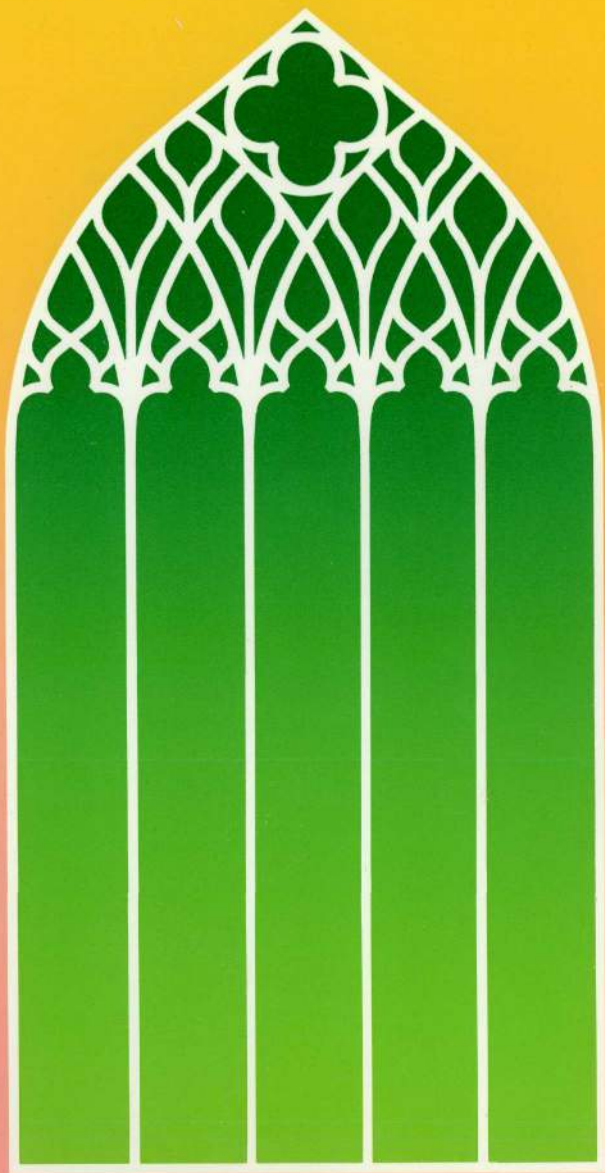
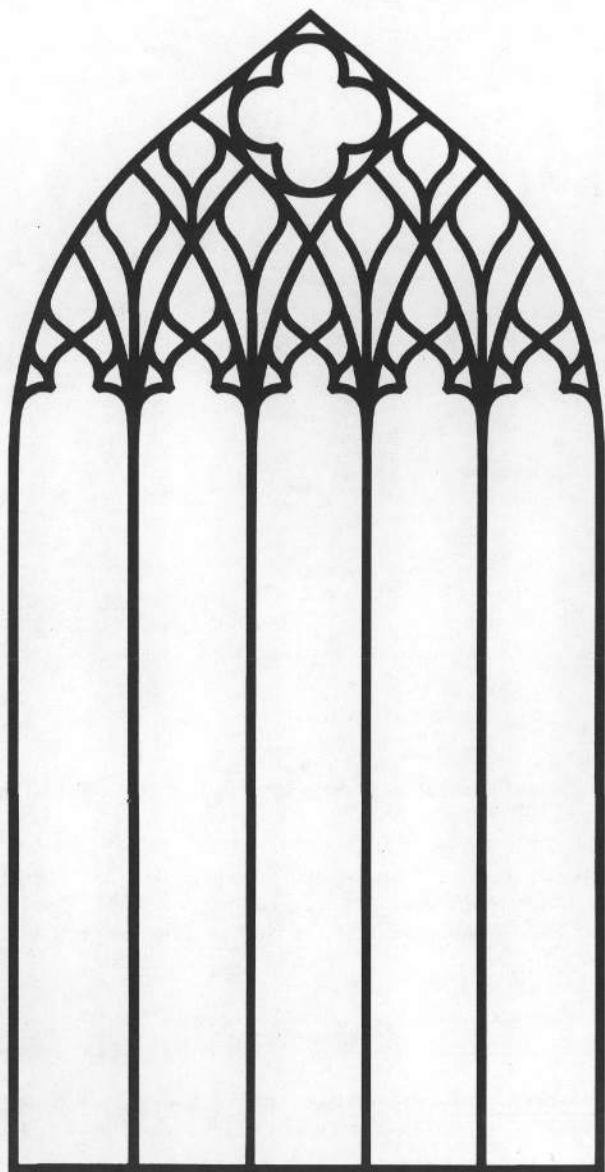



JOURNAL OF
MORMON HISTORY



FALL 1994

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MORMON HISTORY





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

Articles appearing in this journal are abstracted and indexed in *Historical Abstracts* and *America: History and Life*, published by ABC-CLIO, and in *Religion Index One: Periodicals*, published by the American Theological Library Association.

