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

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AWARDS AVAILABLE

JFS Institute Visiting Scholar

The Joseph Fielding Smith Institute for Latter-day Saint History at Brigham Young University is sponsoring a Visiting Scholar Fellowship in Latter-day Saint History for the academic year 2001-02.

To support the publication of Latter-day Saint historical scholarship, the Smith Institute offers a full-time visiting fellowship to a post-doctoral or senior scholar with a book manuscript dealing with LDS history near completion. Fellows receive a one-year appointment with the Smith Institute, are in residence at Brigham Young University from 1 September 2001 to 1 May 2002, and teach one course in a BYU academic department. They are expected to participate in the monthly Smith Institute seminar and present a paper. The fellowship carries a stipend of $35,000. BYU policies and standards for visitors apply. This is a unique opportunity to associate with scholars at the center of Latter-day Saint historical scholarship and consult major Utah repositories with LDS holdings.

Latter-day Saint scholars from anywhere in the world may apply. Application forms are available on request from the Smith Institute or can be downloaded from its website. Supporting documents include a curriculum vitae, letters of recommendation, and a statement of the research project and publication plans. The deadline for applications is December 31, 2001. The award will be announced 15 February 2002.

For further information, please contact Ronald W. Walker, Director of Research, Smith Institute, P.O. Box 24485, 127 KMB, Brigham Young University, Provo, UT 84602, (801) 378-4023, http://fhss.byu.edu/jfsinst/

Reese Memorial Award

Entries are being accepted for the annual William G. and Winifred F. Reese Memorial Award. The $500 recognition of achievement will be given to the person completing or publishing the best doctoral dissertation or master’s thesis in the field of Mormon history. Manuscripts should be submitted by 1 February annually to the Joseph Fielding Smith Institute for Latter-day Saint History, 127 KMB, Brigham Young University, Provo, UT 84602, USA. These will not be returned to the authors.
Redd Center Grants

The Charles Redd Center for Western Studies at Brigham Young University offers a variety of research and publication grants. For more information on all and applications, write to 5443 HBLL, Brigham Young University, Provo, UT 84602, consult the web page at http://fhss.byu.edu/reddcent, or e-mail reddcenter@byu.edu.

Research grants are due in the spring of each year, usually 15 March 2001.

1. John Topham Butler and Susan Redd Butler Faculty Fellowships: up to $3,000 to faculty members at any academic institution.
2. Charles Redd Summer Grants for Upper Division and Graduate Students: up to $1,000 for research support, including theses and dissertations.
3. Education Awards for K-12 educators: up to $1,000 for course curriculum development, classroom projects, or research on the Mountain West.
4. Public Programming Awards: up to $3,000 to any organization planning a conference, museum exhibit, or lecture series focusing on the Mountain West.
5. Independent Research and Creative Work Awards: up to $1,000 to individuals who are not connected to an academic institution as a faculty member or student and who are researching some aspect of the Mountain West.

Publication grants of between $1,000 and $3,000 are available for presses to assist in publishing books dealing with the Intermountain West. Presses may apply at any time during the year and should submit the application accompanied by a table of contents and letters of support.

The Arrington-Prucha Prize

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

The prize and a plaque will be awarded annually to the author and a certificate is awarded to the publisher. No time period, geographic restrictions, or questions of religious persuasion apply. Candidate articles must have appeared during the 2000 calendar
year in a journal, magazine, or edited volume. Any WHA member, publisher, or essay author may nominate an essay by sending a copy of the journal, an offprint, or a photocopy to each member of the award committee, postmarked 31 July 2002.

The award committee consists of Michael E. Engh, Chair, P.O. Box 45041, Los Angeles, CA 90045; Ferenc M. Szasz, Department of History, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, NM 83131-1181, and Thomas G. Alexander, 410 KMB, Brigham Young University, Provo, UT 84604.
PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

TELLING LATTER-DAY SAINT LIVES:
THE CRAFT AND CONTINUING
CHALLENGE OF MORMON BIOGRAPHY

Newell G. Bringhurst

IT COULD BE ARGUED that the essence of Mormon history is biography, the prime example being the life and times of Mormonism's founder, Joseph Smith Jr. This fact is underscored by the classic seven-volume History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, edited into its final form by B. H. Roberts. The first six volumes of this work, subtitled "History of Joseph Smith, the Prophet," draw from the diaries of Mormonism's founder along with other documents generated by the church over which he presided. David J. Whittaker has succinctly characterized this epic work as "a marriage of biography and [Church] history" that has
influenced the basic form and format of Mormon biography down to the present. This essential feature, in turn, has assured Mormon biography of continuing widespread popularity.

Also enhancing the appeal of Mormon biography is that such works serve as "living parables to be studied and understood in the contexts of heaven and earth [and as] spiritual primers in the school of life" according to BYU English professor and critic Richard H. Cracroft. Latter-day Saints "relish the biographer's attempts to clarify this Saint-making process in others' lives," he continues, summarizing "It's no wonder, then, that most Mormons prefer biography over fiction."

Further facilitating Mormon biography’s appeal is its attraction for scholars. A significant number have engaged in telling Mormon lives, particularly since the 1965 founding of the Mormon History Association. A parade of MHA presidents, beginning with Leonard J. Arrington and continuing through many of his successors, have made important contributions to the craft of Mormon biography. Among these have been Richard D. Poll, Thomas G. Alexander, James B. Allen, Dean L. Jesse, Davis Bitton, Paul M. Edwards, Richard L. Bushman, Valeen Tippetts Avery, Stanley B. Kimball, Maureen Ursenbach Beecher, Ronald W. Walker, Marvin S. Hill, Roger D. Launius, Mario S. De Pillis, David J. Whittaker, Linda King Newell, Jill Mulvay Derr, and William G. Hartley. The important works produced by these and numerous other scholars have found a ready audience among Latter-day Saints of all types.

Yet despite its popularity, Mormon biography has often been judged lacking by critics, particularly during the late 1970s and early 1980s. Non-Mormon anthropologist Mark Leone lambasted Mormon biography as "amateur history, basically chronicle and vignette, not interpretation" and "unreservedly uncritical." Noted LDS historians James B. Allen and Glen M. Leonard agreed that while "bio-

graphical studies of Latter-day Saints are numerous, few are profession-ally done and many give only a selective look at the life of the individual.”

Similarly, Davis Bitton, former Assistant LDS Church Historian and award-winning biographer, observed in 1981; “While the inher-ent interest and quantity of records for writing Mormon biography are great, the results to date have been mediocre.” Likewise, an-
other award-winning Mormon biographer, Ronald W. Walker, com-
pared the collective craft of Mormon biography to “a valley full of
dry and lifeless forms, but with the promise of becoming.” Walker then quoted Ezekiel 37:3: “And he said unto me, son of man, can these bones live? And I answered, O Lord God, Thou knowest.”

David J. Whittaker lamented that Mormon biographies “read more like eulogies than biographies,” seldom moving beyond chronologi-
cal summary and painting portraits that are “almost all . . . flat [and] one-dimensional.”

Such criticisms raise two fundamental questions: First, what progress, if any, has been made in refining the craft of Mormon biography over the past quarter century? Second, what deficiencies and/or gaps remain?

In response to the first question, progress is evident in many of the carefully researched and well-written recent biographies. Cracroft noted in 1994 that “Mormon biography has begun to emerge from its traditional defensive, didactic, and hagiographic posturings.”

Because space does not allow a comprehensive discussion of all works worthy of consideration, I here focus on a representative sampling of biographies ranging from prominent leaders to the faithful rank-and-file, women, dissidents, and individuals associated with various groups outside the Utah-based LDS Church. I com-
pleted the research and writing of this address before the appear-

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8 Cracroft, “Mormon Biography,” 62.
ance of James D. Allen, Ronald W. Walker, and David J. Whittaker, *Studies in Mormon History, 1830-1997: An Indexed Bibliography*, with *A Topical Guide to Published Social Science Literature on the Mormons* by Armand L. Mauss and Dynette Ivie Reynolds (Urbana: University of Illinois Press in cooperation with the Smith Institute for LDS History, Brigham Young University, 2000). A magisterial work, it automatically becomes the first reference for anyone interested in Mormon biography; but because of the space limitations for this article, which is already triple the delivery address, I have resisted the temptation to use it to create an even longer paper.

**Biographies of Mormon Presidents**

The most important figure, by far, that Mormon biographers have tackled is Joseph Smith Jr. Recent efforts to deal with his life and career underscore both the progress and problems inherent in the broader field of Mormon biography. A case in point is Donna Hill's *Joseph Smith, The First Mormon* (New York: Doubleday, 1977). With its publication, it appeared that Fawn M. Brodie's thirty-year-old *No Man Knows My History* was, at long last, superseded by an up-to-date definitive study incorporating the latest scholarship and using dispassionate analysis. Writing as a believing Latter-day Saint whose "sympathies lie with the Saints," Hill challenged Brodie's naturalistic view of Smith as a "conscious imposter." 

Hill had access to important primary materials including diaries and letters. She used up-to-date methodologies and scholarship in crafting "a more positive yet frank portrait of Smith" that disclosed his, in Davis Bitton's words, often-elusive "human side." Yet Hill's narrative is bland and uninspiring, sometimes wandering away from Joseph Smith into a general history of the Mormon Church, in contrast to Brodie's engrossing, focused presentation. Hill's work also suffers from its lack of a clear, analytical framework and sometimes bogs down in factual information. As a result, her biography falls short in conveying the drama of a "life being lived." Fundamentally, Hill's work does not advance the biographical craft much


10 Bitton, "Mormon Biography," 5.
Beyond the form and features of B. H. Roberts's earlier "History of Joseph Smith, the Prophet." Beyond the form and features of B. H. Roberts's earlier "History of Joseph Smith, the Prophet."11

Two more recent book-length studies also examine the life and times of Joseph Smith—albeit from starkly different perspectives. Richard L. Bushman's *Joseph Smith and the Beginnings of Mormonism* (1984) tracks Smith only up to 1831, the first year after the Church's founding, but still offers information and a perspective not available elsewhere. Like Hill, Bushman writes as a devout Latter-day Saint, affirming his belief in the literal reality of Smith's divine visitations, revelations, and translation of the Book of Mormon. At the same time, Bushman acknowledges Smith as a man with flaws who made mistakes, thus helping to "humanize" the Mormon leader. He concedes that Smith was intrigued with folk magic and sought to earn money by hiring himself out as a treasure hunter during his youth but takes the position that "Joseph Smith is best understood as a person who outgrew his [or this ] culture."12 Carefully and empathically, Bushman places Smith within his cultural milieu while attributing basic religious motivation to his actions:

Joseph Smith stood on the line that divided the yearning for the supernatural from the humanism of rational Christianity—one of the many boundaries between the traditional and modern world passing through American culture in the early nineteenth century. Culturally Joseph looked backward toward traditional society's faith in the immediate presence of divine power, communicating through stones, visions, dreams, and angels. On the other hand, Joseph repudiated the superstitions of the past, particularly the Palmyra money diggers' exploitation of supernatural power for base purposes. In the end he satisfied neither religionists nor the local magicians. Joseph Smith, Sr., said at the trial [of Joseph, Jr.] in 1826 that the family believed "that the son of Righteousness would some day illumine the heart of the boy, and enable him to see His will concerning him."13

Standing in sharp contrast to Bushman's approach is Robert D. Anderson's *Inside the Mind of Joseph Smith: Psychobiography and the*  

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13 Ibid., 79-80.
Book of Mormon (1999). Anderson, a one-time practicing Latter-day Saint turned nonbeliever, writes from an extremely provocative naturalistic perspective reminiscent of Fawn McKay Brodie’s. In contrast to Brodie’s No Man Knows My History, however, Anderson’s narrative is highly clinical, more speculative, and much less stylistically engaging. Anderson explains his purposes as to “investigate the psychology of Joseph Smith, demonstrate the benefits of psychobiography, expand awareness of psychological processes, provide an alternative explanation for at least some supernatural claims, and expand scientific knowledge.”

He here defines both his interpretive focus and conclusions:

By using the framework of traditional science and that of the academic historian in this work, I therefore exclude “the hand of God” from consideration. I assume that Joseph Smith composed the Book of Mormon and I read it to understand Smith psychologically. Some may find this approach unacceptable; others might allow it as an hypothesis to be explored.

Anderson further asserts that “Joseph Smith, both knowingly and unknowingly, interjected his own personality, conflicts, and solutions into” the Book of Mormon. This work “can be understood as Smith’s autobiography” from which one “can discern repeated psychological patterns in Smith’s transformation of his childhood and youth before 1829 into Book of Mormon stories, and that these observations can contribute to a psychological understanding of Smith.” He describes the Book of Mormon as “not a book of love, but of terror, hatred, and destruction. . . . Until historical evidence is presented for the Nephite-Lamanite civilizations, these terrible stories can possibly best be seen as reflecting Joseph’s emotions and mental images—filled with violence and hatred—dating from the developmental period when the basic units of his personality were being laid down.”

Anderson sees Smith as the product of both a traumatic childhood and dysfunctional family, resulting in a “psychoanalytic pro-

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15 Ibid., xxvi.
16 Ibid., xxvii-xxviii.
17 Ibid., 204.
file” of the Mormon founder as a “narcissistic personality” with tendencies toward grandiose fantasies and excessive, reckless behavior, which culminated in his violent death.\(^{18}\)

Anderson has produced a provocative portrait with some stimulating ideas. His work has generated debate about Joseph Smith’s personality and basic motives, a good thing in and of itself. But much of Anderson’s analysis is highly speculative and, more seriously, excessively reductionist, over-simplifying both the personality and motives of Joseph Smith, who was a highly complex, multifaceted individual. In essence, Anderson’s work comes up short in much the same way as Brodie’s. It is essentially, as Whittaker said of Brodie’s biography, “a secular portrait of a religious man” which represents “the biographical craft at its worst.”\(^{19}\) Thus, *Inside the Mind of Joseph Smith*, generates as many questions as answers.

Indeed, the problems evident in Anderson’s biography along with the incompleteness of Bushman’s account, and shortcomings of Hill’s work, taken together, underscore that the definitive Joseph Smith biography remains to be written. As I envision such a biography, it would be analytical, carefully combining frankness with empathy and sympathy. It would be written in an engaging style within a clear interpretive framework, comprehensively using the myriad historical sources, both primary and secondary, that are currently available. This biography, moreover, would use up-to-date tools of analysis and interpretation—not just those of the historian but also those of other social and behavioral sciences. Most important, it would capture the essence of Smith’s elusive, multifaceted personality through a careful consideration of his varied, complex motives. We may hope that the two biographies currently in progress on Joseph Smith by two members of this association—Richard L. Bushman and Dan Vogel—will capitalize on such possibilities.\(^{20}\) Then,
perhaps, at long last, we might move closer to solving what Jan Shipps sagaciously characterized as "The Prophet Puzzle" in her generative essay of the same title over a quarter of a century ago.21

Turning to Joseph Smith's successor, Brigham Young, the most important biography to appear in the past twenty-five years is, without question, Leonard J. Arrington's *Brigham Young: American Moses* (1985). Extensively researched and carefully written, this widely acclaimed biography presents the Mormon leader in a generally favorable light while noting with candor his difficulties and conflicts. For example, Young chewed tobacco at the very time he publicly chastised his followers for the same behavior. But as Arrington explains, Young consumed tobacco not as an indulgence but to relieve the pain caused by his bad teeth and gums. Arrington used Young's papers, previously closed to most scholars, to present the Mormon leader with a richness in texture and tone lacking in earlier biographies. Particularly illuminating is Arrington's coverage of debate within the ruling councils of the Church, including clashes between Young and Apostle Orson Pratt. Pratt, for instance, opposed Young's 1847 decision to reorganize the First Presidency with Young himself as president, prophet, seer and revelator. Arrington's *Brigham Young* emerges as a multifaceted, interesting personality.22

Arrington's biography is not without its shortcomings, however. He tended to downplay some conflicts and divisions within

directions. This volume also includes essays by a number of other scholars, including my "Joseph Smith, the Mormons, and Antebellum Reform: A Closer Look," 113-40.

21 Jan Shipps, "The Prophet Puzzle: Suggestions Leading toward a More Comprehensive Interpretation of Joseph Smith," *Journal of Mormon History* 1 (1974). Reprinted in Waterman, *The Prophet Puzzle*, 25-47. She argues that the essential task remains "to integrate" the many facets of Smith's "complex career." While not achieving "perfect harmony" hoped for by certain idealists, such an effort might allow the future Smith biographer "to reconcile enough of the inconsistency to reveal, not a split personality but a splendid, gifted—pressured, sometimes opportunistic, often troubled—yet, for all of that, a larger-than-life whole man" (44).

Mormonism over policy and doctrine that Young handled with variable success. He also glosses over interactions within Young’s large family, prompting eminent Western historian Martin Ridge’s remark: “One would like to know more about [Young’s] home, children, family tensions, divorces, and other matters.” Also problematic is Arrington’s shift from a straightforward chronological narrative, that takes Young to his arrival in the Great Basin in 1847, to a topical organization with separate chapters on Young’s roles as governor, church president, spiritual counselor, family man, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Western colonizer, etc. This “fragmented approach,” in the words of the Los Angeles Times reviewer, was “undoubtedly necessary given the scope of Young’s activities but the man we meet in the latter pages of [Arrington’s biography] loses much of his approachable humanity and becomes a figure exhorting from the mountain tops.”

This issue, in fact, relates to a more fundamental problem, Arrington’s difficulty in probing the essential “inner life” of his subject, fundamental to understanding the unfolding drama of “a life being lived” with its attendant tensions and unintended consequences. Reacting to this deficiency, Yale University historian David Brion Davis, while praising Arrington’s treatment of Young’s “multifarious activities” lamented that “we seldom glimpse [Young’s] interior motives.” Likewise, Martin E. Marty, distinguished University of Chicago historian of religion, noted that “something about Young’s inner life eludes us.” Marty wishes that Arrington “had slowed” the pace of his “old-fashioned, brisk, eloquent narrative prose” and “played ever so cautiously with psychologically informed history” in examining the “inner man.”


Despite its deficiencies, Arrington's magnum opus clearly supercedes all earlier book-length studies, most notably Stanley P. Hirshson's superficially researched and sloppily written The Lion of the Lord—a hack work given undeserved scholarly legitimacy through its publication by Alfred A. Knopf (1969), the same house that, ironically, published Arrington's biography.27

Recent efforts to carefully examine the lives of subsequent presidents of the Utah-based LDS Church have been mixed. Still lacking is a carefully researched and written biography on Young's successor, John Taylor (1880-87), although Samuel Taylor's sprightly The Kingdom or Nothing: The Life of John Taylor, Militant Mormon is noteworthy.28 Samuel Taylor, the president's grandson and also a novelist and journalist, writes in a lively, engaging style; but his controversial conclusions and interpretations were based on speculation and limited historical evidence.29 According to critic Ronald W. Walker, Samuel Taylor's work "exhibits the cares and techniques of the novelist" despite efforts to be "history-minded."30

In contrast, Taylor's successor, Wilford Woodruff (1889-98), has found an able biographer in Thomas G. Alexander's Things in Heaven and Earth: The Life and Times of Wilford Woodruff, a Mormon Prophet (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1991). According to Allen and Leonard, it "offers the most complete examination and only interpretation of Woodruff's life."31 Alexander, using abundant information drawn from Woodruff's voluminous journals and other primary sources, presents him as both talented and multifaceted,

31 Allen and Leonard, Story of the Latter-day Saints, 690.
moving with general competence and ease in his various roles as Church leader, businessman, civic leader, scholar, and patriarch of nine wives and thirty-three children. While empathetic, Alexander's biography is no hagiography. This work stands as a definitive standard against which to measure subsequent studies of Woodruff and his contemporaries.²²

Unfortunately, there are no satisfactory biographies of Woodruff's three immediate successors: Lorenzo Snow (1899-1901), Joseph F. Smith (1901-18), or Heber J. Grant (1918-45).³³ In contrast, George Albert Smith, Church president from 1945 to 1951, appears in a very competent book-length, three-generation study of three Smith men by Merlo Pusey, a prize-winning journalist and biographer.³⁴

Lacking, however, are scholarly, well-written biographies for Smith's three successors: David O. McKay (1951-70), Joseph Fielding Smith (1970-72), and Harold B. Lee (1972-73).³⁵ Although no full-

³⁵ Recently published book-length studies on these three leaders
scale scholarly biography of any of these men is planned, Mormon scholar Gregory Prince is currently at work on a book-length administrative biography on McKay.

Spencer W. Kimball, Church president from 1973 to 1985, has had the good fortune of attracting two first-rate biographers, Edward L. Kimball and Andrew Kimball Jr., son and grandson of their subject. *Spencer W. Kimball: Twelfth President of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1977) quickly established itself as the scholarly model for all future biographies of twentieth-century church presidents. The Kimballs were fortunate in having not only “a subject whose life was unusually varied and interesting” but also someone who had kept a voluminous daily diary for years. Most important, the authors were willing to be frank and analytical in their presentation and, finally, possessed the ability “to write and put together a well-paced, biography that convinces by recounting numerous specific experiences.”

Ronald W. Walker notes: “Here [is a] struggling personality, the depiction of genuine emotion, and homely details which are at times stark.” Edward Kimball, in affirming the virtues of this open approach, stated that “the best people” including his father “had flaws” and warned that “if we ignore them completely, that deprives the biography of credibility.” Or as he stated more vividly on another occasion: “The whitewash of ancestors, even if they were church leaders, will run in the rain. It lacks credibility, and no amount of documentation of that


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person's good side can persuade an intelligent reader that there is not more to the story." Edward Kimball is currently at work on his father's administrative history.

It is regrettable that Spencer W. Kimball's three presidential successors have not attracted biographers of similar ability. Sorely lacking are comprehensive, frank biographies on Ezra Taft Benson (1985-94), Howard W. Hunter (1994-95), and Gordon B. Hinckley (1995-present). In essence, the overwhelming majority of Mormon Church presidents await serious scholarly attention.

BIographies of Other Church Leaders

Outstanding book-length biographies on LDS leaders below the level of president are also limited. Among the early associates of Joseph Smith to receive scholarly treatment are Oliver Cowdery, Benjamin Winchester, and Sydney Rigdon. Richard S. Van Wagoner's *Sydney Rigdon: A Portrait of Religious Excess* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1994), is the best of these three—a vivid

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39 Edward L. Kimball, "Writing Mormon Biography," 7, panel presentation, Sunstone Symposium, 8 August 1992; photocopy in my possession; quoted by permission.


41 For brief biographies of LDS presidents through Ezra Taft Benson and a bibliography, see Leonard J. Arrington, ed., *The Presidents of the Church* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1986).

portrait of this one-time counselor in the First Presidency and later rival to Brigham Young. Rigdon's wife destroyed most of his personal letters, sermons, and revelations after his death; still, Van Wagoner created a biography that has been praised as “comprehensive” and “most ambitious.” It has also been criticized as too naturalistic in tone, with David J. Whittaker expressing “dislike” for what he characterized as Van Wagoner’s “pejorative language, his secular descriptions of religious beliefs, and his description of religious faith as delusions, silliness, a cover for corruption, or mental illness.”43 Similarly, RLDS scholar Edward A. Warner while praising Van Wagoner’s presentation of Rigdon as a “very human figure . . . with virtues and vices, gifts and flaws, achievements and disgraces, high callings, and petty temptations,” critiques the biography as “too normative and unfair” in dismissing “Rigdon’s religion . . . as ‘pathological,’ ‘excessive,’ ‘maladaptive,’ ineffective, or a failure.”44

The lives of other individuals close to Joseph Smith have been examined with varying degrees of success. Conspicuously missing is a scholarly up-to-date book-length biography on Hyrum Smith, Joseph’s older brother, close confidante, and co-martyr at Carthage Jail.45 He appears, however, as one subject in a very competent collective biography, although it is limited to his role as Presiding Patriarch. This work, by Irene M. Bates and E. Gary Smith, provides fascinating insights into multi-generational dynamics within the Smith family.46 In a similar fashion, Merlo Pusey’s Builders of the Kingdom:


45 Pearson H. Corbett’s Hyrum Smith: Patriarch (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1963) is dated in approach and sources.

George A. Smith, John Henry Smith, and George Albert Smith carefully chronicles and analyzes the relationships among George A. Smith (Joseph and Hyrum's first cousin), his son John Henry Smith, and grandson George Albert Smith, all of them apostles in the LDS Church.

Two of Brigham Young's counselors have received careful scholarly attention from two former presidents of the Mormon History Association. Apostles Heber C. Kimball and George Q. Cannon were both close to the centers of power and not hesitant about exercising it themselves. The essence of the earthy, plain-spoken Kimball has been captured by Stanley B. Kimball in his Heber C. Kimball: Mormon Patriarch and Pioneer (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1981) while the politically and intellectually sophisticated George Q. Cannon has found an able biographer in Davis Bitton. George Q. Cannon: A Biography (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1999) presents Cannon as an energetic, multifaceted personality, patriarch of six wives and forty-two children, a prolific writer, newspaper editor, entrepreneur, and political lobbyist. Particularly compelling is Bitton's treatment of Cannon in the latter role. Serving as Utah's delegate to Congress for some twelve years, Cannon used this forum to defend the Mormons from increasing federal anti-polygamy prosecutions. Effectively presented is Cannon's critical role in achieving the Mormons' long-sought goal of Utah statehood, which eluded them until 1896.

Other nineteenth-century LDS Church leaders treated with varying degrees of success in scholarly book-length biographies over the course of the past three decades include Charles C. Rich and Erastus Snow, both Mormon apostles and noted colonizers; Jedediah M. Grant, a fiery preacher and leader of the Mormon Reformation of 1856; and Orson Pratt, nineteenth-century Mormonism's most important theologian.47


Other Mormon General Authorities have attracted the attention of biographers. Brigham Henry Roberts, whose career as a Democrat and General Authority spanned the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, is better known as a leading Mormon theologian and one of Mormonism's greatest historians; he has been treated with mixed success in Truman Madsen's *Defender of the Faith: The B. H. Roberts Story* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1980). The life and career of S. Dilworth Young, a colorful twentieth-century General Authority and direct descendent of both Brigham Young and his brother Joseph Young have been examined in a frank, highly readable narrative by grandson Benson Young Parkinson in *S. Dilworth Young: General Authority, Scouter, Poet* (Salt Lake City: Covenant Communications, 1994). J. Golden Kimball, a colorful and sometimes outspoken cowboy-cum-General Authority appears in Thomas E. Cheney's engaging *The Golden Legacy: A Folk History of J. Golden Kimball* (Salt Lake City: Peregrine Smith, 1973) while James N. Kimball, a grand-nephew, has a scholarly biography in progress. While biographies
exist on other twentieth-century General Authorities, these have generally been more in the realm of hagiography then biography.\(^{48}\)

A refreshing exception is Henry D. Moyle, a controversial and confrontational General Authority during the 1950s and 1960s whose life has been forthrightly presented by Richard D. Poll in *Working the Divine Miracle: The Life of Henry D. Moyle* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1999). Although completed in 1983, the biography was held back from publication until 1999 by Moyle family members concerned about Poll’s candor in presenting Moyle as, in the words of reviewer C. Brooklyn Derr, “the hard-driving wheeler-dealer [that] he was.” Moyle’s fall from official Mormon favor occurred because President David O. McKay came to see Moyle as “a ‘loose cannon’ who was using his authority illegitimately.”\(^{49}\)

**Lesser Leaders and Rank-and-File Latter-day Saints**

Also attracting biographers’ attention—with mixed results—have been Latter-day Saints of lesser hierarchical position. On the plus side is James B. Allen, *Trials of Discipleship: The Story of William*


In a class by itself is Harold Schindler's classic Orrin Porter Rockwell: Man of God, Son of Thunder (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1966), which absorbingly examines the colorful Rockwell, a close associate of both Joseph Smith and Brigham Young with a well-deserved reputation for violence on the Mormon frontier. John Lowe Butler, a devout convert, Danite in Missouri during the 1838 Mormon War in Missouri, and long-time bishop in Spanish Fork, Utah, has been captured by MHA president William G. Hartley in a similarly frank manner. In My Best For the Kingdom: History and Autobiography of John Lowe Butler (Salt Lake City: Aspen Books, 1993), Hartley considers the "virtually unknown and unheralded" Butler, in Richard Cracroft's phrase, as "a kind of settled-down Porter Rockwell."50 Mountain Meadows Witness: The Life and Times of Bishop Phillip Klingensmith (Spokane, Wash: Arthur H. Clark, 1995), by Anna Jean Backus, portrays another devout Mormon caught up in Mormon violence. In contrast, Bill Hickman, an even more colorful vigilante figure, has yet to be interpreted in a competent, scholarly fashion, despite the well-meaning but flawed "Wild Bill" Hickman and the Mormon Frontier (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1988) by descendant Hope L. Hilton.

Less colorful but equally important Latter-day Saints who excelled in business, education, the arts, and politics have also attracted the attention of scholars. Mormon entrepreneur David J. Eccles, characterized as "one of the most creative and resourceful businessmen in the history of the Mountain West," has been appraised by Leonard J. Arrington in David Eccles: Pioneer Western Industrialist (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1975).51 Arrington also chronicled the life of another important Mormon entrepreneur, Charles

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50 Cracroft, “Mormon Biography,” 63.
L. Redd, after whom BYU’s Western history research center was named. In collaboration with John R. Alley, Arrington also traced the career of Harold B. Silver, an inventor and important civic leader in Denver, while Richard D. Poll wrote a frank biography of Mormon financier Howard J. Stoddard, and Donald L. Godfrey has written a biography on Philo T. Farnsworth, the acknowledged father of television. Such works notwithstanding, other prominent Mormon entrepreneurs also deserve scholarly attention, especially Marriner Eccles, chair of the Federal Reserve System, and J. Willard Marriott, world-renowned hotelier.

Latter-day Saints have long been deeply involved in education, and probably more deserve book-length studies than have received them. Lowell L. Bennion, twentieth-century educator and premier Mormon humanitarian, has been sensitively portrayed by Mary Lythgoe Bradford in her award-winning biography, Lowell L. Bennion: Teacher, Counselor, Humanitarian (Salt Lake City: Dialogue Foundation, 1995). The career of Sterling M. McMurrin, Mormon theologian, philosopher, teacher, and U.S. Commissioner of Education under John F. Kennedy, has been captured in an interesting conversational format combined with excellent scholarship by L. Jackson Newell—Matters of Conscience: Conversations with Sterling M. McMurrin on Philosophy, Education, and Religion (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1996). Two other Mormon educators, Ernest L. Wilkinson, long-time president of Brigham Young University and James L. Fletcher, University of Utah president and twice director of the Na-


tional Aeronautics and Space Administration, have received careful attention in scholarly journals.\(^5^4\)

As for Mormon artists and writers, the number of book length biographies is limited, although artist Mahonri Macintosh Young, best known for his sculptures of This Is the Place Monument and the Seagull Monument, has attracted the attention of two biographers.\(^5^5\) The contributions of Mormon composer Leroy Robertson has been described by Marian Robertson Wilson in *Leroy Robertson: Music Giant from the Rockies* (Salt Lake City: Blue Ribbon Publications, 1996). Perhaps surprisingly, Mormon authors have been generally neglected by biographers—those producing fiction as well as nonfiction. Writers of Mormon history from the earliest days of the church down to the late twentieth century have received attention from Leonard Arrington and Davis Bitton in *Mormons and Their Historians* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1988). Leonard J. Arrington, a founding father of the Mormon History Association and prime mover behind the New Mormon History, has written a frank and vivid discussion of his own experiences and interactions with various other writers and historians in his *Adventures of a Church Historian* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1998); he would be a fascinating subject for a biographer as well. Within the literary realm, an array of interesting characters known as "Mormondom’s lost generation" are also worthy of scholarly examination.\(^5^6\) Among


these, Vardis Fisher and Dale L. Morgan have received some consideration in article-length studies.\textsuperscript{57} Mary Lythgoe Bradford is writing a biography of Virginia Sorensen, and Veda Tebbs Hale is at work on a biography of Maurine Whipple. But much remains to be done.

Journalist Lee Roderick has written about Utah's long-term Republican Senator and 2000 presidential candidate, Orrin Hatch; and F. Ross Peterson is at work on a scholarly biography of Stewart Udall, Secretary of the Interior in the John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson administrations.\textsuperscript{58} A number of other Latter-day Saints who left their mark in politics have, unaccountably, failed to receive scholarly attention. The best work on George Romney, former Michigan governor and 1968 presidential contender, is still Dennis L. Lythgoe's essay three decades ago; but Romney merits a full-scale biography as do long-time Arizona Congressman Morris Udall, who sought the presidency in 1976; Esther Peterson, a one-time Assistant Secretary of Labor under President John F. Kennedy; Paula Hawkins, U.S. Senator from Florida—the first and only LDS woman to serve in that body; and Lieutenant General Brent Scowcroft, who served as National Security Advisor to Presidents Gerald Ford and George Bush.\textsuperscript{59}


Woefully lacking are careful scholarly biographies on "ordinary" Latter-day Saints—those whom M. Guy Bishop calls "invisible Saints" and David J. Whittaker calls "supporting Saints."60 This topic demonstrates a paradox in Mormon biographical writing. Despite the strong LDS interest in "family history" that results naturally from the unremitting emphasis on genealogical research, the outpouring of accompanying biographies has seldom reflected scholarly standards in either research or analysis. While the filo-pietistic approach may be understandable, it is regrettable since "ordinary" Saints of middle-to-lower socio-economic status reflect the "norm" of the average Mormon life and their biographies would provide a more valid picture of the typical grass-roots Mormon experience than biographies of prominent Latter-day Saints. Clyde A. Milner, director of the Mountain West Center at Utah State University, has argued for a more inclusive approach: "The daily lives and personal struggles of ‘ordinary people’ can produce significant historical insights about the human condition," while M. Guy Bishop perceptively suggests: "A solid collection of biographies of lesser known [Latter-day] Saints might well raise a whole new set of questions for the historians of Mormonism to ask."61

Bishop has produced a model biography of an ordinary Latter-day Saint, Henry William Bigler: Soldier, Gold Miner, Missionary, Chronicler. Bigler, whom Bishop characterizes as a "foot soldier for his faith" led a generally unremarkable life, except for his presence at the historic discovery of gold in California, which he recorded in his diary. For his life of unglamorous and faithful consistency, Bishop asserts: "Bigler’s life history offers a window through which


it is possible to understand the experiences of many of his contemporaries,” although few “left records as detailed and consistent as Bigler’s.”

It might seem that economics drives the biography decision: that the potential audience for biographies of ordinary Saints is too limited. But the appeal of family biographies improves if the stories are deeply researched and skillfully crafted within the context of engaging family history. This is certainly the case with the model family histories produced by William G. Hartley, whose award-winning *My Best for the Kingdom: History and Autobiography of John Lowe Butler* originated as a history of and for the Butler family. Better-done rank-and-file biographies would appeal to the inherent interest in learning about one’s ancestors and seeking out one’s “roots”—with the works about other families serving as mirrors and even analogues of one’s own. Clear evidence of this interest was the extraordinarily large number of family history papers presented at the 2000 Mormon History Association annual meeting. It is safe to say that many

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of these papers reflect their authors’ contact with their roots and understandings of the long-gone world of their Scandinavian ancestors. Looking into one’s own family background brings special rewards and pleasures, deeper understandings of the difficulties and obstacles one’s ancestors overcame, and, in the case of Latter-day Saint converts, their commitment to faith and beliefs, often tested against opposition from family, friends, and neighbors. Gathering information from relatives, especially through oral interviews, can strengthen family bonds, particularly across generations. Elderly family members are particularly grateful when children and/or grandchildren express an interest in the activities and significant events of their lives. I found this very much the case in interviewing my own eighty-year-old father three years ago.65

Examining the historical dynamics of one’s family can also increase individual self-awareness specifically in defining the origins of certain personality/family traits and idiosyncrasies. A compelling example of a Mormon family history produced as a result of one scholar’s pursuit of both self-awareness and also a sense of time and place is Linda King Newell’s intriguing 1997 MHA presidential ad-


65 George S. Bringhurst, Oral History Interview conducted by Newell G. Bringhurst and Scott J. Bringhurst, 4 June 1998, Salt Lake City; typescript in my possession.
dress, "A Web of Trails: Bringing History Home." Newell described her ancestors' experiences as "a microcosm of the different motivations, beliefs, hopes, hardships, and failings of western Mormons and non-Mormons in the middle of the nineteenth century."66

But doing family history also has frustrations and carries risks. We might find that important family letters or documents have been destroyed either deliberately or accidentally. A family member may refuse to discuss certain painful experiences—particularly those involving hard times, warfare, or family tragedy. Some surprises can be embarrassing, even though most families have at least a few skeletons in their closet, as I found in researching my own family history.67 As Davis Bitton cleverly puts it, the examination of one's roots can cause "any number of 'nuts' [to] fall out of the family tree."68

Another group of Mormon biographies that are sorely lacking are the experiences of Latter-day Saints from various ethnic-racial backgrounds. This failure, notes Davis Bitton, leaves "the impression of a white Anglo-Saxon, Utah-based existence" as the "norm" or

67 This was particularly the case when I researched my paternal grandfather, John T. Bringhurst. On the positive side, his youngest brother, Samuel E. Bringhurst, was president of the Swiss-Austrian Mission during the 1950s and helped David O. McKay in selecting the site of the Bern Swiss Temple. But my grandfather's older sister, Mary ("Mayme") Bringhurst became the third wife of Heber Bennion in 1901, well after the Manifesto, and gave birth to eight children. My father and his siblings were completely unaware of this relationship. Worse still, my grandfather's younger brother, William A. Bringhurst, was a bank robber and murderer, executed in 1924 at San Quentin Penitentiary for killing two Los Angeles policemen in December 1921. For more on Great-Aunt Mayme, see John Bennion, "Mary Bennion Powell: Polygamy and Silence," Journal of Mormon History 24 (Fall 1998): 85-128, while Great-Uncle William appears in Hartley, To Build, To Create, To Produce. See also my "William A. Bringhurst: From Devout Latter-day Saint to Condemned California Killer—A Personal Confrontation with the Past," paper presented at the Mormon History Association annual meeting, 13 May 1991, Claremont, California.
representative of the total Mormon experience. Such neglect is particularly unfortunate, given the Mormon Church's long history of growth outside of the United States and, more recently, its evolution into a truly international and increasingly ethnically diverse organization. Bitton asks pointedly, "Where are the biographies that give a convincing impression of what it is like to be an American Indian Mormon, a Japanese Mormon, a Tongan Mormon, a Nigerian Mormon?" An exception to such neglect is Scott R. Christensen's *Sagwitch: Shoshone Chieftain, Mormon Elder, 1822-1887* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1999), which depicts the life of this convert to Mormonism after the 1863 Bear River Massacre.

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72 Although not a biography per se, John Alton Peterson's *Utah's Black Hawk War* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1999) considers the life and times of that Ute leader. See also Matthew E. Kreitzer, ed., *The Washakie Letters of Willie Ottogary: Northwestern Shoshone Journalist and Leader,
LATTER-DAY SAINT WOMEN

Also in short supply are scholarly, well-written biographies of Latter-day Saint women. But here, as Davis Bitton optimistically prophesied in 1981, prospects for the future appear "fairly bright."\(^{73}\) A benchmark work is *Mormon Enigma: Emma Hale Smith, Prophet's Wife, "Elect Lady," Polygamy's Foe* by Linda King Newell and Valeen Tippetts Avery (1984; rev. ed., Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994). Engrossingly written, *Mormon Enigma* is a compelling work that presents Joseph Smith’s first wife as a fascinating and assertive individual in her own right, not as a bland appendage of her husband. James B. Allen and Glen M. Leonard characterize it as “a much needed balanced treatment” because of its handling of significant controversies during Joseph Smith’s lifetime and following his death.\(^{74}\)

Complementing Newell and Avery’s *Mormon Enigma* is Todd Compton’s meticulously researched and carefully written tour de force, *In Sacred Loneliness: The Plural Wives of Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1997). Given the secret, limited nature of polygamy during Joseph Smith’s lifetime, Compton’s major achievement is in identifying the women most probably married to the Mormon prophet (thirty-three) and in recounting their lives in a taut, gripping account.\(^{75}\) Particularly engaging is his discussion of the complex, often tangled relationship between the Mormon prophet and these various women. Next to Emma Hale Smith, Eliza R. Snow is undoubtedly the best known of Joseph Smith’s plural wives. Later


\(^{73}\) Bitton, “Mormon Biography,” 9.


also married to Brigham Young, she has received careful attention from Maureen Ursenbach Beecher and Jill Mulvay Derr.

In contrast, the plural wives of other nineteenth-century Latter-day Saint leaders have yet to be considered in careful, scholarly detail. Surprisingly, the fifty-five plural wives of Brigham Young have received minimal attention. Virtually nothing has been done on the plural wives of Church Presidents John Taylor, Wilford Woodruff, Lorenzo Snow, Joseph F. Smith, and Heber J. Grant. Nor has much effort been made to explore the lives of plural wives married to other officials in the Church hierarchy.

Some attention has been given to other nineteenth-century Mormon women, many of whom were involved in polygamous relationships. An important work is Maria S. Ellsworth’s carefully crafted *Mormon Odyssey: The Story of Ida Hunt Udall, Plural Wife* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992), which contains Udall’s diary as part of Ellsworth’s biographical narrative. Ida Hunt Udall, the second wife of David Udall, a prominent Arizona Church leader, effectively appears as “a woman of faith and character who maintained her faith and dignity amidst terrible sacrifices.” Juanita Brooks’s *Emma Lee* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1975), a sensitive work written in a “lean, prosaic style” examines the often difficult life of Emma Batchelor Lee, one of the controversial John D. Lee’s plural wives.

While other nineteenth-century Mormon women have failed to generate book-length biographies, several are represented by edited, book-length diaries, memoirs, or scholarly articles. Such Mor-

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77 The only attempt to precisely identify Young's wives is Jeffery Ogden Johnson, “Determining and Defining 'Wife': The Brigham Young Households,” *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 20, no. 3 (Fall 1987): 57-70, to be updated when he completes his book on the topic.

78 Cracroft, “Mormon Biography,” 63.

mon women include Emmeline B. Wells, editor of the outspoken feminist publication, *Woman's Exponent*, and later president of the Church Relief Society; Sarah M. Kimball, a member of the Nauvoo Relief Society and feminist president of a ward Relief Society in Salt Lake City; Annie Clark Tanner and Mary Jane Mount Tanner, both early Utah pioneers; Ellis Reynolds Shipp, an early Mormon female physician; Jane Manning James, a black female pioneer; and Alice Merrill Horne, an early Utah legislator.80

Similarly, few twentieth-century Mormon women have found their place in scholarly book-length studies. But again there are exceptions. Outstanding is Levi S. Peterson’s compelling *Juanita Brooks: Mormon Woman Historian*. The life of this courageous “dean of Utah Historians” spanned most of the twentieth century. Caroline Eyring Miner’s and Edward L. Kimball’s *Camilla: A Biography of Camilla Eyring Kimball* is a scholarly and warmly written study of the wife of Mormon Church president, Spencer W. Kimball (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1980). Leonard J. Arrington’s last book to ap-

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pear before his death was his first woman’s biography: *Madelyn Cannon Stewart Silver: Poet, Teacher, Homemaker* (Salt Lake City: Silver Publishers, 1998). A few other twentieth-century Mormon women have been treated in articles. Thus, much remains to be done on both nineteenth- and twentieth-century Mormon women.

**RLDS Historical Figures**

The Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (now Community of Christ) has produced a number of noteworthy biographies. This church is the major denomination that emerged in the Midwest some ten years following the martyrdom of Joseph Smith Jr. and has been led, until the current presidency of Grant W. McMurray, by the lineal descendants of Mormonism’s founder.

Setting the standard for RLDS biographies is Roger D. Launius’s *Joseph Smith III: Pragmatic Prophet* (Urbana: University of

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Illinois Press, 1988). This biography successfully examines the challenges and successes of Joseph Smith Jr.'s eldest son. Launius has also followed up with an administrative history, *Father Figure: Joseph Smith III and the Creation of the Reorganized Church* (Independence: Herald Publishing House, 1990). The second work in this series of administrative biographies examines the activities of Joseph III's son, Frederick M. Smith (1915-46), while a third considers another brother-president, Israel A. Smith (1946-58). Also projected for this series is a biography of Joseph III's youngest son, W. Wallace Smith, RLDS President from 1958 to 1978, and Joseph III's grandson, Wallace B. Smith, leader of the Reorganization from 1978 to 1998.

The lives of three important second-level RLDS leaders, namely F. Henry Edwards, Geoffrey F. Spencer, and Roy Cheville have been considered in book-length biographies. Another fine biography is Valeen Tippett's Avery's award-winning *From Mission to Madness: Last Son of the Mormon Prophet* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1998). David Hyrum, the bright, talented, but deeply troubled younger brother of Joseph III, served in his brother's First Presidency but spent the last years of his life in an

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institution for the insane. But on the whole, biographies of important individuals within the Reorganized Church are woefully limited. There are no book-length studies on other immediate members of the Smith family, including William Smith, Joseph Jr.'s younger brother—a colorful, controversial, sometimes erratic figure who finally, after many experiments, cast his lot with the Reorganization.

Another compelling figure within the Reorganization, Alice Smith Edwards, the intelligent and sometimes outspoken daughter of Frederick M. Smith has received attention in at least two articles. With these exceptions, the possibilities for scholarly biographies on RLDS figures remain virtually untapped, as Roger D. Launius notes.

**DISSIDENTS AND SCHISMATICS**

Among the most historically interesting subjects for Mormon biography are Mormon dissidents and schismatics; but as in other areas, the number of scholarly biographies on Mormon dissidents and schismatics is limited. An important study, suggesting possible directions for future inquiry, is Roger D. Launius and Linda Thatcher, eds., *Differing Visions: Dissenters in Mormon History* (Ur-

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bana: University of Illinois Press, 1994), containing essays on seventeen dissenters spanning the course of Mormon history from the 1830s to the present. The volume starts with an intriguing article by Ronald E. Romig on David Whitmer and concludes with an engaging essay by Alice Allred Pottmyer on Sonia Johnson whom she labels “Mormonism’s Feminist Heretic.” Launius’s introduction, “Mormonism and the Dynamics of Dissent,” suggests some areas of further inquiry.

James Jesse Strang, a rival successor to Joseph Smith Jr., established his branch of Mormonism in Voree, Wisconsin, and later on Beaver Island, Michigan. Roger Van Noord’s _King of Beaver Island: The Life and Assassination of James Jesse Strang_ (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988) is significantly more thorough and comprehensive than earlier studies. But Van Noord still “fails to explain adequately why Strang attracted the devotion of several hundred individuals or why Strang’s following was so volatile.”

Other important Mormon schismatics, specifically Lyman Wight, Alpheus Cutler, and Charles B. Thompson, have been treated in scholarly essays, as have a number of lower-echelon leaders associated with various schisms, specifically Thomas Lyne, John

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Greenhow, Wingfield Watson, Stephen Post, Justus Morse, and James Blakeslee. Also worthy of critical biographies are Nauvoo dissidents William and Wilson Law, Robert D. Foster, and Austin Cowles, whose opposition to Joseph Smith and polygamy in the spring of 1844 triggered the train of events leading to the Mormon prophet’s assassination.

A later dissident, Francis Gladden Bishop, questioned Brigham Young’s leadership claims during the early 1850s, while Joseph Morris posed a more significant threat during the early 1860s. Morris has found his biographer in C. LeRoy Anderson, For Christ Will Come Tomorrow: The Saga of the Morrisites (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1981). William S. Godbe, who strongly opposed Young and other Utah Mormon leaders on economic and doctrinal issues during the late 1860s and early 1870s, has been considered by Ronald W. Walker in his finely crafted Wayward Saints: The Godbeites and Brigham Young (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1998). Walker’s meticulously researched and polished work is a collective biography, since it includes others involved in the “New Movement” including Edward Tullidge, T.B.H. and Fanny Stenhouse, and Amasa Lyman, an apostle excommunicated for his espousal of Godbe’s ideas.


93 In scholarly articles, Walker has also examined some of the leading Godbeites: “The Commencement of the Godbeite Protest: Another View,”
Very little work has been done on leaders of Mormon fundamentalism—the various schismatic movements that regrouped around plural marriage after the Utah Mormon Church finally abandoned the practice during the early twentieth century.94

In addition, careful biographical studies are needed for dissenters not identified with particular schisms. One of the most noteworthy was Samuel Brannan, a colorful, controversial nineteenth-century Latter-day Saint, who brought a shipload of Mormons to California, broke with Brigham Young, and became "California's first millionaire." Scoundrel's Tale: The Samuel Brannan Papers, edited by Will Bagley (Spokane, WA: Arthur H. Clark, 1999), while not a biography, presents an effective overview of this fascinating figure and easily supercedes four earlier Brannan biographies, all rudimentary in research, slipshod in scholarship, and flawed in analysis.95 Taken in conjunction with Bagley’s outstanding article, this documentary history should promise a first-rate Brannan biography at last.96


96 In addition to Bagley's edited work, see also his "'Every Thing Is Favourable! And God Is On Our Side': Samuel Brannan and the Conquest of California," Journal of Mormon History 23, no. 2 (Fall 1997): 185-209; and three by Newell G. Bringhurst, "Sam Brannan: Restless Pioneer and Dreamer," The Californians, September/October 1987, 18-19; "Sam Brann-
Other equally interesting figures lacking biographies are individuals who, at one time, were fully committed to Mormonism, but who became not only disaffected but strident anti-Mormons. Andrew F. Smith's *The Saintly Scoundrel: The Life and Times of Dr. John Cook Bennett* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997), chronicles the turbulent life of a one-time high Church official and close associate of Joseph Smith. John Hyde Jr. and Increase Van Dusen both expressed their dissent on the lecture circuit and through numerous anti-Mormon writings. Also worthy of careful examination are anti-polygamist lecturers like Fanny Stenhouse and Ann Eliza Webb.97

Disaffected individuals from prominent Mormon families are particularly interesting. Articles have appeared on Sarah M. Bates Pratt, the disaffected wife of Apostle Orson Pratt; their son Orson Pratt Jr.; Brigham Bicknell Young, a nephew of Brigham Young who became a prominent Christian Science leader; and Frank J. Cannon, son of George Q. Cannon, who cast his lot with prominent Utah anti-Mormons in the early twentieth century.98

Two dissidents associated with the David O. McKay family have drawn my personal interest. His niece, Fawn McKay Brodie, excom-
municated for her biography of Joseph Smith, has already been mentioned; the second is McKay’s father-in-law, Obadiah Higbee Riggs, Utah’s Superintendent of Public Instruction, who left Mormonism and joined the RLDS Church. Contemporary Mormon women dissidents Sonia Johnson and Deborah Laake were, like Brodie, excommunicated for their public statements about official Mormon policies and practices. But in general, much more can be done on these and other dissidents.

Also meriting consideration are certain prominent individuals who were born Mormon but did not identify with the Church as adults. Butch Cassidy, notorious western outlaw, and Jack Dempsey, world boxing heavy-weight champion during the 1920s, have both appeared in recent biographies. Equally prominent but lacking adequate biographical treatment are Gutzon Borglum and Solon Hannibal Borglum, sons of James Borglum, a Danish woodcarver from Jutland who joined the Latter-day Saints and migrated to the United States. The Borglums, however, became disaffected with


Mormonism and moved to the Midwest where the sons became known for doing Mount Rushmore.\textsuperscript{102}

One step further removed but still worthy of attention are individuals from Mormon backgrounds who were never Latter-day Saints themselves. Two such personalities who have attracted competent biographies are J. Bracken Lee, a controversial Utah governor and later Salt Lake City mayor, and Gary Gilmore, a notorious murderer executed in 1977 by a Utah firing squad.\textsuperscript{103}

Another "celebrity" category could be that of the "briefly Mormon." Eldridge Cleaver, one-time militant Black Panther activist, was baptized Mormon in 1983, while Jewish Roseanne Barr, the "rough-edged, Emmy-winning TV personality," was "involved in Mormonism for ten years during childhood . . . after a Mormon's prayer appeared to cure her of childhood palsy."\textsuperscript{104}

\textbf{CONCLUSION}

As suggested throughout this essay, the craft of Mormon biography has progressed markedly over the past quarter century. An increasing number of writers have avoided the polemical tone that characterized all too many works in the past. The level of competence has risen steadily, and some biographies are first rate. This body of work has established a scholarly standard against which to evaluate future Mormon biography.

But much remains to be done. There are many interesting and noteworthy Latter-day Saints who have been ignored and/or overlooked, but whose lives merit careful, scholarly examination. Efforts to fill this void are complicated by three major challenges. The first


\textsuperscript{103} Dennis L. Lythgoe, "Let 'Em Holler": A Political Biography of J. Bracken Lee (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society, 1982); Mikal Gilmore, \textit{Shot in the Heart} (New York: Doubleday, 1994).

is what Valeen T. Avery has labeled the “Scylla and Charybdis of Mormon history.” One extreme is the perspective that the “divine hand of God” is manifest in all events; the other extreme is reductionism: utterly ignoring the divine or supernatural and finding only secular causes and motives.105 As Davis Bitton regretfully points out, much Mormon biography tends “to be adulatory, sentimental and devotional in intent” on the one hand while the defiantly countervailing tendency results in “iconoclastic, anti-Mormon biographies with an equally polemical purpose—that of maligning the entire movement by portraying individual Mormons as knaves.” After identifying these problems, however, Bitton noted a “sign of increasing maturity”—“several Mormon biographies that escape the either-or dichotomy.”106 This trend, fortunately, has continued with the appearance of an ever-increasing number of balanced biographies that carefully consider both the secular and religious motives of their subjects.

Mormon biographical writing, however, continues to be plagued by a second major problem—its generally bland writing and presentation. Walker attributes this blandness in Mormon biography to “its spirit of understatement, harmony, and circumspection” stemming from “the didactic and commemorative tendency” evident in all religious literature and Mormonism’s own heritage as a persecuted people. These factors come together, Walker asserts, to produce the “heroic biography, with clean lines, strong contrasts, and flattering hues.”107 Similarly, non-Mormon critic Gary Topping attributes Mormon biography’s generally bland quality to its focus “on creation of an accurate factual narrative of events to the neglect of history’s less tangible elements such as ideas, psychology, and personality,” all rooted in a Mormon compulsion to create “faith-promoting legends.” Biographers, daunted enough by the task of merely researching and chronicling the basic facts of Mormonism’s

past, have given short shrift to basic questions of personality and motivation.\textsuperscript{108}

A third problem is that Mormon biographies tend to present their subjects as static individuals, with unchanging personalities and basic beliefs. The result is a lack of real-life tension, essential humanity, and unfolding drama. Davis Bitton has urged biographers to "let their subjects grow and develop and change over time" and to provide meaningful insights into their "inner life." Likewise, Ronald Walker has called for greater sensitivity to "the intimacy of a life in its totality, sensing the interior and sometimes hidden aspects of a career." Gary Topping wisely advised biographers to probe "beneath the surface," to seek the essence of basic ideas, personality, and motivation including "psychological and spiritual" aspects.\textsuperscript{109}

In attempting to overcome the three problems, biographers of Mormon subjects should strive to achieve "the delicate balance between life as history and life as art" as Whittaker suggests.\textsuperscript{110} Or as Andre Maurois insists: "An honest biographer should sit in front of his model [as a portrait painter], thinking only: 'What do I see, and which is the best way to convey my vision to others.'"\textsuperscript{111} In this same spirit, Whittaker encouraged the biographer to create a "true image" of the subject like a "portrait painter" seeking to produce a pleasing, finely crafted rendition of his subject.\textsuperscript{112} In essence Mormon biographers can draw inspiration from the renowned biographer Paul Murray Kendall, who stated that the ultimate goal or "mission" of biography should be "to elicit, from the coldness of paper, the warmth of a life being lived."\textsuperscript{113}

In conclusion, the possibilities and opportunities in Mormon


\textsuperscript{110} Whittaker, "The Heritage and Tasks," 11.


\textsuperscript{112} Whittaker, "The Heritage and Tasks," 11.

biography are unlimited for aspiring biographers—both professional and amateur. Biographies on Joseph Smith and other prominent Latter-day Saints will continue to fascinate and intrigue Latter-day Saints of all types. Likewise, biographies chronicling the lives of lesser-known Latter-day Saints, particularly well-written ones, will also find a ready audience. Thus, I am both hopeful and confident that the craft of Mormon biography will continue to flourish, attracting both the talents of enterprising individuals interested in researching Mormon lives and also eager readers, anxious for well-crafted biographies telling Latter-day Saint lives.
American religious history has traditionally focused on institution building within denominations, which emphasizes the role of leading clergy, rather than the laity. Mormon history fits this pattern, owing to an understandable preoccupation with Joseph Smith and his gathered community. Recently, however, many religious historians have shifted the focus to the study of "lived religion"—by which they mean the ways that ordinary people create their own spiritual meanings in their day-to-day lives. One such scholar, Robert Orsi, explains, "Religion comes into being in an ongoing, dynamic relationship with the realities of everyday life." This approach finds people eclectically reworking religious idioms that are diverse and often contested.¹

In that spirit, I will reexamine the cultural landscape of upstate New York between 1790 and 1835—the milieu from which emerged the prophetic role of Joseph Smith Jr. and the early Mormon Church. I will argue that early Mormonism emerged from the lived religion of upstate New York: an open-ended, fluid, porous, multivalent, and hyper-competitive discourse involving multiple Protestant denominations and many autonomous clusters of seekers. The movement to the New York frontier exposed people to a proliferation of religious itinerants expressing an extraordinary diversity of belief. They included Baptists (both Calvinist and Freewill), Methodists, Universalists, Quakers, Shakers, Congregationalists, Presbyterians, Episcopalians, deists—and a great variety of distinctive local groups and defiant individuals in earnest search of their own truth. Rarely did any one group dominate a particular town.²

Although no single doctrine or denomination satisfied a majority, the diversity and fluidity of beliefs had a paradoxical effect: It produced a common discourse. The essence of lived religion on the settlement frontier was immersion in a public and often contentious debate in which no one group enjoyed either a majority or the coercive power of the government. Of course, the preachers of every denomination denounced their rivals as snares fatal to the morals, prosperity, and salvation of the people. But despite their longing for exclusive control, every denomination had to tolerate, however grudgingly, the right of people to choose their own faith. Consequently, religion was usually lived not within any one denomination but as part of a fluid discussion that transcended the weak sectarian boundaries. In the many new towns of upstate New York, the essence of popular religion was the opportunity for people to sample and debate multiple variants of Protestant belief (and disbelief). Although I will focus on upstate New York, this culture at least characterized the entire Yankee frontier, from Maine to Ohio—and probably the entire American population of settlers, including those from the south and the mid-Atlantic states.³

³ Alan Taylor, *Liberty Men and Great Proprietors: The Revolutionary
The religious culture of upstate New York emerged from the accumulation of four sources: first, the centrifugal legacies of the First Great Awakening during the mid-eighteenth century; second, a selective migration that concentrated the most restless seekers in new towns; third, frontier hardships which discouraged institutional regularity; and, fourth, the creative power of dreams and visions. Of course, all four framed the social and religious experiences of Lucy Mack Smith, Joseph Smith Sr., and their children. But although unique in their ultimate success, the Smiths had plenty of company in their early, anxious years of seeking for a unitary truth in a challenging place and time of diversity and debate.

