodical published between 1872 and 1914, Mormon women engaged in a spirited defense of two seemingly contradictory issues: women’s suffrage and polygamy.⁷ Yet for these early Mormon suffragists, polygamy was a key to their liberation; and Eve, seen as the

⁴John Milton, *Paradise Lost*, Book 10, l. 891; Book 4, ll. 637–38. Hereafter cited parenthetically by book and line in the text.

⁵Woolf, *A Room of One’s Own*, 36, 125. For more on Woolf’s use of Milton, see Alice Fox, “Literary Allusion as Feminist Criticism in *A Room of One’s Own*,” *Philological Quarterly* 63, no. 2 (Spring 1984): 145–61.

⁶Claudia Bushman, Introduction, *Mormon Sisters* (Cambridge, Mass.: Emmeline Press, 1976), xix.

⁷For historical background on the *Exponent*, see Sherilyn Cox Ben-nion, “The *Woman’s Exponent*: Forty-Two Years of Speaking for Women,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 44, no. 3 (Summer 1976): 226–39; Carol Cornwall Madsen, *An Advocate for Women: The Public Life of Emmeline B. Wells, 1870–1920* (Provo, Utah: BYU Studies, 2006), 34–66; Judith Rasmussen Dushku, “Feminists,” in *Mormon Sisters: Women in Early Utah*, edited by Claudia L. Bushman (Salt Lake City: Olympus Press, 1976), 177–97. Biographical overviews of the *Exponent*’s first two editors are available in Vicky Burgess-Olson, ed., *Sister Saints* (Provo, Utah: BYU Press, 1978): Carol

prototypical woman, was a central symbol in this debate. Despite the fact that the publication had official approval from the male Church leadership, women's voices in the *Exponent* did not simply reflect back to men what men wanted to hear, but rather engaged in a dialogic exchange about the roles of women in both the world of Mormon polygamy and the larger world of politics. Within this dialogic feminism, images of Eve diverge even as they proliferate. While fiercely loyal to their male priesthood leaders, these women's views of Eve were complicated, often contradictory, and sometimes subtly subversive.

NINETEENTH-CENTURY CONTEXTS

"Sin began with a woman," wrote the author of the book of Ecclesiasticus (or the "Wisdom of Ben Sirach"), "and because of her we all die" (25:24). Composed in the early second century BCE, Ecclesiasticus is likely the first text in which Adam and Eve resurface following Genesis; and right from the start, Eve gets the blame for instigating the fall of humanity into the lone and dreary world. Since then, Eve has been reviled in Western culture as the source of pain, sin, and sorrow. As early as the Middle Ages, however, women began coming to Eve's defense. Hildegard of Bingen argued that Eve rather than Adam was the prototypical human; Christine de Pizan noted that Eve was created out of "very noble material" rather than Adam's simple clay; and a *querelle des femmes* raged from around 1200 through the early seventeenth century, in which Eve was often invoked to promote women as the superior sex.

The history of Eve-based misogyny is vast, and the nineteenth century participated with gusto, often linking the mastery of men over women with the mastery of slave-owners over slaves. Southern clergyman James Henley Thornwell believed that it was as ridiculous to think that the "rights of the citizen" applied to slaves as it did to think that they applied to women, children, apprentices, and convicts.⁸ Slavery and the subordination of women were simply the logical consequences of Adam's fall. Nevertheless, positive portrayals of

Cornwall Madsen, "Louisa G. Richards" 433–53, and Patricia Rasmussen Eaton Gadsby and Judith Rasmussen Dushku, "Emmeline B. Wells," 455–78.

⁸James Henley Thornwell, quoted in Kristen E. Kvam, Linda S. Schearing, and Valarie H. Ziegler, *Eve and Adam: Jewish, Christian, and Muslim Readings on Genesis and Gender* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press,

Eve also became more prominent. Abolitionists Sarah and Angela Grimké argued that women's rights were inextricably tied to the rights of slaves and appealed to Genesis for support. "Here then I plant myself," stated Sarah Grimké. "God created us equal;—he created us free agents;—he is our Lawgiver, our King and our Judge, and to him alone is woman bound to be in subjection."⁹

Many nineteenth-century new religious movements produced innovative and less repressive readings of the Adam and Eve narrative. For example, the Shakers saw in Genesis 1:26 ("Let us make man in our image") a revelation that God is both male and female and believed that, since the first incarnation of God was as a man, Jesus, the second incarnation would be as a woman. They concluded that this second incarnation was Mother Ann. Christian Scientist founder Mary Baker Eddy likewise described God as Father-Mother and came to see the first account of creation in Genesis 1 as the "brief, glorious history of spiritual creation" while the second creation in Genesis 2 she regarded as an allegorical manifestation of the effects of human error. And John Humphrey Noyes believed that the prelapsarian relationship between Adam and Eve was "the first social relation" with an "open, fearless, spiritual fellowship, first with God, and secondly, with each other." The Fall brought a "derangement of this relation," argued Noyes, and he regarded Genesis 1–3 as a mandate for sexual pleasure, instituting a practice of "male continence" and complex marriage among the Oneida community.¹⁰

Literary figures also reimagined an Eve quite different from that found in Milton's *Paradise Lost*. In her 1845 feminist manifesto, "Woman in the Nineteenth Century," Margaret Fuller condemns "the severe nation which taught that the happiness of the race was forfeited through the fault of a woman." She later selectively quoted from Milton's *Paradise Lost* where Adam addressed his wife as, "Daughter of God and Man, immortal Eve" (9:291). Fuller exults: "What majesty in the cadence of the line; what dignity, what reverence in the attitude, both of the giver and receiver!"¹¹

At age sixteen, Emily Dickinson wrote to a friend: "I have lately

1999), 311.

⁹Quoted in *ibid.*, 343.

¹⁰Quoted in *ibid.*, 366.

¹¹Jeffrey Steele, ed., *The Essential Margaret Fuller* (New Brunswick,

come to the conclusion that I am Eve, alias Mrs. Adam. You know there is no account of her death in the Bible, and why am not I Eve? If you find any statements which you think likely to prove the truth of the case, I wish you would send them to me without delay."¹² By associating herself with Eve, Dickinson was able to recognize the temptation of knowledge and the arbitrary nature of injunctions against its pursuit:

Forbidden Fruit a flavor has
That lawful Orchards mocks—
How luscious lies within the Pod
The Pea that Duty locks—. ¹³

As Herbert Schreidau states, Dickinson "used [the Bible] wholly against the grain of its accepted interpretations in her time. She sloughed off the orthodox Calvinism and conventional piety of her religion and her family early in life, and went on to challenge concepts of 'Heaven,' 'Eden,' and 'Eternity' with her own bold definitions."¹⁴

The elder Henry James read the Adam and Eve narrative in a Swedenborgian mode as an allegory of the development of individual consciousness, arguing: "Thus the first and highest possible service which Eve renders Adam is to throw him out of Paradise: i.e., strip him of the innocence which he has by creation merely, and which consists only with ignorance of his proper self, in order finally to clothe him with the innocence which he will have by virtue of a Divine redemption of his nature, and which is one with the profoundest wisdom, or experience of selfhood."¹⁵

Perhaps the most radical reimagining of Eve, however, is found

N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1992), 328.

¹²Thomas H. Johnson, ed., *The Letters of Emily Dickinson* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press, 1958), Letter #9, January 12, 1846.

¹³Thomas H. Johnson, ed., *The Complete Poems of Emily Dickinson* (Boston: Little Brown, 1961), Poem 1377, p. 592.

¹⁴Herbert Schreidau, "The Antinomian Strain: The Bible and American Poetry," in *The Bible and American Arts and Letters*, edited by Giles Gunn (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1983), 26.

¹⁵Henry James, *Substance and Shadow: Or Morality and Religion in Their Relation to Life: An Essay upon the Physics of Creation* (Boston: Ticknor and

in *The Woman's Bible*, a project spearheaded by Elizabeth Cady Stanton and published in two volumes in 1895 and 1898. Stanton saw the Bible as a major stumbling block in the path to women's equality and organized a committee to create a commentary to reimagine biblical women and counter misogynist passages. Some passages, she argued, were either mistranslated or misinterpreted, while others should simply be regarded as reflections of ancient mores and customs that had no place in a modern era. In sum, what could be repaired, Stanton would repair, but what could not pass for rational, woman-friendly religion, she would toss, much as Thomas Jefferson had discarded the miracles of the New Testament Gospels in order to accommodate his rational beliefs.

Stanton was particularly interested in repairing Eve's image, which she felt had been misappropriated by male interpretations of the story. Noting the existence of two creation stories, Stanton argued that the first account (by the "Priestly" author) was truly egalitarian ("male and female he created them" [Gen. 1:27]) and more in harmony with natural laws and science. The second account she passed off as the work of a "wily writer" who, "seeing the perfect equality of man and woman in the first chapter, felt it important for the dignity and dominion of man to effect woman's subordination in some way."¹⁶ Nevertheless, Stanton held up Eve as the central figure of the Eden narrative and pointed to "the courage, the dignity, and the lofty ambition of the woman."¹⁷ As Kathi Kern has noted, Stanton and her coauthors "endowed Eve with the very qualities they valued in themselves: a rebellious spirit and a desire for knowledge of the soul. They rescued Eve by rereading her."¹⁸ Although her work was not well received at the time, Stanton broke new ground with the publication of *The Woman's Bible*, claiming for herself and for all women what had

Fields, 1863), 428–29.

¹⁶Elizabeth Cady Stanton, *The Woman's Bible* (New York: European Publishing, 1898), 21. Stanton got things backwards here since the second account (Gen. 2–3) was, according to critical consensus, written first; however, it is important to note the attempt at a "higher" criticism. While Stanton's work was more social commentary than scholarly hermeneutics, she did incorporate scholarly insights; and in many ways, her work was a forerunner of criticism to follow.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, 24.

¹⁸Kathi L. Kern, *Mrs. Stanton's Bible* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University

been the exclusively male world of biblical criticism.

Both Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony spent a week visiting Utah in 1871 and established close ties with Mormon suffragists. Likewise, LDS Relief Society general president Emmeline B. Wells was asked on multiple occasions to speak at the National Woman Suffrage Association in Washington, D.C. Stanton believed that the views of the enlightened easterner who wanted to protect women from polygamy were hypocritical and patronizing, and argued for the full inclusion of Mormon women. During her stay in Utah, Stanton met Mormon women who were unhappily married but also many women who were independent and educated. All were entitled to vote. "Though the Mormon, like all other women, stoutly defend their own religion," Stanton wrote, "yet they are not more satisfied than any other sect. All women are dissatisfied with their position as inferiors, and their dissatisfaction increases in exact ratio with their intelligence and development."¹⁹

Soon after the publication of *The Woman's Bible*, the *Woman's Exponent* published excerpts from it, including Stanton's commentary on Genesis 1:26, "God created man in his own image male and female." Finding particular resonance among Mormon women was Stanton's argument: "If language has any meaning we have in these texts a plain declaration of the existence of the feminine element in the Godhead, equal in power and glory with the masculine. The Heavenly Mother and Father!"²⁰ Eliza R. Snow had celebrated the existence of a Heavenly Mother in her 1845 poem "My Father in Heaven," later titled "Invocation, or the Eternal Father and Mother."²¹ Mormon women would not produce a Mormon women's bible, but they were in dialogue with the larger culture.

Press, 2001), 160.

¹⁹Elizabeth Cady Stanton, *Eighty Years and More: Reminiscences, 1815–1897* (New York: European Publishing Company, 1898), 284. Tracy A. Thomas, "Elizabeth Cady Stanton and the Notion of a Legal Class of Gender," *Feminist Legal History: Essays on Women and Law*, edited by Tracy A. Thomas and Tracey Jean Boisseau (New York: New York University Press, 2011), 149.

²⁰Stanton, *Woman's Bible*, 14.

²¹Jill Mulvay Derr and Karen Lynn Davidson, *Eliza R. Snow: The Complete Poetry* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 2009), 312–14.

PRIESTHOOD LEADERS' VOICES ON EVE

Late-twentieth- and twenty-first-century LDS leaders have described Eve as the culmination of creation and praised her wisdom, foresight, and courage for bringing about human potentiality. President Gordon B. Hinckley regarded Eve as “the crowning of [God’s] glorious work” and “His masterpiece after all that had gone before, the final work before He rested from His labors.”²² Elder Boyd K. Packer spoke of the Fall as “a choice” that “was imposed upon Eve” and stressed that “she should be praised for her decision.”²³ Elder Dallin H. Oaks enthused that “we celebrate Eve’s act and honor her wisdom and courage in the great episode called the Fall.”²⁴ And Elder Russell M. Nelson stressed that humanity is “forever blessed because of Eve’s great courage and wisdom.”²⁵

However, nineteenth-century Church leaders were less admiring, seeing Eve as being deceived but inadvertently fulfilling God’s purpose. In his inspired translation of the Bible, Joseph Smith emphasized that Eve “did labor with” Adam when they were driven out of Eden (Moses 5:1) and gave Eve a voice to comment on the Fall’s fortunate nature: “Were it not for our transgression we never should have had seed, and never should have known good and evil, and the joy of our redemption, and the eternal life which God giveth unto all the obedient” (Moses 5:11). Smith would also use Adam and Eve as an exemplary model in a wedding ceremony, which he said was “original with me,” that he performed for Newel Knight and Lydia Goldthwaite Bailey in 1835. Smith recorded the ceremony “in substance” in his journal. After explaining to the bride and groom that

²²Gordon B. Hinckley, “Daughters of God,” General Woman’s Session, October 1991, <http://www.lds.org/general-conference/1991/10/daughters-of-god?lang=eng> (accessed July 21, 2013).

²³Boyd K. Packer, “For Time and All Eternity,” General Conference, October 1993, <http://www.lds.org/general-conference/1993/10/for-time-and-all-eternity?lang=eng> (accessed July 21, 2013).

²⁴Dallin H. Oaks, “The Great Plan of Happiness,” General Conference, October 1993, <http://www.lds.org/general-conference/1993/10/the-great-plan-of-happiness?lang=eng> (accessed July 21, 2013).

²⁵Russell M. Nelson, “Constancy amid Change,” General Conference, October 1993, <http://www.lds.org/general-conference/1993/10/constancy-amid-change?lang=eng> (accessed July 21, 2013).

"marriage was an institution of h[e]aven institute [instituted] in the garden of Eden," Smith continued: "You covenant to be each others companions through life, and discharge the duties of husband & wife in every respect, to which they assented, I then pronounced them husband & Wife in the name of God, and also pronounced the blessings that the Lord conferred upon adam [sic.] and Eve in the garden of Eden; that is to multiply and replenish the earth, with the addition of long life and prosperity."²⁶

Smith's use of Adam and Eve as a paradigmatic model for a wedding ceremony is echoed in W. W. Phelps's marriage hymn, which was included in the first Mormon hymnal, compiled by Emma Smith in 1835:

When earth was dress'd in beauty,
And join'd with heaven above,
The Lord took Eve to Adam,
And taught them how to love.

...

And bless'd them as an altar,
For chaste and pure desire,
That no unhallowed being
Might offer there "Strange fire."

...

Beware of all temptation;
Be good, be just, be wise,
Be even as the angels,
That dwell in Paradise.

...

²⁶Dean C. Jessee, Mark Ashurst-McGee, and Richard L. Jensen, eds., *Journals, Vol. 1: 1832–1839*, Vol. 1 of the Journals series of THE JOSEPH SMITH PAPERS, general editors Dean C. Jessee, Ronald K. Esplin, and Richard Lyman Bushman (Salt Lake City: Church Historian's Press, 2008), Tuesday, November 24, 1835, 109–10. See also Karen Lynn Davidson, David J. Whittaker, Mark Ashurst-McGee, and Richard L. Jensen, eds., *Histories: Vol. 1: Joseph Smith Histories, 1832–1844*, Vol. 1 in the Histories series (Salt Lake City: Church Historians Press, 2011), Tuesday, November 24, 1835, 132–33.

Go multiply,—replenish,
And fill the earth with men,
That all your vast creation,
May come to God again:—

...

And dwell amid perfection,
In Zion's wide domains,
Where union is eternal,
And Jesus ever reigns.²⁷

William Clayton's diary also records a rather cryptic comment about Eve that Joseph Smith made in an address delivered May 17, 1843, in Ramus, Illinois: "The 7th verse of the 2nd chapter of Genesis ought to read—God breathed into Adam his spirit (i.e. Adam's spirit) or breath of life; but when the word 'rauch' applies to Eve, it should be translated lives." Andrew Ehat and Lyndon Cook speculate that perhaps Smith "wanted to emphasize Eve's role as *lives-giver*, which coincides with the usage of "lives" appearing two months later in the revelation on eternal marriage (D&C 132:22–24)."²⁸ Aside from these comments, however, Joseph Smith said relatively little specifically about Eve. Other early priesthood leaders seemed to follow suit.

²⁷"On Marriage: Hymn 62," *Collection of Sacred Hymns, for the Church of the Latter Day Saints Selected by Emma Smith* (Kirtland, Ohio: F. G. Williams & Co., 1835; rpt., Independence: Herald Heritage, 1973), 81–82. See also Michael Hicks, *Mormonism and Music: A History* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989), 22.

²⁸Joseph Smith Jr. et al., *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, edited by B. H. Roberts, 2d ed. rev. (6 vols., 1902–12, Vol. 7, 1932), 5:392–93 *GospelLink Digital Library by Deseret Book*, <http://gospelink.com/library/document/3867> (accessed July 21, 2013); see also Andrew F. Ehat and Lyndon W. Cook, eds., *Words of Joseph Smith: The Contemporary Accounts of the Nauvoo Discourses of the Prophet Joseph* (Provo, Utah: BYU Religious Studies Center, 1980), 203, 281. Supporting Ehat and Cook's argument is the fact that plural marriage was undoubtedly on Smith's mind since, during his two-day trip to Ramus, he stayed at Benjamin Johnson's home in a room with his plural wife, Almera Woodard Johnson. Benjamin F. Johnson *My Life's Review* (Independence, Mo.: Zions Printing and Publishing, 1947),

Brigham Young, on the other hand, had much to say about Eve, but little of it was laudatory. On the one hand, Young declared that "Mother Eve . . . had a splendid influence over [Adam]" and praised her for getting Adam to take the forbidden fruit.²⁹ On the other hand, he reinforced many of the more repressive readings of the Adam and Eve narrative. He reaffirmed Paul's statement that "Adam was not deceived, but the woman being deceived was in the transgression."³⁰ He believed that Eve was Adam's plural wife and that, when Adam left his celestial world to people this earth, "there is no doubt but that he left many companions."³¹ He said that Eve nagged Adam to eat the fruit: "Just as it is with other husbands, she coaxes and persuades, and finally he gives way and partakes of the forbidden fruit."³² And he used Eve's example to caution women to remember their place in the home: "It is the calling of the wife and mother to . . . [labor] to make her home desirable to her husband and children, making herself an Eve in the midst of a little paradise of her own creating."³³ He also stressed that "there is a curse upon the woman that is not upon the man, namely, that 'her whole affections shall be to-

96; see also Brian C. Hales "Evidence of Sexual Relations in Joseph Smith's Plural Marriage with Almera Woodard Johnson," Joseph Smith's Polygamy, <http://www.josephsmithspolygamy.com/JSPSexuality/AlmeraJohnsonSR.html> (accessed July 21, 2013). Beverley Campbell, *Eve and the Choice Made in Eden* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 2003), 45, speculates whether Smith's revision "indicate[s] that at the time of Eve's first stirrings in the Garden, God endowed her with the seeds of those lives that in the Grand Council of Heaven she had committed to bring forth? If she were so endowed, could this assignment be conveyed to another? It seems that Eve's role was pivotal if waiting spirits were to obtain the requisite mortal bodies of flesh and blood." Campbell notes that "the name Eve (*Chava* or *Chavvah* in Hebrew) . . . means 'life giving,' and the Lord carefully taught Adam why this woman he had been given was to be called Eve."

²⁹Brigham Young, August 8, 1869, *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (London and Liverpool: LDS Booksellers Depot, 1855–86), 14:102.

³⁰Brigham Young, June 15, 1862, *Journal of Discourses*, 9:305.

³¹Brigham Young, August 31, 1873, *Journal of Discourses*, 16:167.

³²Brigham Young, May 18, 1873, *Journal of Discourses*, 16:40.

³³Brigham Young, June 8, 1862, *Journal of Discourses*, 10:28.

wards her husband,' and what is the next? 'He shall rule over you.'"³⁴

Few LDS General Authorities addressed the character of Eve as directly as Brigham Young. However, at least one General Authority, perhaps reading the excerpt published in the *Exponent*, directly attacked Elizabeth Cady Stanton's argument for a divine feminine. George Q. Cannon announced that, within Joseph Smith's revelations,

there was no revelation of the feminine element as part of the Godhead, and no idea was conveyed that any such element "was equal in power and glory with the masculine" [a quotation from *The Woman's Bible*]. Therefore, we are warranted in pronouncing all tendencies to glorify the feminine element and to exalt it as part of the Godhead as wrong and untrue, not only because of the revelation of the Lord in our day but because it has no warrant in scripture, and any attempt to put such a construction on the word of God is false and erroneous.³⁵

Orson Pratt held up Adam and Eve as an example of the importance of eternal marriage, stating that "the sealing of the great Jehovah upon Adam and Eve was eternal in its nature, and was never instituted for the purpose of being overthrown and brought to an end. It is known that the 'Mormons' are a peculiar people about marriage; we believe in marrying, not only for time, but for all eternity."³⁶ He would also refer to Eve as Adam's "lovely consort."³⁷ Heber C. Kimball reminded Mormon priesthood holders that God "did not make the man for the woman but the woman for the man," but balanced this statement by admonishing, "If a man does not use a woman well and take good care of her, God will take her away from him and give her to another."³⁸ Wilford Woodruff stressed that, although the world "has found a great deal of fault with Mother Eve and with Father Adam, because of the fall of man," he believed that "Adam and

³⁴Brigham Young, September 21, 1856, *Journal of Discourses*, 4:57.

³⁵George Q. Cannon, *Gospel Truth: Discourses and Writings of President George Q. Cannon*, 2 vols., edited by Jerreld L. Newquist (Salt Lake City: Zions Book Store, 1957), 1:135–36. It was originally published in the *Juvenile Instructor* 20 (May 15, 1895): 314–17.

³⁶Orson Pratt, August 29, 1852, *Journal of Discourses*, 1:58.

³⁷Orson Pratt, July 25, 1852, *Journal of Discourses*, 1:284.

³⁸Heber C. Kimball, quoted by Helen Mar Whitney, "Scenes in Nauvoo, and Incidents from H.C. Kimball's Journal," *Woman's Exponent* 12,

Eve came to this world to perform exactly the part that they acted in the garden of Eden [and] were ordained of God to do what they did.”³⁹ James E. Talmage later captured the nineteenth-century Mormon priesthood leaders’ position on Eve in his 1899 book *The Articles of Faith*: “Our first parents are entitled to our deepest gratitude for their legacy to posterity—the means of winning title to glory, exaltation, and eternal lives.” However, Talmage stressed, while Eve “fulfill[ed] the foreordained purposes of God . . . she did not partake of the forbidden fruit with that object in view, but with the intent to violate the Divine command, being deceived by the sophistries of the serpent-fiend.”⁴⁰

A turning point between the nineteenth century’s less heroic Eve and the Eve of the present is, perhaps, the 1918 vision of Joseph F. Smith in which he records seeing “our glorious Mother Eve, with many of her faithful daughters who had lived through the ages and worshiped the true and living God” (D&C 138:39).⁴¹ Regardless, the status of Eve shifted, both rhetorically and theologically, at the turn of the century.

THE DIALOGIC DISCOURSE OF THE *WOMAN'S EXPONENT*

In the pages of the *Woman's Exponent*, we find both a reflection and subtle subversion of male priesthood voices, and a more dynamic view of Eve emerges. LDS women began with a canon and theology that gave Eve more favorable circumstances than she had in creedal Christianity. However, the full realization of Eve’s potential was first explored by *Exponent* authors, not their priesthood leaders. While no coherent theology emerged from this discussion, the journal did bring together multiple voices and their debates were always open, always ongoing, always dialogical.

In his discussion of Dostoyevsky’s poetics, Russian philosopher

no. 5 (August 1, 1883): 34.

³⁹Wilford Woodruff, May 14, 1882, *Journal of Discourses*, 23:125.

⁴⁰James E. Talmage, *The Articles of Faith* (1899; rpt., Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2003), 72–73.

⁴¹Although the vision was not canonized until April 3, 1976, it was included in the 1919 Melchizedek Priesthood manual, *Gospel Doctrine: Selections from the Sermons and Writings of Joseph F. Smith*, which became a standard in LDS Church literature.

and literary critic Mikhail Bakhtin makes a distinction between monological and dialogical genres of discourse. Lyric poetry, Bakhtin believes to be monological, expressing a single authorial point-of-view, whereas the novel, he considers to be more dialogical, carrying on a continual dialogue with other works of literature and other authors. Not unlike Joseph Smith, who suggested that “by proving contraries, truth is made manifest,”⁴² Bakhtin sees dialogic discourse as more fully arriving at the truth of human experience, which is multiple, contradictory, and logically inconsistent. Monological discourse, on the other hand, is dangerous:

Monologism, at its extreme, denies the existence outside itself of another consciousness with equal rights and equal responsibilities, another *I* with equal rights (*thou*). With a monologic approach (in its extreme or pure form) another person remains wholly and merely an object of consciousness and not another consciousness. No response is expected from it that could change everything in the world of my consciousness. Monologue is finalized and deaf to the other’s response, does not expect it and does not acknowledge in it any decisive force. Monologue manages without the other. . . . Monologue pretends to be the ultimate word. It closes down the represented world and represented persons.⁴³

Bakhtin praised Dostoyevsky’s dialogic style, which he recognized had its roots in his “position as a journalist” and his “passion for journalism and his love of the newspaper page as a living reflection of the contradictions of contemporary society in the cross-section of a single day, where the most diverse and contradictory material is laid out, extensively, side by side and one side against the other.”⁴⁴ Newspapers, Bakhtin recognized, are a naturally dialogical genre where flourished a “carnival sense of the world,” a context where distinct individual voices are heard, thrive, and interrelate.

I invoke Bakhtin not simply because the *Woman’s Exponent* is a newspaper, however. Mormons have produced many newspapers throughout their history, but the *Woman’s Exponent* is a more

⁴²Joseph Smith, Letter to L. Daniel Rupp, June 5, 1844, *History of the Church*, 6:428.

⁴³Mikhail Bakhtin, *Problems of Dostoevsky’s Poetics* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984), 292–93.

⁴⁴*Ibid.*, 29–30.

dialogical newspaper than those produced by male Church leaders. Granted, I have focused my research on the *Woman's Exponent* and not other Mormon publications; however, for the sake of comparison I have spent some time exploring the *Millennial Star*, a publication run by men during this same period. I found the publication to be much more monological in nature. While the *Millennial Star* focuses predominantly on sermons given by men, the *Woman's Exponent* focuses on opinion columns, poetry, helpful advice, news, etc., and does not exclude male voices. Where the *Star's* sermons tend to gloss over or suppress disagreement, the *Exponent* encourages a more open exchange of opinions. Producing neither monological male discourse nor a monological female discourse, the *Woman's Exponent* celebrates many voices creating what Bakhtin would call a "carnival" sense of the world.

Furthermore, many of the voices in this carnival speak through absence; it is often unclear who is actually speaking behind the many noms-du-plumes or the initials of a given name. In the *Woman's Exponent*, we hear voices speaking in dialogue, preserving conflict, but maintaining civility.

THE TWO FACES OF EVE

Within this dialogical world of the *Exponent*, we find a theological debate over whether Eve was the essentially duplicitous instigator of evil or the noble initiator of human progress; between the traditional view of Eve that has persisted in Christianity for millennia and the ennobled portrayal of Eve that many found in Mormon scripture and theology. Susanna Morrill has argued that "faithful converts who still maintained mental and emotional connections with their earlier churches of origin" brought "this negative interpretation" of Eve into Mormonism with them, where it "remained latent in Mormon theology and culture."⁴⁵ Perhaps Morrill overstates the influence that converts' prior religious experience had on negative views of Eve, since many of the seasoned and vocal priesthood leaders were portraying Eve in negative ways as LDS doctrine.

Nevertheless, a dialogue about these two opposing views of Eve ensues within the *Exponent*, the arguments informed by national

⁴⁵Susanna Morrill, *White Roses on the Floor of Heaven: Mormon Women's Popular Theology, 1880–1920* (New York: Routledge, 2006), 59.

Protestant voices of the past and present, even as they anticipate voices of the future. Some contributors saw Eve as culpable and cursed, suggesting that, like Eve, women should not rule over men, usurp their roles, nor adopt their dress and manners. In short, went the argument, woman should be a “help meet” for their husbands.⁴⁶ For example, Eliza R. Snow called on a meeting of the Young Women’s Retrenchment Association to abstain from “round dances,” which she said “were originated by the adversary to lead to evil.” To urge the sisters to take a strong stand, Snow asked, “As Eve led out in the evil, why should she not be the first in doing good?”⁴⁷ Citing the biblical injunction that Eve will be a “help meet” for the man, Phoebe Young stated, “It is not, then, our province to usurp the place, or do the work of our husbands, but to assist them, by every means in our power.”⁴⁸ Almost twenty years later, Young would articulate a strikingly different position: “Let not woman fear that she is overstepping the bounds prescribed by the Great Creator as the proper sphere of woman, for she was in the beginning created a helpmate [sic] for man and who will dare affirm she is out of place, because she shares his ambition and desires to assist in all great and worthy enterprises[?]”⁴⁹

Emmeline B. Wells, writing under one of her numerous pseudonyms as Blanche Beechwood, sees the command to be a help meet and “a nearer conception of woman’s mission and work” being fulfilled as the women’s movement allows women to become “more

⁴⁶The original Hebrew *ezer kenegdo*, which the KJV translates as “help meet,” can be translated as “a helper corresponding to.” By the seventeenth century, the two words had become improperly hyphenated as “help-meet” and the compound form “helpmeet” became common usage during the nineteenth century. “Helpmate” is likely a coinage based on “helpmeet” and originates in the eighteenth century. All three terms are used interchangeably in the nineteenth and twentieth century. In this article, I employ the KJV’s unhyphenated original, but keep individual authors’ version of the word.

⁴⁷“A Synopsis of Remarks, by Sister Eliza R. Snow, to the Young Ladies’ Retrenchment Association of the 16th Ward,” *Woman’s Exponent* 3, no. 23 (May 1, 1875): 178.

⁴⁸Phoebe Young, “Woman’s Voice,” *Woman’s Exponent* 4, no. 4 (July 15, 1875): 31.

⁴⁹Phoebe C. Young, “Ignorance and Superstition,” *Woman’s Exponent* 23, nos. 13–14 (January 1 and 15, 1895): 225–26.

thoroughly developed and highly educated." Beechwood continues, "Why should she not stand side by side with her brother, in all questions of interest for the common weal? For my part, I glory in the moral courage which arms woman with sufficient heroism to stand forth in her own defense, against any invasion upon her inherited rights and privileges."⁵⁰ Another writer sees Eve's role of "helpmeet" as "embrac[ing] all that was to be done, every requisition devolving upon mankind."⁵¹ Eve's equality with Adam is stressed by M. E. Teasdale, who writes, "Woman's sphere of usefulness is as great, and her influence as widely felt as man's. She was placed upon the earth with man to be his companion, his helpmate and his equal. 'She was not taken from his feet to be trampled upon by him, nor from his head to rule over him, but from his side to be equal with him; near his heart to be loved and cherished by him.'"⁵² And Sarah Howard simply asks, "Do you think he would have created an inferior being for a helpmeet or companion for man, who had been created in the image of

⁵⁰Blanche Beechwood [Emmeline B. Wells], "Woman's Ambition," *Woman's Exponent* 4, no. 21 (April 1, 1876): 166.

⁵¹E. A. Crane Waton, "Woman's Calling," *Woman's Exponent* 19, no. 4 (July 15, 1890): 27.

⁵²M. E. Teasdale, "Equality of Sex," *Woman's Exponent* 15, no. 24 (May 15, 1887): 185. This trope dates at least to the Middle Ages, but this particular version appears to be a paraphrase from Matthew Henry's Bible commentary, which states: "That the woman was made of a rib out of the side of Adam; not made out of his head to top him, not out of his feet to be trampled upon by him, but out of his side to be equal with him, under his arm to be protected, and near his heart to be beloved." *An Exposition of the Old and New Testament* (London: Joseph Ogle Robinson, 1828), 12. A decidedly different message comes from a Rabbinic midrash, where according to Genesis Rabbah 80:5, God says: "I will not create her from Adams' head, lest she be swell-headed; nor from the eye, lest she be a coquette; nor from the ear, lest she be an eavesdropper; nor from the mouth, lest she be a gossip; nor from the heart, lest she be prone to jealousy; nor from the hand, lest she be light-fingered; nor from the foot, lest she be a gadabout; but from the modest part of man, for even when he stands naked, that part is covered." Quoted in Nehama Aschkenasy, *Eve's Journey: Feminine Images in Hebraic Literary Tradition* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986), 44.

God[?]"⁵³ One woman even questions the biblical record: "We are told in our earliest histories that man was made first, and that woman was so dependent on him, that even the first woman had to secure a start from man, and that afterwards she was placed in subjection to him, but this I doubt." She argues that women's subservience "never was a divine wish or expectation—was only a mundane retrogression that must first be checked before woman can attain her God-given position on [sic] strict equality with her liege lord, man."⁵⁴ Ida Peay reminded readers that God gave dominion to both Adam and Eve in Genesis 1:28: "God has always considered woman and commissioned her as he has man." She continued, "Man in his might and blindness has wrested from Eve's daughters their God-given rights in the dominion, hence this modern war which woman-kind is waging to obtain them back again. The struggle is surely divinely instituted and will ultimately succeed, for the world's problems to-day are sadly in need of the decisions of pure, high minded, God-fearing men and women."⁵⁵

Many, like E. H. Lyon, revered Eve as the "the finishing touch of the Almighty."⁵⁶ Marion Wilcox noted that it was only after the creation of Eve that the "Architect finished His work and proclaimed it 'very good.'"⁵⁷ A poem published in 1894 summed up the thought, "Man of the dust was earthly made, / Woman from man:—a higher grade."⁵⁸ Hannah Tapfield King called Eve "the sovereign mother of all living! She stands in close proximity to God the Father, for she is the life giving spirit of the innumerable hosts that have figured upon

⁵³Sarah A. Howard, "Woman Suffrage," *Woman's Exponent* 22, no. 14 (March 15, 1894): 111.

⁵⁴D. P. Felt, "A Man's Advice about Woman Suffrage," *Woman's Exponent* 20, no. 10 (November 15, 1891): 73.

⁵⁵Ida S. Peay, "Taking a Stand for the Right," *Woman's Exponent* 41, no. 8 (June 1, 1913): 61; emphasis hers.

⁵⁶E. H. Lyon, "Woman," *Woman's Exponent* 22, no. 2 (August 1, 1893): 10.

⁵⁷Marian S. Wilcox, "Weber County W.S.A.," *Woman's Exponent* 20, no. 14 (January 15 and February 1, 1892): 111.

⁵⁸S. W. Richards, "Woman's Exponent," *Woman's Exponent* 22, no. 11 (January 15, 1894): 81–82.

this earth.”⁵⁹ And in purple prose, Nellie Becraft described Eve:

With what majestic mien she trod life's way,
Leading to higher plane all womanhood,
Ornate with virtues gilding direst day,
Until High Priestess to her sex she stood;
Eden and earth enriched, she passed along
Through gates celestial, joined the victor's throng.⁶⁰

Still others invoked Eve to speak of women's influence over men, for both good or evil. “Ever since Adam accused Eve in the Garden of Eden, men have been laying the blame of every great social wrong, in which both participated, on woman,” writes Wilhelmina Christafferson, but goes on to admit: It's “with a certain degree of justice.” Women, Christafferson confesses, have immense power to influence the emotions of men. “It is needless to cite instances in proof of this; each one of us will readily call to mind instances of our own experience, and history will furnish others, of men, great men, men of strong character and exhibiting practical common sense in all the walks of life, who nevertheless became imbecile and acted like fools in cases where women were concerned.” Women must acknowledge this powerful influence and “wield it openly and for good only.”⁶¹ Another writes that “there are thousands of Adams to-day who smoke that vile weed tobacco, because some fair Eve has told them she admires the smell of a good cigar. Many a modern Adam has taken his first glass of wine because it was proffered by the beautiful jeweled hand of a modern Eve, and many a modern Adam reformed his habits and morals because some fair and lovely Eve, who is more to him than all the world beside, has told him that he *must do it*, or he can never occupy the same garden of Eden with her.”⁶²

Mary Anderson wrote that “if Eve had so much influence over

⁵⁹Hannah T. King, “Women of the Scriptures,” *Woman's Exponent* 32, no. 6 (November 1, 1903): 41.

⁶⁰Nellie Becraft, “A Loving Tribute,” *Woman's Exponent* 39, no. 4 (October 1, 1910): 26.

⁶¹Wilhelmina Christafferson, Letter to editor, *Woman's Exponent* 5, no. 3 (July 1, 1876): 19.

⁶²“Woman's Influence,” *Woman's Exponent* 14, no. 15 (January 1,

her companion, should we not be careful how we use our influence over our companions, and associates by whom we are surrounded daily, for are we not all daughters of Eve[?]" Women must "use that influence which has been given her for a higher and better purpose," she argued.⁶³ "Ever since the days of mother Eve; woman's influence has been manifest for the advancement or retrogression of the people of the earth," wrote Susie Armstrong; and "from that time until the present, woman by her influence has been more or less responsible, for the conditions of society."⁶⁴

If Eve was culpable, several writers argued it is typically not the case for the woman to lead out in sin. "The old history of the Garden of Eden is repeating itself frequently. But in all recent repetitions of it, especially in political affairs, the Adam is the worst sinner. In ninety-nine cases out of a hundred he puts himself in the way of temptation, and in most of these he is saved from a fatal fall by his Eve."⁶⁵ Still another saw men as the tempters. If women are called the "weaker sex," the author concedes it is because of her "deep and pure love which gives her the lasting faith (of which men so frequently take the advantage) she being pure thinketh no evil, until her eyes are opened to see that she like 'Another Eve' has been deceived by Satan appearing in the form of man instead of a serpent."⁶⁶

For Adelia B. Cox Sidwell, it is unfair to lay all the blame for the fall on Eve. Condemned to wander in the garden for "untold centuries" with no female companionship, Eve must have longed for conversation, wrote Sidwell. "If I am allowed to judge Adam by most men of my acquaintance, he was probably very indifferent company, as men's conversational brilliancy is seldom exerted to any considerable extent for the benefit or entertainment of a wife." Suffering such isolation and being deprived of motherhood, woman's "crowning glory,

1886): 114.