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ISS 0094-7342

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Papers for consideration must be submitted in triplicate, typed and double-spaced throughout, including all quotations. A preferred length is twenty pages, but longer manuscripts may be considered. Authors should follow the *Chicago Manual of Style*, 14th edition (see a recent edition of the *Journal*) and be prepared to submit accepted manuscripts in WordPerfect, Multimate, or Wordstar. Send manuscripts to the *Journal of Mormon History*, Box 581068, Salt Lake City, UT 84158-1068.

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Reviewed by Valeen Tippetts Avery

LETTERS

The Journal of Mormon History welcomes comments on articles and book reviews, queries about Mormon history topics, additional information on subjects covered in the Journal, and ideas that will help us make future issues more interesting, stimulating, and valuable to readers. We will consider letters that are one or two typewritten, double-spaced pages; occasionally, a longer letter may be important enough to print as an exception to this policy. Because of limited space, we must reserve the right to select letters to be published and to edit them. Send letters to the Letters Editor, Journal of Mormon History, Box 581068, Salt Lake City, UT 84158-1068.

A Verb of Our Own

I want to lobby for a small reform in our language. I wonder if English experts, editors, and other writers think my case has merit, and this forum seems like a good place to present my case and seek responses.

After twenty-two years of writing LDS history and quoting hundreds, probably thousands of times from diaries, I am convinced we need a new verb. We need the verb "to diary." Why must we continue to be forced to write such roundabout things as "I wrote in my diary today," or "she wrote in her diary," or, ambiguously, "he kept a diary" (what does "kept" mean?). Such customary verbosity is not necessary. Why can't diary-keeping enjoy a verb of its own? What's wrong with a phrase like "Eliza R. Snow diaried on 10 June that . . ."? The verb tells us instantly what the action is. Other examples:

"She had not diaried for several days." "I can't find the horses," Hosea Stout diaried on 4 October, "and we are stuck."

Any writer who has quoted extensively from diaries knows what I mean. If we agreed to use the verb "to diary" for a year as a test, I'll wager one of my prized Susan B. Anthony dollars that at year's end few if any would vote to rescind the verb.

I note that "to journal" is already a verb among psychotherapists, where "journaling" is used as a form of free association and analysis, and among freshman English teachers who assign "journaling" as a "free-writing" activity to get the creative juices flowing. But rather than borrowing from these fields, I say, Let's get a verb of our own!

I'd love some experts to give us the green light—to say, "The verb

makes sense. Use it!" Many are diarists, that is, many keep diaries, record a diary, record in a journal, write a diary. But in fact, a diarist, put simply, diaries. Some people diary daily, some almost daily, and some diary only now and then. Personally, I have diared regularly since 1965, and spot-diared before that. Currently I diary almost daily.

What do others think? I'd appreciate comments from *Journal* readers and from *Journal* editors.

William G. Hartley
Sandy, Utah

The *Journal* welcomes comments on this proposal, both from traditionalists and linguistic innovators, and from readers in, scholars of, and keepers of diaries. —The Editors

More on Petitions

Stephen C. LeSueur and Clark V. Johnson are good scholars who have made welcome contributions to our understanding of the 1838 Mormon War in Missouri, but unfortunately LeSueur perpetuates long-standing misinformation about the discovery of the significant source documents described in his review of Johnson's *Mormon Redress Petitions* (*Journal of Mormon History*, Spring 1994). Harold Schindler actually located these documents in the archives of the U.S. House of Representatives in 1966, following a suggestion made by Dale L. Morgan about the probable location of the petitions.

The myth that Paul C. Richards

discovered the documents began with an article published in *BYU Studies*, which the periodical failed to correct. The petitions were first cited in the 1966 edition of Schindler's *Orrin Porter Rockwell: Man of God, Son of Thunder*, p. 23, and the matter of the petitions and their location is fully recounted in the second edition (1983), p. 11 note 32.