Born in 1805 in Vermont to parents who came from Connecticut and later relocated to western New York in 1816, Joseph Smith Jr. grew up within the great Yankee emigration of the post-Revolutionary generation. Between 1780 and 1820, Yankee emigrants left southern New England to create hundreds of new settlements in Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, northern Pennsylvania, the Western Reserve of Ohio, and parts of Canada. But above all they went to upstate New York—the region west of the Hudson River and north of Kingston. New York’s population exploded from 340,120 in 1790 to 1,372,812 in 1820. In 1790, when the great movement was just beginning, New York ranked only fifth in population among the states, lagging behind Virginia, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and even North Carolina. By 1820 New York had become the most populous state in the nation. Because most of the upstate newcomers settled on new farms, their settlement dramatically shifted the distribution of New York’s population. Out of the state’s fifty-four counties in 1820, thirty-eight (70 percent) had been formed after 1780. In 1785 three-fourths of New Yorkers still lived in the Hudson Valley or along the Atlantic coast; by 1820 three-fourths of the inhabitants dwelled in the towns created after the war in the central, northern, and western quarters of the state.4

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This Yankee diaspora came a century and a half after the great transatlantic migration of their Puritan ancestors from England to create a New England. Where the Puritan migration had manifested the cultural revolution wrought by the Reformation in England, the Yankee movement realized in the new settlements the implications of the First Great Awakening: a dramatic wave of religious revivals that gripped most of southern New England during the 1740s—with a powerful echo during the 1760s. Just as the Puritan migration disproportionately drew out of England the folk most committed to a thorough Reformation, the Yankee movement was dominated by people influenced by the radical implications of the First Great Awakening.

The most radical revivalists urged the spiritually awakened to separate from churches that included the “unconverted”—those who could not testify to a new birth experience of divine grace. To promote separations, the radical evangelicals championed individual choice even in defiance of all traditional sources of authority: of official minister, county justice, and even of fathers and husbands. But the separated did not wish to remain isolated individuals. Instead, they promptly formed their own congregations, for the point of separation was to find tighter, purer communions.

Although revivalism affected most of New England, only a minority fully embraced the radicalism of separating from the official Congregational Church of their local parish. Although shaken, and


often reformed by, the awakening, the established churches in Massachusetts and Connecticut preserved the powerful advantage of an exclusive right to tax support. The college-educated Congregational ministry and the substantial meetinghouses of the New England Way demanded considerable payments. The governments usually refused to accept the separations and instead continued to demand tax payments from the Separates to support the local official church. If they failed to pay, Separates often suffered jail and the confiscation of some property for auctioning. From a peak of about 100 Separate congregations in 1754, Separatism declined precipitously to just 16 churches by 1775. The Separates either returned to the Congregational establishment or found a new, congenial home among the Calvinist Baptists, who increased their Massachusetts and Connecticut congregations from thirteen in 1740 to fifty-three by 1770.\footnote{William G. McLoughlin, \textit{New England Dissent, 1630-1833: The Baptists and the Separation of Church and State}, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1971).}

After the American Revolution, the religious minorities of New England found an outlet in emigration to the many frontier districts newly opened to settlement. New York was especially appealing because the state lacked a tax-supported religious establishment. On the other hand, the majority in New England felt satisfied with orthodox Congregationalism. They were slower to emigrate into raw settlements that lacked an establishment to require—and the means to finance—a college-educated ministry and a substantial meeting house. Consequently, religious dissidents formed a much larger proportion in the new settlements of New York than in the old towns of Massachusetts and Connecticut. Indeed, by draining dissidence to the frontier, the migration tended to strengthen and to prolong the orthodox predominance in Massachusetts and Connecticut. And as that consolidation became conspicuous, the dissidents felt even greater pressure to move beyond the reach of the Congregational establishment.\footnote{Stephen A. Marini, \textit{Radical Sects of Revolutionary New England} (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1982); Nathan O. Hatch, \textit{The Democratization of American Christianity} (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1989); Congregational Churches in Connecticut, \textit{A Continuation of the Narrative of the Missions to New Settlements} . . . (New Haven, Conn.: T. and S. Green, 1797, Evans #31968), 13; Timothy Dwight, \textit{Travels in New England}}
Frontier conditions compounded the initial advantage that selective migration had afforded the evangelical dissidents. New settlers could not afford to build a meeting house promptly and pay the ministerial salary expected by the Congregational establishment. For at least the first decade, new settlers suffered intense labor, heavy debts, and periodic deprivation and hardships as they struggled to make new farms in a dense forest. Difficult and expensive access to external markets over stump- and root-ridden roads slowed the advent of prosperity. George Peck, a New York settler's son, recalled, "The settlements were small and widely separated, the roads were terrible, and, of course, the people were poor."9 The frontier hardships and scant pay also discouraged the advent of college-educated ministers, who could find more secure and comfortable parishes in the older, eastern towns. And the diverse religious preferences of the scattered settlers discouraged the development of a local consensus in favor of supporting a common church and minister.10

The frontier dispersion, poverty, and divisions favored more radical evangelicals who relied on cheap, part-time, poorly educated, and itinerant preachers who earned a spare living by combining their far-flung ministry with a small farm or a trade. The evangelical itinerants also made do without a meeting house, gathering instead in cabins, barns, fields, and log school-houses. The New England Congregationalists tried to compensate by raising funds to dispatch their ministers on summer missionary tours of the new settlements, but

9 George Peck, Early Methodism Within the Bounds of the Old Genesee Conference from 1788 to 1828 (New York: Carleton and Porter, 1860), 278-79.
10 Congregational Church in Connecticut, A Narrative of the Missions to the New Settlements (New Haven, Conn.: T. and S. Green, 1794, Evans #26803), 14-15; Ashbel Hosmer, A View of the Rise and Increase of the Churches Composing the Otsego Baptist Association (Whitestown, N.Y.: Warren Barnard, 1800, Evans #37650), 34-35.
the missionaries found that they were too few, too brief, and too late. The settlers had already embraced the cheaper and more numerous and familiar ministry of the evangelical denominations. Rev. Henry Chapman, a Congregational missionary, lamented, “The Baptists & Methodists . . . are creeping into every corner & using every exertion to draw off people from the regular churches. They have great influence in these new settlements & that for want of other labourers in the vineyard.” Similarly, in 1806 Rev. William Graves, a Congregational missionary, complained that the Baptists and Methodists had filled the religious vacuum in the New York settlements: “By reason of their having preaching, they draw away a great number of our people, who in other circumstances would be likely to be with us.”

The Congregational missionaries feared that they had arrived too late to rescue settlers ruined by either the absence of religion or by a surfeit of the wrong kind. In 1794 Rev. Aaron Kinne toured the New York frontier and reported, “Irregular & vicious habits are imbibed, rivetted, & become obstinate & incurable:—or, which is but little better, they become an object to some evangelizing Baptist, or roving Methodist. . . . There is an awakening—many are converted & baptized—dissensions arise—they are divided, disabled & ruined for all the purposes of religious society.” The settlements, he concluded, “exhibit lamentable pictures of barbarism and confusion.”

The legacy of the Great Awakening, selective migration, and frontier hardships all contributed to the fourth engine of religious

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diversity and spontaneity: the spiritual power of dreams, visions, and inner voices. As John Wigger has shown in his recent study of Methodism, the most fundamental issue dividing the evangelical from the orthodox was their clashing attitudes toward latter-day messages from the divine. For the orthodox, revelation had ceased with the apostles and rightly so. Their God could be known only through the published scriptures and only with the help of a learned expert trained by an orthodox college. By contrast, evangelicals mourned the apparent silence and absence of God from their own lives. They longed to experience His power directly, physically, visually, and emotionally. The evangelicals despised orthodox authority and learning for muting and hiding that divine power, thereby consigning souls to damnation for want of His tangible presence. By emigrating to the frontier, evangelicals left behind the orthodox ministers who asserted their prestige against the folk longing for the daily intervention of spiritual power in this world. Moreover, frontier hardships produced intense mood swings between despair and hope, an emotional dialectic that induced more vivid dreams. Finally, the troubling competition of denominations demanded some supernatural criteria for determining their truth claims. Many seekers found religious guidance directly from God or an angel through the medium of a dream or an inner voice.  

Frontier Methodists and Baptists endorsed the dreams, visions, and voices as divine power working through human vessels. George Peck praised the Methodist revival that occurred in his settlement (Middlefield, New York) in 1800: “The Spirit was poured out from on high upon multitudes, and men and women, old and young, dreamed dreams, saw visions, and were filled with the spirit of prophecy.” Another Methodist, Charles Giles insisted that the circuit riders were “endowed with supernatural power, by which they spoke with tongues and performed miracles. . . . The Spirit of God attended

their ministry, and signs and wonders followed them."¹⁴ Such manifestations seemed to renew the apostolic age of direct, tangible contact with the divine that people hungered for. By moving away from the Congregational establishment, seekers believed they had moved into contact with the awesome power of God.

Of course, such latter-day supernaturalism shocked the orthodox Congregationalists who visited the settlements as occasional missionaries. In 1804, Rev. Thomas Williams complained:

Many persons in this region seem to place great dependence on dreams. One woman told me that about a year ago she was greatly afraid of death for many days. It seemed to be very near and was very dreadful. One night she dreampt she saw Christ coming in the east and she thought he was coming for her. She dreampt she went out to meet him and desired him to let her stay longer and he took her into his arms and she kissed him and was in his arms a good while. The next morning she was joyful and death seemed to be at a distance. From that time she has had a hope that she was a Christian. I think that there is reason to believe that many persons in the new settlements have a hope without any more reason than she has. The Baptists and Methodists are generally very hasty in concluding that persons who have had some dreams or suggestions or bodily afflictions are Christians.¹⁵

In addition to the Congregationalists, some of the more conservative Baptists worried that dreams deceived as often as they revealed the divine purpose.¹⁶

Instead of simplifying the denominational choice, the dreams and visions compounded the diversity by delivering wildly divergent messages. Indeed, they encouraged an array of independent inno-


vators who created their own local sects by claiming authority direct from God, unmediated and undiluted by any worldly authorities. These uneducated and self-appointed preachers toured the settlements describing their divine messages to attract their own followers. One example among many is Elisha Peck (1762-1829; no relationship to George Peck of which I'm aware). Born and married in Connecticut, he emigrated at age thirty-seven to Otsego County, New York, where he bought a small farm (forty acres) and plied his trade as a shoemaker. After experiencing the Holy Spirit in dreams and voices, Peck broke with his Calvinist Baptist congregation in 1806. Rejecting all existing denominations, Peck simply called himself a Christian and defied the authority of scriptural learning: "I find it better to obey the spirit, than to obey the commandments and doctrine of men." He cited the Bible's inconsistencies as proof that scribes, priests, noblemen, and kings had corrupted the divine message, the better to deceive and exploit the common people. To decipher the divine truths embedded within a compromised Bible, people needed to seek out "the same spirit which spake by the holy prophets and Jesus Christ." Peck concluded, "In vain do we read the scriptures over and over, unless we have this light of life to attend us." By heeding their dreams and visions instead of human-made and -enforced creeds, the common people could reclaim the direct and daily communication with God formerly enjoyed by Jesus and the apostles.\footnote{Elisha Peck, \textit{A Narrative of the Writer's Experience, with a View of Ancient Light, Speaking Forth Anew to the Reader and Undermining Priestcraft} (Otsego, N.Y.: Elihu Phinney, 1808, Shaw-Shoemaker #15860), 3-5, 17, 20. See also Peck, \textit{A Few Remarks of Importance for Warning and Instruction: . . . in Which the Reader Will See the Cruelties of Party-Professed Religion} (N.p, n.d. [ca. 1810], Shaw-Shoemaker #21008), 8-9; Peck, \textit{A Discourse Pointing Out a Just Rule Very Important to Be Attended To in Order to Deliver and Save the Mind from Errors, and Unit[ing] the People of God into One Visible Order or Church} (Utica, N.Y.: Seward and Williams, 1815, Shaw-Shoemaker #35586), 3-7; Darius Peck, \textit{A Genealogical Account of the Descendants in the Male Line of William Peck} (Hudson, NY: Bryan and Goeltz, 1877), 29, 429; and Otsego County Conveyances, B:465 (20 August 1799), Otsego County Clerk's Office, Cooperstown, N.Y. Peck can be better documented than most of the innovators because he published his ideas.} Of course, the various denominational clergy refused to recog-
nize Elisha Peck's divine authority. Rarely united in anything, the diverse clergy of Otsego County denounced Peck as an imposter. On the basis of a dream, Peck announced that his death would come on 7 October 1806 unless averted "by the fervent prayers of the faithful." His followers prayed and Peck lived, confirming his authority to them while outraging his better educated rival clergy. The Episcopalian Rev. Daniel Nash complained, "He is absolutely too mean to be noticed by any decent Man, being a drunken fanatic—pretends to be a Prophet sent from the Lord."18 This rhetoric of denunciation will sound familiar to scholars of the prophetic career of Joseph Smith Jr.

Because these autonomous preachers usually called themselves Baptists, the institutionalized Calvinist Baptists felt threatened by the continuing process of religious fission. In 1799 the Calvinist Baptist Church in Otsego Township issued a warning circular letter:

We find it necessary to be on our guard against imposters, who swarm in this day of error and delusion, and are nuisances to society, ravening wolves in the church of God. From such, dear brethren, turn away. It is necessary for us to be on our guard, as our country is new, our settlements young, and men of all principles and characters are flocking into them.19

To standardize preaching and disavow innovators, the Calvinist Baptist churches organized regional associations to certify proper elders and denounce deviants. Nonetheless, novelty continued to allure lay Baptists. In 1809 the Otsego Association lamented, "The enemy pours in errors upon us like a flood. . . . Our local situation invites his emissaries and almost every new fangled scheme is


19 Quoted in Hosmer, *A View of the Rise*, 28-29; see also 36, 95.
broached in these new settlements." No Congregationalist could have better stated this alarm.

As a conduit of direct authority from God, dreams and visions could inspire the humble and the marginalized to defy conventional earthly authority. Clergy of all stripes were especially dismayed when supernatural encounters emboldened some devout women to become itinerant preachers in defiance of St. Paul's injunction against women speaking in the church. In 1816 the Otsego Association had to correct an embarrassing typographical error that had been exploited by a female seeker eager to preach: "Voted, that Elder Ethel Peck, whose name was inserted in our Minutes last year, through mistake, is not by us considered as a minister in fellowship with this Association." Eager to claim greater respectability, the Baptists thus hurried to reaffirm the traditional male monopoly on public preaching.

The lived experience of Luther and Annis Peck, parents of George Peck, illuminates the combination of awakening religion, frontier migration, early hardships, and spiritual dreams. In 1790 as young adults they had fled from poverty in Danbury, Connecticut, to settle in Middlefield, a new settlement in Otsego County, New York. They developed a frontier farm, while Luther plied his trade as a blacksmith. Their Congregational minister in Danbury had given them a parting warning:

You will meet out in the new country, these strolling Methodists. They go about with their sanctimonious looks and languid hair, bawling and frightening women and children. They are wolves in sheep's clothing, the false prophets which should come in the last days, creeping into houses, and leading captive silly women laden with sins and led away with diverse lusts.

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20 Otsego Baptist Association, Minutes, Holden at Fairfield . . . September 6th and 7th, 1809 (Utica, N.Y.: Seward and Williams, 1809, Shaw-Shoemaker #16927), 8.


22 G. Peck, Life and Times of Rev. George Peck, 10-25. No known relationship to other Pecks cited in this study.
The Pecks brought formal letters of honorable dismission and recommendation to any Congregational or Presbyterian Church they could find. But for want of an orthodox church in Middlefield, the Pecks reluctantly attended services conducted by the Methodist itinerants who routinely visited their settlement. Just as their old minister had warned, Annis soon warmed to their emotional services while Luther was initially repelled. Their son George later recalled, "He turned his eyes this way and that as the strange noises struck his ears, till he became vexed, and wished that they would cease and let him 'hear a little of what the preacher said.'" Irritated, Luther neglected religion, becoming "fond of lively company." Religious authority passed to his wife and their teenage daughter Rachel, who led daily family prayers, in which they begged for Luther's conversion. The two women also assumed a leading role in the local Methodist class meeting. According to George Peck, a visiting uncle "saw and heard what were to him new and wonderful things. He had never heard a woman pray. Several of the female members of the class led in the devotions with a propriety and a power which surprised him." 23

Luther Peck experienced an evangelical conversion in 1800 after sudden deaths claimed three friends—one hurled from a cart, the second crushed by a falling tree, and the third drowned by a raging river. His mirth shattered, Peck plunged into a depression that culminated in a terrifying dream in which his dead friends conducted him to divine judgment. Terrified by his lack of preparation, Peck awoke "in an agony of remorse," crying out, "I am going to die, and I shall be lost." His son recalled:

I well remember being helped down the ladder that morning [from the loft], and being struck with the changed aspect of things. My father, who was usually the first to salute us with kind or playful words sat weeping and groaning in one corner, with my sisters gathered around him, sobbing with sympathetic emotion. Mother sat at a little distance, also weeping. 24

Gripped by despair for months, Luther Peck nearly wasted away. At last, however, he found relief by attending Methodist meet-

23 Ibid., 25, 28-30.
24 Ibid., 25-27.
ings with his wife and daughters—which led to his ecstatic new birth as an evangelical Christian. Thereafter, the Peck home became the general rendezvous in Middlefield for Methodist meetings and circuit-riders. Luther also reclaimed his role as religious patriarch. As narrated by George Peck, his parents experienced the frontier decay of orthodox authority, exposure to new currents of evangelical belief, the competing pull of irreligious worldliness, increased female initiative and leadership in family conversions, a preoccupation with death as the precipitant to a spiritual crisis, the authority of dreams to demand and justify a personal transformation, and the collective validation provided by fellow seekers gathered in prayer meetings. These seven elements recurred in the lives of thousands in upstate New York—including the Smith family of Manchester.

**DISCOURSE**

As a combined consequence of dreaming, frontier conditions, selective migration, and the separatist legacies of the First Great Awakening, many varieties of Protestant belief could be found jumbled together in the frontier settlements of upstate New York. And that cacophony encouraged a small but noisy reaction by rationalists who denounced all forms of revealed religion and instead found inspiration in Thomas Paine's notorious book, *The Age of Reason*. Travelers and missionaries repeatedly marveled at the broad range of spiritual beliefs within each township. Touring the upper Mohawk Valley, English traveler John Harriott noted, "While a Baptist minister was baptizing and making good Christians in one village, an assemblage of Tom Paine's men, at another village, were committing blasphemies too horrid to mention."

In addition, the religious commitment and denominational affiliation of individuals were more fluid and unstable than we commonly assume. Over the years, many people shifted their attendance

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and their memberships multiple times as their convictions evolved. Even some clergy changed their minds, doctrines, and denominations—to the great delight of their new brethren and the special fury of their old. As clerk of the Universalist Association in central New York, Nathaniel Stacy announced with obvious pleasure in 1815: “William Underwood, formerly a zealous Calvinistic Baptist preacher, and a violent opposer of the doctrine of God’s universal grace, became now a convert to that blessed hope, and a faithful supporter of that cause, which he once strove to destroy.” Of course, the Calvinist Baptists likewise trumpeted to the world every Universalist who recanted to accept the existence of hell.²⁶

During their frontier sojourns, the Congregational missionaries (and their Presbyterian allies) could not avoid crossing paths and sharing audiences with other preachers: Methodists, Baptists, Episcopalians, Universalists, Shakers, and various innovators. In addition, the missionaries often had to debate rationalists who took their inspiration from Paine’s Age of Reason rather than from the Bible. Far from operating in mutual indifference and isolation, the diverse itinerants, missionaries, seekers, and deists interacted routinely and vigorously in the settlements. Their discussions and disputations were both public and private, civil and angry, with rivals and friends, ministers and laity, believers and nonbelievers. They debated the full range of Protestant doctrine, including whether baptism ought to come automatically in infancy or by divine selection as adults; whether it should be by immersion or sprinkling; whether the ministry should be distinguished by learning or fervor; whether reason or revelation best led people to know God; whether the Bible was entirely holy, partially corrupted, or largely fallacious; whether revelation had ended with the scriptures or continued in latter-day dreams, visions, and tongues; whether salvation came through good works or by faith alone; whether eternal salvation would be partial or universal; and whether women should be permitted to pray and preach in public. Never before had so many people engaged in such

an open-ended and wide-ranging discourse about spiritual fundamentals as on the broad and expanding settler frontier of the early American republic.²⁷

Because religious diversity reigned in virtually every settlement—and because the curious of every stripe usually turned out to see and hear the latest visitor—an itinerant or missionary ordinarily drew good crowds. Indeed, the attendance was surprisingly large given the dispersion of the settlers and the difficulties of frontier travel—but only rarely could a preacher or minister find an audience confined to his own denomination. Although Shakers were few and far between in the settlements, in 1803 two of their preachers drew over 100 persons to a Sabbath service in Otsego County. “I did not expect one quarter so many,” one of them marveled. During his tour of that county in 1807, Rev. George Colton (Congregationalist) routinely gathered 100 people for a weekday meeting and from 150 to 300 on a Sabbath. Visiting the small town of Decatur in 1812, Rev. Joel T. Benedict (Congregationalist), was pleasantly surprised: “The people are principally Baptists & Methodists. They were attentive and urged me to visit them again.” But the orthodox missionaries were less pleased when their own people strayed to hear the competition. Rev. Thomas Williams doubted that “the members of the Presbyterian churches ought themselves, or ought to allow their families, to go to Baptist and Methodist meetings on the Sabbath”—even when, as was usually the case, there was no orthodox missionary in the vicinity.²⁸

While touring the settlements, itinerants and missionaries


sought every opportunity to visit and converse with the people, whatever their denomination (if any). Every day, a preacher or minister tried, with the assistance of local hosts, to collect as many settlers as possible for a public sermon. Between services, the clergy called at the schools to catechize children and at private homes to pray with the adults. The itinerants understood that small conversational circles could ripple outward, prolonging their influence in a settlement long after their departure. After taking pains to cultivate leading settlers, two Shaker emissaries explained, “We had some conversation with them and perhaps they may help to keep the minds of people in exercise.”

That exercise, however, worked both ways. Because literacy, biblical knowledge, and shrewd competition characterized the Yankee settlers, the itinerants and missionaries faced no shortage of common people eager to match wits and piety. Women, as well as men, aggressively engaged in this widespread give-and-take. Rev. Daniel Nash was delighted to report that, when a Presbyterian missionary charged the Episcopalian clergy with drunkenness, “a young woman of our Church was present and handsomely asked him to prove his words and point out one Individual if he could. He was confounded, not knowing that any Episcopalian was then there.” However, the shoe was on the other foot when two Shakers publicly confronted Nash to denounce him as “a lofty, poor, blind leader of the blind” for writing a letter deriding their denomination. They reported, “He was started [sic] in his mind & asked who told us that he wrote a letter. . . . He would not own it, but at last being prest too close, he said he did not know but he might to some distant relation have mentioned that there was such a people.” Thereafter, Nash tried to dodge the many rivals who “have endeavoured to engage me in disputes”—a reticence that sharply curtailed his circuit and influence.


30 Benjamin Youngs, “Journey to Otsego, &c.,” 16 September 1803; Rev. Daniel Nash, Letter to Bishop John H. Hobart, 6 January 1806, and
Lay people sought out ministers for debate, sometimes interrupting their sermons with challenges. In 1803 Congregational minister Thomas Williams reported, “This morning a Methodist came to ask some questions. He had lately said that he would challenge the most learned and stoutest of the Calvinists to dispute with him and that he would pick off all their feathers in a few minutes.” Williams also recorded that during a sermon, “A Universalist, who appeared to be somewhat the worse for liquor, very soon made known his sentiments.” Audiences often challenged a visiting minister to preach from a particular passage of scripture thought to contradict his doctrine—or they demanded his response to a hostile publication circulating in the neighborhood. In 1805 Rev. Nathaniel Stacy (Universalist) encountered a recently published polemic “in almost every place where I went; it was thrown in my face by almost every saucy boy, quarrelsome man, and petulant old woman that I met.” To turn the debate, Stacy obtained and circulated 500 copies of a refutation published by his Universalist association.31

Because so many people participated in the debate, the local influence of a preacher or missionary hinged upon his successful performance under close public scrutiny. In 1813 Rev. Joel T. Benedict, a Congregationalist, explained:

This western country is so over run with arminianism & universalism, that a missionary who is not prepared to wage & defend a war with these destroyers of souls will have but little success. ... A Missionary who is not able or willing to attack the erroneous sentiments which are so prevalent in this section of country, does real injury to the cause, as the enemies of truth appear to vindicate their own errors &

29 September 1807, Hobart Papers, 5:1, 100, Reels 8 and 9, Protestant Episcopal Church Archives. See also Giles, Pioneer, 130-31.

to oppose those who contend earnestly for the faith once delivered to the saints.  

A preacher also had to confront the slanderous rumors spread by his rivals. As the most controversial denomination, the Universalists were the special targets of malicious invention. Rev. Nathaniel Stacy learned that the local Baptist elders were assuring people that he had been caught playing cards with fellow Universalists and had boasted, "We neither fear God, man, nor the devil!" Determined to find the source, Stacy confronted, in succession, a chain of Baptist elders culminating in a preacher from Massachusetts who had recently toured the New York settlements. Making a special trip to Massachusetts, Stacy demanded and received a letter of apology for public display upon his return home. He took such extraordinary pains because he understood the ruinous power of an unchecked rumor that became oral currency.

The demanding discourse seemed never-ending. Rev. David Higgins "found such an engagedness in religion, that in lengthy conferences, professors & many others have shown no propensity to turn off the conversation." After the weary Rev. George Colton had been kept up to midnight debating his faith by his hosts, he complained, "People think that missionaries can & ought to talk forever."  

**Transformation**

On the one hand, this world of fluid and contentious discourse offered a bracing freedom to explore and experiment. On the other hand, the stakes of failing to find conviction were high: eternal damnation. Consequently, pluralism and freedom imposed a painful cost.
uncertainty and insecurity, as seekers struggled to know and choose the truth. In his first vision, a young Joseph Smith Jr. sought from God the answer to the most compelling question in his culture: "Which of all these sects was right?" The answer he got was not reassuring: "I must join none of them, for they were all wrong." After a few more years of spiritual testing and questioning, Smith would conclude that he had to add to the array of religious choices—in the hope that his truth would trump and transcend the cacophony that he found so troubling.35

In this free but contentious discourse, many people found no sect that was completely satisfying. Although they avidly attended sermons by the various preachers, regularly prayed for inspiration, and pored over their Bibles, these seekers found no lasting satisfaction in any single denomination. Historians underestimate the numbers of these free seekers precisely because they escaped the record keeping of the denominations. Because we underestimate their numbers, historians assume that the unchurched were indifferent to religion. By restoring the free seekers, we find a more ubiquitous but more volatile popular Christianity. And we find the people who first became Mormons, including, of course, the Smith family. Lucy Mack Smith expressed their dilemma nicely, "If I join some one of the different denominations, all the rest will say I am in error. No church will admit that I am right, except the one with which I am associated." Belatedly and grudgingly she joined the Presbyterian Church in Palmyra, but her husband, Joseph Smith Sr., held aloof from all churches and the couple found more spiritual guidance in his dreams than in any sermon. Young Joseph felt attracted to a revival until it culminated in a sectarian competition for the converts: "for a scene of great confusion and bad feelings ensued; priest contending against priest, and convert against convert; so that all their good feelings . . . were entirely lost in a strife of words and a contest about opinions."36

Such quotations could be multiplied; for early and often, Smith

36 Bushman, *Joseph Smith*, quoting Lucy Mack Smith, 17; Joseph Sr., 39; and Joseph Jr., 54.
and the other early Mormons dwelled on the multiplicity and the wrangling of denominations as signs that humanity needed a new dispensation to restore Christian truth and unity. As proof of that restoration, they offered free seekers what they wanted most: tangible proofs that the Mormons were reviving and practicing the daily presence of divine power that had characterized apostolic times. During the early 1830s, Mormon itinerants dwelled upon miraculous acts rather than on abstract words: on angelic visions, sacred tongues, holy revelations, fulfilled predictions, and divine healing. Insisting on the imminent millennium, Parley Pratt promised believers an accelerating profusion of “miracles, signs, and wonders, revelations, and manifestations of the power of God, even beyond anything that any former generation has witnessed.” Joseph Young recalled his 1832 conversion, “Brother Brigham visited me awhile in Canada and reported many things of interest concerning the signs and wonderful miracles being wrought through the believers in his new faith. I was ripe for receiving something that would feed my mortal cravings... I hailed it as my spiritual jubilee.” Little cited as a text, the Book of Mormon was primarily significant as a tangible evidence of a latter-day miracle: its recovery by Smith with angelic assistance.37

Such appeals built Mormonism by finding and tapping into local groups of seekers unaffiliated, or only loosely affiliated, with a denomination. Examples include the Reformed Methodists of the Midland District of Upper Canada and the Disciples of Christ led by Sidney Rigdon in Kirtland, Ohio. To win these groups, the Mormon missionaries had to play by the demanding rules of the pluralist religious culture: They had to engage in public debates with rival clergy and with hecklers in their audiences; had to counter the busy work of slanderous rumor and hostile publications; and had to talk late into the night with anyone who would listen or question. Of course, the missionaries did not always succeed in recruiting local seekers. For example, in 1835 near Kingston in Upper Canada, William McLellin and Brigham Young attended a “pray[e]r meeting at

a Mr. Sniders' among a people who belonged to no order of religionists but who professed to be very pious. . . . They gave good attention, but they felt or seemed to feel as if they were sufficiently holy without any farther preparation."

And when successful, the missionaries brought into the church a diverse and scattered set of groups that did not easily surrender their autonomy to a new conformity. Many wanted to practice spiritual gifts directly rather than accept them vicariously through a prophet. Consequently, local variation characterized Mormon belief and practice during the early 1830s. At Sacketts Harbor, New York, in 1835 William McLellin reported, "The church here are 19 in number, a little enthusiastic and did not as a body pay any respect to the words of wisdom, . . . even the Elders seemed to want almost every quality except Zeal and that they had abundantly—even to the saluting with a kiss—&c."39

A volatile foundation, many of these autonomous seekers broke away during the late 1830s and early 1840s as Smith pressed for a gathering in one community to enforce a greater conformity of belief and behavior. The Prophet also demanded a more complete alienation from the rest of Christendom by a succession of revelations introducing a new culture meant to restore his understanding of the Old Testament Israel. He further recast their spirituality within an eternal progression toward godhood. The new order included complex and distinctive rituals, ordinances, and a hierarchy of priesthoods that combined to set the Mormons as a people apart, alienated from the dominant Protestant culture. As Jan Shipps has shown, during the late 1830s and early 1840s the Mormons created "a new religious tradition." This push for separation and tighter control marked a fundamental reaction against the pluralism and choice that had spawned early Mormonism but which threatened to fragment the new tradition. As an antidote, at Nauvoo Smith sought a merger of church and state far more complete than the Congre-


39 Ibid., 183.
gational establishment of New England, which had lacked a prophet to convey divine commands.  

The Prophet gathered a disciplined community, in part by driving out dissidents. If we focus only on the core group that clung to Joseph Smith and Brigham Young through the travails of 1837-48 to gather in Utah, we miss at least half of early Mormonism—the half that fissioned off into dissident groups. Paul Conkin calculates that today there are “nearly fifty Mormon or Mormon-related denominations.” Many of them, including the Community of Christ (formerly Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints), the Temple Lot Church, and the Strangites date to the fallout from the Nauvoo crisis of the 1840s. By seceding, the dissident Mormons clung to the plural discourse of the settlement frontier that Smith and Young had rejected. In sum, against very long odds, Smith and Young succeeded in creating a remarkably persistent, dynamic, and starkly different alternative to the multivalent religious culture of the early republic—but not all of the early Mormons could or would complete that dramatic and difficult transition.  


NEW SOURCES ON OLD FRIENDS:
THE THOMAS L. KANE AND
ELIZABETH W. KANE COLLECTION

David J. Whittaker

THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES during the nineteenth century is one of dramatic growth and change. It entered the War of 1812 as a nation of farmers and emerged by the Spanish-American War in 1898 as an industrial giant. Modern America as we know was shaped by this century of religious revivals, reform movements, new political parties, the westward movement, territorial annexation, the slavery controversy, the Civil War, and Reconstruction. It was also the formative period of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

Spanning this century and, in fact helping to shape it, was the John K. Kane family of Philadelphia. Friends of national political and economic leaders, including U.S. Presidents, this family as a group seems to represent all the various aspects of nineteenth-century hist-

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Their involvement in politics on both a state and national level, their experiences in war and exploration and westward expansion, and their relationships with various people both famous and not so well known, open windows into many different areas of American life.

Son Thomas L. Kane’s friendship with Brigham Young is especially important for students of Mormon history. From his first meeting with the Latter-day Saints in 1846, to the Utah War of 1857-58, through other episodes dealing with the national perceptions and treatment of the Mormons, Thomas L. Kane was Brigham Young’s closest non-Mormon friend. His papers thus offer important insights and behind-the-scenes perceptions. Also important are the papers of the Kane women, especially those of Thomas’s wife, Elizabeth Dennistoun Wood Kane. Her valuable journals, scrapbooks, and correspondence reveal a bright and sensitive woman, well-read, and intellectually engaged with the world around her. She experimented with photography and attended medical school. She disliked plural marriage but defended Mormon women oppressed by anti-polygamy legislation.

This essay describes and introduces the Kane Collection in the L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University. First, it provides biographical information on the main individuals whose papers comprise the collection. Second, it describes the collection, focusing on a provenance and bibliographical description. And third, it surveys the organization and contents of the extensive collection.

The lives and writings of three Kanes are essential in understanding the collection. They are John Kintzing Kane, his son Thomas Leiper Kane, and Thomas’s wife, Elizabeth Dennistoun Wood Kane. Elisha Kent Kane, Thomas’s older brother, is also important; but many of his papers remain in private hands.1

1 Elisha Kent Kane (3 February 1820-16 February 1857), was born in Philadelphia and suffered heart damage from childhood rheumatic fever. Assuming he would die young, he sought to fill his life with experience. At twenty-two, he obtained a medical degree from the University of Pennsylvania and, with his father’s influence, became a surgeon in the U.S. Navy. Before his death at age thirty-seven, he visited China and Africa, saw action in the Mexican War, joined the U.S. Coast Survey in 1850, and is best known for his Arctic adventures. He was senior medical officer and
John Kintzing Kane

John Kintzing Kane (16 May 1795-21 February 1858), the family patriarch, was a jurist, political strategist, writer, public office holder, philanthropist, and newspaper editor. His grandfather John Kane (originally O'Kane) came from Ireland and settled in New York. Shortly thereafter he married Sybil Kent, daughter of the Rev. Elisha Kent. A Loyalist, he returned to England after the Revolutionary War, while his family moved first to Nova Scotia, then back to New York.

One of these sons, Elisha Kane, a merchant, married Alida Van Rensselaer, a descendant of Dutch settlers. John was one of their sons. In 1801, the family moved to Philadelphia where Alida died and Elisha married Elizabeth Kintzing in 1807. Out of fondness for his new stepmother and a desire to distinguish himself from his cousins, John adopted Kintzing as his middle name.

After attending local boarding schools, John went to New Haven, Connecticut in 1809 where he studied at a tutoring (prep) school, then entered Yale College, graduating in 1814. He returned to Philadelphia, studied law, was admitted to the bar in 1817, and quickly established a fine professional reputation. In April 1819, he married Jane Duval Leiper (1796-1866) of Philadelphia, and they became the parents of five sons and a daughter. Elisha and Thomas were the two official historians with the first Henry Grinnell expedition, sent in search of the lost British explorer Sir John Franklin who, as it turned out, died searching for the Northwest Passage. Elisha commanded the second Grinnell expedition, which charted the Kane Basin, discovered Kennedy Channel, and established sound foundations for the scientific study of the Arctic. It also made him a public hero. His funeral procession is reputed to have been one of the largest in nineteenth-century America. Less well-known is his romantic involvement with Margaret Fox, a nineteenth-century spiritualist.

Most of his expedition logs and personal papers are in private hands, but some items appear in the Kane Collection. (See Register, pp. 60-61, for a bibliographical list of sources and also his published works on the Grinnell expeditions.) There is little doubt that Thomas was influenced by his distinguished older brother, although its extent remains to be determined. A useful biography is Jeannette Mirsky, Elisha Kent Kane and the Seafaring Frontier (Boston: Little, Brown, 1954).
**A Brief Genealogical Guide to the Thomas L. and Elizabeth W. Kane Family**

**Parents**
- John Kintzing Kane (1795-1858)
- Jane Duval Leiper (1796-1866)

**Brothers and Sisters**
- Elisha Kent Kane (1820-1857)
- Thomas Leiper Kane (1822-1883)
- John Kent Kane (b. 1824)
- Robert Patterson Kane (1826-1906)
- Elizabeth Kane (1830/1832-1869)
- John Kintzing Kane Jr. (1833-1886)
- John Walter Wood (1831-1905)
- Charlotte Matilda Wood (b. 1832)
- Elizabeth Dennis-toun Wood (1836-1909)
  - Harriet Maria Wood (1838-1904)
  - William Wood (1841-1867)
  - Helen Chalmers Wood (b. 1843)
  - Alexander Dennis-toun Wood (b. and d. 1846)

**Children**
- Harriet Amelia Kane (1854-1896)
- Elisha Kent Kane (1856-1935)
- Evan O’Neill Kane (1861-1932)
- Thomas Leiper Kane Jr. (1863-1929)

*William Wood, who was widowed twice, was married three times.*
oldest. The youngest was a daughter Elizabeth, not to be confused with Thomas’s future wife, Elizabeth Dennistoun Wood.

In 1824 he successfully campaigned for a seat in the Pennsylvania legislature where he served for one year representing the Federalist Party. During the 1828 presidential campaign, he threw his support to Democrat Andrew Jackson, even authoring a pamphlet he put into national circulation: *Candid View of the Presidential Question.* Because of Jackson’s opposition to a national bank, Kane’s support brought him into conflict with Nicholas Biddle, fellow Philadelphian and president of U.S. Second Bank. Kane also contributed to the successful campaign of Philadelphia’s Democratic mayoral candidate and was named city solicitor, a position he held from 1829 to 1830, and again briefly in 1832. Meanwhile, Andrew Jackson appointed Kane one of three commissioners to negotiate claims with France, a position he held from 1831 to 1836. He published a report, *Notes on Some of the Questions Decided by the Board of Commissioners under the Convention with France, of 4th July, 1831.* During these years, he moved his family, including thirteen-year-old Elisha and eleven-year-old Thomas, to Philadelphia.

Fortunate to have inherited a considerable estate, John K. Kane maintained his law practice as a side interest while he took up various social causes. He served on the Presbyterian General Assembly, headed the board of trustees for Philadelphia’s Second Presbyterian Church, and took an active interest in the design and construction of its new building.

Another major interest was the American Philosophical Society, a group devoted to science and education. A member since 1825, he served as its secretary from 1828 to 1848, as its vice-president from 1849 to 1857, and as its president from 1857 until his death in February 1858. He also cofounded the Musical Fund Society (a philanthropic organization that raised money through public concerts), served on the first board of trustees of Girard College, was vice-president of the Institution for the Instruction of the Blind, was vice-provost of the Law Academy, and served on the board of trustees of the Academy of Fine Arts. He also belonged to various other lodges and societies.

Kane remained interested in Democratic politics and led the 1838 "Buckshot War," a successful Democratic effort to unseat two illegally elected Whig state senators. Six years later in 1844, Kane was again heavily involved in elections. At both the state and national
level, Kane wrote pamphlets, delivered speeches, and further organized the party. In recognition of his contributions, the Democratic governor appointed him state Attorney General, a position Kane held from January 1845 to June 1846. U.S. President James K. Polk then appointed him judge of the U.S. District Court in Pennsylvania’s Eastern District, where he served for the rest of his life. As a judge, he was known for his expertise in admiralty and patent cases. In 1856 he took a strong but very unpopular stand by jailing an abolitionist on contempt of court charges for refusing to produce certain slaves. Although technically the correct legal decision and showing considerable personal courage, Kane’s decision exacerbated the volatile controversy then raging over the Fugitive Slave Act. The sectional tension over the issue nullified the act in practice anyway.

The collection includes other of Kane’s publications, including A Discourse Pronounced Before the Law Academy of Philadelphia (1831) and Autobiography of the Honorable John K. Kane (written ca. 1858, privately published, 1949). A 188-page typescript of this autobiography, “Myself: From 1795-1849” is in the BYU Kane Collection, Vault MSS 792, Box 1, fd. 1. Kane also wrote political pamphlets and reports, bulletins for organizations, and reports on transportation and manufactures. He edited a Presbyterian psalm book, a medical treatise, and the Philadelphia Gazette, a Democratic newspaper, in the 1840s.

Although Kane is most often remembered as a federal judge, his influence as a political strategist, party organizer, and writer gave him state and national influence and personal respect. His political connections opened many doors for his sons, and his public-spirited example likewise influenced them. After nearly sixty-three years, Kane died in Philadelphia of typhoid pneumonia.2

Thomas Leiper Kane (27 January 1822-26 December 1883) was slight and small in stature (5'6", 130 lbs.). He was never robust, although he apparently escaped the rheumatic fever that afflicted Elisha. Still, he spent most of his life struggling against ill health. He attended school in Philadelphia, then lived in England and France from age seventeen to twenty-two to recover his health, study, and visit relatives. In Paris he served as an attaché of the American legation, met Auguste Comte, one of the founders of the modern study of sociology, and others who surely encouraged his idealism and interest in philanthropic causes. He returned to Philadelphia in 1844, having gained greater appreciation for America’s freedoms, and studied law with his father. He was admitted to the bar two years later and clerked briefly for his father. However, the law for him was a springboard for social issues.
One of his most important and long-term associations began in 1846 when Philadelphia newspapers reported the forced departure of the Mormons (members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints) from their homes in Illinois. At the same time, Jesse C. Little, a Mormon missionary, had reached Philadelphia to address a Mormon conference. Kane sought out local Mormon leaders, learned more about their plans to move west, obtained letters of introduction to Brigham Young, and went to Washington, D.C., where Kane introduced Little to government officials.

Thomas's father agreed to use his influence to obtain help for the Mormons from the Polk administration. The federal government provided advance pay and equipment for the battalion of Mormon men who enlisted to fight in the war against Mexico. While these preparations were underway, Little and Kane went to St. Louis. Kane personally delivered President Polk's instructions to the military officials at Fort Leavenworth, then went to the Mormons' settlements in Iowa to meet Brigham Young and help with the recruiting. He also labored successfully to secure permission for the Mormons to travel through and live on Indian lands and helped them get a post office approved for their settlements. In gratitude, the Mormons named their main settlement in Iowa east of the Missouri River Kanesville. It retained this name from 1848 to 1853 when it was changed to Council Bluffs. Thomas L. Kane's family connections, communication skills, integrity, and genuine compassion for the downtrodden were effective tools in defending the Latter-day Saints throughout his lifetime. He became Brigham Young's closest non-Mormon friend and confidant.

Kane also fought an uphill but eloquent battle to change public opinion about the Mormons, lecturing, publishing reports and pamphlets, and authoring letters and editorials in their behalf. Initially he urged Brigham Young to seek U.S. territorial status but, in 1849, advised Young to apply for statehood as a way of avoiding the unsympathetic federal appointees whom he accurately foresaw Washington would send. However, the Compromise of 1850 which maintained the balance between slave and free political interests by admitting California as a free state, created the territories of Utah and New Mexico, that could decide the issue by popular sovereignty. Kane also warned the Mormons against engaging in partisan politics, feeling that they could not afford to alienate other groups. In March 1850 Kane delivered an address to the Historical Society of Pennsyl-
vania. Printed as a pamphlet and widely distributed, "The Mormons" painted the picture of a decent, patriotic, and oppressed people, including a moving description of the eerily deserted city of Nauvoo. When President Millard Fillmore came under criticism in 1851 for his lenient policies toward the Mormons, Kane wrote several influential letters to Fillmore, praising his position and writing several influential letters to various papers praising Fillmore’s Mormon policy. Although Kane did not endorse plural marriage, he continued to publicly defend the Mormons after the 1852 announcement made the practice public. His close friendship with newspapermen like Horace Greeley also helped shaped more positive public perceptions of the Mormons.

Kane rejected Brigham Young's offer to make him Utah's territorial delegate in 1854; in 1869, Kane unsuccessfully lobbied U.S. President Ulysses S. Grant to be appointed governor of Utah Territory. Kane also worked closely with Mormon representatives in Washing-
ton, D.C., in formulating policy and public positions, as his correspondence with William Hooper, John Bernhisel, and George Q. Cannon reveals. He was particularly close to Cannon—one of Brigham Young's counselors, a lobbyist from 1867 to 1872, and Utah's Territorial Representative from 1872 to 1882. Kane and Cannon visited and corresponded about polygamy, migration, finances, and legal affairs, until Kane's death in 1883.

On 21 April 1853, thirty-one-year-old Kane married his sixteen-year-old second cousin, Elizabeth Dennistoun Wood (1836-1909), who had been in love with him since girlhood. They became the parents of a daughter and three sons: Harriet Amelia Kane (1854-96), Elisha Kent Kane (1856-1935), Evan O'Neill Kane (1861-1932), and Thomas L. Kane II (1863-1929). Elizabeth was a woman of significant intellectual ability, as manifest by her diaries and other writings. She and Thomas kept journals, promising to record their thoughts and actions, especially during times of separation. Though they did not see eye to eye on the slavery question or religious beliefs, Thomas and Elizabeth remained devoted to each other throughout their marriage.

Kane rose nobly to the occasion in 1857-58 during another Mormon crisis. President James Buchanan, responding to reports of illegal Mormon behavior, dispatched a punitive military expedition to Utah under the command of General Albert Sidney Johnston to quell the reported rebellion and escort the new governor to replace Brigham Young. The Mormons burned Fort Bridger and Fort Supply in Wyoming, stalling the expedition for the winter. Kane managed to moderate Buchanan's views, obtained his support for an unofficial attempt at peace-making, and got a presidential letter of introduction. Kane sailed around South America, landed in California, hastened to Utah during the winter, and then raced on to the military encampment. He helped soften Mormon defensiveness, won the confidence of the new governor, and helped bring a peaceful end to a potentially bloody confrontation. Brigham Young praised him: "I want to have your name live to all eternity. You have done a great work and you will do a greater work still." His daring journey and skillful negotiations earned him the gratitude of all parties and made the work of the officially appointed peace commissioners much easier. Utah named a city and a county after him; in 1959 the state dedicated a heroic-size bronze statue of him now in the capitol rotunda.
Kane was a powerful advocate for social justice. In a dramatic family conflict, he resigned in 1850 from his appointment as a U.S. District Commissioner to protest the Fugitive Slave Law; and his father ordered him jailed for contempt of court. This action was overturned. Kane joined the Free Soil Movement in the 1850s, actively supported abolitionism, and even worked with the Underground Railroad. Also in the 1850s he journeyed to Jamaica to recover his health and to study the effects of slave emancipation. He also interested himself in the treatment of Native Americans. After the death of his brother Elisha, a national hero, in 1857, Thomas strove with even greater intensity to match his brother's accomplishments.

After the Utah War, without money or employment, Kane moved his little family to McKean and Elk counties of remote northwestern Pennsylvania and became a principal organizer in the McKean and
Elk Land Improvement Company—an involvement that continued throughout his life.

When the Civil War began in 1861, Kane was one of the first Pennsylvanians to enlist and was commissioned by President Abraham Lincoln to organize a volunteer regiment (13th Pennsylvania Reserves). The Kane Rifles (also known as the Bucktails) were decorated for their military actions. Kane was commissioned a lieutenant colonel on 21 June 1861, was wounded in mid-December 1861 at Dranesville, Virginia, was wounded again at Harrisonburg in the Shenandoah Valley, and then was captured in June 1862. Released as part of a prisoner exchange, he fought at Chancellorsville in May 1863 and so gallantly at Gettysburg in July that he was breveted major general (appointment 13 March 1865). He resigned because of ill health on 7 November 1863, but only after Elizabeth had traveled through rebel lines at great peril to nurse him and others. He wrote “Instruction for Skirmishers” (1862), which he planned as the first volume in a series of manuals on tactics.

Following the Civil War, he concentrated on improving the roads and encouraged railroad construction and general community building in Kane, Pennsylvania. Elizabeth, the only physician in the area, spent much of her time caring for the sick and injured. Thomas served as the first president of the Pennsylvania Board of State Charities, joined the American Philosophical Society, helped organize the New York, Lake Erie, and Western Coal Railroad Company, and was the moving force behind building what was once considered the largest railroad bridge in the world: the 2,053-foot Kinzua viaduct that spans the 301-foot deep Kinzua Creek Valley near Kane, Pennsylvania.

After an unsuccessful congressional campaign in 1872 and beset with ill health, Thomas accepted Brigham Young’s invitation and, accompanied by Elizabeth and their two youngest sons and a servant, spent the winter of 1872-73 in southern Utah. Elizabeth Kane’s *Twelve Mormon Homes Visited in Succession on a Journey through Utah to Arizona* (1874) remains a classic description of Mormon social and religious history. Kane and Young discussed expanding Mormon settlements into Mexico. Kane spent considerable time in Mexico trying to get a land grant while Young dispatched Mormon colonists into Arizona. Kane published *Coahuila* (1877), about the Mexican province of that name, as a result of this experience. He continued to encourage Mormon expansion in the West, counseled Brigham
Young to separate his personal property from that of the Church, advised him on the preparation of his will, and introduced him to H. G. Clay, a Philadelphia lawyer who helped draft the will. Kane also helped Brigham Young prepare documents for founding several colleges: Brigham Young College in Logan, Young University in Salt Lake City, and Brigham Young Academy in Provo (now Brigham Young University). No doubt Kane also sought Brigham Young's advice on various issues.

Although Kane never joined the LDS Church, Wilford Woodruff probably spoke for most Mormons in Praising him:

> The name of Colonel Thomas L. Kane stands most prominent, . . . an instrument, in the hands of God, and inspired by him, to turn away, in 1858, the edge of the sword, and save the effusion of much blood, performing what the combined wisdom of the nation could not accomplish, and changing the whole face of affairs, the effects of which will remain forever. Your name will of necessity stand associated with the history of this people for years to come, whatever may be their destiny.  

When Brigham Young died in August 1877, Kane returned to Utah to offer his condolences and to reassure Church leaders of his own continued support. He witnessed John Taylor laying the cornerstone of the Logan Temple on 17 September 1877 and continued to correspond and personally meet with various Mormon leaders. He died in 1883 of pneumonia at his home in Philadelphia. As early as 1850, he had requested that his heart be buried in the Salt Lake Temple “that after death it may repose where in metaphor at least it was when living.” His remains were interred at the family chapel in Kane, Pennsylvania.  

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ELIZABETH DENNISTOUN WOOD KANE

Elizabeth Dennistoun Wood Kane (12 May 1836-29 May 1909) was a physician, teacher, prohibitionist, and philanthropist. She was born at Bootle, a suburb of Liverpool, England, to William Wood, a young Scotsman connected with the banking house of Dennistoun, Wood & Co. at Glasgow. Her mother, Harriet Amelia Kane, was the daughter of Thomas Kane's uncle, a New York merchant. Elizabeth, the third of their six children, received a cultured education. When she was six, Thomas, her future husband and fourteen years her senior, made an indelible impression on her by giving her a French doll, forever after a treasured possession. In 1844, when Elizabeth was nearly eight, her family immigrated to America. Her mother died when she was ten, and her father remarried the next year. At twelve, Elizabeth remarked to her sister that she was surprised everyone did not already know that she intended to marry Thomas. And in 1853, when Elizabeth was sixteen, she did. He continued her education, suggesting books for her to read. She acted as his secretary and began keeping her journal at his suggestion.

In the early years of their marriage, Thomas and Elizabeth lived in Philadelphia, where John Kintzing Kane was serving as a U.S. District Court judge. Though Thomas held positions related to the law from time to time, his interests often led him to different fields; and Elizabeth frequently had to rely on her father-in-law or her own resources for her children's financial needs. She received her M.D. in 1883 from the Women's Medical College of Pennsylvania, which Thomas had earlier helped to incorporate.

In 1858, Thomas and Elizabeth moved to McKean and Elk counties in western Pennsylvania where they lived for eight months of each year, returning to Philadelphia during the severest part of the winter. Here Elizabeth practiced medicine, while Thomas busied himself with bringing in railroads, highways, and lumbermills. During the Civil War, Elizabeth and their children stayed in Philadelphia with Thomas's aunt, Ann Gray Thomas. When Elizabeth learned

that Thomas was wounded and a prisoner of war, she received permission to pass through enemy lines to nurse him. Their fourth child was born in November 1863.

In 1864 Thomas resigned his commission and again took up his interest in the McKean and Elk Land Improvement Company. He and Elizabeth founded a modest settlement that grew into a town later named Kane. In addition to caring for her family and continuing her practice of medicine, Elizabeth also acted as Thomas’s secretary and accountant.

During this period, Elizabeth articulated what she called her “Theory.” Dismayed with society’s limitations upon women and the general collapse of morals, Elizabeth outlined a path of Christian service and hard work for exceptional women who desired to accomplish great things. These standards were her own goals, and she worked hard to educate herself and increase her abilities while simultaneously laboring to provide necessities for herself and her family.

The winter of 1872-73, spent at Brigham Young’s invitation in St. George’s mild climate, was an important season for the family. Two publications have resulted from Elizabeth’s diary and letters of this trip: Twelve Mormon Homes Visited in Succession on a Journey Through Utah to Arizona (1874) and A Gentile Account of Life in Utah’s Dixie, 1872-73: Elizabeth Kane’s St. George Journal (1995). While there,

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7 See her journal for 1868-70, especially the eighteen-page essay following 11 July 1869. Box 28, fd. 1.
8 Drafts, typescripts, and a slightly corrected first edition of this important work is in the Kane Collection. Thomas saw its 1874 appearance as fortuitous, appearing as it did during the debates over the Poland Act, which gave district courts all civil and criminal jurisdiction and limited probate courts to estate settlement, guardianships, and divorces. The act also abolished the offices of territorial attorney and marshal, giving their duties to the U.S. attorneys and marshals. The act had implications for jury selections and, in time, polygamy prosecutions.
9 The journal exists in two drafts, both in the Kane Collection at BYU. The earliest is a travel diary covering 19 November 1872 to 9 March 1873. The second is an expanded typescript of the travel diary, covering 25 December 1872 to 10 March 1873. The expanded version suggests that Elizabeth was working to prepare it for publication and is the source for A Gentile Account of Life in Utah’s Dixie . . . Preface and Notes by Norman R. Bowen (Salt Lake City: Tanner Trust Fund, University of Utah Library,
Elizabeth's distaste for polygamy was mitigated by her admiration of and affection for the Mormon women she met. Thomas's health improved, and he spent much time discussing serious matters with Brigham Young.

Upon returning from Utah, Thomas and Elizabeth once again encountered misfortune. Someone, perhaps a relative, had bankrupted them by forging a check on their account. The Panic of 1873 left their railroad and coal lands unmarketable. Despite these financial pressures, Thomas had refused to let an aunt, Ann Gray Thomas, bequeath him her fortune. Instead, she built the chapel that originally served as the First Presbyterian Church, known now as the Kane Memorial Chapel, close to their home so that they and their children might worship conveniently.

During the late 1870s, lumber exploitation and the completion of the Erie Railroad, which brought an influx of settlers, relieved the Kanes's financial pressures. Later still, industrial growth in Kane and discovery of oil on Kane-owned lands gave Elizabeth's family financial security.

Although Elizabeth provided nursing and medical care during most of her adult life, she did not earn her M.D. until 1883. Daughter Harriet graduated with her that year from the same school—the Women's Medical College of Philadelphia. That year of achievement closed in sorrow, however, when Thomas died on 26 December 1883 of pneumonia and old war wounds.

The two younger sons, Evan and Thomas II (known as "Willie"), both studied at Jefferson Medical College and became physicians. Evan established a hospital to serve Kane, Pennsylvania. Elizabeth

1995). The Kane Collection also has additional items from this period that came to BYU after the Bowen edition was published.

10 For an analysis of Elizabeth's account, see Claudia L. Bushman, Mormon Domestic Life in the 1870s: Pandemonium or Arcadia? Leonard J. Arrington Mormon History Lecture Series, No. 5 (Logan: Special Collections and Archives, Merrill Library, Utah State University, 2000).

11 The LDS Church acquired and dedicated it 2-5 June 1971. On 2 July 1972, a bronze statue of Thomas L. Kane, a copy of the original in the Utah Capitol Rotunda by Ortho Fairbanks, was unveiled. After some renovation, the chapel was rededicated 21 June 1992 as the Thomas L. Kane Memorial Chapel and Family History Center. It is on the National Register of Historic Places.
served as its treasurer, as a member of the board of managers, and as a staff physician. She also taught a Sunday School class in the local Presbyterian Church and was a leader for prohibition, despite a threat on her son’s life and an attempt to build saloons in Kane. As president of the local Woman’s Christian Temperance Union, she represented her fellow members at state and national conventions.

Heavy sorrow struck her with the death of her father on 1 October 1894. During the forty years of her marriage, father and daughter had exchanged weekly letters sharing some of their deepest feelings. Only two years later, forty-one-year-old daughter Harriet, Elizabeth’s tireless companion in temperance and philanthropic work, fell dead in church in 1896 while leading a prayer and song meeting.

Elizabeth’s health and productivity waned during the last five years of her life, yet she resolutely continued her quest for self-improvement, studying Spanish during her last winter. On the morning
of 25 May 1909, surrounded by her children and grandchildren, Elizabeth fell into a tranquil sleep from which she never awakened.\textsuperscript{12}

\textbf{PROVENANCE AND BIBLIOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION}

The Kane Collection has come to the Lee Library from three main sources over about twenty years. The first installment was acquired in 1978 from Sybil Kane, a great-granddaughter of Thomas and Elizabeth. The second came in November 1983 when the library purchased material from the E. Kent Kane (Thomas and Elizabeth’s grandson) estate. These two groups were integrated into one collection by 1995 under the direction of Dennis Rowley, then Curator of Manuscripts. In 1996, the library purchased a large number of Kane family manuscripts, photographs, and printed items from Thomas L. Kane, Thomas’s and Elizabeth’s great-grandson, and his wife, Dorothy H. Kane, through their representative, Cameron Treleaven, a rare book dealer in Calgary, Alberta, Canada. The family materials had been passed down from Elizabeth Dennistoun Wood Kane to her son, Evan O’Neill Kane, and thence to his son Elisha K. Kane III and to his wife Gladys S. Kane. They are the parents of the Thomas L. Kane from whom BYU made the purchase.

Elizabeth Dennistoun Wood Kane was a key person in creating and preserving this collection. She began keeping a diary at Thomas’s urging, served as his secretary for much of his life, kept scrapbooks for him, and apparently did some organizing of the papers before her death. Thomas also inherited both his father’s papers and those of his famous brother, Elisha Kent Kane. Some of the grouped papers were still bundled up with nineteenth-century string when BYU acquired them and had her handwritten labels on them. But her descendants also went over many of these manuscripts, underlining some passages and making marginal notes. A copy of Elizabeth’s will is in the collection; it instructs her heirs to divide the papers among her son Elisha Kent Kane, her daughter-in-

\textsuperscript{12}This information comes from various items in the Kane Collection in addition to her own “Brief Biography of the Author Elizabeth Dennistoun Kane” in \textit{Story of John Kane of Duchess County} (New York: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1921), 3-10; and Mary Karen Bowen Solomon, “Profile of Elizabeth Kane,” in \textit{A Gentile Account of Life in Utah’s Dixie, 1872-73: Elizabeth Kane’s St. George Journal}, edited with notes by Norman R. Bowen (Salt Lake City: Tanner Trust Fund, University of Utah, 1995), xv-xxix.
law Lila R. Kane (wife of her son, Evan O'Neill Kane) and her son Thomas L. Kane II. No doubt most of the Kane manuscripts found in various repositories in the United States can be traced to this initial division.

The BYU Library has undertaken extensive conservation work where necessary. Paper conservators carefully dismantled the scrap-books and bound letterbooks into which correspondence was pasted. In each case, the original document was carefully described and the order of its contents logged. Maps were cleaned and flattened; many items were professionally repaired. Published items, following library policy, have been transferred to the Americana Collection, while photographs have been placed in special containers in the library's photoarchives vault. The register contains detailed lists and descriptions in both cases. Finally, the whole manuscript collection, filling seventy-nine boxes, has been microfilmed.