⁶³Mary Anderson, "An Answer to the Article Entitled 'Woman's Calling,'" *Woman's Exponent* 19, no. 6 (August 15, 1890): 42.

⁶⁴Susie D. Armstrong, "Woman's Influence," *Woman's Exponent* 23, no. 18 (April 15, 1895): 254.

⁶⁵Ex. [pseud.], "A Vindication of Women," *Woman's Exponent* 5, no. 10 (October 15, 1876): 79.

⁶⁶R., "Woman," *Woman's Exponent* 5, no. 14 (December 15, 1876): 110-11.

comfort, joy," Sidwell continues, "who I ask can blame [Eve] for being discontent, and desiring a change in her monotonous existence? even though that change included Death!"⁶⁷

Likewise, a woman writing under the name "Frances" states that "the probability is if Adam had tasted [the fruit] first he would have kept the knowledge to himself and have not offered to share it with his companion." For Frances, Eve's inquisitive nature is only matched by her compassion. "She wished to share that which was good with her fellow-creature which is a credit to her, and certainly showed her to be actuated solely by motives of a purely unselfish and generous character."⁶⁸ Ruth May Fox contended that since, Eve was blamed for the fall of humanity, "there has been a woman at the bottom of everything that savored of ill repute, but in the future there will be a woman at the bottom of everything that good [sic], not excluding good government."⁶⁹ Lucy M. Hewlings writes, "If woman *was* foremost in the fall, she is first and foremost in every enterprise that has for its object the uplifting of humanity and the glory of God."⁷⁰ The chorus of voices found within the *Exponent* never paints a monological vision of Eve's culpability or of her heroism, but all voices are allowed equal standing, creating what Bakhtin would call a "carnival" sense of the world.

THE NOBILITY OF EVE

Many women recognized the radical implications of Mormonism's fortunate fall and spoke of Eve as brave and magnanimous for pushing humanity towards godhood. But even here, the voices are multiple and diverse, dialogic rather than monologic. Extolling the nobility of Eve, one author (likely Sarah M. Kimball) wrote: "Our great maternal progenitor is entitled to reverent honor for braving the peril that brought earth's children from the

⁶⁷Adelia B. Cox Sidwell, "Women of the Bible," *Woman's Exponent* 18, no. 17 (February 1, 1890): 136.

⁶⁸Frances, "Woman," *Woman's Exponent* 20, no. 8 (October 15, 1891): 57.

⁶⁹R.M.F. [Ruth May Fox], "Lecture on Suffrage," *Woman's Exponent* 24, no. 6 (August 15, 1895): 41.

⁷⁰L.M.H. [Lucy M. Hewlings], "The Modern Esther," *Woman's Exponent* 25, no. 13 (January 1, 1897): 89.

dark valley of ignorance and stagnation, and placed them on the broad, progressive plain, where they, knowing good and evil, joy and sorrow, may become as Gods.” She continued, “Mother Eve, for taking the initiative in this advance movement, should receive encomiums of praise; which should be shared by our great paternal [sic] who, though reluctantly, followed and aided in her heaven ordained enterprise.”⁷¹ Another writer states, “I am sure that if we are fortunate enough to meet and associate with our beloved Queen— Mother Eve, we will have an esteem and love for her, that words but faintly can express.”⁷² Isabella Horne pointed out that Eve “had the courage to partake of the fruit, willing to suffer the penalty so she could gain increased wisdom and knowledge” and stressed that “we are indebted [to her] for the opportunity of gaining that experience and knowledge that will enable us to return and dwell in our Father’s presence.”⁷³ In 1903, Hannah Tapfield King referred to Eve as “the sovereign mother of all living! [who] stands in close proximity to God the Father, for she is the life giving spirit of the innumerable hosts that have figured upon this earth. The one grand, stupendous act of her life is all that is told of her in the Bible, and it is enough.”⁷⁴

An unsigned editorial, likely written by Emmeline Wells, stresses Eve’s role as the instigator of human progress: “Adam would probably have been content to remain in ignorance, but Eve, with woman’s quick, keen perception, saw that the fruit of the tree of knowledge was pleasant to the sight and to be desired, and Adam was encouraged to eat of that which otherwise he might never have

⁷¹S.M.K. [Sarah M. Kimball], “Plea for the Women of Massachusetts and Mother Eve, vs. Kate Bowers,” *Woman’s Exponent* 2, no. 18 (February 15, 1874): 141.

⁷²Hermita, “Familiarity Breeds Contempt,” *Woman’s Exponent* 9, no. 16 (January 15, 1881): 121. The publication also reported on a speech given by Mark Twain in which he said, “From the day that Adam ate of the apple and told on Eve down to the present day man in a moral fight has pretty uniformly shown himself to be an arrant coward.” “Mark Twain on the Crusade,” *Woman’s Exponent* 3, no. 3 (July 1, 1874): 24.

⁷³M. Isabella Horne, “Lawn Fete, Given by the W.S.A. of Utah,” *Woman’s Exponent* 19, no. 4 (July 15, 1890): 28.

⁷⁴King, “Women of the Scriptures,” 41.

touched, because Eve offered it to him.”⁷⁵ Sarah M. Kimball, speaking to a gathering of Relief Society, Young Ladies Mutual Improvement Association, and Primary leaders, maintained that “what Eve had done had generally been looked upon as a misfortune, a weakness of hers, but she considered it the greatest thing she could have done for her descendants.”⁷⁶ Discussing “Women in History,” Lillie Devereaux Blake contended that “Eve was the last and crowning effort of the creative force. Adam evidently, had no idea of superiority over her, for although the Divine command not to eat of the tree of knowledge was given to him alone, when Eve, tempted by the noble ambition for wisdom, took of the forbidden fruit and offered it to him, he uttered no word of objection or remonstrance, but humbly followed where she led.”⁷⁷ This version of Eve as hero, one absent from male LDS thought of the nineteenth century, is the most common in today’s discourse. Nevertheless, one male author’s voice that is reproduced in the *Exponent* notes Eve’s status as the “mother of all living” and describes her as “the link indeed between heaven and earth that connects all of the spiritual world with those who are below. She alone is fitted and endowed with capabilities to be the usher of all spirits into their earthly home.”⁷⁸ A man could see woman as usher and entry way into humanity, but not as the agent who propelled humanity toward godhood.

Eve’s role as the “mother of all living,” combined with Brigham Young’s theology that Adam and Eve were divine beings who descended to earth to populate the planet, led Mormon women to eagerly anticipate following in Eve’s footsteps as the mother of future worlds. In a report of a Young Ladies Retrenchment Associations of Salt Lake City held in 1874, Zina D. Young told the young women that “it was their privilege, hereafter to stand in the same position as Eve,

⁷⁵“Woman’s Influence,” *Woman’s Exponent* 14, no. 15 (January 1, 1886): 114.

⁷⁶“R.S., Y.L.M.I.A. & P.A. Reports,” *Woman’s Exponent* 15, no. 11 (November 1, 1886): 87.

⁷⁷Lillie Devereaux Blake, “Women in History,” *Woman’s Exponent* 16, no. 9 (October 1, 1887): 65–66.

⁷⁸S[amuel] W. Richards, “Woman,” *Woman’s Exponent* 17, no. 14 (December 15, 1888): 109.

at the head of a world; and exhorted them to prepare themselves for all that is in store for the faithful.”⁷⁹ Later, after she became the Relief Society general president, Zina Young told a gathering of sisters that she was “surrounded by Eves, yea even the queens of this world and believed that the works and labors which they would perform would entitle them to occupy such positions” in the hereafter.⁸⁰ “To be the ‘mother of all living’ is an office,” Samuel W. Richards stated in a speech published in the *Exponent*, a “labor embracing the most responsible duties of human existence.”⁸¹

The implications of Young’s Adam-God theology on Eve’s status were explored more fully in Edward W. Tullidge’s 1877 publication *Women of Mormondom*. Calling Brigham Young’s theology “the most important revelation ever oracled to the race since the days of Adam himself,” Tullidge refers to a “celestial Masonry of Womanhood” and “the other half of the grand patriarchal economy of the heavens and the earths” in which a “trinity of Mothers” preside: Eve, the Mother of the world; Sarah, the Mother of the covenant; and Zion, the “Mother of celestial sons and daughters” (a group name for Mormon polygamous women). Tullidge goes on to describe Eve as a “Goddess [who] came down from her mansions of glory to bring the spirits of her children down after her, in their myriads of branches and their hundreds of generations.”⁸² Though the book bears Edward W. Tullidge’s name as author, Eliza R. Snow was a significant but uncredited collaborator on the project and it

⁷⁹“R.S. Reports,” *Woman’s Exponent* 3, no. 7 (September 1, 1874): 50. Brigham Young, October 14, 1860, *Journal of Discourses*, 8:208, had stated this same idea as a way of comforting childless women: “Many of the sisters grieve because they are not blessed with offspring. You will see the time when you will have millions of children around you. If you are faithful to your covenants, you will be mothers of nations. You will become Eves to earths like this; and when you have assisted in peopling one earth, there are millions of earths still in the course of creation. And when they have endured a thousand million times longer than this earth, it is only as it were the beginning of your creations.”

⁸⁰Louisa Pickett, “Relief Society Conference,” *Woman’s Exponent* 18, no. 10 (October 15, 1889): 78.

⁸¹Samuel W. Richards, “Mother, Home and Heaven,” *Woman’s Exponent* 19, no. 20 (April 15, 1891): 153.

⁸²Edward W. Tullidge *Women of Mormondom* (New York: Tullidge and

likely represented her views. As Claudia Bushman notes, "Because of the close collaboration with Eliza R. Snow, there can be no question that this is the story LDS women wanted told."⁸³ Though Adam's status as a god was emphasized in sermons and writings by men and women of the period, it was primarily the women who emphasized the implication that Eve is a goddess. This rhetoric dropped out quickly as Adam-God teachings became deemphasized in the early twentieth century. There is, however, no indication that any woman sought to work toward a coherent theology of Eve. Instead Eve served as a symbol of human potentiality among the diversity of Mormon women's voices.

EVE AS MODEL OF DOMESTICITY

While women varied in their theological views of Eve—some mirroring their priesthood leader's views of Eve as duped, others emphasizing her place as a hero and goddess—there was a near-universal acceptance of the Victorian concept of "separate spheres," where women were guardians of home and hearth. As Susanna Morrill describes this concept, the "home-centered roles of mother and wife" are "seen as the glue that keeps society together."⁸⁴ Within this sphere of domestic life, Eve was seen as the role model for everything from raising a family to choosing appropriate clothing styles. As one woman wrote, the scriptures' teachings about Eve serve as "excellent instruction to the daughters of Zion," helping them "understand their true position" and purpose, to "keep the first great commandment given in the 'Garden of Eden,' viz. to multiply and replenish the earth."⁸⁵ Another woman, admonishing young women to learn how to cook, takes a more comical tone: Eve "set us a worthy example" by "looking after, what she and Adam were to eat." And Adam partook, without "interfering with her domestic arrange-

Crandall, 1877), 195–200.

⁸³Claudia Bushman, "Edward W. Tullidge and *The Women of Mormondom*" *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 33, no. 4 (Winter 2000): 25.

⁸⁴Morrill, *White Roses on the Floor of Heaven*, 20.

⁸⁵I. P., "Woman's Voice," *Woman's Exponent* 16, no. 19 (March 1, 1888): 150.

ments.”⁸⁶ Sewing must be women’s role, stated M. C. Woods, “since our mother Eve must have used some sort of thread to sew the strings on her fig leaf apron.”⁸⁷ “The domestic sphere is, of course, the theatre of woman’s peculiar role, but did God intend her to be a domestic drudge?” asks Hannah Tapfield King. Toil is not mentioned in Eve’s curse, she reminds readers. “That was especially man’s punishment.”⁸⁸

Women not only looked to Eve for an example of their separate sphere in the home, but also, somewhat ironically, as an example of proper attire and as a critique of the vanity and folly of nineteenth-century women’s fashions. Speaking of the “Idol of To-Day,” Ruby Lamont, the pen name of Maria Miller Johnson, asks, “Does anyone suppose for a moment that Eve was supported by [a corset of] bones and steels? And that outrage to all modesty and beauty, that disgusting deformity of the human form and dishonor to God’s handiwork and ourselves—the bustle! How must angels frown and demons laugh to see our sisters, the daughters of Zion! with that thing on to mock at and deform the shape that God has made!”⁸⁹ Citing the law given to Eve that “her husband should rule over her,” Emily Spencer worried that for the woman’s movement “to encourage women in wearing or imitating the dress of man is ridiculous.” A woman responding to her did not discount how ridiculous it might be to dress like men, but stated that she had not heard of “man’s dress for woman, or anything approximating thereto, having been advocated among Latter-day Saints.”⁹⁰ Mary Ann Pratt, on the other hand, looked to men’s styles as a model for women’s when she commented on the degrading influence of women’s fashion: “Womankind should have respect for

⁸⁶Aunt Trudie, “Household Hints,” *Woman’s Exponent* 1, no. 17 (January 31, 1873): 131.

⁸⁷M. C. Woods, “Thread?” *Woman’s Exponent* 25, no. 7 (October 1, 1896): 49.

⁸⁸Hannah T. King, “Woman an Institution,” *Woman’s Exponent* 14, no. 20 (March 15, 1886): 153.

⁸⁹Ruby Lamont, “The Idol of To-Day,” *Woman’s Exponent* 16, no. 3 (July 1, 1887): 17.

⁹⁰Emily B. Spencer, “Answer to Inez,” *Woman’s Exponent* 4, no. 2 (June 15, 1875), 16; Inez, “Eve’s Curse: Is It Never to Be Removed?” *Woman’s Exponent* 4, no. 3 (July 1, 1875): 22–23.

her fellow man, for as she looks upon him she sees the image of her Heavenly Father reflective. Man has not lost his original form as much as woman, he is not as much governed by fashion in dress as she is, in that which depresses the natural form."⁹¹ Despite the fact that the only thing recorded in the scripture about Eve's apparel was that she and Adam wore fig leaves in the garden and that God made "coats of skins, and clothed them" (Gen. 3:7, 21) upon their expulsion therefrom, women looked to Eve as an example of a dress code that was unostentatious and uniquely feminine.

EVE AND POLYGAMY

Citing Eve as a model of domesticity likewise extended to Mormon marital practices. Despite being an only wife, Eve is frequently employed to defend polygamy prior to the Manifesto. Carol Cornwall Madsen summed up the nineteenth-century Mormon woman's view: "Polygamy offered all women opportunity for marriage and motherhood and cleansed society of the pernicious evils of prostitution, abandoned children, and other related social ills."⁹² The command to multiply and replenish the earth was given to both men and women, they reasoned, and polygamy allowed women the same opportunity to fulfill this commandment as men.

Recalling the commandment to "be fruitful and multiply and replenish the earth," one author notes that "those who are at all acquainted with physiology know that man's capacity for increase is unlimited, while with woman it is entirely different."⁹³ Polygamy, she argued, solves this biological problem. Yet another writer complained that "men have changed this command [to multiply and replenish] to suit their own ideas, and have denied to woman through established systems, the privilege of bearing children." She continues, "Congress has decided to settle this vexed question of plural marriage without regard to the parties most interested, and deprive women, who desire honorable marriage and homes of their own, of that blessed privilege

⁹¹Mary Ann M. Pratt, "Woman's Vote," *Woman's Exponent* 19, no. 24 (June 15, 1891): 189.

⁹²Madsen, *An Advocate for Women*, 9.

⁹³"A Mormon Woman's View," *Woman's Exponent* 13, no. 11 (November 1, 1884): 82.

which God intended all the daughters of Eve to enjoy.”⁹⁴

While, as Carol Cornwall Madsen has stated, “Differing views” published in the *Exponent* “did not include antipolygamy sentiment,” the words of antipolygamy laws and Congressional testimony *were* published. One report of a Congressional Commission on Polygamy uses the Adam and Eve narrative as evidence that polygamy is condemned by God. Polygamy, it states, “is at variance with the divine economy if that [sic], originally God created but one man and one woman, Adam and Eve, each as the only partner in wedlock of the other.”⁹⁵ Responding to those who would defend monogamy on the grounds that Adam had only one wife, as in this congressional report, “Aunt Ruth,” the pen name of Ruth May Fox, simply countered that they “know nothing of the true history of Adam and Eve.” Referring to the book of Moses, which states that there are countless earths, Fox continues, “Is this the only earth that had been created and peopled, and is the mother of this earth the only one that ever had or will have such honor?” She then quotes “the words of the inspired poet,” Eliza R. Snow:

And what to Eve though in her mortal life
She was the first, the tenth, or fiftieth wife:
It mattered not to her, she proved her worth,
And thus became the Goddess and the Queen of the earth.⁹⁶

Eve may be the only wife Adam had on *this* earth; but according to nineteenth-century Mormon thought, he had more wives who populated other earths. The polygamous ideal of nineteenth-century Mormon theology was viewed as the order of heaven.

THE CURSE OF EVE

With its embrace of the Fortunate Fall, LDS theology reduced,

⁹⁴“Law and Marriage,” *Woman’s Exponent* 14, no. 11 (November 1, 1885): 84.

⁹⁵C. S. Zane, “The Minority Report,” *Woman’s Exponent* 16, no. 10 (October 15, 1887): 77; Madsen, *An Advocate for Women*, 39.

⁹⁶Aunt Ruth [Ruth May Fox], “Our Children,” *Woman’s Exponent* 15, no. 24 (May 15, 1887): 188. The poem is excerpted from Eliza R. Snow’s “Instructions of the Priesthood: Written for and Read before the Polysophical Institution” in Derr and Davidson, *Eliza R. Snow*, 491–96. The passage quoted is on p. 494.

if not immediately overturned, Eve's culpability. The curses, however, were another matter. According to Genesis, when Adam and Eve were expelled from the Garden, God pronounced a curse upon each of them and on the Serpent. The Serpent is cursed to crawl on the ground. Adam is cursed to toil through thorn and thistle to bring forth food by the "sweat of his brow." Eve's curse consists of three parts: her birth pains will be severe, she will desire her husband, and he will rule over her. Like most of their contemporaries, nineteenth-century Mormons believed that Adam and Eve's posterity still inherited these curses but, unlike other Christians, not the sin. These curses were only too obvious to nineteenth-century Mormon men who labored among the thistles (and sagebrush) to bring forth food and women who labored in painful childbirth, suffered the longings and jealousies of polygamy, and endured patriarchal rule. Nevertheless, nineteenth-century Mormon theology postulated a way for humanity to bring about an end to the curses through hard work and God's grace.

In 1855, Brigham Young called on the Saints to strive to overcome the curse: "We have to labor to remove the curse from the earth, from the vegetation, from every creeping thing, and from ourselves, by the help of God our Father and our Lord Jesus Christ."⁹⁷ Almost a decade later, he amended that statement, "We have to remove the curse; but remember, we shall never be able to save ourselves without help, but with that help which the Almighty has promised we can accomplish all things."⁹⁸ For men, to reverse the curse required them to turn the Great Basin deserts into fertile farm lands. They must, as Brigham Young put it, "labor to make the earth into a Garden of

⁹⁷Brigham Young, June 10–13, 1864, *Journal of Discourses*, 10:312. Speaking of the "curse" of slavery inflicted upon African Americans, George A. Smith, September 23, 1855, *Journal of Discourses*, 3:29, stated, "When the curse of the Almighty comes upon a people, it certainly is the work of generations to remove it." Therefore, it is useless for "philanthropists" to pass laws that attempt to "remove the curse of servitude from the descendants of Canaan. . . . When God has decreed a certain way for men to be in servitude, and has designed they shall hold that position, it is worse than useless for any man or set of men, to undertake to put them in a position to rule."

⁹⁸Brigham Young, June 10–13, 1864, *Journal of Discourses*, 10:312.

Eden.”⁹⁹ Young’s advice to women, however, was to, “Bear [your curse] with patience and fortitude!” because it cannot be “taken from the human family until the mission is fulfilled, and our Master and our Lord is perfectly satisfied with our work. It will then be taken from this portion of the community, and will afflict them no more; but for the present it will afflict them.”¹⁰⁰ A year later, he confessed that he “did not know what the Lord could have put upon women worse than he did upon Mother Eve, where he told her: ‘Thy desire shall be to thy husband.’” But Young added, “Says a woman of faith and knowledge, ‘I will make the best of it; it is a law that man shall rule over me; his word is my law, and I must obey him; he must rule over me; this is upon me and I will submit to it,’ and by so doing she has promises that others do not have.”¹⁰¹ Young spoke of men redeeming themselves from the curse, but his only prescription for women was to bear their curse with patience and submit to their husbands’ rule.

Latter-day Saint women shared Young’s vision of ultimate redemption from the curse. In fact, the first reference to the idea that women may be redeemed from the curse is possibly from a blessing purportedly penned by Emma Smith for herself in 1844 (and which was later published in the *Exponent* in 1908). According to tradition, Emma had asked for a blessing from Joseph shortly before he was taken to Carthage Jail; but since “he had not time to write as he would like,” he told her to “write out the best blessing [she] could think of and he would sign the same on his return.” In that blessing, Emma pleads, “I ask, my Heavenly Father, that through humility, I may be enabled to overcome the curse which was pronounced upon the daughters of Eve.” In 1907, Emmeline Wells summed up this perspective in a talk she read at various “Women’s Clubs in New York”: “We believe in redemption from the curse placed upon woman. If you ask why, we tell you it is a part of our religion, and we are working to bring it to pass.”¹⁰²

Exponent writers searched for specific ways they could overcome

⁹⁹Brigham Young, June 8, 1862, *Journal of Discourses*, 10:30.

¹⁰⁰Brigham Young, August 18, 1872, *Journal of Discourses*, 15:132.

¹⁰¹Brigham Young, August 31, 1873, *Journal of Discourses*, 16:167.

¹⁰²Emma Smith, “A Blessing Penned Long Ago,” *Woman’s Exponent* 37, no. 2 (August, 1908): 11; Emmeline B. Wells, “Why a Woman Should Desire to Be a Mormon,” *Woman’s Exponent* 36, no. 5 (December 1, 1907): 39.

the curse. All believed that the gospel's truths will free them. "These are the times of the restitution of all things as it was in the beginning. Hence the curse has to be removed," determined one woman.¹⁰³ But there was great diversity over what "truth" from the gospel was the key.

REDEMPTION THROUGH SUFFRAGE

Some women sought redemption from the curse through women's suffrage, a movement many associated with the gospel. As Lola Van Wagenen has aptly demonstrated, Mormon women were not passive pawns but active agents in obtaining suffrage for the Utah Territory in 1870. "Suffrage was not granted in 1870 because of an overwhelming egalitarian impulse on the part of the brethren," Van Wagenen points out. Instead, "the women of Utah appear to have been enfranchised after they had demonstrated their potential for political usefulness. Being 'useful' was critical to building Zion."¹⁰⁴ Mormon women were even more motivated after suffrage was rescinded by an anti-polygamy law passed by Congress in 1887, and they fought strenuously for its inclusion in the 1895 Utah state constitution. However, others were concerned that the women's movement could go too far. In 1875, Emily Spencer cautioned Mormon women about the movement, saying "Some of their ideas are good, some are simply ridiculous, and some are pernicious, and directly contrary to the gospel." Spencer believed that "the theory they uphold that woman is equal with man, and has just as much of a right to govern man, as man has to govern woman, is wrong. The Lord told woman in the garden of Eden her husband should rule over her and that, with the rest that was told her, has descended to her daughters, and we are not exempt."¹⁰⁵ For Spencer, women should take their lead from Eve and not try to govern men nor usurp their roles.

Responding to Spencer, another writer, calling herself "Inez,"

¹⁰³B.J.B., "Woman's Voice," *Woman's Exponent* 8, no. 22 (April 15, 1880): 173.

¹⁰⁴Lola Van Wagenen, *Sister-Wives and Suffragists: Polygamy and the Politics of Woman Suffrage, 1870-1896* (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1994; rpt., Provo, Utah: Joseph Fielding Smith Institute for Latter-day Saint History and BYU Studies, 2003), 8.

¹⁰⁵Emily B. Spencer, "Answer to Inez," *Woman's Exponent* 4, no. 2 (June 15, 1875): 16.

questioned Spencer's application of Eve's curse on contemporary LDS women: "Was the sentence never revoked?" she asked. "I have an idea that the curse that was placed upon Eve by a merciful and loving Father, was not designed to stand unmitigated, unalterable forever."¹⁰⁶ The writer confesses, however, that she is not "advocating woman's right to rule" and defers to a poem by Eliza R. Snow:

I have apologies to offer here
 For Gentile ladies who disclaim their sphere.
 Having obtained enough of truthful light—
 To see life's strange perversion of the right;
 They seek with noble, yet misguided aim,
 Corruption and abuses to reclaim;
 But all their efforts to remove the curse
 Are only making matters worse and worse.
 They could as well unlock without a key,
 As change the tide of man's degeneracy;
 Without the holy priesthood, 'tis at most,
 Like reck'ning bills in absence of the host.¹⁰⁷

In "A Contented Wife," Helen Mar Kimball Whitney urged women to be patient in enduring the curse: "We know that when God in His tender mercy sees fit to take the curse from man he will from woman." But she goes on to argue for equality as the ultimate redemption:

[God] has heard and taken cognizance of the cries of the millions of suffering women and children, and has turned the tide which is increasing daily in power and influence, and nothing this side of heaven can stay its progress; and weak man would do well to note it, and understand that our Heavenly Father, when He gave him power to rule, intended that he should do it in righteousness, instead of which he has taken advantage of his privileges, and God will hold him accountable for it; and until man is willing to acknowledge woman as his

¹⁰⁶Inez, "Eve's Curse: Is It Never to Be Removed?" *Woman's Exponent* 4, no. 3 (July 1, 1875): 22–23.

¹⁰⁷The poem is Eliza R. Snow, "Woman: An Address before an Assembly of the 'Polysophical Institution,' in President L. Snow's Hall, Great Salt Lake City, January 30, 1855," *Millennial Star* 19, no. 5 (January 31, 1857): 79–80.

equal, and allows her to stand by his side and have a voice in all matters that concern the welfare of women as well as men, he need not expect to be prospered.¹⁰⁸

Men and women are, for Whitney, liberated or enslaved together.

Likewise in a poem written seven years prior to the disfranchisement of women in Utah by the Edmunds-Tucker antipolygamy act of 1887, Emily Hill Woodmansee argues that women's rights will redeem women from the curse:

Alas! even Adam, (O, lasting shame)
Sacrificed Eve, to a selfish aim;
'Twas this woman that gave me the fruit so fair—
'Tis the woman, O, Lord, that the Curse should bear.

. . . .

Has she shrank from "The Curse," through the ages past?
Nay! Her Cross is her Crown, from first to last,
But if Woman should less of a heroine be,
The end of creation, be sure you'd see.

. . . .

"The primitive Curse" is enough to bear;
And the women of Utah the first will share—
"The honors" with men nor content they'll be—
Till Women all over the earth are free.¹⁰⁹

"Without the woman chaos would now reign triumphant on the earth," declared Mary Ann Pratt as she suggested that the women's rights movement could redeem the curse. "I say to all women, make yourselves acquainted with the technicalities of the law made by man, to govern you and your sons and daughters. Raise your voices on high to abolish laws that sustain grog shops and billiard salons to make drunkards of your husbands, sons and brothers. . . . I would again say to the women of the land get in your possession 'Mother Eve's' knowl-

¹⁰⁸H.M.W [Helen Mar Whitney] "A Contented Wife," *Woman's Exponent* 8, no. 20 (March 15, 1880): 154.

¹⁰⁹Emily Hill Woodmansee, "Behold the Dawn," *Woman's Exponent* 9, no. 10 (October 15, 1880): 73.

edge to know good and evil, to ward off the curse that leads to misery and death.”¹¹⁰ Likewise, Hannah Tapfield King writing under the pseudonym of “Rex” gloried at how the movement is helping to “throw off the yoke of servile bondage of long and dark ages, in which woman has been but a ‘chattel’ in her husband’s house,” and optimistically predicted:

She will awake one fine morning and rise up an unfettered being, bound only by the law of God and her own pure nature[.] [T]hose awful words and their still more awful meaning: “Thy desire shall be to thy husband and he shall rule over thee,” will have been cancelled because the curse is fulfilled and the judge opens the door and bids the captive go free, and she walks forth a free, unfettered being in her primal advent in the garden of Eden—she will then feel her dignified responsibility and will lay aside the frivolity that has so often disfigured her, and which has generally arisen from the very feeling that somehow she was but an outlaw in her Father’s house where He had intended her to live as the free unfettered co-partner of her brother man.¹¹¹

Despite the purple prose, this passage movingly describes a day of redemption found within the women’s rights movement. Less than a year before women again received the vote under Utah State’s new constitution, Julia Anna Macdonald argued that the women’s movement was God’s response to six thousand years of “sighs and prayers and heart-yearnings of His daughters.” She continued, “I contend that the movement for Woman’s Suffrage presages her release from the curse placed upon her in Eden; that it is a sign of the times, as well as is the restoration of the Gospel, and that to fight against it, is to array ourselves in opposition to the purposes of the Almighty.”¹¹² Emmeline Wells stressed that “perfect equality” existed in the Garden of Eden, “and so it must be when all things are restored as they were in the beginning. It is this spirit stirring within woman that is to bring her back again to that primeval state that ex-

¹¹⁰Mary Ann Pratt, “Give to Those Rights Whose Rights Belong,” *Woman’s Exponent* 8, no. 21 (March 1, 1880): 165.

¹¹¹Rex [Hannah T. King] “Epistolary Fragment,” *Woman’s Exponent* 13, no. 11 (November 1, 1884): 81.

¹¹²Cactus [Julia Anna Ivins Macdonald Pace], “Cactus Papers No. 1—Unbidden Thoughts,” *Woman’s Exponent* 23, no. 11 (December 1, 1894): 209–10.

isted in the Garden of Eden.”¹¹³

In a poem titled “Eden,” Ruth May Fox stresses equality and marital union as a key to redemption:

In this paradise enchanting roamed a stalwart noble
man

In the image of his Maker comprehend it if you can,
By his side a lovely woman for a helpmeet unto him,
Not a slave nor yet his servant hum’ring every foolish whim.

Not his cook, O happy woman! it was theirs to pluck and
eat,

Not his seamstress for their toilet nature’s garb made all
complete,

But with him to hold dominion over every living thing,
On the earth, beneath the water, and the birds of varied
wing.

Together they held possession of this highly favored
land,

Together they stood and listened to the Father’s grave
command,

Together received his blessing and the promise of his
care

If they would try to serve Him and remember Him in
prayer.

And together we must labor gentle woman, earnest man,
For the lifting up of nations and restore the ancient plan
And together have dominion and make this earth an
Eden,

For know to make a perfect man, you must have Eve and
Adam.¹¹⁴

Reflecting the nineteenth-century debate about the use of anes-

¹¹³E.B.W [Emmeline B. Wells], “The Age We Live In,” *Woman’s Exponent* 30, no. 12 (April 1, 1902): 90.

¹¹⁴Ruth M. Fox, “Eden,” *Woman’s Exponent* 21, no. 24 (June 15, 1893): 184.

thesia during childbirth, Emily Spencer wrote in 1888, “Has not the time come when the curse will be taken from the daughters of Eve? not by deadly chloroform, but by natural means, that is within the reach of everyone. If women would live in a more healthy manner, leave off corsets, breathe pure air, take the right course to strengthen the abdominal muscles, and live on a fruit diet, keep the Word of Wisdom and the celestial law, I know that in natural cases childbirth would be almost painless. . . . It depends on yourselves whether you suffer or not.”¹¹⁵

In 1895, Maria Miller Johnson writing as “Ruby Lamont” pointed to the hypocrisy of men who argue that women must “bear their curse,” while they don’t “object to a man’s accumulation of sufficient wealth to make others do [their] toilsome sweating.”¹¹⁶ Still another author entirely rejects the idea that women “must shoulder the curse because Eve ate and gave to Adam the forbidden fruit.” She argues, “We could with as much propriety accuse [Adam] of being less ambitious and enterprising than the woman.”¹¹⁷ Though diverse in their ideas about what specific course the movement should pursue, Mormon women came to see the expansion of political rights as a divine manifestation of the restoration.

REDEMPTION THROUGH POLYGAMY

The most poignant discussion of Eve’s curse argued that it might be removed by enduring the trials of polygamy. Significantly, of the three parts of Eve’s curse—the pain of childbirth, desire for her husband, and submitting to her husband’s rule—many nine-

¹¹⁵Emily B. Spencer, “To the Sisters,” *Woman’s Exponent* 17, no. 2 (June 15, 1888): 13. While the use of anesthesia was never officially opposed by any church, many religious people felt that it defied the edict placed on Eve, and which applied to her posterity, that “in pain you shall bring forth children” (Gen. 3:16). See Rennie B. Schoepflin’s “Myth 14: That the Church Denounced Anesthesia in Childbirth on Biblical Grounds,” in *Galileo Goes to Jail and Other Myths about Science and Religion*, edited by Ronald L. Numbers (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2009), 123–30.

¹¹⁶Ruby Lamont [Maria Miller Johnson], “Woman Suffrage,” *Woman’s Exponent* 24, no. 1 (June 1, 1895): 6–8.

¹¹⁷“Answer to the Woman and Sin in the Cincinnati *Enquirer*,” *Woman’s Exponent* 12, no. 19 (March 1, 1884): 145–46.

teenth-century Mormon women focused their attention on their desire for their husband, an aspect that is rarely seen as a curse by contemporary women. But this part of the curse takes on special meaning in the context of a polygamous society. To these women, to have intense desires for a husband whom one has to share with another woman or women was indeed a curse. And the weight of enduring the principle is subliminally evident in their words.

A tragic cognitive dissonance is manifest in the idea that the disease and its cure are the exact same thing. The very trials of enduring polygamy were seen as the means of redeeming the curse. In an 1869 general conference address, George Q. Cannon stated that if plural marriage is

practiced in purity and virtue . . . it will exalt woman until she is redeemed from the effects of the Fall, and from that curse pronounced upon her in the beginning. I believe the correct practice of this principle will redeem woman from the effects of that curse—namely, “Thy desire shall be to thy husband, and he shall rule over thee.” All the evils connected with jealousy have their origin in this. It is natural for woman to cleave to man; it was pronounced upon her in the beginning, seemingly as a punishment. I believe the time will come when, by the practice of the virtuous principles which God has revealed, woman will be emancipated from that punishment and that feeling. Will she cease to love man? No, it is not necessary for her to cease to love.¹¹⁸

Somehow this tragic paradox made sense to Mormon women and they came to defend polygamy as a means to redeem themselves from the curse of desiring the sole affection of their husband. Four months after Cannon delivered his remarks, Precindia Huntington Kimball told a meeting of the general Relief Society: “The day is approaching when woman shall be redeemed from the curse placed upon Eve, and I have often thought that our daughters who are in polygamy will be the first redeemed.”¹¹⁹ This idea was echoed by many women in the *Woman's Exponent*. Helen Mar Whitney argued that en-

¹¹⁸George Q. Cannon, “Celestial Marriage,” October 9, 1869, *Journal of Discourses*, 13:207.

¹¹⁹“Minutes of a General Meeting of the Female Relief Society,” February 19, 1870, in Edward W. Tullidge, *Women of Mormondom* (New York: Tullidge & Crandall, 1877), 503–4.

tering into the order of plural marriage “will more quickly free [woman] from that bondage and curse which fell upon her through transgression, than any other and that the ones who practice and advocate it will be the first to stand again as man’s equal, as did our first mother, Eve, in the garden of Eden.”¹²⁰ Another woman stressed that “through this principle of plural marriage woman will be redeemed from the curse placed upon her, and this is worth all the sacrifices it is possible to make.”¹²¹ In a birthday tribute to Eliza R. Snow, another woman argued that polygamy allowed women to become better educated and self-reliant, and noted that women, like Snow, who endured polygamy would set an example for “the rising generation . . . of immense value and as the generations roll by nobler types of womanhood will be developed until the penalty laid upon woman in the beginning that ‘thy desire shall be to thy husband and he shall rule over thee’ will be repealed and she will stand side by side with man full of that queenly dignity and self which will make her his suitable companion rather than inferior.”¹²² Ruth May Fox suggested that “jealousy, as far as woman is concerned, seems to be traceable to the time when she was placed under a ban by the Almighty in the Garden of Eden . . . and unless this feeling is held under strict control will always prove to be such.” She argued that polygamy offers redemption from the curse so that the modern Mormon Eve is free to eat of the tree of life and “by eating the fruit thereof, will ‘live forever.’”¹²³

For these women, freedom from the curse of desiring their husband came only by practicing plural marriage, an institution that

¹²⁰Helen Mar Whitney, “Scenes in Nauvoo, and Incidents from H. C. Kimball’s Journal,” *Woman’s Exponent* 12, no. 10 (October 15, 1883): 74. Whitney would later author a defense of polygamy in which she confessed her belief “that if the human family had always strictly lived up to the laws of God and nature, and had not transgressed and abused their privileges, there would not have been the same necessity for a plurality of wives in this life, though there are still other important reasons to justify and require its practice.” *Why We Practice Plural Marriage: By a “Mormon” Wife and Mother* (Salt Lake City: Juvenile Instructor Office, 1884), 6–7.

¹²¹“A Few Thoughts,” *Woman’s Exponent* 13, no. 1 (June 1, 1884): 4.

¹²²“Topics of the Times,” *Woman’s Exponent* 12, no. 20 (March 15, 1884), 157. This article was reprinted from the *Juvenile Instructor*.

¹²³Aunt Ruth [Ruth May Fox], “Jealousy,” *Woman’s Exponent* 16, no. 2 (June 15, 1887): 13.

could only amplify that desire and longing. Women saw themselves as being redeemed *from* suffering the insecurities, anxieties, and jealousies of having sister wives *by* working to overcome these very insecurities, anxieties, and jealousies. Plural marriage led women who practiced it to see the primary curse placed upon them as being the desire for their husbands, but it also led them to see redemption from that curse through enduring its practice.