Will Bagley
Salt Lake City

Gunnison Views Defended

It is an author's reasonable expectation that a book review in a scholarly journal will provide the reader with an objective account of its contents. The review of *The Unsolicited Chronicler*, published in the spring 1994 issue of the *Journal of Mormon History*, was, in my opinion, neither scholarly nor objective. My reputation is demeaned and I must protest. It is not the content of my book that is revealed here but the views of the reviewer, as the *Journal's* readers may judge by their own examination of the evidence.

Ronald W. Walker asserts that "Fielding describes Mormonism as a brittle, persecution-obsessed, Old Testament literalism fully capable of murder" (p. 170). These are the reviewer's words, not mine. His opinion may have come from reading the Cornerstone speeches of Brigham Young and Bishop Edward R. Hunter in Chapter 2 or from numerous other expressions about killing when or-

dered to do so, cited in full context, from Young, Jedidiah Grant, and Heber C. Kimball (pp. 35, 36, 338, 357, 399).

Walker charges that "an air of exposé . . . touches almost every page," yet there is hardly an incident covered or a document cited in the entire book except from sources provided by Mormon leaders. The truth is that many of the events and the intensity of the beliefs of first-generation Mormons have been muted, ignored, or discounted by some of the historians of this present generation. As a result, many Mormons are led to believe that their ancestors were the innocent victims of prejudice and persecution, guiltless of any offense against public morality, and incapable of injustice in any form, and that their detractors are evil-intended or misinformed and "anti-Mormon."

The charge that Mormons conspired to kill Gunnison, widely believed but falsely attributed to my endorsement by Walker's review, can neither be proved nor disproved by the circumstantial evidence available to me. Such accusations were made and the evidence is formidable. It is beyond question that Brigham Young withheld vital information, including all that was collected by Dimick Huntington. Despite his clear responsibilities as governor and as superintendent of Indian affairs, Young took no action to seek justice for the massacre. Colonel Steptoe, who later admitted he had been deceived by Brigham Young, followed Young's advice to

accept the guilty Indians surrendered by Chief Kanosh and to act through the courts to secure their punishment, rather than to inflict punishment upon the entire band by military action. As a result, the grand jury investigated only those Indians surrendered to "balance the killing." The trials at Nephi, despite the self-serving opinion of Judge John Kinney, were a predictable farce.

Ample evidence exists to discount the claim of friendship for Gunnison and the explanations for the massacre offered by Editor Willard Richards and Brigham Young. Similarly, Lieutenant Beckwith's personal journal and the expedition report, which he authored, provide altered and conflicting information, as do the various accounts of these events provided by Anson Call. No credible investigation was ever conducted during the lifetime of first-hand observers nor since by objective historians.

Responsible scholarship requires that all available evidence be presented with some judgement as to the circumstances which led to its creation. Even the accusations of Judge Drummond, based on the trial of the Indian named Enyos, should be investigated. To my knowledge, no one has ever done so.

The allegation that there are "critical lapses" in my scholarship is without foundation. The six supposedly "overlooked" or "little-used" documents are featured prominently in several chapters of my book. Examples: (1) For the letter of Snow and

Richards to Young, see p. 162 and note 13. (2) For Young's instructions to Huntington and Huntington's report, together with Willard Richards's "carefully dissimulated" accounts, see all of Chapter 14, including p. 172 and note 11. (3) The entire content of Chapter 15 is devoted to the Bernhisel letter of 30 November, which also contains Young's malicious innuendos about Gunnison, Beckwith, and Morris—charges which are ignored in this review. (4) Brigham Young's memorandum to Jefferson Davis, with affidavits by Levi Abrams and Samuel P. Hoyte on the Hildreth incident are in Chapter 10; those attested by grand jury foreman Jacob Bigler and others concerning the trials at Nephi are in Chapter 21. (5) The letter from Captain Standage to George A. Smith adds nothing new to accounts of the Hildreth incident covered in Chapter 10. Young's letter to Peter Conover et al., dated 16 October, followed the bloody massacres of innocent Indians at Manti and Nephi in mid-September and early October. These events, also covered in Chapter 10, are ignored by the reviewer.

Walker's review obfuscates the significant issue, namely, the late October mission of Dimick Huntington to appease the Pahvant band which "were actually gathering to come against the settlement of Fillmore," as noted on p. 154, note 6. Walker denies the facts of this mission and of the threat, despite the report by Captain Henry Standage (p. 169). He also discounts Lieutenant Beck-

with's declaration that this messenger gave Gunnison "an unusual feeling of security," which led him to divide his forces and knowingly to camp in the vicinity of that Indian band (p. 151). Incredibly, Walker is not persuaded of the threat to Fillmore by the forthright declaration of that fact, made in the Eleventh General Epistle of the Church, as quoted above (p. 154).