Arrangement and Description of the Collection

This final installment of the Kane Collection arrived at BYU in 1996 mostly unorganized. After the preparation of a very detailed inventory, it was combined with the two previously acquired installments, organized as much as possible by the creator of the document and thereunder chronologically. However, it was not always possible to segregate each person's papers completely. Researchers should be aware that material relating to other Kane family members can be found in series other than the major grouping.

The Register to the Thomas L. Kane and Elizabeth W. Kane Collection, Vault Manuscript 792 is 1,153 pages long. Drawing on detailed inventories, it contains almost a complete item-level, annotated description of the entire collection. In addition to significant introductory material, the register will help the researcher find just about any item in the collection and should be studied carefully as a first step. The collection has been organized into twelve series, which can only

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13 The Lee Library has other collections containing Kane material. See Register, 45.
14 A thirty-eight page “Biographical Register” included in the register (64-101) lists most of the national and state figures with whom the Kanes interacted and who have material within the collection. The biographical register also includes sketches of Mormons with whom Thomas L. Kane interacted.
briefly be summarized here. The register also notes the many other repositories in which Kane family correspondence and papers can be found.

**Organization and Contents of the Collection**

**Series I: Judge John Kintzing Kane**

This series in six parts includes Kane family materials dating from the Revolutionary War era as well as manuscripts that focus on the life and business activities of Judge Kane. Because he was a key connection to national political figures, his correspondence (including an important 1839-53 letterbook) with his son Thomas provides important insights into the context of Thomas’s defense of the Mormons. Some of their correspondence remains in this series.

**Series II: Thomas L. Kane Personal Papers**

This series gathers Thomas L. Kane’s more personal papers into six subseries. It includes papers relating to his youth, a large collection of his letters written in England and France (1840-44), his early correspondence with Elizabeth Wood, and their correspondence following their marriage. It also include correspondence with Elizabeth’s father, William Wood, and with other Kane relatives. Most of Thomas’s extensive correspondence with his brother Elisha is not part of the BYU collection. This series includes Kane’s manuscript, “The Africanization of America” (1855, 135 pp.), consisting of his reflections on racial matters and emancipation following his visit to Jamaica (1852-53).

**Series III: Thomas L. Kane and the Mormons**

This series organizes in fourteen subseries the material dating from Thomas Kane’s initial meeting with the Mormons in 1846 and continuing throughout his life. It includes recruiting the Mormon Battalion in 1846, settling the Mormons on Indian lands in Nebraska during the winter of 1846-47, founding Winter Quarters and Kanesville, the westward migration, Kane’s public defenses of the Mormons, the Utah War period, and later work with individuals like George Q. Cannon (about 100 Cannon letters, 1859-84), including Cannon’s personal copy of the 1874 Poland Bill with his suggested revisions.

Interesting items are three small sketches Kane made of Winter Quarters scenes, George A. Smith’s original letter to Brigham Young (17 August 1858) reporting Smith’s initial investigation into the Mountain Meadows Massacre; scribal copies of Brigham Young’s
1853-58 letters to various Native American leaders in Utah; Brigham Young's extensive correspondence with Thomas L. Kane between 1846 and 1877, material on and drafts of Young's will, notes on Kane's desire to write Young's biography, and material on Kane's visit to Utah in 1872-73 and 1877. Kane's notebook of his 1877 visit includes conversations with and observations by various Mormons. For example, John Taylor told him "I do not dread the Trojan Horse. I dread the Golden Calf." He described Eliza R. Snow: "There was a strength of will in those sunken black eyes." The list of individuals with whom Thomas corresponded reads like a who's who of nineteenth-century Mormonism.

While most of the documents Thomas produced are in this series, the researcher should remember that Elizabeth Kane also kept journals and scrapbooks with related material. Some of her material is filed in this series, but other items are in Series VI.

**Series IV: Thomas L. Kane: The American West and Politics**

This series, organized into seven subseries, gathers material concerned with Thomas's activities in developing the American West. It includes material on the Mexican War, his lobbying for appointment to territorial governorships, his interests in Alaska and Mexico, western railroad development, a notebook of Kane's 1873-76 trip into Mexico, and his correspondence with state and national politicians, such as James Buchanan, Ulysses S. Grant, Charles Sumner, David Wilmot, Salmon P. Chase, and Hamilton Fish. Especially insightful are the sixteen letters (1849-69) from Horace Greeley.

Dimick Huntington's manuscript and notes on Indian sign language have been kept with Kane's own notes on this topic.

**Series V: Civil War Papers of Thomas and Elizabeth Kane**

This series, in five subseries, gathers all of the material relating to Thomas Kane's Civil War experience, including his correspondence with Elizabeth (about 450 letters), which provides good detail on the internal politics of the Union army, an attempt by a relative to murder Kane after he had been wounded in battle, Elizabeth's concerns for her husband's safety, and rich detail about the Kane children and other domestic affairs.

Particularly interesting in terms of the course of the war are papers relating to his Pennsylvania Bucktails Regiment, Kane's capture by the Confederate Army, his release in a prisoner exchange, the performance of his regiment in combat, his correspondence on his
skirmishing manual, and the family's Civil War scrapbooks. The related post-war materials include Kane's correspondence with Peter F. Rothermel (artist of the murals for the Battle of Gettysburg), reunions of the Bucktails, and Elizabeth's role as the "mother" of the regiment.

Series VI: Elizabeth Dennistoun Wood Kane Papers

This section, one of the most extensive in the collection, gathers Elizabeth's manuscripts into five subseries. The heart of this series is her scrapbooks and letterbooks. Her fourteen diaries (1853-1909), have numerous gaps in their coverage. The first nine date before Thomas Kane's death and thus are important records for his life. The first begins the year of her marriage. This series also includes the papers of Elizabeth's father, William Wood, as well as Elizabeth's mostly unpublished work. Items of special note include her unpublished autobiographical writings, her work on Kane family history, her detailed manuscript account (136 pp.) of the visit of President Ulysses S. Grant and his wife to the Kane home in August 1869, correspondence about their 1872-73 Utah visit, and notes of interviews with Jacob Hamblin (2 January 1873) about Indians in southern Utah, with Chief Kanosh at Filmore (17 December 1872), and with Dimick B. Huntington (2 December 1872) on Indians in the area. Particularly interesting are her notes of an undated and incomplete interview dealing with treasure hunting in Palymra, New York, the Book of Mormon, etc., with Orrin Porter Rockwell.

Also in this series are the manuscript, typescript, and first edition (with minor corrections written in) of Elizabeth's Twelve Mormon Homes including some correspondence with the publisher, J. P. Lippincott.

Because Elizabeth kept a variety of scrapbooks and letterbooks into which she glued various items, BYU decided to keep the contents in the same order. Thus, Series VI contains numerous items related to other parts of the collection—for example, additional letters of George Q. Cannon, Thomas L. Kane, William Wood, and others. The detailed annotations in the register should make the researcher's task easier.

Series VII: Thomas L. and Elizabeth W. Kane Family

This section gathers into seven subseries most of the papers of Thomas's and Elizabeth's children and grandchildren. The material is arranged by individual and is especially strong for their own chil-
children: Harriet Amelia (1854-1896), Elisha Kent Kane (1856-1935),
Evan O’Neill Kane (1861-1932); and Thomas L. Kane II (1863-1929).

Series VIII: Kane Family Business Papers

This series is organized into four subseries describing the family’s
main business activities: the development of western Pennsylvania,
Kane’s town history, railroad investments, and other economic mat-
ters. The extensive files (1857-82) of the McKean and Elk Land and
Improvement Company are in this series.

Series IX: E. Kent Kane Papers

This series documents the life and family history research of
Thomas’s and Elizabeth’s grandson, E. Kent Kane (1902-ca. 1980),
including his personal relationship with Mormon leaders, his re-
search files and related materials which are gathered here. He made
research and pleasure trips to Utah in 1939, 1947, and 1959. His
extensive research files are organized by subject or topic. In 1939 he
traveled from Salt Lake City to St. George with Heber J. Grant and
others, following the route of Twelve Mormon Homes. E. Kent Kane
spoke at the October 1947 general conference at the invitation of
President George Albert Smith. In 1959, he spoke at the dedication
of the Thomas L. Kane statue in the Utah State Capitol.

Series X: Miscellaneous

Items that did not seem to fit neatly into any of the above series
were gathered here. Much of the material seemed unrelated to the
Kanes, but closer examination could reveal connections. Documents
dating as early as 1690, miscellaneous legal and financial documents
from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, biographical
sketches, newspaper clippings, poems, various undated or unidenti-
fied notes, programs for church services, and a large number of
empty envelopes are found in this series.

Series XI: Oversized Materials/Maps

Because most of this material is in large sizes, it has been gathered
into a separate series for ease of storage. It has been arranged in
eight subseries by item type. Typical materials are certificates, post-
ers, legal documents, and numerous maps related to the Civil War,
railroads, and Kane business interests. Especially extensive are maps
of the McKean and Elk Land and Improvement Company activities
in Pennsylvania.
Series XII: Photographs

This series contains all the photographs (ca. 370) in the collection. They include *cartes de visite* of many LDS General Authorities whom Thomas L. Lane personally knew, and views of Brigham Young and the Lion House. No doubt Elizabeth took some of the photographs herself. For conservation purposes, the originals have been transferred to the photoarchives; but a photocopy or reproduction in the main collection allows the researcher to search this part of the collection without handling the originals. Item numbers on the copies correspond to the numbers assigned to the original photographs, and the register includes a description of each photograph. The four subseries are people, places, buildings, and miscellaneous.

**CONCLUSION: WAS THOMAS L. KANE A MORMON?**

The Kane Collection will certainly provide students of Mormon and American history with new details and perspectives on nineteenth-century America. It will reveal Thomas L. Kane as a more complex individual than traditional Mormon or non-Mormon accounts have generally presented. It will also open new channels of investigation.

Thomas L. Kane's religious beliefs have eluded researchers; and while his feelings of compassion for the downtrodden and the persecuted have been seen as genuine, it has never been quite clear what his deeper religious views were. Among other topics, his personal religious philosophy becomes clearer in this new collection. Elizabeth worried about the state of his soul throughout his life, as she makes clear in a number of letters to him. While a full study of this important question must wait, several tantalizing clues are worth considering.

Prior to their marriage, Thomas wrote to Elizabeth that, if she wished to understand the "whole system of my moral conduct," she ought to read Thomas à Kempis, *The Imitation of Christ*. Kempis (1380-1471) was a German mystic and ascetic who managed to combine common sense and otherworldliness in his monastic life. A true Christian would avoid pride and ambition, and keep his spirit free from materialism by trying to imitate Christ's life and teachings. For

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15 Thomas L. Kane, Letter to Elizabeth Wood, 8 May 1852, Kane Collection, Vault MSS 792, Box 11, fd. 27. Later in the month, Thomas sent Elizabeth a copy of the volume.
Kane, who clearly leaned toward the ascetic life, these teachings found a focus in the moral and behavioral realms rather than institutional adherence.

But Kane's life had moved in this direction even before he met the Mormons. In fact, in the year he first met the Latter-day Saints (1846), he had referred to John Chrysostom as his "patron saint."\(^\text{16}\) Chrysostom (ca. 347-407), an early Christian bishop at Antioch and eventually (against his will) the Patriarch of Constantinople, had been trained in the law and was also known for his great oratorical abilities. Also drawn to the monastic disciplines, Chrysostom was said to have memorized the New Testament and was best known for his homilies that stressed good works and action, the heart of which was the goal of genuine Christian living, especially social justice for the poor and a deemphasis on material goods in favor of striving for spiritual virtues. Both Luther and Calvin were deeply influenced by Chrysostom's writings.

But beyond these specific influences, Mormon scholars have puzzled over the question of Kane's deeper relationship to the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Was Kane secretly baptized a Mormon? Several nineteenth-century writers claimed that he was, suggesting an 1846 or 1847 baptism date at Winter Quarters.\(^\text{17}\) Others were not so sure.\(^\text{18}\) Critical commentators on the Mormon experience seem unable to understand Kane's life-long friendship with the Mormons unless he was a secret member. Ironically, Elizabeth W. Kane herself may have unwittingly contributed to the controversy; but in the process, she helps us better understand what prob-

\(^\text{16}\) Thomas L. Kane, Letter to Elisha K. Kane, 29 May 1846, Kane Collection, Box 14, fd. 2.


ably did happen to her husband in 1846 during his sojourn among the Mormons in western Iowa.

Three years before her own death, she wrote to "Rev. Dr. [James Monroe?] Buckley," 6 March 1906, responding to and trying to clarify Buckley's discussion of her husband's relationship to the Mormons in a forthcoming book. Elizabeth described Thomas's visit to the Mormons in 1846, where they were camped along the Missouri River in western Iowa:

As Linn states, he [Thomas] broke down while they were still on the Platte in "Misery Bottom," with the malarial fever, and "black canker," from whose consequences he never wholly recovered. He owed his life to the tender care and nursing that he receive[d] from the Mormons. He was particularly grateful to Brigham Young; and throughout the rest of his life he showed his gratitude to the Mormons and his pity for that people at the cost of obloquy cast upon him by his dearest friends, and at the risk of his life. But gratitude and pity were his sole incentives to all he did. It is perfectly true, as stated by Linn, that Colonel Kane was baptised, but it was when he was believed to be dying. He was delirious and entirely unconscious of what they were about. They hollowed out a log, filled it with water from the Platte and put him in. The shock aroused him, and cooled the fever. Probably it did him good physically, but I never heard any Mormon claim that it did him spiritual good to his own knowledge. I have no doubt that they deemed it efficacious to salvation, however, and did it from the purest motives.  

Since Elizabeth was not there, she must have heard about this episode from Thomas. The detail is good enough to suggest the basic accuracy of the account. But what she seems to be describing is not the normal priesthood ordinance or ritual of baptism by immersion for entrance into Church membership, nor is deathbed baptism practiced by Mormons. Given the strong LDS position on the personal accountability of converts, the idea of baptizing a "delirious" man is highly improbable. Thus, Elizabeth is probably describing a baptism for the restoration of health, a common Mormon practice in the nineteenth-century.  

Thomas also received a priesthood ordinance.

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19 Elizabeth D. Kane, draft of letter to Rev. Dr. Buckley, 6 March 1906, Daytona, Florida, 6-7, Kane Collection, Box 25, fd. 11. 

20 The Epistle of the Twelve, 14 January 1845, specified that the Nauvoo Temple font would be used for, among other things, "the healing of the sick." James R. Clark, Messages of the First Presidency, 6 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1970), 2:137-138.
blessing from Patriarch John Smith during the same time, which also promised him restored health.\textsuperscript{21} As a final piece of evidence, no known records by Mormons in 1846-47 suggest that Thomas Kane was converted to Mormonism.

In fact, in 1858, when Kane was in Utah trying to negotiate a peaceful end to the Utah War, Brigham Young wrote him a letter which would make little sense if Kane had been baptized:

\begin{quote}
I do not remember to have ever, either in correspondence, or in a familiar conversation, except, by a casual remark, alluded to matters of religious belief, as entertained by myself and others who are commonly called “Mormons,” nor do I remember that you have ever overstepped the most guarded reserve on this subject in all your communications with me. So invariably and persistently has this peculiarity marked our friendly and free interchange of views, upon policy and general topics, that I have at times imagined, and still am prone to imagine, that you are more or less inclined to scepticism upon many points commonly received by the religious world.

The faith embraced by the Latter Day Saints is so naturally philosophical, and so consistent with and enforceive of every valuable and true principle that should govern in every department of life, that I am strongly of [the] opinion that a plain, candid exposition of the faith of the everlasting gospel, which I have so much at heart, can not, probably, fail to at least interest a person of your reflective turn of mind. Such being my conviction, your permission to me to converse familiarly with you upon a subject of so much import, previous to your departure for your home, or to write to you upon your return to the society of your family and friends, will confer a highly esteemed favor upon [me].\ldots
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{21} For a photocopy of the blessing, dated 7 September 1846, see Kane Collection, Box 14, fd. 5.

\textsuperscript{22} Brigham Young, Letter to Thomas L. Kane, 8 May 1858; copy in City: Bookcraft, 1965-75), 1:247. Joseph Smith baptized his wife Emma several times in the Mississippi River in 1842 for “the benefit of her health.” \textit{History of the Church} 5:167-68, 182. An excerpt from Heber C. Kimball’s 1834 journal of Zion’s Camp reports how immersion in cool water reduced their fevers. \textit{Times and Seasons} 6 (15 March 1845): 840. Thus contemporary records document and even encouraged the treatment that Elizabeth says Thomas received. See also D. Michael Quinn, “The Practice of Rebaptism at Nauvoo,” \textit{BYU Studies} 18 (Winter 1978): 226-32, esp. 229-31; and Lester E. Bush, Jr., \textit{Health and Medicine among the Latter-day Saints, Science, Sense and Scripture} (New York: Crossroad, 1993), esp. 82-84.
This letter, from the one person in the Church who probably knew Kane best and who surely would have known if Kane had been baptized in Iowa in 1846 hardly supports a view that Kane had been a secret member of the Church since 1846. While Kane was clearly considered a friend, even a kindred spirit, no contemporary LDS leader considered him a member of the Church. Furthermore, George Q. Cannon, perhaps the closest LDS leader to Kane after Brigham Young, performed a vicarious baptism for Kane in the St. George Temple in April 1884 after Kane’s death the year before; he would not have done so had Kane been baptized while he was alive.23

For many reasons, the Kane family remains a fascinating topic for students of Mormon and American history. True to the 1846 promise to Thomas L. Kane, that he would be held in “Honorable Remembrance” by the Latter-day Saints, the Lee Library at Brigham Young University is proud to announce the acquisition and now the opening for research of this significant collection.

23 B. H. Roberts, A Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Century One, 6 volumes (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1930), 5:500 note. As early as September 1850, Kane wrote to “My Dear Friends”: “I request you [in my will] to receive my heart for deposit in your Salt Lake City Temple that after death it may repose where in metaphor at least it was when living.” Draft, Kane Collection, Box 16, fd. 31. This was a gesture of deep friendship.
In 1844 at Nauvoo, Joseph Smith Jr. introduced a radically innovative concept of God—including the gender-inclusive image of God with which this paper deals. Before Nauvoo, he had inconsistently presented various concepts and doctrines, all of which involved positions similar to those found in early Christianity and those of his American contemporaries, many of whom also questioned what had become Christian “orthodoxy.”

DANNY L. JORGENSEN <djorgens@luna.cas.usf.edu>, professor and chair of religious studies at the University of South Florida, Tampa, presented an earlier version of this essay, “Gender-Inclusive Images of God: An Exploratory, Comparative Study of Shakerism and Mormonism,” at the Mormon History Association annual meeting, 18 May 1996 at Snowbird, Utah. He appreciates the comments of Prisilla J. Brewer, Lawrence Foster, and the anonymous reviewers of the Journal of Mormon History on various drafts of this essay.

1829-35) views appear to be those of "classical theism"—the view that God is transcendental, omnipotent, omniscient, omnipresent, and immutable but anthropomorphized as "father." This position is strongly monotheistic with an overlay of trinitarianism, the orthodox Christian resolution to the perplexing problem of how the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost count as only one God. Since Smith did not treat this matter in formal philosophical or theological terms, his statements reflect a common-sense understanding of these qualities. His reports of his first vision, various revelations, and the scriptures he dictated all contain standard biblical imagery. "Father, Son, and Holy Ghost," he affirmed, "are one God, infinite and eternal, without end" (LDS D&C 20:27).


Trinitarianism holds that the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost all involve the same essential features (of omnipotence, etc.), and in some rather mysterious way, are one. The standard Mormon position is that they are one in purpose.

The generally accepted reconciliation of trinitarianism with monotheism had not been universally accepted by early Christians (hence, the many "heresies" that accompanied the triumph of Catholicism) nor was it universally accepted by Joseph Smith's contemporaries, such as Universalists like his grandfather, Asael Smith Sr., and his father, Joseph Smith Sr. Trinitarianism poses genuine perplexities, particularly the relationship of the Father and Son (such as: who is the God of the Old Testament? What names are they to be known by? etc.) Smith's 1844 teachings are clearly a rejection of classical theism and monotheism. In the last year of his life, however, the Mormon prophet began teaching a substantially different doctrine of God. Two sermons that Smith preached within months of his murder delineated a plurality of anthropomorphic gods, including a possible feminine deity, along with other substantial deviations from ordinary biblical images of God.

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4 See the inadequate recent discussion in Kurt Widmer, *Mormonism and the Nature of God: A Theological Evolution, 1830-1915* (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarmand and Company, 2000); and Kent P. Jackson, "Are Mormons Christians? Presbyterians, Mormons, and the Question of Religious Definitions," *Nova Religion: The Journal of Alternative and Emergent Religions* 4, no. 1 (October 2000): 52-65. Because Mormons do not subscribe to any ordinary (orthodox) trinitarianism, the position of most Baptism, Methodist, and Presbyterian groups—sometimes expressed in resolutions of national conventions, etc.—is that Mormons are not Christians. Conservative LDS thinkers like David Paulson have attempted to reinterpret the characteristics ascribed to God in classical theism (and in Joseph Smith's early position) as consistent with Smith's 1844 innovations and their subsequent development. The 1844 Smith sermons may be seen as preserving a monotheism of sorts in that the essence of everything is intelligence, perhaps comprising an unorthodox unity of the three-in-one godhead?

Inverting the traditional view of God as a spirit, Smith declared that God is a material being. He explained that the eternal elements—chiefly, spirit in the form of intelligence—were another, higher form of matter. This refined matter, which he called “intelligence,” is immortal and coeternal with God. It forms, he claimed, the essence of everything, including those beings who currently inhabit human bodies and those premortal spirits that await human embodiment. Smith further maintained that God is an exalted man, that human beings may progress to god-like status or even become gods, and that there are a multiplicity of gods. Yet the biblical God is distinct, he explained, in having acquired a special knowledge of how to organize the eternal, universal elements. This Eternal Father thereby gained supremacy over other exalted celestial beings or gods. God the Eternal Father, Jesus Christ, and the Holy Ghost composed the Godhead, according to Smith.

Joseph Smith’s new concept of God, like many of the novel doctrines that he introduced, probably circulated first within his elite, secretive inner circle (“Anointed Quorum”) of intimate associates.


Joseph Smith preached: “I have always declared God to be a distinct personage, Jesus Christ a separate and distinct personage from God the Father, and that the Holy Ghost was a distinct personage and a Spirit; and these three distinct personages and three Gods. If this is in accordance with the New Testament, lo and behold! we have three Gods anyhow, and they are plural: and who can contradict it? The oneness of the plurality of Gods is the oneness of the eternal mind or intelligence.” History of the Church, 6:225. Also see D&C 121:32 and 130:22; and Orson Pratt, 29 August 1852, Journal of Discourses, 26 vols. (Liverpool and London: LDS Booksellers Depot, 1853-1886), 1:56-57.

See David John Buerger, The Mysteries of Godliness: A History of
None of the recorded contemporary statements attributed directly to him unequivocally confirm that he explicitly identified a “Mother in Heaven.” Some members of the Anointed Quorum attributed this gender-inclusive idea to him and regarded the Heavenly Mother concept as a logical derivation of Smith’s new God doctrine. Eliza R. Snow, one of Smith’s plural wives, wrote a poem—later a famous hymn—that was published in the Nauvoo *Times and Seasons* shortly after Smith’s death, also expressing the concept of a Heavenly Mother who was paired with the Heavenly Father. Little more is


9 See, however, *History of the Church*, 5:254. In an editorial footnote, Joseph Smith (presumably) is quoted as saying: “Come to me; here’s the mysteries man hath not seen, Here’s our Father in heaven, and Mother, the Queen.” Brigham Young’s daughter Susa Young Gates, reported that Zina Diantha Huntington Jacobs Smith Young (a woman who was the plural wife of first Joseph Smith and, after his death, of Brigham Young) told her that Joseph Smith had consoled Zina for her mother’s death in Nauvoo in 1839 by “telling her not only would she know her mother again on the other side but, ‘more than that, you will meet and become acquainted with your eternal Mother, the wife of your Father in Heaven.’” Quoted in Wilcox, “The Mormon Concept of a Mother in Heaven,” 65.

10 These individuals—Brigham Young, Parley and Orson Pratt, Wilford Woodruff, John Taylor, and Erastus Snow—directly and indirectly acknowledged the Heavenly Mother. Wilcox, “The Mormon Concept of a Mother in Heaven,” 65-67. The Church-controlled *Times and Seasons* 6 (1 May 1845): 892, published a letter to the editor by “Joseph’s Speckled Bird” in which the author described a previous existence in which “the spiritual body . . . was a child with his father and mother in heaven” but then received “a temporal body” that resembled the spirit body, into which God put “the life of his spiritual body . . . and gave him the power of endless lives.” This is a succinct but still-accurate description of what Mormons today believe about the premortal existence and mortality. Also see Orson Pratt, 12 November 1876, *Journal of Discourses*, 18:292 and Wilford Woodruff, 27 June 1875, ibid., 18:31-32.

known about the elusive Mother God from the teachings of Joseph Smith or his contemporaries, and subsequent LDS prophets have not contributed substantially to a theology of the Mother in Heaven image.12

Joseph Smith’s novel doctrine of God has received ample attention, but scholars rarely have focused on the intriguing Heavenly Mother idea. Because the concept of a Mother in Heaven is enigmatic, scholars have concentrated on accounting for the consequences of a female deity for women or have endeavored to elaborate this image theologically.13 Little or no work has been done on

Mormon Concept of a Mother in Heaven,” 65, reports that LDS President Wilford Woodruff credited Eliza Snow as having had this revelation directly but that his second successor, Joseph F. Smith, assigned the revelation to Joseph Smith: “God revealed that principle that we have a mother as well as a father in heaven to Joseph Smith; Joseph Smith revealed it to Eliza Snow Smith, his wife; and Eliza Snow was inspired, being a poet, to put it into verse.”

12 According to Wilcox, “The Mormon Concept of a Mother in Heaven,” 64, this idea “is a shadowy and elusive one floating around the edges of Mormon consciousness.” While it was taken for granted by nineteenth-century Mormon leaders (65-66), many of whom were contemporaries of Joseph Smith, the existence of a Mother in Heaven was not formally acknowledged until 1909 (68-69) in the First Presidency (Joseph F. Smith, John R. Winder, Anthon H. Lund) doctrinal statement, “The Origin of Man,” Improvement Era (November 1909): 80. Most recently, Gordon B. Hinckley, acting as First Counselor in the First Presidency, speaking first in a conference of Regional Representatives and next at a Churchwide broadcast to LDS women, announced that it was “inappropriate for anyone in the Church to pray to our Mother in Heaven” because it did not follow the instructions of Christ about prayer and because no “President of the church . . . has offered a prayer” to the Mother. He concluded: “None of us can add to or diminish that glory of her of whom we have no revealed knowledge” (5 April and 28 September 1991, printed as “Daughters of God,” Ensign, Nov. 1991, 97-100).

13 This comment is not intended to disparage these invaluable descriptive contributions in any way for their failure to focus on the Mother in Heaven theology. See Wilcox, “The Mormon Concept of a Mother in Heaven,” 71-74, for a review of scholarly developments regarding Mother in Heaven. Also see Maxine Hanks, ed., Women and Authority: Re-emerging Mormon Feminism (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1992), for illustrative
nineteenth-century influences on the development of the Mother in Heaven concept; fuzziness about its possible social origins have resulted in several paradoxes in describing its social consequences as well. This paper suggests a possible origin for Mormonism’s gender-inclusive image of God and delineates some of this concept’s paradoxical consequences for LDS gender relationships and gender institutions.\footnote{14} I see the concept of a feminine deity as intrinsic to Joseph Smith’s innovative reconceptualization of God as gender-inclusive—the very capstone of Mormonism’s salvation theology and its central appeal.

Alternatives to the orthodox biblical image of an exclusively male God are uniquely interesting, especially for sociological studies of gender definitions, roles, relationships, and institutions.\footnote{15} There-

\textit{Gender institutions} are a subset of social institutions, or thoughts and actions that have become regularized to the point that they serve as the basis for a given social order. Peter L. Berger, \textit{The Sacred Canopy: Elements of a Sociological Theory of Religion} (New York: Doubleday, 1967), identifies a three-phase process by which social institutions are created: (1) externalization, or the social construction of meaning attached to certain objects or events, (2) objectification, or the treatment of these externalized meanings as if they were facts of reality, even though they were humanly constructed, and (3) internalization, or individuals’ reappropriation of these externalized and objectified meanings. (This last step is sometimes called socialization.) Social institutions define correct conduct, desirable goals, group norms, social status, and expected roles. For example, the categories of “female” and “male” are human universals; but what it means to be a woman or what it means to be a man varies dramatically among different cultures. Thus, gender is a social construction.

I use the concept of gender institutions to identify social conventions that define (create or recreate meanings) and enact what it means to be “female” and “male” in the context of a particular culture/society. It is a more comprehensive concept than gender roles, since it refers to all the ways in which the meanings and activities of being female or male have been institutionalized, not just the performance of certain activities (roles) associated with them. The social institution we identify as Victorianism, for instance, included a particular gender institution that, in turn, dictated gender roles.

\footnote{15} See Mary Farrell Bednarowski, “Outside the Mainstream: Women’s Religion and Women Religious Leaders in Nineteenth-Century
fore, in the material that follows, it is important to remember that social theories of religion do not and cannot verify or refute God concepts or doctrines. Symbolic images of God are extremely informative, however, as basic paradigms for human existence. Theories of religion can and do trace the social origin of supernatural imagery and the social consequences of these symbols as a separate activity from refuting, exhaustively explaining, or ultimately judging the ontological status of these beliefs.

THE HEAVENLY MOTHER ENIGMA

Mormonism’s Heavenly Mother is an extremely interesting and complex concept because it seems to be totally incongruent with America,” *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 48, no. 2 (1980): 207-31; and her *New Religions and the Theological Imagination in America* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989), 19-44, for a critique of classical theism and a defense of alternative images.


18 Lawrence Foster, in commenting at the 1996 Mormon History Association meetings on the sociology of knowledge perspective developed here, maintained that it is “highly reductionistic.” If “reductionism” is understood as an effort to explain supernaturalism by grounds other than religion and its claims about reality, then this is true. Yet most scholarly accounts of religion, particularly those indebted to the social sciences, inevitably are reductionistic in this sense. Social theories of religion simply do not provide any epistemological basis for sustaining or refuting supernaturalism; and they necessarily are, therefore, epistemologically agnostic.
what scholars usually assume is a highly patriarchal religion. Gender-inclusive images of God are expected to result in more positive appraisals of women and greater gender equality (as discussed below). Yet Mormonism appears to contradict these expectations. None of the considerable research on Latter-day Saint women supports the conclusion that they have become equal to men or that Mormon patriarchy has been moderated by the Mother in Heaven image.¹⁹ In fact, many observers think that Mormon women have perplexingly become more circumscribed—not less—by predominantly patriarchal institutions over time.²⁰ Lawrence Foster, for instance, points out: “Mormon women in frontier Utah enjoyed a remarkable degree of real power, influence, and independence. . . . Nearly a hundred


years later... the image and the reality of life for women in Mormonism [have] become roughly reversed.21

Scholarly studies of Mormonism’s gender-inclusive image of God have concentrated on explaining the apparent contradiction between a predominantly patriarchal religion and a gender-inclusive God concept—what we may call the goddess-patriarchy puzzle. Mary Bednarowski, theologian and scholar of new religions at United Theological Seminary of the Twin Cities, New Brighton, Minnesota, has explored alternative images of God and their influence on gender roles in new American religions. She suggests that women are more likely to achieve leadership and greater equality with men when concepts of a masculine God are modified by bisexual imagery or by images of God as nonpersonal and nonanthropomorphic, when the doctrine of the Fall is limited by denials or temperings, when the ecclesiastical structure does not ordain clergy, and when social roles for women do not exclusively define their fulfillment by marriage and motherhood.22 Mormonism, Bednarowski noted in related studies, rejected original sin; but it did not develop the Mother in Heaven concept; it limited priesthood to men; it defined a woman’s status as contingent on and complementary to a dominant male (typically a husband); and it identified motherhood as a woman’s highest status (parallel to male priesthood).23 Despite a gender-inclusive image of Heavenly Parents, she argues, all of these other factors account for the subordination of Mormon women.

Rosemary Radford Reuther, a philosopher of religion, also discussed the Latter-day Saints in two surveys of women in alternative religions but exhibited little interest in the Heavenly Mother belief.24

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Instead, Reuther focused on plural marriage (polygamy or, more correctly, polygyny) as an obvious manifestation of Mormon patriarchy. Other scholars, however, have interpreted Latter-day Saint polygyny quite differently. Religion scholar Barbara Zikmund offered Mormonism's Mother in Heaven as an excellent example of a feminist concept in nineteenth-century American sectarianism. She suggested, furthermore, that plural marriage may have "fulfilled certain feminist goals." Other scholars have likewise argued that plural marriage contributed to a unique form of female solidarity in which Mormon women achieved considerable autonomy and independence.

As this overview shows, Mormonism has a gender-inclusive God concept; and early Mormon women had some power, influence, and freedom. However, the Mother in Heaven idea has not been elaborated doctrinally, and Mormon gender roles have become more, rather than less, patriarchal. In concentrating on the goddess-patriarchy puzzle, the feminist studies reviewed above simply skipped over the apparent anomaly of early Mormon women's roles. These inquiries, furthermore, have not addressed adequately the critically important question of the Mother in Heaven's origin. How, in other


words, could a feminine image of God even arise from a patriarchal religion?

Catherine Albanese, a professor of religious studies at UC-Santa Barbara, addressed the origin question by suggesting that Mormonism's gender-inclusive God is a form of "active mysticism." She argued that, because religious mysticism manifests itself as highly personal, even unique, experience, to the extent that Mormons experienced the Heavenly Mother mystically or symbolically, a collective expression simply may not exist. Albanese's hypothesis merits investigation; but the idea that the Heavenly Mother is experienced mystically (and hence individually), even in some "active" form, seems to contradict other facets of Mormonism's overwhelmingly social expressions, particularly its political kingdom building, construction of communities, and restructuring of elementary human institutions like marriage and family. Albanese's account therefore does not resolve the Heavenly Mother enigma.

The most systematic interpretation of the Heavenly Mother's origin is a sociological study by professors of religion John Heeren, Donald B. Lindsey, and Marylee Mason. They base their analysis on Emile Durkheim's acclaimed theory of religion, particularly his central insight that religious concepts originate in and mirror underlying social relationships. The Heavenly Mother's origin, they argued, is best explained as part of Mormonism's anthropomorphic view of God. Mother in Heaven is properly seen as elevating the conjugal relationship into the eternal realm. This deification of the family allows for spiritual birth, which essentially corresponds to the reproductive process among mortals. The original expressions of

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the Mother in Heaven belief provided divine sanction, not for equality, but for patriarchal (and plural) marriage. Heeren, Lindsey, and Mason resolve the paradox, then, by the "ironic" conclusion that "patriarchy and belief in a goddess go hand-in-hand." This conclusion, however, is more than merely ironic: It contradicts the fundamental premise of Durkheim's theory. Properly understood, Durkheim's theory holds that the Heavenly Mother originated with changes in Mormon social relationships allowing women as well as men to become gods. Heeren, Lindsey, and Mason thus failed to seriously consider the potential for greater equality in early Mormon gender relationships. Their conclusion, moreover, does not explain why the Mother in Heaven innovation was in any way necessary. A goddess certainly was not needed to justify polygyny. The traditional belief in an exclusively male God, along with traditional readings of Eve's creation and sin from Genesis, furnish a much more potent legitimation of polygyny, as is abundantly evident in other biblical religions past and present. Elevating woman to divine status creates enormous problems precisely because of all of the ways in which the Bible legitimates the inferiority of women, validates polygynous families, and exalts patriarchal authority.

Even so, Durkheim's theory, especially as it has been developed by Mary Douglas and Peter Berger, provides an invaluable perspective for addressing the social origin and consequences of Mormon-

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30 Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms*, 403.
31 Ibid., 409.
32 Their discussion of Mother in Heaven and gender roles was marred by their lack of historical awareness; they essentially read present conditions back into Nauvoo. Early Mormon gender roles must be interpreted according to 1840s culture—not according to the substantially different gender values of our day.
33 Not surprisingly, this same characteristic is exactly the most controversial point about the underdeveloped image of the Heavenly Mother for Mormonism today. See, for example, Wilcox, "The Mormon Concept of a Mother in Heaven," 71-74; Hanks, "Introduction," in *Women and Authority*, xxv-xxvii; Sonja Farnsworth, "Mormonism's Odd Couple: The Motherhood-Priesthood Connection," ibid., 299-314; and Margaret Merrill Toscano, "'Put On Your Strength, O Daughters of Zion': Claiming Priesthood and Knowing the Mother," ibid., 411-37.
ism's gender-inclusive God concept. The Durkheimian theory unequivocally maintains that sociocultural realities are *sui generis* (true or real on their own grounds and irreducible to more elementary levels of analysis, such as individuals or their psychology or biology). It does not dismiss religion as an opiate or illusion. Instead, the theory holds that socially constructed realities, such as religion, have very real consequences for believers. Thus, unlike Karl Marx and Sigmund Freud, Durkheim's theory does not explain religion away as a mere human externalization or projection. Mary Douglas, a British social anthropologist, carries Durkheim's theory a step further by seeing mental images of God and gender as social institutions.\(^{34}\) She maintains that social institutions "think" by coherently ordering, circumscribing, and directing human experience, thought, and action. In other words, beliefs about God and beliefs about the proper roles for men and women meaningfully order and arrange what and how members of a society feel, think, and act. Social institutions admittedly are idealized models and individual conformity to them always is variable. Nevertheless, institutions proscribe and prohibit some actions rather than others (monogamy rather than polygyny). An individual is labeled as deviant when he or she fails to conform with those expectations.

Peter Berger continued the dialogue by identifying the Durkheimian emphasis on collective representations (symbols) as an extension (projection) of social organizational arrangements; the "dialectical process" that constitutes society consists of a succession of such moments.\(^{35}\) These externalized symbols, he pointed out, are "objectivated" (collectively defined and enacted as something other than the products of human activity), and "internalized" (reappropriated into the consciousness of individuals over successive generations). In sociological terms, then, Mormon society found a way to "think" about gender by externalizing such concepts as a new understanding about the nature of God. In turn, the social consequences of this new image were new reenactments of gender relationships among men and women which, in turn, led to additional thinking about a Heavenly Father and a Heavenly Mother. Both the theology and the

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\(^{34}\) Douglas, *How Institutions Think*; also see Douglas, *Purity and Danger*; and Douglas, *Natural Symbols*.

\(^{35}\) Berger, *The Sacred Canopy*, 175-77.
sociology of Mormon thinking about gender had needs that the concept of a Heavenly Mother satisfied.

**SOCIAL ORIGIN OF THE MOTHER IN HEAVEN CONCEPT**

If this Durkheimian hypothesis is valid, then there should be some historical evidence that Joseph Smith's gender-inclusive image of God can be found in the social context of early Mormonism. Revolutionary changes in the American way of organizing gender relationships were occurring in the early nineteenth century. In general, the colonial period's view of human nature, and especially of women, was an extremely negative interpretation of the narrative in Genesis 2.36 According to this interpretation, God created the woman (Eve) from the man (Adam) for his benefit. Her weak and sinful nature resulted in humanity's fallen condition. God cursed all women because of Eve's sin, leaving all women inferior to men in all ways (biologically, psychologically, intellectually, socially, and morally). Women were sexually and morally dangerous to society, unless they were firmly under the control and direction of men. Although men also had sinned in the Fall, they were still purer and less sinful than women.37


37 See Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, *Good Wives: Image and Reality in the Lives of Women in Northern New England 1650-1750* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982); Mary P. Ryan, *Womanhood in America from Colonial Times to the Present* (New York: Franklin Watts, 1983); Barbara Welter, "The Cult of True Womanhood, 1820-1860," in *American Quarterly* 18 (Summer 1966): 151-74; and Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, "Religion and Women in America," in *World Religions in America: An Introduction*, edited by Jacob Neusner (Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox Press, 1994), 222-33. There were, of course, individual deviations from and other exceptions to these broad gender images, but these cultural definitions of gender were most applicable to the working class masses, particularly in the northern
According to this social institution, gender segregation must be absolute in the public sphere. Because women were believed to be weak, inferior, and dangerous, they were excluded from all public matters. “Proper” behavior for women was silence, diligence in performing their assigned duties, unquestioning obedience to their fathers (if unmarried) and husbands (if married), and continual piety. In actual fact, of course, gender role differentiation was less rigid in domestic life, partly because of the agrarian economy and frontier existence. Men principally were expected to sustain the family’s livelihood, while women primarily were responsible for food and clothing preparation. Yet couples often worked together at home—typically at farming and/or cottage-based businesses, crafts, trades or industries—sharing in these labors as well as caring for and training their children.  

American culture and society underwent monumental changes, however, from about 1680 to around 1820. Contributing to these colonies. The social elites in the North and especially the southern colonies created and conformed to somewhat different gender norms.

38 Men had the legal right to compel obedience from their wives by physical beatings, as long as the punishment was not considered excessive. Single women (not directly subject to male authority) were the most likely to be accused of witchcraft; such trials can be seen as a social exertion of patriarchal authority. Women who refused to conform to these gender-role definitions, especially the expectation that they would remain silent in public, commonly were sanctioned severely, as in the case of Anne Hutchinson. See, for instance, John P. Demos, Entertaining Satan: Witchcraft and the Culture of Early New England (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982); Paul Boyer and Stephen Nissenbaum, Salem Possessed: The Social Origins of Witchcraft (Cambridge, Mass.: Oxford University Press, 1974); Emery Battis, Satans and Sectaries: Anne Hutchinson and the Antinomian Controversy in the Massachusetts Bay Colony (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1962); Lyle Koehler, Search for Power: The “Weaker Sex” in Seventeenth-Century New England (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1980).

changes were the emergent dominance of Enlightenment rationality (democratic republicanism, individualism, and scientific knowledge-technology); the growth of an industrial, capitalistic market economy; urbanization (particularly of the more settled North); greater sociocultural heterogeneity from ongoing immigration, including additional social classes, religions, and ethnic groups; expansion of the western frontier; and increased religious pluralism deriving from newly imported ideas, national revivalistic evangelicalism, and the birth of new American religions. Gender institutions, influenced by these social and economic changes, also underwent a crucial transformation. Humanity was envisioned more optimistically—as less sinful and depraved. The idea that individuals were responsible for their own salvation gradually moderated the harsh Calvinistic doctrine of election. Even more sweepingly over time, the biblical view of women as weak and morally inferior gave way to the Victorian idealization of women as pure and innocent—the guardians of virtue.

Men were assigned responsibility for economic pursuits outside the home and other public activities. Women, though still circumscribed to the private sphere as in earlier times, were no longer seen as weak and sinful creatures who needed to be kept under stern discipline by religion, family, and home. Rather, because women were seen as purer and more virtuous, they were responsible for guarding and enforcing the Christian morality of their homes and male kinfolk. They, to a greater extent than men, populated the churches. Voluntary associations of women, many of them religion based, organized to combat evils like slavery and vices like alcoholism, prostitution, and gambling. Even political participation could be justified as a kind of moral housekeeping. Women, particularly in new and sectarian religions, began to perform other significant roles, including leadership. Yet in spite of fresh opportunities and the democratic ethos of greater egalitarianism, women’s roles were increasingly restricted otherwise to the private sphere. The dominant status of women was domestic and epitomized by motherhood.

The early Mormons substantially reflected, embraced, and implemented these emergent Victorian gender institutions, although they adapted these values and norms according to their circumstances and religious ideology. For example, even though Joseph Smith


44 In terms of the changing status of American women, Foster, *Women, Family, and Utopia*, 206-7, located the LDS Church about midway between very conservative groups like the Episcopalians and the extremely liberal sectarians like the Shakers. Mormon gender roles, he concluded, were basically Victorian; Mormons therefore resembled mainstream
initially taught a conventional biblical concept of God, he thoroughly rejected the doctrine of original sin and the related descriptions of women as inherently weak and sinful. Instead, the earliest LDS scriptures strongly advocated a doctrine of free will (or agency) (Mosiah 18:28; 2 Ne. 10:23; D&C 29:35-7, 58:27, 124:69, 134:2). Furthermore, the Fall, in Mormonism, was actually a foreordained blessing. In Joseph Smith’s revision of Genesis (4:11), Eve says: “Were it not for our transgressions, 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 the obedient.” It is true that Mormon women were excluded from leadership roles and priesthood offices; however, they were responsible for their own salvation and actively participated in selected religious activities. They were not forbidden to preach or pray; and they voted with men on decisions placed before the membership. Early Mormon women also exercised the gifts of the Spirit: wisdom, healing, miracles, prophecy, discerning spirits, speaking in tongues, and the interpretation of tongues. Patriarchal blessings of early LDS women frequently pro-


claimed their special talents and callings, although their social identities often were defined as contingent on a husband and/or father.47

Mormons took it for granted that marriage was the norm for men and women, with the family envisioned as the basic unit of society. Typically, Mormons lived in settlements on the frontier, engaged in agricultural and nonindustrial crafts, trades, and small shop-based businesses. As in the larger Victorian society, men were defined as the family’s economic provider and political leader in all matters, public and private. Women were expected to defer to male authority and to fulfill their own roles (primarily those of wife and mother) within the private sphere.

However, these socioeconomic conditions meant that gender roles were less rigidly segregated than under more urban-industrial conditions—as, for example, in northern factory towns. Fathers were more accessible to their children, and families tended to work together on projects. Furthermore, Mormon women sometimes performed work that more customarily was done by men when dictated by frontier agrarian conditions or while the men were away from home on religious missions. Women also took employment at times.48 Married women sometimes earned income at home by tak-


48 Early Mormon history is full of examples of women doing whatever was necessary for survival and living. Responding to critics, Joseph Smith published a statement in the July 1833 Evening and Morning Star commenting on conditions in Jackson County, Missouri: “It is said that
ing in laundry, mending, or boarders—as did the Prophet’s wife, Emma Smith, on numerous occasions—and by selling meals; while single women were more likely to work away from home but usually at domestic jobs.

In short, the early Mormons essentially participated in the larger social change from Genesis-based gender roles to Victorian ones, adapting these ideals as required by their circumstances. The overriding goal for all of its members in this new American religion was to realize the Kingdom of God on earth, and women as well as men were expected to make substantial contributions to this ultimate goal. Thomas O’Dea’s assertion that “Mormonism early came very close to accepting the equality of women and men,” may be too generous; however, the social status of women had greatly improved by the early 1840s from what it had been in previous generations.

This, then, was the social context in which the concept of a Heavenly Mother emerged in Mormonism. I summarize the salient features of this concept as follows: The Mother God was not completely equal to the Father God. Instead, everything known about the concept of the Heavenly Mother reflected and legitimated the roles performed by early Mormon women. She was the spouse of God the Father and the mother of his spirit children. However, this Eternal Mother was also a deity. Although subordinate to the Heavenly Father’s supreme authority, she had authority over her domain, particularly her offspring. This description thus supports the Durkheimian hypothesis, suggesting that the concept of a gender-inclusive God simultaneously grew out of and was reinforced by the social context of beliefs about proper gender roles.50

women go out to work; this is a fact, and not only women, but men, too; for in the Church of Christ, all that are able have to work to fulfill the commandments of the Lord; and the situation in which many have come up here, has brought them under the necessity of seeking employment . . . [yet] they have been honorably compensated.” History of the Church, 1:380.

49 O’Dea, The Mormons, 249.

50 This explanation of the Heavenly Mother leaves open the possibility of other influences and contributing factors. Mormonism’s gender-inclusive God concept, as Albanese speculated, does resemble certain Gnostic images and basic Hermetic principles. D. Michael Quinn, Early Mormonism and the Magic World View (Salt Lake City: Signature Books,
THE SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES
OF THE HEAVENLY MOTHER CONCEPT

The second half of Durkheim's hypothesis can now be examined: What evidence supports scholarly expectations that this gender-inclusive image of God resulted in more egalitarian gender relationships among the Mormons? Granted, their frontier existence and preoccupation with building the Kingdom of God moderated their otherwise largely Victorian gender institutions. Gender inequality in religious matters primarily derived from women's exclusion from the priesthood. In the early 1840s, however, Mormon leaders began practicing polygyny, an exceptionally patriarchal form of marriage and family. Priesthood and polygyny provide the most damaging evidence against the scholarly anticipation that the Heavenly Mother concept socially and religiously empowered early Mormon women.

Joseph Smith created the Female Relief Society of Nauvoo in 1842. This charitable association provided a publicly recognized way for women to collectively perform meaningful roles other than those of wives and mothers. Although it functioned under priesthood direction and supervision (Joseph Smith and his male associates frequently addressed its meetings), the Relief Society was a semi-autonomous organization with offices parallel to priesthood offices. Through this organization, Mormon women assisted the poor, vigorously investigated and defended the members' virtuous reputations and community morality, and provided spiritual and social support and blessing. The Female Relief Society consequently


bridged the Victorian gender gap between private and public spheres. Familiar with other religiously based female reform and benevolent societies, Mormon women deliberately planned their association as more expansive in vision than these other Victorian organizations.52

At least some Relief Society members believed that the Mormon prophet promised or actually extended priesthood to them.53 Such a belief was not just wishful thinking. Smith's organizational remarks assured the women that “the Society should move according to the ancient Priesthood,” and its members would become “a kingdom of priests as in Enoch's day—as in Paul's day.”54 Emma Smith, Joseph's wife, was the first president; its other leaders were also Anointed Quorum members. Smith began initiating his closest male friends to this secret quorum in 1842 but it was not organized fully until their wives were included in 1843. Through a preliminary temple “endowment,” husbands and wives entered into a covenant with God whereby they were “anointed” to be “kings and priests” and “queens and priestesses” respectively. He subsequently introduced them to the temple rites of eternal marriage and a “second anointing” (or “fulness of the priesthood”). Eternal marriage “sealed” the partners together forever, while the male priesthood holder and his wife or wives were “ordained ‘King and Queen, Priest and Priestess to the Most high God for Time and through out all Eternity’” during the second anointing rite.55 The Anointed women later instructed other Mormon women as they received these ordinances and also performed other priesthood-related functions.56

Because Smith was murdered shortly after these events, it is difficult to know exactly what he intended and impossible to guess the

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52 Derr, ““Strength in Our Union,”” 159.
54 Minutes of the Female Relief Society of Nauvoo, 30 March 1842 and 29 April 1842, quoted in Quinn, “Mormon Women Have Had,” 365.
55 Ibid., 365-66, 368.
full extent of his experiments with gender relations. The evidence, however, strongly supports the contention that Joseph Smith extended the priesthood or something very like it to early Mormon women. Although no particular office was specified and although there was no an ordinance comparable to the laying on of hands by which men were ordained to priesthood office, they clearly acquired some kind of special authoritative status through the temple endowment. That women received this “priesthood” independently from men was reinforced by the responsibility of women for their own salvation and the later endowment of unmarried women. The development of a female form of priesthood, viewed from a Durkheimian standpoint, logically and coherently follows from the concept of God as gender inclusive. The fulfillment of the expectation predicted by this sociological expectation provides a different kind of support from the historical (empirical) evidence advanced by other scholars that Mormon women in Nauvoo were in fact endowed with priesthood authority or its equivalent. Nevertheless, this logical extension of the Heavenly Mother concept to include female priesthood was not institutionalized during Joseph Smith’s life.

Polygamy provides the strongest challenge to the expectation that the Mormon concept of God as gender inclusive would influence more equitable gender relationships.57 Plural marriage manifestly did support and reinforce patriarchy. However, plural marriage never was required, a majority of Mormons never participated in it (except perhaps in a few communities), and it was eventually abandoned. While higher-ranking ecclesiastical officers, especially the First Presidency and Twelve, generally had the greatest number of wives, it does not seem true that a few men controlled the distribution of marriageable women.58 The revelation on plural marriage promised women greater celestial glory in exchange for consenting


58 Ruether, “Women in Utopian Movements,” 49, argues that Mormon polygyny was “originally the privilege of the leadership”—but this description misstates the Mormon situation.
to the practice, and anecdotal evidence agrees that at least some (and perhaps most) of the women were motivated by otherworldly promises for them and their families. However, this dynamic does not unequivocally support the conclusion of Heeren, Lindsey, and Mason that belief in a Mother God ironically reinforced patriarchy.\(^{59}\)

In fact, I am unaware of any documentation linking Mother in Heaven with arguments for polygamy, either theologically or sociologically, on the part of participants. Because men also benefited celestially from polygamy, it is equally true that their exaltation was equally dependent on women. There is also sound evidence that plural marriage provided freedom from Victorian gender obligations for at least some Mormon plural wives.

Outsiders typically found plural marriage objectionable on the grounds that it oppressed and debased women.\(^{60}\) Yet the Saints—women included—defended this highly patriarchal practice on precisely opposite grounds.\(^{61}\) They argued that polygamy honorably provided the opportunity of marriage and children to women who might otherwise remain single and that it was a positive solution to many of the social evils deriving from the conventional American practice of monogamy such as seduction, fornication, abortion, infanticide, adultery, and prostitution. Mormon men were supposed to receive permission from an ecclesiastical superior before taking a second wife and, at least technically, were to demonstrate that they were religiously and economically prepared for this added responsibility.\(^{62}\) They were also supposed to seek the permission of the first wife. In fact, the practice was never as well regulated as the theory called for; but a plural wife was permitted to divorce her husband.

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\(^{59}\) Heeren, Lindsey, and Mason, “The Mormon Concept of Mother in Heaven,” 409.


for almost any reason, including dislike of plural marriage, while the husband usually had to show adultery or desertion as grounds of complaint.63

For some Mormon women, plural marriage offered certain advantages. Older women could find social and economic security in a supportive family. Barren wives could participate in motherhood by helping raise the children of their sister wives. To the extent that plural wives found meeting the sexual needs of their husbands a Victorian obligation, they could share it with other wives. Multiple wives provided Mormon women with options for dividing up household and economic responsibilities, perhaps to the greater satisfaction of some or all. In many instances, plural marriage resulted in tremendous solidarity among sister wives.64 At its best, this Mormon sorority uniquely provided adult friends and support, particularly when the husband was working for long hours, serving a mission, or otherwise away from the home for extended periods.

While men and women were not equal, especially in authority and power, Mormonism did not position women as inherently inferior to men. Difference, in other words, did not necessarily involve the application of differential, hierarchical values to gender images and roles. Women's roles (motherhood) were different from men's roles (priesthood and fatherhood), but not fundamentally more or less glorious. The salvation of men and women was mutually interdependent. Mormon culture endeavored to balance male authority with corresponding responsibilities—social and economic obligations for the welfare of women and children—without acknowledging inequality, thereby seeking to avoid the potentially abusive power of patriarchy and tyranny.

There are other suggestions that the concept of a Heavenly Mother subsequently resulted in expanded gender roles for Mormon women.65 The Utah Saints pushed for extending the secular vote to women ahead of the rest of the nation.66 While these efforts

64 See Derr, "Strengthening Our Union," 163-68.
65 Foster, Women, Family, and Utopia, 193-95.
were motivated by the need for greater political power in dealing with federal authorities, the idea that women should have the right to vote was consistent with Mormonism's internal principles and precedents. Mormon women were among the first of their gender to be elected to local offices, including legislative, in any of the states. Utah Mormon women were encouraged to acquire formal education, even in law and medicine, from which American women generally were excluded by Victorian conventions. Utah colleges, furthermore, enrolled significant proportions of women; and by the turn of the twentieth century, impressive numbers of Mormon women were involved in professional careers. It is possible to argue that, ironically, Mormon gender institutions became more patriarchal after plural marriage was abandoned.

It is beyond the scope of this essay to inquire why later LDS


prophets did not develop a theology of the Heavenly Mother with its potentially liberating consequences for women institutionally. Nor is it possible to provide definitive answers about why and how Mormon women have become even more subordinate to male authority during the twentieth century. A portion of this problem, however, is like that of explaining the institutionalization of other doctrines introduced by the founding Mormon prophet. Max Weber's famous discussion of the routinization of charisma and the related distinction between prophetic and priestly roles describes Joseph Smith and Brigham Young with general accuracy.\(^{69}\) A simple answer, then, is that Brigham Young and his successors selectively understood and interpreted Joseph Smith's teachings and applied them to substantially different circumstances. Acting in a priestly mode, Young and subsequent LDS leaders primarily were concerned with securing, not innovatively expanding, what Smith had created prophetically.

Brigham Young demonstrated little interest in elaborating Smith's gender-inclusive concept of God or other teachings so long as they worked and remained unproblematic. He found no social or religious reason to develop the Heavenly Mother concept as Nauvoo Mormonism was transplanted and implemented in the West. It therefore remained undeveloped but part of the Saints's consciousness. Similarly, female priesthood remained dormant, partly because Young and his contemporaries generally were opposed to the idea, and later social changes reinforced the view of priesthood as inherently male. As Utah Mormonism adapted to these sociocultural developments, this religion and the social relations it encouraged also were transformed significantly.

Mormonism was, from the beginning, a revolutionary reaction to the modernization of American society.\(^{70}\) The intermountain West insulated Utah Mormonism from modernity until after the Civil War and, even then, it adapted only gradually to the American mainstream and only under ferocious federal pressure.\(^{71}\) By the turn of

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\(^{70}\) See Hill, *Quest for Refuge*.

the century, the Saints successively abandoned the practice of plural marriage, relinquished their domination of public education, dropped their cooperative economic system, disbanded their political party, and otherwise adopted the institutions of urban-industrial capitalism. Gender roles also shifted, becoming more distinctively Victorian. Whereas Mormon women in Utah during the last half of the nineteenth century had considerable power, influence, and autonomy, the next half century saw an increasing constriction to the private sphere and emphasis on their status as wives and mothers.

**SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION**

Previous scholarly efforts to account for Mormonism's doctrinal and sociological concept of a Heavenly Mother have concentrated on the apparent contradiction between a predominantly patriarchal religion and a gender-inclusive concept of God. Efforts to explain this goddess-patriarchy puzzle have faced an additional dilemma—the anomaly of early Mormonism's more egalitarian gender roles and relationships. A Durkheimian perspective on Mormonism's concept of a gender-inclusive God explains the social origins of the Mother in Heaven image and also illuminates the paradoxes that have perplexed other scholars.

Early Mormons followed larger cultural trends in replacing the Genesis image of woman as weak, inferior, and dangerous with the Victorian image of women as pure, innocent, and virtuous. Joseph Smith's charismatically introduced innovation of a gender-inclusive image of God was an extension and deification of this gender institution as it had been adapted to the Saints's existence on the American frontier and this emergent new religion. The Heavenly Mother image also had liberating consequences for early Mormon gender roles and institutions. The women had considerable influence,

72 Foster, *Women, Family, and Utopia*, 209-19, emphasized the end of the frontier, the accommodation to American culture, the development of uniform Church programs, and the fear of liberal contamination as the factors driving these changes in Mormon gender roles and relationships. There are, of course, exceptions to this generalization, most notably the Relief Society's experiment in the 1920s with professionalizing its charity as social work. Although successful, the available resources were swamped by the needs of the Great Depression.
power, and autonomy in religion and daily life—a marked contrast to the gender institutions of previous generations of Americans and many of their female contemporaries. Early Mormon women even performed some of the functions subsequently restricted to the exclusively male priesthood. Joseph Smith’s violent death, however, abbreviated whatever elaboration of the Heavenly Mother concept and its implications for expanded roles for women that he may have had in mind. During the late nineteenth century, modernity and the more restrictive implications of Victorian gender institutions eventually overwhelmed Utah Mormonism. Today, Mormon gender roles can be characterized as neo-Victorian and highly patriarchal, especially in comparison with the pluralistic gender images, radical democracy, and egalitarian ethos of many American gender institutions.