Unsurprisingly, after the Manifesto of 1890, this line of thought disappears entirely from the pages of the *Exponent*. But the hope for eventual redemption continued into the new century. "The daughters of Eve will, we think, be instrumental in a great measure through the Gospel in effecting the redemption of woman from the curse," Emmeline Wells wrote in 1907. "Redeemed from the curse, her triumph, her song of victory will be greater and loftier far than Miriam's or Deborah's of old."¹²⁴

CONCLUSION

Woman's Exponent authors certainly did their share of "reflecting back" the image of men, just as Virginia Woolf suggested. But with a press of their own, Mormon women's conversations were more dialogic than those of Mormon men. Calling for a "dialogic feminism" in the emerging twenty-first century, Lidia Puigvert looked to the "dialogic dynamics of the 'other women' [that] are being translated into the theories of solidarity." For the feminist movement to grow, she argues, women must listen to the diverse voices throughout the world and make space for "dialogue and egalitarian exchange." "Dialogic feminism," Puigvert states, "leaves behind the traditional debate about equality vs. difference, taking the assumption instead that the only way to defend equality is by means of respect and listening to the diverse voices." Puigvert concludes, "Equality and difference are not contradictory concepts. The defense of equality would be unthinkable if the plurality of voices were not incorporated."¹²⁵

I would argue that nineteenth-century Mormon women were al-

¹²⁴Emmeline B. Wells, "Why a Woman Should Desire to Be a Mormon," *Woman's Exponent* 36, no. 5 (December 1, 1907): 39.

¹²⁵Lidia Puigvert, "Dialogic Feminism: 'Other Women's' Contributions to the Social Transformation of Gender Relations," in *Woman and Social Transformation*, edited by Elizabeth Beck-Gernsheim, Judith Butler, and

ready participating in this kind of dialogic feminism. They passionately disagreed with each other and challenged each other's opinions, even as they maintained a sense of comity and civility. Men's views were not shut out but were added to the dialogue, sometimes as their words were reproduced in the journal, other times as their words were voiced by women. Their debates were always open, always ongoing, avoiding monological male and monological female discourse. The speaking of many voices created a carnivalesque atmosphere where language was at once serious and subversive. *Woman's Exponent* voices speak in dialogue, preserve conflict, even as they subvert and sometimes co-opt the patriarchal gaze that watched over the publication.

Mormon women also came to see in Eve more than Milton's "fair defect of Nature." Like her nineteenth-century Mormon daughters, Eve was transformed into a multidimensional character. No longer reducible to a minor role in the Eden drama, for some she was, nevertheless, the hapless and unintentional instigator of the Fall, while for others she was the noble and brave soul who brought about human potentiality. For some, she was Adam's "help meet," while for others she was a liberated and equal partner. Eve became the prototypical woman, an example to emulate, and a goddess to be revered.

“SOME SAVAGE TRIBE”: RACE, LEGAL VIOLENCE, AND THE MORMON WAR OF 1838

T. Ward Frampton

This murderous gang when assembled and painted like Indian warriors, and when openly committing murder, robbery, and house burning, were denominated citizens, white people, &c., in most of the papers of the State; while our society who stood firm in the cause of liberty and law, were denominated Mormons, in contradistinction to the appellation of citizens, whites &c, as if we had been some savage tribe, or some colored race of foreigners. —Joseph Smith, April 1840¹

IN THE SPRING OF 1831, THE MORMON LEADER Joseph Smith received a revelation that western Missouri was to be for his fledgling faith “the New Jerusalem: a land of peace, a city of refuge, a place of safety” (D&C 45:59). Then at the extreme western frontier of the United States, Jackson County, Missouri, promised safety and sanctuary for his burgeoning Church. Within a few years, some 10,000

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¹“A History, of the Persecution, of the Church of Jesus Christ, of Latter Day Saints in Missouri,” *Times and Seasons* 1, no. 6 (April 1840): 82.

Mormons had answered their Prophet's call to settle the Missouri wilderness.²

As the faithful flocked to build the new Mormon Zion, however, tensions rapidly escalated between the Mormon immigrants and their new neighbors, the "old settlers" of Missouri. At times the two camps managed to coexist peacefully, but by the fall of 1838, the sporadic violence that had blighted the Mormon presence since their arrival erupted into open combat. For three months, a state of "civil war reigned in northern Missouri."³ Governor Lilburn W. Boggs, responding to sensational reports (some more accurate than others) of mob violence and wild vigilantism, raised the state militia to quell the disturbances. Addressing the militia's chief officer in the field on October 27, 1838, Boggs dispatched an urgent command: "Your orders are, therefore, to hasten your operation with all possible speed. The Mormons must be treated as enemies, and must be exterminated or driven from the state if necessary for the public peace—their outrages are beyond all description."⁴ Within a week, the Mormon War of 1838 had come to a close: scores were slain, the Mormon leadership had surrendered for imprisonment, and thousands of Mormon refugees, many of their homes still smoldering, began the arduous winter journey east into neighboring Illinois.

²Stephen C. LeSueur, *The 1838 Mormon War in Missouri* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1987), 29. Estimates of the Mormon population in Missouri at the time of the expulsion vary from 4,000 and 15,000. LeSueur's calculation of 10,000, "based upon . . . study of the primary and secondary source materials, including election results in Caldwell and the surrounding counties," appears to be the most widely accepted. Though Mormons constituted a sizable share of western Missouri's settlers by 1838, at no point did they constitute a majority of the region's inhabitants.

³Juanita Brooks, *John Doyle Lee: Zealot, Pioneer Builder, Scapegoat* (Salt Lake City: Howe Brothers, 1984), 35.

⁴Governor Lilburn W. Boggs, Letter to General John B. Clark, October 27, 1838. Published in General Assembly of Missouri, *Document Containing the Correspondence, Orders, &c., in Relation to the Disturbances with the Mormons; and the Evidence Given before the Hon. Austin A. King, Judge of the Fifth Judicial Circuit of the State of Missouri, at the Court-house in Richmond, in a Criminal Court of Inquiry, begun November 12, 1838, on the Trial of Joseph Smith, Jr., and Others, for High Treason and Other Crimes against the State* (Fayette, Mo.: Printed at the office of the Boon Lick's Democrat, 1841), 61.

This article does not attempt a comprehensive rechronicling of the Mormon experience in Missouri, but it does seek to address a conspicuous gap in the historiography of the hostilities.⁵ The Church's official accounts have tended to cast the expulsion from Missouri as a straightforward manifestation of religious intolerance, another in a long line of persecutions that repeatedly uprooted the Mormon community during its first three decades.⁶ Non-Mormon authors, meanwhile, have suggested that the early Mormon Church brought their multiple "persecutions" upon themselves—provoking attacks through tactless, aggressive, and confrontational posturing; alarming neighbors by organizing a secretive self-defense brotherhood called the "Danites"; or galling non-Mormons with their deluded blasphemy, reclusive sectarianism, and (in later hostilities in Illinois) by engaging in "plural marriage."⁷ More recent histories have pursued something of a synthesis, stressing that a host of sociological factors—insecurity

⁵For more comprehensive scholarly treatments of the Missouri hostilities, see Leland H. Gentry and Todd M. Compton, *Fire and Sword: A History of Latter-day Saints in Northern Missouri, 1836–39* (Salt Lake City: Greg Kofford Books, 2010); Thomas M. Spencer III, ed., *The Missouri Mormon Experience* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2010); Alexander L. Baugh, *A Call to Arms: The 1838 Mormon Defense of Northern Missouri*, (Ph.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1996; printed Provo, Utah: Joseph Fielding Smith Institute for Latter-day Saint History and BYU Studies, 2000); Kenneth H. Winn, *Exiles in a Land of Liberty: Mormons in America, 1830–1846* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989); and LeSueur, *The 1838 Mormon War in Missouri* (1987).

⁶B. H. Roberts, of the First Council of the Seventy, wrote a classic account in *The Missouri Persecutions* (Salt Lake City: G. Q. Cannon & Sons, 1900), that explicitly criticizes "those who have thought themselves called upon to oppose, if not to persecute, the Church in later years . . . by insinuating that the Church was driven from Missouri and Illinois for other reasons than adherence to an unpopular religion" (iii–iv). Joseph Smith, *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, edited by B. H. Roberts, 7 vols., 2d ed. rev. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1948 printing), unsurprisingly echoes this interpretation. While *History of the Church* identifies other factors present during the development of anti-Mormon hostility in Missouri, see 3:lxiii, it ultimately concludes that "all else [was] secondary, pretext, [Lucifer's] instrumentalities, nothing more."

⁷For an early example along this historical line, see (no author identi-

over the Church's growing political and economic clout, deep-seated cultural differences between the Mormons and the Missourians, etc.—all figured prominently in the conflict.⁸ Even these accounts, however, understate the pervasive, critical role that race played throughout the Missouri hostilities.

Race emerged as a salient and central factor at nearly every juncture of the Missouri conflict, though it manifested itself in complex and interrelated forms at different stages of the hostilities. First, on the most basic level, the Mormon presence stoked fears of abolitionism and Indian attack. A closer reexamination of the Mormons' initial 1833 difficulties in Jackson County, and of subsequent confrontations, illustrates how the Mormons' perceived and actual racial attitudes (and the specter of racial violence that these attitudes seemed to invite) animated anti-Mormon hostility.

Second, over the course of the hostilities, a curious shift occurred in the discourses of both the Mormons and their adversaries, as the Mormon community came to be seen, and increasingly viewed itself, as a racialized "other." This transformation intensified the split between the two camps and created the environment for the extraordinary attempt at "extermination" that followed in the fall of 1838. A bloody brawl on August 6, 1838, prompted by Mormon attempts to vote in Gallatin, Missouri, serves as one, though by no means the only, example of the connection between violence and racial recasting.

Finally, race figured into the hostilities on a peculiar third level: Throughout the Mormon's sojourn in Missouri, and (importantly) during several of the most brutal depredations, non-Mormon combatants chose to mask their faces with black and red paint. Such racial performativity has a convoluted role in American history that defies straightforward explanation, but the use of racial masking in the Hawn's Mill Massacre of October 30, 1838, during which Missouri mi-

fied), *History of Howard and Chariton Counties, Missouri* (St. Louis: National Historical Co., 1883). According to this source, the Mormons "made themselves obnoxious to the Gentiles . . . by their denunciatory articles, through their paper, their clannishness, and their polygamous practices" (54). For a more recent example, see Richard Abanes, *One Nation under Gods: A History of the Mormon Church* (New York: Four Walls Eight Windows, 2002).

⁸For a thorough historiographical overview of Mormon studies, see Ronald W. Walker, David J. Whittaker, and James B. Allen, *Mormon History* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2001), 1–112.

litiamen in black and red paint killed seventeen Mormons, offers some insight into its role in the Missouri context. At the very least, it is clear that the practice played an important part in the deployment of violence during the conflict, apparently granting Missourians license to act with a savagery otherwise off-limits to civilized whites.

Taken together, these manifold manifestations of race offer a new perspective on the Mormon War of 1838. The hostilities, it is worth remembering, represent not only the sole conflict in which a major “religious organization [has been] confronted or opposed by a legally sanctioned state militia force” in American history, but also the sole effort by lawfully organized force to “exterminate” any group of citizens whom we would today recognize as “white.”⁹ While it would be reductive to insist on any single cause of the hostilities, my argument here is that this singular conflict becomes legible only when viewed through the lens of race: It was the force that gave rise to the tensions, that delineated Missourian from Mormon, and that enabled and helped consummate the violence. In this view, the Missouri conflict is not only an important chapter in the early history of the Church but is also an overlooked part of a broader story about the troubled relationship between race and violence throughout American frontier history.

* * *

While the climactic violence of 1838 has understandably drawn the lion’s share of scholarly attention devoted to the Mormon-Missourian conflict, bloody confrontations between the two camps first had emerged five years earlier in Jackson County. “After much fatigue and some suffering,” wrote Parley P. Pratt, one of the four missionaries who left New York in late 1830 hoping to preach the gospel to the Indians, “we all arrived in Independence, in the county of Jackson, on the extreme western frontiers of Missouri, and of the United States.”¹⁰ Indeed, when the Mormons first arrived in the early 1830s, their new home was the “westernmost outpost of American civiliza-

⁹Baugh, *A Call to Arms*, 29.

¹⁰Parley P. Pratt, Jr., ed., *The Autobiography of Parley Parker Pratt* (New York: Russell Brothers, 1874), 55. Digitized copy accessible online at Harold B. Lee Library Online Collection, Brigham Young University, <http://search.lib.byu.edu/> (accessed August 13, 2013).

tion,” with Indian Territory just twelve miles away.¹¹ Multiple factors undoubtedly contributed to the Jackson County hostilities—which concluded with the Mormons being forcibly ejected from their “City of Zion” to the surrounding counties—but principal among them were issues of race: concerns over the growing Mormon population’s attitude toward abolitionism, the prospect of the arrival of Mormon “free negroes,” and the perceived affinity between Mormons and the neighboring Indian tribes.

This article takes the position that such concerns have been significantly underappreciated, but outstanding scholarly work has been done on racial issues in the Missouri conflict. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, as controversy grew over the Church’s strict policy of denying the priesthood to otherwise worthy African Americans males, Mormon historians examined the Missouri hostilities for origins of the Church’s stance on race. But these scholars focused principally on how the Missouri experience influenced (or did not influence) later Church policies on race, not on how race influenced the Missouri experience. As a result, their significant contributions have been of somewhat less value to non-Mormon scholars, focusing more on changes to Church doctrine and policy than on frontier violence.¹²

While certain aspects of the tightly knit Mormon community struck the “old settlers” of Jackson County (pop. 2,823 in 1830) as pe-

¹¹Winn, *Exiles in a Land of Liberty*, 87.

¹²See, e.g., Stephen L. Taggart, *Mormonism’s Negro Policy: Social and Historical Origins* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1970); Lester E. Bush, “Mormonism’s Negro Doctrine: A Historical Overview,” *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 8 (Spring 1973): 11–68. See also Lester Bush, “Writing ‘Mormonism’s Negro Doctrine: An Historical Overview’ (1973): Context and Reflections, 1998,” *Journal of Mormon History* 25, no. 1 (Spring 1999): 229–71; Armand L. Mauss, “Introduction: Conflict and Commitment in an Age of Civil Turmoil,” in *Neither Black nor White: Mormon Scholars Confront the Race Issue in a Universal Church*, edited by Lester E. Bush Jr. and Armand L. Mauss (Midvale, Utah: Signature Books, 1984), 1–8; and Newell G. Bringhurst, “The ‘Missouri Thesis’ Revisited: Early Mormonism, Slavery, and the Status of Black People,” in Newell G. Bringhurst and Darron T. Smith, eds., *Black and Mormon* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2006), 13–33.

cular,¹³ perhaps most unnerving was the fact that the newcomers were mainly from New York and New England.¹⁴ The old settlers, by contrast, “were chiefly from the states of the South—from Kentucky, Tennessee, Virginia, and the Carolinas,” and as such tended to be staunch supporters of slavery.¹⁵ Missouri’s contentious admission to the Union as a slave state had been negotiated only a decade earlier in the Compromise of 1820, and bitterness over the dispute was still acute in the firmly pro-slavery state. Slaves constituted more than 18 percent of the state’s population in 1832;¹⁶ and it is significant, though perhaps unsurprising, that, soon after the Mormons’ arrival, rumors rapidly circulated that the newcomers had commenced “tampering with [the Missourians’] slaves, and endeavoring to sow dissensions and raise seditions amongst them.”¹⁷ “We did not believe in slavery, and they feared us on that account,” wrote Mary Elizabeth Lightner, a young teenager when she moved to Independence with her family in 1831, one of the first Mormon families to relocate there.¹⁸ Chapman Duncan, another early Mormon settler, echoed the assessment. The Missourians were “troubled about abolition,” he wrote, “as we were an eastern people.”¹⁹ Coming just months after Nat Turner’s rebellion in Virginia and a dramatic revolt of 20,000

¹³Clerk of the [United States] House of Representatives, *Abstract of the Returns of the Fifth Census* (Washington, D.C.: Duff Green, 1832). Digital archive: <http://www2.census.gov/prod2/decennial/documents/1830a-01.pdf> (accessed August 28, 2013).

¹⁴*History of the Church*, 3:xx.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, 3:xix; Later historical sources (e.g., LeSueur, *The Mormon War of 1838*, 18; Winn, *Exiles in a Land of Liberty*, 88) confirm this point.

¹⁶Taggart, *Mormonism’s Negro Policy*, 8. According to state census figures, there were 143,373 whites and 32,184 slaves living in Missouri in 1832.

¹⁷Anti-Mormon appeal to Governor Dunklin signed by hundreds of “citizens [of] Jackson County” in July 1833, printed as “To His Excellency, Daniel Dunklin,” *Evening and the Morning Star* 2, no. 15 (December 1833): 114.

¹⁸Mary E. Lightner, “Mary Elizabeth Rollins Lightner,” *Utah Genealogical and Historical Magazine* 17 (July 1926): 193–205.

¹⁹Chapman Duncan, “Autobiography of Chapman Duncan,” typescript, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

slaves in Jamaica, and with “immediatism” (i.e., the insistence on the immediate abolition of slavery) gaining sway in eastern U.S. anti-slavery movement, the Mormons’ sudden arrival no doubt came as an ominous portent to the Missourians.²⁰

The early Church and its adherents were by no means committed to radical abolitionism—the Church, in fact, had no official policy on slavery when the Mormons first arrived in Missouri—but the Missourians’ concerns regarding the Mormons’ racial politics were not unreasonable. The Mormons were generally “free-soilers” opposed to slavery, and as their numbers rapidly grew, so, too, did the Church’s political sway. The early Church claimed at least two black converts before 1832 (albeit outside of Missouri), one of whom was ordained an elder in 1836.²¹ The Book of Mormon proclaimed: “And [the Lord] inviteth them all to come unto him and partake of his goodness; and he denieth none that come unto him, black and white, bond and free . . . and all are alike unto God” (2 Ne. 26:33).²² Certainly relative to the established faiths already existing in the region, the teaching of the early Church with regards to Negroes represented a radical and threatening departure.²³

Were this not troubling enough, Mormons engaged in unauthorized proselytizing among the Indians, much to the consternation of

²⁰Winn, *Exiles in a Land of Liberty*, 92.

²¹Bush, “Mormonism’s Negro Doctrine,” 11–12. See also Russell W. Stevenson, “‘A Negro Preacher’: The Worlds of Elijah Ables,” *Journal of Mormon History* 39, no. 2 (Spring 2013): 165–254.

²²Likewise, the Book of Mormon instructs “Wherefore, a commandment I give unto you, which is the word of God, that ye revile no more again them [the Lamanites] because of the darkness of their skins” (Jacob 3:9).

²³For more on the racial politics of Southern churches, see Charles F. Irons, “An Overview: Antebellum Period,” in *Encyclopedia of Religion in the South*, edited by Samuel S. Hill, Charles H. Lippy, and Charles Reagan Wilson (Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press, 2005), 6–19; Thomas Virgil Peterson, “Slavery,” in *ibid.*, 731–33. Significantly, three of the prominent leaders in Missouri anti-Mormon efforts were pro-slavery ministers: Neil Gilliam (Baptist preacher), Samuel Bogart (Methodist minister), and Sashel Woods (Presbyterian preacher). LeSueur, *The Mormon War in Missouri in 1838*, 247. “History of Joseph Smith,” *Millennial Star* 14, no. 29 (September 11, 1852): 453, notes that “most of the [Missouri] clergy . . . were among the most prominent characters, that rose up and rushed on to destroy the rights

the Missourians and federal Indian agents.²⁴ Indians, the Book of Mormon taught, would soon join with the Mormons and go “among [the Gentiles] as a lion among the beasts of the forest, and as a young lion among the flocks of sheep, who, if he goeth through both treadeth down and teareth in pieces, and none can deliver” (3 Ne. 14–17). Other prophecies from 1832 foretold that “slaves [would soon] rise up against their masters,” and that the Indians “who are left of the land will marshal themselves, and shall become exceeding angry, and shall vex the Gentiles with a sore vexation” (D&C 87:4–5). President Andrew Jackson’s forced relocation of thousands of Shawnees, Kickapoos, Delawares, and other American Indians to the immediately adjacent Indian Territory was cause for apprehension among the old settlers in Independence; but to the Mormons, the resettlement and consolidation of the Indians was a “marvelous” development.²⁵ For them, it was a sure sign that the time of the Gentile was “short” and that the final days were imminent.²⁶

With such tensions escalating, it is not surprising that conflict soon emerged in Jackson County. As early as the spring of 1832, Mormons complained, unknown assailants “in the deadly hours of the night, commenced stoning or brick-batting some of our houses and breaking in our windows, disturbing ourselves, our wives and our children.”²⁷ Later that year, the Missourians began shooting out the windows of Mormon households and setting afire large stacks of hay.²⁸ Equally incendiary were articles and prophecies published in the Mormon newspaper, which included violent, apocalyptic predictions of Mormon conquest and impolitic defenses of Indian rights,

of the Church, as well as the lives of her members.”

²⁴For a detailed discussion of early Mormon proselytizing efforts along the frontier, see Ronald W. Walker, “Seeking the ‘Remnant’: The Native American during the Joseph Smith Period,” *Journal of Mormon History* 19, no. 1 (Spring 1993): 1–33.

²⁵“The Indians,” *Evening and the Morning Star* 1, no. 7 (December 1832): 54.

²⁶*Ibid.*; see also Walker, “Seeking the ‘Remnant,’” 14–15.

²⁷“To His Excellency, Daniel Dunklin,” *Evening and the Morning Star* 2, no. 15 (December 1833): 114.

²⁸*Ibid.*

which no doubt stoked the hostilities.²⁹ But while Jackson County may not have been the ideal haven for which the Mormon settlers had hoped, the harassment and vandalism remained relatively modest during the Mormons' first two years in the area.

This situation changed in July 1833, however, with the publication of two articles in the *Evening and the Morning Star* on the topic of free blacks and slavery. First was an article headlined "Free People of Color" that republished Missouri's restrictive legal requirements on free blacks. As publisher, W. W. Phelps explained, the purpose of the piece was "to prevent any misunderstanding among the churches abroad, respecting Free people of color, who may think of coming to the western boundaries of Missouri, as members of the church."³⁰ Missourians, however, interpreted the passage as clear evidence that the Mormons were encouraging and facilitating the settling of free blacks in Jackson County; Phelps immediately protested that his intent was actually to discourage that very thing. In the same issue, however, was a second article that seemed to betray where the Mormons' sympathies truly lay: "The saints must shun every appearance of evil. As to slaves we have nothing to say. In connection with the wonderful events of this age, much is doing towards abolishing slavery, and colonizing the blacks, in Africa."³¹

As one Mormon witness put it, "the people arose in their fury."³² Outraged Missouri citizens, including many prominent Jackson County leaders, began circulating a call for a town meeting in Independence, citing an "important crisis . . . at hand, as regards our civil society." Recounting the previous allegations of slave tampering and denouncing the recently published articles, the statement declared:

a desire on the part of their society to inflict on our society an injury. . . .

²⁹Walker, "Seeking the 'Remnant,'" 13–17; LeSueur, *The Mormon War in Missouri in 1838*, 17–18.

³⁰"Free People of Color," *Evening and the Morning Star* 2, no. 14 (July 1833): 109.

³¹"The Elders Stationed in Zion to the Churches Abroad, in Love, Greeting," *Evening and the Morning Star* 2, no. 14 (July 1833): 111.

³²John Corrill, *A Brief History of the Church of Christ of Latter Day Saints* (St. Louis: Printed for the author, 1839), 19, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.

[T]he introduction of such a caste [free blacks] amongst us would corrupt our blacks, and instigate them to bloodshed . . . [W]e owe to ourselves, our wives, and children, to the cause of public morals, to remove them from among us, as we are not prepared . . . to receive into the bosom of our families, as fit companions for our wives and daughters, the degraded and corrupted free negroes and mulattoes that are now invited to settle among us.³³

About 500 citizens attended the meeting at the county courthouse a week later, at which the assembly drafted a set of similar grievances. In addition to other complaints, their proclamation repeated the allegations of the Mormons' "corrupting influence" on their slaves, and warned of "the stench both physical and moral, that introduction [of free blacks] would set afloat in our social atmosphere."³⁴ After setting forth their concerns, the gathering issued a set of nonnegotiable demands: that the *Evening and the Morning Star*, the Mormon storehouse, and all Mormon shops be closed immediately; that the Mormons "give a definite pledge of their intention within a reasonable time to remove out of the county"; and that no Mormon ever again settle in Jackson County. The document was signed by all of Jackson County's leading officials, including the constable, county judge, clerk, and jailer.³⁵

A delegation of Missourians presented the Mormon leaders with their demands that afternoon; and when the Church's representatives balked—first pleading for more time, then rejecting the ultimatum outright—the courthouse crowd quickly turned into a mob. Several hundred people surrounded the two-story printing office of the *Evening and the Morning Star*, threw the press from the upper story window, and "scattered through the streets . . . the apparatus, book work, paper, type, &c., &c."³⁶ The mob seized two Mormons, Bishop Edward Partridge and Charles Allen, whom they stripped, tarred, and feathered. Later that week, hundreds of Missourians armed "with

³³"To His Excellency, Daniel Dunklin," 114.

³⁴"Mormonism," *Western Monitor* (Fayette, Mo.), August 2, 1833, [n.p.], reprinted in "Mormonism," *United States Telegraph* (Washington, D.C.), August 21, 1833, 2.

³⁵*Ibid.*

³⁶"To the Patrons of the *Evening and the Morning Star*," *Evening and the Morning Star* 2, no. 15 (December 1833): 109.

rifles, dirks, pistols, clubs and whips” began seizing other Mormon elders, threatening them with death if they continued in their obstinacy.³⁷ Finally the Mormons relented, negotiating a schedule of vacating their Zion over the course of several months. But when the Mormons retained legal counsel in late October 1833, apparently in an effort to forestall their expulsion from Jackson County, hostilities flared again. After a deadly skirmish between bands of Mormons and Missourians in early November, an encounter in which two Missourians and one Mormon were shot dead, the state militia was raised to disarm the Mormons and quell the hostilities. By year’s end, “af-frighted and almost terror stricken,” the Mormons crossed into neighboring Clay County.³⁸

The Mormons’ initial 1833 expulsion from Jackson County was not the only time during the decade of Missouri hostilities, however, that their actual or perceived sympathy for blacks and Indians served as cause or excuse for their harassment. On July 29, 1836, Clay County citizens convened at the courthouse in Liberty, Missouri, exactly as their neighbors had to the south in Jackson County three years earlier, to address the “crisis” produced “by the rapid and increasing emigration, of that people, commonly called Mormons, during the last few months.” The cause of the Clay County residents’ concerns was not the Mormon influx in and of itself, however, but rather the racial norms and politics the newcomers appeared to bring with them. After recounting with considerable sympathy the Mormon hardships in Jackson County, the Liberty meeting soon complained of their new Mormon neighbors: “They are Eastern men . . . [T]hey are non-slave holders, and opposed to slavery; which, in this peculiar period, when abolition has reared its deformed and haggard visage in our land, is well calculated to excite deep and abiding prejudices in any community, where slavery is tolerated and practiced.” The resolution went on to recite widespread allegations that the Mormons had been “keeping on a constant communication” with local Indian tribes, despite the authors’ ready acknowledgement that they could “not vouch for the correctness of these statements.” Nonetheless, the committee argued: “At this time our defenceless situation on the frontier, the bloody disasters of our fellow citizens in Florida and other parts of the south, all tend to make a portion of our citizens regard such senti-

³⁷Ibid.

³⁸*History of Caldwell County*, 114–15.

ments with horror, if not alarm.—These and many other causes, have combined to raise a prejudice against them; and a feeling of hostility, that the first spark may, and we deeply fear, will ignite into all the horrors and desolations of a civil war: the worst evil that can befall any country.”³⁹

The prospect of abolition, a slave uprising, or an Indian attack panicked the old settlers of Missouri, and Mormon immigration was repeatedly cast as a harbinger of such a horrific fate. This confluence of fears, first surfacing in Jackson County in 1833, continued building all the way through to the final expulsion five years later.

A widely reprinted letter from a Missourian who had “been out with the troops” in 1838 offers insight into the Missourians’ motivations. After recounting a series of violent depredations committed by Mormon mobs, the author concludes with the declaration that “Mormonism, emancipation and abolitionism must be driven from our State. We, the exposed frontier men, have enough to contend with to protect our shamefully exposed frontier, without having to combat with the serfe [sic] of the eastern degraded and fanatical rabble thrown with the ‘*poor Indians*,’ on our border.”⁴⁰

As the Mormon War heated up in late August 1838, residents of Carroll County formed a “Committee for Safety” and similarly set

³⁹All quotations are from “Public Meeting,” *Far West* (Liberty, Mo.) 1, no. 21 (June 30, 1836); reprinted under the same title in *Messenger and Advocate* 2, no. 11 (August 1836): 353–54. A subsequent article in *Far West*, “The Mormons—Unparalleled Impudence,” *Far West* (Liberty, Mo.) 1, no. 28 (August 18, 1836): 1, references the June 30 report, and also notes the unwillingness of residents in neighboring Wisconsin Territory to accept the Missouri Mormons: “We stand in no particular need of a class of people to rouse the Indians of *our* frontier to another war.” <http://www.sidneyrigdon.com/dbroadhu/MO/Miss1831.htm>.

⁴⁰“Alarming State of Affairs,” *St. Louis Republican* (St. Louis, Mo.) 15, no. 1682 (November 1, 1838), <http://news.google.com/newspapers?nid=TNEldfgDb5MC>; reprinted under the same title in *Daily Pittsburgh Gazette* 6, no. 91 (November 12, 1838), 2, and *Evening Post* (New York City), 27, No. 11202 (November 14, 1838), 2, <http://www.fultonhistory.com/Newspaper%2010/New%20York%20NY%20Evening%20Post/New%20York%20NY%20Evening%20Post%201838%20Oct-Apr%201839%20Grayscale/New%20York%20NY%20Evening%20Post%201838%20Oct-Apr%201839%20Grayscale%20-%200107.pdf>.

forth their intentions to remove “Mormons, abolitionists, and other disorderly persons” from their county.⁴¹ Citizens sent frightened letters to Governor Boggs that “there is a deeply laid scheme existing among these fanatics” to unite with “immense numbers of Indians of various tribes . . . & work the general destruction of all that are not Mormons.”⁴² Joseph Smith, the Missourians wrote, was boasting of an alliance with an army of 14,000 nearby Indians, and telling his followers “that the time had arrived where all the wicked should be destroyed from the face of the earth, and that, the Indians should be the principal means by which this object should be accomplished.”⁴³ The court clerk of Carroll County wrote Governor Boggs with similar warnings, conveying reports (which he vouched for as credible) that a dozen Mormons were “among the Indians, [working] to induce the Indians to Join them . . . in making war upon the Missourians,” perhaps in the coming months.⁴⁴

As tensions built throughout the early fall of 1838, the Mormons repeatedly protested that they had no connection to abolitionism or alliance with the Indians—but to no avail.⁴⁵ The fear of racial violence was not just “the spark that lit the fire” when hostilities erupted in 1833.⁴⁶ Rather, at almost every stage of the hostilities in western Missouri, the threat posed by Mormonism was understood as both analo-

⁴¹“The Mormons in Carroll County,” *St. Louis Republican* 15, no. 1623 (August 8, 1838): [n.p.], <http://laurel.lso.missouri.edu/search~S7?/X%28missouri+republican%29&searchscope=7&SORT=D/X%28missouri+republican%29&searchscope=7&SORT=D&SUBKEY=%28missouri+republican%29/1%2C446%2C446%2CB/frameset&FF=X%28missouri+republican%29&searchscope=7&SORT=D&9%2C9%2C>; reprinted in *Niles' National Register* (Washington, D.C.) 55, No. 1,407 (September 15, 1838), 2.

⁴²Daniel Ashby, James Keyte, and Sterling Price (Brunswick, Missouri), Letter to Governor Lilburn W. Boggs (Jefferson City, Missouri), September 1, 1838, in *Mormon War Papers, 1837–41*, Missouri State Archives, Jefferson City.

⁴³Nathan Marsh, Letter, 3, quoted in *ibid.*

⁴⁴Joseph Dickson (Clerk of Circuit Court of Carroll County, Carrollton, Mo.), Letter to Governor Lilburn W. Boggs (Jefferson City, Mo.), September 6, 1838, *Mormon War Papers, 1837–41*.

⁴⁵Baugh, *A Call to Arms*, 53.

⁴⁶*Ibid.*, 6.

gous to and inextricably linked with the threat of racial violence from blacks and Indians.

Looking back on the Mormon War of 1838 after nearly fifty years had passed, General Alexander Doniphan, a prominent Missouri figure and one of the few non-Mormon moderates involved in the conflict, responded to a journalist who inquired “whether the anti-slavery sentiment which prevailed among the Saints was in any wise at the bottom of the opposition and persecution to which they were subjected” in Missouri. Doniphan responded that “there could be little doubt that in Jackson County and probably some others, the real reason of the hostility to the church was pro-slavery dislike to [sic] the anti-slavery sentiment of the Mormons.”⁴⁷ The sheer volume of anti-abolitionist and anti-Indian rhetoric, and the consistency with which such grievances were articulated throughout the course of the conflict, strongly suggest the genuine centrality of racial anxiety in the Mormon War of 1838. And even if such concerns were merely pretext rather than “authentic” cause, it is perhaps equally significant that Missourians would couch their aggression and hostility in racialized terms. Either way, it is plain that fear of racial violence was an exceptionally salient concern on the Missouri frontier, and critical to the mobilization of collective action and violence against the Mormon settlers.

* * *

The Mormons’ actual and perceived affinity for blacks and Indians, however, was only the most straightforward way in which racial tensions and fears surfaced throughout the Missouri hostilities. As time went by, the Missourians came to see their Mormon neighbors not only as disconcertingly sympathetic to various non-white groups—a dangerous fifth column allied with slaves and Indians—but also as a distinct (and, importantly, non-white) “people” unto themselves. Cultural differences between the two camps, which numerous accounts of the hostilities have rightly highlighted, assumed a much more profound significance. In the rhetoric of both the Missourians and the

⁴⁷*Saints’ Herald* (Lamoni, Iowa) 31, no. 31 (August 2, 1884), reprinted in Joseph Smith III and Heman Smith, *History of the [Reorganized] Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, 1805-1890*, 4 vols. (Lamoni, Iowa: Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, 1897–1903) 4:461, <http://www.sidneyrigdon.com/dbroadhu/IA/sain1882.htm>).

Mormons, the newcomers increasingly became a tribe apart, distinct in a way that was somehow innate and essential. Although regularly protesting against the disparagement that this racial recasting implied, the Mormons themselves embraced the notion that they were a “chosen” people, divinely gathered in Missouri as the restoration of Israel (D&C 64:34–35).⁴⁸ The process by which the early Mormons carved out and constructed a distinct racial identity for themselves is beginning to receive serious scholarly attention, and indeed, this self-conception likely has had a profound impact on the subsequent history of the Church.⁴⁹ What has received less attention, however, is the role this transformation played in the deadly hostilities that led to Mormons’ expulsion from Missouri.

The August 6, 1838, brawl at Gallatin, Missouri, is remembered as the event that “set the match to the powder keg” in the Mormon War of 1838 and serves as one of many windows into this racial recasting of the Mormons.⁵⁰ While there were probably no fatalities in the brief but furious skirmish, eyewitnesses reported that many “had to be carried from the field for surgical aid . . . , nine men had their skulls broken, and many others were seriously injured in other ways.”⁵¹ Tensions had been running high in northern Missouri as Mormon immigration increased during the summer of 1838, but it was not until the Gallatin affray that the region erupted into a state of lawlessness, vigilantism, and mob violence. Indeed, the Gallatin incident “essentially marked the beginning of the Mormon War in northern Missouri.”⁵²

On August 6, crowds of Mormons and Missourians gathered in

⁴⁸See also William W. Phelps, “The Times,” *Evening and Morning Star* 1, no. 10 (March 1833): 7.

⁴⁹Armand L. Mauss, *All Abraham’s Children: Changing Mormon Conceptions of Race and Lineage* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2003).

⁵⁰William G. Hartley, “My Best for the Kingdom”: *History and Biography of John Lowe Butler, a Mormon Frontiersman* (Salt Lake City: Aspen Books, 1993), 51–62.

⁵¹John D. Lee, *Mormonism Unveiled: The Life and Confession of John D. Lee, Including the Life of Brigham Young* (St. Louis: Bryan, Brand, 1878), 62. A later secondary source records two fatalities among the old settlers. *History of Caldwell County*, 126.

⁵²Baugh, *A Call to Arms*, 47.

the small town of Gallatin, seat of Daviess County, to cast their ballots in the race for state legislator. The election pitted Whig candidate William P. Peniston (one of the first settlers in the county and a prominent slave-owner) against Democrat John A. Williams (proprietor of the county's first grocery store). Both had been actively courting the Mormon vote. At the time, Mormons constituted "about one-half of the two thousand [Daviess] county residents and represented at least a third of the voting population"; since Mormons tended to vote as a bloc, their vote would be decisive in the final outcome.⁵³ William Peniston, however, was well-known as an active anti-Mormon, and it became clear over the course of the campaign that his overtures had fallen on deaf ears.⁵⁴ As the separate crowds mingled outside the polls, trading stories and sharing news, the candidates made last-minute appeals to voters and bought drinks for potential supporters.

Violence broke out around 11:00 A.M., soon after Peniston had mounted a whiskey barrel to address the assembled crowd. Denouncing the Mormons as "a set of horse thieves" (among other distasteful slurs), the candidate exhorted the crowd to prevent the Mormons from voting.⁵⁵ "If they suffered the 'Mormons' to vote," Peniston warned, "the people would soon lose their suffrage."⁵⁶ The precise language Peniston used, however, is left out of many accounts of the brawl, and it is significant. According to John L. Butler, Peniston proclaimed that, "Mormons had [no] more right to vote than the damned niggers."⁵⁷ Other witnesses maintain that it was Missourian Richard Weldon who emerged from the crowd after Peniston's harangue and made the comparison. In Sidney Rigdon's version, the line is slightly different: "[Weldon] swore that the Mormons were no more fit to vote

⁵³LeSueur, *The Mormon War in Missouri in 1838*, 59.