Those historians who have had access to intimate archives of the Mormon Church, including Walker, have an obligation to acknowledge, if not to disclose, the darkness which has been hidden, as well as to celebrate the qualities of character and sacrifices made by our ancestors which we all admire.

*Robert Kent Fielding
Higganum, Connecticut*

Walker Replies

I invite the interested but no doubt perplexed reader to: (1) carefully read my review, (2) compare my comments with relevant passages in Fielding's book and with the points of his letter, and (3) look especially at how fully or frequently he actually uses the important documents that I describe as being "little-used or overlooked." While Fielding's letter claims to have employed most of these documents in a full and balanced manner, that, in my judgment, misstates the case. From my perspective, most contain important information that is missing from his manuscript.

Let one key example serve to illustrate. Fielding says that I deny that Dimick Huntington, a Bureau of Indian Affairs interpreter and Mormon scout, undertook a mission to the "Pahvant band" in late October 1853 to appease Indians who were threatening the village of Fillmore. Rather than denying this point, I prominently invite readers to examine Brigham Young's letter to P. W. Conover, et al, 16 October 1853. Contrary to Fielding's repeated suggestions in his manuscript, this letter specifically explains Huntington's mission, not as a conspiracy against Gunnison and his party, but as part of Young's desire to bring peace to the southern bands during the Walker War. Here is a major, unused, primary document that undermines one of Fielding's main arguments. Other neglected documents do likewise.

If I understand Fielding's book correctly, its thesis and reason for being is to answer the single question: Did the Mormons, directly or indirectly, cause Gunnison's death? All of Fielding's dark views about early Mormonism depend on this question. Because of the question's importance, the manuscript lingers long and hard on the issue. It cites every possible argument in its favor and employs every shading of words to conclude that the answer is yes.

Yet, when all is said and done, there is no proof. Fielding's letter makes a startling admission. The question of Mormon involvement, he now writes, does not have his

"endorsement." Moreover, we learn that the evidence for such a view is nothing more than circumstance. I wish that such statements might have appeared clearly and prominently in the introduction to his book.

This is not to say that Fielding has changed his mind. He still believes that the weight of the circumstantial evidence is "formidable." And it is here that we most strongly disagree. In my view, Fielding's "formidable" evidence repeatedly melts upon close examination, either because of its lack of substance or because of its lack of logic and interpretation. I continue to believe, as I wrote in my review, that the author "mistakes the inevitable inconsistencies and gaps that exist in all past records as items of proof." I also believe Fielding lets "suspicions rather than facts rule."

An example: Fielding suggests that, prior to the massacre, Huntington was responsible for giving Gunnison an "unusual feeling of security" about Indian conditions. This assurance, Fielding implies, "set up" Gunnison to be killed. There is no proof that Huntington ever spoke to Gunnison immediately prior to the disaster. One of Brigham Young's later reports claimed that Gunnison, even after being told at Fillmore of the recent Indian difficulties, displayed "much confidence in his ability to preserve peaceful relations" with the local natives. (Brigham Young, "Account of the Massacre of Captain J. W. Gunnison," 30 November 1853, Brigham Young's Gover-

nor's Letterbooks, LDS Church Archives). Certainly some of Gunnison's confidence was of his own making.

Yes, Fielding may be correct in suggesting that Huntington and other Mormons told Gunnison of their recent and apparently successful peace-making with the Pahvants. However, the local settlers were telling Gunnison what they sincerely believed. Henry Standage's report states: "Br Dimick B. Huntington was convinced when he left the Post that Canosh would do his best to break up the party of Indians that were to come against this post" (Standage, Letter to James Ferguson, 30 October 1853, #410, Utah Territory Militia Papers, Utah State Archives). In short, Huntington was not setting anybody up to be killed. He simply had an exaggerated view, tragic in its consequences, of Kanosh's power to bring a resolution to the local crisis. Yet, upon this slender reed of supposed Mormon perfidy, Fielding leans a major item of his indictment.

As another example, Fielding suggests that the Mormon lack of cooperation at the later Nephi trials was an indication of LDS complicity in the massacre. But a simpler hypothesis is more persuasive. Above all else, Young wanted the pacification of the local natives. Peace was necessary for Mormon expansion and to fulfill the Church's mission to the "Lamanites." Therefore Young wanted to

wave the Gunnison atrocity aside as a event of war. (To be sure, his own people had committed similar deeds during the conflict.) To prosecute leading Pahvants, he feared, would only continue the cycle of conflict and subject the natives to a standard that they did not understand—white man's law. (For one illustration of Young's views, see another of those "little-used or overlooked" documents, Young, Memorandum to Jefferson Davis, 8 September 1855.)