Although Mormonism’s ingenious, gender-inclusive concept of God has not been elaborated, the Heavenly Mother idea exists doctrinally and it is a part of the Saints’s collective consciousness, if only as an “elusive and shadowy” image. The Mother in Heaven idea is, furthermore, indispensably connected to Mormon ideals of restorationism, dispensationalism, adventism, and the millennial kingdom of God on Earth (Zion). It is intertwined with revelations about the celestial world, proxy baptism for the deceased, temple endowments and sealings, and eternal marriage. This image of God logically and coherently orders and arranges some otherwise radically innovative and disparate beliefs and practices that Joseph Smith introduced in his brief prophetic career.\footnote{This is more than merely speculation since the case of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (RLDS, now Community of Christ) provides an empirical point of comparison. The LDS and RLDS share a common history to 1844, although they understand portions of the history and teachings of Joseph Smith differently. The RLDS rejected temple rituals, mostly because they were closely linked with plural marriage and did not incorporate the founding prophet’s innovative image of God; but they did retain Smith’s revelations about the celestial world and baptism for the dead. Yet these doctrines make little sense in terms of the more conventional biblical image of God favored by the RLDS. After years of pondering what to do with statements about baptism for the dead, the RLDS first relegated them to historical appendices in 1970 of the Doctrine and Covenants (107A, 109B, 110C) and then excluded them entirely from...} The concept of Heavenly Parents is the
capstone of Mormonism's salvation theology and its central appeal, yesterday and today.

Heaven, the prophet revealed in 1832, consisted of three kingdoms—telestial, terrestrial, and celestial—or ascending degrees of glory (D&C 76; also see Sections 88 and 131). Viewed retrospectively, this vision of the celestial world hinted strongly at the plurality of gods, material existence (embodiment) in heaven, and the possibility of human exaltation to godhood. Smith also introduced proxy baptism for the deceased, as a necessary provision for the salvation of people who lived before the Mormon restoration, and he clarified its practice with further instructions in 1841 (D&C 127; also see Section 137). Smith's most controversial teachings about eternal (plural) marriage and family relationships—as well as sacred temple rites (endowments and sealings), all of them introduced no later than 1843—are fundamentally intertwined with his alternative image of God.

The Mormon temple rites inherently enacted Smith's theology of salvation, especially the principle of godly exaltation deriving from his unconventional image of multiple, material gods in the celestial world. The early Mormons became "kings and priests" or "queens and priestesses" in the celestial world through the temple endowment and second anointing. Eternal marriage sealed partners together forever in the celestial world. Additional "sealing" practices, introduced during the 1840s, enabled other kinfolk, such as parents and children, or even unrelated individuals to be bound together eternally. Through the now-discontinued "law of adoption," Nauvoo Mormon leaders were sealed together in large, extended kinship groups for eternity. In principle and subsequent practice, the extension of all of these rites for the dead permitted forming kinships among both the living and the dead that would endure throughout eternity.

Without the gender-inclusive image of a Heavenly Father and Mother, the Mormon theology of salvation makes little sense. The the canon. In the interests of theological consistency, it is reasonable to expect that the RLDS also eventually will repudiate the revelation on the celestial world.

progression of men and women to godhood and the creation/per-
petuation of celestial families is impossible to envision without the
Heavenly Parents. Altogether these doctrines and ritual practices of
salvation constitute the sacred core of this new American religion.
This is Mormonism’s central appeal. The very sense, coherence, and
meaning of Mormon salvation necessarily depends on Joseph
Smith’s new, gender-inclusive image of God, inevitably including the
Mother in Heaven. Mormonism’s gender institution contains two
principles: gender equality and patriarchy. The fact that gender
equality is circumscribed by patriarchy has resulted in considerable
tension and conflict in both theology and daily life. Resolution of
this conflict will be difficult. Yet salvation of priesthood holders
could not occur without the Church’s women and, ultimately, the
Mother in Heaven. In fine, Mormonism could not be what it is
without the concept of the Heavenly Mother and the invaluable
contributions of the Church’s women.
JOSEPHINE SPENCER (1861-1928) was a complex woman who participated in her Salt Lake City culture but did not quite fit the norm. She was born into the prominent Daniel Spencer family, grew up in a polygamous household, and was a faithful Mormon all her life. She participated in women's clubs and wrote short stories and poetry for Mormon periodicals—not uncommon pastimes for well-educated Mormon women of the second generation. Her works reaffirm Christian values, sometimes relying on specific cultural symbols such as the temple. Her poems often describe the natural beauty of the Salt Lake area, a frequent theme in Mormon poetry.

Yet Josephine Spencer and her writings were often atypical. She never married and had a successful career as a newspaper editor, an unusual occupation for a Utah woman at that time. She occasionally pokes gentle fun at Mormon life, an unusual style for the time.

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She also writes about socialism, an uncommon theme for Mormon authors. Even her depiction of women and their relationships does not fall within the parameters of her LDS suffragist sisters. The three areas that make Josephine Spencer distinct in Utah—her writings, her editorship, and her unmarried status—place her well within national trends that had not yet reached Utah. While Utah writings during this period generally remained didactic,\(^1\) the United States was in full pursuit of literary realism. Josephine Spencer’s occasional socialist overtones move her toward realism rather than didacticism. Her treatment of women and her humor were not unusual on a national level, either. Her career in journalism made her a peculiarity in Utah, but nationwide, working women were flocking to journalism.\(^2\) Although the vast majority of women were marrying, an increasing number of female college graduates were choosing to remain single.\(^3\) As college student, Josephine Spencer also fits this trend.

Recovering Josephine Spencer and her works is difficult because she, like many women throughout time, is “invisible.” Public history during the late nineteenth century was largely the history of men, and Josephine Spencer did not leave an account of her private life.\(^4\) Filling in the blanks with common stereotypes of Western women, such as the “refined lady” or the “helpmate,”\(^5\) is useless because even the little we know about Josephine Spencer transcends these stereotypes. A perspective on her life can be recreated only from the history of more general events, from the writings of others about Josephine Spencer, and from her own short stories and po-

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\(^4\) To date, I have not located any personal writings. I contacted more than twenty-five members of Josephine Spencer’s extended family. Only one knew more about Josephine than her name.

ems. These sources bring to light a sensitive, imaginative, and intelligent nineteenth-century writer.

**FAMILY BACKGROUND**

In approximately 1815 Josephine Spencer’s father, Daniel Spencer, left West Stockbridge, Massachusetts, for Savannah, Georgia, where he started a very successful mercantile business. He and several of his brothers merchandised in the Carolinas, in Georgia, and in Alabama during the winters, returning home to spend the summers in the New England states. On 21 January 1823 when he was twenty-eight, Daniel Spencer married sixteen-year-old Sophronia E. Pomeroy. She died a decade later. Spencer returned per-

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7 Daniel had four monogamous wives and three plural wives, and children as follows:

1. Sophronia E. Pomeroy bore Daniel one son, Claudius Victor. She died 5 October 1832.

2. Daniel married Sarah Lester Van Schoonoven, ca. 1834. She gave birth to two sons who died in infancy and two daughters, Amanda and Mary Leona/Leone (Chambers). She died at Nauvoo.

3. Apparently Daniel Spencer married Mary (surname unknown), in Nauvoo. She evidently had no children and died en route to Winter Quarters.


5. Daniel Spencer married four more women on 27 December 1856, he married three plural wives simultaneously followed, on 13 February 1857, by Sarah McConchie (name given in his diary as McCononocher). His diary mentions the first three on the date of the fourth. It also states that he married Sarah “as Proxy” and she had no children, while the first three, all of whom bore him children, are identified as “For Eternity.” The first was Sarah Jane Gray, who gave birth to four of his children: Orson, Mark, Grove, and Sophronia.

manently to West Stockbridge in 1835 at age forty-one, where he established a mercantile house, a large hotel, and a farm.  

During the winter of 1838, Daniel Spencer met Mormon missionaries. As daughter Amelia tells this episode:

At the close of the service the elder asked the assembly if there were anyone present who would give him a “night’s lodging and a meal in the name of Jesus.” For several minutes a dead silence reigned in the congregation. None present seemed desirous of impairing his character or tainting his respectability by taking home a Mormon elder. At length Daniel Spencer, in the old Puritan spirit, and the proud independence so characteristic of the true American gentleman rose up, stepped into the aisle, and broke into the silence, “I will entertain you, Sir, for humanity’s sake,” said Daniel in answer to the appeal of the elder to be taken in for Jesus’ sake.

Spencer reinforced his daughter’s characterization of his “old Puritan spirit” by answering, when asked about his “motives or expectations” in coming to Utah: “I can only answer they were about the same as those of my pilgrim forefathers, to found a commonwealth where I could worship God unmolested.”

The Spencers were baptized into the Mormon Church in West Stockbridge and later moved to Nauvoo, Illinois, to live near other members of the Church. Two of Daniel Spencer’s brothers, Hyrum and Orson, and their families also joined the Church. In 1846 they followed the Mormons to Utah. Daniel’s third wife died, as did his brother, Hyrum, at Winter Quarters. Following Brigham Young’s counsel, on 25 January 1847 Daniel married Hyrum’s widow, Emily Shafter Thompson, who was caring for the two small children.

7 Mary Jane Cutcliffe gave birth to Lydia, Elvira, Amelia, Samuel George, and possibly two stillborn sons. “Daniel Spencer,” Biographical Record of Salt Lake City and Vicinity (Chicago: National Historical Record Co., 1902), 646-50.

8 Amelia Spencer, “Sketch of the Lives of Daniel Spencer and His Wife Mary Jane Cutcliffe: Utah Pioneer[s] of 1847 and 1856,” prepared May 11, 1931, for Camp 10 [Daughters of Utah Pioneers], Salt Lake County, typescript, Archives of the Family and Church History Department, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah (hereafter LDS Church Archives), 1-3.

9 Ibid., 2-3. Punctuation standardized.

10 Ibid., 6.
children she had borne Hyrum and Hyrum's eight children from his first wife.\textsuperscript{11}

The family arrived in Salt Lake Valley in the summer of 1848. Once again, Daniel Spencer's financial acumen meant that the family was well established only a year later. Thomas Bullock described the family's prosperity in a letter sent to Church leaders in Nauvoo: "Daniel Spencer's family are all well, and doing well; live in five log houses, and have 100 acres of grain in the ground, looking well; their fall wheat is up good; spring wheat is also up, and 12 acres of corn looks pretty."\textsuperscript{12} By the early 1850s, Daniel Spencer had built a large adobe brick house\textsuperscript{13} on the corner of Third South and State Street in Salt Lake City. According to daughter Amelia, Daniel at one time owned "from Main Street on Third South to State and north nearly to Second South Street."\textsuperscript{14} Obviously the family was quite comfortable in comparison to many families living in the Salt Lake Valley at this time.

The relationship between Josephine Spencer's parents during Utah's settlement period is intriguing. On Monday, 14 December 1847, Daniel recorded in his journal: "Weath[er] mor[e] mild Butchered the muly Steer weight 406 lb took to my self 236 to Emilys Hous 170 lb."\textsuperscript{15} This entry suggests that Daniel was not living in the same house with Emily; but the records available do not show him contracting a plural marriage until 1856, when he married three plural wives on the same day. Yet they were obviously cohabiting. Their son Jared was born in either 1847 or 1848, a relatively short time after the marriage, followed by new babies at two- or three-year intervals except when Daniel was absent on a four-year mission (1852-56) to England. Daniel's journal, which he kept only from 1845 to 1857, does not clarify the marriage arrangements. He rarely mentions any of his wives and then only in connection with something else. For example, he recorded on 6 April 1848: "Mrs P P Pratt cut

\textsuperscript{11} Ibid., 10.


\textsuperscript{13} Amelia Spencer, "Sketches," 11. Amelia calls it "quite a mansion in those days."

\textsuperscript{14} Ibid., 4.

\textsuperscript{15} Daniel Spencer, Diaries, 1845-57, microfilm of typescript, LDS Church Archives.
a Dress for Emily this day."\(^{16}\) None of the three wives to whom he was married simultaneously is referred to more than a dozen times during the entire period covered in the journals, and he stopped writing the year after he married his three plural wives.\(^{17}\) He was thus married monogamously to Emily for ten years, and their marriage spans ten of the twelve years his diary covers. Her virtual absence is particularly conspicuous since Spencer reports almost daily on the activities of his brother, Orson, and eldest son, Claudius Victor, with whom he worked and occasionally records heartfelt feelings about religion, about God, and such emotional events as the death of his brother Hyrum.\(^{18}\)

Although the relationship between Daniel and Emily Spencer

\(^{16}\) Spencer, Diaries, 6 April 1848. Four days later, "Emily mad[e] me a New Vest this day." On November 18, Daniel noted that "Emily had a New Calico dress." After this she rarely appears in his diary.

\(^{17}\) Daniel, who wrote almost daily entries, did not mention his triple marriages in 1856 until, on 13 February 1857, he succinctly recorded: "I Marid Sarah McCononocher as Proxy[.] Sarah Jane Gray A Mary Jane Cutchliffe and Elizabeth Funnell For Eternity[.] Weath[er] good most of the time." The Biographical Record of Salt Lake City and Vicinity, 649, provides the date of 27 December 1856 for his marriages to Sarah Jane, Mary Jane, and Elizabeth.

\(^{18}\) One event that prompted him to make a lengthy and detailed entry was a Thirteenth Ward meeting on 15 March 1857, in which the notoriously forthright bishop, Edwin D. Woolley, gave an uninhibited tonguelashing to the men who were "delinquents in Labor on the Canal. Said they wer men of no standing Poor scabby Lousy Loungers the offscouring of all the bad." Even though some of these delinquents were "Big on[e]s" and quorum presidents, "they wer only foot pads." Woolley then read off the list of offenders' names, on which Daniel's appeared, adding "Special advice to my Wives not to Sleep with me until I had paid my Tything." Daniel defended himself by pointing out that Bishop Woolley knew very well that Daniel had hired men "to work out all and more than my Tax." He briefly considered complaining to Brigham Young about Woolley's "quit sever . . . denunciations." However, Young "had sustained him in a Princip[] of much the same nature" earlier, and Daniel calculated that he probably would again. Pulling together what dignity he could, he "concluded from the language and the manner of his speach that he was not worth minding and of no account." He does not comment on whether any of his wives felt moved to follow the bishop's counsel.
cannot be discerned from his diaries, a few conjectures are possible. Daniel Spencer’s diary typically deals with his daily business, nearly always beginning with an observation about the weather, a fact of major importance to a farmer. He seems to include Emily only when she played a role in the daily events upon which he was focused. Unfortunately, the extant diaries have a gap between 1849 and August 1853 and end in 1857, meaning that Emily’s children were born when he was not keeping a diary. Perhaps he would have recorded them the way he mentioned a granddaughter’s birth. On 8 February 1849, he describes the weather, a complicated six-way barter for a wood sled, and the state of the cattle. He adds, “Claudius had a Daughter Born F. 4th 1849,” then continues: “Corn is now selling for $2.50 pr Bushel if at all.” These entries show a man very uninvolved in the world of his wives and children, an image at odds with his daughter’s description of him as an “excellent dancer” and “perfect gentleman” whom “all the girls were anxious to dance with.”

JOSEPHINE’S CHILDHOOD AND YOUTH

Josephine Spencer was born in Salt Lake City on 30 April 1861, the last of six children that Emily, forty-one at Josephine’s birth, had borne to Daniel in fourteen years. She grew up in Emily’s separate white cottage near the larger Spencer house on State Street that housed Daniel’s three plural wives. At age thirty-one, Josephine reminisced about a perhaps too-idyllic childhood in an autobiographical poem that, interestingly, describes the big Spencer house where she did not live. In “The Green Street,” she recalls the protecting “fond home-roof” where she and her friends ran to escape the “sprites of doom and shapes of dread” emerging from the dusky street shadows. She describes its gable windows and the “many porches” which provided the “grateful gift of summer shade.” Near the house was a “green orchard forest” and a pathway leading to the barn—“whose walls saw our gayest festivals”—and then to the “crystal” spring where the “sweet-briar-wild-rose-bush” grew. She nostaligcally juxtaposes these “fond and fast memories” with the “noise

and strife" of the "depot's busy mart" which now "claims the orchard's quiet heart." Sadly she describes how, with the passage of years, "the verdant street" has become "a dusty, common way / Beaten down from green to gray." Although sadness at her home's destruction may be sentimental, the fondness with which she remembered the Spencer residence seems genuine, implying that she and her siblings had full access to both homes or that she may even have lived there as a teenager. Indeed, at some point, Emily moved into the big house since, six years after Daniel's death, the city directory shows all of the wives together in 1874. However, the wives soon separated and Claudius became "proprietor of the Spencer House."

Besides imparting information about her home, "The Green Street" depicts Josephine as an imaginative little girl, doing her dawn chores while picturing "Cavalcades of queens and kings; / Princes proud, and barons bold, / With a blaze of green and gold." At twilight she envisioned "every mound and hollow" as "populous with elfin throngs," then indulged in delicious fears as the "eerie shade of night" settled. With her frightened but laughing friends, Josephine would "[Falter] long," unable to decide whether to risk the "Human foes that ambushed lay, / In the street to bar our way" or to face "those things of darker fear, / Rustling in the cornfield near."

"The Green Street" became one of Josephine Spencer's best-known poems. In a short biography about her longtime friend and neighbor, Annie Wells Cannon saw it as a manifestation of Josephine's optimism: "An old street uneven and irregular where cows as well as man left footprints in the moist ground she [Josephine] clothed in such tender verse that others saw its beauty too." Cannon recalled how "Jote's" (Josephine's nickname) fanciful mind delighted her friends and others:

To those who knew her [Josephine] intimately, she always seemed a dreamer. . . . Whether walking with little friends on the hills or doing the homely household tasks at home, around her there always seemed to hover an atmosphere of imagery. Her fruitful mind would conjure plays for the entertainment of her playmates which had they been written would rank well with the cinema or radio plays of today."

23 Ibid.
Josephine Spencer may have been influenced as a writer by Sarah Carmichael, an elderly and eccentric Mormon neighbor and poet, whom Cannon says Josephine “idolized” although she apparently never had a personal relationship with her.²⁴ Cannon remembers that she and Josephine, “sent by their mothers to gather cresses [watercress],” would peek through the holes in Sarah Carmichael’s whitewashed fence, watching Carmichael and her loving husband “wandering in the yard, or sitting under the trees in converse, or looking over the leaves of a book.” According to Cannon, Jote was the “most curious and admiring,” often whispering to Annie, “Don’t you wish she’d see us and ask us to come in? You know she writes poetry and has printed a book.”²⁵ To Josephine Spencer, Sarah Carmichael’s accomplishments were the “acme of achievement,” and the idea of becoming an author early became part of Josephine’s horizon of possibilities.

Despite the fairytale-like atmosphere that Annie Wells Cannon’s biography implies, Josephine Spencer’s childhood had many trials. Two of her siblings died while they were quite young.²⁶ Sarah E. Russell wrote a heart-wrenching poem in reply to “Green Street” describing these sad events, evidence that Josephine Spencer perhaps remembered only happy times in that poem. In her poem, “To Josephine Spencer,” Sarah walks along Green Street at dawn and

²⁴ Carmichael was born in Setauket, Long Island, New York, in 1838, the daughter of double cousins. The family moved to Nauvoo in 1842 and to Salt Lake City in 1850. Carmichael published more than fifty poems in the Deseret News (1848-66) and a book, Poems (1866). She also contributed to an anthology edited by William Cullen Bryant (A Family Library of Poetry and Song), another edited by May Wentworth (Poetry of the Pacific), and the San Francisco Golden Era. She married Jonathan M. Williamson, a non-Mormon U.S. army surgeon on 4 November 1866, went into a serious mental decline about a year later, and was mentally unstable for more than thirty years before dying on 10 November 1901 when Josephine Spencer was forty. Miriam B. Murphy, “Sarah Elizabeth Carmichael: Poetic Genius of Pioneer Utah,” Utah Historical Quarterly 43 (Winter 1975): 52-66. According to Cannon, “Two Poets,” 394, when Carmichael was young, her mind “became clouded as by ‘the sickness of the soul.’”

²⁵ Ibid., 395.

²⁶ Josephine may also have experienced the death of a third sibling, but the records do not seem to be complete.
dusk, on her way to meet “One dear to you and dear to me, / Aurelia. . . .” This Aurelia, Josephine’s older sister, should not be confused with Josephine’s first cousin, Aurelia Spencer Rogers, best-known for founding the Primary. After Aurelia’s death, Sarah Russell and Josephine Spencer would meet “On the green grass by the broken wall, / By the deep pond where the moon-beams fall.” There they would reminisce of “homes [sic] and fears, / Of joys and sorrows, in those bye gone years.”

Sarah Russell also poignantly recalls attending the deathbed of “Jeddie” (the eldest Spencer brother, Jared) and witnessing the anguish of Emily Thompson Spencer, “stricken in her grief, / When the dark Angel gathered in her sheaf.” Josephine appears as “a little one dark eyed and shy, / Timid and silent still, where strangers are nigh.”

Another loss during Josephine’s childhood was her father, Daniel Spencer, in 1868 when she was seven. The emotional effect of this event is uncertain; indeed, Josephine’s relationship with her father cannot be determined from available records. Sarah Russell depicts “little Johnny” holding his father’s hand, suggesting an intimate father-child relationship; and Josephine Spencer’s only published reference to him implies respect. Nevertheless, Josephine’s reference in “The Spencer Tree” suggests that she “loves” her father but without an intimate closeness. He is one of the “three sons” who “Heard, and resounded to that call” of Mormonism. His memory is “revered” because he “built for [his descendants] this gardened spot to pass [their] peaceful days.”

From Sarah Russell’s poem, Annie Cannon’s biography, and Josephine Spencer’s writings, an image forms of Josephine as shy but with close friends and playmates. She lost relatives to death at a young age but was not overwhelmed with sorrow. Both her writings and her friends’ recollections recall her humor and optimism. Perhaps her most marked characteristic was her vivid imagination. Annie Cannon reports, “It seemed almost as though all through her life Josephine Spencer retained the imaginative period

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of childhood.” This creative streak undoubtedly drew her toward writing.

As early as age seventeen, Josephine wrote and read an essay at a fund-raiser sponsored by the Azalea Literary Society to benefit sufferers from the yellow fever. Although some sources say that she and Annie Cannon began the club, it seems more likely that her older brother, John Daniel Spencer (best-known for his association with the Salt Lake Theatre), began it.29 The *Woman’s Exponent* reports approvingly: “The first part of the programme consisted of songs and select readings, recitations, most of them exceedingly well rendered for amateurs, and an essay by Miss Josephine Spencer, on the subject for which the entertainment had been given, which did her great credit.”30

Josephine attended the University of Deseret, apparently beginning with the winter term (12 January-19 March) 1880. Her classes included grammar, rhetoric, botany, and U.S. history. A “Jote” Spencer took classes in English grammar, education, English literature, practical teaching, and orthography/punctuation in the spring term, receiving excellent grades for both terms.31 Because University of Deseret records are incomplete, it is not possible to determine whether she graduated. Indeed, these grade transcripts are the only available records about Josephine Spencer for a decade. This record gives her parent or guardian as “Emily Spencer in California,” suggesting that Josephine lived in California for several years. She later published in the *Overland Monthly*32 and spent her declining years in California. Annie Cannon’s mother, Emmeline B. Wells, kept a daily diary in which she mentions Josephine and her family before 1881 and after 1888 but not during this intervening period when Josephine was age twenty to

30 Editorial, *Woman’s Exponent* 7 (September 1878): 61. She was the only person singled out for praise.
twenty-eight. For one year, 1884, Emily is listed in the *Utah Gazetteer* although she does not appear in that year’s city directory. Perhaps she maintained a residence in the city even though she was living out of state? Perhaps the death of Josephine’s half-brother, Edwin Eugene Spencer, in 1881, influenced a period spent in California; but there is simply not enough evidence to provide more than conjecture.

Regardless of her whereabouts, Josephine Spencer next emerges on the Utah publishing scene as a gifted journalist, poet, and short story writer. Between October 1890 and the summer of 1893, she published forty-three poems and five short stories in various Utah journals. One of her poems was included in an anthology of Utah women’s poetry sent to the 1893 Columbian Exposition (Chicago World’s Fair). In the anthology, a second Josephine Spencer poem was placed on a page titled “Fragments,” containing five poems by Mormondom’s most noted women poets: Eliza R. Snow, Sarah E. Carmichael, Emmeline B. Wells, and Hannah T. King. Being published in this company demonstrates Josephine Spencer’s acceptance into the female Mormon literary society. The *Woman’s Exponent*, then edited by Emmeline B. Wells, commented on her literary talent shortly after the anthology was printed: “Another of the younger journalists who is fast making herself widely and very favorably known, also Utah born and educated, is Josephine Spencer. she [sic] writes upon a variety of subjects, many of them descriptive in which she certainly excels. She also takes up national themes and is very good at stories long and short, [and] has secured several prizes in this line.” These prizes included the best “Wash-

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33 See Emmeline B. Wells, Diaries, 1847-1920, typescript, Special Collections, Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah. However, I have not been able to find Emily Spencer’s household or Josephine on the 1880 U.S. Census or the extant parts of the 1890 census in either California or Utah however.


35 Emmeline B. Wells, ed., *Songs and Flowers of the Wasatch* (Salt Lake City: George Q. Cannon and Sons, 1893), in possession of Carol Cornwall Madsen, Joseph Fielding Smith Institute for Latter-day Saint History, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

ington's Birthday Story" given by The Contributor; the "Utah Territorial Fair Prize Article," and the "Pioneer Day Story."37

**WRITINGS BEFORE 1900**

In 1895, the year Josephine Spencer turned thirty-four, she published a book of short stories, The Senator from Utah and Other Tales of the Wasatch. Book reviews in the Deseret Evening News, the Young Woman's Journal, and the Woman's Exponent praised the book and recommended its purchase—a typical approach to hometown authors. Yet the substance of the three reviews is quite different. All three seem to struggle to describe Spencer's content, suggesting that they found her short stories somewhat unusual. Obviously, these reviewers had not encountered this style and type of political fiction before—at least, not from a Mormon woman.

The Woman's Exponent review, written by Emmeline B. Wells, concludes that the book is a "political" book, which was "quite a new departure for a young Utah woman" and that Spencer "evidently . . . feels strongly upon the vital questions of labor and capital and sympathizes deeply with the laboring classes."38 In contrast, the Young Woman's Journal, then being edited by Susa Young Gates, claims that Spencer's book is a "romance" even though it is also "of the class of novels written with a purpose." Spencer's purpose, the reviewer decides, was to "point the way to peace."39 The Deseret Evening News describes the book with generic enthusiasm as a "contribution to the home literature that will be read with interest . . . and re-read with profit. It should find its way to every home in Utah."40 The three reviews thus categorize the work differently: as a political parable, a romance, and a typical contribution to Mormon Home Literature. The story has elements of each genre, and Josephine Spencer ex-

38 Editorial Notes, Woman’s Exponent 24 (December 1895): 93. Wells’s diary, 19:106 notes that she has the book and plans to review it.
plores each style thoroughly in later works, yet "The Senator From Utah" is obviously political. The reviewers' hesitation suggests that they were uncomfortable with the topic or perhaps uneasy that a young single lady had selected it.

From a contemporary perspective, however, the title story is one of Spencer's most interesting and imaginative works. The setting is a future Salt Lake City divided into "Capitol Hill" with its "principal avenues . . . crowded with palaces" and a "Labortown . . . of tenements and hovels." Those living in Labortown "[organize] into a society [pledged] to wage incessant and deadly warfare against capital and its class" while the apprehensive moneyed class plans a counter-terrorist act—flooding the room in which the labor leaders are meeting and drowning them. A heroic male journalist (technically from the wealthy class) saves the laborers and teaches them that terrorism is not the method for settling differences.

The story has several sentimental elements, justifying the label of "romance." It ends with a double wedding (the reporter marries the labor leader's daughter) and a "future cheered by dawnings of a New Time" (85), even though Spencer does not propose a long-term solution to this labor conflict. Characters are usually underdeveloped and stereotypical. Nevertheless, the story is interesting in its open Marxism. Part I consists solely of an unidentified visitor's speech to a political delegation at what seems to be the Saltair Resort. The speaker argues:

Problems of finance, the freedom and restriction of trade, and kindred questions have played [their] part in the past as chief factors on the stage of national progress; but their effects through long decades have been too illusory and indecisive to mark epochs in the world's evolution; and it would not be strange, if old methods which have been tried for the solution of the problem of mankind's best good should prove to be makeshifts, or at the most stepping-stones, to higher systems, which it is the genius of the time and age to unfold and establish. (15-16)

41 Josephine Spencer, *The Senator from Utah* (Salt Lake City: George Q. Cannon and Sons, 1895), 25-26; hereafter cited parenthetically by page number in the text.

The speaker admits that he does not know whether change will occur "by slow and peaceful steps" or by the "fierce rush and tumult of revolution" (16). In either case, "progress" is inevitable. The balance between "anarchy" and the "blessings of unity and peace" will tip toward peace, however, only if the senator and the other leaders realize that "self-interest and ambition must stand abashed before the vital demands" of the "welfare of the State" (17).

"The Senator from Utah" clearly falls in the school of literary realism, which developed partially in reaction to capitalist advances during the Civil War. Although other factors were involved, literary historians C. Hugh Holman and William Harmon argue that the Civil War was "at least in part, a struggle between agrarian democracy and industrial-capitalist democracy." The North's victory brought "mechanical and material advances" through the triumph of industrialism, but these advances were accompanied by "severe labor disputes, economic depression, and strikes that erupted in violence."43 Author and critic D. E. S. Maxwell defines Realism as philosophically grounded in the belief that "social change was a portentous affair of left or right wing revolution springing from the sensational inequalities of wealth depicted in their novels." Not surprisingly, most novels of this school "[document] the miserable underside of American prosperity" and predict either "a desperate workers' insurrection or a plutocratic dictatorship."44 "The Senator from Utah" fits this definition quite well with its portrayal of class hostility and the planned (though avoided) workers' rebellion. The story could be labeled Mormon Home Literature because it, like many Mormon stories, has obvious didactic overtones; however, its sermon is not phrased in Mormon terms. Rather, it is "socialist realism," or the didactic use of literature, art, and music to develop social consciousness in an evolving socialist state.

Although Marxist language may have been unfamiliar to Spencer's readers, the underlying philosophy was probably not altogether strange. Mormon historian Thomas C. Alexander notes that the nineteenth-century social ideal was "the cooperative common-
wealth.” The profit motive was present, but its “establishment and operation” were circumscribed by “a sense of community welfare.” But Spencer had replaced the religious ideal with a political one. Thus the story’s political themes, as well as her youth and gender, likely shocked her Mormon audience. As the book reviews indicate, Josephine Spencer had written something other than a mere restatement of the beliefs of her Mormon society.

Other stories with socialist themes also appear in her collection: “A Municipal Sensation,” “Finley Parke’s Problem,” and “Maridon’s Experiment.” A poem with Marxist overtones, “The World’s Way,” had appeared four years earlier:

There are sparkling waves in the sea afloat,
    But never a drop to drink;
They will bear up the weight of an iron boat,
    But a man’s light form must sink.

So billows of pity splash and swirl
    While the homeless beggar starves;
And the state-ship sails with flags afurl,
    While the builder dies at the wharves.

The first stanza points out the irony of being surrounded by water yet being unable to drink it, possibly an allusion to a similar scene in Coleridge’s “Rime of the Ancient Mariner.” Given the rest of the poem, these lines also point out the irony of being surrounded by rich resources yet prevented from using them. The same water that will float an “iron boat” will “sink” a human being. The natural resources build up technology yet drown the makers of the technology.

The water image is carried into the second stanza as the “billows of pity,” the ocean waves, sorrow with the starving beggars. The iron boat from the first stanza becomes a “state-ship” in the second stanza, sailing majestically while the laborer “dies at the wharves.”

The alliteration of the “s” sound in the second stanza coupled with the iambic rhythm simultaneously produce the feel of rolling waves while drawing attention to the word “state-ship.” “State-ship” implies a society’s wealthy class or the nation’s government. Either interpretation includes a capitalist system that exploits the ship builders and leaves them to starve. In short, “The World’s Way” is a surprising bit of propaganda to find in a Mormon literary journal.

The author also addressed other—less atypical—topics in her writings. Her concern for women was not highly unusual because many Mormon women were concerned with suffrage and other issues. As Alexander notes, the Relief Society’s general officers were “active not only in religious affairs” but were also “leaders locally and nationally in the battle for women’s rights.” Though never a crusader for women, Josephine Spencer wrote about women and women’s issues, a natural outgrowth of her association with Utah’s “leading women” like Emmeline B. Wells. For example, after attending some sessions on the status of women during the Columbian Exposition, she wrote the feminist poem, “Recognition.”

Through the time of the tireless ages,
Untrumpeted, and unseen,
She has wrought in life’s lists for gages
Where the strongest of earth have been.

But the meed of her brave endeavor,
See oft as a well won prize—
The hand of the world forever
Withheld from her wistful eyes.

Yet, like tiny architects rearing
Their coral waves in the sea
She has wrought towards the gold light peering
From heights which her eyes should see.

High over her structure thundered
The waves of a drowning tide,

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And the sweep of its waters sundered
Strong columns of hope and pride.

But, with silent and ceaseless motion,
It climbed to the water’s edge,
And over the booming ocean
There towers a mighty ledge.

’Tis the reef that her hands have builded—
And it leans from a splendid height;
Its beautiful walls are gilded
With pearls of the purest light.

Its space is a line that reaches
The bound of the circled sphere;
It touches on sunlight beaches
Of lands that are far and near.

And the world has begun to measure
The worth of its pride and place,
And shall bless with its richest treasure
The hand that hath wrought its grace. [sic]

It shall render the pathways floral
Her wearying steps have trod,
And circle with greenest laurel
The brow that hath felt its rod.

In the time when the proud young nation
Shall prove to the lands of earth
The light of her queenly station,
In her pageant of might and worth.

No prouder nor truer token
Of her power and worth shall stand,
Then the sign of the pride bespoken
In the work of the woman’s hand.

And that sign, like a bright star flaring,
But women’s the dawning nigh,
Of the day that shall see her wearing  
The crown of her destiny.

Comparing the reef (women's work) to the thundering "waves of a drowning tide" (men's work) builds on the concept of gendered spheres popular in the late nineteenth century. Women's historian Nancy Woloch notes that the "New Woman" nationally was "integrat[ing] Victorian virtues with an activist social role." "Likely to be involved in institutions beyond the family—in college, club, settlement, or profession"—she was the "least threatening and most welcome if she occupied a sex-specific niche." 49 Spencer's female "tiny architects" are inconspicuous and silent, yet they construct a "mighty ledge" that marks a boundary for the "booming ocean," suggesting that men and women are different and have different jobs to do. To this point, Spencer's point reinforces Victorian morals. As Woloch suggests, many nineteenth-century women sought not to participate in the public (male) sphere but rather to influence it through their "natural feminine virtues." "Recognition" advocates this notion. The poem predicts that the "world" will soon "beg[in] to measure" the women's work that has "wrought its grace." "Grace" suggests the godly saving influence that women have when allowed to "work" in the "world." Moreover the women's work is replete with "pearls of the purest light" and is moving "towards the gold light," symbolizing the intrinsic goodness of feminine influence.

The poem strikes a more modern feminist note in pointing out that "the hand of the world" has "forever" been "withheld from her wistful eyes." Perhaps Josephine Spencer "wistfully" yearned to participate more fully in a "worldly" (or "masculine") profession. The alliteration of the "t" in the first two lines resounds almost aggressively: "Through the time of the tireless ages" women have been "Untrumpeted, and unseen." Though mainly a poem calling "woman" to put on the "crown of her destiny," "Recognition" also reveals undertones of longing to participate in a different destiny and perhaps even a hint of resentment that that destiny has been denied.

Despite the interest of these political and feminist motifs, a far more common theme in Spencer's published poems was the spiri-

tual effect of nature, a near-universal theme for nineteenth-century Mormon women writers. One of the best is "Twilight."\textsuperscript{50}

The hour is nature's angelus,
And faint and sweet,
From night's high belfry towering o'er the day,
Its calm and silver cadence comes to greet
Day's flash and tumult, stilling the slow ray
Of toilful light, and calling earth to prayer.
Swift at its soft and measured stroke, the air
Is filled with murmurs—the mute whir of wings
Folding—and prayerful twitterings.
The reverent crossing of slim leaves and lilt of flowers—
The sudden, silent presence of cool airs—
Like spirits hither drawn, half unawares,
By the earth's prayerful mien.
With what dim, silvern meekness the far plain
The compelling hour obeys.
In each is seen
All that can be of praise
And sweet humility.

But those pale mountains yonder seem to hear
A voice from heaven;
Like an appointed seer,
Who penetrates where angels may not even,
They are given to see
Heaven's deepest mystery;
And seem to breathe and bring its splendor near.
That deepening glow—
That thrill divine
Or shadowy purple, white-pulsed with the snow,
Is inspiration's sign—
A burst sublime of psalm and prophecy!

O, holy hour!

\textsuperscript{50} Josephine Spencer, "Twilight," \textit{The Contributor} 12 (June 1891): 288. The prevalence of poems with nature themes may be a better measure of editors' comfort with such writings than of Spencer's natural inclinations.
As thy blue cadence steals
Across the tired world, I feel thy power—
My spirit kneels,
And knows the reverence of the leaves and flowers—
The meekness of the plain.
Sweet thoughts like spirits glide
My soul beside;
My being thrills
With that high spell that holds the listening hills,
And hears, but may not voice the inspired strain.

At the mystic hour of twilight, the poem's speaker feels the "power," and her "spirit kneels." Creation itself participates in worship: the fading light "[calls] earth to prayer" and the "air / is filled with murmurs—the mute whir of wings / Folding—and prayerful twitterings." The plants join with the "reverent crossing of slim leaves" while the mountains "seem to hear / a voice from heaven" speaking back to them. Wrapt in this communal invocation, the narrator "knows the reverence of the leaves and flowers— / The meekness of the plain." Through the natural manifestation of faith before her, she recognizes "Heaven's deepest mystery" and worships in a "burst of psalm and prophecy."

Josephine Spencer also responded enthusiastically in producing Mormon Home Literature. Orson F. Whitney, later an apostle, in an 1888 address to Mormon youth called on them to produce a "home Literature" that could "[build] up Zion."51 The next year, the Young Woman's Journal, then edited by Susa Young Gates, declared its new purpose: "To please while we teach important lessons, to implant solid principles of truth and nobility while chaining the minds and attentions with our seemingly 'light literature.'"52 Josephine Spencer's third published story, "Letitia,"53 attempted to fulfill these didactic goals for Mormon literature.

52 "The Editor's Department," Young Woman's Journal 1 (October 1889): 96.
Set in Utah, presumably in the 1890s, “Letitia” is a warning to shun romantic relationships with “Gentiles.” After dallying with Gray, a handsome and wealthy Easterner, in a summer “love affair,” Letitia learns that he has no intention of marrying her because his parents think that Mormons are “heathens and all that.” Despite her obvious acquiescence in the flirtation, Letitia thinks she is morally justified in feeling outraged. She hotly rebukes him:

I assure you . . . that you show too much confidence in claiming my affection and in presuming to think that your marriage with me would depend upon your family’s prejudice towards my people. You must remember that they too have prejudices—based not upon worldly caste or conditions, but the deepest religious convictions. If it had happened that a possibility of my marriage with you had occurred, you may be sure they would have considered that it was I who had made the sacrifice. (311)

Letty’s spurned though faithful Mormon lover, Bert, overhears this exchange and forgives Letty. The two are reunited with a kiss which “[seals] the renewal of a pledge which remained forever unbroken.”

Josephine Spencer’s first Mormon Home Literature story is not wholly successful. Although Letitia is briefly ashamed of herself (a “warm flood of color suffusing her cheeks”), she has the best of both worlds: romance with an entrancing stranger as well as the unfaltering devotion of her stalwart Mormon lover. Might not a teenage girl think the instant of uncomfortable penitence worth the summer of impulsive romance?

From a literary standpoint, the tale also has some problems. The first two pages of the ten-page story detail Gray’s business interests with a Salt Lake partner who then disappears from the story, while the business dealings are alluded to only when they are completed. The result is a contrived introduction and conclusion. The characters are obviously stereotypes: Letty, the slightly wayward but good Mormon girl, and Bert, the steady, dependable Mormon boy. Ironically, given the didactic goals of home literature, Gray is the most intriguing and complex character in the story. Romantically, and it appears quite sincerely, he helps Letty with her pebble collection, dances beautifully, and has impeccable manners. In only one way is Gray villainous: he represents a temptation for Letty to rebel against her Mormon roots in favor of worldliness and passion. In fact, he apologizes at Letty’s rebuke and humbly explains that Mor-
mons are "all right" as far as he is concerned although he still does not wish to marry her.

It is in this climactic scene that home literature values triumph. Literary critic Nina Baym cogently points out that the romantic hero functions as an index to the heroine's power: "In a world where women are traditionally assumed to be the playthings of men, nothing can be more satisfying than to see the tables turned." Letty's reproof demonstrates both female strength confronting male power and also Mormon "truth" vanquishing Gentile "deception." Certainly, in terms of the story, the vehemence of Letty's rebuke is an overreaction compared with Gray's generally gentlemanly behavior and apology. Readers may conclude that Letty was an irresponsible flirt who intentionally misled a cultured visitor rather than feeling that real "love affairs" ought to be enjoyed only with faithful Latter-day Saints. If Josephine Spencer's purpose was to teach Mormon youth the lessons iterated in Letty's speech to Gray, she probably failed—Gray was too good, Letty was too peevish, and worst of all, her punishment for a faithless summer dalliance was a mere moment of embarrassment and a "happily ever after" life with Bert.

Spencer attempted the genre again with three more stories in the next two years: "Jeddie Holt's Reward" (1893), "A Trial of Hearts," and "Suzanne," (both 1894). "Suzanne" is the story of a woman who, through a series of serendipitous meetings, is not only converted to Mormonism but also converts the man who rescued her from an abusive marriage. Josephine uses a male protagonist in this story who speaks in first person about the religious lessons he has learned. In contrast to the heavy-handed didacticism of "Letitia," the didactic teachings in "Suzanne" are understated and introduced quite naturally.

Josephine Spencer's writing techniques and imaginative style continued to improve throughout the decade of the 1890s. Gean Clark, in "A Survey of Early Mormon Literature," argued that Josephine Spencer was the "most versatile and most skillful" of all early Mormon writers: "Her style is seldom loaded with artificiality

and turgidity which characterizes other Mormon authors. She writes lucidly, simply."\(^5\)\(^6\) She often uses the themes of her peers (home literature, romance, and nature), but she learned (with practice) to do so more skillfully. Even her political stories show an underlying belief in God.

**JOSEPHINE SPENCER AS A JOURNALIST**

Josephine Spencer combined her creative writing with professional journalism. Annie Cannon reported that for “those who knew [Josephine] best,” it was rather astonishing that “she acquired the business habit and regular routine of newspaper work.”\(^5\)\(^7\) By 1900, the year Spencer turned thirty-nine, she was society and literary editor for the *Deseret Evening News*. One of the social highlights of the season was the wedding reception of President Snow's son, Le Roi, and Maud Ford on 30 June 1900. Incorporating her literary flair for vivid description into her profession, Josephine Spencer wrote:

> The Bee Hive house and grounds were a blaze of light and color, red, white and blue bunting, flags, and electric lights making a fairy scene of the historic place. The decorations in front began from the sidewalk, which was crossed by lines of flags, bunting, and electric globes fastened to the trees and extending to the house balconies. From the gate to the doorway an arcade roofed with canvas and gay colored bunting covered the walk, a rope of roses stretching overhead the entire length of the arcade. Above and on either side, the balconies were draped with bunting and strung with electric globes, a great star of brilliantly colored light forming the crowning piece of the design. On the east side the lawn and porches were brilliant with lavish arrangements of colored lanterns and bunting.\(^5\)\(^8\)

Previously the *News* had typically announced marriages with a short verse or two of congratulatory poetry. Spencer broke new ground with detailed descriptions of the bridal gown, the apparel of the bride's mother and bridesmaids, the types of flowers and their arrangement, and the music and the food. She also frequented parties, ward socials, luncheons, dinners, club meetings, teas, sewing bees and dances. Wendell J. Ashton in his history of the paper de-

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\(^5\)\(^7\) Annie Cannon, “Two Poets,” 395.

\(^5\)\(^8\) Quoted in Wendell J. Ashton, *Voice in the West* (New York: Duell, Sloan & Pearce, 1950), 231.
scribed her in a blizzard of paradoxes as “bright” and “pretty,” a “chic” but “modest” dresser. The “frills and chitchat” approach of this “retiring girl” set a trend that dominated the women’s section for the next “fifty years.”

The *Deseret News* had introduced its first syndicated column for women in 1892 under a tiny headline, “Woman and Home.” Spencer developed the small society column into a full page “In the World of Women,” including fashion photographs, with another half page devoted to popular “Literature.” By the turn of the century, the department had its own masthead: “Women of Today.” Her work thus placed her among the 1900 U.S. Census’s statistic of 2,193 women journalists (out of 30,098). Often these women journalists wrote “women’s columns, society notes, fashion and household hints and cooking columns.” Career possibilities for women in the press had “blossomed in the 1880s and 1890s along with the first syndication of such material.” Despite the number of opportunities for women journalists nationwide, Utah’s rate of working women remained “substantially below the national average” in the late 1890s. In Utah, 10.5 percent of women were “gainfully employed,” compared to the national average of 17 percent. Of the number of Utah women employed, nearly half were in domestic and personal service. Indeed, only four women were listed in the *Utah Gazetteer* (1892-93) as pursuing literary careers: Susa Young Gates, editor of the *Young Woman’s Journal*, Emmeline B. Wells, editor and publisher of the *Woman’s Exponent*, and two self-proclaimed “authoresses”—Josephine Spencer and Mrs. A. G.

59 Ibid., 231.


63 Ibid.


65 Ibid.
No journalists were named. The occupation statistics in the 1910 U.S. Census list only ten female editors or reporters in Utah (142 male). In short, Josephine Spencer’s long-time position as Deseret News society editor was quite unusual in Utah. However, it fit easily into national trends in journalism, an occupation women had been actively participating in since the 1880s.

The 1903 Salt Lake City Directory listed her name and occupation, “society editor, Deseret News,” in ordinary type. In 1906, her name was in bold-face. “Society Editor” (sometimes “Literary Editor”) identified her occupation, and soon she had her own “Bell Tel” number. Before 1903, Josephine Spencer apparently lived alone at 241 E. South Temple. In 1903 Josephine Spencer, her sister, “Mrs. Emma Spencer” (the polygamous wife of Adam Patterson), and possibly her sister’s invalid daughter were living at 77 N. State. Three years later, they moved next door to 79 N. State. In 1912 when Josephine turned fifty-one, the sisters moved to the Meredith Apartments at 164 First Avenue. Whether Josephine was her sister’s sole source of support is not known. The sisters stayed at the Meredith Apartments (switching rooms occasionally) until Josephine left for California in 1922.

66 Ibid., 125. Cornelia Paddock wrote anti-polygamy novels and articles.
68 Salt Lake City Directory (Salt Lake City: R. L. Polk & Co, Pub., 1906), 840. In the 1906 directory, Josephine is listed as “Society and Literary Editor.” Before and after this year, her title was “Society Editor.” Ashton consistently calls her the “society and literary editor.”
69 The Salt Lake City Blue Book (Householder’s Directory) 1901-1902 (Salt Lake City: R. L. Polk & Co., 1901), 185.
70 The only evidence I have about Emma’s daughter is a Deseret News clipping in the Journal History, 2 July 1901: “President Lorenzo Snow, at the request of Mrs. Emma Spencer (Patterson) granted to her and her daughter a pass to Saltair the daughter being an invalid.” See also 1903 Salt Lake City Directory, 861.
71 Salt Lake City Directory (Salt Lake City: R. L. Polk & Co., 1906), 840.
72 Salt Lake City Directory (Salt Lake City: R. L. Polk & Co., 1912), 1028.
This living arrangement was unusual because Josephine Spencer was unmarried. In her article about single women in Mormon society, Lavina Fielding Anderson claims, “Single women in Mormon society have not fared very differently than those in society at large.” However, Anderson was dealing with the social experience of single women rather than their statistical representation in Mormon society. She hypothesizes that “Mormonism’s distinctive system of plural marriage [before 1904] offered the option of being married in letter but single in fact.” Josephine Spencer was an anomaly in Utah as a (truly) unmarried woman. According to the 1920 U.S. Census, only an estimated 3.4 percent of Utah women born between 1856 and 1865 remained single throughout their lives. The proportion was slightly higher in urban Salt Lake City, almost certainly because of increased employment opportunities.

Josephine Spencer’s marital status is not unusual compared to national averages. Just before the turn of the century, women “were both experiencing and implementing changes in the realm of family.” The birth rate fell, the divorce rate rose, and approximately 10 or 11 percent of the generation of women born between 1860 and 1880 did not marry, partly because of male deaths during the Civil War; however, the gender imbalance was “particularly acute in the East and in cities” rather than in the West. Yet demographics do not tell the full story. While more than 90 percent of women married in the late nineteenth century, “many college women remained single not only by force of circumstance, but also by intention,” argues Peter Filene. Higher education taught women that “they should put their intellectual abilities to work in the world.”

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74 Ibid., 60.
76 Obviously these statistics do not include single women who had died before the 1920 census, the first to include these data.
77 Glenda Riley, Inventing the American Woman: A Perspective on Women’s History 1865 to the Present (Arlington Heights, Ill.: Harlan Davidson, 1986), 53.
78 Woloch, Women and the American Experience, 274.
Perhaps Josephine Spencer, like many other nineteenth-century college women, also thought that “to marry meant giving up this opportunity [to work] . . . [to] surrender rather than [to] triumph.” She left no known documents on this point, however.

Many people in nineteenth-century American society were concerned about the low marriage rate of educated women. Psychologist G. Stanley Hall speculated rather loosely that men were “by nature” prone “to expertise and specialization without which [their] individuality would be incomplete,” while such specialization “was alien to the female brain.” Other contemporary authors concluded that editing might be welcome for women whose employment “could not be helped,” but it was “still abnormal and difficult for us [women].” Margaret Sangster concluded that women have “lost something very precious and very beautiful in the decline of reverence” toward women although, optimistically, she argues that the “self-supporting woman” now finds “warm and cordial greeting, and if not gallantry, comradeship, which is better . . . [in] what role soever she undertakes.” Margaret Welch also noted that the “educated, sensitive woman” would find parts of journalism “extremely distasteful,” although the careful woman need not necessarily “doff her dignity or refinement at any time.” The real danger for “the modern ambitious woman” in journalism is the “hollow back, narrow chest and curved spine.” Many found specialized work not “healthful” and not “feminine.” It tended to “unsex” women.

Utahns had many of the same concerns. One article in the Young Woman’s Journal, supposedly written about “Journalism for Young Women,” actually mentioned journalism only once: “Without laying aside one iota of modesty, dignity or womanliness, the woman of the nineteenth century, freed from the false conventionalisms that have too long bound her, is reigning in all the departments of belles lettre—in poetry, in fiction, in criticism and even in

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80 Quoted in Woloch, Women and the American Experience, 283, 282.
A mere two paragraphs after writing that journalism is open ("even") to women, the male author insists, "It is a significant fact that, so far as woman is concerned, life in large cities is not conducive to the best mental effort." He would agree that "Freelance writing" was a "more familiar female activity."

Josephine Spencer, by capturing the society and literary pages of a large urban daily, was probably spared many of the rebuffs of women who tried to report politics or crime. It was a niche, a separate sphere, where a woman was not only permitted and where only a woman was permitted. There were not many of these niche press jobs, despite the prominence of the Utah Women's Press Club, whose activities were reported in the *Exponent*. Romania B. Pratt, president elect in November 1897, admitted: "The name of Press Club in our case is a misnomer, so few of us are regular or special correspondents or contributors to newspaper and periodicals, and only three of our number are bona fide editors." Josephine Spencer was one of those three.

Almost certainly, however, her club activity was part of her friendship network. When she attended the first annual meeting of the Women's Press Club on 31 October 1892, she was "elected or sustained" as assistant corresponding secretary. The corresponding secretary was her childhood friend Annie Wells, since married to John Q. Cannon. During the winter, Spencer presented papers on "Character of Short Stories in Current Magazines" and "Women in Journalism." She does not appear in the minutes for the rest of 1893. During the summer, she attended the Columbian Exposition in Chicago where she was "a bright and entertaining correspondent.

83 Ibid.
84 Filene, *Him/Her/Self*, 32.
86 Utah Women's Press Club minutes, *Woman's Exponent* 21 (December 1892): 84.
for our local papers,” covering the World’s Congress of Representative Women and “Sessions of the National Relief Society.” It also seems likely that she wrote the popular “Perdita” column that ran in the *Deseret Evening News* for the fair’s entire duration.89

Spencer appears only sporadically in the Utah Women’s Press Club minutes beyond that point;90 although she participated in another club. She attended the organizational meeting of the Daughters of Utah Pioneers on 11 April 1901 as a guest and was unanimously elected assistant secretary. She was elected one of three secretaries on 11 April 1903 and served on the press committee in 1905.91

**CREATIVE WRITING AFTER 1900**

Josephine Spencer continued writing despite her full-time job and her involvement in women’s clubs, but I have found nothing published under her name between 1895 when her volume of short

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89 “Perdita’s” Column from the Chicago World’s Fair, *Deseret News*, 13, 20, 27 May; 3, 10, 24 June; 1 July; 26 August; 2, 16 September; 7 October, 1893. Although documentation is inconclusive, the descriptive style matches that in her later society column, and the Perdita column is quite similar in style and content to signed articles about the exposition by Josephine Spencer in *The Contributor*. Josephine Spencer, “Columbiana: Scenic Splendors of the White City,” *Contributor* 14 (August 1893): 465-69; and her “Columbiana: Some Principal Palaces of the Exposition,” *Contributor* 15 (December 1893): 465-69.

90 She is mentioned in a 1902 anniversary article, did not pay dues from 1903 to 1905, but was elected “first vice-president” in 1917. Lydia D. Alder, “Utah Woman’s Press Club: First Decade of Its Organization,” *Woman’s Exponent* 31 (October 1902): 35; Dues paid 1903-04 and 1904-05, and Minutes, 1917, Utah Women’s Press Club Manuscript Collection, LDS Church Archives.

91 Daughters of Utah Pioneers, *Historical Sketch of the Daughters of the Pioneers and President’s Report* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1905?), Americana and Special Collections, Lee Library, Brigham Young University. She also proposed that the club color be “sage green.” James T. Jakeman, *Daughters of the Utah Pioneers and Their Mothers* (N.p.: Western Album Publishing Company, 1916?), 45, Special Collections, Lee Library.
One of them, “Night,” appeared in the Overland Monthly, a literary magazine published in San Francisco. The thirteen-quatrain poem is a conventional nature poem on one level with the first nine stanzas depicting the light from the newly risen moon moving “saintly fair” over “the pale, / Still faces of the fields upturned in prayer.” However, the poem then develops a pattern of explicitly sensuous imagery that was daring for a Mormon poet. A canyon with a tumbling mountain stream “wakes” the moonlight from a “pious trance,” “thrills / the charmed place with thousand witcheries” and “kisses the pouting ripples on the stream” before moving on to “beguil[e] the sullen tension of knit trees” and “wrap the grasses in a languorous dream / with her caresses.” Thus, moonlight is both feminine (not unusual) and seductress, a sharp departure from the Victorian conventions defining women as pure, passive, and passionless. Spencer goes further than identifying the moonlight as a temptress; sexually aggressive, she spreads her “light” throughout the landscape. She actually frightens the “slim willows” as she “slips / Among the restful shadows, and their sleep / Startles with sudden prickling.” She “ambushes” the stream when she “slyly dips / A ghostly finger in the shivering dark / Where the meshed waters lie.” The language is openly erotic and surprisingly suggestive.

Spencer’s conclusion retreats to the convention: Night is always “prescient with Life’s soul of mystery” whether “rayed by wide-orbed moon and twinkling star, / Or robed in shadows of her sablest dye.” Unfortunately, Josephine apparently left no journal or letters that might explain her motivation, and the poem itself is an anomaly for her.

Between 1902 and her death in 1928 was Josephine’s most productive period. She published at least sixty-three poems and seventy-two short stories in local Utah magazines. Gone are Marxist and socialist themes. Romance, which had previously played a minor

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92 Josephine Spencer, “Night,” Overland Monthly 33 (April 1899): 332-33. Joseph Smith’s niece Ina Coolbrith (daughter of Don Carlos Smith and Agnes Coolbrith Smith), edited this periodical, but she was concealing her Mormon roots and there is no evidence of direct contact between her and Josephine.

93 This number counts each installment of a serialized story separately.
role, now moves to the foreground of her plots. Perhaps the kind but bewildered reception of *The Senator from Utah*, combined with the economic realities of working for a Mormon-owned newspaper prompted her focus away from industrial-labor relations to themes that would be more conventional and would find a readier market. It is also possible that she regretted her singleness and wrote romantically both to deal vicariously with her feelings and/or to encourage youth to marry while they could. The last fragment of her literary socialism expressed itself in an occasional story in which wealthy young woman chose an outstanding, though poor, young man as her husband. Even then, the implication was obvious that the young man’s work ethic would make him wealthy in his own right.

The romantic plots in most of these later stories are quite stereotypical, although the characterization is often interesting, demonstrating Spencer’s growing expertise in technique even while she focused on unchallenging themes. In “Barney Quinn’s Courtship,” for example, Barney Quinn is “one of the best looking young fellows in Benton” but his appeal is marred by a speech defect that “transformed the physically and mentally favored young man into something of the semblance of that gibbering specimen of animal which was Darwin’s pet object of speculation.” Barney’s attempts to speak are “grotesque and impossibly ludicrous,” more like “contortions and blinkings” than language. Despite this defect, Barney has a beautiful singing voice—a “mellow [tenor,] whose rich tones seem to melt into liquid harmony.”

Milly, a new girl in town, is relieved to learn that Barney’s “misfortune” rather than his “indifference” makes him refrain from flirting with her and redoubles her “kind and coquettish wiles.” Milly finds that his “enforced silence” is “rather romantic.” Taking a friend’s advice, Barney begins singing his feelings to Milly, who is soon “sitting with her head on Barney’s shoulder” while Barney sings about a “four-roomed cottage, three by six rods.” The plot moves invariably (and easily) over the obstacles towards its destined conclusion.

Many of Spencer’s stories follow the same model: a young man and woman fall in love, encounter some obstacle, overcome the obstacle, and share a chaste embrace with the understanding of a

marriage soon. The didactic lessons (e.g., treating the handicapped with respect and compassion) are less heavy-handed than Spencer’s earlier stories. The interesting characterizations and insights into human nature teach without obvious moralizing. However, this technical facility make the static plots even more conspicuous. Unmarried and almost certainly without sexual experience, this shy and aging woman may have sought refuge from real relationships with men within the safe conventions of romantic fiction aimed at the young.

One story raises the possibility—unsupported by any historical evidence—that Spencer fell in love but was unable to marry. In “How Priscilla ‘Placed’ the Poem,” Miss Fonsonbee, an older spinster and minor character, writes stories and poetry, ambitiously sending them to national magazines. She complains that she was “born with the Fonsonbee ambition; and I suppose it will never let me rest till I succeed in reaching the high places.”95 She is in tears as the story opens because a New York periodical has sent back a poem on a nature theme with “the most cutting rejection” she has ever received. Miss Fonsonbee laments to the story’s heroine: “As for the suggestion as to change of subject—if I do not write about nature—I must stop writing at all. . . . There is really only one other legitimate theme for poetry—love; and circumstances, as you know, make it quite impossible for me to express myself in that vein.” Priscilla does know about these unspecified circumstances and her own eyes fill with sympathetic tears as Miss Fonsonbee weeps. Countering this admittedly speculative scenario is the possibility that Spencer was simply drawing on another literary stereotype—the comic/pathetic spinster—as a character for this story.