⁵⁴*Ibid.*, 60.

⁵⁵Reed C. Durham Jr., "The Election Day Battle at Gallatin," *BYU Studies* 13, no. 1 (1972): 41, 42. While not an explicitly racialized term, "horse thievery" was a serious accusation; and on the nineteenth-century frontier, the phrase was frequently associated with Indians. See, for example, Richard Irving Dodge, *Our Wild Indians: Thirty-Three Years' Personal Experience among the Red Men of the Great West* (Hartford, Conn.: A. D. Worthington & Co., 1883), 64–65, 542–44.

⁵⁶Durham, "The Election Day Battle at Gallatin," 42.

⁵⁷*Ibid.*

than the d—d niggers.”⁵⁸ In the *History of the Church* version, a drunken Weldon jeered that “the Mormons were not allowed to vote in [nearby] Clay County, no more than the negroes.”⁵⁹ Regardless of who made the statement, however, the result was unmistakable: “the great knockdown between the Mormons and the Missourians commenced.”⁶⁰ As fists and knives flew, the Mormon contingent seized upon a large pile of wooden clubs almost providentially lying between the saloon and the polling place and, though outnumbered, apparently emerged victorious from the fight.⁶¹ While there is conflicting evidence about whether the Mormons ultimately managed to cast their votes, John A. Williams was elected Daviess County’s representative in 1838.

One could dismiss the likening of Mormons to “damned niggers” at Gallatin as a simple (though conspicuously effective) rhetorical flourish, an insignificant turn of phrase meant to rile up an inebriated crowd, were it not for a pattern of other similar incidents that developed throughout the Missouri troubles. As early as 1833, when the old settlers of Jackson County made clear their intentions to drive the new immigrants from the county, they took pains to cast the Mormons as akin to blacks. In the manifesto drawn up at the Independence courthouse on July 23, 1833, they proclaimed the Mormons to be “little above the condition of our blacks either in regard to property or education.”⁶² While the Mormons’ affinity for the local Indians was a cause for concern since the Mormons’ first arrival in the state, the Mormon influx itself became an “incursion of savages” in later years,⁶³ when the Missouri state legislature organized Caldwell County in a bid to defuse tensions in 1836, lawmakers conceived of

⁵⁸Sidney Rigdon, *An Appeal to the American People: Being an Account of the Persecutions of the Church of Latter Day Saints; and of the Barbarities Inflicted on Them by the Inhabitants of the State of Missouri* (Cincinnati: Shepard and Stearns, 1840), 19.

⁵⁹*History of the Church*, 3:57.

⁶⁰Durham, “The Election Day Battle at Gallatin,” 41.

⁶¹*Ibid.*, 43–46.

⁶²“MORMONISM,” *Western Monitor* (Fayette, Mo.), August 2, 1833, reprinted in “History of Joseph Smith (cont.),” *Times and Seasons* 6, no. 5 (March 15, 1845): 832.

⁶³“Dear Sir,” *Far West* (Liberty, Mo.) 1, no. 27 (August 11, 1836): 1;

the territory as “a reservation, similar to those of the Indians, on which to place the Mormons.”⁶⁴ By 1838, letters written by Missourians, both anti-Mormons and more sympathetic correspondents, referred to the Mormons as “that unfortunate race of beings,”⁶⁵ or “those base and degraded beings [who] will be exterminated from the face of the earth.”⁶⁶ A Missouri soldier briefly held prisoner by the Mormons during hostilities in October 1838 described his captors not as soldiers, but as “braves.”⁶⁷

The Mormons were keenly aware of this transformation. Reflecting in 1840 on the Mormons’ just-past experience in Missouri, Joseph Smith bemoaned, “Our society who stood firm in the cause of liberty and law, were denominated Mormons, in contradistinction to the appellation of citizens, whites &c, as if we had been some savage tribe, or some colored race of foreigners.”⁶⁸ Other Mormon accounts of the Missouri conflict echoed Smith’s observation. A late nineteenth-century Church history based largely on personal accounts, for example, commented that “it was openly avowed by the men of Mis-

Missouri Digital Heritage Initiative archive: <http://cdm.sos.mo.gov/cdm4/document.php?CISOROOT=/farwest&CISOPTR=0&REC=1> (accessed August 30, 2013).

⁶⁴Roger D. Launius, *Alexander William Doniphan: Portrait of a Missouri Moderate* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1987), 39.

⁶⁵M. Arthur, Esq., Letter to the Representatives from Clay County, November 29, 1838, in *Document Containing the Correspondence, Orders, &c.*, 94.

⁶⁶Samuel D. Lucas, Letter to Governor Lilburn W. Boggs, October 4, 1838, *Document Containing the Correspondence, Orders, &c.*, 34–35.

⁶⁷Wyatt Cravens, Testimony, *Document Containing the Correspondence, Orders, &c.*, 109.

⁶⁸“A History, of the Persecution,” *Times and Seasons* 1, no. 6 (April 1840): 82. Smith’s accusation that the Mormons were no longer regarded as “citizens” is borne out in a final report on the hostilities from General John B. Clark (the militia leader to whom the original Extermination Order was addressed), Letter to Governor Boggs, November 29, 1838, *Document Containing the Correspondence, Orders, &c.*, 92: “The whole number of the Mormons killed through the whole difficulty, so far as I can ascertain, are about forty, and several wounded. There has been one citizen killed, and about fifteen badly wounded.”

souri that it was no worse to shoot a Mormon than to shoot an Indian, and killing Indians was no worse than killing wild beasts.”⁶⁹ Mormon sources, at least, perceived that they had been racially recast and that this distinction facilitated the violence they endured in Missouri.

The Mormons were not merely passive recipients of this recasting, however. To the contrary, as early as November 1831, Joseph Smith began to identify the Church with “the tribe of Ephraim,” developing the idea that the Mormon faithful were literally of “Israelite lineage.”⁷⁰ The Missourians, on the other hand, were “Gentiles,” nonbelievers occupying territory divinely granted to “the remnant of Jacob” (i.e., Indians) and “heirs according to the covenant” (i.e., the Mormons) as “the land of [their] inheritance.” (D&C 52:2, 44).⁷¹ By 1835, this “proto-racialist” aspect of Mormon identity was becoming more established, as “the Saints in general came increasingly to be described as literal descendants of Ephraim, called by the Holy Spirit out from among the Gentiles of America and Britain.”⁷² And when it came time to fight the Gentiles for this promised land in 1838, the Mormon troops seemed to fully embrace this tribal differentiation: as one non-Mormon source

⁶⁹Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of Utah* (San Francisco: The History Co., 1890), 128.

⁷⁰Armand L. Mauss, “In Search of Ephraim: Traditional Mormon Conceptions of Lineage and Race,” *Journal of Mormon History* 25, no. 1 (Spring 1999): 145.

⁷¹For more in this regard, see Oliver Cowdery, “Address,” *Messenger and Advocate* 1, no. 1 (October 1834): 2, explaining, “We believe that God has set his hand the second time to recover the remnant of his people, Israel; and that the time is near when he will bring them from the four winds, with songs of everlasting joy, and reinstate them upon their own lands which he gave their fathers by covenant.” The tension between this concept of Israelite descent and universalism in early LDS doctrine is explored more fully in Arnold H. Green, “Gathering and Election: Israelite Descent and Universalism in Mormon Discourse,” *Journal of Mormon History* 25, no. 1 (Spring 1999): 196–207.

⁷²Mauss, “In Search of Ephraim,” 133, 146. The Missourians took note of this discursive shift. As one regional history reports, “At first the outside residents were not called Gentiles, and it might have been better for the cause of peace if they never had been—for the name had its effect in two directions—in exalting the Saints into a chosen people destined to suprem-

recounts, the Mormon combatants would announce themselves with the “trumpet tones [of] the old Jewish battle-cry, ‘The sword of the Lord and of Gideon!’”⁷³

This development of a racialized self-conception had its benefits, helping to forge unity within the beleaguered Mormon community during the critical early years. As Laurence Moore has argued, the Mormon leadership aggressively (perhaps even “obnoxiously”) pursued “deliberate strategies of differentiation.”⁷⁴ The notion of “Mormon difference,” Moore writes, “was a deliberate invention elaborated over time. It was both cause and result of a conflict in which all parties discovered reasons to stress not what Mormons had in common with other Americans, which was a great deal, but what they did not have in common. . . . Mormons had to invent an identity for themselves and that required them to maintain certain fictions of cultural apartness. Their enemies acquiesced in the fictions, but they twisted them to justify [their attacks against] Mormons.”⁷⁵ This may overstate the extent to which the development of a distinct Mormon identity was the product of an intentional project of self-invention—Mormons reacted ambivalently, and sometimes resisted, racial differentiation in Missouri. But Moore is not alone in arguing that these distinctive features of the early Church contributed to its ability to withstand (and thrive amid) hardship and multiple relocations,

acy over the heathen round about, and estranging the outside residents from a colony of zealots who evidently intended to make Saintship superior to American citizenship. . . . [The *Evening Star*’s] weekly ‘revelations’ of wonderful things accomplished by the Saints excited derision among the other settlers, and probably would have had no other effect, had it not adopted the habit of speaking of the other citizens as ‘Gentiles,’ whom the Saints would rule over in a good time coming.” (No author listed), “Mormonism,” in *Encyclopedia of the History of Missouri*, edited by Howard L. Conrad (New York: Southern History Co., 1901), 4:481.

⁷³*History of Caldwell County*, 130. For a more contemporary analysis of “Semitic identification” in Mormonism, see Armand L. Mauss, “Mormon Semitism and Anti-Semitism,” *Sociology of Religion* 29, no. 1 (Spring 1968): 11–27.

⁷⁴R. Laurence Moore, *Religious Outsiders and the Making of Americans* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 33, 31.

⁷⁵*Ibid.*, 32.

where many other contemporary religious movements soon failed.⁷⁶

These processes of racial differentiation had more sinister consequences for the early Church, however—not only during the Galatin election incident but throughout the Missouri hostilities. Consider, for example, the primary meaning of “extermination” at the time of Governor Boggs’s infamous Order: “*to destroy utterly; to drive away; to extirpate; as to exterminate a colony, a tribe or a nation.*”⁷⁷ Boggs’s instructions that the Mormons “must be exterminated or driven from the state” was no ordinary military directive, but a call for the eradication of a distinct people whose very existence could no longer be tolerated. Mormon leaders made similar statements in the summer of 1838, promising “a war of extermination . . . ‘til the last drop of their blood is spilled[:] for we will carry the seat of war to their own houses and their own families, and one party or the other shall be utterly destroyed.”⁷⁸ Though the Mormons were careful to couch these warnings in defensive terms, promising “never [to] be the aggressors,”⁷⁹ the gist of their threat was the same: the violent destruction of the rival group (and potentially their bloodline). Both sides employed eliminationist rhetoric premised on the assumption of innate differences between the two camps.

A final vignette from the height of the 1838 violence further illustrates the point. One of the many victims of Hawn’s Mill Massacre of October 1838 (discussed in greater depth below) was a ten-year-old boy named Sardius Smith. According to several witnesses, Smith was hiding among the bodies of recently slain Mormons when he was discovered by a Missourian. The militiaman placed the muzzle of his gun to the boy’s head, declared, “Nits will make lice,” and proceeded to blow off the upper part of Smith’s skull.⁸⁰ This choice of words (“nits make lice”) is significant. As nineteenth-century audiences would

⁷⁶Jan Shippis, *Mormonism: The Story of a New Religious Tradition* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987), 122–23.

⁷⁷William G. Hartley, “Missouri’s 1838 Extermination Order and the Mormons’ Forced Removal to Illinois,” *Mormon Historical Studies* 2, no. 1 (Spring 2001): 24; emphasis mine.

⁷⁸Jonathan Durham, *Document Containing the Correspondence, Orders, &c.*, 16.

⁷⁹*Ibid.*

⁸⁰“A History of the Persecution . . .,” *Times and Seasons* 1, no. 10 (Au-

quickly recognize, the phrase was generally reserved for the killing of Indian children.⁸¹ Tom Quick, for example, who was “known throughout the Delaware Valley as ‘the Indian Slayer’” in the late eighteenth century, infamously used the phrase before murdering Indian children with his tomahawk.⁸² Before the Sand Creek Massacre of 1864, during which Colorado Territory militiamen mutilated and killed scores of Cheyenne and Arapaho Indians, Colonel John Milton Chivington similarly exhorted his men to “kill and scalp all, little and big: nits make lice.”⁸³ Todd M. Compton has highlighted this detail of Sardius Smith’s murder, suggesting that the use of the phrase “puts the Mormons in the tradition of American Indian frontier massacres, showing how far frontier vigilantes dehumanized Mormons just as they dehumanized Indians.”⁸⁴ This is a valuable insight, but it goes deeper than the incident at Hawn’s Mill: the logic of extermination, the brutality of Sardius Smith’s killing, and the Missouri violence as a whole make sense only within the decade-long transformation of the Mormons from “citizens, white people, &c.” to “some savage tribe, or some colored race of foreigners.”

* * *

gust 1840): 147. The boy’s eight-year-old brother, Alma Smith was one of many who watched as his “brother had his brains blown out.” Alma Smith, Affidavit, Manuscript Collection 942, Perry Special Collections, quoted in Paul C. Richards, “Missouri Persecutions: Petitions for Redress,” *BYU Studies* 13, no. 4 (1973): 540.

⁸¹Nineteenth-century sources discussing the Hawn’s Mill Massacre similarly recognized that the killer had “justified his inhuman act by the old Indian aphorism, ‘Nits will make lice.’” Burr Joyce, “The Haun’s Mill Massacre,” *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, October 6, 1887, n.p., reprinted in Joseph Smith III and Heman Smith, *History of the [Reorganized] Church*, 2:224–33.

⁸²“A Noted Indian Slayer: Interesting Reminiscences of a Century and a Half Ago,” *New York Times*, December 25, 1883, 2.

⁸³Gustav Niebuhr, “132 Years Later, Methodists Repent Forebear’s Sin,” *New York Times*, April 27, 1996, A13. For another example, see Governor Caleb Lyon, “Letter: Massacre of Friendly Indians,” *New York Times*, May 21, 1866, 8, which quotes an *Idaho Statesman* editorial celebrating the recent massacre of fourteen Indian women and children: “We say kill them off—the faster the better—without distinction—nits make lice.”

⁸⁴Gentry and Compton, *Fire and Sword*, 339.

Beyond the dynamics discussed in the preceding sections, there is a third sense in which the politics of race contributed to and shaped the Mormon War of 1838: Missourian combatants—before committing various acts of intimidation, arson, looting, or occasionally murder—regularly covered their faces in red and black paint. Though mentioned time and again in the diaries, letters, and reports of those present, this perplexing phenomenon is rarely mentioned in secondary accounts of the conflict and has been entirely overlooked by scholars. The practice of whites “playing Indian” or assuming blackface is a familiar, though complicated, trope in American history, and ascribing any single, definitive meaning to such racial masking in the Missouri context is somewhat beyond the scope of this paper. A reexamination of the massacre at Hawn’s Mill, however, taken alongside several other reported incidents during the conflict in which anti-Mormon forces painted their faces black or red, suggests that racial performativity played a critical role in the violence on the Missouri frontier.⁸⁵

In late October 1838, the village of Hawn’s Mill, situated sixteen miles from Far West on the eastern edge of Caldwell County, grew crowded with Mormon refugees fleeing the mob violence in neighboring counties (as well as with new immigrant families recently arrived from eastern states and Canada).⁸⁶ As hostilities worsened, Joseph Smith urged those living in smaller towns to retreat to larger

⁸⁵While only Missourians apparently used racial masking during the conflict, at least one Mormon military leader (either Samuel Dent or Jonathan Dunham) adopted the *nom de guerre* “Captain Black Hawk.” The original Black Hawk led the Sac and Fox tribes in a well-known, bloody, but unsuccessful campaign in 1832 to reclaim northern Illinois as his people’s rightful homeland. Donald Jackson, ed., *Black Hawk: An Autobiography* (Urbana: University of Illinois, Prairie State Books, 1955). For the Mormon “Captain Black Hawk,” see Deposition of Reed Peck, *Document Containing the Correspondence, Orders, &c.*, 119 (Jonathan Dunham); W. W. Phelps, Deposition, *Document Containing the Correspondence, Orders, &c.*, 125 (Samuel Bent).

⁸⁶The traditional spelling is “Haun’s Mill,” but Alexander L. Baugh, “Jacob Hawn and the Hawn’s Mill Massacre: Missouri Millwright and Oregon Pioneer,” *Mormon Historical Studies* 11, no. 1 (Spring 2010): 1–25, convincingly argues that “Hawn’s Mill” is more accurate. He also reveals that Jacob Hawn, for whom the town was named, was not a Mormon.

Mormon communities; but for reasons that remain in dispute, the residents of Hawn's Mill decided to remain.⁸⁷ On October 28, however, a meeting took place that seemed to ameliorate tensions: Representatives from Hawn's Mill and a group of some 250 Missouri militiamen amassed nearby agreed to a "truce," pledging that neither side would attack the other.⁸⁸

The residents of Hawn's Mill thus were caught unprepared when, late in the afternoon on October 30, several companies of Missouri militia emerged from the woods north and west of the town.⁸⁹ Men in the town began waving and yelling for "quarter," but the Missouri troops unleashed fire and charged forward. Many of the women and children hid or escaped into the woods south of the town, while a small contingent of Mormon men and boys retreated to the blacksmith's shop and returned fire. As one early account described, however, "the cracks between the logs of the [blacksmith's] shop were so large that it was easy to shoot through them, and so thickly were the Mormons huddled together on the inside that nearly every bullet that entered killed or wounded a man."⁹⁰ It was here that the terrified Sardius Smith was eventually discovered and killed at point-blank range. Another Mormon killed after the initial onslaught was an old man, Thomas McBride, who was shot upon surrendering his gun to one of the militia. "That not killing him," however, the Missourians "took an

⁸⁷For a discussion of the "judgmental strain of moralism" that has accompanied this debate, see Gentry and Compton, *Fire and Sword*, 338–39.

⁸⁸*Ibid.*, 321.

⁸⁹Burr Joyce [pseud.], "The Haun's Mill Massacre," *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, October 6, 1887, n.p., reprinted in Joseph Smith III and Heman Smith, *History of the [Reorganized] Church*, 2:224–33. See also John P. Greene, *Facts Relative to the Expulsion of the Mormons* (Cincinnati: R. P. Brooks, 1839), 22, Perry Special Collections. Alma R. Blair, "The Haun's Mill Massacre," *BYU Studies* 13, no. 1 (Autumn 1972): 62–67, does as well as any recent secondary source to capture the sheer brutality of the attack, albeit without any mention of the Missourians' disguise.

⁹⁰Burr Joyce [pseud.], "The Haun's Mill Massacre," *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, October 6, 1887; reprinted in Joseph Smith III and Heman Smith, *History of the [Reorganized] Church*, 2:224–33.

old corn cutter and literally mangled him to pieces.”⁹¹ In all, seventeen Mormons were killed in the attack, ranging in age from nine to seventy-eight, and another thirteen were wounded.⁹²

While the story of the Hawn’s Mill Massacre has been chronicled numerous times, one curious detail often is overlooked. Before they commenced their attack, the Missourians painted their faces black and red and rode in “yell[ing] like savages” when they emerged from the woods.⁹³ Willard Smith, who had arrived with his family in Caldwell County two days before the massacre, reports: “With my two younger brothers [Sardius and Alma], I was at the blacksmith shop with Father when without warning a large body of mounted men with faces blackened or painted like Indians rode up yelling and commenced shooting into the group. . . . Then after taking all the horses belonging to their victims, they rode off howling like Indians.”⁹⁴ His mother, Amanda Barnes Smith, was similarly terrified: “They came like so many demons or wild Indians.”⁹⁵ Margaret Foutz, a mother of five small children, similarly reports that “without any warning whatever, sixty or seventy men with blackened faces came riding their horses at full speed . . . Had we been fleeing from the scalping knife of the Indian we would not have made greater haste [into the woods].”⁹⁶

The Hawn’s Mill Massacre was by no means the first time, how-

⁹¹Greene, *Facts Relative to the Expulsion of the Mormons*, 13.

⁹²Blair, “The Haun’s Mill Massacre,” 64. The victims’ hasty burial mirrored the indiscriminate nature of the violence. Fearful the Missourians would soon return, the Hawn’s Mill survivors threw the fallen into “a well twenty or thirty feet deep” that soon “filled up with their dead bodies to within three feet of the top.” Corrill, *A Brief History of the Church*, 39.

⁹³Brooks, *John Doyle Lee*, 36.

⁹⁴Willard G. Smith, in Jeanine Fry Ricketts, ed., *By Their Fruits: A History and Genealogy of the Fry Family of Wiltshire, England, and Their Descendants, Including the Allied Lines of Harwood, Ramsden, Toomer, Thurston, Bosen and Maddox* (Salt Lake City: n.p., n.d.), 181–83, LDS Family History Library, Salt Lake City, Utah. The account was also reproduced in Alexander L. Baugh, “A Rare Account of the Haun’s Mill Massacre: The Reminiscence of Willard Gilbert Smith,” *Mormon Historical Studies* 8, nos. 1 & 2 (Spring/Fall 2007): 165–71.

⁹⁵Account of Amanda Smith, in Edward W. Tullidge, *Women of Mormondom* (New York: n.p., 1877), 121.

⁹⁶Account of Margaret Foutz, in Edward W. Tullidge, *The Women of*

ever, that anti-Mormons adopted black or red face when engaging in violence in Missouri. As early as 1833, in fact, Jackson County mobs painted themselves in a similar manner. David Pettegrew, for example, recounted a harrowing nighttime attack in November 1833: "A few days after this a large mob came to my house, commanded by General Moses Wilson, Hugh Brazeale, and Lewis Franklin, and broke down my door and burst into my home, armed with guns, clubs, and knives; some of them were painted red and black. This was in the night, and my family was much frightened. They threatened me with immediate death if I did not leave the place." The Pettegrews fled. "In a short time after I returned to my farm and found my house plundered, my grain and crop, stock, and all my farm and farming tools laid to waste and destroyed; and shortly after my house was burned to ashes."⁹⁷ Another Mormon witness offered a similar description: "The said mob were painted as Indians and assuming that character to themselves began abusing and insulting the women. . . . [T]hey then beat and bruised this David Bennett in a most savage and barbarous manner leaving him on the ground for dead they then proceeded to throw down the house."⁹⁸

Nor was the Hawn's Mill Massacre the only time such racial masking was used during the 1838 hostilities. One of the most outspoken and feared anti-Mormons, for example, was Cornelius Gilliam, who "wore a full Indian costume, had his war paint on, and called himself 'the Delaware Chief.'"⁹⁹ Gilliam led a company of troops from Platte County who likewise painted themselves in red or black and were known as "Amarujans."¹⁰⁰ These were likely the troops at the surrender at Far West, where Mormon leaders "were marched into camp surrounded by thousands of savage looking be-

Mormondom, 170–71. See also Isaac Leany, Petition, April 20, 1839, in Clark V. Johnson, ed., *Mormon Redress Petitions: Documents of the 1833–1838 Missouri Conflict* (Provo, Utah: BYU Religious Studies Center, 1992), 487, which noted that "these men came on painted black."

⁹⁷David Pettegrew, Affidavit, March 21, 1840, in Johnson, *Mormon Redress Petitions*, 316.

⁹⁸Oren [sic] Porter Rockwell, Affidavit, February 3, 1840, in Johnson, *Mormon Redress Petitions*, 526–27.

⁹⁹*History of Caldwell County*, 134.

¹⁰⁰*Ibid.*

ings, many of whom were dressed and painted like Indian warriors. These all set up a constant yell, like so many bloodhounds let loose upon their prey.”¹⁰¹ Notably, however, Gilliam’s painted troops were not the same Missourians who attacked at Hawn’s Mill.¹⁰² The Missourians described in the various accounts of the October 30 massacre likely belonged to a separate militia company under the command of Captain Nehemiah Comstock.¹⁰³ In all, over a dozen affidavits in the Mormon Redress Petitions, filed shortly after the expulsion from Missouri to Illinois, along with various other firsthand accounts, describe Missouri mobs or soldiers donning red or black face paint at various points during the hostilities.¹⁰⁴

These accounts consistently depict the painted Missourians as acting with special depravity, suggesting that one function of such racial performativity was to open up a broader range of “acceptable” conduct during the brutal conflict. As the previous sections have argued, the Missouri frontier during the 1830s was a racially charged atmosphere, and whiteness (in contradistinction to the savagery of blacks and Indians) implied some minimal degree of restraint. As one

¹⁰¹Pratt, *Autobiography of Parley P. Pratt*, 206.

¹⁰²Gentry and Compton, *Fire and Sword*, 322; Baugh, *A Call to Arms*, 203–9.

¹⁰³This hypothesis is based on an account written by David Lewis, a survivor of the Hawn’s Mill raid. He reports that, for two or three weeks after the massacre, Captain Comstock, who participated in the massacre, occupied the mills with forty or fifty men, plundering the property of those who had fled. Lewis mentions that one day he “was at the house of Jacob Foutz who was laying wounded when capt Comstock with a company came in with there faces painted black with a half moon painted under each eye.” David Lewis, Statement, March 14, 1839, in Johnson, *Mormon Redress Petitions*, 276–77.

¹⁰⁴In addition to the accounts cited elsewhere in this section, see the petitions of Alanson Brown, January 8, 1840, 426; Daniel Cathcart, January 6, 1840, 427; Nathan Cheney, January 6, 1840, 430; Daniel C. Davis, January 6, 1840, 439; David Fullmer, January 3, 1840, 452; Elisha Hill, January 6, 1840, 464; William W. Patten, January 6, 1840, 343; Levi Richards, May 19, 1840, 329; Elisha Smith, January 6, 1840, 343; Levi Stiltz, March 13, 1840, 312, all in Johnson, *Mormon Redress Petitions*. See also James Leithead, *Autobiography of James Leithead* (Kanab, Utah: n.p., 1900), photocopy, Perry Special Collections.

dismayed Mormon account put it, the Mormons did not expect such outrages “from men of our own coular [sic].”¹⁰⁵ Repeatedly, though, the Missourians wearing red and black are depicted as particularly “murderous[,] openly committing murder, robbery, and house burning”;¹⁰⁶ as abusing the Mormons “in a most savage and barbarous manner”;¹⁰⁷ or as “a hegeous [sic] sight in a Civil Country.”¹⁰⁸ “With their faces painted in horrid Indian Style,” the mobs suddenly became capable of committing unspeakable acts of violence.¹⁰⁹

Joseph Smith’s record identified the paradoxical nature of this masking—it was the Mormons who were considered “some colored race of foreigners,” after all, while the painted Missourians were “denominated . . . white people”—but, in fact, similar performativity was a recurring trope in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century America. Time and again, racial costumes have served not only to “signal that normal rules were suspended during [a] disorder,”¹¹⁰ but also as a means for white colonists and Americans to assert an “indigenous” claim to con-

¹⁰⁵David Lewis, Statement, March 14, 1839, in Johnson, *Mormon Redress Petitions*, 276.

¹⁰⁶“A History, of the Persecution,” *Times and Seasons* 1, no. 6 (April 1840): 82.

¹⁰⁷Oren [sic] Porter Rockwell, Affidavit, February 3, 1840, in Johnson, *Mormon Redress Petitions*, 527.

¹⁰⁸Calvin Beebe, Petition, October 28, 1839, in Johnson, *Mormon Redress Petitions*, 134–35.

¹⁰⁹Elisha Smith, Petition, January 6, 1840, in Johnson, *Mormon Redress Petitions*, 343.

¹¹⁰Paul A. Gilje, *Rioting in America* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996), 29. Recent scholarship on blackface minstrelsy, which first achieved popularity in the 1830s, also explores this transgressive suspension of fixed identities inherent in racial masking. According to social historian Eric Lott, *Love and Theft: Blackface Minstrelsy and the American Working Class* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 6, 8, blackface performance was not simply racist, derogatory mimicry, and was “less a sign of absolute white power and control than of panic, anxiety, terror, and pleasure. . . . [It] worked for over a hundred years to facilitate safely an exchange of energies between two otherwise rigidly bounded and policed cultures.” While Lott is principally concerned with blackface cultural production in minstrel theater, this ambivalence of racial performance—the simultaneous “draw-

tested land or property. In the Mast Tree Riot of 1734, for example, colonists donned Indian costume during an attack asserting their rights to a royal forest in New Hampshire;¹¹¹ in rural Maine, colonial rioters were known to adorn themselves similarly “decades before the good citizens of Boston immortalized that ritual” in the Tea Party of 1773.¹¹² And in the Hudson River Valley, just months after the Mormons’ final expulsion from Missouri, tenant farmers in New York launched what would become a violent, seven-year rebellion against the wealthy patroons of the Hudson River Valley. Disguised as “Calico Indians,” insurgent tenants fought eviction, declaring their landlords’ titles to the territory, which dated to the Dutch colonial settlement period, to be fraudulent and illegitimate.¹¹³ In this view, the decision of Cornelius Gilliam to name his troops “Amaru-jans”—presumably a hybrid of the word “Injun” and “American”—assumes new significance. Perhaps the Missourians, in temporarily shedding their whiteness, were engaged in a similar ritual, symbolically claiming a superior title to the contested land of northern Missouri.

At the very least, it seems clear that racial performativity was an important aspect of the Missouri hostilities to those involved. Coupled with the way in which racial fears helped fuel the tensions and the remarkable recasting of the Mormons over the course of the con-

ing up and crossing of racial boundaries”—is important to remember in the context of the Missouri hostilities. For an excellent analysis of the equally complex phenomenon of “playing Indian” in American culture, see Philip J. Deloria, *Playing Indian* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1998), 7.

¹¹¹Deloria, *Playing Indian*, 27.

¹¹²Gilje, *Rioting in America*, 33.

¹¹³Jonathon H. Earle, *Jacksonian Antislavery and the Politics of Free Soil, 1824–1854* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 59; Reeve Huston, *Land and Freedom: Rural Society, Popular Protest, and Party Politics in Antebellum New York* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 121, 128–29. Huston stresses that such actions should not, however, be conflated with any form of racial sympathy or solidarity: “Like most antebellum white men, the anti-renters did not listen to actual native peoples or to African Americans; rather, they created an image of racial others that served their own purposes. . . . In promoting their egalitarian class agenda, the anti-renters simultaneously helped advance the multiclass cause of white supremacy and Indian removal” (129).

flict, the widespread practice of such masking reveals that the politics of race were far more central to the Mormon War of 1838 than previously has been recognized.

* * *

Given the frequent removes of the early Mormon Church—from New York to Ohio, Ohio to Missouri, Missouri to Illinois, and finally Illinois to Utah—it would be easy to overlook the unique character of the Missouri expulsion. Indeed, the burgeoning Church faced varying degrees of persecution in all of these locales, and occasionally (as in Missouri and Illinois) hostilities even reached the point of bloodshed. But none of the early Church's temporary homes produced the degree of anti-Mormon violence witnessed in Missouri, never did forces outside the Church mobilize so massively to expel the Mormons, and nowhere else was the violence directed against the Mormons so racialized in nature.

Perhaps, then, the time has come to consider the Mormon War of 1838 as not just a formative chapter in the early history of the Church, but also as an important part of broader historical narratives. Consider the comments made just fifteen years after the Mormon hostilities by General David Atchison, a U.S. Senator and veteran officer of the Missouri hostilities, as New Englander opponents of slavery prepared for what would become a critical prelude to the Civil War: "We will have difficulty with the Negro Heroes in Kansas. They are resolved to keep the Slave holder out, and our people are resolved to go in and take their 'Niggers' with them. . . . We are organizing, to meet their organization. We will be compelled to shoot, burn & hang, but the thing will be soon over. We intend to 'Mormonise' the Abolitionists."¹¹⁴

Many of those who joined in the battles of Bleeding Kansas as "border ruffians" and "bushwhackers," pouring over the Jackson County line in 1854 to defend the institution of slavery, likely were veterans of the Mormon War. As one recent essay has argued, "The Missouri reaction to Mormonism worked as a poison pill, giving western Missourians a psychological framework, a language and a behavior to deal with those whom they opposed" that helped shape the subsequent violence in the Mexican-American War and Bleeding Kan-

¹¹⁴Richard O. Boyer, *The Legend of John Brown* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1973), 491.

sas.¹¹⁵ Paying closer attention to the politics of race in the Mormon War of 1838 may provide greater insight into these other conflicts, as well as aiding our understanding of the Missouri hostilities themselves.

In a similar vein, perhaps the Mormon War is best understood in the context of the 1830s Indian removal and the frequent skirmishes between Missourians and neighboring tribes. It would be revealing to learn, for example, how many of the thousand Missouri veterans of the Black Hawk War of 1832 were among the anti-Mormon mobs in the following half-decade.¹¹⁶ Or how many of the anti-Mormons were veterans of a costly 1837 battle against the Seminoles in Florida, in which 138 of the 600 Missouri volunteers were killed.¹¹⁷ The notorious Cornelius Gilliam, for instance, better known outside Mormon circles for leading a motley crew of Oregon pioneers in a massacre of Cayuse Indians,¹¹⁸ was a veteran of both the Black Hawk War and the Florida campaign.¹¹⁹ If the Hawn's Mill Massacre really was "in the tradition of American Indian frontier massacres," as Compton provocatively suggests, then the curious fact that state-sanctioned extermination efforts were launched against a group of people otherwise recognizable as "white" demands closer scrutiny.

The conflict between the Mormons and Missourians was a brief but savage war. As Richard Slotkin has argued, the premise of such conflicts "is that ineluctable political and social differences—rooted in some combination of 'blood' and culture—make coexistence . . . impossible. . . . [S]uch struggles inevitably become 'wars of extermina-

¹¹⁵Kenneth H. Winn, "The Missouri Context of Antebellum Mormonism and Its Legacy of Violence," in Thomas M. Spencer III, ed., *The Missouri Mormon Experience* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2010), 24–25.

¹¹⁶Such research could certainly be carried out: the Missouri State Archives contains over 575,000 individual "Soldier Record" cards, documenting military service for every Missouri conflict (including the Mormon War of 1838) from the War of 1812 to World War I.

¹¹⁷Baugh, *A Call to Arms*, 26; John K. Mahon, "Missouri Volunteers at the Battle of Okeechobee: Christmas Day 1837," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 70, no. 2 (October 1991): 166–76.

¹¹⁸Robert M. Utley and Wilcomb E. Washburn, *Indian Wars* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2002), 164–65.

¹¹⁹Mahon, "Missouri Volunteers at the Battle of Okeechobee," 170.

tion' in which one side or the other attempts to destroy its enemy root and branch."¹¹² Slotkin was writing about "savage war" between frontier settlers and Indians, about the genocidal violence forgotten and obscured in our mythology of the frontier, but his analysis equally describes the war enacted by the old settlers of Missouri against the Mormons. At every level it was rooted in the politics of "'blood' and culture": in white fears of slave revolts and Indian attacks, in the peculiar dynamics of forging a racial "other," and in the complicated rituals of racial performance. We have a tendency to shrink away from such savagery in American history, to compartmentalize and dismiss it as a singular aberration. Until we recognize this brutality's centrality in the making of the American frontier, however, and appreciate the manifold ways in which race intersects with this narrative, the violence implicit in such erasure will continue to haunt us.

¹²⁰Richard Slotkin, *Gunfighter Nation: The Myth of the Frontier in Twentieth-Century America* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998), 12.

EXHIBITING THEOLOGY: JAMES E. TALMAGE AND MORMON PUBLIC RELATIONS, 1915–20

Bradley Kime

IN AUGUST 1911, A TWENTY-ONE-YEAR-OLD convert named Gisbert Bossard secretly photographed the interior of the Salt Lake Temple and threatened to publish the photos unless Mormon leaders supplied a \$100,000 ransom. President Joseph F. Smith immediately refused to “bargain with thieves or traffickers in stolen goods,” and Church leaders began weighing their options.¹ In a September 18 letter to the First Presidency, James E. Talmage proposed that the Church publish its own photos. The plan’s execution undercut Bossard’s scheme and gave Mormons “the upper hand in controlling their public image.”² The plan also revealed the future apostle’s public relations acumen, which served the Church well in the years that followed. Between 1915 and 1920,

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¹Quoted in Kent Walgren, “Inside the Salt Lake Temple: Gisbert Bossard’s 1911 Photographs,” *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 29, no. 3 (Fall 1996): 5.

²Laurie Maffly-Kipp, “The Long Approach to the ‘Mormon Mo-

Talmage initiated a major American media campaign in response to public animosity and Progressive reform efforts aimed at the Church. The campaign consisted of Talmage's widely publicized lectures and widely published articles on distinctive Mormon theology. His topics ranged from metaphysical materialism to God the Father's human past to humanity's potentially divine future. Throughout most of the campaign, the apostle reached a weekly readership of over 1.5 million—a historically significant, if brief, effort to shape public perceptions of Mormonism.³

Talmage's methods and messages between 1915 and 1920 illuminate complexity in the Church's post-Manifesto public relations efforts. Reid Neilson has described the 1893 Chicago World's Fair as the point when Mormons shifted from premillennial proselytizing to a balance of evangelism and "exhibition"—exhibition being intended, at least in part, to pave the way for evangelism.⁴ As the hallmark strategy of the Church's new exhibitiv public relations paradigm, Mormons "sensed the importance . . . of deemphasizing their church's polarizing spiritual beliefs and practices and emphasizing their religion's cultural contributions."⁵ As the Mormon Tabernacle Choir delighted listeners throughout the country and the Church ostensibly ended polygamy, the Tabernacle, rather than the temple, became the representative locus of LDS image creation. The Church's twenti-

ment," *Religion and Politics*, May 17, 2012, <http://religionandpolitics.org/2012/05/17/the-long-approach-to-the-mormon-moment/> (accessed March 27, 2013).

³For brief accounts of Talmage's press campaign, see Thomas Alexander, *Mormonism in Transition: A History of the Latter-day Saints, 1890–1930*, 2d ed. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986), 252–53; John R. Talmage, *The Talmage Story: Life of James E. Talmage—Educator, Scientist, Apostle* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1972), 194–95.