For Young, this hope for conciliation was not unusual. In the past, on many occasions he had "forgiven" Indian offenses in his quest for stability. He would do so again in the future, especially in the aftermath of the Black Hawk War. Moreover, although Colonel E. J. Steptoe strongly disagreed with Young, he understood him. After the trial, Steptoe wrote: "Gov. Young, by law superintendent of Ind[ian] affairs here, has pursued for years a singularly pacific Ind[ian] policy, much too pacific in my opinion" (Steptoe, Letter to George Manypenny, 5 April 1855, Letters Received, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Microfilm Roll #234, National Archives.) Steptoe and his Washington superiors wanted to balance the scales for their fallen comrades and satisfy eastern opinion by fully applying legal penalties to the Pahvants. Thus, non-Mormon and Mormon views at the Nephi court were sharply divided by their opposing ideas of justice and by the claims of their respective self-interest. Field-

ing, apparently unaware of these patterns, instead sees conspiracy.

These examples of Fielding's narrow focus and handling of evidence are not isolated. His book has an unrelentingly prosecutorial tone that creates, as I have already stated, "an air of exposé that touches almost every page." Instead of exploring alternatives and informing the reader why he has made his interpretative choices, Fielding usually labors to build a chain of accusation. Such a method, in my view, precludes balanced, complete, or fair-minded analysis and detracts from the value of author's otherwise admirable research and his fine writing.

What is at stake in questions like these is not a traditional view of Mormon-Native American relations, whatever that might be. It is not a question of "dressing" up or protecting the Saints' image. Past interpretations will inevitably yield to new insights and new discoveries. In the process, the emerging picture of the Mormons' encounter with the Great Basin's native people will contain nuance, inconsistency, false starts, and certainly both good and bad from both settlers and Native Americans. Scholarship must welcome these new historical findings, while at the same time rejecting works that are incomplete and tendentious.

Controversies like this between Fielding and me will in time be settled by the scholastic marketplace, as ideas are debated and sorted out. I

welcome the process. In the meantime, there is no reason to alter my review.

Ronald W. Walker
Salt Lake City

Postscript: After writing the above response, I have received in the mail an advertising mailer from Professor Fielding's publisher, Paradigm Publications. The advertisement clips from my review several phrases that, when spliced together, suggests I recommend *The Unsolicited Chronicler* to readers. Of course, I do not. This procedure is common with Broadway producers, who in the absence of favorable notices, find a phrase or two of apparently favorable criticism to attract unsuspecting theater-goers to an unsuccessful play. While perhaps an acceptable procedure elsewhere, in scholarly circles this is highly unethical, and I invite Professor Fielding to repudiate it and stop such advertising in the future.—Ronald W. Walker

Smudges on "Windows"

Editor's Note: Here are several corrections to the notes in "The Windows of Heaven Revisited," by E. Jay Bell, published in 20, no. 1 (Spring 1994). The *Journal* regrets these errors.

Footnote 2. The information from Thomas Alexander's book is misstated. It appears correctly at the top of p. 53.

Footnote 5. The issue of *Sunstone* appeared in 1993.

Footnote 19. Clawson is incorrectly cited as author.

Footnote 21. J. Golden Kimball's papers are now available for researchers.

Footnote 24. The author of "Historical Overview" is not Quinn. It was published by the RLDS Presiding Bishopric.

Footnote 104. The full title of the *Salt Lake Semi-Weekly* is the *Salt Lake Semi-Weekly Tribune*. "Dis Örlöfung" should be "Die Erlöfung."

Ideas for Future Research

The attention paid to themes of gender, class, and ethnicity in the 1994 annual meeting of the Mormon History Association generated a number of relatively unexplored topics, shared here in hopes of increasing discussion, research, papers, and articles. The *Journal* thanks Roger D. Launius, Susan Sessions Rugh, and Jeffery O. Johnson for their direct contributions to this list and panelists, respondents, questioners in the audience, and discussants in the hallways for indirect contributions.

Class

1. Class can be defined in several ways: as the classic Marxist struggle between bourgeoisie and proletariat over the means of production, as socio-economic standing, as Gramscian hegemony, as political movement, or as cultural capital. How might these different definitions intersect varieties of nineteenth- and twentieth-century Mormon history

in various locales in the United States and other countries?