An apparent spinster appears in “A Lucrezia Borgia Party.”96 The sprightly and optimistic Phoebe Sessions describes herself as “bright pink with splashes of magenta in it, like the sky at sun-up” and is upset because neighbors and friends have succumbed to the

96 Josephine Spencer, “A Lucrezia Borgia Party,” Young Woman’s Journal 17 (August 1906): 354-59. Interestingly, in 1863 Spencer’s mentor Sarah Carmichael published “Feast of Lucrezia Borgia,” Deseret-News, 6 May 1863, 354. It is not known whether young Josephine ever read the poem or was influenced by it.
"blues." For instance, she is irritated when a widowed friend doesn’t laugh at a joke about why widowers are like babies: “Because . . . for the first six months they cry all the time; the next, they begin to take notice—and it’s awful hard to get ‘em through their second summer.” She invites her friends to a “Lucrezia Borgia Party,” serves refreshments, and then informs her friends that she has just poisoned them. The shock makes them realize that they are happy to be alive despite their troubles. Such humor was unusual in Mormon fiction; Gean Clark found “but one strictly humorous tale” between 1832 and 1900. Unfortunately Clark did not identify this tale.

In 1905, Josephine Spencer must have made a departure from her smoothly functioning romantic formula in order to publish “McClosky’s Kid” in Pearson’s Magazine, a London monthly known for publishing stories by such notables as Rudyard Kipling and Arthur Conan Doyle.98

Josephine Spencer’s creative output dwindled substantially after 1922 when she moved to California for “health reasons.” Apparently her last publication in a national periodical was a 1917 poem in Current Events.99 Her publications in Utah journals also slowed; many were reprints of earlier versions. After 1922 she contributed only seven poems to Utah journals—one per year in 1923, 1925, and 1926, and two in 1927 and 1928—and one story. Only one of the poems was not a rewrite of previously printed material.

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97 Ibid., 354.
99 “Popular Utah Writers,” Deseret Evening News 11 April 1905, 4, noted this story’s appearance “with pleasure,” adding that Spencer had “elicited liberal offers . . . for other stories of interest, in which she is no novice.” Although I have not been able to find the Pearson’s version, this story may be a version of “McClosky and the Cable,” published later in the Improvement Era 18 (April 1915): 484-92. The Utah Women’s Press Club minutes on 28 April 1917 notes that Spencer read “McClosky’s Kid” which had been published “in Piersons Weekly [sic]” and a poem named “Senator” published in “Current Events.” Although “McClosky and the Cable” is still sentimental, this story deviates from Spencer’s home literature style and deals instead with a mine worker whose wife throws him out for repeated drunkenness but forgives him when he saves their young son from a runaway cable car. This story is written in dialect, another significant departure from Spencer’s usual formula.
The one story, "Little Mother," appeared in 1928, only five months before her death, and after a twelve-year hiatus in her fiction. It is a striking story, maturely feminist, and based on a story ("To Keep") published eighteen years earlier. Both stories focus on a boy's changing (and increasingly negligent) relationship with his mother over time. In "To Keep," the characters had names ("Bertha," "Hal," and "Bob"). In the second version, the characters are identified only by roles: "Little Mother," "Big Man," and "Boy." Obviously "Little" Mother is juxtaposed to "Big" Man, signifying the husband's perhaps unintentional but very real lack of respect for his wife. At Boy's birth, Big Man "gloats" over the "wonderful luck" that the child is a boy because "there always will be something to do, planning for him. With a girl it's different—her future is more or less a certainty, if she's a real, true girl." Big Man gleefully begins thinking of the "thousand chances—careers galore, with rungs leading to the top of the ladder" that will be available to his son. Little Mother snuggles her baby close and says "the words over softly, hungrily, 'Mine to keep.'" Even though such possessiveness is chilling, it is understandable given her love-starved relationship to Big Man. Furthermore, the rest of the story shows how wrong she is.

When the Boy receives a diplomatic appointment in Europe, he and Big Man congratulate each other. Big Man "gurgles" in "joy and triumph." He tells his son, "It has come our way, after all the other fellows' scraping and wire pulling." Boy replies, "And I don't forget I owe it to you." Neither notices that Little Mother is not participating in their jubilation. She "[tries] to manage a smile, but [does] nothing more than to straighten out the pitiful droop in the corners of her mouth." Upset that she is going to lose her newly matriculated son for another five years, Little Mother nevertheless tries to be happy for him. Her reward is "a bearish hug" and the casual compliment, "You've always been a brick, Little Mother." Boy has learned from his father to expect the "little mother" to sacrifice her own desires for his. He loves her, but assumes, as she does, that he comes first.

Years pass and Little Mother continues to give the men what they want. Even on his deathbed, Big Man tells Little Mother that

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he’s “thought it over and over—and always with the one answer—that it is cruel, inhuman, to ask you to meet it alone.” Yet he does exactly that—asking her to leave Boy on assignment in Europe and face her husband’s death without close support. When Boy finally returns years later, Little Mother revives as the “little tasks whose dullness and routine had spelled distaste in her listless misery” begin “to seem important” under Boy’s “show of interest.” Is his interest genuine? Probably not. When his wife demands that he stop making his weekly visits, Boy delivers a noble-sounding speech: “It [doesn’t] seem just to me, and never will, to sacrifice you absolutely to our own selfish ease and happiness. As if I could be happy with you deliberately put out of my life.” But his behavior is telling. He asks her to move to a tiny farm, “miles from the railroad and the nearest neighbor” with a few hired hands who dislike her. Years of sacrificing for others has rewarded Little Mother with loneliness and pain. As the final blow, she receives a telegram informing her that Boy has died. In her anguish, she denies the existence of God.

At this moment Little Mother wakes. It has all been a feverish dream, brought on by childbirth. In the first version of the story, Bertha is resigned to her fate: “Let me kiss [my baby]. . . . Let me hold, and cherish, and keep him fast—while I may.” In the second version, Little Mother exclaims “quite wildly, clasping the Boy hungrily to her heart, ‘He is mine—I tell you—I have gone down to the gate of death to gain him. He is mine—to keep.’” It is not clear whether Little Mother will live out her nightmare, but the dream has made her a stronger woman by seeing what she will become if she allows herself to be trampled underfoot by the men in her life. This dream ending may be a concession to the reader; certainly the working out of the plot is neither didactic nor sentimental. Little Mother’s sacrifices are rewarded only with demands for greater sacrifice. She denies God’s existence and almost curses Him. Her selfless actions, rather than bringing Big Man and Boy closer to God, actually allow them to wallow in their selfishness, and their selfishness ultimately drives them away from her. This story cannot be used to teach a simple faith to young Mormon children.

Nor is the story a typical romance. Little Mother’s marriage is no happily-ever-after relationship; and when she sees Boy covertly touching Girl’s hand in the theater, she finds herself “actually begrudging the Girl her share in the Boy’s pastimes.” Even more unconventionally, Boy becomes obsessed in Europe with a foreign red-
haired beauty. Little Mother prays "night after night" and writes "cunningly worded, cautiously phrased" letters to try and disentangle him. Big Man callously accepts the affair: "A young fellow's bound to have his moral hazing in his tilt with the world. . . . No one can help him—it's sort of a tide-rip that sucks from without and within. Neither skill nor strength count much in the struggle. If he gets out whole, it's always more just knack or luck." When Boy marries, he says Elsie (the one named character) is "as unselfish as she is beautiful." Yet Elsie then ends his visits to Little Mother and Boy lies, saying she is unwell. Little Mother already knows from a neighbor of Elsie's extensive social life. When Elsie wants a divorce, Little Mother agrees to move to the farm in the hope that they will reconcile. "Little Mother," with its lonely, miserable characters and their tormented relationships, ironically appeared in the Relief Society Magazine between uncomplicated home literature stories and poems.

Josephine Spencer never published another story that might explain the radical implications of "Little Mother." Should this story be read as evidence of a thoughtful and contemplative author who may have questioned her faith and herself as she neared death? The tone is not bitter; but if the story indicates Josephine Spencer's true feelings, she must have been troubled about her religion, its teachings, and her role as a woman.

CONCLUSION

In California, Josephine Spencer lived in Pasadena, and she was on the editorial staff of the Pasadena Star or possibly the Los Angeles Examiner until she died 28 October 1928.101 A message from the

101 Spencer is listed in the 1923 Pasadena City Directory (Pasadena: Pasadena Service Bureau, 1923): 758 as "journalist" but does not appear in later directories. "Miss Spencer Given Praise at Last Rites," Deseret News, 2 November 1928, 2, notes that she was on the staff of the Pasadena Star but she does not appear in its sketchy historic archives nor have any bylined articles in it. It did not publish an obituary of her. "History of the Utah Women's Press Club," read at a luncheon on 6 December 1928, at which the club membership was dissolved, Utah Women's Press Club Manuscript Collection, lists Josephine Spencer as employed with the Deseret News and later with the Los Angeles Examiner, but the Examiner no longer publishes and left no employee archives. Nor does her byline appear in it during the
California Mission President, Joseph W. McMurrin, read at Josephine Spencer's funeral in Salt Lake City on 1 November, said that "members at the Pasadena branch had loved her and had held services over her body before it was sent to Salt Lake City." At her funeral, some of her poems were read, and she was "paid deep tribute" for her "spiritual characteristics and fine talents and nature" by her brother-in-law, Charles B. Felt. Foreshadowing how few would remember her in later years, her obituary concentrates more on her grandfather, father, and uncle.102 After her death, the Relief Society Magazine reprinted a few poems every year until 1932. In 1935, Gean Clark included complimentary references in her BYU's master's thesis.103 After this, Josephine Spencer was largely forgotten.

At present, she is a footnote, author of numerous published poems and short stories in obsolete Utah journals, a name in club minutes or attendee at a public event. Unmarried and childless, she left no descendants, either of blood or of intellect. If her relatives today know her at all, it is as one of Daniel Spencer's many children.

If Josephine Spencer had left a diary or collection of letters, her observations would have proved keenly interesting about Salt Lake society and politics, for she hovered on the fringes of controversial issues, had an unusual role as a professional journalist, and knew many of the leading lights of Mormonism, to whom she was also connected by family ties. But we have only the second-hand voices she assumed for her fiction and poetry. The absence of her own authentic voice is a genuine loss for Mormon culture, for literature, for women, and for history. In some ways as an author she rendered her religion readable and celebrated natural beauty, like many of her contemporaries; yet the flashes of humor, the themes of socialist politics, and the atypical development in some of her stories raise interesting questions about her perception and experience. Praised and paid for what she wrote in other voices, Josephine Spencer's silence in her own voice is a tragedy for contemporary readers as well.


EARNING RESPECT IN WISCONSIN: NINETEENTH- AND TWENTIETH-CENTURY MORMONS

David L. Clark

A PROCLAMATION

Whereas, members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Mormons) who settled in the Wisconsin Territory in 1835 were among the earliest non-native residents and established a presence in the state that has continued to the present; and

Whereas, members of the Church developed the first successful lumbering operation in northwest Wisconsin, and . . . . built the first dams and mills and harvested the first grain . . . and

Whereas, from a few Church members in several small congregations, there are now 45 congregations throughout the State:

Now, therefore, I Tommy G. Thompson, Governor of the State of Wisconsin, do hereby recognize 1992 as the Year of Celebration of the Wisconsin Mormon Sesquicentennial. . .1

On 25 July, the Wisconsin State Historical Society dedicated a marker commemorating the first Mormon settlement, later the city of Burlington, before a crowd of several hundred.2 The celebration

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1 Tommy G. Thompson, Proclamation, Madison, 8 May 1992; copy of original in my possession.

2 Mormons in Early Wisconsin,” Wisconsin State Historical Marker,
continued that evening with 14,000, mostly non-Mormons, at a Milwaukee party featuring the Mormon Tabernacle Choir and the Milwaukee Symphony Orchestra in the premier performance of Don Oscarson’s and Crawford Gates’s “And They Came Singing,” commissioned for this celebration. Certainly, 1992 was a high point for Mormons in Wisconsin.

It will surprise no one that the nineteenth-century record shows a series of low points. A Presbyterian minister in 1845 probably spoke for many cofbelievers when he complained: “We are struggling amidst the error and delusions by which we are surrounded. Such, as Catholicism, Mormonism, and many other species of Infidelity.” In 1855, a mob in Janesville, Wisconsin, lynched Mormon David F. Mayberry for horse stealing. An 1882 Milwaukee newspaper began an article on early Mormons with the colorful characterization: “A more chronic lot of thieves never inflicted [sic] a country.” With equal vigor, an 1893 history of Wisconsin announced: “The pure air and virgin soil of Wisconsin were once polluted by that social leprosy—Mormonism.”

The trajectory from national opprobrium to national esteem for the Latter-day Saints is well known, but most of the attention has focused on the dynamics between Salt Lake City and Washington, D.C., as part of the national political currents. This essay examines the gradual shift over time in one state as Mormons earned the respect of their neighbors and, after 165 years, celebrated with them the Mormon presence in the state.

While Mormonism itself changed (most notably its abandonment of public support for plural marriage), the average citizen’s concept


5 “Camp of Mormon Cooley,” Milwaukee Republican-Sentinel, 23 September 1882, 1.

of Mormonism also changed, influenced by events both outside and within Wisconsin. Nineteenth-century Mormons who stayed in Wisconsin, rather than gathering to Zion, were concentrating on survival issues for the most part and were defiantly different. But twentieth-century Mormons in Wisconsin, after years of social integration and significant participation in the state’s educational, business, professional, political, and cultural activities, succeeded in altering the negative nineteenth-century image.

THE MARION YOUNG HOAX

The Horicon Wildlife Refuge in south central Wisconsin is the seasonal home for more than a quarter million Canadian geese. For a few months during their annual migration, they are protected and feed freely on corn grown by farmers in surrounding Dodge County. Thousands of visitors throng to the refuge each year to admire and photograph these dazzling visitors.

On a small tree-covered hill at the eastern edge of the Horicon Refuge is a little nineteenth-century family cemetery. Toward its rear stands a relatively new granite tombstone inscribed: “Marion, Wife
of Brigham Young, 1844. For behold, this is my work and my glory to bring to pass the immortality and eternal life of man. Mo:2:39.”

While residents of the small communities nearby seem to take some pride in this monument, LDS historians know instantly that it is a hoax. So what is the story? I have been unable to determine who erected the monument or even when, exactly, it first appeared in the cemetery. But the history of Mormons in nineteenth-century Wisconsin suggests that it is more likely a monument to Mormonism’s sensationalism, a reminder, as former Connecticut governor Lowell Weicker says, that “perhaps no denomination has had a more bitter taste of home-grown American intolerance than the Mormons.”

The story of the Marion Young tombstone is a microcosm of mid-nineteenth-century Mormon history in the United States. Following Joseph Smith’s murder (1844), Wisconsin Mormons either joined the move to Utah or remained behind, experimenting with new varieties of Mormonism. The Strangites, the Reorganized Church (now Community of Christ), and several other Mormon groups had their origin in Wisconsin. Understandably but incorrectly, all post-1844 varieties of Mormonism were considered equivalents. The most conspicuous element in the Mormon public image was polygamy. I hypothesize that the monument was the effort of a few Wisconsin residents to milk that practice for a few more laughs and that the present Marion Young monument most likely reflects the weird cycle of a religious joke that has evolved into an item of civic pride.

From several published and unpublished accounts, the following Marion Young story, apocryphal in almost every detail, has emerged. In 1844, Brigham Young was leading Mormons from western Illinois to the Great Basin. The route of migration through Wisconsin was selected because, (1) the Mormons needed to follow a river to water their cattle, or, (2) the on-going Black Hawk Indian War made this route safer than a more southerly route would have been. Sometime in 1844, the Mormons were camped on the banks of Rock River, approximately four miles (or according to one account for four months) south of the present Tidyman cemetery in Dodge County and south of present Kekoskee. Brigham Young’s wife Marion died of “mountain fever,” and the sorrowing husband obtained permission from John Tidyman Sr. to bury his wife in the nearby family

7 Lowell Weicker Jr., Church and State (printed address) (N.p.: privately distributed, 1986), 1.
cemetery. At some later date, the Tidyman family cared for the burial site. During the 1970s, Tidyman's great-granddaughter, Olive Tidyman Kantin, assumed this responsibility and, in 1974, replaced the nineteenth-century sandstone marker (damaged by vandals or simply deteriorated), with the granite marker.\(^8\) Despite attempts at correction, area residents continue to stoutly defend and repeat the story.\(^9\)

Of course, the story is a significant misrepresentation of actual history. Brigham Young's exodus began in 1846, not 1844. The Mormon trail westward is well documented through Iowa, Nebraska, and Wyoming, to Utah. There is no evidence that Brigham Young ever visited Wisconsin, and certainly not as part of the trek west.\(^10\) Brigham Young had fifty-five wives, but none was named Marion, nor did any die in Wisconsin.\(^11\) Brigham Young suffered from "mountain fever" in July 1847, but in the Rocky Mountains, not Wisconsin, nor did the wife who accompanied him catch the ailment.\(^12\) Furthermore, the Black Hawk War ended in 1832, the scriptural quotation is from a document not printed until 1851, and the chapter and verse citations were not added until 1902. As a final error, the citation should be Moses 1:39, not 2:39.\(^13\) In 1991 I talked


\(^12\) Arrington, American Moses, 143.

to several residents in LeRoy whom I encountered casually at the local Catholic Church, gas stations, and food markets. All of them, including the parish priest, knew the Marion Young story, and were eager to provide directions to the cemetery. None admitted ever hearing that the story was a myth. Given the reputation of Mormons 150 years ago, it is most likely that the tombstone marks only the site of a dead religious joke; but its twentieth-century perpetuation, including the new marker, suggests real respect for this supposed Mormon death by a caring Tidyman family who had lost details of the real story many years earlier.

MORMONISM IN THE WISCONSIN TERRITORY

By 1837, Mormons had organized a branch in the community later named Burlington. Jason Briggs, baptized in Potosi and later an important part of the RLDS movement, organized other congregations in southern Wisconsin. In 1841, seventeen were baptized at Mineral Point; and the following year, Mormons settled what would later become Blanchardville. Mormons were thus among

14 Charles Ray purchased the tract of land that includes the cemetery on 3 January 1850 and patented it 2 August 1852. Both the Ray and Tidyman families were from England, where family cemeteries were common, and moved to Dodge County at about the same time—ca. 1846-47. The two Tidyman brothers, John and James, were the fathers of eight children; there were five children in the Ray family. My thanks to Jack Holzhuetter of the Wisconsin State Historical Society for calling this record to my attention; Local Office Tract Book, Dodge County, v. 30, p. 24. I checked state and federal census records for 1836, 1838, 1848, and 1850 and various burial records in Dodge and Racine counties, not only for the Ray and Tidyman families, but more generally for families named Young. I identified an Edward Young in distant Racine County; he did not have a wife named Marion. Clara M. Turner of Beaver Dam has persistently but unsuccessfully tried to debunk the Marion Young legend over a period of twenty years in letters to the editor and personal correspondence with Olive Tidyman Kantin.


16 Journal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints
the state's earliest settlers. However, judging from published comments, other Wisconsin residents did not feel honored by the association. In early 1848, the year Wisconsin became a state, Oliver Cowdery, the excommunicated Second Elder of the Church, was nominated on the Democratic ticket to run as Walworth County's representative, drawing journalistic attacks on himself and the Mor-

(chronological scrapbook of typed entries and newspaper clippings, 1830-p resent) 2 August 1841, 1-2, Archives of the Family and Church History Department, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City (hereafter LDS Church Archives); Wisconsin Territorial Census 1842.
mon Church. Sneered the Milwaukee Sentinel, "We learn . . . that Oliver Cowdery, the Loco Foco [Democratic] nominee for the Assembly . . . is one of the three witnesses to the discovery of the Golden Plates, or Mormon Bible, by Joe Smith. His Whig competitor . . . is an estimable citizen [who is] not a believer in Mormonism." The criticism thus focused on his former religion, not his political or social qualifications. Madison Democrats praised him as as "a man of sterling integrity, sound and vigorous intellect, and every way worthy, honest, and capable . . . defeated in consequence of his religion." He lost the election.

According to one account of the 1840s, Mormons were not welcomed in LaFayette County—in fact, they were accused of being "invaders," even though they established their own community in what would later become the town of Blanchardville. "These interrogative marks on the highway of civilization," wrote the anonymous author of the county's first history, "erected cabins, constructed a dam, mined, farmed, and worshiped according to their creed. . . . Failing by reason of a combination of circumstances to secure a livelihood, and believing themselves the chosen of God, entitled to support by any available means, many levied on the flocks and herds of their Gentile neighbors . . . and rumor has it that the troubles culminated in bloodshed." 19

The 1880 History of Stephenson County, just across the state line in Illinois, titles one chapter "Mormon Meddlings" and refers to Mormons sarcastically as "thick as lice in Egypt. . . but unable to perform miracles as was Moses." The conversion of Hector and Louisa Haight, once-respected citizens in Stephenson County, is scorned as "Haight's apostasy to [sic: "from"] the cause of morality." 20 In short, the few published references make it clear that Mormonism was not popular on the southern Wisconsin frontier in the 1840s.

17 [bolded first sentence] "Is Saul also among the Prophets?" Milwaukee Sentinel, 13, 29 April 1848, 1; David L. Clark, "Oliver Cowdery in Wisconsin: The Final Years," Mormon Heritage Magazine 2 (September-October 1995): 17-20, 45.
18 [no headline], Wisconsin Argus (Madison), 16, 30 May 1848.
19 The History of LaFayette County (Chicago: Western Historical Company, 1881), 640-41.
20 The History of Stephenson County, Illinois (Chicago: Western Historical Company, 1880), 262, 263.
After Joseph Smith’s death in 1844, Wisconsin Mormons were forced to make hard decisions. Some joined with Brigham Young in the move westward, remained in Wisconsin long enough to purchase wagons and supplies for the costly move, or affiliated with several different varieties of Mormonism, including James Jesse Strang’s church and the group that later organized the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (now Community of Christ) led by Joseph Smith III. The actual number of those who eventually left for Utah or affiliated with other groups is unknown. My estimate, based on the numbers implied in reports of Saints in Burlington in 1838-40, Zarahemla (Blanchardville), Beloit, Waukesha, Lake Koshkonong, Black River Falls (La Crosse, 1844-45), and families known to be in LaFayette County and the Madison area during this period is between 200 and 400. The number that migrated to Utah by 1850 or shortly thereafter probably ranges between 100 and 200.21

21 I derived these estimations as follows: Moses Smith had a branch of approximately 100 about 1837-38, according to his obituary, probably written by James Strang. Strang did not live in Wisconsin until 1843 and, according to one biographer, consistently inflated his figures. Roger Van Noord, King of Beaver Island: The Life and Assassination of James Jesse Strang (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988), 211-12. The Beloit group probably numbered about twenty or thirty; because their relatives (possibly a single family) comprised the Waukesha congregation, the total may increase by perhaps as much as ten or fifteen, but not likely more. Blanchardville by 1844 probably had a branch of forty or fifty, while the Black River Falls branch, which later moved to La Crosse, is known to have numbered 160. The small group at Lake Koshkonong may have numbered between ten and twenty. Between twenty and thirty members of six families lived in La Fayette County until approximately 1850; five to ten other families estimated at ten to fifteen lived in the Cross Plains area of Dane County. All of these estimates, based on reported numbers or numbers of families, suggest between 250 and 390 Mormons in Wisconsin during the 1840s, excluding Strangite converts who came to Voree after 1844.

Moses Smith had left Burlington and was living in Illinois by 1838. A number of the Burlington Saints may have joined him because the Illinois congregation soon numbered between 100 and 200. Evidently Moses asked his brother Aaron to join them in Illinois to lead this new congregation.
This activity changed several Wisconsin communities. In late 1844 and early 1845, 160 Mormons were logging on the Black River Falls but moved to La Crosse. By 1848, it had fewer than 100 inhabitants, even though other groups continued the successful Mormon logging operation and the community expanded again. The new Strangite community of Voree, dwindled when most of its adherents moved with Strang to Beaver Island in Lake Michigan during the 1850s.

The Mormons of Zarahemla sold their gristmill to Alvin Blanchard in 1855; and renamed Blanchardville, it evolved into a Wisconsin agricultural center. Congregations of temporarily unaffiliated Mormons remained in Beloit and Waukesha, and with some of the original Zarahemla Mormons, became the backbone of the Reorganization in 1860.

In 1854, Josiah Quincy, Boston newspaper editor, lecturer, and observer of Mormonism, gave speeches in both Milwaukee and Madison that urged the residents to be kinder to Mormons. His theme was that better treatment of this unusual religious group might cause Mormons to lose some of their peculiarities.

Approximately half of the Black River Falls group (about eighty) eventually migrated to Utah by way of Texas. All of the LaFayette County Saints left by 1850 or shortly thereafter (twenty to thirty). An unknown number but at least half of the Dane County group (ten or fifteen) came to Utah at approximately the same time. Several individuals (for example, Albert Carrington and Oliver Cowdery) migrated from Wisconsin. Only Carrington actually completed the trip. The seventeen converts who were baptized in Mineral Point and the thirteen probable Potosi converts may have come to Utah, joined the RLDS Church later, or sought another religious affiliation. In sum, even in 1849, there were enough Mormons traveling from Wisconsin and northern Illinois to Utah that Church leaders advised them to use the Mormon Trail. Journal History, 15 September 1849. It seems reasonable to suppose that about half of Wisconsin's approximately four hundred Mormons migrated to Utah at the end of the 1840s.

23 Van Noord, King of Beaver Island, 67-78.
24 Clark, The Mormons of the Wisconsin Territory, 62.
Except for a few Strangite congregations, few Mormons remained in Wisconsin during the 1840s. One group of twenty or thirty Mormons moved from Nauvoo to mine lead in LaFayette County, with the objective of earning enough money to finance their journey to Utah. Among them were Peter Maughan and Mary Ann Weston Maughan, converts from the north of England. Obeying Apostle Orson Hyde's counsel to "scatter out and earn means to follow the Church," they followed friends who were already working in the lead mines, arriving on 15 April 1846. They concealed their Mormon identity and apparently had no difficulty with their neighbors. Mary Ann's journal records that at least six Mormon families lived near New Diggings and Coon Branch. The Maughans had eight children, but the size of the other Mormon families in the area is not known; and this silent Mormon community, which may have numbered at least twenty to thirty people, apparently held no services. It took the Maughan family four years to gather enough means, and then only after a dream directed Peter to an ore deposit that earned them $800 in eight weeks. They left on 17 April 1850 for Utah, apparently traveling alone, and settled in Cache Valley. I have not been able to trace what happened to the other six Mormon families in the area.

At least one member of the Mormon La Crosse-Black River Falls group, a man named Loomis, remained in La Crosse after a large group left for Texas in 1845 where they briefly established several communities before some of the group traveled to Utah. Loomis

26 Perhaps this idea had germinated during his earlier visit to Nauvoo where he had met Joseph Smith and toured the city. See William Mulder and A. R. Mortensen, eds., Among the Mormons: Historic Accounts by Contemporary Observers (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1958), 131-42.

and two associates are credited with raising the first wheat in the La Crosse area.28

Finally, if the highly biased Milwaukee Republican-Sentinel account can be believed, at least one other large Mormon family (two wives and many children but not otherwise identified) reportedly lived near La Crosse during the late 1840s. When laws against polygamy were enforced, the family moved temporarily to Minnesota, then to Utah.29

Given the turmoil of the trek westward, it is surprising to find that the LDS Church continued missionary work in Wisconsin. The Journal History notes in April 1848 that Elders John H. Clines and Charles Dalton returned to Winter Quarters from their mission in Iowa, Illinois, and Wisconsin, where they “preached and prospered.”30 During the summer, Elder Zebedee Coltrin passed through Burlington, Iowa, reportedly en route to do missionary work in Wisconsin.31 The success of this work is not recorded; probably any Wisconsin residents who joined the Utah Church promptly left the state. The instructions on 15 September 1849 advised the Saints migrating from Wisconsin and northern Illinois to continue to follow the Mormon Trail to Utah. The route was said to be direct with an apparent road and with streams that were now bridged.32 These instructions would be unnecessary if some migration was not in progress.

For the next quarter century, I found no additional records about Mormons in the state except for infrequent references to missionary

28 "Camp of Mormon Cooley," Milwaukee Republican-Sentinel, 23 September, 1882. An associate later sued Loomis over a wage disagreement; a Black River Falls justice of the peace fined Loomis fifteen gallons of whisky for refusing to pay his debts.
29 Ibid.
30 Journal History, 1 April 1848, 1.
31 Ibid., 2 July 1848, 2.
32 Ibid., 15 September 1849, 1. Historian Merle Curti, examining the mobility of Wisconsinites in western Wisconsin found that 67 percent of the townspeople in this county moved away from western Wisconsin between the 1860 and the 1870 census, and that 75 percent moved away between the 1870 and 1880 census. Mobility figures for other parts of the state were only slightly lower. Robert C. Nesbit, The History of Wisconsin, Vol. 3 (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1985), 281-82.
labors. Elder Thurston Simpson was sent to Wisconsin in August 1855. In June 1857, Brigham Young sent James W. Cummings on a mission to northern Illinois and Wisconsin. In the wake of Congress's 1862 passage of the Morrill Act, missionary activity apparently dropped to zero in Wisconsin. The Deseret News published a January 1870 letter from Elder E. M Greene in Wisconsin. In February 1870, the same paper optimistically reported that Elder A. C. Brower in Minnesota and Pepin, Wisconsin, "everywhere . . . is welcomed and people are anxious to hear him and some are ready for baptism." Brower wrote again in May that he had baptized several in Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Iowa and left others believing. In September 1870, Elder Eli Whipple reported that, despite strong prejudice, he was treated kindly, including in Wisconsin. In 1872, Elders A. C. Brower and A. W. Sabin reported being well received during visits to Fond du Lac, Sheboygan City, Sheboygan Falls, and communities along the Wisconsin-Minnesota border. In 1872, Elder Charles D. Card reported missionary labors in Wisconsin and Michigan.\textsuperscript{33}

Wisconsin's 1870 census records membership in a number of denominations but the list does not include Mormons. The fewest religious adherents identified were the Society of Friends (375 members).\textsuperscript{34}

**Mormons in Wisconsin and Wisconsinites in Utah**

The first year that the federal census recorded residents' birthplaces was 1860. Thus, for the last forty years of the nineteenth century, these censuses provide a rough count of native Wisconsinites who moved to Utah. Wisconsin was part of Michigan Territory until 3 July 1836, so anyone born before that date would report his or her birth place as Michigan. These data do not include Wisconsin-born individuals who joined the Church in another state,


\textsuperscript{34} Current, *The History of Wisconsin*, 547.
nor do they sort out Wisconsinites who moved to Utah without converting to Mormonism.

Although the number grew steadily from decade to decade, it never topped a thousand: 1860: 37; 1870: 117; 1880: 275; 1890: 716; 1900: 877.35

Mormons remaining in Wisconsin included those who expanded the membership of Strang's church, those who followed Gladden Bishop, a few who joined with Moses Smith's brother Aaron in the short-lived Church of Christ, and the Beloit-Zarahemla group that formed the nucleus of the Reorganized branch.36 The RLDS and Strang groups, still active in the state, have been treated elsewhere. This paper tracks the less-known Utah Mormons in Wisconsin.37


37 Interesting Wisconsin Mormon trivia during this period is that William Law, counselor to Joseph Smith until his excommunication in 1844, died in Shullsburg, LaFayette County, in 1892. Deseret News 1980 Church Almanac, 104. Law had helped publish the Nauvoo Expositor. Joseph Smith's order that it be destroyed helped precipitate events leading to his death. Although the press was broken and the type thrown into the street, an unknown person or persons salvaged and repaired it. In 1879, newspapermen George Radcliffe and Mark Twaite brought this press to Clintonville, Waupaca County, approximately forty miles northwest of Green Bay, and published the community's first newspaper on it. The editors were pro-Prohibition, the newspaper soon went out of business, and the press was moved first to Antigo, Langlade County, and later to Green Bay where it printed a paper for Catholic schools in Green Bay Diocese. N. D. Diedrich
In 1861, U.S. President Abraham Lincoln appointed James D. Doty superintendent of Indian Affairs for Utah Territory. Doty, a former federal judge for Michigan Territory, as territorial governor (1841-44), had written the bill creating Wisconsin Territory in 1836, had worked in Green Bay and Madison in a variety of business ventures, and was the prime mover behind the construction of Wisconsin's first military road. He served as Wisconsin's territorial delegate (1838-40), two terms as territorial governor, and two terms as U.S. Representative (1849-52). After two years as Utah's superintendent of Indian Affairs, he was appointed governor of Utah Territory (1863-65), and gained widespread respect from his Mormon constituency, a rare occurrence for most federal appointees, by promoting "genuine impartiality." Part of this respect originated in his staunch but unsuccessful support for Utah statehood. He declared his intention of being a permanent resident of Utah and, in fact, died in Salt Lake City in 1865, where he is buried.

Doty's successor as territorial governor was Charles Durkee, a resident of Wisconsin since 1836. Durkee had served as a Wisconsin Territorial representative (1836-38) and was active in the Wisconsin Liberty Party (1844-46). Affiliated with the Free Soil party, he served as a U.S. Representative (1848-53), then as a Republican Senator (1855-61). As governor of Utah Territory (1865-70), he made himself unpopular by vetoing various measures that the Mormon majority supported, became ill, and died en route to Wisconsin on 14 January 1870. Although no documentation exists on this point, Doty and Durkee were probably aware of the Mormon presence in Wisconsin.


1875-96: ESTABLISHING A PERMANENT PRESENCE

The next period of the history of Mormonism in Wisconsin is illuminated by the memoir of Elizabeth Gregg Matthes, a convert whose childhood faith in Mormonism withstood years of isolation but could not encompass the practice of plural marriage. Elizabeth’s parents, John and Frances Gregg, had become Mormons in Indiana and gathered with the Saints in Ray County, Missouri, in 1836. Elizabeth, born in 1827, had two older brothers and two older sisters. Expelled first from Ray County, then from Caldwell County, and then from the state itself the family returned to Indiana in 1839.43 Elizabeth, who was twelve when they left, wrote nostalgically of Missouri: “It was Zion to me, surrounded with the Church and happy meetings. A beautiful country which my heart was attached to, all its beauties, its springs and brooks, its forests and the wild grapevines, the prairies with their beautiful wild flowers spreading their beauties, and happy home, its fields and garden. I was happy.—Oh, Zion, thou ever near, dear name to me, I tasted thy sweets.”44

Two years later, the Gregg family affiliated with the “New Lights” or Christian Church. Although Elizabeth joined with her parents, her heart still lay with the Mormons. In 1841 when two Mormon missionaries came into their area, the Gregg family excitedly invited the missionaries to stay with them and evidently enjoyed listening to the gospel being preached again. The New Lights disfellowshipped the Gregg family, most of whom were rebaptized by the elders, Mower and Porter (first names not recorded), during the winter of 1842-43. The Greggs subscribed to a Nauvoo newspaper. Seventeen-year-old Elizabeth cried herself to sleep many nights after learning about Joseph Smith’s death.

For reasons not recorded, the Greggs did not go west with Brigham Young, but they were evidently in good standing. John was an elder at the time of his death in 1857. At age twenty, Elizabeth married Andrew Matthes, a Prussian-born immigrant in 1847, and began raising a large family of eight children, one of whom died in

43 Missouri Governor Christopher S. Bond rescinded the 1838 extermination order of his predecessor, Lilburn W. Boggs, with an apology in 1976.

44 Elizabeth A. Gregg, “A Sketch of My Life,” written 29 March 1875, 2, photocopy of typescript in my possession.
infancy. Frances Gregg died in 1861; and Elizabeth and Andrew moved to a newly purchased 120-acre farm near Viola, Richmond County, in southwestern Wisconsin. Here Andrew died the next year, leaving her with seven children, the oldest of whom was thirteen. Although Elizabeth provides few details, the family managed fairly well economically, and she sought a spiritual home with the Methodists, the Baptists, and the United Brethren, in turn.

In newspaper accounts, she followed the progress of the Mormons in the West, and secretly dispised the professed Christians who had driven her people from their Zion. In her autobiography, written in 1875 when Elizabeth was forty-eight, she recorded:

I knew the Latter Day Saints were right and felt if I did not teach my children the Truth, I could not feel justified by neglect. I had no Book of Mormon, I did not know of anywhere I could get one this side of Utah. I sat down, wrote to President [Brigham] Young told him I wished to get some books, would be glad to have some of them come. An Elder came and we got a Book of Mormon and thanks to God for the same that my children may have the privilege of reading and may they obey its precepts to be good and hope they live aright. We wanted to gather where we could have the privilege of our own society but did not get to go, but still we hope we yet have the privilege of going to the Saints.  

In October 1875, Miles Park Romney of St. George, Utah, and Moroni H. McAllister left their families to serve a mission in Wisconsin. Romney had two wives, one of them pregnant, and six children. Born in Nauvoo in 1843, he had earlier served a mission in England. He built furniture for a living and enjoyed acting in local dramatic productions. Romney and McAllister accepted the hospitality of Van S. Bennet of Viola, a former Wisconsin legislator “of a liberal mind” who treated them well. In the next few weeks, they had appointments to preach in thirteen towns and villages, mostly in Vernon and Crawford counties. On 27 December 1875, Romney reported to the Deseret News that “very many people are not in sympathy with the anti-polygamy law [Morrill Act]. They think we should have the right to enjoy and practice the rites and principles of our religion unmolested.”  

Despite Romney’s optimistic assess-

46 Thomas C. Romney, Life Story of Miles Park Romney (Ind-
ment, the Wisconsin Congressional delegation supported most of the anti-polygamy legislation from 1862 to 1887. On the vote for the harsh 1887 Edmunds-Tucker Act, Representative Bragg of Wisconsin, voted against it while the other seven representatives, including Wisconsin's future progressive leader Robert M. La Follette, voted with the majority. Wisconsin's senators all voted with the majority.\textsuperscript{47}

The missionaries contacted the Matthes family, gave them a Book of Mormon, and, in 1875, Romney and McAllister rebaptized the entire family. Elizabeth's oldest son John, then twenty-five, was ordained an elder.\textsuperscript{48} By April 1875, John was presiding over a little branch in Viola consisting of his mother's family and at least one new convert. It was the first LDS congregation to be organized in Wisconsin since 1844—a hiatus of thirty-two years.\textsuperscript{49} In the fall of 1876, the Matthes family rented out their farm and traveled to Utah. According to the family history of Elizabeth's son, George, the family moved to several locations in central Utah, but it was difficult to earn a living. Furthermore, Elizabeth did not want her children to participate in polygamy. Discouraged, they returned to the Midwest, settling first in Iowa and then eventually, after the three-year lease on their farm had expired, in Wisconsin.

Meanwhile, Miles Park Romney and Moroni H. McAllister had continued their mission. Some Methodist and Baptist ministers followed them about selling anti-polygamy literature, but this did little to discourage them. Romney described western Wisconsin in a letter home:

\textit{We sometimes walk for miles through the woods and do not see a house. And I hear the "Mosquitoes." \ldots Their "Bills" are sharp and}


\textsuperscript{48} Romney, Miles Park Romney, 84.

\textsuperscript{49} Ibid., 80.
pointed. And when they plunge it into ones hand they shut both eyes, lift up one foot. . . . And then the weather is very warm here this summer 108 in the shade, almost as bad as “Dixie Land” [St. George, Utah]. The houses are all frame and log, very [few] brick in these country parts. The people generally [are] hard working, not extremely intelligent. Though of course there are some who are highly intelligent, well cultivated in their manners etc. etc. Hogs run wild in the woods, and lots of them. Pork is quite a staple, though I seldom even taste it. I live primarily on “corn bread” potatoes, peas, beans, butter, cheese, butter milk, etc. Cannot complain, only when we get into a place where they don’t like Mormons. . . . We will baptize two more this week if all is well.50

In May 1876, the missionaries met with four families in Madison who had Utah friends and held preaching services that were well attended. Romney particularly admired Wisconsin’s capitol building with its dome and columns and beautiful interior. “The design altogether is equal to any I have seen in America,” he commented.51 Romney returned to Utah in August 1876. In ten months, he and his companion had baptized twenty-two, sent one family to Utah to be baptized, and organized the first branch of the Church in thirty-two years. McAllister led a small company of emigrating Saints from Wisconsin to join others moving to Utah from Ohio and Chicago.52 Other missionaries in Wisconsin during the last quarter of the nineteenth century also found converts and established additional branches. One is a nameless community today in Jackson County marked only by a “Mormon Cemetery”; but in 1887, Elder J. M. Hansen found a group of Strangites who had left Beaver Island after the assassination in 1856 of James J. Strang. He succeeded in baptizing twenty-six of this group, which included one of Strang’s plural wives. Hansen suggested, prematurely, that “nearly all [Strangites] . . . are now reclaimed.”53 In addition, branches were organized at

50 M. P. Romney, Letter to Catharine [sic] Cottam Romney, 2 August 1876, photocopy of holograph in my possession.
51 Romney, Miles Park Romney, 83-84. The missionaries were impressed by the legislature’s efficiency in handling issues during an evening session but got no reaction from “Old Abe,” the bald-eagle mascot of the Eighth Wisconsin during the Civil War, when they called at 9:00 P.M.
52 Ibid., 92-93.
53 Journal History, 5 October 1887, 3.
Fond du Lac in 1898, in Milwaukee in 1899, and in La Crosse in 1900.\textsuperscript{54}

Missionaries' experiences varied widely. John H. Freeman, a former Wisconsinite had worked as associate editor of the \textit{Wausau Central Wisconsin} newspaper before joining the Church and moving to Utah in 1857. When he returned as a missionary in 1876, he was well received when he preached to a large audience at the Wausau courthouse and credited the Lord for "raising up friends" for him.\textsuperscript{55} In contrast, Thomas J. Steed reported from Chippewa Falls in 1881 that after traveling 200 miles on foot, he had found no Mormons in northwest Wisconsin, only saloon keepers and lumbermen, and that he had been threatened and harassed.\textsuperscript{56} In 1886 S. P. Eggertson Jr. reported that Baptists were unfriendly and that people boarded up their barns so that the traveling elders wouldn't steal horses; however, he had met an Austrian family who was pleased to discover that Mormons were cultivated and intelligent.\textsuperscript{57} In 1899, O. K. Hansen and his companion interpreted Wisconsin's thunderstorms and prairie fires as God's judgement on the wicked but also reported that Madison public officials treated them with respect and gave them permission to hold street meetings that the citizens regarded tolerantly.\textsuperscript{58}

By the beginning of the twentieth century, the Latter-day Saints in Wisconsin numbered 121, perhaps a fourth of what they had numbered in 1844. They were essentially starting over as far as recognition and respect were concerned, but different conditions led to a more fruitful result in Wisconsin as in other localities.

**MORMONS IN TWENTIETH-CENTURY WISCONSIN**

Early twentieth-century Wisconsin was distinguished by its large ethnic populations and progressive politics under the leadership of

\textsuperscript{54} Wisconsin Conference Record, 12 April 1898, 16 April 1898, and 9 January 1900, LDS Church Archives.

\textsuperscript{55} Journal History, 16 December 1876, 2; ibid., 23 January 1877, 4.

\textsuperscript{56} Ibid., 3 June 1881, 3; ibid., 17 August 1881, 3.

\textsuperscript{57} Ibid., 25 June 1886, 5. I have found no evidence that Mormon missionaries stole horses.

\textsuperscript{58} "Missionary Journals of O. K. Hansen," (1899-1900), 21, typescript made in 1958, Special Collections, Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.
the La Follettes. The twentieth-century's world wars, prohibition, economic depressions, rural depopulation, civil unrest, and industrial and technological advances were important factors for Mormons in Wisconsin as well. Larger changes impacted the LDS Church in Wisconsin, especially Mormonism's relinquishment of polygamy, religiously affiliated political parties, and its cooperative economy. After statehood and the final challenge represented by the Smoot hearings (1902-04), Utah's Mormons began looking like good citizens through their support for the Spanish-American War and the national progressive agenda. Missionary activity expanded into Asia, Africa, and parts of Europe not previously proselytized. The LDS Church also mounted a more systematic missionary effort in the central and eastern United States.

Accompanying this proselytizing activity was the creation of a solid foundation of Mormons who contributed to Wisconsin's civic life in a variety of ways that earned respect from their neighbors. While Mormons were later prominent in business and other professional activities and, to a limited extent, civic and cultural activities, I believe that the earliest and most significant Mormon presence occurred in Wisconsin's institutions of higher education.

Mormons in Education

The rapid growth of Wisconsin's system of higher education during the twentieth century, encompassing twenty-six state colleges and universities, attracted Mormon students, teachers, and administrators to the state. Serious about education, competent as they went about their business, and generally of fine personal character, they created a generally favorable image, I would argue, even though such an effect is impossible to quantify.

Although a few converts may have been baptized in Madison in the early 1900s, the first significant Mormon presence consisted of LDS graduate students from the West attending the University of Wisconsin. Typical of this pattern is Ray J. Davis, a Utah Mormon who, with his wife, arrived in Madison during the summer of 1921 for graduate work. Davis wrote to the president of the Northern

60 Deseret News Church Almanac 1980, 52.
States Mission asking for the names and addresses of Mormons living in the Madison area. The mission office in Chicago could provide the name of only one member, fifteen miles from Madison. The Davis family visited with this member, but no organization resulted.\(^{61}\)

The next year, the Davises were joined by Milton Knudsen from Ephraim, Utah, and Jack Lewis from Spanish Fork, Utah. Missionaries visited this small group periodically; but mission records show little if any proselyting in Madison and no record of convert baptisms. When Ray Davis completed his graduate work in 1923, he accepted a teaching position at the Church’s Ricks College in southeastern Idaho. This pattern of temporary residence in Madison became almost routine for the first half of the twentieth century.

While records are incomplete for graduate students at Madison, it is likely that Mormon students were enrolled at the university continually from at least the second decade of the century. The university’s reputation, especially in agricultural research, reached a high level with the perfection of butterfat testing in milk by Stephen M. Babcock and the discovery of vitamin D in 1924 by Harry Steenbock. Other noted faculty members were Edward A. Birge in biology, Frederick Jackson Turner in history, and C. K. Leith in geology. Geologist and university president (1903-18) Charles Van Hise obtained strong support for developing the university from his friend, Robert M. La Follette, then governor. Van Hise increased the faculty from 184 to 751, doubled the number of undergraduates, established the Graduate School in 1904 and the Medical School in 1907, and completely reorganized the university’s premier Extension Division. Research degrees awarded increased from 29 to 179.\(^{62}\) The university’s worldwide reputation attracted Mormon scholars to Wisconsin in increasing numbers.

Chemist Henry Eyring, who for years was the acknowledged doyen of Mormon scientists, held a position at the university for one

\(^{61}\) Much of this history that follows is taken from the Northern States Mission manuscript history, LDS Church Archives, and the letters, journal entries, conversations with and histories by Arval Erikson and Arthur Hasler in my possession. I also draw heavily on my own experience and personal documents from 1963 to 1998. Davis’s letter is in my possession.

year, 1927. He met his future wife, Mildred Bennion, at a party at the home of another Mormon, sociologist Kimball Young.

On 7 November 1928, Noah S. Pond, president of the Northern States Mission, and William G. Ovard, president of the Wisconsin District, met with twelve of the twenty Latter-day Saints in Madison at the newly completed University Student Memorial Union. Because meetings in the union were restricted to student or faculty groups, it is likely that most of the twelve were graduate students. Here Madison's first LDS branch was organized. Milton H. Knudsen, on leave as president of the Church's Snow College in Ephraim, Utah, to complete a graduate degree begun in 1922, was set apart as branch president.63

During the 1929-30 academic year, between twenty and thirty members attended the weekly meetings. I have no figures on attendance for the next several years. In 1932, Arthur D. Hasler, who had served a mission in Germany, graduated from BYU and arrived to begin graduate studies in limnology, the study of lakes. Limnology as a serious science began at Wisconsin in 1875 when Edward A. Birge, trained at Harvard by Louis Agassiz, was hired as an instructor in natural science. The campus is bordered on the north by Lake Mendota, and Birge began a study of the lake's zooplankton shortly after establishing his lab. He recruited Chauncy Juday from Indiana and the Birge-Juday team laid the foundation for limnology as a separate and respected scientific discipline.

Hasler's research pushed limnology in a new direction; and in 1937, the Zoology Department hired him. His work on salmon migration attracted world-wide recognition. He was elected to the prestigious National Academy of Sciences and awarded the Naumann-Thienemann Medal of the International Society of Limnology, the society's highest honor. Hasler's wife, Hanna Prusse, had served a mission in the Northern States in 1929, including time at La Crosse. Art and Hanna decided to raise their six children with the idea that

63 Northern States Mission manuscript history, 7 November 1928. During Knudsen's presidential years at Snow (1924-33), Knudsen had the badger, the University of Wisconsin mascot, adopted as the Snow College mascot. He also had new lyrics written to “On Wisconsin” as Snow's pep song. In 1982, Steven D. Bennion, a Wisconsin Ph.D. and assistant to the Vice-President of the University of Wisconsin System, was named the twelfth president of Snow College.
Madison was their home, rather than planning on eventually returning to the West. They participated in university and civic activities. Hasler played French horn in the Madison Civic Symphony and Hanna sang in the Madison Civic Chorus. The Hasler family thus became the first in an important group of Mormons who met and mingled as fellow citizens, rather than as expatriate Utahns, with other Wisconsinites. In turn, at least one segment of the Wisconsin community accepted Mormons as congenial neighbors and respectable citizens.\(^6^4\) The Madison Branch had approximately forty members at that time.

Another landmark event occurred when the Saints of Madison Branch completed their first chapel, and popular Church President David O. McKay came to dedicate it on 25 April 1954. In his dedication remarks, covered by the local newspapers, McKay predicted the eventual rejection of Communism in Eastern Europe: “No power on Earth can take it [free agency] from you, though the Communists are trying to do it. You mark my word that those millions in Russia and in the satellites of the Communists will some day rise against their autocracy which tries to deprive those individuals of free agency.” Since Wisconsin was supporting the anti-communist crusade of its Senator Joseph McCarthy (1947-57), this affirmation of inherent liberty probably resonated well with Wisconsinites, whether they accepted it as prophetic or not.\(^6^5\)

Another Mormon who helped establish a reputation for Mormons as good citizens was Anthon Ernstrom, who, like Art Hensler, came as a student in (1950) and stayed as a faculty member in the Food Science Department. Among numerous Church positions, he served in the district presidency and was the first bishop of Madison Second Ward. In 1965, he went to Utah State University where he had a distinguished career in dairy science and has a building named in his honor—the C. Anthon Ernstrom Nutrition and Food Science Building. William H. Bennett, later an Assistant to the Twelve and

\(^{64}\) Arthur D. Hasler, personal conversation, 5 February 1992.

\(^{65}\) David O. McKay, Address, transcript of tape-recorded talk, 25 April 1954, in my possession. In his dedicatory talk, McKay advised those studying diverse philosophies of life at the university to measure the validity of any philosophy by the standard of free agency because those philosophies that did not acknowledge free agency of humans were on a weak foundation.
a Seventy (1970-80), was also a student at the University of Wisconsin.

In 1953, Arval L. Erikson, who came to Madison as an employee of the Oscar Mayer Meat Company, became branch president, the first to hold this position who was not connected to higher education. Erikson later became a vice-president of Oscar Mayer, southern Wisconsin's largest industry. He, his wife Lygia, and their five children continued to contribute service and leadership to the present, nor did his religious affiliation go unnoticed.66

Most of the university's stronger programs enrolled Mormon graduate students, and Mormons joined the faculty in increasing number. During the 1960s, between twenty and twenty-five faculty and staff were identified as Mormons. A second chapel was constructed in 1965 and dedicated by Apostle Spencer W. Kimball. His son, Edward, was a faculty member in the College of Law and served in the Madison Ward bishopric. Another son, Spencer Levan Kimball, later served as dean of the Law School.

Madison Branch had the first seminary in the state (fall 1961). Its first teacher was Robert A. Rees, a graduate student in English and later editor of Dialogue. Since the 1970s, Mormons have taught mathematics, communications, geology, geophysics, physics, psychology, biochemistry, zoology, economics, Spanish-Portuguese, sociology, animal sciences, horticulture, soil science, statistics, bacteriology, chemistry, dairy science, animal science, medicine, law, education, and nursing. The director of College Support Services, the Wisconsin state climatologist, and several deans of the School of Education and College of Letters and Sciences were LDS. Two Mormon bishops were vice presidents of the university's higher education system with responsibility for twenty-six two- and four-year institutions. Chancellors at three of the two-year institutions were Church members, and LDS faculty served at ten campuses.67 In

66 Arval L. Erikson, Notes on the Madison Branch/Ward, ca. 1975, typescript copy in my possession.
67 My thanks to D. O. Peterson, formerly associate vice-president for Academic Affairs, University of Wisconsin System, for information on LDS faculty or administrators at University of Wisconsin campuses at Appleton-Menoshia, Eau Claire, Fond du Lac, Green Bay, La Crosse, Marinette, Oshkosh, Platteville, Stout, Whitewater, Madison, and Beloit College.
Madison alone, between ten and twenty-five Mormons have been on the faculty almost continually since the early 1960s. Since World War II, twenty or thirty Mormons a year have studied at Madison.\textsuperscript{68} Seven of the eleven Mormons elected to the prestigious U.S. National Academy of Sciences in the twentieth century have been either students or faculty, including Paul Boyer, a 1939 BYU undergraduate, who did graduate work at Madison and, in 1998, was a Nobel Laureate in Chemistry.\textsuperscript{70}

\textit{Mormons in Professional and Cultural Areas}

Well-known Mormon musician Crawford Gates moved to Wisconsin in 1966 from the BYU Music School to become conductor and musical director of the Beloit-Janesville Symphony Orchestra. Not only did he bring his orchestra to prominence in southern Wisconsin, but he also composed works commissioned both in and outside of the state, performed and recorded by University of Wisconsin groups and the Milwaukee Symphony Orchestra. In 1992, he conducted that symphony in his “And They Came Singing,” before an audience of 14,000.

Mormons have served on school boards, as director of the Wisconsin Educational Broadcasting Board (Paul M. Norton), and as mayors (Dorothy Johnson of Appleton and Dean Bowles of Monona). Mormons in Rice Lake and Barron organized sports teams and built award-winning floats on Mormon themes.\textsuperscript{71} In Milwaukee, Mormons from Germany arrived in considerable number after the ends of both world wars. While most of those arriving considered Milwaukee a temporary stop on their way to Utah, Wisconsin’s large German community made their countrymen feel welcome and some remained in Milwaukee.\textsuperscript{72}

\textsuperscript{68} In 1995, sixty BYU faculty had Wisconsin degrees. They include those in chemistry (6), geology (5), English (4), and history (3), with two each in social work, sociology, Spanish/Portuguese, and business management.

\textsuperscript{70} The University of Wisconsin awarded Boyer an honorary degree in spring 1998. Other academy members include Henry Eyring, Arthur D. Hasler, Wilford R. Gardner, Esmond E. Snell, Champ B. Tanner, and Nevin S. Scrimshaw.

\textsuperscript{71} Eleanor Rhodes, “Barron [and Rice Lake] Branch History,” 10 May 1992, photocopy of typescript in my possession.
Mormons have become an increasingly important part of the state’s business and professional communities. They include physicians, nurses, dentists, farmers, veterinarians, lawyers, agricultural researchers, K-12 teachers, service group coordinators and trainers, small business people, etc. Ophthalmologist brothers Robert and Reed Andrew served in branch and ward organizations in Appleton, Green Bay, and Madison. Sam Otto, a respected Milwaukee physician, was stake president. Optometrist Chad Johnson, son of Appleton’s mayor, was Baraboo’s branch president. In 1994, Darrell Bevell, the University of Wisconsin’s star quarterback, scored the winning touchdown in the Rose Bowl. His Mormon background, including his mission, came up repeatedly in the state and national media for three years.

Thus, Mormonism’s nineteenth-century reputation as a social leper-polluting Wisconsin’s pure air and virgin soil, has given way to one of wholesomeness and success. While few Wisconsonians are knowledgeable about Mormonism’s theology and history, a Wisconsin governor can still proclaim a year of celebration of the Mormon presence in the state.

ONE DAY IN EARLY 1960 President Henry D. Moyle, second counselor in the LDS First Presidency, called Gordon B. Hinckley, Assistant to the Twelve and General Secretary of the Church’s General Missionary Committee, to his office. As the General Authorities who supervised the Church’s missionary work, it was a normal occurrence for the two to confer on missionary matters. President Moyle pointed to a large map that lay on his desk and explained that he was developing a proposal for the First Presidency and Twelve that General Authorities be given specific locality assignments in supervising the missionary program. Called into the First Presidency less than a year earlier in June 1959, Elder Moyle, energetic and visionary, was willing to make bold forays in new directions. He told Elder Hinckley that he had only one area that he hesitated to assign—Asia. Elder Hinckley, a junior General Authority, took the hint and volunteered.¹

In June 1961, the program was presented to the Church. It was

called a "precedent setting decision" at the time. In retrospect, it was more than that. It was the genesis of an administrative structure to run an increasingly international Church, and may well be seen at some future date, if not now, as one of the farthest-reaching decisions made in the twentieth-century Church. From that date a pattern of Church administration known as area supervision has evolved to become the backbone of LDS Church governance in all lands. The result achieved by the end of the century is an expandable administrative structure that permits the Twelve and their assistants, the Seventy, to direct a membership of millions.

This paper explores the development of the supervisory structure that administers the Church today. While the structure can be described, the reasoning can only be surmised. Church authorities do not normally publicize the reasons for their decisions. As one emeritus General Authority told me in an informal conversation, "The Twelve know why they do what they do and no one else does." The papers of these councils and of the General Authorities, including oral interviews in LDS Church archives, are restricted. Consequently, the explanations I make for the changes described in this paper, though reasonable, are conjectural.

Furthermore, this paper only introduces the subject. It cannot delve deeply into how the various administrative systems functioned. As I sampled oral histories conducted with mission and stake presidents in the LDS Church Archives, I found that they focused on the leader's work with members rather than relationships with their ecclesiastical superiors. However, some material that addresses this issue in the early 1980s will be presented in due course.

Area supervision developed in the missions and regional supervision in the stakes. By merging the two programs and reconstituting the First Quorum of Seventy in 1975-76, the Church moved decision-making to a more local level. The next major innovation was the creation of area presidencies in 1984, replicating the pattern of a first presidency in each Church area. At the beginning of the new century, the Church has continued to expand the role played by this new tier of middle managers. While this process seems logical, it was achieved through experimentation that resulted in discontinued programs as well as those retained.

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2 "New Program to Intensify Supervision of World-Wide Church Missions," *Church News*, 1 July 1961, 6.
Prior to 1961, local units and missions were supervised through the periodic visits of General Authorities and auxiliary board members to local conferences and conventions (workshops rather than sabbath worship services). However, full-time missions could not easily be managed out of Salt Lake City. The difficulty of this task can be seen in the failure to detect and deter the preaching of false doctrine in the French Mission before it ended in the excommunication of nine missionaries in 1958, an incident in which Henry D. Moyle was heavily involved. Concurrent with the introduction of the new missionary supervision system in 1961, the Church held the first seminar for all mission presidents and introduced a uniform missionary teaching plan of six lessons.

**AREA SUPERVISION, 1961-72**

In July 1961 the Church assigned nine General Authorities, including three future Church presidents (Spencer W. Kimball, Howard W. Hunter, and Gordon B. Hinckley) to supervise nine groupings of missions (the term “area” was not yet used consistently for these groupings). Two of them had been organized previously—the European Mission in January 1960 and the West European Mission in April 1961. Though these groupings were called “missions,” they were actually administrative entities that provided direction to the proselytizing missions under their jurisdiction. The new program added another “mission” in South America and six mission groupings in North America. The supervisors were from the governing councils of the Church, the Twelve Apostles, the Assistants to the Twelve, and one from the First Council of the Seventy.