⁴Reid L. Neilson, *Exhibiting Mormonism: The Latter-day Saints and the 1893 Chicago World's Fair* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 47. See also Konden Rich Smith, "Appropriating the Secular: Mormonism and the World Columbian Exposition of 1893," *Journal of Mormon History* 34, no. 4 (Fall 2008): 153–80. Sarah K. Nytroe has made a similar argument about the Church's post-Manifesto public relations efforts using the Utah Semi-Centennial Commission and the Pioneer Jubilee. See "Religion and Memory in American Public Culture, 1890–1920" (Ph.D. diss., Boston College, 2009).

⁵Neilson, *Exhibiting Mormonism*, 178.

eth-century self-presentation emphasized “those Amazing Mormons’ rather than their distinctive system of belief”⁶—a strategy that has arguably “continued unabated into the twenty-first century”⁷ as the theologically sparse “I’m a Mormon” ads attest.

Talmage’s emphasis on Mormon theology illustrates that the new public relations paradigm was not monolithic; its hallmark strategy of cultural exhibition coexisted at times with a complementary approach. Against the backdrop of World War I and widely recognized Mormon patriotism, Talmage resisted the severing of cultural contributions from distinctive doctrines. For him theology was not only the *source* of Mormon cultural contributions but, in itself, Mormonism’s most important offering. Mormon theology was distinctive, legitimate, and *au courant*. To Talmage, it stood above homogeneous Protestant sectarianism, propelled Progressive Era priorities like health and hygiene, and anticipated modernist rejections of various orthodoxies. While insider tomes at the time “proclaimed Mormonism the future’s religion because of its aggressive openness,” its “philosophical coherence,” and “its theology’s . . . hopeful accent on human progress,”⁸ Talmage carried these motifs outward to the American public.

From his speeches at the Panama-Pacific International Exhibition (1915) and the Denver Philosophical Society (1916), to his articles in the *San Francisco Chronicle* and the *Atlanta Constitution*, Talmage deployed distinctive theology as an attempt to disarm public animosity toward the Church. Divested of its combative nineteenth-century edge, Talmage’s Mormon theology was not so much a prophetic voice of warning as a public voice of mollification. Hence, his press campaign was part and parcel of the new public relations paradigm even as it diverged from that paradigm’s dominant strategy; unlike nineteenth-century pamphleteers, Talmage intended to present, not

⁶Jan Shipps, endorsement statement on jacket of Neilson, *Exhibiting Mormonism*.

⁷Neilson, *Exhibiting Mormonism*, 207.

⁸J. Spencer Fluhman, “A Peculiar People”: *Anti-Mormonism and the Making of Religion in Nineteenth-Century America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012), 133. For a discussion of internal theological developments that were often reflected in Talmage’s exhibition, see Matthew Bowman, “The Crisis of Mormon Christology: History, Progress, and Protestantism,” *Fides et Historia* 40, no. 2 (Fall 2008): 1–27.

preach. He saw his efforts primarily as public relations rather than proselytizing. His press campaign was, in essence, an *exhibition*. But it was an exhibition of *theological* achievements nonetheless. Through Talmage's efforts, public presentation of radical Mormon theology persisted into the twentieth century, notwithstanding the Church's strategic shift toward cultural exhibition.

Studies of the public presentation and perception of Mormonism are numerous.⁹ Most, as Matthew Grow has noted, have examined "a one-way process by which outside groups . . . imposed an identity on the Saints."¹⁰ Acknowledging that this historiographical imbalance has reflected the historical imbalance of power faced by Mormons, Neilson and Grow, among others, have also shown "how the Latter-day Saints themselves were participants in the construction and contestation of their own image in America."¹¹ Taken together, the historiography demonstrates that Mormonism's public image has consisted of a dynamic dialogue. While emphasizing Talmage's ef-

⁹Essential studies include Terryl L. Givens, *The Viper on the Hearth: Mormons, Myths, and the Construction of Heresy*, 2d ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013); Jan Shipps, "From Satyr to Saint: American Perceptions of the Mormon, 1860–1960," in her *Sojourner in the Promised Land: Forty Years among the Mormons* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2000), 51–97; Sarah Barringer Gordon, *The Mormon Question: Polygamy and Constitutional Conflict in Nineteenth-Century America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002); Kathleen Flake, *The Politics of American Religious Identity: The Seating of Senator Reed Smoot, Mormon Apostle* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004); Megan Sanborn-Jones, *Performing American Identity in Anti-Mormon Melodrama* (New York: Routledge, 2009); Christine Hutchison-Jones, "Reviling and Revering the Mormons: Defining American Values, 1890–2008" (Ph. D. diss., Boston University, 2011); Fluhman, "A Peculiar People".

¹⁰Matthew Grow, "Contesting the LDS Image: *The North American Review* and the Mormons, 1881–1907," *Journal of Mormon History* 32, no. 2 (Summer 2006): 111–38. For examples, see the appendix of "Recommended Readings." Malcolm Thorpe, "'The Mormon Peril': The Crusade against the Saints in Britain," *Journal of Mormon History* 2 (1975): 69–88, is significant because many of the anti-Mormon themes Talmage confronted came from British sources.

¹¹Neilson, *Exhibiting Mormonism*, 6. See also appendix to this article, "Recommended Readings."

forts, then, this study will also highlight interactions between Mormon and anti-Mormon discourses as both sides were responsive to each other's strategies.

During the decline in anti-Mormon sentiment surrounding World War I, the National Reform Association's nationwide "Crusade against Mormonism" was likely the most organized and agitated campaign that the LDS Church encountered.¹² It was certainly the opposition Talmage faced most frequently. From 1914 to 1921, the organization's nationwide lectures, publications, and press efforts unmasked the Mormon menace and called apathetic citizens to arms. Among other resolutions, the Crusade amplified calls for a constitutional antipolygamy amendment, a ban on Mormon leaders from political office, and a prohibition against sending Mormon publications through the mail. The National Reform Association had formed in 1863 to promote a constitutional amendment stating that the United States was a Christian nation. While it loudly affirmed separation of church and state, William R. Hutchison, a prominent scholar of American religious history, characterized the organization's objective as an attempt to "seize upon the existing Protestant hegemony" by "formaliz[ing] the informal establishment."¹³ Though never successful in its primary goal, the National Reform Association found "other

¹²Christine Hutchison-Jones has illuminated the decline of anti-Mormonism surrounding World War I that Jan Shipps measured statistically in her earlier study. Hutchison-Jones argues that mainstream sources during the period "focused instead on celebrations of the Mormon pioneers and the contemporary Saints' contributions to both wars and to the nation's economic recovery. Significant amounts of popular fiction and nonfiction continued to link the Saints with negative stereotypes, but overall the negative images no longer pictured the Saints as an imminent threat either to national or individual security during these years." Shipps, "From Satyr to Saint," 51–97 and Hutchison-Jones, "Revering and Reviling the Mormons," 9–11.

¹³William R. Hutchison, *Religious Pluralism in America: The Contentious History of a Founding Ideal* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2003), 78–79. For the National Reform Association in the context of Progressive Era moral reform, see Gaines M. Foster, *Moral Reconstruction: Christian Lobbyists and the Federal Legislation of Morality, 1865–1920* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002). For an insider history and purpose statement, see William O. Einwechter, ed., *Explicitly Christian Politics:*

ways to make explicit the nation's commitment to Christianity," including Sabbath day laws, Prohibition, and anti-Mormon legislation.¹⁴ Mormon enforcement of the second Manifesto (1904) diffused most similarly concerted antipolygamy/anti-Mormon campaigns, leading one scholar to characterize the NRA's Crusade as the last of its kind.¹⁵ The organization's efforts continued into the 1920s, but the teens were its anti-Mormon heyday.

The National Reform Association employed the most vocal and widely recognized of Talmage's foes—Frank J. Cannon, Winifred Graham, and Lulu Loveland Shepard. Cannon, an ex-Mormon and ex-senator, joined the Crusade in the spring of 1914, adding to his already busy anti-Mormon lecture circuit. He was an active spokesman for the National Reform Association and avid contributor to its publication, the *Christian Statesman*, for the next four years.¹⁶ Winifred Graham was Britain's most published author before her death in 1950. Her works included six influential, sensational anti-Mormon novels. She contributed to the *Christian Statesman* from England throughout the 1910s and became a spokesman for the National Reform Association's 1919 Third World's Christian Citizenship Conference at Cannon's urging.¹⁷ Talmage's most active opponent was Lulu Shepard, also known as "The Silver Tongued Orator of the Rocky

The Vision of the National Reform Association (Pittsburgh, Pa.: Christian Statesman Press, 1997).

¹⁴Hutchison, *Religious Pluralism*, 79.

¹⁵Joan Smyth Iversen, *The Antipolygamy Controversy in U.S. Women's Movements, 1880–1925: A Debate on the American Home* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1997), 239–55.

¹⁶For Cannon's involvement with the National Reform Association, see Kenneth L. Cannon II, "The Modern Mormon Kingdom': Frank J. Cannon's National Campaign against Mormonism, 1910–18," *Journal of Mormon History* 37, no. 3 (Fall 2011): 60–114. See also Kenneth W. Godfrey, "Frank J. Cannon: Declension in the Mormon Kingdom," in *Differing Visions: Dissenters in Mormon History*, edited by Roger D. Launius (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994), 241–59.

¹⁷Malcolm R. Thorp, "The Mormon Peril," 75–76 and Thorp, "Winifred Graham and the Mormon Image in England," *Journal of Mormon History* 6 (1979): 107–121.

Mountains.”¹⁸ Shepard was a non-Mormon friend of Cannon’s. She helped organize and then lead the Utah chapter of the Woman’s Christian Temperance Union for over a decade. She also contributed frequently to the *Christian Statesman* during Talmage’s press campaign. A career anti-Mormon lecturer after her divorce in 1916, she “knew the value of titillating” her Victorian audiences with accounts of Mormon improprieties.¹⁹

Anti-Mormon activists like Cannon, Graham, and Shepard were wary of the Church’s primary public relations strategy. They saw it as a mask for Mormon theology and aimed to enlighten credulous consumers of Mormon cultural exhibitions. A creative example of their efforts was Shepard’s *Getting Their Eyes Open: A Program for Missionary Societies Showing Popular Fallacies of Latter Day Saints*. The pamphlet contained a cast of Bunyan-esque characters at a meeting of the “Executive Committee of the Home Missionary Society.” Mrs. Studious and Mrs. Wideawake tried to convince Mrs. Superficial and Mrs. Muchtravel that Mormon cultural displays concealed an “insidious and subtle” theology. “I think there are other things far more important to our society than Mormonism,” said Mrs. Muchtravel. “I have been to Salt Lake, visited their great Tabernacle, and heard the most glorious music on their organ, and I don’t know when I have ever seen a more beautiful city or met nicer people than those I met in the Mormon Temple grounds.” Mrs. Studious and Mrs. Wideawake replied with a litany of Mormon heresies. “I feel sure,” said Mrs. Studious, “that many . . . are deceived by just such methods. The Mormons are clever enough to divert your minds from the essential things by putting before you the superficial.” The essential things were theology; Shepard’s pamphlet proclaimed that heresy hid behind Mormon cultural display.²⁰

This anti-Mormon attentiveness to the Church’s central public relations strategy helps account for Talmage’s more theological ap-

¹⁸“Mrs. Lulu Loveland Shepard,” *Christian Statesman*, February 1916, 84.

¹⁹Iversen, *Antipolygamy Controversy*, 244–46, quotation on p. 245. Shepard’s lectures on sexualized Mormon temple rites call to mind Charles A. Cannon, “The Awesome Power of Sex: The Polemical Campaign against Mormon Polygamy,” *Pacific Historical Quarterly* 43 (February 1974): 61–82, who commented on voyeuristic Victorian interest in anti-polygamy literature.

²⁰Lulu Loveland Shepard, *Getting Their Eyes Open: A Program for Mis-*

proach. Mrs. Studios decried various discarded, decontextualized, or divisive Mormon doctrines, from Brigham Young's Adam-God teachings, to Orson Pratt's assertion of Jesus's polygamy, to postmortal soteriology. Shepard's characters warned hoodwinked Americans that Mormons were entering mainstream society through the back door with their hidden heresies in hand. This was a common anti-Mormon refrain and a recurring theme in the *Christian Statesman* throughout 1915–20: "Mormonism is fooling the people of the United States. . . . Theologically, it is made up of all the blasphemies the world has ever known."²¹ Responding with cultural exhibitions alone would have only confirmed the critique. Shepard's pamphlet ended with each character becoming convinced that knowledge of Mormon theology was crucial to combating the Mormon menace. Elder Talmage was eager to oblige.

PRECEDENTS TO THE PRESS CAMPAIGN

In addition to a lucrative career in mining geology and engineering, Talmage had been the University of Utah's president (1894–97) and chair of its Geology Department (1897–1907) and had lectured widely in America and abroad. On December 7, 1911, President Joseph F. Smith called him to be a member of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles. Talmage left his career behind and took his scholarly credentials and public experience with him. His full-time dedication to the ministry from 1911 until his death in 1933 made his enormously time-consuming 1915–20 press campaign possible.

Talmage laid the groundwork for his press campaign with two important presentations. On July 19, 1915, he delivered "The Philosophical Basis of 'Mormonism'" at the Panama-Pacific International Exposition's World's Congress of Religious Philosophies in San Francisco; and on December 14, 1916, he presented "The Vitality of 'Mormonism'" to the Denver Philosophical Society. Talmage exhibited Mormon theology as a distinctive religious philosophy in San Francisco and as the quintessence of the progressive *zeitgeist* in Denver. Mormonism stood apart from rank-and-file religion in the first case

sionary Societies Showing Popular Fallacies of Latter Day Saints (Pittsburgh, Pa.: National Reform Association, n.d.).

²¹Vernon J. Danielson, "The Mormon Propaganda," *Christian Statesman*, June 1917, 33.

and embodied modern health reform and modernist theology in the second. Talmage would later develop both themes in his press campaign, illustrating the interplay of separationist and assimilationist impulses in the Church's twentieth-century public relations efforts.

From February 20 to December 4, 1915, the Panama-Pacific International Exposition celebrated the opening of the Panama Canal, the rebuilding of San Francisco, and the nation's confidence in human progress despite the outbreak of World War I. It was the second largest World's Fair held between the 1893 and 1933 Chicago fairs, with nearly 19 million admissions compared to the Columbian Exposition's 21.5 million.²² Its Congress of Religious Philosophies was much smaller than the Columbian Exposition's famous Parliament of Religions. The Congress was merely one of hundreds of conferences, among which "race betterment" overshadowed religion as a general interest.²³ Invitations were admittedly liberal (lecture topics included "The Philosophy of Judaism" and "The Philosophy of Atheism") but organizers said a day devoted to Christian philosophies "would be incomplete unless the 'Mormon' Church had a place thereon," and the oft-excluded Mormons hailed their inclusion.²⁴

When Talmage received his assignment from the First Presidency (then consisting of President Joseph F. Smith and his counselors, Anthon H. Lund and Charles W. Penrose) to represent Mormonism at the congress, memories of B. H. Roberts's rejection at the Columbian Exposition's Parliament of Religions were still raw. The memories framed the meaning of the Congress of Religious Philosophies. Talmage recalled that moment in his diary: "Though Brahminism, Confucianism, Shintoism and other oriental religions, as well as the so-called Christian sects, each and all could have a hearing the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints was refused recognition. It is interesting now to note that the World's Congress of Religious Philosophies extends a very cordial invitation to the Church to be repre-

²²John E. Findling, ed., *Historical Dictionary of World's Fairs and Expositions, 1851-1988* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1990), 130, 225.

²³Robert W. Rydell et al., *Fair America: World's Fairs in the United States* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2000), 65-66.

²⁴James E. Talmage, Journal, September 23, 1915, typescript, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

sented on their program.”²⁵ A July 31, 1915, editorial in the *Deseret Evening News* also recounted the Roberts debacle in detail, opined that the Parliament “did not win any favor by its narrowness and illiberality,” and noted, in “pleasing contrast,” the Congress’s invitation to the Church and its respectful treatment of Talmage.²⁶

Though the San Francisco Congress was significantly smaller than the Chicago Parliament, Mormons saw it as partial restitution for their rejection in Chicago and, more importantly, as a watershed in recognition of Mormonism as a philosophically coherent religious system. Interpreting the Congress optimistically, the *Deseret News* wrote that the organizers had “done themselves credit in recognizing that which the world calls ‘Mormonism’ as one of the great religious movements of the age, not a sudden, unhealthy, insignificant outburst destined quickly to perish and pass away.” Going beyond optimistic to grandiose, the *Deseret News* wrote that “both the Church and the Congress itself are to be congratulated on the fact that the entrance of the once despised system known as ‘Mormonism’ into the forum of world discussion should have been in all respects so auspicious and so successful.”²⁷ The *Christian Statesman* was more measured, noting mockingly of Mormon effusion: “They take it that the invitation extended to them by the officials of the Congress was entirely complimentary.”²⁸

Mormonism’s entrance as a regarded religious philosophy may have been an overstated reading of the event, but Talmage presented Mormonism as exactly that—a distinctive religious philosophy worthy of worldwide consideration. In doing so, Talmage turned Mormonism’s exclusion from the Protestant polity into evidence of its philosophical legitimacy. Mormonism was not “welcomed as a church

²⁵Ibid., July 15, 1915.

²⁶Editorial, “Congress of Religions,” *Deseret Evening News*, July 31, 1915. Printouts of microfilm copy are in my possession on newspaper articles for which the page numbers are not cited. See also “Dr. J. E. Talmage Back from Coast; Tells of Congress of Religious Philosophies at Exposition, Where He Gave Address,” *Deseret Evening News*, August 4, 1915.

²⁷“Congress of Religions.”

²⁸Frances J. Diefenderfer, “The National Reform Movement: The Campaign against Mormonism, Mormon Theology Unchanged,” *Christian Statesman*, March 1916, 126.

among churches,” but such churches were merely “sectarian divisions not characterized by any distinctive philosophical claims.”²⁹ Hence, as Talmage frequently noted, among Christian philosophies only Mormonism, Catholicism, and “general Protestantism” were represented at the congress.³⁰ Whereas Protestant hegemony had marginalized Mormonism at the World’s Parliament of Religions, Protestant homogeneity legitimized Mormonism at the World’s Congress of Religious Philosophies. Mormonism, Talmage claimed, was the only church with “a definite, distinct and unqualified philosophical basis to proclaim.”³¹ This rhetorical reframing of Mormonism’s exclusion elevated and emphasized doctrinal distinctiveness in an explicitly public relations context. Such doctrinal distinctiveness would later become the organizing thesis of Talmage’s press campaign.

What, then, was Talmage’s distinctive “philosophical basis” for Mormonism? The apostle offered nine faith tenets framed by the Mormon metanarrative of premortality, premillennial eschatology, and postmortal progression. Interlacing Talmage’s tenets were the redemption narrative of Creation, Fall, and Atonement and the restoration narrative of ancient apostles, great apostasy, and living prophets. Talmage expounded as confidently on divine embodiment, eventual “Godship,” and “eternal increase” as on the less-controversial Christian themes. Human progression thus permeated his presentation. But the restored priesthood took center stage. “‘Mormonism’ as a religious system,” Talmage wrote, “would be incomplete, inconsistent, and consequently without philosophical basis” without its divine authority, restored by heavenly messengers.³² The two themes—restored priesthood authority and the eternality of human progression—would later permeate Talmage’s press campaign.

Talmage was pleased with his experience and believed his exhibition was well received. Church leaders published and widely distributed the lecture. “If there be any merit at all in the address as pre-

²⁹James E. Talmage, “Latter-Day Gospel Recognized as Distinctive Religion,” *Deseret Evening News*, November 6, 1915.

³⁰“Dr. J. E. Talmage Back from Coast.”

³¹See Diefenderfer, “The National Reform Movement,” 126; James E. Talmage, “A Notable Feature of the World’s Congress of Religious Philosophies,” *Improvement Era* 19, no. 1 (November 1915): 3–6.

³²James E. Talmage, *The Philosophical Basis of Mormonism* (Salt Lake City: Bureau of Information, 1915), 27–28.

pared and delivered,” Talmage wrote, “it should be the means of accomplishing some good for it has been given unexpectedly liberal publicity.”³³ Mormons would continue to distribute the pamphlet for years; but more significantly, Talmage would expand and distribute its message through his press campaign. The *Christian Statesman* captured the portent of the Congress of Religious Philosophies in its critique of Mormon effusiveness: Talmage dwelt heavily on “the fact that at the World’s Congress of Religious Philosophies . . . Mormonism was the only so-called ‘Christian’ organization that had a definite, distinct and unqualified philosophical basis to proclaim,” but Mormons had naively overestimated their public reception. “Therefore they seem emboldened to present the very objectionable teachings of the system with renewed energy.”³⁴ Whether Talmage’s success in San Francisco was perceived or real, the *Statesman* was right about its consequences. Despite a dominant paradigm of cultural exhibition, Talmage had exhibited Mormonism as a distinctive religious philosophy and would energetically expand his exhibition in the years that followed.

The Denver Philosophical Society provided a similar, if less-celebrated, precedent in 1916. The society was not religiously affiliated and drew speakers from diverse areas of expertise. Talmage’s scholarly credentials, including Fellowship in the Philosophical Society of Great Britain, among many others, likely prompted the Denver Society’s invitation. On the eve of the broader press campaign, Talmage delivered “The Vitality of ‘Mormonism’” at the society’s bi-monthly meeting place, the Brown Palace Hotel. The structure of the address welded Mormonism’s theology to its quantifiable, visible results, all of which exemplified Progressive Era aspirations—efficiency, organization, health, and hygiene.³⁵ Talmage cast Mormonism as the ultimate embodiment of the period’s Progressive spirit. “Why does ‘Mormonism’ persist?” Talmage asked. Determined opposition had tried

³³Talmage, Journal, August 5, 1915.

³⁴Diefenderfer, “The National Reform Movement,” 126.

³⁵For managerial efficiency and organization in the Progressive Era, see Jackson Lears, *Rebirth of a Nation: The Making of Modern America, 1877–1920* (New York: HarperCollins, 2009). For health and hygiene, see Daniel Eli Burnstein, *Next to Godliness: Confronting Dirt and Despair in Progressive Era New York City* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2006), and Michael E. Teller, *The Tuberculosis Movement: A Public Health Campaign in the*

to “strangle the system at its birth,” yet Mormonism had grown and developed “healthy, normal, and undeformed.” “‘Mormonism’ thrives,” asserted Talmage, “because its distinctive doctrines are those of progression, in accord with the better manifestations of the spirit of the times, best adapted to meet the vital needs of the age.”³⁶ Progressive results in Mormonism’s thriving society, Talmage argued, were a direct result of its progressive theology.

Talmage started with Mormonism’s theological progressiveness: “Every studious reader of recent commentaries on the Holy Scriptures, and of theological treatises in general, is aware of a surprising progressiveness in modern views of things spiritual, amounting in many instances to an abandonment of what were once regarded as the fundamentals of orthodoxy. *In the new theology ‘Mormonism’ has pioneered the way.*” Modern revelation, he argued, had presciently dispensed with three “repellent [sic]” dogmas, and developments in contemporary religion were merely catching up with Mormonism. The first was inherent degeneracy and infant baptism. The second was “the one-time general conception of heaven and hell . . . as the only places or conditions prepared for the souls of men.” Third was the denigration of the physical body as “a hindrance and a burden to the spirit.” All three were now passé. Talmage quoted large passages from Mormon scripture as proof-texts of Mormon prescience. Mormon had condemned infant baptism, Joseph Smith had seen in vision the gradations of heavenly glory, and the Word of Wisdom epitomized “the spirit of this age” in exhorting “preservation of the body and . . . prudent observances of sanitation and hygiene.”³⁷

But, in truth, Mormonism hardly resembled a modernist theology. Beyond the Church’s affirmation of the most contested early twentieth-century orthodoxies, Talmage’s use of proof-texts precluded the interrogative intellectual process that defined Protestant Mod-

Progressive Era (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1988). A useful introduction to the complex and contentious period is Walter Nugent, *Progressivism: A Very Short Introduction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009).

³⁶He published this lecture as James E. Talmage, *The Vitality of “Mormonism”: An Address* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1917), 3, 7–8; hereafter cited as *Vitality: An Address*.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 6, 12, 14, 19.

ernists.³⁸ What mattered for Mormon public relations was that Talmage appealed, nonetheless, to a perceived American regard for theological progressiveness. Talmage told his compatriots that Mormon theology, like the modern era, was “characteristically advanced and progressive.”³⁹

Mormonism’s progressive theology, Talmage then argued, was the source of its practical results and marvelous development. It produced the Church’s organizational and managerial efficiency, capable of raising \$30,000 for war sufferers in a single day with no administrative costs. It also produced remarkable results in health and wellness. The Mormon community’s “vital statistics” told “of prolonged life, high birth and low death rates.” A chart comparing the “vital statistics” of Mormons to the rest of the country showed Mormon superiority in every category. Infant mortality rates in particular were “strikingly significant.” Deaths of children under age one averaged over 1913–15 were 59 per thousand among Mormons compared to 249 per thousand in the United States. For children under five, the mortality figures were 82 per thousand versus 349 per thousand.⁴⁰

Talmage’s approach ultimately constituted an appeal to Progressive Era priorities. As historian Richard A. Meckel has written, “The first two decades of the twentieth century witnessed a virtual explosion of public concern over infant mortality,” making “infant mortality an issue of critical significance on the agenda of Progressive health reform.” Behind the issue’s exploding significance were “turn-of-the-century government and private statisticians” who “compiled an unprecedented wealth of social and vital statistics” which “had never before been systematically collected or regularly pub-

³⁸For an indication of which orthodoxies (from the virgin birth to the literal resurrection) were contested at the time, see R. A. Torrey and A. C. Dixon, eds., *The Fundamentals: A Testimony to the Truth* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Books, 1917). For the interrogative process that defined Protestant modernism, see Kathryn Lofton, “The Methodology of the Modernists: Process in American Protestantism,” *Church History* 75, no. 2 (June 2006): 374–402. The standard work on American Protestant Modernism remains William R. Hutchison, *The Modernist Impulse in American Protestantism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976).

³⁹Talmage, *Vitality: An Address*, 12.

⁴⁰*Ibid.*, 24–25.

lished.”⁴¹ With his own carefully recorded and verifiable statistics, Talmage could prove through Progressive methods that Mormonism had realized the modern era’s aspirations. But all visible fruits had their roots in Mormon theology. Talmage emphasized that “the religion of the Latter-day Saints” was “the cause of the surprisingly low death rate, high birth rate, and advanced age at death, characterizing Latter-day Saint communities as compared with the country at large.”⁴² Like his San Francisco speech, “The Vitality of Mormonism” was published widely. And like his presentation of Mormonism as distinctive philosophy, Mormonism as progressive theology would make its thematic mark on the press campaign. Such appeals to American sensibilities would interlace his attempts to set Mormonism apart from American religion.

INITIATING THE PRESS CAMPAIGN

From 1917 through 1919, Talmage published his topical essays on Mormon theology every weekend in dozens of newspapers nationwide. The essays were published in the form of a regular column, printed on the same page each week, and placed in paid advertisement space. The press campaign started in Philadelphia in 1916, primarily as a response to the National Reform Association, which was headquartered in Pittsburgh. On February 22 the influential *Philadelphia Public Ledger* published a letter from NRA Superintendent Dr. James S. Martin and announced the organization’s effort to unseat Senator Reed Smoot, whose contested 1907 seating had come after three years of Congressional hearings. Smoot’s election, Martin wrote, “was obtained by the influence of the Mormon high priesthood and he sits in the Senate as a representative of the Mormon Church and its interests.” Concluding with a call to arms, Martin wrote that “the matter is not a local one relating solely to Utah or to the Mormon Church. It is national.”⁴³ Talmage believed the campaign was “planned more as an assault

⁴¹Richard A. Meckel, *Save the Babies: American Public Health Reform and the Prevention of Infant Mortality, 1850–1929* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990), 101, 103, 105, 116.

⁴²Talmage, *Journal*, December 14, 1916.

⁴³“Reopen Smoot Case in Senate; Anti-Mormon Fight Resumed by Reform League in National Protest,” *Philadelphia Public Ledger*, February 23, 1916.

upon the Church than as an honest protest against the incumbency of Senator Smoot,"⁴⁴ but that it was a distinction without a difference, as the NRA was unequivocal about its aims to check the Church's political, economic, and religious power.

Smoot was unruffled, but Talmage moved quickly. By request of the First Presidency, he arrived in Philadelphia on March 8 and called on publisher H. B. Brougham, of the *Public Ledger*. "In the early part of our conversation," Talmage recorded, "Mr. Brougham was very guarded in his utterances, and markedly reserved in manner; but as we talked he 'thawed out,' and the matter of the Martin communication was freely discussed." Responding to NRA accusations, Talmage gave Brougham letters from ten Western governors denying Mormon political control over their respective states. Brougham assured Talmage that the *Public Ledger* would give him "opportunity to reply to any articles the National Reform association may send in." He noted that Martin and the association were preparing an entire series of articles and promised to show Talmage, while he was in the East, all such articles before their publication.⁴⁵

On May 13 he was back in Philadelphia with the *Public Ledger*'s editorial staff discussing his "proposition of submitting articles on 'Mormonism,'" which "received gratifying encouragement." On May 24–25, he was in Atlanta, another major base of NRA operations, negotiating a contract with James R. Gray, editor-in-chief of the influential *Constitution*. The *Public Ledger* published the first in Talmage's series, titled "How the Mormons Got Their Name," on July 2, 1916, and the *Constitution* followed soon after. The articles marked a significant shift in strategy. "Though, thus far," Talmage commented in his diary as early as March 1916, "silence has seemed to be the best weapon with which to meet the groundless charges and unmitigated vilification of the Cannon-Martin people . . . this may be the opening up of an opportunity to bring the truth before the public."⁴⁶ By the year's end, Talmage had arranged to place a weekly article, paid for by the

⁴⁴Talmage, Journal, March 12, 1916.

⁴⁵Ibid., March 8, 1916. Available records do not explain why the First Presidency selected Talmage as spokesman. But from his previous theological publications, his administrative experience, and his forays in public relations like the Boassard incident, they would have known he was well qualified.

⁴⁶Ibid., March 10, 1916.

Church, “in each of four great newspapers in the country”⁴⁷—the *Boston Post*, the *Philadelphia Public Ledger*, the *San Francisco Chronicle*, and the *Atlanta Constitution*. What had begun as localized responses to the NRA quickly became Talmage’s nationwide press campaign. As his account of the press campaign’s initiation indicates, paving the way for proselyting missionaries was not his only purpose; “the truth” Talmage put “before the public” was aimed at general national opinion as much as particular potential converts.

Opposition developed quickly and continued throughout Talmage’s campaign. In mid-January 1917, the *Philadelphia Public Ledger* and the *Boston Post* rescinded their contracts in response to local pressure, even though, as Talmage recorded in frustration, his articles were “printed in paid space and . . . plainly marked ‘Advertisement.’”⁴⁸ On June 21, the *Kansas City Star* wrote Talmage a letter that read in part, “Because they seem to challenge the authenticity of all Christian churches except your own, we would not care to publish the enclosed articles which you sent us for our issues of July 8th and July 29th.” Talmage recorded indignantly that “these articles, as is the case with the rest of our series, are entirely free from any attack, either open or covert, on men, institutions or systems.”⁴⁹ Talmage had understood his purpose as exhibition, not exhortation. Nonetheless, the *Pittsburgh Dispatch* and *Pittsburgh Post* also canceled their contracts that November. The editor and business manager “expressed their regret in having to decide not to publish ‘Mormon’ articles at present on account of the National Reform Association and other organizations opposed to ‘Mormonism’ having headquarters” there.⁵⁰ Similar protests by the National Reform Association “led to the Wichita Eagle ingloriously breaking its contract” that same year, as did two other smaller papers.⁵¹

Despite the successful protests, Talmage recorded that fourteen major newspapers were carrying his articles on Saturdays or Sundays by the end of 1917. “On the basis of official statements as to circulation,” he began 1918 with an “aggregate publication of over one and

⁴⁷Ibid., December 29, 1916.

⁴⁸Ibid., January 15, 1917.

⁴⁹Ibid., June 25, 1917.

⁵⁰Ibid., November 22, 1917.

⁵¹Ibid., December 13, 1919, in which Talmage referred to the 1917 events; the two smaller papers are cited in December 30, 1917.

one-half million copies weekly.”⁵² Opposition from the NRA and some women’s organizations continued but failed to have the same success in suppressing the articles as they achieved in 1917. In May 1918, Talmage met with the editor-in-chief of the *Boston Herald and Traveler*, who sarcastically described some ineffectual local protests.⁵³ Activists were similarly unsuccessful in pressuring Omaha and Atlanta newspapers to stop publishing Talmage’s articles in 1919. Talmage met with the mayor of Atlanta and the editor of the *Constitution* in May 1919. “With some evidence of amusement,” both men dismissed the “strenuous efforts” of Shepard and the NRA “to get the Constitution to cease publishing.” Sympathy for Talmage’s cause was an unlikely source of such loyalty; rather, printing Talmage’s articles seemed to be good business. The *Alabama Times* “literally pleaded for the privilege of printing” them.⁵⁴ Talmage continued to expand the press campaign throughout 1918, and by 1919 his March 11 entry was typical: “Engaged most of the day in writing and in sending out articles for publication and, as is my usual occupation of late, in answering the many letters of inquiry that come in as a steady stream from the readers of our articles in the papers.”

THEOLOGY EXHIBITED

Two years into Talmage’s press campaign, Boston’s Gorham Press published his first 104 newspaper articles in book form. The compilation’s front matter signaled the influence of the apostle’s earlier presentations. Drawing from his Denver lecture, Talmage titled the volume, *The Vitality of Mormonism*. For the preface, he copied the nine faith tenets from his San Francisco address and added a few introductory paragraphs. The subtitle, *Brief Essays on Distinctive Doctrines of the Church of Jesus-Christ of Latter-day Saints*, stated his organizing thesis. One of the earliest articles was titled “‘Mormonism’: A Distinctive Religious System.” “In the popular classification of religious bodies,” it began, “the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, if included at all, is generally given mention apart from churches and sectarian institutions in general. The segregation is eminently proper, for this Church is strictly unique.” Talmage noted “the distinctive teachings” of the

⁵²Ibid., December 30, 1917, and January 1, 1918.

⁵³Ibid., May 23, 1918.

⁵⁴Ibid., May 22, 1919.

Church and described restored priesthood authority as their foundation. He also recounted the angelic ministrations of John the Baptist and Peter, James, and John in restoring the Aaronic and Melchizedek priesthoods. "This," he concluded, "is the distinctive claim of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Being under Divine commission so to do, the Church proclaims these solemn truths."⁵⁵

About 150 articles followed (depending on the newspaper), demonstrating the promised theological distinctiveness. In a kind of nineteenth-century holdout, Talmage confidently displayed Mormonism's most radical heresies as theological achievements. Several articles described deification and its corollary heresy—that God the Father was once a man as Jesus was. "Man Is a God in Embryo" and "Deity as Exalted Humanity" were among his titles. Talmage asserted repeatedly that human beings had the capacity to become as God, reasoning from scientific, rational, and revelatory sources for the idea's philosophical coherence. Just as confidently, Talmage taught that the mortal Jesus pursued "a course leading to His own exaltation, a state then future, which course was essentially that which His Father had trodden aforetime."⁵⁶

In his discussions of deification, Talmage quoted extensive passages from the Doctrine and Covenants (including the revelation on plural marriage): "Wherefore, as it is written, they are Gods [sic], even the sons of God' [D&C 76:58.]" And, "Then shall they be Gods [sic], because they have no end; therefore shall they be from everlasting to everlasting . . . Then shall they be Gods [sic], because they have all power, and the angels are subject unto them" (D&C 132:20).⁵⁷ He also quoted from Joseph Smith's King Follett Discourse and from other prophets like Lorenzo Snow: "God Himself was once as we are now,

⁵⁵James E. Talmage, "Mormonism: A Distinctive Religious System," in his *The Vitality of Mormonism: Brief Essays on Distinctive Doctrines of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Boston: Gorham Press, 1919), 26, 29; hereafter cited as *Vitality: Brief Essays*.

⁵⁶James E. Talmage, "Deity as Exalted Humanity," *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 10, 1918. Articles were published in the same order on the same days in the major newspapers. They were in roughly the same order but slightly staggered in other newspapers depending on the time of contract negotiations. For the sake of consistency, I will quote from either the *San Francisco Chronicle* or from the published compilation, which was itself a part of the press campaign.

⁵⁷James E. Talmage, "Unending Advancement," in *Vitality: Brief Es-*

and is an exalted man, and sits enthroned in yonder heavens. That is the great secret,” and “As man is God once was; as God is man may be.”⁵⁸ Here, as in all of his essays, Talmage did not feel bound to use biblical proof-texts. He quoted much more frequently from Mormon sources, canonical or otherwise. Declining to appeal to scriptural authorities acknowledged by his audience signaled a distinctiveness deeper than sectarian doctrinal differences. That he also often offered no explanatory scaffolding for his large quotations illustrated his confidence in Mormonism’s most controversial doctrines.

Permeating Talmage’s discussions of controversial doctrines like deification was his most persistent theme—human progression. “If man be the spirit offspring of God,” he wrote in one essay, “and if the possibilities of individual progression be endless . . . then we have to admit that man may eventually attain to Divine estate.”⁵⁹ A third of his essays discussed the principle of progression in various premortal, mortal, and postmortal contexts, including Johannine reception of light and truth and proxy ordinances for the dead.⁶⁰ Priesthood authority was similarly central to Talmage’s exhibition. “The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints avows that the Holy Priesthood has been restored to earth in the present age” he often wrote.⁶¹ All distinctiveness in Mormonism and its theology ultimately rested on divine authority, “received by direct ordination . . . at the hands of those who were em-

says, 247–48.

⁵⁸James E. Talmage, “Man Is a God in Embryo,” in *ibid.*, 272.

⁵⁹James E. Talmage, “Man’s Eternal Progression; Infinite Possibilities of His Estate,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 3, 1918.