2. How can class analysis help answer the central question of why people converted to Mormonism? Were converts socially and/or economically marginalized? Were they fleeing pluralism? What occupational classes did they occupy? Were they dislocated by the expanding capitalist market economy? Did they seem unable to climb the rungs of upward social mobility?

3. If early Mormonism originated in the lower class, how then did it begin to attract the upper class which sociologists have demonstrated is so vital to the survival of a church?

4. How did a sense of marginality affect the development of a theology and claims to authority? What role did status anxiety play in the LDS hierarchical view of heaven as "degrees" of glory?

5. To what extent might the development of polygamy be seen as compensation for marginality?

6. Were Mormons capitalists, communitarians, or socialists? How can their economic experiments best be understood, both in Joseph Smith's time and then in later manifestations in United Orders of Utah under Joseph Smith and, more cautiously, for Midwest Mormons under Joseph Smith III? Were Nauvoo Church leaders resisting American capitalism in their corporate communalism, or were they simply entrepreneurs who saw this as a way of getting their piece of the pie?

7. Did ordinary people get their fair share? Did British immigrants arrive too late in Illinois for a fair chance at cheap land?

8. What was the role of affluence in out-migration during the exodus of 1846? Since the "poor camp," stranded on the river flats not only suffered from hunger but from the citizens who launched the "battle of Nauvoo" of September 1846, what role did class play in broadening the disparities?

9. What role did economics, as well as conviction and faith, play in the destiny of post-Nauvoo Mormons who did not go west? Did marginality play a role in the formation and maintenance of the Strangites, Bickertonites, etc.? What about those who "waited" for Joseph Smith III? Those who "back-trailed" from Utah?

10. What role did economic stability and affluence play in the lives of those who quietly disaffiliated from any brand of Mormonism and were reabsorbed in their larger communities?

11. What are the central components of power and influence in the twentieth-century churches? How can they be maintained? How do they operate?

12. What social and cultural ideas do individuals bring to these power structures? What influence do individuals have on institutions as compared to the influence institutions have on individuals?

13. Who has been "invisible" in various churches at different time periods? Why? What has brought

them into visibility? What groups are still invisible?

Gender

1. What are the connections between class formation and the formation of ideologies of gender? Can we assume that social patterns in the Church mirrored those of the larger culture?

2. How have gender roles been connected to the LDS/RLDS movement into the middle class?

3. The "cult of true womanhood" (piety, purity, domesticity, and submissiveness) was normative for upper middle-class women of the 1830s. What influence did it have on women in the LDS and RLDS traditions? What influence did it have in other Mormon groups like the Cutlerites, where women were ordained to some form of priesthood, or to the Strangites, where polygamy became a factor?

4. How did gender ideals enable the acceptance of polygamy? What were the class implications of the creation of a women's culture supportive of polygamy?

5. How did gendered culture for both men and women in all branches of Mormonism intersect with wealth and position in hierarchy?

6. What power issues have been involved in channeling or limiting women's access to power and authority as each Church matured?

7. What has been the relationship between gender issues and the construction of male hierarchies in the LDS and RLDS traditions?

8. How much of early Mormonism's theological conceptions were the result of efforts to secure traditional gender roles in a rapidly changing society?

9. What hierarchies of LDS women were established as a result of plural marriage, potential queenships, and temple ceremonies (both with their priestly role for women and with their subordination to male authority)?

10. What do demographics of leaders reveal about the creation and structuring of male hierarchies? What were the dominant concepts of maleness in the nineteenth century and how was that translated into Mormon priesthood in all Mormon traditions?

11. What constitutes male culture and normative maleness in the twentieth century? Where does priesthood "culture" intersect with/diverge from these norms for men in LDS and RLDS traditions?

12. What male rituals are part of the all-male RLDS Joint Council and their counterparts among General Authority quorums in the LDS tradition? Why are these rituals present and how do they function, socially, psychologically, spiritually, and ecclesiastically?

13. How are traditional roles between RLDS men and women changing as women share priesthood and perform priesthood responsibilities? How is such change likely to continue?

14. What characterizes interactions between men and women in

the LDS Church and the RLDS Restoration movements where the possibility of priesthood is either firmly denied or not yet a topic that can be openly debated?

15. How have educational levels for men and women, occupational access, and work experience changed in the course of the twentieth century? How have these changes been processed theologically and socially?

16. Who holds the most cultural "capital"—that is, who gets to decide the rules for class position and gender roles?

17. What has been the relationship of the "elites" to "ordinary members" over the course of the twentieth century? Is the gap widening or closing?