Equally significant to the assignment was the fact that three of the supervisors (those over the South American and two European “missions”) resided in their world locales. The other six lived in Salt

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5 The European Mission had existed from 1854 to 1950, originally as a default assignment of the British Mission president and later as a separate entity. A Pacific Mission had existed from 1946 to 1950 under Matthias Cowley.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Regions</th>
<th>Areas/Zones</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td></td>
<td>9 areas over missions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>25 areas over stake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964</td>
<td>70 regions among stakes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td></td>
<td>12 areas over missions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967 Oct.</td>
<td>109 regions over stakes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972 July</td>
<td>240 regions over stakes,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mission districts; 29 regions</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>over stake missions, missions</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974 Jan.</td>
<td>stake and mission regions combined</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975 May</td>
<td>276 regions over stakes,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>missions</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>12 areas over US/Canada missions</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6 areas over foreign stakes, missions</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975 Oct.</td>
<td>52 regions dissolved</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976 April</td>
<td>regional representatives given limited line authority</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976 July</td>
<td>254 regions over stakes,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>missions</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977 July</td>
<td>30 areas over regions</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978 Dec.</td>
<td>31 areas/11 zones over areas</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984 April</td>
<td>zones dissolved</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995 Aug.</td>
<td>13 areas under area presidencies</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>regions dissolved</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>28 areas</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Lake City and visited the missions under their jurisdiction as needed. The reason that only a few resided outside Salt Lake City was probably the expense of maintaining a foreign residence for a General Authority and his family. The significant advantage of this arrangement, even though limited, was that executive decisions could be made closer to the scene of action by a leader better acquainted with local needs.

By 1965 the term "area" had become standard in referring to mission supervision. In August 1965 the Church increased the number of mission areas from nine to twelve; and, in a new development, assigned an apostle to supervise each area. Assistants to the Twelve or members of the First Council of the Seventy continued to serve as supervisors, but each now reported to a specific apostle. This two-tiered structure in various permutations continued until the end of the century. In a temporary rescission of the residence-abroad policy, the supervisors then abroad were brought home and, for the next decade, were domiciled in the Salt Lake City area while supervising their areas abroad through visits. Apparently the expense of in-country supervision outweighed the benefit for at least a decade.

The area supervision structure over missions in 1965 lasted until 1972, though the Church rotated assignments every three years and occasionally subdivided or combined areas. In 1972-75 area supervision was dropped in favor of a regional administration program that had evolved separately in the stakes.

**STAKE REGIONS, 1961-75**

From 1961 to 1975, the Church administered stakes through a structure that was primarily advisory rather than supervisory. The key structural event during these years was the calling of regional representatives (announced in 1967, effective in 1968). These regional representatives advised rather than supervised as decision-making authority remained in general Church councils—the Twelve and their Assistants, and the Seventy. In 1961, concurrent with the creation of areas comprising groups of missions, the Church established a stake mission supervision program for those stakes outside the boundaries of full-time missions—186 of them in Utah, Idaho, Wyoming, and Nevada. Twenty-five men were assigned on a part-

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time basis as non-General Authority supervisors over stake mission leaders in twenty-five “areas.” Their role, in the words of President Moyle, was “to assist the General Authorities in maintaining the Church in its established order.”8 The program may have been seen as an intrusion into the prerogatives of stake presidents to manage all local programs—a mandate in place since the early days of the Church—and the Church scrapped it two years later. Whatever the reason, in May 1963 the supervisory program over stake missions was dropped in favor of an advisory program. The Church appointed large groups of non-General Authority advisors to four general Church correlation committees over four redefined priesthood programs: home teaching, missionary work, genealogy, and welfare. The correlation program of the 1960s “correlated” the various activities of the Church to fit a master plan and focus on converting the living, redeeming the dead, and perfecting the members. Home teaching, the first priesthood program, was defined as the mechanism linking families with the latter three programs. Correlation committee members served as a visiting staff to present the details of the four programs at stake conferences. Members of the general missionary committee assumed the role of the twenty-five stake mission supervisors. Because they were advisers, the members of these four committees held no executive authority.

In January 1964 the four committees at the general Church level were augmented at the local level by advisory counsels, one for each of the four priesthood programs. Each stake was assigned to one of seventy priesthood “regions.” The boundaries of the regions were based on an earlier structure of welfare regions. A stake president in each was assigned to advise the other stake presidents in that region on one of the priesthood programs. All four of the programs were emphasized, each in turn, at quarterly regional meetings. A member of the appropriate general committee attended each regional leadership meeting.9 The regional chairmen, like the visiting committee authority, were not in the priesthood line of authority.

This advisory system of committees at both local and general Church levels was discarded in 1968 with the calling of regional

representatives. However, a more lasting legacy remained in the use of the term "region." It came to identify the administrative structure over stakes while "areas" was the term applied to groupings of missions.

In January 1968, the Church implemented a major new advisory system. Sixty-nine regional representatives of the Twelve replaced the four general correlation committees and the regional advisory committees. Now, the four priesthood programs were transmitted from the Twelve to stake presidents through a single link. The calling of regional representative was a part-time Church service assignment that did not carry General Authority status even though regional representatives had a broad assignment. Because they normally lived close to the region they served, it was more economical for them, rather than Salt Lake-based authorities, to travel to the various Church units. It expanded the ability of the Twelve to have more constant touch with local leaders but did not decentralize their authority because the regional representatives were not given executive line authority to set apart local church leaders, etc.

From 1972 to 1975, the advisory system developed in the stakes was extended to cover missions. Direct supervision of missions by General Authorities, which had been in place since 1961, was temporarily dropped. The change came during the presidencies of Joseph Fielding Smith and Harold B. Lee.

In June 1972, just before President Smith's death, the Church disassembled the area-supervision structure and appointed twenty-nine mission representatives as advisory links between the First Council of Seventy and missions, both full-time and stake. At the same time, Church members in missions came under the purview of regional representatives. President Lee implemented the program set in motion by his predecessor. In September 1973 at the regional representative seminar (leadership meeting held semi-annually for regional representatives), he emphasized that as representatives they were teachers and trainers, functioning only in a staff capacity.

11 "Keeping Pace with the Growth," Church News, 1 July 1972, 3, 5-6.
12 Francis M. Gibbons, Harold B. Lee: Man of Vision, Prophet of God
This charge reflected the disposition of the Church presidents involved. Elder Smith was known for his authoritarian disposition and conservative attitude while Elder Lee, long committed to correlation, was an advocate of centralized control. Both may well have seen mission supervision as diluting centralized authority.

The office of mission representative, however, did not survive the death of President Lee in December 1973. In January 1974, the Church dropped the title of mission representative and those holding that position were folded into the ranks of the regional representatives. The responsibility to advise both missions and stakes was thus put in the hands of a single type of representative, though strictly missionary matters were reported to the First Council of Seventy rather than to the Twelve.

Meanwhile, the “area” concept, no longer part of the supervisory structure of the Church, was preserved with the institution of area conferences. The first was held in August 1971, at Manchester, England. Area conferences functioned as scaled-down versions of the general conferences for Church members outside of North America. As N. Eldon Tanner of the First Presidency explained in general conference, “Area conferences are held in strategic locations throughout the world in order that the president may meet the people, and the people in turn may see the prophet and the other General Authorities and their wives face to face. The primary purposes are to take the gospel to the people in their own environment and in their own language, encourage the Saints in their duties, increase their faith and devotion, and raise the voice of warning.”

Area conferences lasted for twelve years and ended in 1983, though their purpose was preserved in smaller regional conferences, which continue to be held to the present. (See Tables 2 and 3.)

**AUTHORITY DECENTRALIZED**

Having advisory representatives over stakes and missions preserved local leaders’ autonomy to handle local matters expeditiously.

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(Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1993), 488.


TABLE 2
LEADERSHIP POSITIONS IN STAKES AND MISSIONS, 1961-97

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Stakes</th>
<th>Missions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>Area supervisor (stake missions only)</td>
<td>Mission or regional supervisor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964</td>
<td>Regional chairman</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>Regional representative</td>
<td>Renamed area supervisor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967</td>
<td>Regional representative</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>Regional representative (members)</td>
<td>Regional representative (members)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mission representative (stake missionaries)</td>
<td>Mission representative (full-time missionaries)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>Regional representative</td>
<td>Regional representative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>Area supervisor: outside US/Canada Regional representative: US/Canada only</td>
<td>Area advisor Area supervisor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>Area advisor Area supervisor Regional representative</td>
<td>Area advisor Area supervisor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>Zone advisor Area supervisor Regional representative</td>
<td>Zone advisor Area supervisor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>Executive administrator Regional representative</td>
<td>Executive administrator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>Area president/counselors Regional representative</td>
<td>Area president/counselors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>Area president/counselors Area authority</td>
<td>Same as 1984</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>Area president/counselors Area Authority Seventy</td>
<td>Same as 1984</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 3  
**Creation of Areas, 1961-72**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>July 1961</th>
<th>August 1965</th>
<th>June 1968</th>
<th>June 1971</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$N = 9$</td>
<td>$N = 12$</td>
<td>$N = 14$</td>
<td>$N = 11$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Western American</th>
<th>Western American</th>
<th>West Coast</th>
<th>West Coast</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Southwest Indian</td>
<td>Intermountain and Indian</td>
<td>Intermountain and Indian</td>
<td>Intermountain and Indian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Midwestern American</td>
<td>Mid-American</td>
<td>Mid-American</td>
<td>Mid-American</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern American</td>
<td>East American</td>
<td>Eastern American</td>
<td>Eastern American, American, Scandinavian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southeast American</td>
<td>Southeast American</td>
<td>Southeast American</td>
<td>Scandinavian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>Spanish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South American</td>
<td>South American</td>
<td>South American</td>
<td>South American</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West European</td>
<td>West European</td>
<td>West European</td>
<td>West European, British Isles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>British Isles, British Isles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>European</td>
<td>European</td>
<td>European-Germanic</td>
<td>European-Germanic, Scandinavian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hawaii-Oriental &amp; Hawaii</td>
<td>Oriental</td>
<td>Oriental</td>
<td>Asia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australia, New Zealand</td>
<td>South Pacific</td>
<td>Australia, New Zealand</td>
<td>New Zealand, South Pacific</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
But it worked best where stake presidents and other local leaders were experienced and encountered few situations for which they needed to consult the General Authorities. As the Church expanded rapidly, however, expertise was thin in many mission areas, necessitating closer supervision. Between 1960 and 1972, Church membership doubled from 1.5 to 3 million, half of it outside the United States. The three-year experiment from 1972 to 1975 with advisory representatives was apparently inadequate.

Spencer W. Kimball, successor to President Lee, took a broad new stride in decentralizing Church authority. An alumnus of the first area supervisor program, he reinstated the position of area supervisor in May 1975, assigning them supervisory responsibility not only for missions but also for stakes outside of North America (missions only in the United States and Canada). The Church established eighteen areas, six overseas and twelve in North America. Six Assistants to the Twelve were assigned to live in these overseas areas and exercise executive authority as they had in 1961-65. The First Presidency explained: “Church membership worldwide more than tripled in the past 25 years and is approaching 3.5 million. This means that new congregations are being organized weekly, requiring constant and improved training programs. The resident General Authorities will intensify the training of leaders in the stakes and missions so that ecclesiastical and proselyting activities may become more effective.”

John Maxwell, a regional representative in England in the late 1970s, observed that having a General Authority in residence led to better quality work and prompter decision-making, for example, reducing the time to get approval for a new bishop from two months to one week. The Church rapidly sent more area supervisors abroad; ten served overseas in 1976. This new corps of overseas General Authorities also reduced the need for regional representatives; fifty-two foreign regions were dissolved on 1 October 1975.

16 “6 Assistants to Live Abroad,” Church News, 3 May 1975, 3, 12.
17 John Maxwell, Interviewed by Gordon Irving, Salt Lake City, 1981, 85, Archives of the Family and Church History Department, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City (hereafter LDS Church Archives).
In yet another innovation, regional representatives in overseas areas reported to area supervisors, not the Twelve. In North America, regional representatives continued to serve stakes but not missions and continued to report to the Twelve as previously. This mixed program lasted only for a year. Another move was in the offing to expand the corps of General Authorities, creating a broader base of personnel to administer the Church at the general level.

Recognizing the needs of an expanding Church, the First Council of the Seventy had petitioned the First Presidency as early as 1965 to reconstitute the First Quorum of Seventy as a general governing quorum of the Church. The First Council, limited to seven men, did not have a broad administrative function. The First Council had submitted this proposal twice before Spencer W. Kimball became Church president. He asked the First Council for a third reconsideration. They returned the proposal with the same recommendation. Accordingly, in October 1975, President Kimball reestablished the First Quorum of Seventy, as a separate body from the First Council of the Seventy, the only group of seventies considered General Authorities since the 1880s. The First Quorum's role would be expanded as they were called to take up the task of area supervision. Fourteen new Seventies were added to the quorum within two years.

In July 1976, President Kimball also extended area supervision as it was structured abroad into North America; and in October 1976, he simplified the General Authority structure by folding the Assistants to the Twelve and the First Council of Seventy into the First Quorum of Seventy, thereby making it the third general governing body of the Church. Area supervisors assigned from this quorum now assisted the Twelve as outlined in scripture "in building up the church and regulating all the affairs of the same in all nations" (D&C 107:34). S. Dilworth Young, senior president of the dissolved First Council, testified at October conference: "It is right. It is inspired. Its time has come. It could not be stayed."21

21 S. Dilworth Young, "I Have Gained," Ensign, November 1976, 102. Elder Young was not retained in the seven-man presidency of the new First Quorum of Seventy, even though he was its senior member.
Men ordained to the office of seventy had served for so long at the local level that the status of a Seventy as a general Church office had become obscured. Indeed, in June 1961 President McKay had decided to have members of the First Council not previously ordained as high priests, at the time perceived as a calling with greater authority, so ordained. This attitude persisted into the 1980s. In 1985, seventies quorums were abolished on the local level so that the calling of Seventy existed only as a general Church office.

Area supervision was a major step toward decentralizing Church authority over both stakes and missions. It formalized middle management in the Church, though supervisors worked closely with the apostles and not independently. But decentralization did not occur only at the General Authority level. In April 1976, regional representatives received limited line authority, thus creating a non-General Authority level of general church administration. In addition to conducting annual regional instruction meetings as previously, they would now be accountable for Church progress within their regions and would conduct regular priesthood interviews with stake presidents. Their primary limitation was that they did not call or release local leaders. This increase in authority was accompanied by a diminished title—from “Regional Representative of the Twelve” to just “Regional Representative,” for they no longer reported to the Twelve.

The major consequence of the changes during 1975 and 1976 was that stake and mission presidents, no matter where they served, reported to a regional representative, who reported to an area supervisor, a Seventy, who reported to an advisor in the Twelve. The executive authority of the presiding Church quorums now had extensions at a level closer to the members served.

22 “Status Changed for Seventy Council,” Church News, 17 June 1961, 3. It is perhaps instructive that this change occurred just before the appointment of Theodore Tuttle, the only member of the First Council of Seventy to serve as an area supervisor. As a high priest, his authority would not be challenged by stake presidencies (who were high priests) and who understood the common paradigm that placed seventies between elders and high priests in priesthood ranking.

23 “Regional Representatives Given Limited Line Authority,” Church News, 10 April 1976, 19.
Though decentralized Church administration was firmly in place, it consisted of a single executive at any point along the chain without assistants or counselors. This system of lone executives functioned for the next seven years until area presidencies were created. In the meantime, the details of how area supervision functioned were tested, with some initiatives being kept and some discarded.

In June 1977, the Presiding Bishopric's Office (PBO) appointed eight area supervisors of temporal affairs to reside in the various areas of the world outside North America. They directed "welfare services, physical facilities, data management, translation and distribution, purchasing, financial and membership record-keeping services." Church agents performing these duties had resided abroad since the early 1960s but had reported to their various headquarters in Salt Lake City rather than to a local representative of the Presiding Bishopric. The title of PBO Supervisor was replaced in 1979 with the title, Director of Temporal Affairs (DTAs). More important, they became a permanent part of Church operations worldwide.

One program that was dropped was zone administration. In July 1977, the Church created the zone as a supervisory level above the area. The concept was to remove the apostles from being responsible for a single area of the world and to have the First Quorum of Seventy assume the advisory as well as the supervisory role. Throughout the years of area supervision, members of the Twelve had been advisors to the Church administrators in a geographical segment. (In the first few years, as has been noted, some apostles were actual supervisors.) Their release from this role was a very brief experiment, probably because of the need felt for a more direct apostolic contact with members and missionaries. In December 1978, the Church dissolved zones and each apostle again received an advisory assignment for a specific locality, becoming the First Point of Contact for matters involving that locale. For the last two decades of the twentieth century, these apostolic assignments have usually been rotated every five years, probably so that apostles might

retain a world-wide focus rather than becoming identified with just one area of the world.

The seventeen original areas in 1975 were multiplied to thirty in 1976, and to fifty by 1977. The rate of growth was more modest from that point on. Only thirteen more areas were added through 1983 for a grand total of sixty-three areas. Many supervisors managed more than one area. This large number of areas proved unwieldy; when area presidencies were created in 1984, the number of areas was reduced to thirteen in addition to other modifications.

In April 1979 conference a basic principle of Church administration was applied to this new hierarchy of administrative alignments—the principle of councils. The hope was to bring representatives administering all Church programs in an area together in a forum where they could coordinate, plan, and resolve conflicts. Wards and regions already had councils; now area councils were also created. Area supervisors were given the new title of Executive Administrator and assigned the additional responsibility of running the area council which consisted of the regional representatives, the DTA, and area administrators of welfare, finance, and other functions performed in area offices. These area administrators supervised the work of Church employees in area offices that had evolved in the late 1970s to administer local temporal affairs. The council was a tool for the Executive Administrator and the DTA to mutually manage all Church operations in the area. Shared decision-making was another step toward the imminent creation of area presidencies in 1984.

Two other initiatives came and went. In the first, the Church called seven full-time regional representatives in 1979 to serve in foreign areas. The intent was probably to increase the leadership in areas where many stake presidents and bishops with only a few years' experience in the Church were still developing their skills and needed more experience before serving at a higher level of authority. At the same time, the position itself was an anomaly—a full-time unsalaried non-General Authority Church administrator. There cannot have been many men who were financially able to serve full time

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without a stipend of some sort; and no new callings of this kind were ever announced. It is not clear how long this initiative continued, but it cannot have been more than a couple of years.

In the second initiative, many executive administrators were brought back from foreign residence in 1980, probably to curb the costs of foreign residence.\textsuperscript{28} Having returned to Salt Lake City, executive administrators visited their areas one or two times annually, maintaining a presence, though with diminished influence.\textsuperscript{29} General Authority supervisors over areas abroad had been temporarily repatriated between 1965 and 1975, but this second pull-back lasted only from 1980 to 1984, when the Church established area presidencies in residence abroad.

Despite these structural variations, the actual contact from supervisor to file leader was one of guidance and encouragement. Fred N. Spackman, regional representative in Canada in the early 1980s, described his role as to build up stakes, counsel stake presidencies individually, and hold four to five regional meetings and a stake conference in each stake annually. He reported and received guidance from Elder Loren C. Dunn, who supervised eight regional representatives and five mission presidents, and held four area council meetings a year. He characterized the process as "a continuous flow of information up and down."\textsuperscript{30} Operationally, this process is similar to that in almost any bureaucracy.

Administrators confronted issues and matured in making the system function. Osiris Cabral, a regional representative in Brazil in the late 1970s, had to deal with a stake president who wanted to be independent and successfully resolved the situation.\textsuperscript{31} Ian D. Swanney, a regional representative in England, observed that the area


\textsuperscript{29} William Blacoe, Interviewed by Kahlile Mehr, 14 March 1999, Bountiful, Utah, notes in my possession. Brother Blacoe had been a Church employee in Europe since 1982.

\textsuperscript{30} Fred Neal Spackman, Interviewed by Charles Ursenbach, 49-51, Cardston, Alberta, 1983, LDS Church Archives.

\textsuperscript{31} Osiris Grobel Cabral, Interviewed by Gordon Irving, 98, Salt Lake City, 1974-82, LDS Church Archives.
supervisor began by listing all the things they were not allowed to do, but over time guidance became more instructive and helpful.32

**Area Presidencies**

Gordon B. Hinckley was called to Spencer W. Kimball's First Presidency on 23 July 1981. For several years he assisted a president and two counselors in failing health, a situation that increased his influence in decisions. He had witnessed the growth of the Church in Asia during the many years when he had supervised that area and now promoted the concept of in-residence executive authority among the Twelve. He argued that the Church's growth demanded flexibility in administration—less rigid rule-making, fewer bureaucratic procedures, and broader policy development. As he explained in the 1984 annual seminar for newly called mission presidents: "We can't lick every postage stamp in Salt Lake City. We have to do something about decentralizing authority."33

No less important was the role of Howard W. Hunter, one of the original mission supervisors in 1961. He was president of the Church in June 1984 when area presidencies were formally established. Supervision would no longer come from a single General Authority but rather would be shared by a presidency, similar to the general pattern of presidencies (stake, quorum, Relief Society, Primary, etc.) and bishoprics throughout the Church. President Hinckley, then a counselor to President Hunter, explained: "This organization lends strength to administration and brings a combined wisdom to decisions and provides flexibility in meeting challenges of growth."34 Three of these presidencies were appointed to live overseas in Frankfurt, Germany; Sydney, Australia; and Buenos Aires, Argentina. By the following year, the area presidencies for Asia, Mexico/Central America, and South America North also became residential in the field.35 In addition to their ecclesiastical responsibilities, the overseas area presidencies supervised area offices and their Church employees.36 In effect the Church had established mini-

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32 Ian David Swanney, Interviewed by Gordon Irving, 93, Salt Lake City, 1979, LDS Church Archives.
33 Dew, *Go Forward with Faith*, 408.
First Presidencies to make decisions close to the action, though the relationship of these presidencies with Church headquarters remained strong and constant.

Simultaneously, the number of areas dropped from sixty-three to thirteen, thus reducing manpower requirement and costs. Finances were also reduced by the announcement in April 1984 that some Seventies would fulfill temporary assignments of three to five years, not only making it financially easier for individuals to serve but also reducing the financial impact on the Church of maintaining General Authorities for a lifetime. The creation of the Second Quorum of Seventy in April 1989 formalized this concept and regularized the assignment as a five-year commitment. (See Table 4.)

This system has been expanded and fine-tuned since 1984 but has remained substantially the same. From 1986 to 1990, the wife of a resident General Authority often functioned as a representative of the General Boards of the Relief Society, Young Women, and Primary, allowing her to conduct auxiliary business when traveling with her partner. After this policy was discontinued, local Church leaders, rather than expatriate Americans, served as General Board representatives. In 1987, the Church dissolved the International Mission, which had presided over members in areas outside stakes and missions; area presidencies assumed responsibility for scattered members in locations without a formal Church presence. Increased authority has been granted the presidencies. For instance, in 1987 they were assigned to coordinate temple work with temple presidents and local priesthood leaders. In the 1990s, area presi-

37 W. Grant Bangerter, Interviewed by Kahlile Mehr, 30 November 1998, Alpine, Utah, typescript, [2].
40 Julie Merrill, executive secretary to the Relief Society Presidency, telephone interview by Kahlile Mehr, 3 June 1999, notes in my possession.
42 “Record Number of Temple Presidents and Matrons Attend Seminar,” Ensign, November 1987, 105.
### TABLE 4
AREAS ORGANIZED, DISSOLVED, 1975-83

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*Note: This table does not document numerous name changes.*

*Dissolved in 1977: International, Mexico/Central America, West Central (US), Utah North Central, Utah Salt Lake North, and Utah Salt Lake South.*
dents also presided at a majority of temple ground-breaking ceremonies.

Most of the significant adjustments to the system came after Elder Hinckley became Church president in 1995. He immediately made changes in the program he had helped shepherd into existence a decade earlier by altering the composition of General Authority and non-General Authority assignments. At General Conference in April 1995, he announced the release of all 284 regional representatives effective August 15 to be replaced by Area Authorities. The position of Area Authority was a part-time Church service assignment, with an expected term of about six years. Area Authorities functioned as non-General Authority supervisors over any of the Church units in the area and performed any tasks assigned by the Area Presidency. They could also serve in an area presidency. Regions were dissolved as subdivisions of ecclesiastical administration, though regional conferences continued to be held. President Hinckley changed their title to Area Authority Seventy in April 1997 and provided a quorum structure for the 135 authorities then in service by establishing the third, fourth and fifth quorums. The third comprised authorities serving in Europe, Asia, and the Pacific, the fourth Latin Americans, and the fifth North Americans. Over time the number of areas has increased. In 1998 five new areas were created, making a total of twenty-eight, still the number in existence at the end of 2000, administering a Church of more than 11 million.

Area presidency assignments change frequently to provide diversity of experience and encourage a worldwide understanding of the Church among the Seventies. To avoid disrupting the continuity of the local Church program, a counselor was called to serve as the new president 65 percent of the time between 1984 and 2000. At other times, counselors from the previous presidency maintained the continuity under a new president. Combined, 95 percent of

45 Spencer J. Condie, Telephone interview by Kahlile Mehr, 12 January 2001; notes in my possession.
47 Bangerter, Interview.
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Names of newly created areas in bold.
newly installed area presidencies to 2000 included someone from the previous administration (304 out of 320 instances). 48

Area presidencies and the priesthood quorums that staff them provide a flexible on-site supervisory program. Including Area Authorities in the presidencies provides a local perspective on issues. It is a system “under which the Church may grow to any size.” 49 As such, it serves as the administrative backbone of a worldwide Church at the dawn of a new millennium. Area supervision represents a decentralization of Church authority needed to administer an ever-expanding Church.

As this paper suggests, the structure will almost certainly experience more modifications and experimentation. Area presidencies did not appear whole-cloth. They resulted from the continual efforts of the General Authorities to achieve divine purposes with temporal structure. The existing structure came into being “line upon line.” Some innovations were canceled, others retained, and some dropped only to reappear later, such as the swing from nonresident to resident supervision in foreign areas. This evolution shows that even divine ends do not come with the means pre-dICTated but that earthly administrators must work out the details for achieving those ends.

While available documentation does not allow an evaluation of causation and motivation, it appears that there is a link between the experience of the person who served as the presiding authority and the decisions made, as witnessed by the substantial influence on area supervision of three leaders—Presidents Kimball, Hunter, and Hinckley—all of whom were among the initial area supervisors in 1961. President Kimball introduced area supervision over stakes and missions, President Hunter introduced area presidencies, and President Hinckley refined them substantially to increase their effectiveness. Their individual experiences may well have been the crucible which molded the reality of the Church collectively.

President Kimball’s contribution in particular, the creation of the First Quorum of Seventy, more closely aligned Church administration with the scriptural model in which Seventies function to

48 Computed from my analysis of the assignments announced in the Church News each year.
assist the Twelve in all the world (D&C 107:34). Assistants to the Twelve, regional representatives, and various other authorities not mentioned in scripture have performed important roles in the past but are now superseded. This development suggests that the First Quorum of Seventy was not needed until there was a worldwide Church to regulate and that Church structure is a means rather than an end, and can be modified as needed.

During the last forty years, decentralizing authority into areas has become an integral part of Church administration. Decentralized authority provides flexibility in administering the Church in a world of increasing turmoil. If the transportation and communication systems we now take for granted were interrupted, area presidencies with a broad background from other lands where they have also served could administer Church entities in isolation. Priesthood leaders trained in running a worldwide Church might have to administer a world-divided Church. Ideally, the decentralization of authority has prepared them for this eventuality. And if contact with headquarters remains firm, local authorities responding to local realities will ideally permit the Church to more effectively meet the needs of its members.
S. DILWORTH YOUNG OF THE FIRST QUORUM OF SEVENTY

Benson Young Parkinson

A. THEODORE TUTTLE, speaking at the funeral of Seymour Dilworth Young (1897-1981), referred to Dilworth as "a man who more than anyone else represents our link with the Seventies of the past." Elder Tuttle listed members of the First Council of the Seventy going back to the turn of the century and indicated that Dilworth, in at least two ways, hearkened back to the pioneer church: he was old enough to remember some of those leaders, and he came from one of those families. Dilworth will probably be remembered longest for his role in the reorganization of the First Quorum of Seventy in 1976, for which he gave up his position as senior president of the quorum. With more than a little of the showman in him, Dilworth loved the limelight but knew how

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1 A. Theodore Tuttle, Funeral Sermon for S. Dilworth Young, 13 July 1981, audio recording in my possession.
to put ego behind principle. An innovator, Dilworth in old age referred to himself as "the old wheel horse" because of his role in change.²

**BEGINNINGS**

Dilworth was born on 7 September, 1897 at 83 Canyon Road in Salt Lake City. His father was Seymour B. Young Jr., and his grandfather, Seymour B. Young Sr., was Brigham Young's physician and senior president of the First Council of the Seventy. Seymour Sr.'s father, Joseph Young, Brigham's brother, had been a president of the Seventy from its first organization in 1835. Dilworth's mother was Carlie Louine Young Clawson, a daughter of pioneer businessman and Salt Lake Theatre manager Hiram Clawson, and Emily Augusta Young Clawson, a daughter of Brigham Young and Emily Dow Partridge Young. Dilworth had an older sister Emily (later Knepp), and younger siblings Hiram, Florence (who died in infancy), Scott Richmond, and Louine (later Cromar).

Dilworth's father was an excellent amateur musician who made a good living as a salesman until his health failed. Dilworth spent his boyhood in various turn-of-the-century Salt Lake City neighborhoods. At Granite High School he was student body president and excelled at football and basketball. He joined the 145th Field Artillery soon after the United States entered World War I and, after thirteen languorous months, had just received shipping orders to the front when the Armistice was signed.

Dilworth met Gladys Pratt on a youth hike soon after his discharge from the army. Gladys was a sister of Rey L. Pratt, another long-term mission president and future member of the First Council of the Seventy. Dilworth reports having a premonition when he met Gladys. He had brought a neighbor girl on the hike but could not keep his eyes off Gladys, who bounded from place to place "like a gazelle" and always seemed to have just alighted on whatever boulder or tree he happened to look on. He climbed a tree to get some pine gum for her and tried to impress her with his few words of French ("potatoes," "beefsteak," "cheese," "butter," "bread"). Her reply, in fluent Spanish, lasted five minutes (Gladys came from the Mormon

² Leonore Young Parkinson, Oral History, 10 May 1998, Ogden, Utah. Unless otherwise noted, I conducted all interviews, and audiocassettes are in my possession.
colonies in northern Chihuahua), and she organized her girlfriends to give him a dunking. He finished the day without having learned her name. In his autobiography he records hearing himself tell his mother: "I've seen the girl I'm going to marry." When his mother asked, "Who is she?" he replied, "I don't know... But I am!' I hadn't thought those thoughts nor was I thinking them, and I was about as much surprised as Mother was when I heard myself say them." 3

Soon after, Dilworth was called to serve a mission and learned through the grapevine that he would be going to Hawaii. When the letter from Box B arrived, assigning him to the Central States Mission instead, he marched from his home at 1882 South Tenth East to the Church Administration Building on South Temple to have it changed. He thought it would be easy because one uncle, Rudger Clawson, was president of the Twelve, his Grandfather Young was the senior president of the Seventy, and another uncle, Levi Edgar Young, was a member of the Seventy. Dilworth walked around the Administration Building several times, thought better of it, and walked home. He later recalled, "If I had insisted on Hawaii, I would not be in the First Council now, I'm sure." He came back for a visit before his departure, however; and when Grandfather Seymour discovered that his bishop had not ordained him a Seventy, Seymour Sr. called in J. Golden Kimball, also of the First Council, and they ordained young Dilworth to that office. Then he said, "Now go tell your bishop you are a seventy." Dilworth was apparently too embarrassed to do so. 4

Dilworth reported to the Central States Mission headquarters in Independence, Missouri, in January 1920. The mission secretary and bookkeeper ushered his group to the clothiers for hats, minimal supplies, and an "introduction" to their derbies. "This consisted in placing the hat on our heads with the rim across the bridge of the nose and giving it a sharp rap. It made a dent in the nose and put a dent in the derby." Dilworth's boisterous laugh caught the attention of long-term mission president Samuel O. Bennion (later also a member of the First Council of the Seventy). President Bennion sent him to backwoods Louisiana without purse or scrip for six months, telling him, "You can laugh down there and they can't hear you."

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3 S. Dilworth Young, "Life Story of Seymour Dilworth Young," 1972, 53-56, typescript in possession of Hulda Parker Young.
4 Ibid., 47, 56-57.
The secretary and bookkeeper took all their cash, gave them back two dollars, and put them on trains to their destinations.\(^5\)

Dilworth and his companion, Boyd Rogers, rode the train to Shreveport, Louisiana, but failed to connect with their district leader. After spending two nights in the railway station, they headed into the woods. A pair of families sharing a cabin in Mooringsport gave them their third night’s lodgings. The fourth night, after tract- ing out the tiny town of Blanchard, they found themselves at 10:00 P.M. in heavy rain and near-total darkness with nowhere to go. “I was standing within three feet of the [train] station and I could not see it . . . ,” Dilworth recalled. “The lowering clouds seemingly at treetop height were impenetrable in the rain. I looked up and passed my hand in front of my face. I could not see it as it passed.” He asked his companion what they should do, and his companion suggested they pray. Dilworth confessed:

Until now I had said regular prayers as at home, but we had not prayed

\(^5\) Ibid., 65-67.
Elder Young uses his grip as a temporary seat on a Louisiana railroad track, 1920.

together. It had never occurred to me that we should pray. So we knelt on our suitcases and I prayed we would find a place. Then Elder Rogers prayed. I think we prayed again, then I got up, stooped to pick up my case, and as I straightened up, off in the wood where we thought there was no house, a light flared up. First there was blackness—then this light.

They followed the light through the mud and trees. Dilworth tripped and fell into several feet of water in a barrow pit, losing his hat and floundering for it. The light proved to be a pine knot flaring up in a fireplace, which was just visible through the open window of a small cabin they had somehow missed. The woman there fed them, and they spent the night in a barn. 6

Dilworth served six months in Louisiana and was “lost most of the time in the woods. . . . The only way we could find a house was to sit down and wait for a rooster to crow or a dog to bark. Then we would follow the sound to a cabin.” 7 After a posting in New Orleans,

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Gladys and Dilworth on the couch before their fireplace, Christmas ca. 1940. Young Dil is about sixteen. Daughter Leonore is about fourteen. The family dog is Brownie.
Dilworth was brought into the mission office, first as a clerk and then as mission secretary (an office equivalent to assistant to the president now) where he served for the next two years.

After his mission, Dilworth courted Gladys Pratt and was married to her on 31 May 1923 in the Salt Lake Temple. Dilworth and Gladys had a very close relationship throughout their marriage, despite very different temperaments. Gladys was artistic, high-strung, and intensely romantic. Dilworth, though considerate and creative, was rough and plain. He consistently misunderstood her, though he never stopped trying. Gladys became known for the plays and pageants she wrote and directed in the Ogden area, including Pioneer Day spectacles in the Ogden Stadium, one of which had a Depression-era budget of $12,000 and a cast of 1,500 drawn from every civic and religious organization in town.

Dilworth and Gladys had two children: Dilworth Randolph, born in 1924, and Leonore, born in 1926. Young Dil died during his first night of battle in Europe in World War II. When he was drafted, he was offered a number of officer and specialty programs but insisted on joining the infantry rather than “ask any other man to assume his risk.” The loss was difficult for the Youngs. Gladys, in particular, fell into a deep grief and did not fully emerge from it for years. Leonore followed in her mother’s footsteps, earning a degree in drama at the University of Utah and writing and directing Church plays and pageants on ward, stake, and multi-region levels. At age twenty-two, she married Blaine Parkinson, her father’s mission secretary in New England and later a professor of education at Weber State College. They became the parents of nine and live in Ogden.

Dilworth worked as Boy Scout executive for the Ogden Area Gateway Council from 1923 to 1945. It did not take him long to grow dissatisfied with the crafts-oriented, classroom-style camps his predecessors had run. He experimented with dropping the boys higher and higher on Monte Cristo (between Huntsville and Woodruff, Utah) and having them backpack five, ten, or twenty miles to Camp Kiesel. He designed patterns for sleeping bags, backpacks, cooking kits, and other equipment that Depression-era boys could make from cheap cloth, wood scraps, and tin cans. He led the younger boys on three-day jaunts and the older boys on annual ten-day “Carson

8 Ibid., 209.
S. Dilworth Young, the consummate Scouter, in his campaign hat, ca. 1930s.

Hikes” through Yellowstone, Grand Canyon, the High Uintas, and Glacier National Park. Brusque, humorous, and demanding, Dilworth was a man boys liked to follow. He also became a master storyteller, famous for his Jim Saunders trapper stories and his blood-chilling “Wendigo.”

FIRST COUNCIL OF THE SEVENTY

Samuel O. Bennion died on 8 March 1945. On 12 March, forty-seven-year-old Dilworth, while attending his mission president’s funeral at the Assembly Hall, had another premonition—this time that he would take Samuel’s place in the First Council of the Seventy. Dilworth attributed the feeling to ambition rather than inspiration, and for three weeks struggled to push it out of his mind. Dilworth was working a second, early-morning job at the time. On Friday, 6 April 1945, as he returned from his morning job, Gladys told him he had a call from Salt Lake, but she had neglected to take down the

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9 Dilworth based his version of this tale on the classic horror story by Algernon Blackwood. See “The Wendigo,” in The Lost Valley and Other Stories (London: Eveleigh Nash, 1910).
return number. Dilworth started for his day job at the Scout office but instead walked the streets of Ogden for two hours. "I knew what the call was," he said. "I don't know why I couldn't go to the office." When he did, his secretary delivered a message to call David O. McKay, then a counselor in the First Presidency. "All the time we talked it seemed to me that I knew just what he was going to say before he said it. It was a curious feeling." President McKay asked, "Would you like to attend conference?" Dilworth answered, "I would like to but I don't have a ticket." (During World War II, general conferences were held in the Assembly Hall, due to government restrictions on large gatherings, and seating was limited.) President McKay told Dilworth that his secretary would give him a ticket. Dilworth drove to Salt Lake City, stopped by President McKay's office, and slipped into a seat in the last half hour of the morning session. He heard President J. Reuben Clark announce: "I have just been informed that President Young has just come in. . . . I have the honor to inform you that you have been sustained as one of the First Council of the Seventy." Dilworth recalled, "I didn't move—just sat there. . . . After the meeting, I edged my way toward the stand and met President McKay in the aisle. He offered his hand. I took it. He smiled and said, 'Will you?' I said, 'Yes, sir.' That was all that was said to me then or later."10

Dilworth finished his business with the Boy Scouts and took up his duties as a Seventy. He and the other six presidents of the First Council oversaw local seventies, ordained and set apart quorum presidencies (duties later given to stake presidents), corresponded with the quorums, and administered an international missionary fund. The seven presidents toured stakes and missions with the other General Authorities and served on Church committees, especially the Missionary Committee. During Spencer W. Kimball's tenure as Church President, the First Quorum of Seventy had primary responsibility for the Missionary Committee.11 The First Council met on Thursdays in their room in the temple and also once a month with the Twelve. With the other General Authorities, they set apart missionaries and interviewed prospective ones. Apparently Dilworth

delighted in grilling the missionaries. Bruce R. McConkie sent his own missionary sons to Dilworth: “I figured that they’d get the toughest interview in the building out of Dilworth, and it would be good for them.” The presidents also counseled individual members. Dilworth’s secretary, Phyllis Warnick, remembers people calling or coming in off the street asking for advice. That could seem like an imposition, happening day after day; however, “he was always willing to take the phone call or listen to the person. . . . [That] impressed me, his willingness to help.”

Phyllis describes Dilworth as hard working, like the Brethren in general. She also remembers disagreements within the First Council but not ever an argument: “They are really strong men, all of them. And they obviously don’t agree on everything. I don’t recall ever anyone saying, "You’re wrong." They would just say, “Well, I think that this is the way it should be said,” or “I think this is the way it should be done. . . .” If Elder Young was the Senior President, then he had the final [say]. And I saw then only absolute cooperation.” Phyllis speaks of a “unique closeness among those seven Brethren, just a brotherhood that I’ve really never known anywhere else.”

Phyllis remembers Dilworth as helpful, solicitous, gruff but playful, blunt but never intentionally unkind. Once he wore a face mask at work for several days, because “I have this terrible cold and I don’t want to contaminate people.” When Richard L. Evans was called to the Quorum of the Twelve in October 1953 and Marion D. Hanks took his place in the Seventy, Elder Evans continued to use his old office for a time, and no one bothered to find Elder Hanks a temporary one. If he had interviews or settings apart to perform, he was obliged to search for an empty one. Realizing the situation, Dilworth pulled an extra desk into his office and said, “Now listen, Duff, you and I are going to work this out, and here’s the schedule.”

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13 Bruce R. McConkie and Hulda Parker Young, Oral History, 1 August 1983, Salt Lake City.
14 Warnick, Oral History.
15 Ibid.
16 Ibid.
17 Ibid.; McConkie and Young, Oral History. Phyllis Warnick was later Elder Hanks’s secretary.
Once in a meeting of all the General Authorities, President Joseph Fielding Smith urged them all to go immediately afterwards to the third floor to set apart missionaries. He reiterated these instructions twice because some of the Brethren had been “skipping out.” Dilworth, who offered the closing prayer, said, “Heavenly Father, take us to the third floor in peace and safety.” Some of the Brethren could hardly contain their laughter.\(^{18}\)

Dilworth’s attitude toward Church policy is summed up in a pair of incidents related by longtime friends John Hale Gardner and Olga Gardner. Dilworth counseled Hale, as a newly selected president in a Brigham Young University student branch, to follow the program of the Church. “However,” Dilworth added, “you must work through the Spirit. If that leads you into conflict with the program of the Church, you follow the voice of the Spirit.” In the other incident, Dilworth set apart Hale and Olga’s son as a missionary. Olga characterizes her son as someone who could always find “a better way” to do something than the prescribed way. Dilworth counseled him in the blessing: “There will always be other missionaries who have found ways to do things that may not be totally in line with the mission rules. Do not be influenced by those. You obey the mission rules.” He repeated this in several ways. Olga says the whole blessing was keyed to their son, without Dilworth’s knowing him or his situation at all, and that their son took it seriously and had a very successful mission, always devising his own way of doing things, but within the rules.\(^{19}\)


\(^{19}\) John Hale Gardner and Olga Gardner, Oral History, 17 May 1983, Provo, Utah. D. Michael Quinn, *The Mormon Hierarchy: Extensions of Power* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books in association with Smith Research Associates, 1997), 17, characterizes Dilworth’s attitude as one of “loyal dissent” because of his creativity and experimentation, but this description seems strained in view of his repeated emphasis on obedience and his unfailing loyalty to the Brethren. Giles H. Florence Jr., who wrote the jacket copy for my *S. Dilworth Young*, comes closer to what I see as Dilworth’s essential personality: “an example of how to be an intellectual, a rugged individualist, and yet utterly loyal to the Church.”
NEW ENGLAND MISSION

After Dilworth had been in the First Council for two years, he saw a bad situation while touring a mission in Texas and made an appointment with President McKay to talk about it. In the middle of their interview, President McKay interrupted to say he had not scheduled enough time; when Dilworth got a note a couple of weeks later that President McKay wanted to see him first thing Monday morning, he assumed it was to finish the Texas story. But then he had another premonition—that he would be called to preside over the New England Mission:

Sunday night I said to Gladys: “How would you like to live in Cambridge, Massachusetts?” She: “I’d like it; are we going there?” I: “Yes, we are. . . . Tomorrow President McKay wants to see me. I’ll go in and he will say: ‘How would you like to preside over the New England Mission?’ And I will say: ‘I’d like it.’ He will say: ‘You are called.’ Then he will tell me when to go and instruct me a little. Then I will walk out of his office and call you and tell you that is what he said.” And that is what I did and that is what he said.20

Dilworth and Gladys arrived in Boston and took up residence in the mission home on Brattle Street in May 1947. The end of the war had brought an influx of new elders, with few to train them. Dilworth found the missionaries “low in morale with no spirit,” and he decided to bring them along as he had been brought along.21 He met them in conferences and told of his missionary experiences in Missouri and Louisiana. Truman Madsen, one of the missionaries and later president in the same mission, remembers the morning sessions where Dilworth told his stories as “a combination of . . . delightful, congenial laughter and of tears.” Then in the afternoon Dilworth told the elders they were to do as President Bennion had instructed him to do in Louisiana.22

The elders were to purchase “hand grips,” small suitcases large enough for a change of clothing, a toilet kit, and a few tracts and copies of the Book of Mormon. They were to give up their apartments for the summer and travel into the country on foot, depend-

21 Ibid.
ing for their food and lodging on the hospitality of the people they sought out and taught. They did not use the phrase “without purse or scrip,” since they carried a small amount of cash to comply with anti-vagrancy laws. Instead they told people they were “dependent for their physical needs upon the hospitality of those who want to hear their message.” Dilworth’s written instructions for “country tracting” directed the elders to visit the members once a month and give them the sacrament, “staying over one night. The rest of the time is entirely with non-members.” The instructions gave advice on approaching people, fending off dogs, and keeping clean. (In a pinch “one can always retire to the woods and wash and bathe in the creeks and branches and runs.”) The elders were to send in reports each week, including an address, usually a post office, where they could be reached the following Saturday. The mission office would forward mail, literature, and money for essentials such as clothing and haircuts. No missionary was forced to go, but none who was physically able asked to be excused. 23

The elders stayed out ten weeks averaging $12.20 total spent on lodging and food and $18.75 for other expenses (close to the $20 the instructions anticipated). They averaged 5.7 cottage meetings, 2.2 street and hall meetings, 8.8 copies of the Book of Mormon sold or loaned, 5 investigator families, and 2 nights sleeping out of doors. One companionship in New Brunswick slept out of doors twenty-one nights. Another, in Nova Scotia, did not sleep out once and never had to ask for a meal. Two elders did “country work” in the town of Hopkinton, Massachusetts, without paying for room and board. According to Dilworth, the elders agreed that “country work is the finest part of missionary work,” and that “they’ll know better next time how to obtain meetings and how to hold them. . . . All agreed that the power of the Lord is exercised on behalf of the Elders as much now as it was in the old days, when [the] Elders do their duty.” 24

Truman Madsen says: “In the early stages we were so preoccupied


24 Young, Letter to the First Presidency.
with our stomachs and with the question of lodging that we, in fact, failed. We were no better than glorified ‘bums’. . . . When we got past that . . . and decided we would put bearing witness and arranging meetings first and not worry about our stomachs, the work began to succeed.” 25 Sometimes the missionaries had remarkable experiences. Madsen and his companion, Reuel Bawden, without food, retired to a wood and prayed beside a brook. When a trout leaped in the brook, the elders quickly improvised a fishing rod from an umbrella, thread, and safety pin and caught six. More often the elders’ spiritual experiences were of the quiet, ongoing variety. Madsen says the elders learned to pray “telegram prayers”—short and direct. 26 D. Woodward, another of the missionaries, speaks of little, ongoing miracles: “It’s like the Lord being right [here] and you being right there. You say a prayer on that side of the ditch, and you get your answer on the other side of the ditch. He’d tell us what doors to knock on, who to ask, and what to ask them . . . . That happened to me thousands of times.” 27

John Hale Gardner, then a student in Boston, remembers that the practice “caused quite a stir” when first announced. “I just gasped. . . . People thought he was doomed to failure. For one thing, the New England people, it was said, were too cold and inhospitable.” The older branch members and some of the LDS students at Harvard and MIT thought the idea of country work “fantastic” and “laughable,” but Dilworth was “stubborn.” When the missionaries began to report back and the members saw how humble and spiritual they had grown, they began to come around. “That began to change the character of the New England mission.” 28

Dilworth got calls from worried parents and from General Authorities who had received anxious calls from parents. He insisted that country tracting was not optional. His written instructions state: “This is not an experiment. It is the way which the Lord wants it done . . . unless there is law against it (as in cities).” Then the instruc-

28 Gardner and Gardner, Oral History.
tions refer the elders to Doctrine and Covenants 84:77-91.29 By contrast, when I was on my mission in 1979 and asked why the Church no longer used “country tracting,” he explained: “Joseph Smith was instructed to use the system. The present leadership instructs elders to receive their support from home.”30 Some of the Brethren worried about what kind of impression the elders were making, and Harold B. Lee toured the mission in late 1947, in part to see what Dilworth was up to. He wrote Dilworth afterwards, summarizing his report to the First Presidency and the Twelve: “They were all very much interested in what I had to say because of the comments for and against, no doubt, that have been made. . . . If I had a son leaving for a mission there would be no place that I would rather have him labor than with President S. Dilworth Young of the New England States Mission.”31

Dilworth sent the elders out in the summers from 1947 through 1949. In the spring of 1950, he took a survey of their attitudes, confiding his “lingering fear” that some of them did not want to do it: “I have never wanted to force any elder to go into the country.” Most wrote back that they were eager to continue. Some spoke of hardship and bad attitudes on their own parts, but also of increased humility and faith. Some were neutral, willing to do whatever the President chose. A small number complained, not of country work, but of the difficulty of working areas that had already been covered. Others told how doors continued to open, how they slept out few nights or none, how they missed hardly a meal. Dilworth felt reassured enough to send the elders out that summer too, his last in the field.32 Looking back from the 1970s,

29 “Country Tracting Instructions for 1950.” This scripture renews the Savior’s instructions “not to have purse or scrip, neither two coats,” promises that “they shall not go hungry, neither athirst,” and assures them of God’s watchfulness over them, the protection of angels, “and [that] whoso receiveth you receiveth me.”


32 S. Dilworth Young, Letter to Fellow Missionaries, 28 June 1950, mimeograph in my possession. Dilworth’s files contain the elders’ responses, one-cent postcards mailed from all corners of the mission.
he told how the families that were converted through country tracting served as the cores of branches, which then formed the cores of wards, and these of stakes. His notes for a February 1951 missionary conference show that he also saw country tracting as a way of bringing the gospel to worthy candidates who might otherwise be overlooked. “The farmers—the choice people of the country” also “have a right to receive the gospel.”

**MIDDLE YEARS**

After this mission, Dilworth and Gladys returned to Salt Lake City, and he resumed his work with the First Council, including extensive traveling nearly every weekend to stake conferences. He developed chronic back pain; and his physician, Talmage Nielsen, told him to put a board under his mattress. The firmer support helped immensely. Dilworth, never one to feel constrained by convention, started carrying a sleeping bag

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33 S. Dilworth Young, Journal, 17 February 1951, photocopy in my possession.
with him on his travels so he could sleep on the floor. His hostess, finding the bed unslept in the next day, would think, “Oh, dear! He didn’t dare get into my bed! I wonder if it wasn’t clean? I wonder if it was uninviting?” Dilworth’s back got better, but he next developed bursitis in his hip and began carrying an inflatable, doughnut-shaped pillow to meetings. Circulation problems kept his extremities cold until he began carrying an old sleeping bag lining to supplement the blankets. In about 1970, he was traveling in Denmark when his hotel reservation was canceled without notice. His irritation at this inconvenience turned to relief when he discovered the next day that fire broke out in the hotel that night, killing “a dozen or two” guests, “many of them American tourists. Had the reservations stood, we would likely have been burned.” Dilworth took to carrying a rope he could tie around his bed leg and toss out the window for a fire escape.

Gout in his toes and fingers also troubled him, and his doctor imposed dietary restrictions, telling him he could eat baked fish or chicken, but not red meat, for supper. Dilworth somewhat grumpily complied, eating halibut whenever he could. He drew up a form letter for the wives of stake presidents who would be hosting him. Leanor Brown, who received one, recalls that it read: “My health is not too good, and I’m on a very strict diet. In meat, I can have fish or chicken. Now I’m sorry I told you that I could eat chicken, because everybody gives me chicken. For breakfast I want five soft boiled eggs. You can have the yolks, and I’ll eat the whites.” She says, “He told us afterwards, ‘I scared more stake presidents’ wives to death, sending them that letter!’ But you know, he was one of the easiest guests you could possibly have. He’d go into the kitchen and take care of himself.” Others agree he was easy to care for and that, in fact, he ignored his diet at least part of the time. A niece from the colonies in Mexico remembers getting the letter,

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34 Talmage Nielsen, Oral History, 30 June 1984, Salt Lake City, interviewed by Hulda Parker Young, copy of audiocassette in my possession.
only to have him ask when he arrived, “Aren’t you going to fix Mexican food?”

Dilworth had cultivated the art of anonymous giving during his Scouting days. He said that if you gave a small group of friends anonymous gifts, they would feel obliged to give gifts to several of their friends in return to make sure their tracks were covered, and so the circle of giving would grow geometrically. He frequently made gifts of bread or biscuits hot from the oven to friends and neighbors, and recommended it for fellowshipping nonmembers. He left sacks of bread in the cars of various Brethren in the underground parking structure by the Church Administration Building. Once, when President Lee’s doors were locked, he put the loaf on top of the car, resulting in a bomb scare when Church security spotted it there. Dilworth took up painting with watercolors and delighted in giving his efforts to friends and associates. His son-in-law and former mission secretary, Blaine Parkinson, remembers how eager his former missionaries were to secure a painting, if only as a memento of Dilworth.

Dilworth had long been a practical joker and continued after he became a General Authority. Once he wrapped a mud pie in the foil from a fine cheese and presented it to Bruce R. McConkie, then his colleague in the Seventy. Bruce gathered his family around for a taste before discovering what it was. Dilworth wanted to tease Bruce after the publication of *Mormon Doctrine*, so he sent him a letter ostensibly from one “Balwant Singh” in India. Dilworth enlisted the help of Gurcharan Gill, an East Indian mathematician and BYU professor who had married into his family. Gill provided contacts in India who supplied the postmark and return address. Letters went back and forth. Finally Singh said he would be visiting the United States with wife and friends Ghlema Rhoodh (Glen Rudd, a Church functionary and later a member of the Seventy), Vulmh Arveh (Velma Harvey, Bruce’s secretary), and Seehkmoor Dhl Jung (Seymour Dilworth Young). Singh states, “I hope that you have a large family [sic], because if you do, we would like to meet them in their

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37 Gerda Pratt Haynie and Berta Pratt Whitney, Oral History, 13 May 1983, Orem, Utah.
38 J. D. Williams, Oral History, 30 June 1984, Salt Lake City, interviewed by Hulda Parker Young.
natural behavior and function.” Bruce agreed to host them for dinner. Dilworth and friends intended to disguise themselves as Indians and even learned some Indian phrases to use but decided not to go through with it at the last minute for fear of what members of the Church would think if word got out.\textsuperscript{40}

Dilworth was a voracious reader: at home, while walking, even at stop lights while driving. To fill early morning hours when he could not sleep, he began writing. Gladys teased him, “I wondered when all those things you were putting in were going to come out.” He wrote doctrinal books and articles, travelogues for the \textit{Improvement Era}, and a young adult novel, \textit{An Adventure in Faith}, a fictionalized account of a boy’s experiences with the Mormon Battalion. “The greatest adventures,” Dilworth writes in the introduction, “have been had by those who love the Lord.”\textsuperscript{41} He wrote another young adult novel, \textit{Young Brigham Young} (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1962) as well as \textit{“Here Is Brigham . . .” Brigham Young . . . The Years to 1844} (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1964), a full-length adult biography of his great-grandfather through the maternal line. He published poetry in the \textit{Improvement Era} regularly and composed poems regularly for funerals, Christmas greetings, and thank-you cards. He read long poems in lieu of doctrinal speeches in general conference and at Brigham Young University. Probably his best book is \textit{The Long Road . . . from Vermont to Carthage}, a narrative poem about Joseph Smith.\textsuperscript{42} In mostly iambic free verse with short lines and occasional rhyme, \textit{The Long Road} is true to Dilworth’s insight that the lives of the early Brethren were heroic.\textsuperscript{43}

\textsuperscript{40} McConkie and Young, Oral History; Balwant Singh, Letters to Bruce R. McConkie, 30 November 1960 and 25 January 1961; Bruce R. McConkie, Letter to Balwant Singh, 15 February 1961; letters in possession of Hulda Parker Young.

\textsuperscript{41} S. Dilworth Young, \textit{An Adventure in Faith} (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1956; reprinted Orem, Utah: Grandin Book Co., 1994).

\textsuperscript{42} \textit{The Long Road . . . from Vermont to Carthage} (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1967). The Library of Congress catalogued it as \textit{The Long Road, From Vermont to Nauvoo}, and library catalogs typically use that title, though the title given here is the one on the jacket, spine, and title page. This book went through at least nine printings and was adapted for readers’ theater at least three times.

\textsuperscript{43} Dilworth’s other books and pamphlets include \textit{Family Night Reader:}
Dilworth was an entertaining and innovative speaker. Frequently he called people out of the audience in stake conferences. Once he had a veiled adult, an infant, a child of eight, boys at the different priesthood ages, a missionary, and a courting couple on the stand with him to represent the different stages of life. A mannikin stood for the body prior to resurrection. He himself took the part of the old man. At a BYU devotional Dilworth spoke of the feelings of the Spirit, which he said were not unlike the feelings accompanying beautiful words and music, and he demonstrated this concept with scriptures and musical selections. Olga Gardner sang "In My Father’s House Are Many Mansions," interrupted in the middle by a "glitch" in the sound system that brought the blaring words of a rock song crashing through the Marriott Center: "I love you baby, I need you baby, I want you baby, let's live together." Dilworth had arranged this interruption with the sound booth in advance. Olga remembers an agitated Vice President Robert K. Thomas on the stand picking up a phone to track down the problem—even he hadn’t known what Dilworth was planning.44


44 John Hale and Olga Gardner, Oral History; S. Dilworth Young, "Searching the Scriptures,” (BYU Devotional, 9 March 1976), in “S. Dilworth Young: Recorded Live on Cassettes” (Salt Lake City: Covenant Recordings, Inc., 1979), sound recording; or “Search the Scriptures”
Gladys's Stroke

Gladys accompanied Dilworth on mission tours throughout North America. In early 1959 they traveled throughout Mexico by car: Mexico City, Veracruz, Coatzacoalcos, her old home in the Colonies. On 10 February, shortly after their return, Dilworth got a call from Gladys. "She was on the floor and could not use her arm and leg. She had managed to pull the phone to the floor and dial with her good arm and hand." Dilworth writes, "I dashed home and found her south of the bed on the floor." He lifted her onto the bed and called Dr. Al Clawson, who diagnosed a stroke. Dilworth called Harold B. Lee to give her a blessing, then took her to the hospital that night. "I slept in the hospital every night and was with her much of each day." Dr. Clawson brought another doctor in on the case. On the fifth day, Dilworth noticed Gladys breathing irregularly. The second doctor, who was on hand, examined her quickly, then turned and left without a word. When the nurse couldn't explain the doctor's behavior, Dilworth ordered her to call the house doctor, who promptly administered oxygen, reviving Gladys.

Twenty minutes later Al Clawson called me and said that Gladys was dying—was probably dead by now—and that I shouldn't feel bad and it was for the best. I was by now angry.

I said, "She is not dying or dead, but she would have been if [that doctor] had his way. What did he mean by walking out and making the decision without consulting me? She is very much alive, no thanks to him."

Al was surprised and didn't know what to say.45

Gladys had lost the use of her left arm and leg. She retained the use of one muscle in her hip, which allowed her to walk, wearing a metal leg brace, with support. She could sit up and read. Dilworth says, "Her mind was good, although because of the difficulty she couldn't speak very readily."46 After seventy days in the hospital, he

(Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Audiovisual Services, 1983), sound recording.