⁶⁰See, for examples, the following articles by James E. Talmage in the *San Francisco Chronicle*: “The Glory of God Is Intelligence,” February 24, 1918; “Progression beyond the Grave,” May 12, 1918; “In the Lineage of Deity,” January 27, 1918; “Mortality a Boon; Earth Life an Advancement,” January 13, 1918; “Man Is Eternal,” January 20, 1918. See also the following short articles in his *Vitality: Brief Essays*: “Opportunity Here and Hereafter,” “Salvation and Exaltation; Advancement Worlds without End,” “Will Many or Few Be Saved?—Our Place beyond the Grave,” “Reaching after the Dead—‘Lest we Forget,’” and “The House of the Lord—Why Do the Latter-day Saints Build Temples?”

⁶¹See, for example, James E. Talmage, “A New Dispensation; Authority by Restoration, not Through Succession,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 9, 1919.

powered in former dispensations.”⁶² Even articles on other topics rested on the thematic pillars of progression and priesthood, and Talmage always maintained his organizing thesis by emphasizing distinctions peculiar to Mormon theology.

As a complementary thesis, Talmage asserted Mormonism’s modern progressiveness.⁶³ “My church must be up-to-date, its religion vital and progressive.” Guided by modern revelation, Mormonism was “in accord with the Spirit of the Times.”⁶⁴ Talmage often united Mormon theology’s distinctiveness with its progressiveness to challenge Christian orthodoxy: “Science and Scripture testify to the fact that matter is indestructible, and of necessity uncreated in the inconsistent sense of having been brought into existence from nothing.” Talmage turned to the Doctrine and Covenants to close the ontological chasm in the traditional Christian cosmos: “There is no such thing as immaterial matter” (D&C 131:7). He then turned to contemporary chemistry to help explain the refined material properties of “spirit.”⁶⁵ *Creatio ex nihilo*, Talmage argued in another piece, was “in acknowledged conflict with the fundamental facts demonstrated by science as to the constitution of matter.” Traditional theology was behind the times. In contrast, Mormonism’s concept of organizational creation was not only verified by “the word of latter-day revelation,”

⁶²James E. Talmage, “Joseph Smith, ‘The Mormon Prophet,’” *San Francisco Chronicle*, June 15, 1919. Talmage frequently included historical accounts of angels and ordinations. See, for example, James E. Talmage, “The Morning Breaks, The Shadows Flee,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 1, 1917. See also “The Form of Godliness and the Power Thereof,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 18, 1919.

⁶³See, for example, James E. Talmage, “The Mustard Seed and the Tree; Development, Not Growth Alone,” in *Vitality: Brief Essays*, 13–18.

⁶⁴James E. Talmage, “A Church Up-to-Date: In Accord with the Spirit of the Times,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, April 13, 1919. Talmage’s favorite example of the progressive results of Mormonism’s progressive theology was the statistically superior health resulting from the Word of Wisdom. An “advanced conception” of the physical body and “maintenance of health” were characteristic of “the current age,” he wrote in “The Word of Wisdom,” in *Vitality: Brief Essays*, 213.

⁶⁵James E. Talmage, “Spirit and Matter: Without Beginning or End,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, June 29, 1919.

but it was also validated by modern science.⁶⁶ The eternality of matter was distinctive theology reflected in progressive science.

As Talmage traveled the country, visiting missions and negotiating with newspaper editors, he also made a lecture titled "Mormonism and the War" an integral part of the press campaign. After the United States entered World War I in April 1917, he delivered the lecture in most cities and arranged for press coverage in advance. While Americans may have been willing to overlook theological peculiarities in their praise of Mormon patriotism, Talmage did not encourage them: "Mormon zeal and patriotism in the great struggle" was "very generally known" as the *Bisbee Daily Review* reported "and this the lecturer said is the natural result of Mormon profession and practice . . . and particularly a consequence of the doctrines of the church."⁶⁷ Talmage told his audiences that nationalism was a theological imperative for Mormons. Their country did not call them from their religion; their religion called them to their country. Talmage also repeated in every city that Mormonism's premillennial eschatology and its divine commission to missionize every nation made supporting the war effort a "religious duty" for the Saints.⁶⁸ The establishment of democracy was crucial to the Church's international evangelism in preparation for the Second Coming of Christ. Mormons were indeed patriotic, but they were not setting aside their religion to help their country; they were helping their country so that they could spread their religion.

The *Christian Statesman* saw the lectures as an opportunistic appeal to American patriotism and dismissed them with characteristic cynicism: "Apostle James E. Talmage, chief diplomat of Mormonism, continues his much-needed work certifying the loyalty of his church. Happily, there are some churches in the country whose membership do not need such self-laudation."⁶⁹ The *Statesman* had been critical of Talmage's theological eminence, naming him one of

⁶⁶James E. Talmage, "Nothing from Nothing: Creation a Process of Organization," *San Francisco Chronicle*, June 22, 1919.

⁶⁷James E. Talmage, "Mormonism and the War," *Bisbee Daily Review*, March 31, 1918.

⁶⁸"Mormons See the War As Satan's Fight on Us: Doctor Talmage, Apostle of Latter-day Saints, Says America Is Zion of the New Democracy," *Philadelphia Public Ledger*, June 24, 1918.

⁶⁹"Crusade Notes" (column), *Christian Statesman*, September 1918,

"the smoothest liars in the world" as early as February 1916.⁷⁰ Its editors critiqued the theological exhibition in a regular column, "Crusade Notes," that reported progress of its anti-Mormon campaign. In June 1917, for example, the *Statesman* took issue with Talmage's article on proxy ordinances, arguing that it encouraged sin in this life and duped bereaved women into joining the Church so that they could save their dead lovers. The September 1917 "Crusade Notes" criticized Talmage's selective use of Doctrine and Covenants 132 (he did not quote any of the section's polygamy passages) as a tacit endorsement of the whole revelation. The column also featured more general complaints about Talmage's articles. For instance, the apostle claimed that the Lord's gospel was "lost to humanity" only to be restored by "Joseph Smith, the polygamist."⁷¹ Talmage's readership continued to grow, as did the National Reform Association's concern; and in November 1919, they took their battle from the printing press to Pittsburgh.

CONFRONTATION AND CONCLUSION OF THE PRESS CAMPAIGN

On November 9–16, 1919, the National Reform Association held its Third World's Christian Citizenship Conference in Pittsburgh. Like the two previous conferences, it extended the NRA's purpose of securing "national righteousness" into an international arena.⁷² World War I had given added impetus to the Third Conference: "The danger of the hour lies in the possibility that mankind, in a passion to rear new superstructures to hide the ruins of the war, will forget to build upon the sure foundations laid of old."⁷³ With such import to its proceedings, the conference commissioned reports on nine of the world's major moral problems: immigration, labor and industry, the family, public education, the Sabbath, Mor-

427.

⁷⁰"A Typical Hierarch" (editorial), *Christian Statesman*, February 1916, 79.

⁷¹"Crusade Notes," *Christian Statesman*, July 1918, 327.

⁷²The Publication Committee, eds., *The World's Moral Problems: Addresses at the Third World's Christian Citizenship Conference Held in Pittsburgh, Pa., U.S.A. November 9–16, 1919* (Pittsburgh, Pa.: National Reform Association, 1920), 5.

⁷³*Ibid.*, 6.

monism, intemperance, social purity, and international peace. Forty-one countries were represented, and 58,000 people attended over the eight days. Talmage attended in person after catching wind of the impending report on Mormonism. He spent several days beforehand busily “collating facts to offset some of the great misstatements being circulated by the National Reform Association” and arrived in Pittsburgh on November 9, in time to attend the opening session.⁷⁴

The special day-long session on Mormonism took place on November 12 and attracted close to five thousand people. Audiences were well aware of Talmage’s continuing efforts in the press. Following a commission report by Winifred Graham on the current state of Mormonism, William E. La Rue’s “History and Tactics of Mormon Propaganda,” presupposed public knowledge of Talmage’s work. It was “only . . . uttering a commonplace” to say that Talmage had published “numerous articles . . . written very skillfully . . . advocating the doctrines of the Mormon church.” La Rue warned that Talmage’s efforts were becoming “very effective,” and that Mormons with money (an apparent allusion to the Church’s purchase of advertising space) were thus “using the press . . . much to their advantage.”⁷⁵ Following La Rue, Lulu Loveland Shepard gave a different account of her protest efforts in Atlanta. The editor of the *Atlanta Constitution* had told her he couldn’t refuse the \$5,200 a year he received for printing Talmage’s articles. Shepard had asked in response if he would like to see his daughter converted by one of Talmage’s articles. “Apostle Talmage,” she warned her audience, “does write the smoothest and cleverest sermons on Mormonism I have ever seen.”⁷⁶

Tensions built throughout the session and erupted in the afternoon. Talmage wrote a report to the First Presidency immediately after the conference, recounting that “Winifred Graham went beyond the newspaper accounts of what she was going to say by charging up to us about every crime in the category.” Soon after, Superintendent Martin “announced the presence of a ‘Mormon Apostle’” and told

⁷⁴Talmage, Journal, November 4, 1919.

⁷⁵William E. La Rue, “History and Tactics of Mormon Propaganda,” in *The World’s Moral Problems*, 240.

⁷⁶Lulu Loveland Shepard, “The Menace of Mormonism,” in *The World’s Moral Problems*, 249.

Talmage he “had no right to the floor, as the conference was distinctively ‘Christian.’” In the afternoon, however, session organizers grudgingly granted Talmage five minutes to speak amidst “mingled applause and hissing.” Shepard followed with “a vitriolic tirade.” “She was rampant,” Talmage wrote, “in denouncing our publicity work, and cited her recent experience in Georgia. I was honored (?) by her numerous quotations.” Shepard demanded that Talmage be stripped to reveal the garments that symbolized his treasonous temple oaths. The crowd quickly hemmed him in, “hurling” questions and shaking fists in his face. After about forty minutes, just as a group of men was gathering to seize and strip him, Talmage slipped away unscathed.⁷⁷ At least some press coverage of the fiasco criticized the conference’s intolerant “mob spirit,”⁷⁸ and Talmage’s press campaign seemed unaffected. Despite the opposition, he signed a contract the next day with the *Pittsburgh Leader* to begin publication of his articles.

But in truth, the press campaign had already crested. After 1919 it slowly faded from Talmage’s agenda and the nation’s newspapers without ceremony or comment. Talmage’s last entry on the topic noted the completion of his third set of fifty-two articles scheduled for publication through December 1919.⁷⁹ Contracts with a few papers like the *Pittsburgh Leader* and the *Philadelphia Inquirer* continued throughout 1920, but most ended after 1919. By the fall of 1920, Talmage had moved on to other long-term, time-consuming projects, particularly his revision of the Book of Mormon, and by October 1924, he was crossing the Atlantic to preside over the British and European missions.

Much of the lasting significance of his 1915–20 efforts came during his time in Britain from 1924 to 1927. In light of the rampant

⁷⁷Talmage sent this detailed report to the First Presidency later that night and included a copy in his journal, November 12, 1919. For the fullest account of the event, see James E. Talmage, “Christianity Falsely So-Called; A Late Instance of Intolerance and Bigotry,” *Improvement Era* 23, no. 3 (January 1920): 196–205. Talmage noted in his *Era* account that the speakers told “in mournful numbers, of the ever increasing success of our missionary service and of the effect of newspaper publication of articles dealing with ‘Mormon’ doctrines” (198).

⁷⁸See for example, “The Intolerant Spirit” (editorial), *Pittsburgh Leader*, November 14, 1919.

⁷⁹Talmage, Journal, October 31, 1919.

anti-Mormonism in the British press at the time, Talmage's biographer and son, John R. Talmage, identified his father's success with American newspaper editors as a primary reason for his mission call.⁸⁰ Through press negotiations, conferences, and publications, Talmage's seasoned public relations skills helped turn the tide of twentieth-century British anti-Mormonism during his mission presidency.⁸¹

But what had been the impact of Talmage's efforts in America? Certainly anti-Mormonism had abated somewhat from 1915 to 1920, but whether the theological exhibition helped alter the Mormon public image is difficult to tell. Talmage thought so. He reported positive responses and a shift in public opinion throughout the campaign.⁸² But perhaps more measurable were the effects frequently reported from the mission field. Whether or not Talmage changed Mormonism's public image, more people opened their doors to Mormon missionaries after reading his articles.⁸³

Despite his success, however, cultural exhibition has undoubtedly dominated twentieth- and twenty-first-century public relations before and since. The modern Church has most often approached public relations as an Elias to its proselyting efforts while confining theology to the latter. Increasingly sophisticated public affairs entities have downplayed distinctive theology, calibrating the Church's public

⁸⁰Talmage, *The Talmage Story*, 206.

⁸¹Alan K. Parrish, "Turning the Media Image of the Church in Great Britain, 1922–33," in Cynthia Doxey, Robert C. Freeman, Richard Neitzel Holzapfel, and Dennis A. Wright, eds., *Regional Studies in Latter-day Saint Church History: The British Isles* (Provo, Utah: BYU Religious Studies Center, 2007), 171–92.

⁸²See, for example, "Dr. Talmage Back from East Gives Impressions of Trip," *Deseret News*, December 6, 1917, and "Dr. James E. Talmage Returns from Tour in Southern States," *Deseret News*, May 29, 1919.

⁸³The positive reports came from missionaries and mission presidents. On December 2, 1917, for example, Talmage wrote in his journal: "President Bennion and the elders here stationed say that much good has resulted from the publication of our articles in the St. Louis Globe-Democrat." On May 11, 1918, Talmage wrote: "It was very encouraging to hear from the lips of these missionaries of the way in which the articles we have been publishing in the Florida Times-Union and other papers have opened the doors of honest-hearted people to them and their message." See also Talmage, Journal, April 3, 1917, and April 3, 1918.

presentations to evolving American religious sensibilities.⁸⁴ The first department dedicated exclusively to public relations, the Church Information Service, grew out of a successful advertising campaign for the Tabernacle Choir's 1955 European tour.⁸⁵ Its purpose was to publicize pageants, choir tours, and the Church's pavilion at the 1964 World's Fair in New York.

The hallmark achievement of its successor, the 1972 Public Communications Department, was to associate Mormons and happy families in the American mind, particularly through its popular "Homefront" ads.⁸⁶ From 1978 to 1981, the department published four eight-page detachable pamphlets in *Reader's Digest* each year. These included titles like, "Can You—As a Man, As a Woman—Get More Satisfaction Out of Life?" "Can You Feel More Secure in Life?" and "Can You and Your Children Agree on How They Should Live?"⁸⁷ The latter pamphlet included a coupon for a sixteen-page booklet about the Osmonds. One 1979 advertisement recounted Joseph Smith's First Vision, but it also designated a list of moral platitudes as "The Seven Keys of Mormonism."⁸⁸ Today, "I'm a Mormon" ads make the Saints, not their beliefs, "irresistibly cool."⁸⁹ As polls indicate the need for this twenty-first-century Mormon-image makeover, Church Public Affairs efforts continue to deemphasize divisive doctrines.

⁸⁴Previous departments have included the Radio, Publicity, and Missionary Literature Committee (1935–57), the Church Information Service (1957–72), the External Communications Department (1972–73), the Public Communications Department (1973–83), and the Public Communications/Special Affairs Department (1983–91).

⁸⁵See "Public Affairs Department," unpublished history, n.d., 4; my thanks to J. B. Haws for sharing his photocopy of this document with me.

⁸⁶J. B. Haws, *The Mormon Image in the American Mind: Latter-day Saints and Public Perception from George Romney to Mitt Romney* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 80.

⁸⁷The ads were published in the June, September, and December 1978 *Reader's Digests*, respectively.

⁸⁸These were; "1. Home and Family Come First; 2. Try Always to Stand on Your Own Feet; 3. Work Is Something to Enjoy; 4. Life Is a Blessing and a Responsibility; 5. Temperance: For Health and Happiness; 6. You Learn—That You May Serve; 7. Faith Makes You Welcome Each New Day." The advertisement was published in April and December 1979.

⁸⁹Stephen Colbert, "Yahweh or No Way?—Mormons and God's Poll

Recent commentators have lamented the resulting paucity of public discourse on Mormon theology. Terryl Givens has argued that, since the 1893 World's Fair, "Mormons have largely left others to frame the theological discussion" of their faith. "In opting to emphasize Mormon culture over Mormon theology, Mormons have too often left the media and ministers free to select the most esoteric and idiosyncratic for ridicule. So jibes about Kolob and magic underwear usurp serious engagement, much as public knowledge about the Amish is confined to a two-dimensional caricature involving a horse and buggy."⁹⁰ Non-Mormons have found cause to mourn as well. English philosopher Simon Critchley described his own breathtaking encounter with Mormon theology and asked, "Why are Mormons so keen to conceal their pearl of greatest price? Why is no one really talking about this? In the context of you-know-who's presidential bid, people *appear* to be endlessly talking about Mormonism, but its true theological challenge is entirely absent from the discussion."⁹¹

Of course, many others are pleased, if not relieved, to have Mormonism's most controversial doctrines reserved for private conversation. And although the theology Talmage exhibited has lost its place in public discourse, some see the confidence of his approach echoing in current Church public relations. With or without theology, Talmage's impact could be traced in the Church's self-assured responses to naysayers from Gisbert Bossard and Lulu Shepard to Trey Parker and Matt Stone. The Church's statement on *The Book of Mormon*—a Broadway musical that mocked Mormonism's sacred scripture as Bossard once mocked its sacred structure—confidently invited Amer-

Numbers," *The Colbert Report*, episode #07105, originally aired August 10, 2011, <http://www.colbertnation.com/the-colbert-report-videos/394360/august-10-2011/yaweh-or-no-way-mormons-god-s-poll-numbers> (accessed April 1, 2013).

⁹⁰Terryl L. Givens, "Romney, Mormonism, and the American Compromise," *Sightings*, February 16, 2012, http://divinity.uchicago.edu/martycenter/publications/sightings/archive_2012/0216.shtml (accessed April 3, 2013).

⁹¹Simon Critchley, "Why I Love Mormonism," *New York Times*, September 16, 2012, http://opinionator.blogs.nytimes.com/2012/09/16/why-i-love-mormonism/?_r=0 (accessed April 3, 2013). It should be noted that Critchley's questions, though thought-provoking, do not take into consideration the evolution of anti-Mormonism in the twenty-first century.

icans, as in 1911, to see for themselves.⁹² Nonetheless, theology in the Church's public relations efforts largely remains a distant or forgotten memory, a fact that highlights the significance of Talmage's press campaign. His theological exhibition from 1915 to 1920 is a reminder that Mormonism's post-1893 public relations efforts have involved more strategies than one.

APPENDIX RECOMMENDED READINGS

Note: The noteworthy studies below, among others, explore public presentations and perceptions of Mormonism, especially in the United States and Great Britain, by both Mormons and non-Mormons.

Arrington, Leonard J. "Mormonism: Views from Without and Within." *BYU Studies* 14 (Winter 1974): 140–53.

Arrington, Leonard J., and Jon Haupt. "Intolerable Zion: The Image of Mormonism in Nineteenth-Century American Literature." *Western Humanities Review* 22 (Summer 1968): 243–60.

Bitton, Davis. "Polygamy Defended." In his *The Ritualization of Mormon History, and Other Essays*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994, 34–53.

Brudnoy, David. "A Decade in Zion: Theodore Schroeder's Initial Assault on the Mormons." *Historian* 37 (1975): 241–56.

Brudnoy, David. "Of Sinners and Saints: Theodore Schroeder, Brigham Roberts, and Reed Smoot." *Journal of Church and State* 14 (Spring 1972): 261–78.

Bunker, Gary L., and Davis Bitton. *The Mormon Graphic Image, 1834–1914: Cartoons, Caricatures, and Illustrations*. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1983.

Bush, Lester E. "A Peculiar People: The Physiological Aspects of Mormonism, 1850–1975." *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 12 (Fall 1979): 61–83.

Cannon, Brian Q., and Jacob W. Olmstead. "'Scandalous Film': The Campaign to Suppress Anti-Mormon Motion Pictures, 1911–12." *Journal of Mormon History* 29, no. 2 (Fall 2003): 42–76.

Cannon, Charles A. "The Awesome Power of Sex: The Polemical Campaign

⁹²The Church's statement consisted of a single sentence: "The production may attempt to entertain audiences for an evening, but the Book of Mormon as a volume of scripture will change people's lives forever by bringing them closer to Christ." "Book of Mormon Musical: Church's Official Statement," Mormon Newsroom, February 7, 2011, <http://www.mormonnewsroom.org/article/church-statement-regarding-the-book-of-mormon-broadway-musical> (accessed April 5, 2013). Thanks to Keith Lawrence for this insight on Talmage's potential impact.

- against Mormon Polygamy." *Pacific Historical Quarterly* 43 (February 1974): 61–82.
- Cannon, Kenneth L., II. "'And Now It Is the Mormons': The Magazine Crusade against the Mormon Church, 1910–1911." *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 46, no. 1 (Spring 2012): 1–63.
- Cannon, Kenneth L., II. "Isaac Russell, Mormon Muckraker." *Journal of Mormon History* 39, no. 4 (Fall 2013): 44–98.
- Cannon, Mark W. "The Crusades against the Masons, Catholics, and Mormons: Separate Waves of a Common Current." *BYU Studies* 3 (Winter 1961): 23–40.
- Crawley, Peter. "Parley P. Pratt: Father of Mormon Pamphleteering." *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 15 (Autumn 1982): 13–26.
- Davis, David Brion. "Some Themes of Counter-Subversion: An Analysis of Anti-Masonic, Anti-Catholic, and Anti-Mormon Literature." *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 47 (September 1960): 205–24.
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REVIEWS

Reid L. Neilson. *Exhibiting Mormonism: The Latter-day Saints and the 1893 Chicago World's Fair*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2011. xiv + 224 pp. Illustrations, notes, index. Cloth: \$29.95. ISBN: 978-0-19-538403-1

Reviewed by Andrea G. Radke-Moss

Exhibiting Mormonism is the story of how the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893 afforded Latter-day Saints "their first post-Manifesto (1890) opportunity to exhibit the best of Utah and Mormonism to a domestic and global audience" (51). Reid L. Neilson, managing director of the Church History Department of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, has used the story of Mormons' presence and participation at the Chicago World's Fair as a pivotal moment at which the Church began to reinvent its public image, putting itself on a trajectory toward becoming a public relations juggernaut. The key difference was that "for the first time Mormons sought to be understood, not necessarily joined, by outsiders" (47). The tensions and intersections between Mormon evangelizing and Mormon public relations efforts are themes common to much of Neilson's scholarly work, and readers might find beneficial his other recent work on Mormon missionizing in Asia and the Pacific Rim. (See <http://www.reidneilson.com/>.)

Neilson argues that the new forms of LDS self-representation cultivated at the 1893 World's Fair garnered later successes at other twentieth-century world's fairs, but also launched the Church into a successful century of nationalizing its image. Although 1893 might have seemed a late date for the Church to invest in a sincere public relations campaign, Neilson argues that the Church's earlier interests had been mostly concerned with evangelizing the gospel message, defending polygamy (or hiding out from it), and presenting its doctrine and history against the context of past persecution. The World's Fair, then, marked a major shift in how the institutional Church would represent itself in a national and even international market of contested identity.

That change eventually brought numerous behaviors that should be recognizable to modern Mormons: Instead of focusing on evangelizing bizarre doctrines and defensive history-telling, the Church sticks to unifying narratives like family and home, emphasis on a loving and universal Christ, personalized stories about its people, and the Church's larger contributions to the national and international stage. From visitors' centers, Tabernacle Choir performances, savvy use of technology and media, and stress on their global humanitarian work, the Mormons' ability to sell themselves as a mainstream and acceptable religion began with the lessons learned at the Chicago World's Fair. Then, as today, the efforts of Mormon relations-building have been only partly successful and often fraught with contradictions. As Neilson explains:

Subsequently, Mormons sought to present themselves, rather than be exhibited by others, which resulted in a bifurcation for the Mormon image in American thought that still lingers. By the first decade of the twenty-first century, Latter-day Saints are commonly viewed by their fellow Americans with both admiration and disapproval. They are thought to have exceptional families, to lead healthy lifestyles, and to be patriotic neighbors and law-abiding citizens; but they are seen by many as weird cultists, religious fanatics, and even non-Christians. Mormon leaders and laity would spend the next century after the Columbian Exposition trying to refashion their public image in America. A paradox of this assimilation strategy, which began in 1893 in Chicago, is that Mormonism was subsequently mainstreamed into American culture as a *religion* because of its *nonreligious* achievements to the nation. In other words, the church was eventually integrated into Americana in spite of, *not because of*, its religious contributions. (178; emphasis Neilson's)

By 1893, a few significant forces had converged to make this public relations miracle possible. With the 1890 Manifesto, the Church declared the end to any new plural marriages, at least in theory. Mormons could begin to come out from under the cloud of the devastating legislation and persecution, thus allowing non-LDS Utahns to join their cause toward the goal of statehood. Other factors included the Church's long history and experience in using print culture to its benefit, a successful appearance by Mormon women at the World's Congress of Representative Women, the growing fame and professionalism of the Mormon Tabernacle Choir, and the efforts of B. H. Roberts to fight for the Church's inclusion in the World's Parliament of Religions.

Neilson's chapter on early Mormon print culture is not only useful as an unparalleled guide to early LDS publications but also offers great context for how "these new sacred texts helped to differentiate Latter-day Saints in the crowded spiritual marketplace of antebellum America" (24). Important as a background to the Church's attempts at self-promotion, this early print culture was intended more for defending polygamy and evangelizing the gospel message. Still, the skills acquired in decades of publishing religious tracts helped Utah to transition to its next phase of self-promotion, even though the

overall message needed to be adjusted for new audiences and new venues.

Like most states and territories, Utah sought to use the fair as an opportunity for boosterism, showcasing the territory's own contributions to mining, agriculture, ethnology, and the women's department. Readers might remember that the 1890s saw America's worst economic depression, beginning with the Panic of 1893, and perhaps Neilson missed an opportunity to place Utah's economic self-promotion in the context of that depression. One effect of that depression was that contributing individuals and states were concerned about the larger economic decline in the West, particularly the desire to reinvigorate mining in the midst of the silver and agricultural deflation.

Further, Utah's ethnology displays of Indian artifacts invited more analysis as well; I would like to have seen Neilson explore how these displays represented a meaningful activity in the larger national narrative about racial supremacy. Ethnology, as a new field of study in the late nineteenth century, struggled between celebrating the native peoples of the continent while also portraying them as racially inferior and doomed to inevitable extinction. In this important way, Mormons were truly inserting themselves into an American identity that was highly dependent upon notions of white conquest and resource extraction on the backs of Native American removal.

Neilson's chapter on "Mormon Matriarchs" reminds readers of the World's Congress of Representative Women as a culmination of many years of Mormon women's activism and participation in the national suffrage scene leading up to the fair, especially through organizations like the National Council of Women and the International Council of Women. In fact, just such associations made Mormon women's involvement in the Congress possible, as they had been building these relationships for years. Neilson hints at the stark contrast to LDS male leadership, whose participation at the Columbian Exposition was lackluster and reluctant at best, perhaps because they had spent most of the 1880s in hiding. Most impressive is Neilson's insistence on calling Mormon women feminists—a designation that I do not disagree with, but which might require more context for readers unaccustomed to understanding LDS women's history as part of the path of first-wave feminism. Neilson gives a sturdy description of the individuals, speeches, and interactions of the women in Chicago but leaves out much of what went on behind the scenes, which is a story in itself.¹ According to the sources he culled—which were almost entirely Utah-based newspapers—Mormon women were an

¹For another perspective on Mormon women's participation at the Chicago World's Fair, see Andrea G. Radke-Moss, "Mormon Women, Suffrage and Citizenship at the 1893 Chicago World's Fair," in T. J. Boisseau and Abigail M. Markwyn, eds., *Gendering the Fair: Histories of Women at World's Fairs* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2010), 97–112.

absolute success. A side-by-side comparison of other eastern and non-LDS newspapers—if and where those sources exist—might have given a fuller picture of how well Mormon women were actually received.

Herein lies the publicity contradiction for Mormon women: Emboldened by the 1890 Manifesto which partially removed the taint of polygamy from their public discussions, these leaders in the Relief Society and Young Ladies Mutual Improvement Association gave the appearance of rejecting plural marriage, while many of them, including high-profile Relief Society leaders Zina D. H. Young and Emmeline B. Wells most certainly still accepted and even defended it in theory and theology. Acting counter to that image was the presence of a younger generation of monogamist women like May Booth Talmage and Emily S. Richards, whose representation helped to link Mormon women to a more assimilated and non-polygamist construction that Mormon women were trying to portray. Like other Mormon participants at the fair, women leaders could not completely avoid their contradictions, perhaps most glaringly the “specter of plural marriage [which] would continue to haunt the Latter-day Saints in their quest for respectability during and after the exposition” (71). Notice this comment from one unnamed Church leader as he traveled with the Tabernacle Choir and toured the Midway at the exposition: “Then I visited the streets of Cario [sic]. . . . Saw the Camels & Asses . . . & Turks & *their Harams*” (133; emphasis mine). Oh, the sheer irony—perhaps lost on most LDS visitors to the fair—of gazing at the exotic, sexually deviant “Other” on the Midway, while also being gazed at as the exotic, sexually deviant “Other” of Utah. Neilson might have teased out some of these incongruities even further, especially in the representation Mormons were trying to portray—assimilationists versus exiles; post-Manifesto identity versus the realities and persistence of polygamous theology and practice back home.

The significance of the Mormon Tabernacle Choir’s visit to Chicago in 1893 and its second-place win at the Welsh Eisteddfod competition in many ways marked the Church’s firmest step into mainstream twentieth-century America. As it did in Chicago, the choir today represents everything good, talented, and wholesome about the Church but allows observers to avoid dealing with what they perceive as the unsavory parts of Mormonism. George Q. Cannon summarized how Church leaders viewed the choir’s participation: “As a missionary enterprise it is likely to be a success, for it will give thousands of people the opportunity of learning a little truth about us, and removing the false ideas which they have entertained concerning us” (119). Cannon was perhaps a little optimistic, for, as Neilson notes, “the singers’ experience exposes what has become one of the great ironies of the Mormon public image: many Christian Americans embrace the Mormon Tabernacle Choir but view its sponsoring ecclesiastical institution with suspicion and malice” (108–9). People may love the Mormon Tabernacle Choir, but it doesn’t necessarily

make them want to become Mormon.

And in yet another contradictory reversal of Mormonism's previous exile from the American mainstream, the choir was invited to sing patriotic songs for the dedication of the Liberty Bell, which was part of the exposition's festivities. Neilson recognizes the significance of how Church leaders tried to piggy-back onto these public displays of patriotism: "By means of the Tabernacle Choir, the geographically and religiously marginalized Mormons had successfully wrapped themselves in patriotic trappings of red, white, and blue" (140). Indeed, Mormons appeared to go out of their way toward overt and perhaps even forced expressions of patriotism, as in Julia Farnsworth's declaration before the YLMIA session of the World's Congress of Representative Women: "We love our grand American Government, her colonizers, her sacred institutions, her constitution, her flag, her Independence! We are taught to support and defend her every legal authority" (99).

Still, in spite of these attempts to lobby, sing, and speak toward portraying full patriotic assimilation into the national culture, the case of Mormons' exclusion from the World's Parliament of Religions is Exhibit A on how unassimilated they still remained. The parliament was a gathering of religionists from all over the world to express and exchange ideas. Some religions saw through this conference and deemed it a mask for an arrogant and imperialist agenda, because, even with the intended pluralistic approach of the congress, "the Parliament was an aggressively Christian event, born of American Protestant Christian confidence in its superiority and organized around unquestioned Christian assumptions" (143). Evidence of this attitude is that, despite the parliament's widely publicized aspirations of inclusion, the Mormons were consciously and overtly denied participation, while even non-Christian (and some polygamist!) religions like Buddhists, Muslims, Jews, and Hindus were included. The contradiction was not lost on Mormons; but according to Neilson, "Viewed by most American Protestants as neither a wholly Christian (insider) nor totally heathen (outsider) spiritual tradition, Mormons were relegated to an invisible (bystander) role" (143).

B. H. Roberts, of the First Council of the Seventy, had hoped to gain a seat at the parliament for the Church. After a last-minute bid for Mormon inclusion, Roberts was soundly rejected. He spent the next few weeks appealing the decisions, which resulted in fractious altercations, disappointing visits, and unsympathetic rebuffs, finally being allowed to have a paper read at the conference—by someone else. Once rejected, Roberts took his slight to the court of public appeal—journalists' interviews and his own newspaper editorials. These efforts gained him some sympathy among national audiences and helped to set the Church on the path of using widespread publicity to increase positive attention for Mormonism. Neilson's masterful telling of Roberts's story is both engaging and heartbreaking, and probably stands as the strong-

est chapter in the book.

Yet Roberts's story contains its own contractions, since one Mormon actually received the participation he was denied. A significant missing piece to this story is Emily S. Richards, who had spoken at the YLMIA meeting at the Women's Congress and also spoke, by invitation, before the Women's Branch of the Parliament. The rebuff of Roberts by Parliament leaders speaks to the gendered dynamics of Mormon representation at the fair, since Mormon men could easily be blamed—and shunned—for the oppression that polygamy represented, while Mormon women could be absolved—and welcomed—as those who had risen above their marital subjugation. Indeed, history remembers that B. H. Roberts was snubbed, not that Emily Richards was allowed to speak.

While the slight toward Roberts was due to simple unabashed anti-Mormonism, part of the responsibility must lie with Church leaders themselves, who missed opportunities to make connections and build bridges—as the Mormon women had done earlier—and who also waited too long to bid for a Congress invitation. The First Presidency made its first appearance at the fair only as part of the Mormon Tabernacle Choir entourage. And at the fair's designated Utah Day celebration, historian Konden Smith has argued that “President Wilford Woodruff also spoke . . . but he did so as Utah's oldest living pioneer, not as a Mormon prophet.”² Rather than using the publicity for evangelizing a prophetic message, Woodruff instead chose to give a talk emphasizing his role as a pioneer founder of the American West. Whether or not this was a conscious public relations tool by LDS leaders or Utah's Fair organizers, Woodruff's speech successfully downplayed the Church's religious distinctiveness, while also highlighting Mormons' role in the greater narrative of American expansion. This was a brilliant case of exactly the type of tension that Neilson threaded throughout his analysis and almost certainly should have been included as part of that story.

Still, even with this omission, Neilson manages to capture successfully the general contradictions that plagued the Church's well-intentioned efforts to reinvent itself in Chicago. B. H. Roberts himself “was an outspoken polygamist with three wives in 1893” and had been “imprisoned for a time for cohabitation” (147). The humiliation had strengthened Roberts's “belief that he and his religion had been unjustly treated at the hands of American officials who sought to restrict his religious liberties” (147). Roberts's story represents the continual challenge faced by Mormon image-makers—how to insist on religious inclusion and acceptance, while also fiercely declaring Mormon uniqueness and singularity—in short, how to defend without sounding defensive. And in the recent U.S. political arena, these tensions are ever more prescient for the Church.

²Konden Rich Smith, “Appropriating the Secular: Mormonism and the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893,” *Journal of Mormon History* 34 (Winter 2008): 179.

Reid Neilson has convincingly brought to mind the unmistakable comparison between Mormonism's first national public relations effort at the Chicago World's Fair and the recent "Mormon Moment" in America. Indeed, with the current unfiltered examination of Church history, culture, and doctrine that has escalated in the wake of both Mitt Romney campaigns, both in print and through online media, Neilson's book invites us back to the tensions present in 1893; had Neilson published *Exhibiting Mormonism* a year later, he might have more specifically drawn out these relevant similarities. For example: How can Mormons control their own message and public representation while also trying to deal with the doctrinal, cultural, and historical contradictions that are readily available through twenty-four-hour-a-day, unfiltered, and global internet access? How do Mormons fit themselves into a national narrative, while also jealously defending their exceptionalism and evangelizing message? How does the Church deal with the flaws and mistakes of the past, that often go just as unanswered today as they did in 1893? How do Mormon women respond to the pressures of self-definition both within their religion and in the world, especially in the context of third- and fourth-wave feminism?

Today, the Church still depends on the latest technology, humanized personalities (e.g., "I'm a Mormon!"), and high-profile groups like the Mormon Tabernacle Choir to project its image in a positive way. Mormons continue to battle for a place at the table in theological and political discussions with other Christian groups, sometimes unsuccessfully. While many of the tensions remain the same, the Church weathers these challenges with the skills born out of a century of razor-sharp public relations development. Skilled at packaging the image and message of the Church into succinct emotive visuals and personalized human representation, the Church learned from the 1893 World's Fair and those that followed to be proactively responsive without being defensive.

But even today, the packaged message sometimes mutes the contradictions. With the internet creating a new virtual space for global communities to come together, the old world's fairs, situated in specific times and places as they were, have almost lost their relevance. To deal with the various specters of racism, sexism, and blots on the historical past that continue to challenge Mormonism's public image, viewers and observers will have to turn to the internet as a form of a global and omnipresent world's fair—and for certain, the Church will be there.

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braska Press, 2008), and her research interests include Mormon women, western women, world's fairs, and women in higher education.

Samuel Alonzo Dodge and Steven C. Harper, eds. *Exploring the First Vision*. Provo, Utah: BYU Religious Studies Center, 2012. xxi, 338 pp. Images, notes, index. Hardbound: \$25:99; ISBN: 978-0-8425-2818-4

Reviewed by Ronald E. Bartholomew

Exploring the First Vision is a compilation representing, for the most part, previously published scholarly essays from various periodicals on the subject of the First Vision. Notable exceptions include the introductory essay by co-editor Samuel Alonzo Dodge, an excellent historiographical treatment of First Vision scholarship. The second exception is Richard Lloyd Anderson's "Joseph Smith's Accuracy on the First Vision Setting: The Pivotal 1818 Palmyra Camp Meeting," which is also the longest article in the volume (80 pp.). In addition, new contributions also include text-box inserts, sprinkled throughout the previously published essays, which either quote or describe various aspects of Dodge's personal interviews with the authors regarding reflections on their scholarship.

A two-page "Acknowledgements" by Dodge is followed by a brief preface by co-editor Steven C. Harper, "Standing on the Shoulders of Giants," in which he argues the value of publishing a volume that primarily reprints previously published scholarship. While admitting that this volume "reproduces some of the seminal articles that analyze Joseph Smith's First Vision" over the period of the prior half century, and as such, is "a monument to their work" (vii), he asserts that, "because we can see from their shoulders," this volume also serves as a "mechanism for ongoing mentoring" (viii). He suggests that one of the primary purposes of this volume was to provide such a mentoring opportunity for youthful scholars like Samuel Dodge.