18. Because domestic plural marriage has been studied primarily as a women's issue, a neglected area has been an analysis of the pressures and satisfactions (personal, economic, and ecclesiastical) for men in the practice of plural marriage, providing for multiple families, and building relationships with wives and children? What resemblances/differences are there between historic and modern polygamy?

19. Male fertility is important in a theological context that stresses the importance of posterity. William Staines, travel agent for the Church for many years, and William H. Dame, stake president in Iron County during the nineteenth century, both had several wives but fathered no children. Did childlessness

affect their standing in the community and their feelings of self worth?

20. Even in a social context that assumed frequent absences on the part of the father, the effect of missionary service and heavy ecclesiastical responsibilities intensified the dynamic of the absent father in many Mormon families. What psycho-social effects did this have on the husband/father himself, on the marriage, and on the children?

21. The nineteenth-century development in the LDS Church of giving Aaronic Priesthood to teenage boys probably changed their role in society and in their relationship to girls their own age, but in what direction and how?

22. Although it has been hypothesized that times of peak emphasis on plural marriage brought young men into competition with older, wealthier, more powerful men for young women as potential wives, this dynamic should be studied. Was it important? If so, did young men leave Mormonism because they were marginalized by being single? Does historic Mormonism have a significant component of single men?

23. What were the relationships between men and their sons in nineteenth-century Mormonism? To what extent was the father-son relationship impacted by the quality of the husband-wife relationship, particularly in plural marriages? For instance, did the children of a favored wife benefit significantly from that relationship? To what extent do

these patterns match or differ from "favorite son" phenomena in non-Mormon society, whether in single marriages or in remarriages of widowers?

24. In Mormon society, were there conflicts between a young man's need to find his own economic base and the father's need to have his help in supporting the father's family?

25. Was family violence common in nineteenth-century Mormon families of all traditions? What role did the various churches play in channeling, permitting, or controlling the violence?

26. What was considered proper preparation for manhood in nineteenth-century Mormonism? What was the father's role in that preparation?

27. Similarly, what was the father's role in raising a daughter in nineteenth-century Mormonism? How did this relationship change when the daughter married, divorced, or became widowed?

28. What was the role of the grandfather in the family, particularly as he aged and became more dependent? Did the various nineteenth-century traditions of Mormonism provide activities and support for elderly men?

Ethnicity

1. Both the RLDS and LDS hierarchies have been described as privileging upper-middle-class professionals who fit an American "corpo-

rate culture." To what extent is this true?

2. What have ethnic relationships been between the U.S.-based Church and ethnic minorities in America, particularly Native Americans and blacks, in both the nineteenth and twentieth centuries? How do these same questions apply to ethnic and international populations outside the United States as they come in contact with American representatives of the various churches?

3. What "middle-class, white" skills are assumed on the part of "successful" converts? How do these dynamics operate?

4. Most Mormon churches teach certain management styles, presentations of the physical self (dress standards), respect for authority, teaching abilities, and traditional gender roles.

Do these skills still advantage those who possess them in the changing American culture of the late twentieth century?

5. Do the churches provide a ladder of upward mobility for converts? What makes the difference between "success" and failure for those who fall off the ladder?

6. As the churches expand their ministry in inner cities, how well do its corporateness and professional

values match the reality of those who are often underemployed or unemployed?

7. What dynamics are at work between members who have been Mormons for generations and new converts? Assimilation has always been the assumed goal. Will that still be possible as the balance tips from Americanism to internationalism, particularly as membership increases sharply in poor countries?

Corrections to Hardy Article

*Editor's note: The section below corrects a garbled paragraph in B. Carmon Hardy, "The Lords of Creation: Polygamy, the Abrahamic Household, and Mormon Patriarchy," **Journal of Mormon History** 20, no. 1 (Spring 1994): 140-41. The garbled section begins immediately after footnote 72; the position of text and notes have been reversed. The article continues correctly with the next paragraph, "Other subtle messages . . ." but the note numbering from that point on is off by four. For example, footnote 79 in the text is 83 in the notes. The **Journal** regrets this inconvenience to its readers.*

Polygamy promised its practitioners many benefits, according to nineteenth-century defendants, including health and longevity.⁷¹ But nothing was more important than the allocation of power resulting from the gender ratio and, perhaps, its impact on fertility.⁷² Sociologically speaking, a plural wife would always be reckoned at lesser valence than the husband in a polygamous domestic unit. This was part of what gave the arrangement strength. Authority naturally

⁷¹Hardy, *Solemn Covenant*, 84-125.