46 S. Dilworth Young, "The Voice of Peace," sound recording in possession of Hulda Parker Young. This undated cassette tape appears to be of a Brigham Young University devotional, but it is not included in BYU's Speeches of the Year, and I have been unable to find any other record of it.
took her home for the weekend. “On Monday she had improved in morale so much that I told the doctor . . . that I would like to keep her home. He reluctantly consented.” Dilworth borrowed a hospital bed, fixed her meals, talked to her, and walked her in the yard. “The Brethren supplied me with a woman to stay days, and then for a reason I have never found out the help was withdrawn.” Because Dilworth’s allowance as a General Authority was too meager to permit him to hire someone, he brought his office work home and struggled along until Apostle Mark E. Petersen intervened, persuading the Brethren “to get me some help.” A Mrs. Nye was employed during the days, and Dilworth took care of Gladys at night, with friends or relatives spelling him if he had an appointment. Leonore and Blaine Parkinson helped on weekends when Dilworth went to conferences, but Gladys, who lacked control of her bodily functions, dreaded the ride to Provo, where the Parkinsons lived at the time. Dilworth eventually found a woman who was willing to spend weekends with Gladys—“$20.00 no matter how long: Friday to Monday or Saturday to Sunday.” He minimized the time he had to spend away from her. He arrived at conferences late and left early. His second wife, Hulda Parker Young, recalls that he would explain at the end of his speeches, “Now when the closing prayer is being said, you’ll have your eyes shut. When you open your eyes, I will be out the door.”

He was sensitive to Gladys’s psychological needs as well. When he realized that she was terrified about being sent to a hospital or home, “I told her that I was not going to ever leave her, that as far as I was concerned, the nights I was home I was going to stay home. . . . I said to her, ‘I’m not going to accept any social engagements.’ She said, ‘Oh, you must do that.’ I said, ‘No, . . . I’m not going to do anything except to stay with you.’ And then I noticed that she seemed to be calmer. She seemed satisfied, and she seemed able to adjust herself to the situation.”

Dilworth and the helpers changed sheets six to eight times a day. “I washed those sheets and mangled them [ironed them in a mechanical iron] most of the time. In all the time she was ill Gladys

48 Stanley Cardon, Juliette Cardon, and Hulda Parker Young, Oral History, August 1983, Salt Lake City, August 1983.
49 Young, “The Voice of Peace.”
never had a bedsore. . . . I was not always a good nurse, but most of the time I made real effort[s] to ease her boredom." Gladys had always drunk coffee, even though it violated the Word of Wisdom. Leonore remembers that Dilworth now quietly replaced it with hot water. He took Gladys to parties occasionally. He also gave dinner parties and cooked the meals himself. He became famous for his bread and his shrimp cocktail.\textsuperscript{50} Gladys would not eat in front of the others but would either sit nearby or lie on the couch, "enjoying the conversation. Everybody was happy, a little more than happy. They'd be a little extra vivacious to make the thing go."\textsuperscript{51} Gladys, when murmuring a question, had to repeat herself several times, with Dilworth interpreting:\textsuperscript{52} He said many friends visited once but never returned. One admitted painfully to him, "We can't stand to look at her. Remembering how she used to be, we just can't. It's too heartbreaking."

Money problems continued to plague him. Hulda explained, "He just got to such a desperate condition, he didn't have anything to survive on, and he was ready to sell the home and everything."\textsuperscript{54} Dilworth wrote matter-of-factly, "I have learned that, in general, folks do not want to help because they are apparently fearful they will be involved later on." He gratefully remembered several who did help. Spencer Kimball delivered a check for $100 from an anonymous donor and added $100 himself. Mark and Emma Marr Petersen came to the door one Christmas day. "They visited for a few moments and then Mark said that his Oldsmobile was in the driveway, in good condition, gassed up, and handed me the keys. 'It's yours!'" Dilworth desperately needed a car. The Petersens were going to Europe for three years and would not be needing theirs. "I couldn't think of anything to say at the moment, so all I did was ejaculate, 'I'll be damned.'" Another time Dilworth answered a knock on the back door, only to find an envelope "from some friends who love you both," containing a bank passbook with $770 marked inside. "Apparently the giver included the tithing he knew I would pay. I never found out who it was."\textsuperscript{55}

\begin{itemize}
\item[50] Young, "Life Story," 116-17.
\item[51] Young, "The Voice of Peace."
\item[52] Mary Wilson, Oral History, 5 August 1983, Salt Lake City.
\item[53] Young, "The Voice of Peace."
\item[54] Cardon, Cardon, and Young, Oral History.
\end{itemize}
Gladys died on 3 April 1964 after forty-one years of marriage. Dilworth was sixty-six and had been a General Authority for nineteen years. Five years of constantly caring for her most intimate needs had mellowed Dilworth. He told James E. Faust, then in a stake presidency, that the stroke “was the worst thing in the world that could have happened to Gladys and the best thing for me. It made me decent. I learned what love really should be.”

Leonore agrees: “I don’t know what lesson my mother had to learn with that ordeal. . . . I just know it turned my dad into an angel.” He spoke to his grandchildren of his years of care:

I want to tell you young folks that it did me good to do it. I learned a few things about life, and I learned things about patience. I learned how patient she could be. We grew to love each other more. And people would say they’d feel sorry for me and tell me how much of a burden I was bearing, but I wasn’t bearing any burden at all. I was really happy doing that. . . . We had really a very happy life together.

SECOND LOVE

Dilworth “was very affirmative” after Gladys died “that he was not going to . . . look at another woman for a year.” Leonore remembers him commenting that “it was easier to . . . do his job without worrying about the welfare of someone at home.”

But when he began experiencing sharp stomach pain at mealtimes and decided to check into a hospital for testing, she told him: “You don’t need a doctor or a hospital! . . . You need a wife. You are lonely and need to get some social life. I advise you to go looking. Don’t wait a year—go now!”

Others had similar advice, and Dilworth received frequent suggestions of eligible women. Bruce McConkie remem-

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57 Leonore Young Parkinson, Oral History, 22 July 1993, Ogden, Utah.
59 McConkie and Young, Oral History.
60 Leonore Young Parkinson, Oral History, 3 August 1993, Ogden, Utah.
bers that friends would invite Dilworth to dinner, sometimes without telling him that a single woman had been invited as well. Bruce teasingly recommended Clare Middlemiss, President David O. McKay’s devoted, longtime secretary.62

Dilworth found himself in a difficult position. Leonore explains: “He had to be very careful about looking around for a wife, because whoever he was seen with would be the subject of talk, and if he didn’t want to marry them, it would be an embarrassment to the woman.”63 While visiting the stakes and missions in Mexico, Dilworth confided to Leanor Brown, “Do you know how many women want to marry General Authorities? . . . I don’t want to get married again. I was so happy with Gladys.” But his repeated insistence made Leanor think that he was getting lonesome. She commented casually, “Well, if I were thinking of getting married, do you know who I’d go see? Hulda Parker,” the general secretary of the Relief Society.64 Dilworth writes, “As she said it, I felt a heavy blow strike in the pit of my stomach.”65 Hulda remembers that he later described the sensation: “For days afterwards, it was just like a big neon sign that kept going around, Hulda Parker, Hulda Parker.”66

Soon afterwards, Dilworth spoke at a stake conference in San Antonio, hosted by President Birch Larsen and his wife Melba. When he learned that Melba was Hulda’s niece, he asked so many questions that Melba warned Hulda she thought Dilworth was interested in her. Hulda says, “I didn’t pay any attention to it.”67 Dilworth wrote: “When I came home from Mexico, it was general conference. I attended the conference of the Relief Society. Hulda was there and I watched her closely. My impressions were that she was the one.”68 He called her at her office one day and told her he needed to talk to her, presumably on Church business. She asked if he wanted to come over and was startled when he said, “No, I want you to come over here.” Hulda explains: “That was not usually Brother Young’s style. He would never inconvenience us by having us walk over to

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62 McConkie and Young, Oral History.
63 Leonore Young Parkinson, Oral History, 3 August 1993.
64 Leanor and Harold Brown, Oral History.
66 McConkie and Young, Oral History.
67 Hulda Parker Young, Oral History, 5 August 1993, Salt Lake City.
his office. He would be the one who would come to our office.” Apologetically, she told him that a presidency meeting was beginning almost immediately. Dilworth told her, “I said for you to come *now!*” Hulda, surprised, agreed and explained the request to the presidency, who, she remembers, were “dumbfounded.” But as she says, “What can you do when a General Authority puts it that way?”

She headed down Main Street from her office in the Relief Society Building and turned the corner. Dilworth left his office in the Church Administration Building on South Temple and met her in front of the Hotel Utah, then accompanied her back toward the Relief Society Building. He told her he needed her advice—he knew an older man who was interested in marrying but had many faults: he was strange, he forgot things, he had a very difficult diet, and so forth. As Hulda tells the story: “He listed all these queer things. . . . And finally when we got just in front of the Relief Society Building, he said, ‘Well, do you think you could be interested in marrying that man?’” At that point Hulda finally realized what was happening and told him that she did not know—she would have to think and pray about it. Then he added, “I want you to know I am committed.”

Dilworth’s account reads, “As I talked to her, I knew it was right.” He told her to think about it, not to be pressured, to take all the time she needed, and to let him know. Marion G. Romney happened along on his way back from the Mission Home and visited for a moment. Then Hulda left. As Marion accompanied Dilworth back to the Church Administration Building, he said, “Dil, if I were looking for someone, Hulda would be one of those I would look for.” Dilworth “thanked him, hoping he had not guessed that I was proposing.” Hulda went into the Relief Society Building, ducked into a conference room, and burst into tears.

Dilworth courted her with roses, loaves of bread, poems, and telephone calls at all hours of the night. He writes: “I didn’t want to be seen taking anyone out, for fear I would be the laughingstock of the people should I be turned down. So I went calling on Hulda at night and wore a big hat in the car. We talked a good deal.”

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69 Hulda Parker Young, Oral History, 5 August 1993.
70 Ibid.
72 Young, “Life Story,” 120.
lived in an apartment with her mother, Matilda, who was beginning to be senile. Dilworth, preparing his Thanksgiving stuffing one evening, said to himself, "Why should I break this bread alone?" He called Hulda, who was watching television as she did her mother's hair, and Hulda invited him down. Hulda introduced him to her mother by saying, "This is S. Dilworth Young, our home teacher." The two of them sat and visited with Matilda, waiting for her to go to bed, but Matilda was suspicious. Dilworth had to leave the house before she would retire. He went to the car and returned with the bread, but no sooner did he and Hulda start to crumble it than they heard Matilda in the hall. Dilworth grabbed the bread and left on the run.  

Dilworth invited daughter Leonore to the Oakland Temple dedication with the idea of introducing Hulda to her. They were to meet for breakfast. Dilworth, not wanting to give away his intentions, routed his invitation through Relief Society general president Belle Spafford, who misunderstood; and Hulda never arrived. However, Dilworth managed to introduce the two later through a bus window. A few moments later, when they were alone, Leonore asked her father offhandedly, "Why don't you marry her, Daddy?"  

Finally Hulda accepted Dilworth's proposal and called a meeting of her brothers and sisters to make the announcement. When Dilworth arrived, deliberately last, they rose to greet him. Hulda led him to Matilda and said, "Mother, this is S. Dilworth Young, your future son-in-law." Hulda's sister Mary Frandsen's jaw dropped down. Dilworth reached over with one finger and gently lifted it shut. Matilda said, "Young man, I want you to know, my daughter would never marry a scrud." She repeated this, and then said it once more, to which Dilworth responded, "Thank you, Sister Parker, for the testimony that I am not a scrud." At the Thursday First Council meeting in the temple, Dilworth announced, "I'm going to marry Hulda Parker." He recounted the story of his courtship, start to finish, then summed up: "I figured that some of you brethren might

73 McConkie and Young, Oral History.
74 Young, Eightieth Birthday Party.
75 Leonore Young Parkinson, Oral History, 21 December 1993, Ogden, Utah.
76 McConkie and Young, Oral History.
S. Dilworth Young and Hulda Parker Young in 1980, directing the Visitors Center at the Los Angeles Temple.

...some day be in the same position I was, and I thought you ought to know how it should be done.”

They were married on 4 January 1965, and Hulda began accompanying Dilworth on stake and mission tours. Everywhere they went, people delighted in the newlyweds. The story of their courtship preceded them as well, along with the usual folk variations. In one flippant version, Dilworth is supposed to have slipped into Hulda’s office in the Relief Society Building, covered her eyes, and said, “Will you marry me?” Hulda says, “Yes! Who is it?” Hearing the story so many times from others began to feel like a violation of privacy to Hulda, and the two agreed to quit telling it, though Dilworth spoke of it to the family and wrote it in his history. Hulda and Dilworth also had a very good marriage; and for several years Dilworth seemed to grow younger instead of older. At Dilworth’s funeral, A. Theodore

77 Ibid.
78 Hulda Parker Young, Oral History, 5 August 1993.
Tuttle said of Hulda, "She gave us S. Dilworth Young at his best, sixteen years of his best." Those who know them know it's true.

**FIRST QUORUM OF SEVENTY**

A. Theodore Tuttle said of Dilworth, "There have been three occasions when a man of true faith, true obedience, was needed": the organization of the First Quorum, the reorganization of its Presidency, and the creation of emeritus status. "In this he has been a crucial link." Dilworth, who in writings and speeches often recited the history of the Seventy, returned many times to one particular scene. On Sunday, 8 February 1835, soon after the return of Zion's Camp, Joseph Smith asked Brigham and Joseph Young to sing for him in his home. After the song, the Prophet told them of the blessed state of those who had died on the camp. He asked Brigham to call a conference. "I shall then and there appoint twelve special witnesses to open the door of the Gospel to foreign nations, and you, Brother Brigham, will be one of them." He spoke further on the Twelve's duties, then turned to Joseph Young and said, "Brother Joseph, the Lord has made you president of the Seventies." The Quorum of the Twelve was organized on 14 February 1835, and the Seventy on 28 February, both predominantly from the faithful men of Zion's Camp.

The Doctrine and Covenants states that the Seventy are "to preach the gospel, and to be especial witnesses unto the Gentiles and in all the world" (D&C 107:25). The Seventy are "equal in authority" to the Twelve when the quorums operate in unanimity (v. 26-27). Authority here might be understood as "responsibility"—the Seventy do not hold all the keys the First Presidency and Twelve do and are supervised by them. According to the revelation, the Twelve are to call on the Seventy for assistance "instead of any others" (v. 38). Joseph Smith, Brigham Young and others refer to the Seventies' calling as apostolic. During much of the history of the Seventy,

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79 Tuttle, *Funeral of S. Dilworth Young.*
80 Ibid. The following is intended, not as a definitive history of the organization of the First Quorum of Seventy, but primarily as Dilworth's perspective.
81 Young, "Here Is Brigham," 122.
“especial witnesses . . . in all the world” was interpreted to mean that local seventies had a special responsibility for missionary work.

Joseph Smith filled three-and-a-half quorums of seventy, all presided over by the presidents of the First Quorum. The seventies did missionary work, “some for one month, some for two months, some for a year, or whatever the time was; they were on call perpetually to do missionary work.”84 Brigham Young reorganized the Seventy in 1844 into ten quorums, with the sixty-three members of the First Quorum presiding in groups of seven over the other nine quorums. Seventies continued to serve missions and sent books from the field to Nauvoo to furnish the library in the Seventies Hall. During the Nauvoo exodus, seventies were “left in charge of and supervised temple ceremonies.”85

During the nineteenth century, the majority of men called on missions were ordained seventies. Elders quorums tended to be weak since most of those serving missions returned to seventies quorums.86 For their part the seventies had to cope with losing leadership to the high priests. In 1903, B. H. Roberts urged in general conference that, if a man showed “executive abilities” or a “judicial mind,” he be made a high priest, but if he showed “the ability to teach, and the spirit of testimony is strong upon” him, he be assigned to the seventies.87 Another problem was that local seventies belonged to general Church quorums with no geographic boundaries—general authorities in a sense but with no general Church duties. In 1883 John Taylor reorganized the seventies so that quorum boundaries corresponded to stake ones. The seven presidents, who came to

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84 S. Dilworth Young, Family Home Evening on the First Quorum of the Seventy, Oral History, 18 October 1976, Salt Lake City.


87 In Conference Report, April 1903, 12; see also Baumgarten, “The Role and Function of the Seventies,” 58-59.
be known as the First Council of the Seventy, presided. The First Quorum thus remained a general quorum, consisting of the seven presidents plus the senior presidents of the next sixty-three quorums, though this group was never convened. Gradually local seventies came under stake supervision.\textsuperscript{88}

The Doctrine and Covenants calls seventies “traveling ministers” (107:97). Yet as the seventies quorums aged, it became increasingly difficult to find seventies who were not prevented by infirmity, debt, or family responsibility from missionary labors. In the twentieth century, regular missions have been staffed predominantly by younger elders without family responsibilities. The First Council was assigned responsibility for stake missions, and local seventies frequently served as stake mission presidents and stake missionaries. In a sense, then, seventies and elders had swapped roles.\textsuperscript{89} During this period the office of high priest was considered higher than that of seventy. No seventy could serve as bishop or stake president without first being made a high priest. Until the early 1960s, even members of the First Council were not high priests, which meant that no man who had ever been a bishop or stake president could be called to this General Authority position.

The phrasing of the scriptures kept alive the vision of a reconstituted First Quorum, a governing, apostolic quorum to assist the Twelve in all the world. Dilworth remembers eighty-four-year-old Antoine R. Ivins, a counselor in the First Presidency, expressing a wish that this quorum could be organized before his death. “Well, Antoine,” Dilworth asked him, “if we had one, what would we do with them?”\textsuperscript{90} In fact, the work was growing; and in 1941, President Heber J. Grant called five high priests as Assistants to the Twelve, a General Authority office not mentioned in the scriptures and positioned between the Twelve and the First Council. Dilworth, in his history of the Seventies, comments: “Immediately the First Council reacted, pointing out the ‘instead of any other’ phrase in the 107th section. They were ignored. As time went on, the number of Assis-

\textsuperscript{88} In Conference Report, April 1903, 12; see also Baumgarten, “The Role and Function of the Seventies,” 58-59.

\textsuperscript{89} Baumgarten, “The Role and Function of the Seventies,” 57, 59-60, 64, 67.

\textsuperscript{90} S. Dilworth Young, BYU Ten Stake Fireside Address, 5 May 1974, 6; photocopy of typescript in my possession.
tants was increased. They performed the exact service as the revelations said belonged to the First Quorum of Seventy."\(^{91}\) He noted that President Lee, when delineating the duties of the various quorums, once quoted that "the duty of the First Presidency and the Twelve [is] to call upon the Seventies," but left out the phrase ‘instead of any other.' He wouldn't say it."\(^{92}\) But, as Dilworth often taught, a living prophet is not bound by a dead one.

Bruce R. McConkie, who served both on the First Council of the Seventy (1946-72) and also in the Quorum of the Twelve (1972-85), stated: "Now what we did, over the years, time and time again, was study and evaluate and figure out how we thought the First Quorum of Seventy might well be organized and used. Dilworth was a moving spirit in that."\(^{93}\) In the last years of the McKay administration (1951-70), the First Council went so far as to draft a proposal (penned by McConkie) suggesting among other things that mission presidents, auxiliary heads, and presidents of BYU be made First Quorum members. The paper also suggested placing the Assistants in the First Quorum. The seven presidents stated their willingness to step aside and be members of the quorum if the Brethren preferred the Assistants in the presidency. They showed the draft to Harold B. Lee, who, Dilworth's history states, “suggested improvements in our presentation if it was to survive the meeting of the Twelve."\(^{94}\) Bruce McConkie says Elder Lee called Dilworth in and reassured him that, if the Brethren decided to go with that approach, "there was going to be no stepping aside"—the seven current presidents would remain in their posts.\(^{95}\) The paper was never officially presented, but "many of the leaders read it privately" and Dilworth was sure that it "had an effect."\(^{96}\)

As the work continued to grow, President McKay took the step of ordaining the seven presidents of the First Council high priests. Dilworth was ordained a high priest on 11 June 1961 by Henry D. Moyle. Making the First Council high priests allowed them to ordain

\(^{91}\) Young, “The Seventies,” November 1976, 6, photocopy of typescript in possession of Hulda Parker Young.
\(^{92}\) Young, Family Home Evening.
\(^{93}\) McConkie and Young, Oral History.
\(^{95}\) McConkie and Young, Oral History.
bishops and stake presidents, even though, as Dilworth pointed out to his family, "That was the big bone of contention. We thought we could do it anyhow. A Seventy can do what anybody can do, but President McKay ruled it had to be a high priest to ordain a bishop." When Harold B. Lee was president of the Church, he quietly reversed that decision, calling and setting apart Rex D. Pinegar to the First Council without making him a high priest. Elder Pinegar set apart bishops and stake presidents as a Seventy.97

In 1975, President Kimball informed the First Council of his intention to organize the First Quorum, and asked for the names of eligible seventies. They responded with ten or twelve names. The First Quorum of the Seventy was sustained in that October conference, to consist of the seven presidents (including Gene R. Cook, a new member), plus Charles A. Didier, William R. Bradford, and George P. Lee as members. President Kimball and his counselors set these four apart after the Sunday session, 5 October, without ordaining them high priests. In setting Elder Cook apart, President Kimball "gave him all the keys that the Assistants to the Twelve had, and told him his calling was apostolic. He could do anything an Assistant to the Twelve could do. It was an apostolic calling. He had every key an Apostle has, except two"—the power to restore blessings and the power to appoint and instruct patriarchs. "All four thus held the keys as seventies."98

The next logical step was to move the Assistants to the Twelve into the First Quorum. "We talked to [President Kimball] like that and wrote letters and went privately to . . . other members of the First Presidency and talked to them," Dilworth recalled.99 Three weeks prior to general conference in October 1976, President Kimball called the Seventy in, told them he intended to transfer the Assistants into the First Quorum, and asked how they would feel if he reorganized the Presidency. "Well, we'd laid the groundwork for that," Dilworth told his family, "because three months before that, I went to one of the Twelve and one of the First Presidency, and so did some of my colleagues privately, and told them that as far as the

98 Young, Family Home Evening; Young, "Life Story," 1978 addendum.
99 Ibid.
First Council was concerned, all of us would be very happy if they wanted to release us.” And so at conference the presidency was reorganized, with Franklin D. Richards made senior president in Dilworth’s place. Only A. Theodore Tuttle and Paul H. Dunn were retained from the previous First Council. The newly reconstituted First Quorum of Seventy now numbered thirty-nine, which gave it the majority necessary to conduct business. Quorum members, under the direction of the Twelve, took charge of the various auxiliaries and committees, some of which had been previously headed by the Assistants. Dilworth could write, “There has not been a ripple in the Church organization by the creation of the Quorum.”

Dilworth told his family about the change: “When I heard President Grant say there’d be five Assistants to the Twelve, and they’d be senior to the Seventies, everybody rebelled, and I rebelled in my own mind too. But it was right. You couldn’t organize the First Quorum then if you wanted to.” There were not enough seventies in the Church who knew what to do. He spoke of the Assistants being in a training period, “and when [the Lord] got them trained, he moved them into the First Quorum, a trained quorum. We’ve got thirty-nine trained men who can do the job. Only a few of us haven’t been stake presidents or bishops. And so I think the Lord’s hand is in it to not have it organized until now.” He summarized: “Modern revelation is not what Joseph Smith said. Modern revelation is the revelations of the Lord to us as interpreted in the application by the living President of the Church, the prophet. . . . So we see an example of modern revelation practiced four times, once by Brigham Young, once by John Taylor, once by President Grant, and once by Spencer Kimball. That’s modern revelation.”

Dilworth had long hoped and worked for this change. His humility and willingness as senior president to step aside may have been

100 Young, “The Seventies,” November 1976, 6. President Kimball appointed the local seventies quorums to be the stake mission organizations, with the seven local presidents as stake mission presidents. Local seventies could be appointed “teachers” or “finders” as circumstances warranted without being set apart. Young, “The Seventies: A Historical Perspective,” 20. Over the next twenty years, local seventies were ordained high priests and their quorums dissolved. Today, no local seventies function; the office is exclusively a General Authority position.

101 Young, Family Home Evening.
a factor in its coming when it did. Some of his friends expressed sympathy: The Seventy may have gone up in status, but Dilworth and the other former presidents had come down. Dilworth said in his address in the Sunday afternoon session of that general conference:

A week or so ago I wrote an address which I thought I might give at this conference, but the events of the past two days have made that a little inconvenient. So I thought perhaps I ought to begin by apologizing to the translators . . . for not giving them more time to do what they have to do now.

Since last Friday the number of people who stop and offer their arms as I walk or climb stairs has increased fourfold. I assure you that I am not retired: I am retreaded.

There have been several times when I have looked about as my name is mentioned with affectionate tones, as did Golden Kimball, wondering who had died. (This last part I put in after Hulda read the speech.)

A friend said to me last Friday, “How can you bear what you have lost.” I replied, “I have lost nothing. Rather I have gained.”

I have gained a new group of close friends and associates in a quorum which I hope will have such unity of purpose that it will be as a banner of righteousness before the world.

I have gained seven leaders far beyond me in ability, strength, and wisdom, which, had there not been this enlargement, I could not have had.

I have gained the opportunity to serve rather than to direct. In that service my arms will extend in the wide world, as far as I can find the strength to extend them, and my upward reach will be as high as I can see.

Now the only limit to my personal service, which I myself originate, is my strength of body, facility of mind, and compassion of heart.

I have gained a personal knowledge and understanding of the meaning of the words of President J. Reuben Clark: Not where I serve, but how.\(^\text{102}\)

He reminisced about other Seventies he had known, including his

\(^{102}\) S. Dilworth Young, “I Have Gained,” *Ensign*, November 1976, 102-3. President Clark made this remark in 1951 after being shifted from the position of first counselor in the First Presidency where he had served under George Albert Smith to second counselor under President David O. McKay.
grandfather and other relatives, explained that the former presidency had been consulted "for our feelings and input," and praised the Church's "increased power" in having not two presiding quorums but the third as well, filled with well-trained, loyal men. "It thrilled me to see something come to pass for which we had so long hoped." He mentioned Antoine Ivins's wish to see the quorum, and said he himself had feared he would see it only from the spirit world. "When I get there, I'll report to President Ivins that he should have stayed here a few years longer." 103

Later he told his family of a letter he received from the mother of a little girl who had taken notes on all the speeches. The girl wrote that Dilworth had not been retired, he had been "reshredded." "That may be nearer the truth than the first one," he joked. He also said that President Kimball had called to thank him for his graciousness. "Brother Kimball was kind of on a spot, too, because . . . you see, it looked like he was just dumping an old man. . . . Brother Kimball didn't want to be [remembered] for that, and he hesitated a long time, I'm sure, before he ever decided to do it." People wrote Dilworth from all over the Church to say how moved they were by the talk. As he pointed out to the family, the Church was full of people who had been released from something they did not want to be released from. 104

In October 1980, two years later, eighty-three-year-old Dilworth was one of the first group of General Authorities to receive emeritus status. 105 Previously there had been no provision for retiring aging General Authorities. Like his release from the Presidency of the Seventy, this change could have seemed like a demotion, but Dilworth accepted it with the same grace as before. "I am certain and bear the witness," he said in general conference, "... that the calling which has come to me and my colleagues in the last two days is as much the inspiration of the Lord as was my calling thirty-five years ago." 106 He received a call soon after to serve as director of the Los Angeles Temple Visitors' Center, where in spite of failing health, he

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103 Ibid.
104 Young, Family Home Evening.
stirred things up with an ambitious series of cultural offerings. He returned to Salt Lake City in late June 1981 and died two weeks later on 9 July at age eighty-three. As his daughter, Leonore, said, “He told me . . . he wanted to die with his boots on.”

107 Leonore Young Parkinson, Oral History, 13 October 1993, Ogden, Utah.
In this installment of "Setting the Record Straight" we deal with two photographs that have been, at least in part, incorrectly captioned. The first photograph is of a prominent pioneer woman with her husband and supposedly her mother (Plate 1); the second is of Brigham Young Academy in the early 1890s (Plate 2).

Drusilla Dorris Hendricks converted to Mormonism during the Missouri period with her husband James, fled to Nauvoo with thousands of other Saints, and eventually emigrated to Utah, where she died in 1881 at age seventy-one. They are both buried in the Richmond, Utah, cemetery.

In the photograph, James is seated at the left and Drusilla stands at the right, her hand on the shoulder of an elderly woman; both are wearing a dress made of the same material. This seated older woman is usually identified as Drusilla's mother, Catherine Frost Dorris. But according to genealogical and family history records, Catherine died in 1834. Drusilla's 1877 autobiography con-
firms: "She lived with us two and one-half years, and was then called home to that God who gave her life in the year 1834."\textsuperscript{1}

Furthermore, photo technology did not arrive in the United States until 1839, five years after Catherine's death. Who, then, is this woman? We don't know. We know only that it couldn't be Dru-silla's mother. Carma de Jong Anderson, historic costumer, ob-served that both the older woman and James have narrow heads, prominent cheekbones, and deep-set eyes while Drusilla has a round head, a wide forehead, wide temples, and a "surface" eye set. Dr. Anderson speculated that the seated woman might be James's

\textsuperscript{1} Lesson Committee, "Drusilla Dorris Hendricks," in \textit{Our Pioneer Heritage} (Salt Lake City: Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, 1977), 20:244.
mother or aunt. Because both women wore dresses of the same fabric, they may have lived with or near each other.\(^2\) The problem for a family historian now is to identify post-1839 candidates for this older woman.

Plate 2 is a well-known photograph of the Brigham Young Academy. It is dated 4 January 1902 in an important photo history of the university and later publications, likely relying on that history, repeat the date.\(^3\) To be sure, 4 January 1902 was an important day in academy history. On that day the new Academy Building was dedicated, and the principalship passed from the elderly Karl G. Maeser to the youthful Benjamin Cluff Jr.

However, this photograph could not have been taken in January in Provo Utah. There is no snow on the mountains, the foliage on the deciduous trees is abundant, and the people, though formally dressed, lack topcoats. A more probable time period seems to be fall.

In fact, contemporary documents clarify that the photograph was actually taken fourteen months earlier on 16 October 1900, on Founders Day, the academy’s twenty-fifth anniversary.\(^4\) Vestiges of the grand parade can be seen in the foreground. Dignitaries known to be present included President Joseph F. Smith, Susa Young Gates, Karl G. Maeser, and George H. Brimhall, and all four are seated in the buggy drawn by the team of white horses.

An understandable error? Of course. Providing correct documentation for historic photographs is a sometimes daunting task. As we indicated in our previous installment, many problems can be avoided by consulting informed photo-archivists or photo-histori-

\(^2\) Carma dejong Anderson, interviewed by Paul H. Peterson, 18 October 2000.

\(^3\) The photograph is dated accurately, if imprecisely, in the most comprehensive history of Brigham Young Academy. See Ernest L. Wilkinson, ed., *Brigham Young University: The First One Hundred Years* (Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1975): 1:220. The caption accompanying the photograph reads: “Brigham Young Academy Building as it appeared on Founders Day around 1900.”

\(^4\) For descriptions of this event see *Deseret Evening News*, 17 October 1900, 2; the semi-monthly student *The White and Blue*, 15 October 1900; Dyke Walton, Letter to Centennial History Committee, Brigham Young University, 9 March 1973, *The Pioneer* (San Jose, California).
This photograph of a celebration before Brigham Young Academy’s Academy Building is usually dated at 4 January 1900. In fact, the photograph was taken 16 October 1902. Used by permission, Utah State Historical Society. All rights reserved.
ans. It is to be hoped that all of us who choose to enhance our history writing with images (almost always a good thing to do), will be more vigilant about such matters.
REVIEWS


Reviewed by Armand L. Mauss

I have now read this book three times: once in a prepublication draft and twice since publication. My appreciation for it has grown with each reading. It is the latest among the very few attempts that have ever been made, from outside the faith, to present the Mormons with some degree of balance and detachment. Thomas O'Dea's 1957 *The Mormons* was surely the most successful for a long time, perhaps even down to the present. Robert Gottlieb's and Peter Wiley's *America's Saints: The Rise of Mormon Power* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1984)—which, interestingly enough, the Ostlings do not cite—was a partial and rather glib journalistic effort, now fully replaced and outclassed by this new volume.

The balance and fairness achieved in this work are products of at least three important qualities: (1) the Ostlings treat the religion and its people with respect; (2) they make a genuine effort to recognize and discuss two or more sides of any issue that has historically been controversial and they do so without obvious favoritism; and (3) the work has drawn upon a vast range and array of credible sources, official and unofficial, scholarly and popular, but none of them hostile except a few used to illustrate anti-Mormon spleen. Furthermore, the writing is bright and engaging.

The book has twenty-two chapters plus thirty pages of endnotes supporting the key specifics and nine pages of recommended additional reading, in both print and electronic formats, for those wishing to delve more deeply. The two appendices show the Ostlings' particularly keen appreciation of sources of power in Mormonism. Appendix A discusses and excerpts Joseph Smith's "King Follett Discourse," so that readers can see at first hand the development of the Prophet's creative and controversial doctrine of deity, including President Gordon B. Hinckley's effort to finesse the issue with the press. Appendix B discusses the rather complex and clever measures that the authors developed for estimating the Church's wealth and income.

Ironic though it might seem, I believe that LDS readers stand to gain much more from this book than non-LDS readers, if only because the Saints are likely to care so much more about its contents and to learn so much
reliable factual and historical information not readily available in official Church publications.

The twenty-two chapters move both chronologically and topically—which is harder to do with any grace than it seems—through Mormon history and sociology including Joseph Smith's presidency, the exodus, polygamy (including modern fundamentalism), accommodations for statehood, Mormon money, hierarchical organization, LDS celebrities, Mormon family-oriented lifestyles, missionary work, temple work, Mormon scriptures, education and BYU's recent academic freedom issues, feminism, dissent, the priesthood ban and later revelation, other Mormon groups, and projected future growth. In short, the book covers all of the conventional topics on Mormonism that have been aired in earlier treatments and more besides, but does so with an especially successful mix of candor and respect. Of course the authors present Mormonism and its adherents as only one among the world's many claimants to divine favor and not as the one true church or gospel, or as carrying special priesthood rights or authority. The authors' reluctance thus to privilege the unique spiritual claims and gifts of Mormonism has disappointed some Saints and their leaders, including some of my friends in the Church Public Affairs Department. Yet such a stance would be an abandonment of the professional objectivity that is one of this book's greatest strengths; it would simply be expecting too much for non-Mormon authors to discard their intellectual detachment. Indeed, the Ostlings' fairness is all the more convincing precisely because they did not do so.

This book, furthermore, goes far beyond earlier attempts in its discussion of a few critical topics seldom addressed by other non-Mormon authors in any depth. Chief among these is Chapter 19, on whether Mormons are entitled to be considered Christians by the mainstream denominations, and Chapter 18 on the related issue of the LDS doctrine of deity. Both chapters clearly lay out the chief issues which separate Mormons from others with some discussion of how much validity each side can claim. The Ostlings present the Mormon position on each issue sympathetically without necessarily conceding its validity. For my taste, however, these chapters do not adequately emphasize how parochially American is the entire issue of whether Mormons are Christians. Most of the world, after all, is not Christian and couldn't care less whether the gospel brought by LDS missionaries is authentically Christian. The Church's strenuous efforts to emphasize its entitlement to the Christian label—even to the futile extreme of exaggerated print fonts for its communications and publications—do not matter to non-Christians and indeed do not fool anyone in either America or Europe who has known us as "Mormons" for a century and a half.

Mormon temple worship and rituals, a very sensitive topic within the
Church and a source of consternation to many mainstream Christians, is handled by the Ostlings in reasonably good taste. They consider the evidence for Masonic and other syncretic sources for the endowment along with an acknowledgment of the underlying New and Old Testament foundations. They carefully avoid salacious and ominous characterizations of the ceremonies. For a general audience often confused by the difference between LDS meeting houses and temples, the Ostlings clearly distinguish between the two, appropriately emphasizing the far more public and pervasive Sunday worship services that Mormons have in common with others.

The authors’ handling of controversies over LDS scriptures is as fair as one could expect. They candidly discuss the lack of demonstrated historicity for the Book of Mormon and Pearl of Great Price without any observable tendency to ridicule the Church’s claims about these scriptures’ divine origins. The authors included some of the good-natured spoofing by early critics like Mark Twain but balanced it by reporting the work of others like Thomas O’Dea who took the scriptures more seriously. Where the Book of Mormon itself is concerned, I thought the authors gave somewhat more credence than was justified to Ethan Smith as a plausible source; but in general they freely acknowledged the judgment of Harold Bloom and other non-Mormon scholars that the Joseph Smith scriptures constitute works of religious genius, if not divine inspiration.

In dealing with conversion, retention, and the fairly strenuous demands upon BYU students and other members, the Ostlings demonstrate an unusually good grasp of the professional social science literature on these topics. They have done their homework. They know what works and what doesn’t in attracting and holding new converts. They know that missionary success can easily be exaggerated in official claims that fail adequately to consider retention and attendance. They know that the manifest success in producing a Mormon spiritual elite through the Church Education System and BYU must be qualified by the loss of talented and essentially faithful young intellectuals and professionals who are, in effect, hounded out of the Church when they raise conscientious and sincere questions about traditional Church policies and teachings.

The authors actually give considerable attention, in more than one chapter, to the internal stresses between the leadership at various levels and Mormon intellectuals—or at least those of a more critical bent. In their discussion of academic freedom at BYU, the authors could have provided a somewhat better balance with some comparative observations about the entrenchment of orthodoxies at other campuses, secular as well as religious. Having just finished a long career at a state university with an elaborate commitment to political correctness, I am well aware of the hazards of
challenging the orthodoxy of any academic establishment, not just BYU's. Similarly our dismay over conservative Church leaders' treatment of Leonard Arrington and his "Camelot," and their insistence on "faithful" history, should be considered in the light of the well-known history of fads and fashions in academic circles from positivism to deconstructionism and everything in between. The de facto censorship that professional journals exercise against "reactionary" theories in the humanities or the social sciences can be at least as daunting as the demand for "faithful" history by religiously orthodox leaders. I think the authors could have strengthened their discussion on this point by explicitly recognizing the intellectual continuum among today's LDS scholars, rather than painting a bipolar picture, as they do in Chapter 21, of the orthodox vs. the "exiles and dissenters." Given only these two options, I would not know where to position myself, for example.

I would have preferred a somewhat different balance as well in the authors' handling of the past century's "twin relic" issues of polygamy and racism. There is no responsible way to sidestep either in a book that purports to present Mormonism realistically. However, I found the attention that Joseph Smith and polygamy received in Chapter 4 entirely disproportionate to the part that the practice played in Smith's career as a whole. I suspect that the recent publication of Todd Compton's dramatic and engaging In Sacred Loneliness: The Plural Wives of Joseph Smith (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1997), tempted the Ostlings into giving more attention to the Nauvoo years than they otherwise would have. After all, the truly extensive and formative period of polygamy was in Utah. I'd like to have seen proportionately more space devoted also to the struggle over twentieth-century polygamy, starting with the strenuous and sincere efforts of Church leaders to crack down on the practice from the Second Manifesto (1904) all the way to the 1960s. The chapter could then have concluded with more discussion of the ironies which the modern Church now faces in light of its polygamous past. I am referring particularly to (1) the de facto elimination since the 1960s of the legal restraints against plural sexual couplings and cohabitations of all kinds throughout the United States, Europe, and Latin America; and (2) the recent conversions of polygamous peoples in Africa and elsewhere. Both of these developments now challenge the strictly monogamous current standard of the LDS Church.

On the other painful issue in Mormon history, namely racial discrimination, in my opinion, the authors fail to provide a sufficient comparative context for either their nineteenth- or twentieth-century discussion. Unquestionably, Brigham Young and his colleagues were unabashed racists, but so were nearly all other Americans of the time. Such enlightened liberals as Abraham Lincoln made numerous comments advocating racial separa-
tion and restrictions. The retrospective and anachronistic application of modern norms to earlier historical settings always involves a degree of distortion. Similarly, the relatively late abolition of Mormon racial restrictions on the priesthood must be considered against the realization that even today the proportion of black clergy and lay leadership is minuscule in mainline Protestant and Catholic churches, which themselves typically restricted black access to their seminaries and, thus, to ordination, until the 1960s. Obviously none of these observations can morally justify racial discrimination anywhere; but in fairness, anyone discussing racism among the Mormons in particular should point them out.

Despite all these relatively minor qualifications, I will conclude by reemphasizing the significant accomplishment of the Ostlings in explaining Mormonism to its own people as well as to the rest of the world. I expect their work to remain unrivaled for a very long time. I particularly hope that it will be studied thoroughly by other journalists who have so far found it easier to seek cram-courses over the telephone from people like me than to do their own homework.

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Reviewed by David J. Whittaker

In 1981 Davis Bitton published the first serious evaluation of the emerging craft of professional Mormon biographical studies. After surveying the

state of Mormon biography, he concluded with a series of suggestions for future studies in this genre. To the would-be biographers of Mormons he recommended several "rules": (1) a biography must be well researched in the extensive sources available in Mormon history; (2) the final work ought to appeal to both a Mormon and a general non-Mormon audience and would best reach these groups when published by a press unaffiliated or unidentified with the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints; (3) to recognize the growing internationalization of the Church, subjects for biographies ought to go beyond the white, Anglo-Saxon, Utah-based core, thus helping to clarify the cultural and ethnic diversity of the modern church; (4) it must, in dealing with the human psyche, show psychological awarenesses that illuminate the subject's life experiences; (5) it must take the subject's religion seriously, using both its richness and complexity to give a dynamic portrait; (6) it must avoid the extremes of filiopietism and muckraking; and (7) it must pay attention to the growth and development over time of the person being studied, relating him/her to the successes and the failures of the life actually lived.

Since the appearance of Bitton’s essay, the number of Mormon biographical studies in print has virtually exploded. Newell Bringhurst’s Presidential Address in this issue has already focused readers’ attention on this topic, while a recent updating and assessment suggests the current state of the craft, noting many impressive achievements and a general upward trend, but concludes that the genre still has a way to go.2

Davis Bitton brings to this work a rich background, including both advanced historical training at Princeton University where he received his Ph.D. in European history and a long teaching career, the majority of it in the History Department at the University of Utah from which he recently retired. For ten years (1972-82) he served as an Assistant Church Historian to Leonard J. Arrington, then the Church Historian. He has served as a president of the Mormon History Association, and he has published widely in Mormon history on topics from social history to Joseph Smith. He oversaw the creation and publication of the first Guide to Mormon Diaries and Autobiographies (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1977). Many of his publications have had a strong biographical content. His first book-length biography was on The Redoubtable John Pack: Pioneer, Proselyter, Patriarch (Salt Lake City: John Pack Family Association, 1982), but this study of George Q. Cannon is his most ambitious project to date.

George Q. Cannon is an ideal subject for a biographical study. Bitton

begins his work with a clear delineation of Cannon's significance: "One can scarcely expect to understand the history of Mormonism without knowing George Q. Cannon.... Aside from the founding prophet, Joseph Smith and Brigham Young, no one surpassed Cannon as a leader, shaper, and defender of nineteenth-century Mormonism" (ix). Late in his life, someone actually referred to Cannon as "the Mormon Richelieu," recognizing Cannon's central role in Mormon affairs, although often behind the scenes (518 note 97). Cannon was literally everywhere that mattered from the 1850s until his death at the beginning of the twentieth century.

Born in Liverpool, England, on 17 January 1827, Cannon was a willing recipient of baptism when his uncle John Taylor brought the message of the Restoration to the family and neighbors of John's wife, Leonora Cannon Taylor. By April 1843 Cannon was in Nauvoo, Illinois, where he met Joseph Smith. In 1847 he reached the Salt Lake Valley and, in 1849-50, finished crossing the continent by serving a mission in the California gold fields (financed by John Taylor), then extending it into the Hawaiian Islands (1850-54). In Hawaii he managed to provide stability to the mission, translate the Book of Mormon into Hawaiian, and keep a magnificent journal that shows honesty, perception, spiritual struggles, and an intelligent, cultured mind.

His faithfulness and competence were early recognized, and his connection to the John Taylor family surely opened opportunities and relationships that furthered the appreciation and development of his talents. He had worked in the Times and Seasons print shop in Nauvoo under John Taylor; returning from Hawaii in 1854, he was the only missionary in his company whom Parley P. Pratt invited to stay in San Francisco. Here he acted as Pratt's amanuensis but accompanied him to a concert.

Briefly in Salt Lake City (November 1854-May 1855), Cannon reported his mission and married his first wife, Elizabeth Hoagland, then was sent back to central California where he supervised the mission, oversaw the printing of the Hawaiian edition of the Book of Mormon, and founded the Western Standard. During a short mission to the eastern United States in the late 1850s, he met Thomas L. Kane, under whose tutelage he would begin a lifetime involvement with Utah's interests on the national stage. He also entered plural marriage, was ordained an apostle (1860), and presided over the British Mission (1860-64), using his great administrative skills to address the Church's serious financial problems. His solution was to establish the Church's own press, thus moving away from twenty years of dependence on non-Mormon printers. He also received special control over Brigham Young's private finances in England. In 1873, Young called Cannon as a counselor in the First Presidency, where he continued during the presidencies of John Taylor, Wilford Woodruff, and Lorenzo Snow.
As Bitton details, there were few areas of Church or Utah affairs that Cannon was not involved in. From his growing family (six wives, forty-six children), to church callings (missionary, apostle, members of the First Presidency, superintendent of the Deseret Sunday School Union), to his active roles as author, translator, editor, and publisher; to his work with such major programs as emigration, colonization, and the United Order; politics (he was Utah Territorial delegate and active statehood lobbyist); to serving three weeks (1879) jail time for contempt of court and five months (1888) for cohabitation—the fabric of Cannon’s life was made up of many different threads.

Cannon not only lived through the major events of nineteenth-century Mormonism but was also frequently a major player in them. His relationship with U.S. congressmen, senators and even presidents, in addition to his association with regional and national political and financial leaders helped him guide the Church through its most difficult challenges at the end of the nineteenth century. Bitton’s study reveals the great contributions Cannon made to both Utah and Mormon society in an age when these two spheres were not clearly distinguishable. From our perspective a century later, Cannon, by moving the Church toward a rapprochement with American society, was the first modern Mormon. Such a title is usually attached to Reed Smoot, Utah’s apostle-senator after 1903, but Bitton’s detailed biography surely documents the broad foundation established by Cannon, upon which Smoot built. When Cannon died in April 1901, his passing was mourned by large numbers of people in and out of the Church.

Bitton is not Cannon’s first biographer. Joseph J. Cannon, George Q.’s son, assembled the first extensive life story to 1884 and serialized it in The Instructor (January 1944-November 1946). Cannon’s daughter, Rosannah Cannon Irvine, provided an extensive “Recollections of My Father,” also serialized in The Instructor (March 1946-December 1949). In 1961 Mark W. Cannon, a descendant, completed a Ph.D. dissertation at Harvard University which focused on Cannon’s years as a territorial delegate (1872-82). Lawrence R. Flake wrote a master’s thesis at BYU in 1969 about Cannon and the Juvenile Instructor, which he had founded; a year later Flake completed a Doctor of Religious Education dissertation at BYU about Cannon’s missionary experiences to 1863. However, other than a few family projects and a few more specialized studies, no one has undertaken a full study of Bitton’s scope.

Anyone who undertakes such a biography faces a monumental task.

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3 This dissertation, essentially unchanged, was published twenty-eight years later as George Q. Cannon: His Missionary Years (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1998).
Cannon himself left journals (forty-one volumes covering 1849-1901), correspondence, sermons, and extensive published writing. Much of the manuscript material is housed in the Archives of the Family and Church History Department, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, in Salt Lake City. With the exception of the earliest journals (1849-54), the Cannon papers have generally been unavailable to researchers. An exception was Adrian W. Cannon, a grandson, who was given permission to make a typescript of the journals; but even this typescript has remained generally unavailable to researchers and, according to those who have examined it, selective and incomplete, although much better than no record at all. As a family-approved biographer, Bitton received access to the typescript and was allowed to check quotations in the original diaries when necessary.

In addition, as explained in the preface, he was given access to various research files comprising “the George Q. Cannon Archive”—original manuscripts and research files gathered and maintained by the Cannon family over the years. In addition to the Cannon material, a conscientious biographer would need to study the voluminous collateral material ranging from the records of those closest to him, like Brigham Young and Cannon’s son Abraham H. Cannon, as well as the journals and papers of colleagues in and out of the Church.

Thus, to fully tell the story of such an active and influential life would probably require several lengthy volumes. Indeed, Bitton notes that the original draft was much longer (“I have cut out much,” xiii); in fact, the published version contains hints of deletions in some endnotes. (See, for example, 510 note 111 and 511 note 153.)

Davis Bitton has accomplished an important task with this biography. In a well-written volume we are given a detailed study of the many dimensions of Cannon’s life. The volume opens with a detailed account of Cannon’s Hawaiian mission. Such an entree captures the reader’s attention and suggests the importance of Cannon’s testimony and Church service within a spiritual framework. These themes are, in fact, the major interpretative modes by which Bitton reveals Cannon’s life. The rest of the work is basically chronological. Given Cannon’s long and consistent service in the Church, such an emphasis seems appropriate. But such crafting of a life story can also bury or slight other aspects of a subject’s life. For example, it has led to uneven and unbalanced coverage of key events and topics in Cannon’s life.

The unevenness becomes apparent in the coverage of Cannon’s personal use of the funds from the Bullion, Beck, and Champion Mining Company stock which Cannon acquired control over toward the end of John Taylor’s life. Discovered by John Beck near Eureka, Utah, in 1871, the Bullion-Beck proved to be a very rich lode. Taylor and Cannon had invested in it along with members Alexander Badlam Jr. and Moses Thatcher and California
nonmember Isaac Trumbo. While the full story has yet to be told, divisions among Church leaders, the complicated (often secret) negotiations for Utah statehood, prosecutions for plural marriage, the Manifesto withdrawing public support for polygamy's practice, plus the growing problems of Church debt were all tumultuous dramas in which Cannon played a central role. Not only did the Bullion-Beck funds provide money for Cannon's business interests, but allegations of their mishandling became divisive issues for the Twelve. The shares that ended up in Cannon's control, the resistance to reorganizing Wilford Woodruff's First Presidency, the announcement of the Manifesto, the nationwide financial Panic of 1893, and statehood for Utah—all of these issues were also connected directly with Cannon and "the Bullion-Beck affair," as it was called. Bitton indicates in an endnote that the charges Cannon's colleagues, especially by Moses Thatcher, had brought against him were not sustained. Bitton quotes Wilford Woodruff's diary in an endnote that there was "further grumbling" about Cannon (510 note 111); but the text mysteriously fails to identify the charges and their centrality in this period. Bitton's laconic details suggest that he was well aware of the critical role that these events played in Cannon's life; to have turned away from a fuller discussion diminishes the interpretive significance of what is otherwise a very good life study.

The decade between the mid-1880s and statehood may well have been some of the hardest times the Church has ever faced, and Cannon played a

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4 For more detail, see Thomas G. Alexander, *Things in Heaven and Earth: The Life and Times of Wilford Woodruff, a Mormon Prophet* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1991), 244-45, 249, 283-89, 294, 309. In fairness to Bitton, the published biography never treats any of Cannon's business interests, so the Bullion Beck affair is not being singled out for exclusion.

5 Bitton neutrally comments, "The history of the Bullion, Beck and Champion Mining Company remains to be written" (510 note 102). While unarguably true, this statement is inadequate in interpreting an issue that caused internal friction in the Quorum of the Twelve/First Presidency. Cannon's journals and personal records would have given (and probably did in Bitton's longer draft) the details needed to expand his account. Edward Leo Lyman and Ronald W. Walker presented papers on this issue at the Mormon History Association's annual meeting in Logan (1988), while Lyman's other writings suggest both the general contours and specific elements of the issues involved. See his *Political Deliverance: The Mormon Quest for Utah Statehood* (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1986), "The Alienation of an Apostle from His Quorum: The Moses Thatcher Case," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 18 (Summer 1985): 67-91; "The Political Background of the Woodruff Manifesto," ibid., 24 (Fall 1991): 21-39; and "Isaac Trumbo and the Politics of Utah Statehood," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 41 (Spring 1973):128-49.
central role in it. It reminded Wilford Woodruff of the dark days of schism during the Ohio period, while Heber J. Grant thought that the economic crises of the 1890s were even worse and privately expressed his doubts to Cannon that the Church could survive financially. It was Cannon himself who calmed Grant’s fears. Giving this story its rightful narrative place and interpretation would have further illuminated both Cannon’s life and the history of the Church to which he devoted his life. Perhaps Davis Bitton will now give us a volume of specialized essays on these and other topics that he was unable or unwilling to address in this volume. But overall, this fine commissioned biography generally succeeds in meeting the standard that he himself laid down in 1981.

Michael Landon’s first volume of the publishing of the Cannon journals is obviously an important step in the process of supplying more detailed studies on specialized periods. While various Cannon items have been published before, Landon’s volume marks an important beginning to a major series—all forty-one journals, issued consistent with general guidelines that, at this point, may be taken to represent the Church’s policy on the proper guidelines for publishing archival material. The general editors are Adrian W. Cannon (a courtesy title recognizing his many years of work on the diaries, since he died in 1991) and Richard E. Turley Jr., an attorney who is now managing director of the combined Family and Church History Department.

Preparing the journals of Church leaders for publication poses serious ethical challenges. The work of these leaders, by its very nature, involves them in many matters that are sacred, private, or confidential. Matters of great sacredness deserve reverence. Divulging some kinds of information may violate principles of privacy. And persons who confess to religious leaders or communicate other

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information in a confidential setting expect that leaders will maintain their confidences.

In publishing George Q. Cannon’s journals, we in the Church Historical Department seek to honor these principles while also making as much information as possible available to the public and clearly indicating any omissions with ellipses or notes. (xvi)

While such a project poses a number of challenges, the editors must be commended for their plans and for their forthright detailing of the editorial standards for the projected series that will surely become one of the great published diaries of the Mormon experience.

Michael Landon, an archivist in the Family and Church History Department, edited the first journal, which records only the three-month trip from Utah to California, 6 October to 9 December 1849. The first manuscript volume breaks off at that point and does not resume until late September 1850 when Cannon is on his way to his mission in Hawaii. This part of Volume 1, and the next two manuscript volumes will appear in the next installment which will cover the entire Hawaiian mission. This volume, being edited by Chad Orton, will cover the four years of Cannon’s Hawaiian mission (1850-54).

In *Vol. 1: To California in ’49*, Cannon’s journal text with Landon’s explanatory notes covers pp. 1-73. Part 1, covering 6-31 October 1849, chronicles the journey south through Utah (1-31). Part 2 covers 1-18 November 1849, during which the party made a hazardous detour off the Spanish Trail looking for the purported “Walker Cutoff” (32-57). Part 3 follows the party from 19 November when they return to the Spanish Trail on the Muddy River until they reach the Cajon Pass into southern California on 9 December 1849 (58-73). The detail is so good that someone today could retrace Cannon’s route. Footnotes provide the parallel accounts of fellow travelers, especially Henry W. Bigler, Addison Pratt, and William Farrer. Cannon later published an expanded account of the journey, and Landon quotes from it in notes to fill in details and personal perceptions. 8

To this material has been added an epilogue (74-83) which reconstructs Cannon’s travels in California, thus bridging Cannon’s gap between 10 December 1849 and 23 September 1850. Five appendices provide excellent supplemental and illustrative material: (1) modern maps, (2) a geographical register, (3) period maps, (4) documents related to Cannon’s 1849 journey to California, and (5) a biographical register. Finally, Landon includes an

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extensive list of sources and additional readings. These enrichment aids all help the reader to understand and use this Cannon journal.

This volume sets high standards for the volumes that are to follow. It is consistently edited, following the editorial procedures described in the preface (xix-xx). Landon's generosity in including a broad range of sources that illuminate or further expand the main text make the book a valuable addition to the literature on the American and Mormon overland experience. And because it is the foundational record of one of the nineteenth century's most important Mormons, it is a significant addition to our understanding of both Cannon and the church he represented. It illustrates how Mormon records can reveal not only the life of an individual, but also the larger events in the history of the nation.

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Reviewed by Ryan Johnson

Bigler and Bagley have made interesting use of the documentary record left by members of the Mormon Battalion about their service in the Mexican War. From the title, I assumed that this work is a documentary collection of these writings; and while it could be described as such, it is actually both more and less.

They have created an at times engrossing narrative history of the battalion's activities in the first person by arranging the various letters, journal, diaries, and other records in a chronological order. The first person accounts are augmented liberally with expository information and explanatory notes. The notes and expository links are a very important part of the book because the varied writing styles found in the journals tended to make the story line somewhat disjointed; by this device, the authors were able to keep a focus as well as explaining who the players are and how they relate to the ongoing mission of the battalion.

The notes also helped to bring a broader focus to an individual's personal agendas. One example of this effect is the use of John D. Lee's journal. Lee argued that theological leaders, such as himself and Levi
Hancock, should be in charge of the men’s daily activities and often took positions in opposition to the regular army commander of the battalion. This left the Mormon officers—the company commanders in particular—in a very difficult position. As they explain, “Lee’s diary of this mission . . . exposes the incompatibility of temporal and theocratic rule that lay at the heart of most conflict between Mormons and their neighbors during the nineteenth century” (108). By placing Lee’s writings into a broader context, the disputes and near mutiny that he inspired become representative of the larger conflict rather than the actions of a single disgruntled individual.

The conflict between the regular army officers’ attempts to control the battalion and the desire of theocratic leaders to control the men is a central theme of this work. From the initial call for enlistment to the eventual return of the men to Utah, there was a constant sense that the men looked first to Brigham Young for leadership and that only Young’s instructions that the men should obey their duly appointed officers allowed the battalion to function as a military organization. When their terms of service ended, the majority of the men set out to rejoin their families—most of them heading for Utah despite the army’s efforts to reenlist them.

The army was desperate for manpower in California, and the Mormon Battalion had been a steadying factor in the region. Although about eighty continued their service, the rest insisted on their discharges. Colonel Richard Mason, then governor of California, asked Captain Jefferson Hunt, who had commanded Company A, to enlist a second battalion of Mormons to help the government conquer Baja California. While Hunt was more than willing, he was unable to obtain Brigham Young’s endorsement prior to the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo, which ended the war with Mexico and also ended his hopes of leading a second Mormon Battalion.

While the actions of the Mormon Battalion were rather inconsequential to the outcome of the Mexican War, their march to California was an amazing feat and their actions in California led to a peaceful transition for that region from Mexico to the United States. However, the battalion is more significant in the history of the Mormon Church. It not only provided funds for the move west by donating a portion of their salary to the Church but their enlistment also alleviated fears that the Mormons would be a disloyal group in time of war.

This book provides an up-close look at the service of the Mormon Battalion, and Bigler and Bagley effectively use the primary materials to tell the story in an engaging manner. The book also serves as a window on the tensions between the Mormons and their neighbors by examining the interactions of temporal and theocratic leadership.

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Reviewed by Michael Landon

With the objective of locating suitable colonizing sites for increasing numbers of Mormon immigrants, Parley P. Pratt led an exploring party south from the Great Salt Lake Valley in November 1849 which eventually traveled “over the rim” of the Great Basin to the Virgin and Santa Clara rivers before returning. The journey of Pratt’s company, known as the Southern Exploring Expedition, has never been adequately studied and documented—until now. In a carefully crafted, thoroughly researched, and highly readable work, William B. Smart and Donna T. Smart have finally brought a measure of recognition that is long overdue to this relatively obscure company.

Although Parley P. Pratt and Robert L. Campbell prepared an official report of the expedition’s accomplishments for the territorial legislature in February 1850 (included in the volume as an appendix), the authors note that “the human drama, the interplay of relations among the explorers and between them and the Indians, a sense of their immense labor and suffering and of the spiritual strength and commitment that sustained the effort, can only come from the journals” (14-15) of company members. The authors present the story of the expedition by editing the surviving journals of Robert Lang Campbell, John C. Armstrong, John Brown, and Isaac Haight.

By placing the journal entries together by date with accompanying explanatory text, the authors trace the movement and activities of the company. Chapters are based on the geography of the route starting in the Salt Lake Valley, with divisions when the company reached Sanpete, Little Salt Lake, the Virgin and Santa Clara, at the return trip to the Little Salt Lake, and the final return route to the Salt Lake Valley. Whenever company members separate, which occurred several times during the journey, each group’s movements and activities are tracked.