The final section in the forematter is a brief historiographical essay on First Vision scholarship by Dodge, "Joseph Smith's First Vision: Insights and Interpretations in Mormon History." This excellent essay combines primary source material acquired from the Truman G. Madsen Papers, as well as correspondence between noted scholars and personal interviews with many of the contributors to his volume. Succinct but extremely well done, this introductory essay accurately situates First Vision scholarship in its historiographical context, even providing a timeline for the prominent studies to follow. He uses this introductory essay to lay the groundwork for his primary thesis, which is that "scholarly debate and criticism are important elements of the historical discipline because the contest of ideas leads to deeper research and more thorough analysis. . . . Fawn Brodie and Wesley Walters were central to

the formation of subsequent First Vision scholarship because their work proposed questions that later formed the historical debate. Subsequently, Latter-day Saint scholars responded to the challenge with an increased energy that greatly benefited the study of early Mormonism" (xvii–xviii).

The first article in this collection is by Dean C. Jessee, "The Earliest Documented Accounts of Joseph Smith's First Vision." It is a revision of his "The Early Accounts of Joseph Smith's First Vision," *BYU Studies* 9, no. 3 (Spring 1969): 275–95, that was printed, under the same title, in John W. Welch with Erick B. Carlson, eds., *Opening the Heavens: Accounts of Divine Manifestation, 1820–1844* (Provo, Utah: BYU Studies/Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2005), 1–34. Jessee does a fine job of researching and reporting on the eight different versions of the First Vision that are attributed to Joseph Smith (but are actually dictated to his secretaries), and the five contemporaneous accounts recorded by others. While the printed text is identical to the 2005 Welch and Carlson version, Dodge has inserted excerpts from interviews with Jessee that shed light on the process of discovery that Jessee experienced over his several decades of research into these accounts. As was mentioned above, Jesse's article was a response to one of the criticisms levied by Fawn Brodie and others, who insinuated that the reason for the lapse of twelve years between the actual experience of the purported "First Vision" and its first recording was that it was likely a Joseph Smith fabrication. Jesse's apologetic explanation for this passage of time, as well as his primary thesis, which runs throughout the article, is best summarized by him this way:

The primary historical sources of Joseph Smith's First Vision are best understood in the broad record-keeping setting in which they were created. In 1830 a revelation commanded that records be kept in the Church, and the Prophet entered upon the stage of record keeping without the benefit of a well-defined tradition of doing so. He first farmed out the task to others, but when he saw [that] their effort did not adequately chronicle his personal experience, he belatedly commenced his autobiography. For years he struggled with a format for his personal history as indicated by the haphazard nature of his earliest attempts to create a record of his life. Another factor that had an impact upon the historical record was the inability of those who heard Joseph speak to make a verbatim report of what he said. Furthermore, since public knowledge of his religious claims and intentions had been the source of much of the persecution against him and his people, this fact also affected the writing and dissemination of his history. A little more than a year before his death he told the Saints, "The History is going out by little & little in the papers & cutting its way, so that when it is completed it will not raise a persecution against us." The extraordinary opposition and hardships he faced in his role as religious reformer, and the problems associated with the development of a historical record[,] had a significant impact upon the timing and nature of the records he produced. This context is the lens through which the collection of the pieces of the historical record of Joseph Smith's First Vision is best

seen and appreciated (33–34).

In terms of the paucity of accounts, Jessee asserts: “Should the foregoing historical sources pertaining to Joseph Smith’s First Vision seem sparse in some respects, those gaps are primarily the result of inadequate record keeping of his many conversations and discourses on the subject or related topics. If record keeping in the harsh literary environment of the early years of the Church had commenced at the level of efficiency that it later achieved, no doubt other contemporary reports of the vision would be available. This conclusion is strongly suggested by occasions when Joseph is known to have talked about the experience, but no official report was made” (30).

The second article is also a reprint from two earlier sources. It has the same title and content that is nearly identical to its most recent print version: James B. Allen and John W. Welch, “The Appearances of the Father and the Son to Joseph Smith in 1820,” in Welch and Carlson, *Opening the Heavens*, 35–75. The forematter to this article indicates that it “enhances the version of this material as it appeared in 2005 in *Opening the Heavens*” (41); however, after comparing the text of the two articles, I found only four rewritten sentences and five additional footnotes, all of which are indeed important additions that result from recent findings in the Joseph Smith Papers project. For example, the following sentence, which appears in the 2005 print version of this article states: “It is unknown whether the pages covering the First Vision were written in April–May 1838, in September 1838, or in June 1839” (47). This text is corrected in the Dodge-Harper volume to read: “The pages covering the First Vision were apparently written in April–May 1838 and later copied into Joseph Smith’s Manuscript History before the end of 1839” (54), with an accompanying footnote to the Joseph Smith Papers. The only other significant change is that the charts in the 2005 Welch-Carlson edition appear alongside the associated text, but in the Dodge-Harper edition all charts appear after the text but before the footnotes.

This piece is also apologetic in nature, in that it attempts to address the criticism regarding the textual variants between the different First Vision accounts. Allen and Welch argue that the variant accounts can be explained in the context of the timing of each account, the peculiar circumstance in which each was given, the literary influence of the person recording each account, the personal importance placed on various aspects of Joseph’s experience by the person recording the vision, and, most importantly, by the audience Joseph was addressing. However, they assert: “Actually, the differences in the accounts may be grossly overemphasized, for the truth is that there is a wide and credible agreement in detail among them all” (46). A major portion of the article is devoted to a thoughtful analysis of the audiences of the separate accounts, followed by an examination of time and situation in which the vision occurred, and finally, a comparative analysis of the contents of each account,

with accompanying charts to help the reader more clearly see the commonalities as well as the variances between each account.

The next article is one of two original contributions in this book and is also the longest (91–169). As mentioned above, it is Richard Lloyd Anderson's "Joseph Smith's Accuracy on the First Vision Setting: The Pivotal 1818 Palmyra Camp Meeting." Although Anderson claims that "this article updates my earlier contribution, 'Circumstantial Confirmation of the First Vision through Reminiscences,'" which was originally printed in *BYU Studies* 9, no. 1 (Spring 1969): 373–404, in reality, the only portions of the 1969 article that reappear in this article are Appendixes to it. They omit the reminiscences of Lucy Mack Smith and Oliver Cowdery but include, in revised form as appendixes, the recollections of Orsamus Turner, Pomeroy Tucker, and William Smith.

This article is also apologetic in tenor, in that it announces as its purpose answering criticisms leveled against Joseph Smith and his claims regarding the First Vision by Wesley P. Walters, who asserted that the First Vision was false, based on the lack of historical evidence of religious revivals in and around Palmyra New York in 1819–20. According to Anderson, the "recollections from the circuit riders of New York" substantiate an 1818 Palmyra camp meeting, "which certainly meets the usage test of 'revival,' meaning a series of meetings bringing enhanced conviction or an unusual number of conversions. Thus Joseph Smith's basic background of the First Vision is provable, meaning that historical sources beyond Joseph verify the local Methodist activities that Joseph said took place when he was a young seeker. Furthermore, Palmyra recollections and those of Joseph connect him to a known Palmyra Methodist camp meeting that correlates with his own description of beginning to investigate his neighborhood churches" (93).

As the Mormon studies community has grown to expect from Anderson, this article is another heavy hitter. What follows is an in-depth, carefully crafted analysis picking both Walters and Marquardt's arguments apart, piece by piece. Without summarizing the details that would spoil Anderson's delightful examination for the reader, suffice it to say that he points out holes in his opponents' arguments on at least the following four topics:

1. The fallacy of choosing 1820 as the year for religious revival activity in the area, when it is clear from all the sources (even those noted in Walters's writings) that Joseph's searching began as early as 1817 but undeniably included 1818–19 and likely excluded much of 1820, based on the fact that the vision was reported to have occurred "in the early spring" of that year.

2. The fallacy of confusing Joseph's statements regarding the provincial "the place where we lived" and the larger "whole district of country" relative to the size and scope of camp meetings and conversions.

3. Expanding the second point, the actual growth of Methodist membership in the larger area ("whole district of country") as opposed to "the place

where we lived.”

4. Primary evidence from Methodist preachers and leaders who accurately and necessarily include quarterly conferences in the historical context of likely sources of religious excitement, as opposed to excluding them because they were not technically “camp meetings,” even though the exclusive use of that term for their purposes defies accurate historicity.

Of course, the primary phenomenon Anderson examines, as the title of this article indicates, is the 1818 Palmyra Camp Meeting. Suffice it to say that the reader will not be disappointed with this lengthy and detailed examination of every aspect of this meeting, including its geographical location, Methodist leaders and preachers present, estimated numbers of attendees, the demographic profile of that group, the postmeeting contention that resulted from the claims of those preaching at the meeting, and most importantly, Joseph Smith’s attendance at that meeting. All of these data are carefully presented and examined in a stringent effort to place them in their accurate historical context, based on primary source histories and biographies of ministers present at this meeting or similar meetings in the larger district (used for comparative analysis).

The strengths of Anderson’s claims are self-evident at this point: his careful analysis of religious conditions at the time, as opposed to the cursory claims of his opponents, in addition to his close examination of primary source documents relative to the time, place, and key players, both in close proximity to where the Smiths lived, as well as the larger “whole district of country.”

The next section of this article is devoted to discrediting the contradictory William Smith and Oliver Cowdery accounts. While the tenor of this portion is clearly biased and apologetic in nature, Anderson does a fair job of making his case that, first, Cowdery and, subsequently, William Smith made errors in their chronology and in the details they remembered about these years of Joseph’s history. It is troubling that persons so close to Joseph would or even could publish such contradictory pieces, especially considering the fact that Oliver clearly had access to Joseph’s 1832 history but for some reason omitted the First Vision when he published Joseph’s history serially in the *Messenger and Advocate*, which, according to Anderson, is likely what influenced William’s omission in his later reminiscences. Anderson asserts that such an omission may be precisely what “convinced Joseph Smith that his personal history could be accurately written only by himself” (128).

This article ends with an attempt to reconcile Lucy Mack Smith’s writings with the claim that she joined the Presbyterian Church with three of her children in 1819 or early 1820, a concise list of conclusions drawn from the evidence presented and examined, and the appendixes referred to previously. I

would argue that this essay alone is worth the purchase price of the volume. Because all other materials except for Dodge's historiographical essay have been published previously elsewhere, the need for this volume could be seriously questioned.

The next five articles were previously published between 1960 and 1980 and are reprinted without revisions. They are:

1. Milton V. Backman, Jr., "Awakenings in the Burned-Over District: New Light on the Historical Setting of the First Vision," *BYU Studies* 9, no. 3 (Spring 1969): 310–20.

2. Larry C. Porter, "Rev. George Lane—Good 'Gifts,' Much 'Grace,' and Marked 'Usefulness,'" *BYU Studies* 9, no. 3 (Spring 1969): 321–40.

3. James B. Allen, "Emergence of a Fundamental: The Expanding Role of Joseph Smith's First Vision in Mormon Religious Thought," *Journal of Mormon History* 7 (1980): 43–61.

4. Richard Lyman Bushman, "The First Vision Revisited," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 4, no. 1 (Spring 1969): 82–93.

5. James B. Allen, "The Significance of Joseph Smith's First Vision in Mormon Thought," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 1, no. 3 (Autumn 1966): 29–45.

Each of these articles is salient to the First Vision and has made a significant contribution to the body of LDS apologetic scholarship with regards to Joseph Smith's accounts of his First Vision, even though four of the five were published more than forty years ago, and one was published more than thirty years ago. While publishing them in a single volume such as this elevates them to "classical" status, and provides the reader ease of access, with the possible exception of the transcripts of the interviews Dodge conducted with each author, these articles' inclusion in this new volume does not have a notable impact on the corpus of literature. Furthermore, inasmuch these pieces have enjoyed a wide readership over time and have been reviewed previously and amply, an additional review of their content will not be provided here.

The final article in this collection, "Evaluating Three Arguments against Joseph Smith's First Vision" by co-editor Steven C. Harper, also appears under the same title in *Interpreter: A Journal of Mormon Scripture* 2 (2012): 17–33. While the version in this volume is not a verbatim reprint as the *Interpreter* version, its format and substance are identical. Harper succinctly states his thesis:

Each of the three arguments begins with the premise that the vision simply could not have happened, at least not as Joseph described it. Philosophers describe that kind of premise *a priori*, a Latin term that describes knowledge that is, essentially, assumed. In other words, *a priori* knowledge does not rely on experience for verification. It is based on defi-

nitions, widely shared beliefs, and reason. Knowledge derived from experience is *a posteriori*. Joseph testified that he experienced a divine revelation and therefore knows that visions can and do happen. The epistemology of Joseph's First Vision accounts is *a posteriori*. The epistemology of Joseph's vision critics is *a priori*. They know that what Joseph said happened could not have happened because all reasonable people know that such things do not happen. (308)

Harper then delivers as promised: using his philosophical construct of *a priori* principles, used by those who are antagonistic to Joseph Smith's "First Vision" accounts, versus *a posteriori* approaches, which Joseph Smith used in writing about his own experience, Harper asserts that each of the three arguments examined in this article—those put forth by the Methodist minister who chastised Joseph for relating his revelatory experience, biographer Fawn Brodie, and historian-theologian Reverend Wesley Walters—are based on the individual's preconceived assumptions that Joseph's recorded experience was not practical, reasonable, or possible. While Harper's observations of the unnamed Methodist minister are relatively self-evident, some of his interpretations of Brodie's criticisms are original, sympathetic, empathetic, and insightful. However, much of his analysis is simply a review of that contained in Richard Bushman's "The First Vision Story Revisited," particularly regarding the hermeneutic of skepticism and suspicion and the fact that Walters used the faulty methodologies of negative and irrelevant evidence. Harper's contribution to the arguments formerly worked out by Bushman and others is that he places these three arguments in the context of those paradigms. I also particularly appreciated his call for empathy, sympathy, and civil dialogue in the academy, which forms the conclusion of his essay.

All things considered, this is a worthwhile volume. Anyone particularly interested in First Vision scholarship will want it for Anderson's original essay alone, but its "anthology" feel also provides the service of bringing these significant contributions to First Vision scholarship under one cover. Interestingly, in an era when possible directions of Mormon studies are being hotly contested, the BYU Religious Studies Center has produced a volume which appears to be indicative of the direction it has chosen: apologetic research of the highest quality.

However, in terms of Harper's stated intention of providing mentoring for young scholars, I wonder if Dodge might have been equally or better served had Harper directed him toward more original, creative scholarship (as opposed to cataloguing prior scholarship), intended not only for those who are sympathetic to LDS claims, but more importantly, as Harper himself asserts, for those "who are in the middle who are trying to decide which truth is right" (320).

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Marjorie Newton. *Tiki and Temple: The Mormon Mission in New Zealand, 1854–1958*. Salt Lake City: Greg Kofford Books, 2012. xv + 328 pp. Glossary of Maori words, three appendices, bibliography, two maps, twenty-nine illustrations (and a photography register), and index. Paperback: \$29.95; ISBN: 978-1-58958-121-0

Reviewed by Louis Midgley

Tiki and Temple, which was awarded the Mormon History Association's prize for international history, is a carefully researched, detailed account of the first century of Latter-day Saint missionary endeavors in New Zealand.¹ Marjorie Newton, who also won MHA's Reese prize for both her thesis and her dissertation, has told the old stories in a fresh way and has added much new information and additional stories to what has previously been available. She also identifies an interest among the Brethren in the Māori (and New Zealand) long before LDS missionaries had set foot in that land. She supplements, corrects, and augments the story of the efforts of American missionaries, as well as the remarkable faith of many Māori and Pākehā (non-Māori) Latter-day Saints. Her account is of faith and faithfulness despite missteps, misunderstandings, human frailties, and lack of resources by both missionaries and Saints. Elder Glen L. Rudd's warm endorsement of *Tiki and Temple* (xi) is fully warranted.

Newton describes some of the prophetic preparation provided the Māori who became Latter-day Saints by their own prophets. But the story does not begin with the Māori, nor is it merely their story. In 1854, when a tiny group of LDS missionaries first arrived in New Zealand, they gathered those Saints who had come to New Zealand, and also, with limited success, proselyted among the Pākehā. For the first three decades, New Zealand had only a few tiny communities of Saints (1–27).

Despite the challenges faced by both the Saints and missionaries, including much sectarian bigotry and spasms of government mischief, LDS missionar-

¹Whenever I refer to "New Zealand," I also have in mind "Aotearoa," the ancient Māori word meaning "long white cloud," for what the Pākehā (Europeans) called New Zealand. Please note that I have added diacritical markings to my review, but they do not appear in Newton's text.

ies, beginning in 1882, started to seek the Māori, live among them, learn their language, and love them. They found many of them willing to become faithful Latter-day Saints. Some Māori, it seems, had been prepared by their own prophets or seers (matakite)²—to recognize both the messengers and the message they brought. Perhaps only in England, where LDS missionaries initially encountered communities of seekers ready to receive their message and then, more recently, among citizens in portions of Sub-Saharan Africa, have there been people as well prepared to receive the restored gospel as were the Māori in New Zealand.

Newton's remarkable account ends—unfortunately, at least from my perspective—with the establishment of stakes, the division of the mission, and the dedication of the temple near Hamilton in 1958. *Tiki and Temple* is packed with detailed, fresh, and accurate accounts of the pre-stakehood story. My own encounter with the Saints in New Zealand began in 1950, almost seven decades after the Māori began to join the Church. Like many other missionaries called to serve in New Zealand, my own faith is profoundly linked with what I consider the work of the Holy Spirit in that land. Missionaries called to serve in New Zealand have often responded with a deep love for Saints in that land. My sense is that only the United Kingdom (and especially England) rivals New Zealand in this regard. Newton has ably sketched some of the reasons this is so. Hence, from my perspective, only the most secularized and jaded would fail to see signs of divine Providence in the stories Newton deftly tells. In addition, *Tiki and Temple* is a model for others to follow in writing about LDS missionary endeavors in other lands and with different peoples.

In addition to missionaries who have served in New Zealand, the Saints in that beautiful land are most likely, for several reasons, to treasure Newton's book. I hope that *Tiki and Temple* will circulate widely among those Saints. There are, unfortunately, some obstacles to this happening. An electronic version of *Tiki and Temple* would help avoid at least the high cost of shipping the book to New Zealand.

Much attention has, of course, previously been given to the stories of the faith of the Saints in New Zealand. Some of what has been written has been excellent. For this and other reasons, Newton graciously acknowledges the "fine work" of others, including especially that of Brian W. Hunt and R. Lanier Britsch on the history of the Church in New Zealand (xii).³ She grants that, "as an Australian," she might be deficient in her grasp of, among other things,

²The Māori word *poropiti* (prophet) is a loan word from English. What the Māori knew were *matakite* (seers).

³See Brian W. Hunt, *Zion in New Zealand: A History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in New Zealand* (Temple View, N.Z.: Church College of New Zealand,

the “Māori culture” (xiv). Hence she hopes “that one day a Maori historian will produce a scholarly history of Mormonism in New Zealand that will remedy any omissions and defects” that her account might have (xiv). The stories of Māori joining the Church in large numbers have, of course, been told and re-told,⁴ and sometimes embellished, but also discounted or explained away. The subtle and complicated cultural exchange between the Māori and the often young and naive LDS missionaries has yet to be told from a Māori perspective.⁵

I have a few quibbles with Newton. For instance, I found myself wanting more and more detail when she mentioned Rufus K. Hardy, James Lambert, and Charles Woods, all New Zealand missionaries and then mission presidents (and also my own ancestors). And when she mentioned people I came to know in 1950–52—for example, Rangi Davies, Mic Stinson, Joseph Hay, Manahi Nitama Paewai, and Matthew Chote, as well as various Māori whanau (extended families), I longed for more detail.

The very best portion of Newton’s fine book is for me the important information she provides (see 171–73) on Hemi Te Whatahoro (aka John Jury), a powerful Tohunga (skilled, learned person) who assisted in the translation of the Book of Mormon into Māori (48–49). The Brethren were aware of Te Whatahoro; they commissioned his portrait and then hung it, first in the Salt Lake Temple, and then in the Manti Temple (171). For me this was new information.

But there is much more to Te Whatahoro’s story. He was a scribe for Moihī Te Motorohunga and Nepia Pohuhu, who between 1863 and 1865 dictated to him the arcane teachings of an iwi (Māori tribe) known as Ngāti Kahunganu. Newton sees these manuscripts as “sacred genealogy,” which in part they are, but they also contain the understanding of divine things—the esoteric religion—taught to elite Māori in whare wananga (special schools) in at least some iwi, three of which were among those in which LDS missionar-

1977); Lanier R. Britsch, *Unto the Islands of the Sea: A History of the Latter-day Saints in the Pacific* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1986), 255–345. The New Zealand section of this truly remarkable volume covers Part 4.

⁴I have twice made a stab at doing this myself. See “A Singular Reading: The Māori and the Book of Mormon,” *Mormons, Scripture, and the Ancient World: Studies in Honor of John L. Sorenson*, edited by Davis Bitton (Provo, Utah: FARMS, 1998), 245–76; and “A Māori View of the Book of Mormon,” *Journal of Book of Mormon Studies* 8, no. 1 (1999): 4–11.

⁵For the first of such endeavors, see Robert Joseph, “Intercultural Exchange, Matakite Māori and the Mormon Church,” in *Mana Māori and Christianity*, edited by Hugh Morrison, Lachy Paterson, Brett Knowles, and Murray Rae (Wellington, N.Z.: Huia Publishers, 2012), 43–72. Dr. Joseph is currently LDS Church Historian for New Zealand.

ies had the most success. Te Whatahoro donated these manuscripts to the Church, and measures were taken to send them to Utah (171–72). The New Zealand government blocked this effort; and they were, instead, preserved in a vault in the little LDS meetinghouse at Scotia Place on Queen Street in Auckland. A version of these manuscripts was eventually published in both Māori and English (in 1913 and 1915) by Percy Smith under the title *The Lore of the Whare Wananga*.

Some Māori Saints, though perhaps only a few missionaries, seem to have been aware of what is often now called the Io cult—the worship of a high God known as Io te Matua (Io the parent or father), also a premortal existence, and a war in heaven that continues even now, and so forth. This and other similar and related teachings were transmitted to some specially chosen and gifted Māori in special schools. When missionaries were able to convert one of these leaders, then many others followed. The reason is that those leaders had what the Māori call mana (the sacred power of the gods). This may help explain the dynamics of what Newton and others have called “top-down” conversions among the Māori. In addition, some Māori were familiar with seers (and even seer stones), and with other matters similar to what LDS missionaries were teaching.

But some Māori scholars, especially those who have been recolonized by Pākehā ways of understanding the world, and hence have come to see Māori things through a secular lens, now argue that the Io cult was a post-European invention by Māori seeking to fashion a past that would rival and imitate that found in the Bible. As one might expect, all of this is highly controversial. There are, however, increasing signs that Māori Saints are interested in making a contribution to both Māori studies and the history of the Church, which Newton indicates she hopes will happen. I expect that this work will, among other things, examine and assess the role played by the arcane teachings given to an aristocratic elite among the Māori in those special schools,⁶ and the initial and continued place of those teachings in the faith of Māori Saints.

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⁶In her bibliography, Newton cites (279) the late Cleve Barlow’s still very useful *Tikanga Whakaaro: Key Concepts in Maori Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991). Barlow, a faithful Latter-day Saint scholar, was, I believe, the last Māori to undergo initiation in the lore and rituals of the whare wananga. An Australian criminologist, Jason Hartley, also LDS, has in a cautious, sensitive way set out some of this same lore. See his *Ngā Mahi: The Pathway of the Stars* (privately printed, 2010). This volume, which draws upon the lore of the Ngā Puhī (in the Northland of New Zealand), can be ordered at www.ngamahiu.com.

stract, dogmatic, or systematic theology, but who is fond of the stories, written or otherwise, that provide the content and ground of Christian faith.

Richard E. Turley Jr. and Brittany A. Chapman, eds. *Women of Faith in the Latter Days, Volume 1, 1775–1820*. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2011. xx, 501 pp. Timeline, notes, photographs, contributors, index. Cloth: \$34.99; ISBN: 13:978-1-60641-033-2

Richard E. Turley Jr. and Brittany A. Chapman, eds. *Women of Faith in the Latter Days, Volume 2, 1821–1845*. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2012. xviii, 491 pp. Timeline, notes, photographs, contributors, index. Cloth: \$34.99; ISBN: 13:978-1-60907-173-8

[Susan W. Tanner]. *Daughters in My Kingdom: The History and Work of Relief Society*. Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, September 2011. English approval September 2010. Notes, illustrations, appendices: “Important Events in the History of Relief Society”; “Relief Society General Presidencies”; “List of Visuals”; index, No price or ISBN number. Paperback.

Reviewed by Lavina Fielding Anderson

With the publication of these three books, it seems appropriate to repeat Joseph Smith’s celebratory comment on the founding of the Relief Society in Nauvoo on March 17, 1842: “I now turn the key to you in the name of God, and this society shall rejoice and knowledge and intelligence shall flow down from this time” (DMK 14–15). These three books collectively represent an earnest and urgent attempt to put into the hands of English-speaking readers (at least so far) an easily accessible history of and manual about the Relief Society’s work to which the two biographical anthologies, the first of a proposed seven, can easily be seen as an accompaniment in their stories of women who can serve as models of sacrifice, diligence, and faithfulness.

Those who would dismiss the anthologies as the cherished family stories about a great-grandmother written by loving but uncritical descendants would be committing an error. True, by focusing on women “of faith,” these books exclude the important lessons to be learned from women for whom the answers Mormonism offered to life’s questions were not adequate, and it may also communicate to women struggling to find answers that the problem is that they are asking questions in the first place. But that does not diminish the strength of the ideal nor its ability to enrich the lives of contemporary women.

Organizing an anthology is a difficult decision, but the editors have, wisely, in my opinion, chosen to regard these books as resources, rather than as narrative histories, even though using the subject's birth year as the first level of organization means considerable overlap in women's experiences. The first volume includes women born between 1775 (allowing them to include Lucy Mack Smith) and 1820. Volume 2 includes women born between 1821 and 1845. In general, then, women in the first volume were in their teens or adults when they encountered Mormonism, and many of them shared similar experiences: conversion in Ohio (or travel to Ohio from New York), the jagged decade of repeated attempts to settle in Missouri with expulsion following, and reaching Nauvoo.

The women in Volume 2, for the most part, came of age in time to experience Nauvoo's building, their expulsion from it, and the first generation of settlement in Utah. The overlap in their experiences is not undesirable; it is simply inevitable, given what amounts to the single way (i.e., the requirement of "gathering") of being a faithful Mormon woman from the Church's beginnings until close to the end of the nineteenth century.

Volume 1 includes thirty-five biographical sketches, each—amazingly—with a portrait. While authors do indeed include granddaughters (and grandsons), all of the sketches are held to a high standard of scholarship, with full footnote citations identifying the sources that provide background information for the life sketches and equally complete citations for the personal writings that are quoted. Many of the authors are new to me. Others—such as Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, Andrea G. Radke-Moss, and Susan Eaton Black—have been familiar in the Mormon history community for decades.

The personal experiences themselves range from letters (for example, Jenetta Richards's letters from America to her non-Mormon family in England), diaries (for example, Patty Sessions's heart-wrenching entries after her husband married a selfish and immature woman as a plural wife), and reminiscences (such as Nancy Naomi Alexander Tracy's several autobiographical sketches in which she tried to capture their faithful persistence despite dreadful suffering).

The point of these accounts, whether viewed at the end of a day or from the perspective of decades, is an attempt to explain what has given meaning to their lives. The shifts in audience are strong shapers of the narratives they relate. A diary is often considered private. The audience for a letter is a handful of relatives. An autobiography is frequently an attempt to reach into the future and influence one's grandchildren and beyond.

Different readers will find different passages that will become unforgettable to them. Maria Jackson Normington Parker (written by Wayne K. Hinton) portrays in muted tones the iconic story of the Martin Handcart Company. Stricken by cholera, her five-year-old son, starving and feverish, "begged for a

piece of bread.” Maria gave him a fragment of biscuit but he died while it was still on his lips. “Immediately, his sister Hannah, now seven years old, snatched the biscuit from his dead lips and ate it. . . . Maria . . . gave her meager rations to her children as she ate dirt to satiate her own hunger” (1:228, 229) Of the family of seven, only Maria and three of her daughters survived.

Showing her faith in a different way was Laura Farnsworth Owen, written by Janiece Johnson. Laura was a Vermont woman who joined the Church in Indiana. When “an Apostate” came into her house maligning Brigham Young, she told him to stop or leave. He responded by calling Brigham “a damb’d whoremaster” and Laura, after warning him again, “took the broomstick and gave him 2 or 3 licks that counted.” He wrenched the broom away from her, and she picked up a long-handled fireplace tool, gave him a third warning, which he disregarded, and “I put it into his face with all the power that I had and backed him out of the door, the blood trickling down his cheeks” (1:200–201). When she asked her husband why he had said nothing during the altercation, he “said he thought I could take my own part very well” (1:201).

A genuine treasure in Volume 1 is the story of Desideria Quintanar de Yañez (1814–93) by Clinton D. Christensen. Born in 1814, a descendant of “one of the last Aztec emperors,” she was “the first Mexican woman baptized” in Mexico. At age sixty-six, she had a remarkably vivid dream of men in Mexico City publishing a pamphlet, *La voz de amonestación*, which her son obtained for her by making the seventy-five-mile journey. There he found that Plotino Rhodakanaty had translated Parley P. Pratt’s *A Voice of Warning*. It was sent to the printer in February 1880, the month that Desideria’s son reached Mexico City. She was baptized by a local member who traveled from Mexico City to perform the ordinance.

Volume 2, which follows the same format and editing procedures as Volume 1, contains thirty biographies. Purchasers of the book can also buy, for \$4.99, an eBook that contains “additional biographies” of women born in the 1821–45 period. Like Volume 1, these stories have the purpose of “enhanc[ing] awareness. . . . through inspirational accounts written for a general readership” (2:xi). Like Volume 1, some of the women are well-known (Jane Elizabeth Manning James, Helen Mar Kimball Whitney, Zina Diantha Huntington Young) and draw on an equally broad range of well- and lesser-known authors.

Their stories chart the Mormon settlement as its frontier expanded southward. Anstis Elmina Shepard Taylor (by Andrea G. Radke-Moss), the first Young Women’s general president, lived only in Salt Lake City after reaching it in 1859, but her trail diary candidly expresses the fatigue that sapped their energy and good intentions. Out of Omaha, she noted on successive days: “Had a few unpleasant words with Sister Barrows. ’Tis more than I can bear, to be intruded upon. . . . George [her husband] more impatient & fretful to me

than I ever saw him before. . . . [W]e camped and each seemed to have a good spirit, but when we reached camp & all too much fatigued to move, then each felt cross & ill-tempered & said words which never should have been spoken" (2:371). To do her justice, Elmina and George seemed to have a marriage exemplary for its harmony; and when he married a plural wife twenty-eight years Elmina's junior she described their shared household as "ever in the enjoyment of peace and harmony" (2:372).

By the 1850s, Salt Lake City was an already settled area. In contrast, Janetta Ann McBride Ferrin (by Rebekah Ryan Clark and Marcus Patrick Ryan), who helped settle Pima, Arizona, was "left a widow with eight children still in her care" at age forty-three when Apaches killed her husband in 1882. Relying on her skills as a seamstress, she raised them in "a one-room adobe house" that the townspeople helped her build. She also "was a Relief Society Teacher for 49 years, and Primary President about that long." Despite her "trials and hardships," she "never complained nor wavered in her devotion to the gospel" (2:74–75).

Of particular interest are glimpses of Mormon women's lives outside the Mountainwest. Mary Jane Dilworth Hammond (by Elisha Erin Hillam) kept an invaluable diary as a missionary wife in Hawaii in 1853–55. She taught school to support the family, gave birth to her second child, boarded the elders, and cared for the "very difficult" wife of another missionary who added to her burdens, in addition to infesting the household with bedbugs (2:93–98). Regardless, Mary Jane fretted when her husband temporarily took up his trade as a shoemaker to ease their grinding poverty "for he was not sent for that business but to preach the everlasting gospel to this fallen nation—something more important than shoemaking" (2:95).

Rosa Clara Friedlander Logie (by Marjorie Newton) covered an amazing amount of the globe. Born on the Isle of Guernsey, she emigrated with her widowed mother and siblings to Australia, married another convert, and gathered to Zion with their year-old daughter in 1855. Their ship, the *Julia Ann*, wrecked on a reef due to an incorrect chart, and five of the emigrating Saints were drowned. The shipwreck took place at night, and the successive waves pounded the ship to pieces while the sailors reached a reef, secured a rope to it, and began pulling the passengers to it one at a time. As Rosa "watched in horror," a great wave washed Charles, her husband, overboard with the baby tied to his back. He was rescued by a sailor; and Rosa, in the sling, was "hauled through the crashing waves to the reef. . . . As more passengers arrived, they were left standing in the darkness on the sharp coral reef, waist deep in water as the surf broke relentlessly over them" (2:203). While indomitable sailors set off seeking help in a small boat, the rest made their way to the island near the atoll and survived on its produce until they were rescued two months later. The family progressively reached California

in 1856, moved on to Nevada, and eventually settled in American Fork, Utah, where Rosa and Charles raised a family of eleven.

The paper covers on both volumes are handsomely designed with a border, top and bottom, of inch-square portraits of women. Some are recognizable at a glance (e.g., Martha Spence Heywood, Eliza R. Snow, and Mary Fielding Smith), but others are not, and there is no key to these portraits on the cover itself or the front matter. On the back cover of each is a fine portrait: Jenetta Richards in an unusually informal and affectionate pose with Willard Richards and their little son, Heber John, on Volume 1, and Zina Diantha Huntington Jacobs Smith Young for the back cover of Volume 2. (These single portraits are identified on their back jacket flaps respectively.)

The index for names is complete and helpful, but it gives less attention to subjects, which means that readers who remember an incident but who did not make a note about it or link it with the name of the woman who experienced it may have a difficult time finding it again.

The third book, *Daughters in My Kingdom*, is different in form and content but very similar in its aim. Relief Society over the past couple of decades has attempted to articulate any goals beyond its motto ("charity never faileth") in several different ways, depending on the presidency, including a multi-jointed statement similar in form to the values statement that the Young Women recite weekly. This book has streamlined the goals, focusing on three "Purposes," which are "increase faith and personal righteousness, strengthen families and homes, seek out and help those in need." These purposes appear on the title page and are repeated periodically throughout the book (e.g., xi, xii, xiii, 7, 171).

The book is presented as deliberately timeless. No author is identified, although Susan W. Tanner, former general president of the Young Women, was "set apart in 2009 to write this first comprehensive history of Relief Society" based on an "unpublished history" by Lucile C. Tate and Elaine R. Harris (1996); Tate is known to have been a protégé of Elder Boyd K. Packer, and Elder Packer is cited as the author of an "unpublished manuscript" (189 note 4 in Chapter 5), which is not otherwise described. No earlier Relief Society histories are mentioned. I found particularly painful the omission of what I think is the most splendid history written to date of the Relief Society: Jill Mulvay Derr, Janath Russell Cannon, and Maureen Ursenbach Beecher, *Women of Covenant: The Story of Relief Society* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1992). *Women of Covenant* is also the only professionally written history of the Relief Society. (It is quoted three times in the notes.)

An unpaginated foreword is identified as authorized by the First Presidency, but again, no names are given, suggesting that changes in the First Presidency will not affect the content. The book's authoritativeness is stressed in this foreword which states that "we [the First Presidency] have directed the

preparation of the book” containing “timeless truths and inspiring examples.” Addressing women as “a great worldwide sisterhood,” the preface expresses “our love and admiration for you and recognize that you are beloved daughters of Heavenly Father and dedicated disciples of the Lord Jesus Christ.” It also repeats the three purposes.

The preface again repeats the three purposes. It also explains that the book is “not a chronological history . . . [nor] a comprehensive view of all that the Relief Society has accomplished. Instead, it provides a historical view of the grand scope of the work of the Relief Society” using “historical accounts, personal experiences, scriptures, and words of latter-day prophets and Relief Society leaders” (xii). It further explains that “our Heavenly Father knows His daughters, that He loves them, that He trusts them with sacred responsibilities, and that He guides them” as they unite “with men who hold the priesthood to build God’s kingdom on the earth and strengthen the homes of Zion” (xii). I found it sad that there was no mention of Heavenly Mother in this passage where she would have fit so appropriately. Nor was our Mother in Heaven mentioned elsewhere in the book, even while stressing and praising women for performing traditionally female tasks that would logically parallel the role of a Divine Mother.

In keeping with its ahistorical presentation, “the teachings, stories, and examples . . . can guide sisters in establishing priorities and practices” that enable them to fulfill (once again) the three goals. It has the explicitly didactic aim of teaching “purposes, principles, and patterns” (xiii).

The book is organized in ten chapters. The first six are chronological, beginning in Chapter 1 with the ahistorical assertion that Relief Society is “a restoration of an ancient pattern.” It is based on Eliza R. Snow’s statement that “we were told by our martyred prophet that the same organization existed in the church anciently” (1, 7). She made this statement in 1868, twenty-four years after Joseph’s death, and it appears in a newspaper report, not the Relief Society minutes. *Daughters* continues with a description of “female disciples in the New Testament” even though “little is known about a formal organization of women in the New Testament” (3). Even the claim of “little” seems to stretch New Testament evidence beyond what can be documented.

Chapters 2–6 cover the Relief Society history from its founding in Nauvoo, its revival in Utah, its twentieth-century expansion, and its achievement of “a worldwide circle of sisterhood (Chapter 6). Although it quotes women who played important historical roles, only a few are identified by their full names (Drusilla Dorris Hendricks, Eliza Partridge Lyman) but instead appear by first name and married name only (Sarah Rich, Presendia Kimball), possibly because at least some full names would raise questions about complicated marriages, including plural marriages to Joseph Smith (e.g., Eliza Partridge Smith Lyman, Presendia Huntington Buell Smith Kimball, etc.).

The next four chapters focus primarily on the Relief Society's three purposes. Chapter 7 deals with visiting teaching, Chapter 8 carefully spells out "an inseparable connection with the priesthood." While insisting that women share fully in the "blessings" of the priesthood, this chapter repeatedly emphasizes that priesthood ordination is for men only and that women, while they are "aids to the Priesthood" (Joseph F. Smith, 142) "do not hold a second place" in the Church (Gordon B. Hinckley, 143). Chapter 9 describes women's role as "guardians of the hearth" who have the responsibility of "establishing, nurturing, and defending the family." This chapter has "The Family: A Proclamation to the World" as an appendix.

Chapter 10, "Live Up to Your Privilege," repeats the Relief Society's three purposes (again) and reminds women that they are "God's daughters, with an innate capacity to love and nurture" and should strive to "reach their potential as holy women" (171). It stresses that Mormon women "are part of a great organization, founded by priesthood authority and strengthened by the teachings and declarations of prophets" (181).

It is true that women are quoted along with men. A count of references in the index shows that the most-quoted women was Eliza R. Snow (34), Emmeline B. Wells (14), Belle S. Spafford (11), and Julie B. Beck (8). The most-quoted men were Joseph Smith (49), Brigham Young (20), Spencer W. Kimball (16), Gordon B. Hinckley (14), and Thomas S. Monson and Boyd K. Packer (11 each). Many women are quoted anonymously ("one mother") or by first name only ("Lynne," "Christy").

Although I found historical and theological shortcomings in the text, I have nothing but praise for the design and enrichment of the text with illustrations including portraits of historical women, paintings illustrating scenes from the life of Christ, pioneer women, photographs of women from the international Church, scenes of family life, etc. Some historic photos are black and white but the rest are reproduced in full color. By my count there were 132 illustrations. Each chapter begins with a beautiful montage of historic and symbolic objects. For instance, the montage for Chapter 4 includes a shawl, a photo of Relief Society Nursing School graduates, a facsimile of the 1852 German Book of Mormon with a pair of reading glasses, a facsimile of a page from the Nauvoo Relief Society minutes, and a few stems of wheat in full head as "an emblem of Relief Society" (196). All of the other illustrations in each chapter, including their frontispiece-montages, are similarly identified in this "List of Visuals."

Putting this book in the hands of Mormon women all over the world will certainly have the hoped-for consequences in focus and unity that it is designed to created; but I hope it will have other consequences as well—women who notice what is missing and who take personal steps to fill in the gap between the ideal it presents and the reality of their lives.

Another appendix is “Important Events in the History of Relief Society,” a chronology in which each event is illustrated with a thumbnail-sized illustration, also in color.

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Thomas G. Alexander. *Edward Hunter Snow: Pioneer–Educator–Statesman*. Norman, Okla.: Arthur H. Clark Company, an imprint of the University of Oklahoma Press, 2012. 392 pp. Illustrations, maps, notes, bibliography, index. Cloth: \$34.95; ISBN 978-0-87062-415-5

Reviewed by Romney Burke

Edward Hunter Snow is the latest work of master Mormon historian Thomas G. Alexander, chronicling the life of one of southern Utah’s most prominent second-generation pioneers. Edward Hunter Snow (1865–1932), born in St. George, was the oldest child of Apostle Erastus Snow, who had founded the city in 1861, and his plural wife Julia Josephine Spencer. Edward was the twenty-fifth of Erastus’s thirty-six children by four wives.¹ Edward’s grandmother, Amelia Brown Spencer, had crossed the plains with her two daughters, Julia and Henrietta, to Salt Lake City in 1850 in the company of Edward Hunter, later presiding bishop of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and the man for whom Edward Hunter Snow was named.

It was a privileged world into which young Edward was born. It may be hyperbole to compare the Snows of St. George to the Rockefellers, as Alexander does, but by any standard the Snows were a most impressive family: “The Snows were a dynasty of pioneers in business, education, religion, and philanthropy in southern Utah (‘Dixie’) as the 1800s gave way to the new century” (15).

This volume could easily be titled *The Life and Times of Edward Hunter Snow*. One of the book’s greatest strengths is the interweaving of the life of Edward Snow with the events of Mormonism and Utah Territory/State which surrounded it. Alexander is the author of the classic *Mormonism in Transition: A*

¹Family records on familysearch.org give the number of children as thirty-six; Alexander gives the number as thirty-eight, also from family records, but without explaining the discrepancy.

History of the Latter-day Saints, 1890–1930 (1986; 2d ed., University of Illinois Press, 2012), and Snow's adult years coincide almost precisely with Alexander's treatment of this vital period in Mormon history. As a result of Alexander's insights, one understands much more clearly numerous facets of Mormon life, including the importance of the twenty-two stake academies, which played a crucial role in the education of second-generation Mormons; the hardship and dangers of early missionary service in the 1880s in the American South; and the corresponding disappointments of a mission in the early twentieth century in the Eastern states; the sobering effects of the U.S. Supreme Court decision in the case of *The Late Corporation of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints v. United States* (136 U.S. 1) in May 1890, validating the seizure of LDS Church property under antipolygamy legislation; the far-reaching changes resulting from President Wilford Woodruff's Manifesto of September 1890, which banned further polygamous marriages; the efforts of Church leaders in the 1890s to effect a division of the Utah electorate into a two-party system—felt to be critical in the effort to achieve statehood; the challenges of crafting a new state once that status was achieved in 1896; the support of a bimetallic standard of both gold and silver in the succeeding years, largely a result of Utah's production of a high percentage of the nation's silver; the young state's financial distress and its need for a new code of laws; turmoil following the First Presidency's 1896 Political Manifesto, which dictated that no General Authority could seek public office without permission from his ecclesiastical superiors; the revitalization of tithing in 1898 by President Lorenzo Snow after visiting drought-stricken St. George and environs; Congressional hearings related to the suitability of Brigham H. Roberts as a polygamist to take his seat in the House of Representatives after his election in 1898; the formation and development of Dixie College and what would become Southern Utah University; the elevation of adherence to the Word of Wisdom as a requisite for obtaining a temple recommend; the dangers of membership in charitable organizations possibly dividing one's allegiance to the Church; the rise and demise of the cotton industry in southern Utah; the importance of dams and canals in agriculture in Utah's Washington County—and many more.

By 1897, at age thirty-two, Edward loomed large in his native community. He was “stake tithing clerk, Deseret telegraph operator, first counselor in the St. George Ward bishopric, and a trustee and secretary on the school board” (131). Edward was, to put it simply, ubiquitous in the fabric of St. George life. In this regard, he can certainly be compared with Spencer W. Kimball of the Gila River Valley in southeastern Arizona. My mother, who grew up in President Kimball country, often commented, “Long before I knew Spencer Kimball as the spiritual giant he became, I knew him as the man who could and did do everything in the Valley. If you wanted to get anything done in Safford,

or Thatcher, or Duncan, or any other part of the Valley, you just asked Spencer Kimball to do it." So it was with Edward Snow in St. George.

Alexander divides Edward's life into three realms of influence, namely, education, economic development, and religion. In his personal writings later in life, Edward enumerated his accomplishments similarly and ranked "educational achievement first, industrial and economic development second, and spiritual growth third" (164). Edward served as president of St. George Stake (1901–25), which then had twenty-two wards in Utah, Nevada, and Arizona. In 1925, he relocated to Salt Lake City when Governor George H. Dern appointed him chair of the Utah State Board of Equalization and Assessment, predecessor of the State Tax Commission. He died in office at age sixty-seven of a heart attack on July 18, 1932.

The most interesting part of this biography takes place during his years in southern Utah, beginning with education. "If anyone deserves the title of father of Dixie State College," comments Alexander, "it is most certainly . . . Edward Hunter Snow. . . . He believed that the state should support education, and that education of the people was the state's basic and indispensable responsibility. Until 1925, he served as chair of the St. George stake board of education, the Washington County school board, and the Dixie College board of trustees. He continued in the latter position until his death. . . . Edward's service as an educational leader may well rank as his most significant achievement as stake president" (180).

Alexander rhetorically asks, "How do we judge the role Edward played in economic and community development?" He posits the following answer:

Perhaps his greatest success came in the development of and consultation concerning irrigation works. . . . Edward's interest in varied economic enterprises, included the organization of a bank, the founding of a grist mill and ice factory, the grounding of a savings and loan association, the founding of a telephone company, and the promotion of such utilities as the Virgin River bridge, a sanitary water supply, and a hospital. . . . The diverse extent of his business and community interests clearly ranked him as one of the prime movers in the survival and development of Washington County during the first quarter of the twentieth century. (234)

During his twenty-four years as stake president, Edward necessarily had access to many imposing figures in the LDS Church hierarchy. In fact, as Alexander points out, "Edward had greater access than most. He had served in the Utah state constitutional convention with a number of general authorities; as mission president, he experienced frequent visits by general authorities; he knew a number of general authorities personally; and his father had served as an apostle with most of the general authorities who served in 1901, and with many who served in 1925. In addition, with the call of his mentor and brother-in-law Anthony W. Ivins to the apostleship in 1907 and to the First Presidency in 1921, Edward had an even closer relationship with the

church leadership" (236).

Any criticism of this book pales in comparison to its contribution to regional Utah history. For instance, one does not leave with a clear picture of how Edward's life was shaped by his famous father, his mother, or his brother-in-law Anthony W. Ivins. Erastus F. Snow was an early apostle and one of the first two Mormon men to enter the Salt Lake Valley on July 21, 1847. However, the sheer size of his polygamous family may explain why there is little about the father-son relationship. Erastus died of uremia on May 27, 1888, when Edward was twenty-three. Edward had commiserated in correspondence with his father about difficulties in missionary work while serving in the Southern States Mission (77), but it would have been instructive had Alexander explored this relationship more deeply. Likewise, little is said about Edward's relationship with his mother. About all we learn is that she, but not Erastus, administered corporal punishment to their children. Despite extensive delineation of Edward's political, religious, and commercial relations with Anthony W. Ivins, the book does not explore emotional aspects of their relationship.

Chapters 4, 5, and 13 are excessively detailed and hard to plow through. Chapters 4 and 5 deal with Edward's single term in the state senate (1896–97), immediately after statehood. Alexander points out that Edward in his personal papers mentions only two issues, both recorded in 1897, from that service. Consequently, Alexander drew information about this period primarily from the *Salt Lake Tribune*, and it seems too detailed for a general biography. Perhaps it would have been more at home in a comprehensive history of early Utah statehood.

In 1925 Edward was released as stake president because of his appointment to chair the Utah State Board of Equalization and Assessment. The details of his work in revising the Utah tax code in Chapter 13 seemed better suited for a study of state tax reform in Utah than a personal biography.

A minor error is Alexander's comment that "Miles Romney, a local architect and builder, often starred in plays" (34). Miles Romney (1806–77) built the St. George Temple, the St. George Tabernacle, and the Brigham Young home in St. George, but it was his son, Miles Park Romney (1843–1904), my great-grandfather, who was the regionally acclaimed thespian.

The editing is flawless, as would be expected from a university press publication, and Alexander's prose is impeccable and impressive. The pictures are pertinent and of high quality; the index is complete. However, the book jacket itself, bright light blue and orange with a caricature-type painting of Edward by great-grandson Scott M. Snow, does not reflect the gravitas of this serious work. My wife, when she saw me reading the book, thought the cover "looks more like a Michael Chabon novel."

Despite these minor drawbacks, I highly recommend this book. It is essential for anybody attempting to understand the history of St. George before it

became a vacation and retirement mecca. Edward's Dixie was a "hole bounded on the north by red sandstone cliffs, on the east and west by hills of black lava rock, and on the south by the muddiest, dirtiest river imaginable. . . . The floor of the valley was red sand and alkali over which hot, dusty winds blew. The only plant life was cactus, mesquite, and sage brush. The animal life was rattlesnakes, lizards, gila monsters, and the coyote" (9). Edward Hunter Snow was truly a man for all seasons, one who "aided in the shifts that led to the transformation of the LDS Church from a settlement-founding polygamous and communitarian organization into an increasingly mainstream American church" (347).

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BOOK NOTICES

Mike Winder and Ronald J. Fox. *When the White House Comes to Zion*. American Fork, Utah: Covenant Communications, 2011. 229 pp. Photographs, notes. Hardcover: \$29.99; ISBN 978-1- 60861-232-1

This book, written by Mike Winder, current mayor of West Valley City, Utah, and a lifetime member of the Utah Historical Society, and his colleague, Ronald L. Fox, a member of the United States Electoral College, appealingly illustrates the many visits made by presidents of the United States to the state of Utah. Using

photographs, illustrations, newspaper clippings, and other memorabilia, *When the White House Comes to Zion* educates the reader on the colorful history Utah has with the presidents. "This book demonstrates the ever-progressing relationship between Utah and the White House and underscores the important role Utah has played in our nation's existence" (ix).

Starting chronologically with President Ulysses S. Grant and ending with the current president, Barack Obama, Winder and Fox provide interesting detail on each presi-

idential visit. Following a foreword by Michael O. Leavitt, former Utah governor and member of President George W. Bush's cabinet, the reader learns of presidents, such as George Washington and Abraham Lincoln, who wished to travel west but were unable to do so.

The story next takes the reader to 1872, when Utah was a territory. In this first section, the authors tell of the infrequent visits of presidents, when there was a negative stereotype against the polygamist Mormons. Among the numerous anecdotes is this one, recounting the first time that Brigham Young and President Ulysses S. Grant met: "Wilford Woodruff penned in his diary that it was notable to witness the meeting of 'the Presidet [sic] of the Kingdom of God on the Earth & a law giver unto Israel . . . & . . . the Presidt [sic] of the United States and of this Great Nation' (13).

The visits of Presidents James A. Garfield in 1875, Ulysses S. Grant, and First Lady Julia Grant in 1875, Rutherford B. Hayes and First Lady Lucy Hayes in 1880, Benjamin Harrison and First Lady Caroline Harrison in 1881, and William McKinley and First Lady Ida McKinley in 1901 (McKinley was the first president to visit Utah after statehood) are all recounted, including how each U.S. president met with the current Church president.

The sketches include their background histories, as well as details of their short, yet interesting, visits. For example, when President McKinley visited Utah, "Governor [Heber] Wells emerged from the president's rail car and instructed the crowd, 'Fel-

low Citizens: Owing to the fact that today is the Sabbath and to the further fact of the illness of Mrs. McKinley, the President especially requests that no applause or noise be rendered when he appears. Owing to these facts, he also does not desire to address you, but will step to the platform to acknowledge your greeting'" (27).

Section 2 spans the presidencies of Theodore Roosevelt and continues through Franklin D. Roosevelt. This section tells stories of Utah during the Spanish-American War, World War I, and World War II. As time passes, visits increase in frequency and in detail. For example, the reader learns of Taft's important "seventh visit in 1920 to encourage voters to return Reed Smoot to the Senate and to campaign for Warren G. Harding" (48).

Beginning with Harry S. Truman, Section 3 recounts the post-World War II era, when the nation struggled through the Korean conflict and the Vietnam War. This section ends with the presidency of Lyndon B. Johnson. As a particularly interesting detail, "the Mormon Tabernacle Choir performed 'Battle Hymn of the Republic' at Lyndon B. Johnson's Presidential Inauguration on January 20, 1965," the first of five U.S. presidential inaugurations where it similarly performed. Additionally, "the Choir has sung for every president of the United States since President Taft" in 1911 (114).

Section 4, "Becoming Reagan Country," spans the presidencies of Richard M. Nixon through Ronald Reagan. In 1974, President Ford

said, “We look forward to returning because we like people from Utah . . . and we like what you stand for” (140). This is just one of many quotations in this section that illustrates an increasing connection of Utah and the Church with the White House. Visits become more important and longer, and presidents take greater pains to establish rapport with the citizens of Utah. As an example of increasing warmth in these visits, Democratic President Jimmy Carter commented, “I felt among friends” (159).

Section 5, the concluding section, begins with George Bush and ends with Barack Obama. In this section, titled “America’s Reddest State,” Utah is lauded for its connections with the Church and the good that it does around the world. President George Bush, talking about missionary work throughout the world, said in an address delivered in Cedar City: “Any passion for freedom must include service to others. . . . All you have to do is get off the sidelines” (195). Utah also has become a vacation spot for many first families who enjoy the state’s beauty and recreation. For example, President Bush visited Park City in 2008.

Winder and Fox have written a thoroughly researched, easy-to-read book that is aesthetically pleasing at the same time. They keep the reader interested by using visuals to tell their story. Rather than telling a story and using visuals as supplements, it’s almost as if the authors used the opposite approach. The illustrations take the reader down the timeline, with smaller paragraphs and excerpts clearly and concisely elaborating on

the events transpiring within the pictures. In addition, the authors’ writing is virtually free of political bias, allowing a reader of any political party to enjoy the book.

Elaine Stienon. *The Light of the Morning*. Glendale: Ensign Publishing House, 1988. 283 pp. Paper: \$8.50. ISBN 0-929328-00-0

The Light of the Morning is the first of three historical novels, set in the early-to-mid-1800s. It deals primarily with Joseph Smith Jr.’s childhood and youth until his arrival in Kirtland, Ohio, in 1831 as a young married man and as leader of a nascent but rapidly expanding religious movement. The narrative’s clear focal point is the young Mormon prophet, who is portrayed through the eyes of his parents, his wife, his siblings, and the earliest believers to hear and accept his remarkable story.

Although the book revolves around Joseph Smith, hardly any of it is presented in his voice or from his point of view. Rather, the author chooses to describe the advent of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints from a variety of other viewpoints, notably Lucy Mack Smith, Martin Harris, Emma Smith, Newel Knight, and Parley P. Pratt. Narration, background information, or historical context are presented primarily through flashbacks, inner monologues, and reminiscence.

The prose in the novel borrows heavily from LDS literature, both historical and scriptural. One such

example recounts how Oliver Cowdery became Joseph's scribe. This passage is closely based on the Church's official account, which includes Cowdery's description of translating the book of Mormon: "[Oliver] continued to write, uninterrupted, as Joseph translated the words that were to form the history (or record) called the Book of Mormon. He believed both in the seer and the mechanism of translation, accepting eagerly whatever Joseph announced as revelation from God. For Oliver believed that Joseph would die before he would lie" (108). Cowdery published his account in the *Messenger and Advocate* 1 (October 1834): 14–16, which appears as a lengthy footnote to "Joseph Smith—History" 1:71, in the Pearl of Great Price, one of the LDS Church's four standard works of scripture.

There is one substantive departure from the overall pattern—the author dedicates about five pages (half of Chapter 11) to something more closely resembling a testimonial than a work of fiction. Of those five pages, almost three full pages consist of block quotations from the Book of Mormon text. The narrative then continues in Chapter 12 with the official establishment of the Church, which could be jarring for some readers.

The closing scenes of the book take place in Missouri, where David Whitmer had settled and raised his family after being excommunicated in 1843 from the Church of which he had been a founding member. Jacob Child (a character first introduced in the second-to-last chapter, and a

friend of David Whitmer) stops by his grave with its "tall, gleaming white" marker.

He had heard that Dave himself had written out the words he wanted engraved on the stone. He went closer, and stopped at the point where the words became clear.

THE RECORD OF THE JEWS,
AND THE RECORD OF THE
NEPHITES ARE ONE.
TRUTH IS ETERNAL

Even in death, Jake reflected. Even in death his friend had done it. Left his affirmation, his conviction carved for all to see. (283)

Howard R. Egan. *Pioneering the West*. Salt Lake City: Press of Skelton Publishing, 1917. Rpt., Springfield, Utah: Cedar Fort, 2008. 333 pp. Photographs, notes, genealogy. Paper: \$19.99. ISBN 978-1-59955-040-4

The preface of *Pioneering the West* explains the significance of the work thus: "When a great intermountain commonwealth grows up and develops in a few short years, the memory of those hardy pioneers, who were the first to make possible such progress, are looked upon with greater interest as the years go by and the records of all who took an important part are sought after" (4).

This book is a 2008 reprint of a 1917 compilation by Howard R. Egan of his father's diary entries and

stories as well as some of his own stories and memories. Egan's father, Major Howard Egan, was one of the first company of Mormons to cross the Rocky Mountains and settle Salt Lake City, and Egan continued to pioneer several routes west from Salt Lake to California as a messenger for the Mormon Battalion, a cattle herder and trader, and a scout commissioned to find an overland mail route.

After Howard R. Egan describes his father's immigration from Ireland to Montreal, Canada, and his conversion to Mormonism by the renowned missionary Parley P. Pratt, he reproduced his father's daily diary of the first trek west in 1847 from Winter Quarters. Egan made this trek three times, the last two with his family. His diary is detailed and practical, with records of distances and hours traveled each day, the landscape and weather, disputes, accidents, Indian encounters, and counsel from President Brigham Young and other Church leaders.

Once they arrive at the Salt Lake Valley, Egan recounts his work helping to find scarce timber and build adobe brick houses, continuing also to record spiritual and practical meetings among all "the brethren" and day-to-day incidents.

Howard R. Egan then tells stories from his own memory of his life as a boy in Salt Lake, including memories of his hard-working mother and childhood friends. He then returns to reproducing his father's diary, its entries now shorter and choppy, of Major Egan's first trips to California. This account is followed by second-hand stories of Major Howard Egan

involving encounters with Indians (both friendly and not-so-friendly) and countless trips to California characterized by long days traversing the arid desert.

The book concludes with more stories from Howard R. Egan himself—his own cattle-herding and work as a mail rider on the Pony Express and especially his interactions with Indians. He tells of Indian customs he observes, friends in Indian tribes, and raids by unfriendly groups of natives.

Throughout the book are photographs of people and landscape, lists of names, a poem about the pioneers by Solomon F. Kimball, facsimiles of orders and messages to and from Major Howard Egan, and a genealogical record of Egan's extensive posterity. Everything about its printing reproduces the original 1917 version. This book provides a unique and colorful first-hand perspective of the Mormon pioneers and frontier life in mid-nineteenth century America, compiled in an informative and entertaining style that lends itself easily to being read aloud.

Sherri Dew and Virginia H. Pearce. *The Beginnings of Better Days: Divine Instructions to Women from the Prophet Joseph Smith*. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2012. 134 pp. ISBN 978-1-60641-851-2

This short book is divided into three parts. The first two parts comprise essays by Virginia H. Pearce and Sherri Dew. They introduce the third section, where the

reader will find selections from Joseph Smith's sermons to the Relief Society.

Pearce's essay explains her experiences after reading Joseph Smith's sermons: "This is not a commentary—just a personal essay, albeit an illustration, of sorts, about how one pretty average person went about studying Joseph's words" (5). Pearce mingles personal experiences, quotations from Joseph, and some of the context in which the sermons were given to explain lessons the sermons taught her or about which they reminded her, all within the framework of her role as a Relief Society sister.

Undoubtedly, the contextual history in Pearce's essay will provide the reader with a fresh perspective on Joseph Smith and the beginning of the Relief Society. Several of Pearce's personal insights come from the challenges of being a widow and show how her experiences have shaped her perspective on the Relief Society.

Sherri Dew's essay seeks to show that Joseph Smith's sermons to the Relief Society 170 years ago still apply to Relief Society sisters today. She organizes her essay around four broad recurring themes in Joseph's sermons: "first, the place of women in the Lord's kingdom; second, the priesthood; third, the temple; and fourth, charity and the divine nature of women" (37). Each of these sections summarizes some of what Joseph expressed on the topics, and then offers some suggestions about why that information matters to Relief Society sisters today. Dew shares personal insights from her own experiences in leadership callings as well

as insights connected to being a single woman leading groups of married sisters.

The final part contains the minutes of six sermons Joseph delivered to the Relief Society in 1842, the first one taking place at the founding of the Relief Society. Dew and Pearce extracted these sermons from the minutes that Eliza R. Snow kept. Dew and Pearce explain, "With a handful of exceptions (noted in brackets) we have retained the original spelling and punctuation, presenting the words just as they appear in Eliza's record" (vi–vii). The reader will find a large space with ruled lines at the bottom of each page of the last section. There the reader can take notes, making the book a study journal as much as a resource to access these materials.

Scott C. Esplin and Kenneth L. Alford, eds. *Salt Lake City: The Place Which God Prepared*. Provo, Utah: BYU Religious Studies Center/Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2011. xiii, 362 pp. Photographs, notes, index. Hardback: \$23.99. ISBN: 978-0-8425-2799-6

This book consists of seventeen chapters dealing with numerous topics regarding Salt Lake City. As noted in the introduction, in "2010, the Department of Church History and Doctrine at Brigham Young University focused its biennial Regional Studies in Latter-day Saint Church History on Salt Lake City. Faculty researched the history of the Church in Salt Lake City" (x).

In the first chapter, Marlin K. Jensen, Church Historian and Recorder, offers a brief overview of the Church's record-keeping, from Joseph Smith's home to the current LDS Church History Library.

The next two "chapters outline how [the] history has unfolded in Salt Lake" (x). Craig James Ostler discusses the buildings of Salt Lake City in light of the "influence of the revelations in the Doctrine in Covenants" (9). He discusses the "Salt Lake Temple, the Church Administration Building, the Bishops' Central Storehouse, Welfare Square, the Humanitarian Center, the remodeled Joseph Smith Memorial Building, various Church-owned businesses, and more" (9).

Dennis A. Wright and Rebekah E. Westrup provide a history of Ensign Peak, which "has received recognition beyond its geological importance" (27). They examine the developments and uses of the peak, such as a site for early temple endowments and its modern use as a nature park.

Beginning with the fourth chapter, this "volume then turns its attention to historic structures erected by city founders," dealing with them individually (x). Richard O. Cowan discusses "The Design, Construction, and Role of the Salt Lake Temple," reviewing Brigham Young's planning, the construction, interior and exterior features, and the role of the temple today.

Scott C. Esplin studies the Salt Lake Tabernacle in the context of the struggle "to accommodate all who wanted to hear the prophet's voice" (70). He reviews the events and

changes that have taken place in the tabernacle as time and technology have advanced. He discusses prominent people that have visited the tabernacle such as American presidents and famous performers. He also discusses major changes from the early advancements of gas and electricity to modern renovations.

Kenneth L. Alford and Robert C. Freeman review the history of the Salt Lake Theatre, constructed with Brigham Young's encouragement because, as he said, "The people must have amusement as well as religion" (100). They then review the theatre's construction and some of the productions that took place inside.

Susan Easton Black examines the beehive and the word "deseret" as "symbols of the Book of Mormon" (119). She clarifies the common misconception that the two symbols were always connected. She notes that "in the 1840s the symbol of the beehive and the word *deseret* were not yet welded as one" (120). She also explores the symbols' rise to prominence and identifies the linking of the two.

In Chapter 8, "moving from structures to individuals, this volume shifts to the stories of early settlers" (xi). Arnold K. Garr reviews the history of the "prominent pioneer" Thomas Bullock (133). He analyses Bullock's conversion, involvement in historical writings, duties as both a secretary and clerk, and his ongoing faithfulness to the Church.

David F. Boone writes on the burial grounds of Salt Lake City, both private and public. He also

talks about the burial grounds of prominent members of the Mormon Church. He offers “a chart showing the final resting places of each latter-day prophet . . . along with coordinates to locate their grave sites” (171).

Kenneth L. Alford reviews the history of Camp Douglas during the period of “the camp’s founding in 1862 and the end of the Civil War” (179). He discusses the tensions that existed between Brigham Young and Colonel Patrick E. Connor and Mormons’ eventual acceptance of the camp.

Fred E. Woods explores “what happened once the Latter-day Saint converts reached their destination in the West” (203). He looks at the different ways in which the early Saints arrived, the different arrival sites, the care they were given, and the changes which took place with time and technology.

In Chapter 12, “the final section of the book focuses on various Church departments and organizations” (xii). Matthew O. Richardson examines the history of the Church Office Building at 50 East North Temple. He talks about the initial revelation of an administrative building from Joseph Smith, the planning and construction of such a building in Salt Lake City, the many changes regarding the building, and its final dedication “unto the Lord” on February 8, 1978, by Spencer W. Kimball (249).

Michael A. Goodman reviews the history of correlation in the Church. He studies the early tendencies toward correlation and the great changes that took place in curricula and organization under David O. McKay, Harold B. Lee, and other

leaders. He also discusses the “divine direction” that these leaders perceived when they were making these changes (279).

John P. Livingstone reviews the history of LDS Family Services, which became “an essential tool in the Church, helping thousands” (300). He also talks about the beginnings of social services with Amy Brown Lyman in the Relief Society to the worldwide growth of such services through the internet, mentioning the many leaders and the changes they endorsed.

Lloyd D. Newell discusses the “longest continuously broadcast program in the world, the Tabernacle Choir’s ‘Music and the Spoken Word.’” He talks about the beginnings in radio, the developments with Richard L. Evans, the other announcers, and the continuation of the program.

Kip Terry provides a study of the genealogical work of Salt Lake City, which has become “the largest genealogical organization in the world” (332). He mentions the emphasis placed on genealogy, the locations of the libraries, the Granite Mountain Vault, and the advancements through technology.

Craig James Ostler shows how Salt Lake City follows the pattern for a “City Stake of Zion” through its plat. He shows that this pattern was established by Joseph Smith, who followed the scriptural account of Moses’s tabernacle. The layout of the city continues to reflect this pattern.

Richard E. Turley Jr. and William

W. Slaughter. *How We Got the Doctrine and Covenants*. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2012. vii, 146 pp. Photographs, notes, index, preface, prologue. Hardcover: \$34.99. ISBN 978-1-60907-150-9

This book describes how the Doctrine and Covenants, a compilation of revelations and other documents, developed from their original state to their appearance in the 1981 edition. (It does not include the electronic update released in March 2013 that makes corrections based on findings in the Joseph Smith Papers project.) The authors state that their purpose is “to help other members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints better understand the history of the Doctrine and Covenants, a work we revere as scripture” (vii). Turley and Slaughter simplify the Doctrine and Covenants’ fascinating and complicated history for the everyday reader. The book is written in language that is easy to understand and is formatted for readability.

The Doctrine and Covenants began as “dictated revelations, epistles, visions, minutes, a dedicatory prayer, and even a translation” (1). These documents were eventually collected and combined into one book. Turley and Slaughter highlight the fact that changes have been made in successive editions of the Doctrine and Covenants. “Over time, the revelations did undergo revision—sometimes quite substantial—primarily for three reasons. One was that scribes made errors in their recording and transcription. A second reason was to prepare

the revelations for publication. The third was to update, supplement, or refine the texts as additional light and knowledge came ‘line upon line and precept upon precept’” (2).

The book identifies several of these major changes, such as the deletion of the Lectures on Faith from the 1921 edition of the Doctrine and Covenants and the insertion of Official Declarations 1 (the 1890 Woodruff Manifesto withdrawing support for new plural marriages) and 2 (the 1978 ordination of worthy men regardless of race). The book also discusses how Joseph Smith and others described receiving the revelations that came to be included in the Doctrine and Covenants.

Richard Turley, Assistant Church Historian, has published several books concerning LDS Church history. William Slaughter is a photograph historian and consultation archivist in the LDS Church History Library and has also published several books.

Lee Nelson, comp. *The Journal of Joseph: The Personal History of a Modern Prophet*. 1979; rpt., Springville, Utah: Council Press, an imprint of Cedar Fort, 2009. iv, 255 pp. Paperback: \$16.99. ISBN 978-1-55517-365-4

“I had actually seen a light, and in the midst of that light I saw two personages, and they did in reality speak to me. . . . I had seen a vision; I knew it, and I knew that God knew it, and I could not deny it, neither dared I do it” (4). A

Prophet's Journal is the writings of the Mormon prophet Joseph Smith compiled by Lee Nelson, who worked in public relations and advertising before this book was published. He is also the author of several other books on Mormon topics. ("Lee Nelson," <http://classic.cedarfort.com/author/Nelson.html> [accessed April 10, 2013]).

Nelson's narrative then talks about the translation of the Book of Mormon and the beginning of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Joseph also wrote about the struggles and blessings of a new church in America and being the leader of the Church. "For the first time in history of the Church, this text assembles together into one handy volume the great majority of Joseph's first-person journal entries which are scattered throughout the seven-volume history among letters, revelations, footnotes, and numerous other documents" (ii). Nelson also compiled this book to let readers know about Joseph from his own writings and not just what others wrote of him but does not acknowledge that many of these entries were, during the nineteenth century, written by others and recast in first person as though Joseph Smith had written them. This procedure was a standard device in the nineteenth century but may be misleading for modern readers.

Nelson decided to omit some entries from the seven-volume *History of the Church* that he does not think add to the story he is trying to tell. Nelson also omits some revelations, in their place noting: "See Doctrine and Covenants, Section . . ." But he includes

this information to retain the order in which the revelations were received. Readers may want to read this book with a copy of the Doctrine and Covenants nearby.

The main focus of *The Journal of Joseph: The Personal History of a Modern Prophet* is the Church. The details of Joseph's family life are only briefly mentioned throughout the book.

Because this book was first published in 1979 and reprinted in 2009, probably as a resource to accompany study of the Doctrine and Covenants in 2013, it does not draw on any of the documents now being published as part of the Joseph Smith Papers project.

Lee Nelson. *Hoofbeats: The True Life Story of an Exceptional Author*. Springville, Utah: Council Press, 2011. xii, 277 pp. Index. Paper: \$17.99. ISBN 978-1-59955-909-4

Hoofbeats: The True Life Story of an Exceptional Author is the personal memoir of Lee Nelson, a popular LDS author of Mormon history and fiction. Nelson encourages others to write their personal histories, stating that all of us have interesting stories and incidents to record for our posterity. In the prologue, the author says, "As you read my history, keep a pen or pencil handy, because my stories will trigger memories of events in your life. . . . When you finish, you will have a beginning outline for your own history" (16). Thus, Nelson shows his readers how to write a personal history by doing just that: record-

ing a detailed account of his own life.

Nelson, born in 1942 in Logan, Utah, traces his life from his childhood in Salt Lake City, where he acquired his love of the outdoors and horses, through his experiences as a U.S. Marine, an LDS missionary in Germany, and student at Brigham Young University, where he met his wife, "a pretty freshman, a German major from . . . California" (113). The author also tells stories of his professional life as a used car salesman in Montana, a professional writer in Provo, Utah, and an experienced outdoorsman and hunter.

A particularly impressive story that captures the author's personality and style is his account of learning how to hunt buffalo in traditional Native American fashion. When researching about buffalo hunting for a book, Nelson trained on his horse, Sonny, and purchased a buffalo himself because no reservation or buffalo herder would let him hunt one of their buffaloes. He describes the key moment: "[The buffalo] started galloping towards the open part of the valley. I galloped alongside and let the first arrow fly. I didn't miss. The only part I could see were the feathers. It had penetrated that far, but the buffalo continued to gallop along as if nothing had happened" (188). He relates this narrative and the rest of his stories in straightforward, simple prose that allows readers to draw many of their own conclusions about Nelson's life.

Essentially a collection of vignettes and anecdotes from the author's life, the book moves rapidly

from one story to the next. Hunting and outdoor adventures are especially big topics for Nelson. He pauses from time to time for introspection but, on the whole, spends little time analyzing his life holistically; rather, he shows his development and personality through numerous stories.

Phyllis Barber. *Raw Edges: A Memoir*. Reno: University of Nevada Press, 2009. 268 pp. Acknowledgements. Cloth: \$14.95; ISBN: 978-0-87417-807-4

Phyllis Barber is the author of two earlier memoirs. *How I Got Cultured: A Nevada Memoir* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1992, in which she explores the contradictions of growing up a dutiful Mormon daughter who was also a Rhythmette, one of an elite performing group of high school girls who greeted dignitaries to Las Vegas. She moved back a generation further in her novel *And the Desert Shall Blossom* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1991), which deals with her own parents, challenged and eroded as part of the cross-section of Americans who built Boulder (Hoover) Dam in the blisteringly harsh desert. This novel focuses particularly on her grandmother, whose remarkable voice was combined with lethal clinical depression that could not be adequately treated. *Raw Edges* is a memoir set in more recent times and also deals with even more personal material: her temple marriage to a golden re-

turned missionary, David, and a life that looked like a Momron model of security, happy service, and fulfillment.

Their first son had hemophilia, although there was no record of it in Phyllis's family. He died in his sleep as a toddler, leaving Phyllis with questions about whether she had somehow caused his death, even as she raised their next three healthy sons and supported David in his successful but demanding career.

Mormonness is woven through the memoir, though in a far from conventional way. At one point in California, they lived in a cottage that had been owned by Reed Smoot's daughter (70). Phyllis is caught off guard when David confesses that he is emotionally and psychologically exhausted by the effort to be a good Mormon, including being a faithful husband: "As hard as I tried to pretend that everything was on schedule according to the plan outlined by LDS doctrine, to the plan I firmly believed would bring us the greatest happiness, I felt the ground giving way" (77). He insisted on an "open marriage" for at least the last ten years of their thirty-three-year marriage, saying "It's like I've been down-loaded from Joseph Smith, like I have a psychic connection to polygamy" (157). However, he also consistently said he loved Phyllis and continued to provide emotional and financial support, even while Phyllis reacted with affairs of her own, a brief second marriage, and a longer relationship with a much younger man, a house painter who was also a drug addict and who started to strangle her one night when he was on crystal meth.

At one point, living in Denver, Phyllis found comfort in sometimes attending a small, struggling ward, and the branch president found money in the budget to replace the ancient, out-of-tune piano with a new one so she could play a Grieg Nocturne (224). In Salt Lake City when she accepted a friend's invitation to come sing in the ward choir, she found herself weeping during the hymns and realizing that she and Mormonism were not through with each other.

These chapters of reminiscence are woven through a larger frame of a bicycle trip from Denver to Vermont with C. J., a younger non-Mormon woman friend. They make it a thousand miles through tornado weather in the Midwest, blessed by the kindness of strangers, and high-five each other in the middle of the bridge across the Mississippi. Near Nauvoo, Phyllis reflected on the "unbelievable passion for the holy" (202) of her fourth-generation ancestors baptized in that place. They finished the trip by car when C. J., not a Mormon, insisted that they visit Joseph Smith's birthplace in Vermont. "This trip's doing you more than you're doing it," she says (232).

The book is decorated periodically by single stamps or by a row of stamps that separates the page horizontally. Barber had collected stamps as a girl, particularly enjoying "the pretty ones from France, Hungary, and Madagascar. The sight of them had made me long for those places and those stamp makers who understood such beauty" (96).

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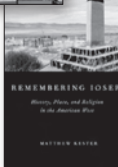
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