While making these important journals accessible to a wider audience is significant, the volume’s real strength lies in the additional context that the authors provide. Clearly, they did substantial field work and know the terrain the company traversed. In addition to providing background to
place names and a wealth of very precise trail data, the authors discuss other individuals and companies who traveled parts of the same route, including Dominguez-Escalante (1776-77), John C. Frémont (1844), Mormon Battalion veterans (1847-48), and southern-bound ’49er companies, particularly Jefferson Hunt’s.

To their credit, the authors do not stop simply at providing historical context. Relevant comments on such diverse topics as liberty poles, native Great Basin plant species, southern Utah geology, petroglyphs, and customs of Ute and Paiute tribes, greatly enhance the overall quality of the book. For example, when journal entries described unfamiliar flora, the authors consulted James E. Bowns, professor of biology and range ecology at Southern Utah University, who provided tentative identification of plants mentioned by the diarists, such as Campbell’s “Soap Maskal” that Bowns identifies as probably *Yucca elata* or *Yucca angustissima* (90).

The desire to provide useful detail to enhance the journals extends to the illustrations, which are not simply afterthoughts. As an example, the authors include a photograph of the Parowan Gap petroglyph drawings found in Campbell’s journal and also include accompanying modern photographs of the petroglyphs obtained from the Bureau of Land Management. Photographs of a register cliff containing the names of many company members located in Fremont Canyon are also included as are pages from the Ute dictionary in Campbell’s journal. Maps, reprinted by permission from Peter H. DeLafosse, ed., *Utah Historic Trails* (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society, 1998), appear at key points in the text.

In addition to the official report, several other appendices enhance this book’s usefulness, including related papers, biographical sketches of company members, a typescript of Robert Campbell’s Ute dictionary, and Campbell’s waybill.

The book contains a few errors, usually on subjects peripheral to the actual Southern Exploring Expedition journals. In discussing the Jefferson Hunt company, the authors state that Hunt’s train had 108 wagons and 500 members. They also state: “The 108 wagons Jefferson Hunt was guiding to California had not gone that way [down the gorge of Ash Creek] but, following the Spanish Trail, had swung west through Mountain Meadows” (76).

In reality, Hunt’s company, both in numbers of wagons and people, fluctuated often. Even the historic marker southwest of Newcastle, Utah, which the authors mention (103), lists 113 wagons. Journal accounts report that seven wagons, not eight, followed the Spanish Trail and that the
balance of the wagons in the company split off from Hunt at the mouth of Holt Canyon before reaching Mountain Meadows.¹

For most of the discussion about Hunt's company the authors cite as a source LeRoy and Ann Hafen's "definitive book Journals of the Forty-Niners" (102). While one cannot dismiss the tremendous contribution the Hafens made in Volume 2 of The Far West and Rockies Historical Series, "definitive" is pretty strong language. Actually, they missed so many sources that they included a supplement to Journals of the Forty-Niners in the index volume of the series.²

Perhaps the term "definitive" would be better used in connection with Over the Rim. The tremendous sacrifice and cost in human suffering experienced by members of the Southern Exploring Expedition has gone unnoticed far too long. Anyone seriously interested in Utah's historic trails and the settlement of southern Utah will long be indebted to Bill and Donna Smart for this remarkable volume. Congratulations should also go to Utah State University Press for adding one more excellent publication to a lengthening list of fine works on the American West.

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Craig Denton. The University of Utah: 150 Years of Excellence. Salt Lake City:

¹ For the number of wagons in Hunt's company that continued on the Spanish Trail and the location for the wagon train's division, see Addison Pratt, Autobiography and Journal, 4 November 1849, LDS Church Archives; C. Gregory Crampton and Steven K. Madsen, In Search of the Spanish Trail: Santa Fe to Los Angeles, 1829-1848 (Salt Lake City: Gibbs Smith, 1994), 72-73; and Michael N. Landon, ed., The Journals of George Q. Cannon, Vol. 1: To California in '49 (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1999), 30-36, 99-100.

As Craig Denton writes, "This book is not a history . . . . This one focuses on the present and tries to peek into the future" (ix). Also, although filled with 350 photographs, both archival black and white prints and magnificent color reproductions of current scenes and activities, this is not just a "picture book" but is accompanied by a well-written and sometimes even lyrically composed text which is a delight to read.

The book is organized into three major parts. The first is "Life of the Institution," with six subdivisions: (1) Our Place: Campus Planning, including Transportation and a Look at Fort Douglas; (2) A New Year—LEAP (Liberal Education Accelerated Programs), Presidential Installation, and Homecoming; (3) Athletics: Marching Band, Cheerleading, Crimson Lines, and even a quizzical analysis of Tailgating; (4) Celebrations; (5) Staff; and finally (6) Commencement.

The second section, "Life of the Mind," has twelve subsections: (1) Teaching, with particular attention to Student Practicum, (2) Research, again with a focus on the Undergraduate Research Opportunities Programs; (3) Technology; (4) Centers of Excellence; (5) the Research Park; (6) Great Mentors; and (7) the Library.

"Life of the Community," the third section, focuses on: "Residential Life; (2) Campus Recreation; (3) Museums; (4) Theatres; (5) Fairs and Scientific Outreach; (7) Poison Control Center; (8) Field Trips; (9) Outreach to Underrepresented Utahns; (10) Distance Education; (11) KUED/KUER; (12) Children’s Dance Theatre, and (12) the Lowell Bennion Community Service Center.

This list indicates just how comprehensively Denton attempts to cover nearly all aspects of university life.

Conceived as a tribute to both the sesquicentennial of the University of Utah and the turn of the millennium, Denton adopts a documentary approach and a bias toward narratives “that have a strong visual hook. That unfortunately neglects many other exciting initiatives on campus, since what takes place there happens inside a mind, beyond the mechanistic reporting capabilities of the camera” (x). But the selected photographs shot by both Denton and other photographers capture the spirit and life of the university at the moment of its 150th year. The focus is on the campus situated on the bench above Salt Lake City and lacks any significant pictorial coverage of the university’s state and international outreach.

Although there are two pages devoted to academic outreach and continuing education, I believe that not enough attention has been paid to the
necessity for the continuing training of individuals faced with the rapidly changing technology which drives our society and economy. In a rather tightly organized academic structure, often it is that section of the university devoted to continuing education that provides an experimental approach to help invigorate a sometimes too-somnolent campus community. The contrast to forty-two pages devoted to athletics is a striking indication of where priorities lie in university life. But that comment is perhaps redolent of an old grad who may have lost some of the enthusiasm of his youth as he contemplates books on history rather than the Crimson Line. Readers who are interested in the humanities will also chafe at Denton’s noticeable lack of attention to the research and writing which goes into good books. However, it is an unfortunate reality that this process is difficult—and perhaps impossible—to show in photographs.

I was particularly impressed with the book’s emphasis on the relationship between teaching and research. Denton puts it well: “They are the yin and yang of existence in higher education, each one defining and nourishing the other” (81). And again he notes, “building things from the raw material of thought is what the institution is all about” (xi). The entire text reflects a very thoughtful and creative mindset. Denton cites some interesting facts about the importance of personal education at the university. The average class size is about twenty-five; only 10 percent of the classes have more than fifty students; and the student/faculty ratio is fourteen to one. President J. Bernard Machen’s insistence that senior faculty teach undergraduate classes is well known.

Above all, this very fine book increasingly emphasizes in almost every line the openness which the University of Utah fosters and its leadership in the intellectual community of Utah and the Intermountain region. Add up its graduates’ and supporters’ glory in the freedom of expression and independence of mind it inculcates in its students for the true measure of an institution of higher learning. For the section entitled “Cynosure: Great Mentors,” the visual image shows Sterling M. McMurrin, “the first appointee to the rank of Distinguished Professor,” and says of this outstanding teacher and scholar: “A strong advocate for racial justice, he argued that liberal education is the best hope for releasing humans from the chains of ignorance, bigotry, and violence” (138). The University of Utah can take pride in the independence of thought and courageous intellectual freedom which has characterized its faculty at their best.

This book will gladden the hearts, not only of those with a nostalgic or current interest in the wonderful photographs but also those who appreciate excellent and imaginative prose. Denton, in this ambitious and sensitive portrait of the University of Utah in its anniversary year,
has succeeded in his objective to “unabashedly [show] the institution’s good works” (ix).

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Reviewed by Audrey M. Godrey

From 1906 until four days before his death in 1929, Willie Ottogary gave the readers of Northern Utah newspapers a week-by-week account of their Shoshone neighbors’ lives. In his edition of The Washakie Letters of Willie Ottogary, historian Matthew E. Kreitzer opens up that world by publishing Ottogary’s colorful columns about the little Shoshone hamlet of Washakie, Utah, seven miles south of the Idaho border near Portage, Utah. These columns were a weekly feature in several local papers—the Tremonton Times, the Oneida County Enterprise in Malad, Idaho, the Journal in Logan, Utah, and the Box Elder News and Box Elder Journal in Brigham City, Utah.

Kreitzer supplies abundant aids for the reader, most notably an excellent biographical register and index of all the people mentioned in the columns. He helpfully includes English and Indian names (some individuals have several), with the biographical information. His editing of the text goes beyond sources and explanations. He spells out the significance of some items, adds sources for further study, locates geographical sites, and clarifies where necessary to appreciate Ottogary’s writings.

The eighty-five photos Kreitzer includes tell stories of their own. We see Native Americans dressed in both traditional and Anglo clothing, in front of log houses, tipis, and Washakie frame houses, indicating the development of their acculturation. All sorts of daily play and work are depicted in posed and unposed photographs. Native Americans ride in parades and pose as tourists in Salt Lake City and other places. Families, individuals, and groups of friends or associates, both young and old, smile shyly at the camera or seriously consider the event.

Appendices explain the background to understand some of Ottogary’s concerns and activities, such as: the text of the 1863 U.S. government treaty
with the Shoshone, a list of Ottogary's travels in behalf of his people and for
his own enjoyment, and a listing of leadership in the local Mormon ward to
which he belonged. Two curious items are an undated agricultural census of
acreage, yields, implements, etc. belonging to Washakie Indians, and a list-
ing of awards and prizes that Washakie residents won at the 1915 Utah State
Fair.

Ottogary followed the pattern already popularized by other small com-

munity correspondents of the time. He wrote of visitors, social and religious
activities, deaths, births, marriages, illnesses, public works, and unusual
happenings. The columns overflow with Ottogary's wit, conscientiousness,
and capabilities as he reports in vernacular English on life in his hometown.
A sample column from an Anglo community in Appendix B suggests that
Ottogary may have been a more creative and interesting correspondent
than those from other communities.

And naturally, the reader is curious about Willie Ottogary himself. In a 5
May 1903 article in the Logan Journal, he provides some biographical
background. He was born in 1867 in Mantua, Utah, in Box Elder County.
His parents converted to the Mormon Church when he was eight; he was
baptized some time later. His parents then moved to Washakie where the
Church had purchased land and was running a mission under the direction
of missionary George Washington Hill to train Indian converts in agricul-
ture. Willie attended school and grew up in the community. He enjoyed
being in a settled community in contrast to the earlier perambulations of
the family: "I think this is nice away to live to be civize," he announced
approvingly (53).

And become civilized he did, adopting the dress, activities, labor, and
interests of his white neighbors with whom he made many friendships. He
married twice. His first wife, Alice, died; and his second wife, Nancy,
divorced him; but his two sons lived with him, and so, occasionally, did his
daughter, although she lived most of the time with her mother at Fort Hall,
Idaho. He was a good father. He encouraged the boys' participation in
baseball and boxing, and was proud of their achievements.

Ottogary engaged in farming and odd jobs, in addition to his newspaper
work. He encouraged work, church participation, and education among his
people. In an effort to upgrade the farm efforts at Washakie, Ottogary spent
twelve days in Logan at an agricultural "round-up" where professors of
agriculture instructed area farmers on how to improve their dairying, crop
management, stock raising, fruit farming, and other yields. According to
Utah State University archivist Robert Parson, this event was part of an
outreach program begun by Utah Agricultural College, a land-grant institu-
tion, just before the turn of the century, in which professors were sent by rail
to local farming communities. About 1908, under the leadership of John A.
Widtsoe, the college’s president, farmers were invited to attend Farmer Encampment and Housekeeper Conferences (also called Farmers’ Round-ups) on campus. Hundreds of tents housed the visitors who were fed and instructed by the various departments of agriculture.

But most important, because he was educated, able, and had a local presence, he became a spokesman and activist for Shoshone treaty rights. This effort took him to Indian reservations and settlements in Nevada, Idaho, Wyoming, and western Utah where he held talks with other Indians. He also lobbied government officials in Salt Lake City and Washington, D.C. His columns mention his efforts from 1915 until his death, when he was still hopeful of a positive outcome.

The column published 5 March 1924 in the Logan Journal expresses some of Ottogary’s concerns:

The hay is pretty scarce around here now. Most of our people haven’t got land [in] their own name, so we expect [to] get some land from our big white pop in future time. Well, sir, we would like getting some more land some away rather [some way or another]. For the young people around our vicinity. But there was a big council meeting when the chiefs coming home from Washington, D.C. They went on the especial on land business. We might hear from them later on. And been out for three weeks and they might came by this time now. The Indians are not knowing about the Government made a agreement with President of the United States in the beginning. The reading in the treaty of the 1863. And state the Government should paying Indians so much each year. Well we haven’t pay for yet. What has made agreement with our chief and warrior in this section country. But our people was looking for this payments. I was understand in the treaty when my people coming country of yours we must pay your game and so on. It seems to me the government done some crook work among our American Indians so on. (142-43)

Kreitzer unfortunately fails to give the reader closure on Ottogary’s efforts. The book calls out for an afterword describing the final outcome of the treaty negotiations and the post-1919 years of the Washakie community.

The years in which Ottogary wrote were a transitional period during which the Shoshone made the passage from pre-Anglo nomadic ways to acculturation in white society. Thus, while he describes such traditional activities as ceremonial dances, celebrations, food-gathering, moccasin-making, and beadwork, he also reports that the Indians bought fruit to dry for winter eating and also purchased tanned hides, rather than tanning their own. Clear cultural adoptions are decorating graves on Memorial Day, Christmas preparations, and anticipating the visit of “Santa Clause.” When sickness or accidents occurred, his neighbors would sometimes get “medicine treatment” but were more apt to seek “Dr. treatment.”

An important aspect of Ottogary’s writings is that they definitively refute such pejorative labels applied to Native Americans as “dumb” and “lazy.”
The Indians at Washakie work hard every year cleaning their ditches and canals, preparing the fields, and planting and harvesting crops. In the off season, they seek odd jobs or seasonal work in the surrounding countryside, such as thinning and harvesting sugar beets, cutting and selling Christmas trees, shooting rabbits to collect the county bounty, shearing sheep, and buying and reselling hay for a profit. His neighbors also are innovative in devising ways to increase their income; for instance, they lease their land to Anglos, promote their star boxers, and work on the new school. Was such resourcefulness unusual or typical among Anglo neighbors during this time as well?

Ottogary is exhibit A in the intelligence department. Not only can he write, speak, and read, but he continually seeks knowledge by subscribing to a newspaper, asking questions of those he can learn from, and attending activities such as the agricultural round-up. His sentence construction and usage may be unconventional, but it is important to remember that English is his second language.

Willie Ottogary opened to his readers a unique community of Native Americans situated among their white “brothers and sisters.” He took his writing seriously, “Well sir there was much news for this time. I hope all the News reader was great interested in the . . . Indian reporter . . . . I am try to get very nice letter every week the month” (130).

The reader can be glad that he tried so hard, and that Kreitzer brought his writings to light again.

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Reviewed by Wilfried Decoo

Textual databases on CD-ROM for the Mormon market have been with us for quite a few years now. Infobase Library did groundbreaking work, providing us with a remarkable product in its power and simplicity. Next Deseret Book tried to catch up hastily and produced the first GospeLink in 1998, an immature product with a dangerous set-up for your computer, frequent runtime errors, and major flaws. Commercial developments and take-overs of the past two years made Infobase Library land in Deseret Book’s basket. In 1999 appeared a first jointly produced upgrade for both programs com-
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bined—the "GospeLink/Infobase Plus," in anticipation of their joint merger into GospeLink 2001. There is no doubt the programmers took great pains to make GospeLink 2001 as good as they could, but as a user of all three versions, I must wonder if Deseret Book's commercial impatience did not again override the need for longer beta-versions, more correction time, and more extensive debugging.

Reviewing software objectively requires peculiar criteria. The prime question is: Does the software do what it promises to do? This question is not easy to answer, for it takes a lot of time and experience to discover and evaluate all the intricacies and combinations of a program such as GospeLink. Next, the users, according to their experience and their aims, can be very divergent in their appreciation. A person preparing a sacrament meeting talk may be ecstatic about GospeLink's copy-paste quotations, while a seasoned historian may be frustrated at the lack of certain sources or at the imprecision of certain advanced search routines. Novice software users venturing too far beyond the simplest searches can be quickly overwhelmed by the capacities of the program, while an experienced user will quickly notice features that could have been improved and discover several functions that should be standard but which make the program crash.

Moreover, evaluation should be cautious. If an element is unsatisfactory, what causes the problem: the user's experience (or lack of it?), or the program's weaknesses? And finally, by the time a review appears, a new version that has solved certain problems may already be on the market.

CONTENT

GospeLink's promotional literature claims that it contains "more than 3,000 works for gospel studies." While this number is probably accurate, it may be less true that they are relevant for gospel study, since the list includes Cervantes, Dickens, Plato, Shakespeare, and hundreds of international classics in the public domain already found on many CD-ROMs and of which many computer users have already more than one copy. Moreover, most of that material is now freely downloadable from the Internet. Moreover, this caveat aside, the material for the average Mormon user is impressive. In addition to contemporary editions of all four standard works, the disk includes the American Standard Version, the Douay-Rheims Version, and the Joseph Smith Translation (Inspired Version) of the Bible plus the 1830 edition of the Book of Mormon. Historical publications include the Messenger and Advocate, the Millennial Star (unfortunately only until 1846), the Times and Seasons, and the Evening and the Morning Star. Researchers will find a complete run of BYU Studies, the FARMS Journal of Book of Mormon Studies, and the FARMS Review of Books, formerly Review of Books on the Book of Mormon (all until 1997). Also included are many Mormon classics and
commentaries on the standard works, including Joseph Fielding Smith’s three-volume *Doctrines of Salvation* and Bruce R. McConkie’s second edition of *Mormon Doctrine*. The inclusion of more recent books is most probably tied to their diminished commercial success in book form. *GospelLink* does not include current bestsellers. For a full overview, turn to Deseret Book’s publicity.

Users will recognize and appreciate that *GospelLink* is a Deseret Book product designed to serve the study, teaching, and leadership needs of faithful Mormons. Thus its focus on primarily faith-promoting selections means that historians will find *GospelLink* a useful tool for a certain number of sources.

**FUNCTIONING**

*What I Liked*

- The program can be fully installed on the hard drive, and it is not necessary to insert the disks for each use. (Bravo!)
- The sober MS Office look and the standard Windows interface. (Bravissimo!)
- A clear “Getting started” and handy guidelines for novice users.
- A second window for Scripture viewing (allowing textual comparison).

*What I Didn’t Like*

- The packaging of the three disks in the folder was so tight that the disks could not be removed without genuine risk of damaging them.
- *GospelLink* search windows do not recall the previous entry. Normally a researcher returns quite often to the same search entry after changing some of the search criteria. Now you are obliged to retype the search item, a cumbersome process if the search identification is a complex one or if you want to change the selection criteria systematically. Microsoft Applications remember the search items.
- When you copy verses or paragraphs, the full reference is not always automatically included. It is unclear why the system does it sometimes and sometimes not. When a reference is included, it is not always complete. For example, for material copied from a magazine, the reference may include the magazine name but not the author of the article. The exact reference must be copied separately. If the reference is long, it may not show completely in the citation window.
- To clear multiple checkboxes, HELP says: “Click the Contents tab of the Explorer Window with your right mouse button.” This function did not work on my copy of the program.
- F3 should start a keyword search. It did not.
• Although GospeLink is advertised as able to connect with Word 2000, it would not on my computer.

• When you are in a SCRIPTURE chapter, which you found through a search, hitting NEXT will take you to the next chapter but there is no PREVIOUS, which would return you to the preceding chapter, unless you make a detour, during which your search result is lost.

• The function "Search for commentary on this verse" is very weak. For example, “other sheep I have” (John 10:16) is referenced only to McConkie’s Doctrinal New Testament Commentary. However, this verse has comments in many other books on GospeLink, which it omits. One elaborate commentary it ignores is in Daniel H. Ludlow’s A Companion to Your Study of the New Testament. This thinness means the GospeLink team has still an enormous job to do in identifying links beyond the primitive perfect match to “John 10:16.”

• If you click on a search result with several SCRIPTURE verses (e.g., 1 Ne 13:23-28), sometimes the Scripture Window begins the display with the last verse (v. 28), instead of the first (v. 23). I was unable to discover why these search points were inconsistent.

• LDS SearchSense is not very sensitive yet. When you select “New Testament” + indicate the word “Apostasy” in LDS SearchSense, you expect it to identify at least the standard missionary scriptures that predict apostasy or warn against apostasy, even if the word “apostasy” itself is not used. However, the result is “None.” The “sensing” is only for combinations of matching words, not even for the simple functions now performed by the Topical Guide. And even those combinations of matching words seldom lead to the expected result. When you type in “morning star,” hoping to find more about the meaning of this term for Mormons, LDS SearchSense will take you to a paragraph in Tom Sawyer where “star” is highlighted in the phrase “vast sweep of star-gemmed water,” and ten lines further “morning” is highlighted in the sentence saying that the pirate raft reached the island at two o’clock in the “morning.” The other 901 entries found for “morning star” are, for the most part, footnote references to the Evening and Morning Star in articles that do not have anything to do with “morning star.” I can agree with this result in keyword search, but not in LDS SearchSense. Numerous examples can be given of this “weak sense” of LDS SearchSense.

• A basic problem of GospeLink is that the searches, listings, and sortings are often (at certain places exclusively) technology-driven, and not logical according to human needs or wishes or—worse—according to the simplest evidence. This is due to the fact that much is generated automatically and options become limited. For example, if I click in the “List by scripture topics” on the topic “Apostasy of the Early Christian Church,” the listing of scriptures is Numerical-Alphabetical, starting with “1 Cor, 1 Jn,” and “1 Ne,” followed by all the books beginning with “2"
and "3." Even "1 Cor 11" will be listed before "1 Cor 3," while "1 Tim 1:19" appears before "1 Tim 1:6." After the numbered books, the arrangement is alphabetical, from Acts to Titus, with books from both the Book of Mormon and Bible intermingled. There is no way to choose "actual order" here, which could/should be the default.

- GospeLink 2001 advertises that it includes the Bible’s American Standard Version and the Douay-Rheims version. That may well be, but I did not discover how to access these versions. As far as I could assess, they do not show up in the contents, in the list of books, nor in the Help Index. You cannot find them through LDS SearchSense nor through Keyword Search and they do not show up in the SearchWizard list of books nor in the Encyclopedias.

- There is no possibility of searching for case-sensitive entries. For example, if you want to find out more about Thomas Sharp, editor of the Warsaw Signal, a searching for “Sharp” will yield 2,043 entries for “sharp.”

- Sorting search result is possible by author and title but not by date. This lack is particularly frustrating when you must search for a common word that appears in hundreds if not thousands of places and want to know when it first occurs in Mormon texts.

- I tried to open “Lyon, T. Edgar” from the author’s list. Instead, an underlying branch opened with John Lyon as author and his publications. I could not open the material by T. Edgar Lyon and the title(s) of his works are not displayed.

- In its present state, the SearchWizard is unstable. I tried it out during two separate sessions and never got past a window explaining the steps you must take to find the answer elsewhere. All the links it showed were dead, reinforcing my first impression that SearchWizard was just a dead-end with the constant message: “Rather than using SearchWizard, you can . . .” Moreover, the window explaining the steps does not remain visible as you try to follow its instructions, so you must hand-copy, remember the steps, or follow the path again to the same window. When I tried to select anything from the lists (a person, a topic, a publication . . .), the “Finish” button closed the SEARCH WIZARD, without showing any “Search Results,” or else it showed a garbled message such as (for Ezekiel as a person): /lpbin20/lpext.dll/lib1/826/e81457090?f=hit list&q=%5BField%20Feature%3APP%5D%5BField%20Topic%3A%2 2Ezekiel%22%5D&amp=x=Advanced&amp;opt=&amp;skc=800000030000E7B9&amp;c=curr&amp;gh=. However, during a third independent session, after rebooting the computer because GospeLink crashed, the links in SearchWizard were suddenly working and I did obtain Search Results.

- The current version is not free from run-time errors. E.g. if you follow the paths Explore - Virtual Encyclopedias - History of the Church - Church History Events - Europe (1837 . . .), you will see in the list of topics
two items with identical titles, namely "Mission of the Twelve to Britain." When you click on either of the two to open the item, then return to "Contents" and click on the other one to see how or if it is different, you receive the message: "Runtime error 35602—Key is not unique in collection . . . " If you next click on Explorer, in the hopes of returning to the program, you get 214748105—Automation error." If you keep trying to exit from the screen, the system crashes. Moreover, there is no way to start it up again without shutting down and restarting the computer, for the system will say "GospelLink is already running." The earlier version of GospelLink had the same problem.

- LDS Dictionary yields "Runtime error 380" for "Invalid Property Value," and "error 440" for "Application-defined error." There is no way to back out of these error messages without rebooting your computer.

This list of problems, amassed in an exploration only a few hours long, is, in my professional opinion, unacceptably long and unacceptably grave. My experience as a producer of many preferred CD-ROMS virtually guarantees that scholars who are relying on GospelLink as a serious research tool will find many more problems, many of them even more serious.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE NEXT VERSION

1. To bring a CD-ROM on the market is a challenging endeavor. I know it from years of experience directing an academic center specialized in producing complex CD-ROMs for interactive language learning. When we finish a new product, a beta-version is tried out for weeks and sometimes months by the most demanding users who get paid for every error they manage to find. New beta-versions, with corrections, are repeatedly produced. The program is installed on a variety of computers, it is run in conjunction with other programs, and it is checked for compatibility with various versions of operating systems. Only when we are absolutely sure that the product is safe and working without flaws is the master handed over for commercial production. My first recommendation is clear for GospelLink: before even thinking of publishing the next version, give dozens of beta-version copies to experienced users and reward them appropriately for their valuable work. Do not go into production before your latest version is absolutely safe and bug-free.

2. Create subsections in the Tutorial with typical search examples for various types of users and activities—for example, "Primary teacher," "Gospel Doctrine teacher" (keyed to the four-year scriptural cycle), "family home evening games," "personal improvement," "in-depth investigation," "answers to difficult questions," "professional historic research," etc. Working
out such examples will help the programmers target their information to a variety of audiences on different levels.

3. Provide an option allowing the user to activate more viewing windows in both SCRIPTURES and LIBRARY, so that he or she can study and compare more texts from any origin (SCRIPTURES, BOOKS, PERIODICALS . . . ) simultaneously.

4. Expand the HELP database—for example, by including answers to frequently asked questions and providing keyword connections to show a list of possible answers, as most Microsoft programs provide in their HELP Indices.

5. Drastically reduce the price for updates. Customers of previous versions still have to pay about 60 percent of the original price to get a copy. Such pricing smacks of gouging in light of the comparatively small differences made in this version, especially considering how rapidly the versions have followed each other and how flawed GospeLink 2001 still is. Upgrades that primarily debug earlier versions should be free, either through a new CD-ROM or through downloadable upgrades.

6. Engage in more complex and professional programming. GospeLink is still very far from “intelligent” search routines. Its basic programming principle is simply “matching” and finding all the paragraphs where the requested word(s) appear. In some cases, according to the searcher’s aim, such results will be satisfactory. But in many other cases, users will be frustrated. Despite its powerful surface features, GospeLink remains a basically primitive instrument. To move to the next stage will require the services of specialists in information retrieval, able to apply complex fuzzy algorithms, as well as content specialists able to introduce millions of internal links. Future versions should be able to respond as precisely as possible to questions like: “Tell me the history of the Millennial Star” or “How do I explain to children the meaning of expiation?”

7. From a broader, international perspective, GospeLink epitomizes the growing gap between the Anglos and the rest of the Mormon world. English-speaking Mormons have a staggering number of resources at their disposal, of which GospeLink is the “unprecedented Gospel Library.” Non-Anglos do not even have the Book of Mormon as yet available in electronic form in their own language. How much energy is Deseret Book currently devoting, in cooperation with foreign outlets, for example, to more translations and more equal distribution of their faith-promoting assets in the multilingual worldwide Church? Of course, that part of the Church has, as yet, comparatively little commercial interest. Willingness to serve the needs of the non-English-speaking Mormon world requires a different motivation. But Deseret Book would honor its vision of the future by earmarking a significant share of its profits to multi-lingual services.

Reviewed by Ronald E. Romig

This new book by Michael Marquardt is both familiar and unique in its approach. At first glance, it may simply appear to be a book of essays about early Church history topics—but, not really. If readers attempt to use it in this way, essays on specific subjects will prove elusive. However, readers genuinely interested in exploring the earliest sources of Restoration scripture will find this book of great value.

In the genre of Wilford Wood's Joseph Begins His Work (Salt Lake City, 1958), Marquardt's Revelations makes the content of inspired materials of the early Restoration readily accessible. Instead of reproducing rare printed works, Marquardt transcribes and compares early versions of Joseph's Smith's manuscript revelations. Again, a bit like Fred C. Collier's Unpublished Revelations of the Prophets and Presidents of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (Salt Lake City: Collier's Publishing, 1981), Marquardt's work provides access to less readily available manuscript materials such as those quoted from the Newel K. Whitney Collection at the Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, and the Book of the Law of the Lord and Scriptory Book of Joseph Smith from the LDS Church Historical Department Archives. Yet more than any other existing work, Marquardt's The Joseph Smith Revelations is a kind of practical, shorthand version of Robert J. Woodford's exhaustive two-volume “The Historical Development of the Doctrine and Covenants” (Ph.D. diss., Department of Ancient Scriptures, Brigham Young University, 1974). As a consequence, both casual readers and scholars alike will appreciate having the earliest available readings arranged in a single volume. Such a resource has been needed for inquirers interested in exploring the scholarly depths that this field of study can afford. Many revelations have multiple manuscript sources. Some have only one. Some have none with printed editions being their only source. Woodford is the most comprehensive listing of extant manuscript sources for each section of the D&C.
Marquardt’s organizational scheme is straightforward and logical. It begins with an introductory essay explaining this collection of materials. Thereafter, revelatory materials are methodically ordered into chapters, based on a simple chronological arrangement. *Joseph Smith Revelations* reproduces many of Smith’s inspired documents verbatim. Where change occurs, it is carefully noted, often followed by appropriate comment. However, Marquardt wisely avoided the temptation to comment in every instance. For instance, the revelations describing early consecration practices in Jackson County, Missouri, between 1831 and 1835 show significant evolution. After a law suit challenged consecration procedures, Smith advised Partridge of the need for changes in a 2 May 1833 letter. Wording of LDS 51:3-6; RLDS 51:1 changed, bringing property ownership provisions in line with the law of the land. Inheritance privileges transformed from conditional lease status to rights secured by deed. “A writing that shall secure unto him his portion...until he transgresses,” was amended to “shall only have claim on that portion that is deeded unto him.” (134).

Unlike many scholars, Marquardt concludes that Joseph Smith himself participated in changing the revelations in response to altered conditions, noting, “The 1835 D&C text represents an important departure from the early text...” (114, 334). Marquardt also provides insight into problems relating to the development of Bishop Edward Partridge’s role and Smith’s attempts to introduce organizational mechanisms limiting the bishop’s role, i.e., a bishop should be a literal descendant of Aaron (172, 177). Marquardt explains, “There are two complete manuscripts of document 78, neither of which states that a literal descendant of Aaron has the legal right of the office of bishop. This is not only foreign to the early text, but nothing of this sort was taught in 1831...Why this type of addition was made is not known. It gives the impression that a bishop could be replaced if a literal descendant of Aaron could be found” (172).

Marquardt’s commentaries provide an opportunity for him to revisit some favorite topics. Here, introducing Joseph Knight Sr.’s allusion to Manchester, New York, as the site for the organization of the church (58), he reprises his challenge to traditional understandings of the founding narrative, discussed in more detail in his earlier Marquardt and Walters, *Inventing Mormonism: Tradition and the Historical Record* (Smith Research Associates, 1994).

Compiling this volume gave Marquardt an opportunity to gather and describe Mormon canon. He explains, “My selection of ‘revelations’ follows the canonical tradition. It includes not only foundational doctrinal assertions and visions but also pronouncements regarding the duties of church leaders” (xi). Implicitly arguing that an expanded canon exists, Marquardt inserts materials from less familiar unpublished sources. Some of the
materials included are noteworthy. For example, he includes the testimony of the witnesses from the Book of Commandments. Adherents of the early Restoration movement initially envisioned a series of publications following the Book of Mormon pattern and including the Book of Commandments, the Book of John Whitmer, the Book of the Law of the Lord, or possibly The Book of the Law of God (219), and so forth. As with the Book of Mormon, “a number of brethren” prepared a written statement affirming the inspired nature of the contents of the Book of Commandments which was designed as part of the completed work. But this testimony was omitted when the revelations finally appeared as the Doctrine and Covenants in 1835 (168-69). (See the Far West Record, November 1831, 27.) Marquardt also includes a number of inspired observances recorded only in Joseph Smith Jr.’s journal (273-80).

Marquardt also considerately informs readers of the kinds of materials he elected not to include in this compilation, such as items in the 1835 Doctrine and Covenants omitted from subsequent editions (xix). In the end, the readers are left to decide whether they are glad that all these bits of revelation are not included in LDS and RLDS editions of the scriptures.

Throughout, the transcriptions in The Joseph Smith Revelations are simply, but well, done and reliable. The texts are easy to understand and use. Marquardt quotes revelatory texts in the Book of the Law of the Lord (a volume of revelations, blessings, and tithing records in possession of the LDS Church that is not available to researchers); in this case, he drew heavily on reliable transcriptions by Dean C. Jessee in The Papers of Joseph Smith: Journal, 1832-1842 (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Book Company, 1992). But a more detailed explanation of Marquardt’s transcription methodology would be useful for serious students.

The objectivity of Marquardt’s Joseph Smith Revelations may come as a surprise for some potential readers. Neither an apology for nor tool against the Restoration, it forthrightly points out textual and historical problems (335). Once perceived among Latter-day Saints as inclined toward the anti-Mormon end of the spectrum, in this and recent works, Marquardt often seems transformed. He appears to argue certain interpretations of Latter-day Saint canon as an insider. For example, see his discussion of Elias (78).

Marquardt has now come into his own in this field of documentary editing and brings considerable experience to the task of compiling and straightforwardly explaining Smith’s revelations. While this work was in progress, Marquardt apparently contemplated including a complete transcription of the Kirtland Revelation Book manuscript, currently housed at the LDS Church Historical Department Archives. An image of the Kirtland volume even appears on The Joseph Smith Revelations’s dust jacket. The final
work includes only twenty-two of the forty-nine revelations. Furthermore, because they are included chronologically, his organization disassociates these revelations from one another, making them hard to locate. This observation is not a complaint about the value or utility of Marquardt’s work, but students would still benefit from a straightforward transcription of the Kirtland Revelation Book.

Readers will find a healthy portion of the work devoted to useful appendices and supplemental end matter. Recent scholarship has shed additional light on when and where some revelations were originally received. Corrected dates and locations are detailed in Appendix A. Appendix B is a complete transcription of the Book of Commandments manuscript fragments housed at the RLDS Library-Archives, in Independence, Missouri, readily available for the first time. Appendix D pinpoints the locations of a varied body of manuscript materials available at the LDS Church Historical Department.

While most of this volume has appeared in print here or there, only the most dedicated are likely to have gathered them together. In arranging scattered items in one carefully edited, easy-to-use volume, Marquardt has admirably accomplished his purpose with this work. Cross references to current LDS and RLDS Doctrine and Covenants make this work usable throughout the movement. On the whole, The Joseph Smith Revelations is carefully crafted by both author and publisher and provides much to recommend it as an objective and practical Restoration history resource.

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Gene A. Sessions, ed. Mormon Democrat: The Religious and Political Memoirs of
Since the Mormon succession crisis following the murder of Joseph Smith, the most tumultuous period for Latter-day Saint leaders probably occurred at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries. During that time, Mormonism transformed itself from a heretical movement isolated in the Great Basin into an outward-looking, somewhat mainstream, and increasingly respectable Church. Among Church leaders, that shift was painful, uncertain, and uneven. Mormon leaders often found themselves clashing bitterly over clandestine plural marriages and the Church's political role. When the discrepancies between their public statements and some of their private actions came to light, public humiliation and further internal discord often resulted. The expulsion of Apostle Moses Thatcher, the reprimand of Seventy B. H. Roberts, the Reed Smoot Senate hearings, the excommunication of Apostle John W. Taylor, and the disfellowshipment of Apostle Matthias Cowley—these were traumatic years indeed.

James Henry Moyle is not one of the first names that comes to mind when thinking about this period of Mormon history. He was not a General Authority. He never won a major political campaign in Utah. He was never at the center of the various controversies that flared up from time to time. And yet he shaped and witnessed this turbulent period from a relatively unusual, and instructive, vantage point—as both an ardent, nationally known Democrat and as a faithful Latter-day Saint intimate with, but never a part of, the Church hierarchy.

Moyle wrote his memoirs in the 1940s while in his eighties. The Moyle family later donated his personal papers to the LDS Church Archives. With the permission of the family, historian Gene A. Sessions edited these memoirs into a coherent narrative in the early 1970s, supplementing them with other Moyle sources when necessary. In 1975 he published the memoirs in a limited edition for the family titled Mormon Democrat. Over the past twenty-five years, however, many a scholar has felt that these memoirs were too important to be so hard to find. Thankfully, Signature Books and Smith Research Associates have now decided to republish them in a limited edition of 350 copies for their Significant Mormon Diaries Series.

The new edition is virtually unchanged from the older one. Aside from a short preface and updated footnotes, the narrative is unrevised. The bibliographical appendix is superb and quite a helpful resource. I do wish that Sessions had updated and included more explanatory information in the footnotes, but this is a minor quibble: The text reads quite well as it is.
Gene Sessions, the Moyle family, and Signature Books all deserve credit for making Moyle's passionate, insightful voice more accessible.¹

The memoirs cover virtually all but the final two years of Moyle's long, vigorous life. The attention given to each period of his life is impressively balanced, a quality that is not always found in the memoirs of public figures. We thus learn as much about Moyle's mission, for instance, as we do about his federal service, a credit either to Moyle, Sessions, or both. Moyle's writing is like the man—honest both about himself and others, at times biting, and yet usually always charitable. Speaking of political rival Reed Smoot, for instance, Moyle fumes: "Again, here was an Apostle who never demonstrated the first sign of love or even cordiality for me, a brother in the Gospel. I regret to say that I was not much better" (212).

As Moyle recounts, he was born in 1858 in Brigham Young's fledgling theocracy of Salt Lake City. As a boy, he witnessed his father take a second wife, and as a teenager he cut stone on the Temple Block. He then served a mission to post-Reconstruction North Carolina when it was quite dangerous to do so: Joseph Standing, a contemporary of Moyle's, was killed on a mission in Georgia in 1879. But even as Mormonism indelibly shaped Moyle's relatively happy world, he felt like something of an outsider. His family lived on the western, poorer edge of Salt Lake City. They weren't related to any of the prominent LDS families. His father never received a significant Church calling until later in life. But somehow Moyle found the will and desire to succeed; and as he demonstrates in his memoirs, he spent his life lifting himself up by his own bootstraps.

Yet in seeking success and the esteem of those around him, Moyle rarely conformed to their expectations; rather, he usually followed his own independent path. At a time when Mormons considered the law one of the lowliest "professions" imaginable—President John Taylor warned Moyle in a blessing that the law is "a dangerous profession" full of "chicanery" and "fraud" (110)—Moyle completed a law degree at the University of Michigan in 1885. When he later became involved in politics in an increasingly Republican Utah, he did so as a Democrat. He ran for governor in 1900 and 1904, losing both times. In 1914, when Senator Reed Smoot looked virtually unbeatable, Moyle contested Smoot's seat and only narrowly lost. But in 1917 Moyle's persistence paid off when President Woodrow Wilson, a

¹ Interestingly enough, Gordon B. Hinckley wrote a little-known biography of Moyle in 1951 entitled, *James Henry Moyle: The Story of a Distinguished American and an Honored Churchman* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1951). Hinckley essentially completed an unfinished manuscript that the late John Henry Evans had begun.
Democrat, appointed him Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, the highest executive position a Utahn or Mormon had ever held up to that time.

Upon his release in the early 1920s, Moyle had spent the better part of thirty years as an embattled but faithful Mormon Democrat in a Republican-led state and Church. Much to Moyle's chagrin, he had never been called to any greater ecclesiastical responsibility than that of a high councilman. His faithfulness was rewarded in 1928, however, when President Heber J. Grant called Moyle to serve as president of the Eastern States Mission, the most important mission in the Church at the time. And then, in 1933, Franklin D. Roosevelt appointed the seventy-five-year-old Moyle as Commissioner of Customs. Moyle held the position until 1939 when he was appointed special assistant to the Treasury Secretary. Finally, in 1940, at the age of eighty-one, he retired. He died in 1946.

The memoirs say surprisingly little, if anything, about certain subjects we would expect to hear more of, such as the death throes of authorized plural marriage, discouragement over political defeats, the Depression in Utah, the impact of the New Deal, personal financial matters, or even Moyle's family life. They also do not say much about subjects modern readers might want to know more about, such as race relations in North Carolina or Moyle's feelings on white supremacy in his beloved Democratic Party.

But what Moyle overlooks, he makes up for with his insightful observations on two particular topics. Appropriately enough for a book entitled Mormon Democrat, these two themes are Mormonism and the Democratic Party. Why aren't Mormons Democrats? This question haunted Moyle throughout his career. The Republican Party, he never tired of reminding people, denounced polygamy in its very first platform. For decades the Republicans fought Utah statehood efforts. Recalling evangelical/Republican efforts in Utah, he fulminated:

There was no fundamentally American political principle that they would not have sacrificed to achieve their ambition and determination to secure the political control of the Utah Territory and the destruction of Mormonism. . . . Not a few of them placed no limit on the executive and judicial action they would take to secure for the minority control of the majority and to deprive the majority of its most fundamental political rights. (155)

In contrast, the Democratic Party, Moyle contended, had always defended states' rights and the right of Utahns to govern themselves. Democrats like President Grover Cleveland had fought Republican efforts to disfranchise Mormons and disincorporate the LDS Church.

Before the Saints disbanded their own exclusively Mormon Peoples Party in 1891, most clearly sympathized with the Democrats; and yet once they actually began affiliating with the national parties, within a few years
the majority of them had lined up with the Republicans! Moyle couldn’t fathom it: “What was the justification for such stultification, ingratitude, and deception in the face of gratitude that should be due the Democrats?” (157).

He had some answers to his question, though none were very pleasing. First of all, he suspected that LDS and Republican leaders had agreed upon a quid pro quo to the effect that Mormon leaders would persuade more Saints to vote Republican—certainly enough to give the party a chance—in exchange for statehood. Moyle agreed upon the necessity of dividing the Saints politically. Otherwise the bitter Mormon/non-Mormon political divide would simply continue under the rubric of the Democrats and Republicans. What troubled him was that once LDS leaders achieved Republican parity with the Democrats, they did not stop: They kept pushing Republicanism. For years, Moyle snorted, partisan Republican LDS leaders like Joseph F. Smith, Francis M. Lyman, and John Henry Smith openly counseled members of the Church to follow their “file leaders” and vote Republican, while Democratic LDS figures such as Moses Thatcher and B. H. Roberts were reprimanded for being equally partisan. Most Mormon Democrats, Moyle groaned, “simply kept quiet through all of this because they wanted to avoid displeasing the Brethren” (159). The result was that many Saints came to believe that a vote cast for a Republican was a vote for the Almighty.

But perhaps even more crucial in making Mormons Republicans, Moyle conceded, were tariff policies. Democratic free trade policies hurt Utah’s fledgling industries, while Republican high tariff policies protected them and echoed Brigham Young’s doctrine of home industry. The 1913 Underwood Tariff, signed by Woodrow Wilson, protected eastern-manufactured products but covered few of the products made in Utah. Naturally, Utahns voted for their pocketbooks, perhaps even more so than for their religion. “In my opinion,” Moyle wrote Franklin Roosevelt, “we would probably have held Utah notwithstanding the Mormon leadership but for the tariff” (261-62). Moyle tried for years to change the tariff policies of the Democratic Party, but to little avail.

Moyle’s political interaction with LDS leaders also caused him to reflect deeply upon the nature of inspiration in Mormonism generally. A firm believer in the separation of Church and state, Moyle believed that LDS supervision and inspiration should pertain only to ecclesiastical matters. When ecclesiastical oversight had historically extended into other realms, as in Brigham Young’s Utah, Moyle considered such arrangements good for the time, but now outdated. He insisted that Church leaders must today live up to their own, much more recent, public assertions of political noninvolvement and that, when they ventured out into the temporal realm of politics,
they were as subject to criticism as anyone else. As Moyle wrote his memoirs in the midst of World War II, for example, the *Deseret News* ran editorials critical of Franklin Roosevelt, calling for the election of his unknown Republican opponent. “What a pitiful sight it presents,” Moyle lamented, “for men claiming to be guided by divine light in a matter of such importance” (28).

But Moyle had misgivings about the inspiration of Mormon leaders on even nonpolitical matters. “[They] are so much like other men,” he observed, “that it is hard to determine whether they are inspired of God on a particular issue or by their own mortal, fallible views” (26). He thought that the New Deal, for example, had as much, and probably more, to do with inspiring the Church Welfare Program than anything divine. He worried about the impact of wealth on LDS inspiration: “The President of the Church has long been a director of the Union Pacific Railroad and enjoys the privileges and advantages of that office such as an occasional private car, travel privileges, director’s compensations, etc. His point of view is therefore naturally altered by that human experience” (23).

The memoirs also include a rather substantial concluding essay on the apostolic appointments of men such as Brigham Young, Jr., Owen Woodruff, and Abraham H. Cannon—all children of previous LDS apostles and presidents. Moyle argues that these appointments were the result of nepotism rather than inspiration. His misgivings on LDS inspiration even extended to early Mormonism. The theocratic structure of pioneer Utah, he wrote, “though exercised with much wisdom did develop dictatorial power” (308). And had Joseph Smith lived to preside in the Rocky Mountains, he concluded, power probably would have gone to his head even more than it did to Brigham Young’s.

Yet despite his doubts, Moyle’s testimony of Mormonism was very solid at its center. Unlike most early LDS lawyers who had gone back east for schooling, Moyle adhered to the faith. And like everything else he did, he did not do so sheepishly. He defended Mormonism so eloquently at Michigan that he was elected president of his law school club. In Washington, D.C., he pressed to have an LDS chapel built despite the wishes of Reed Smoot, who preferred the less conspicuous practice of holding services in his home. Moyle finally got his wish in 1933 when he dedicated the statue of Moroni standing atop the impressive Washington Chapel. And as mission president, Moyle introduced a number of mass communication technologies that would have wide-ranging impact on missionary work, including extensive radio programming and the first film about Mesoamerican archaeology and the Book of Mormon. Indeed, the president of the Church thought quite highly of Moyle: “President Grant said to me later that he had suggested to the council [of the Twelve] the consideration of my name for Apostle and that the objection raised against it was my age” (240). Even Moyle’s
qualms about Church leaders could have a faithful lining: He interpreted the early removal of almost all of the so-called nepotistic apostles (either through death or expulsion) as evidence "that the Lord is at the helm, piloting the ship to its destined port" (297).

Indeed, Moyle seemed remarkably adept at balancing opposing forces within himself. To sustain Mormon leaders in their religious callings while opposing them politically during a period of such intense partisanship—and to do so for so many years!—was a rather exceptional balancing act. Yet despite his doubts and questions, Moyle did not seem to undergo much of the inner turmoil of cognitive dissonance that so many other dissenters in authoritarian religions experience. He almost seemed to be at home when out-of-place. He was a Mormon missionary in a violent, Protestant South, a lawyer in a community hostile to lawyers, a Democrat in a Republican society, a rural Mormon in East Coast cities, an independent in a religion of obedience, a straight-talker in a period of ambiguity and dissimulation, and nobody who made it in a nepotistic culture but whose son, Henry D. Moyle, would be appointed to the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles in 1947 and later serve as First Counselor to President David O. McKay. The competing pressures of these dichotomies must have been immense, yet Moyle bore them all well.

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BOOK NOTICES

The *Journal of Mormon History* invites contributions to this department, particularly of privately published family histories, local histories, biographies, other publications of limited circulation, or those in which Mormonism is dealt with as a part or minor theme.


This book looks past a century of "warfare" metaphors describing the relation between science and religion to a period of harmony and enthusiasm between the two that occurred before the Civil War. Characterized by the rapid dissemination
of scientific ideas at the popular level and their democratic appropriation by "farmer, smith, and shopkeeper," this "village enlightenment" was characterized by "a spirited enthusiasm for natural science; a 'scrupulous empiricism,' with a corresponding trust in the senses and a real outer world, an intense distrust of speculation and of concepts not derived directly from observed data," and reliance on the inductive method known by Francis Bacon's name (1, 11, 10). The prestige of science, and the assumption that "true science" and "true religion" would be in harmony provided "an impressive tool that could be used to overcome the authority vacuum and jump start or shore up new religious views" (3).

Hazen examines three nineteenth-century religious/scientific leaders. His second and third figures are Robert Hare, a "knowledgeable experimenter, professor, author," and "mainstream leader in his field of chemistry" who became a "convert to spiritualism in its heyday"; and Phineas Parkhurst Quimby, "an amateur scientific tinkerer" who was fascinated with "mechanisms and technology" and self-taught in "natural philosophy and natural history" and who "is generally considered the initiator of the American mind-cure movement" (4).

Hazen's first example is Mormon Apostle Orson Pratt, whose "interest in astronomy led him to postulate grand new theories of the operation of the cosmos" and to see himself as "a latter-day Johannes Kepler or Isaac Newton" (4). In a chapter forty-nine pages long, Hazen summarizes Pratt's life and influences, hypothesizing that he turned to scientific inquiry after 1860 to avoid the continual clashes with Brigham Young over theological speculations. Using Pratt's voluminous published works, Hazen describes Pratt's "rational" and "inductive" approach, paying particular attention to His "Law of Planetary Rotation," "Key to the Universe," his mathematical works, an analysis of the Great Pyramid that focused attention on 1891 as a year of particular significance—possibly that of the Christ's second coming—and Absurdities of Immaterialism, which Hazen characterizes as "his finest essay and perhaps the most sophisticated philosophical defense of Mormon materialism in the nineteenth century" (41).

Hazen discusses in particular detail (39-59) Pratt's elaboration of Joseph Smith's view that spirit was also a kind of matter, especially the role of the "Holy Spirit" as "a God of the gaps." In Pratt's world, it literally filled the gaps between other material bodies and figuratively filled the gaps in his cosmological theories" (51). Hazen's discussion of the scientific and metaphysical discussions going on more broadly provide helpful context for his discussion of Pratt's writings.
Women in Nevada History is published by the Nevada Women's History Project, a statewide educational nonprofit delegate agency of the Nevada Women's Fund. Started by the project's late director, Jean Ford, the bibliography is the product of more than four years of work and the contributions of volunteer reviewers around Nevada. It reflects the project's stated mission to "provide visibility and support for the gathering and dissemination of history about the roles, and contribution of Nevada women of every race, clan, and ethnic background" (introduction).

In the first of two sections is an alphabetical annotated bibliography of 426 books published between 1881 and 1998. The second section contains five separate indexes of the names of Nevada women, topics, Nevada women's organizations, race and ethnic identities, and genre. The editors acknowledged the lack of currently available materials on Nevada women and were determined to "cast a wide net" in an attempt to build a more thorough picture of women in Nevada history. Each entry consists of an entry number, full bibliographic data, an annotation of at least fifty words describing the book, a genre marker (community history, historical fiction, biography, poetry, etc), and woman's race and ethnic identity. The book concludes with a form for suggestions about a future edition.

Of particular value for Mormon historians is its topical index, which identifies such topics as the Church itself, Mormons, the Equal Right Amendment, and polygamy. Entry 9 is Leonard Arrington's Mormons in Nevada (1979), originally a series of articles published in the Las Vegas Sun describing early Mormon settlements. The bibliography notes that Arrington's publication includes a table of contents, photographs, and a bibliography. It also identifies it as community history and its race and ethnic identity as Euro-American. This bibliography could well serve as a model for other state projects.


This slim volume is rich in illustrations—107 images of Brigham Young, his world, associates, artifacts, and photographs of documents in addition to little-known photographs of him. These photographs, the "heart of this book" (3), include what is apparently the earliest known Young portrait, as a strik-
ingly handsome, clean-shaven, ruddy-faced young man, taken during the late 1830s or early 1840s and thus predating the well-known 1844-45 photograph attributed to Lucian Foster of a dashing Brigham with top hat and cane (63, 71); Charles R. Savage’s paired portraits showing Young’s face and the back of his head when he was about seventy, balding a little at the crown (118); the earliest known portrait of Young with a beard from the Illustrated London News in 1861 (103); the only two known portraits of him posing with a plural wife (Margaret Pierce and Harriet “Amelia” Folson, 90, 104); and a remarkably serene death mask (141). (See also Richard Neitzel Holzapfel, “Setting the Record Straight,” Journal of Mormon History, Fall 1999, 124-25, correcting the reversed reproduction of the book’s first portrait by John Clawson; p. 5.) Among the artifacts photographed are Young’s pen and the final spike he drove in 1870 at the completion of the Utah Central Railway linking Ogden and Salt Lake City, both inscribed “Holiness to the Lord” (79, 114).

The book is organized in two parts: “The World of Brigham Young,” which includes his public image, leadership style, family life and personality; and “The Life of Brigham Young,” which provides a succinct and well-illustrated biography of a life that was, in essence, also the history of the Church. Both parts are lavishly illustrated.

Among the lesser-known items about Brigham Young, the authors include his 1854 request to Salt Lake City bishops to install a “swing in each ward for the benefit of the children” but, for safety’s sake, not allow it to be used after dark (2). They also quote Stephen Forsdick, who later left the Church, but who recalled his first impressions (October conference, 1853) of Brigham Young: “The opinion I formed of him that day, I never had occasion to change. There is no question about it, he was a man of great executive ability, he knew his power and zealously maintained it. He knew that his word was accepted as law unto the people and he was very careful to cause his influence to increase. His talk was always in the positive and to the point and he showed no mercy to those who opposed him” (39). Two Methodists visiting Salt Lake City in 1875 introduced themselves “in the spirit of adventure” on the street. Young “looked at them with an amused twinkle in his eyes, and cordially shook hands, saying, ‘I certainly am glad to shake hands with you. I was a Methodist once myself’” (50). Harper’s Weekly in 1872 reproduced “a beautiful sketch” of Young and his two counselors, George A. Smith and Daniel H. Wells. The paper swapped the counselors’ cutlines, an error that the authors do not correct.

Mark H. Taylor, ed. Witness to the Martyrdom: John Taylor’s Personal Account of the Last Days of the Prophet

Mark Taylor, the great-great-grandson of John Taylor, has reproduced John Taylor's memories of the Joseph and Hyrum Smith slayings at Carthage Jail in 1844, written 23 August 1856 at the request of Wilford Woodruff. George A. Smith and John Bernhisel, although not present at Carthage, assisted. According to Smith, the resulting document was made "entirely from memory" (10). Taylor gave a copy to Richard Burton, who visited Salt Lake City in the summer of 1860. Burton reproduced the complete manuscript in Appendix 3 of his City of the Saints published in 1862 (11-12, 15). B. H. Roberts, in revising the History of the Church in 1932, also included the manuscript in its entirety (15). It was additionally published in Daniel Tyler, A Concise History of the Mormon Battalion in the Mexican War, 1846-1848 (1881; reprinted Salt Lake City: Publishers Press, 1996), and N. B. Lundwall, The Fate of the Persecutors of the Prophet Joseph Smith (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1952) (17-18).

Mark Taylor used the Burton text, "correlated with the version in the History," resolving "discrepancies ... by relying on that version. In some cases, the manuscript was correlated to the original handwritten version found in the Church Archives as well" (16). Although the editor provides notes to the document, he does not identify variant readings among these three sources.

The narrative of this dramatic moment in Mormon history is a gripping one. John Taylor records, for instance, that he signed his name to Willard Richards's original report "as quickly as possible, lest the tremor of my hand should be noticed, and the fears of my family excited" (99). After the physically agonizing and emotionally stressful return of the wounded John Taylor to Nauvoo, he wrote eloquently: "Never shall I forget the differences of feeling that I experienced between the place that I had left and the place I had now arrived at. I had left a lot of reckless, bloodthirsty murderers, and had come to the City of the Saints, the people of the Living God; friends of truth and righteousness, thousands of whom stood there with warm, true hearts to offer their friendship and services, and to welcome my return. It is true it was a painful scene, and brought sorrowful remembrance to my mind, but to me it caused a thrill of joy to find myself once more in the bosom of my friends . . . . What was very remarkable, I found myself very much better after my arrival at Nauvoo than I was when I started my journey, although I had traveled eighteen miles" (113).

An epilogue traces John Taylor's life after 1844. The first appendix contains what is now LDS Doctrine and Covenants 135 (testimony of Joseph and Hyrum Smith, drafted by John Taylor). The second con-
tains Taylor’s 1855 testimony of Joseph Smith in France and an 1855 editorial in The Mormon (New York City) on the gospel. Mark Taylor reproduced both of them, not from the original sources, but from G. Homer Durham, ed., The Gospel Kingdom (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1943), 355, 2-3.


Sanpete County’s Scandinavian population, perhaps Utah’s most distinctive ethnic group for its first century, has also produced a legendary body of folk humor focused on tough endurance, hyperbolic descriptions of gender roles, deliberate obtuseness about higher culture, and carefully calculated subversions of the alien English language. Edgar M. Jenson, the author’s maternal grandfather, died in 1958, leaving three typed and hand-illustrated compilations of these “droll stories,” one for each of his daughters. He never published any of them, out of consideration for the privacy of the third-generation descendants of those pioneers and also as a sensitive recognition that dialect stories seemed “de-meaning” and “old-fashioned.” William Jenson Adams’s decision to publish them reflects the new “fierce loyalty” of Sanpete descendants to their “ethnic heritage” (vii).

Adams’s introduction also supplies a history of Scandinavian Mormon migration to Utah, settlement history, the folk explanations for the folktales themselves, and a bibliographic discussion of other efforts to collect these tales. The preface his grandfather prepared for his holograph collection is also included.

But the core of the book is “Eddie Miller’s” 232 tales and sayings of Philosopher Pete and sixteen Danish-style caricatures (Miller taught art at Brigham Young University). Here are three samples:

Stake President Canute Peterson prayed devoutly for the general authorities of the Church “dat dey may be true oond virtuous from time to time.” (45)

Philosopher Pete says: “Marriage entitles wemen to de protection of strong men vat can steady de step-ladder for dem vile dey vitevash de kitchen ceiling.” (63)

Aunt Stene had a flock of fine Plymouth Rock hens. Their eggs were normally dark shelled, but one day Uncle Neils Peter brought in an egg with peculiar white markings all over it. Uncle Neils, thrilled with their hieroglyphic appearance, was sure it must be some sort of message from on high and urged that they send the egg to Salt Lake City for translation. “Remember de writings on de wall at Belshazzer’s Feast, Stene,” he counseled.

Stene was not impressed. “Neils Peter,” she announced firmly, “you can believe vat you vant to believe, but I for von don’t tink de Lord sends messages to us t’roo de hind end of a chicken.” (55-56).
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