⁷²Although the topic of fertility in polygamy is disputed, in most polygamous societies the rank order of wives tends to be inversely proportional to the number of children each wife bears. Because Mormons prized fertility so highly, the status of plural wives who had relatively few children could be diminished. "The church would forgive a bad job of rearing sooner than the failure of mother to have all the children possible. The plight of a childless married woman was sadder than that of a spinster. So strong was the recognition of that duty that few women dared or desired to evade it," observed Nels Anderson, "The Mormon Family," *American Sociological Review* 2 (October 1937): 606. For comments on declining fertility among Mormon plural wives, see Remy and Brenchley, *A Journey to Great-Salt-Lake City*, 2:149; Stanley S. Ivins, "Notes on Mormon Polygamy," *Western Humanities Review* 10 (Summer 1956): 236; Lester E. Bush, Jr., "Birth Control among the Mormons: Introduction to an Insistent Question," *Dialogue* 10 (Autumn 1976): 38 n. 48; James E. Smith and Phillip R. Kunz, "Polygamy and Fertility in Nineteenth-Century America," *Population Studies* 30 (November 1976): 471, 479. Studies commenting on this subject in other cultures includes Binet, *Le mariage*, 94-100; Remi Clignet, *Many Wives, Many Powers: Authority and Power in Polygynous Families* (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1970), 29; and Vern L. Bullough, *Sexual Variance in Society and History* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1976), 679.

Other factors affecting polygamous fertility include number of wives (most Mormon polygamists had only two), age, rank order of wives, and socio-ecclesiastical position. See D. Gene Pace, "Wives of Nineteenth-Century Mormon Bishops: A Quantitative Analysis," *Journal of the West* 21 (April 1982): 53-54; Dean L. May, "A Demographic Portrait of the Mormons, 1830-1980," in *After 150 Years: The Latter-day Saints in Sesquicentennial Perspective*, edited by Thomas G. Alexander and Jessie L. Embry (Provo, Utah: Charles Redd Center for Western Studies, 1983), 52, 56; L. L. Bean and G. P. Mineau, "The Polygyny-Fertility Hypothesis: A Re-evaluation," *Population Studies* 40 (March 1986): 67-81; Larry M. Logue, *A Sermon in the Desert: Belief and Behavior in Early St. George, Utah* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988), 76-79; and Embry, *Mormon Polygamous Families*, 37, Table 11. Douglas L. Anderton and Rebecca Jean Emigh, "Polygynous Fertility: Sexual Competition versus Progeny," *American Journal of Sociology* 94 (January 1989): 832-55 suggests, significantly, that declining fertility by wife order was influenced by the husband's sense of reproductive satisfaction.

flowed to the male head of house because a husband could easily withdraw from a wife who disagreed with or displeased him. He had less incentive to negotiate, seek compromise, or work things out. Udney Hay Jacob praised this phenomenon as the "direct" consequence of plurality, for it was a system, he said, that has the effect of making the wife's chief object "to win, and retain the affections of her husband."⁷³ The child of one polygamous family remembered the first wife's complaint: "There is one thing that makes me so mad. Every time I scold Cars . . . [the husband], then he would get ready and go over to Nellie's [the second wife]. I couldn't discipline him or get after him because I knew as soon as I did, he would go over there."⁷⁴ Heber C. Kimball's remark that, "Those that haven't but one [wife], she rules," not only spoke to men's fears concerning women's forward behavior but acknowledged the desired, subordinating consequence for women in the polygamous domestic configuration.⁷⁵ Plural marriage assured male authority while teaching wives perseverance and obedience.⁷⁶

Other subtle messages reinforced the view of women as property . . .

⁷³Jacob, *An Extract*, 18-19.

⁷⁴Clarence Allen, interviewed by James Cornish, 15 February 1980, Cove, Utah, p. 11, LDS Oral History Project; Also see Tanner, *A Mormon Mother*, 272; and Iverson, "Feminist Implications of Mormon Polygyny," *Feminist Studies* 10 (Fall 1984): 509.

⁷⁵In Ellen Spencer Clawson, Letter to Ellen Pratt McGary, 15 February 1857, in *Dear Ellen: Two Mormon Women and Their Letters*, edited by S. George Ellsworth (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Tanner Trust Fund, 1974), 38.

⁷⁶Religious belief powerfully reinforces perseverance, a major contention of Jessie Embry in "Master or Slave: The Economic Role of Mormon Polygamous Wives," SIROW Working Paper No. 15 (Tucson: University of Arizona, 1982); and her *Mormon Polygamous Families*, 42-47, 52, 193-94. Also see Vicky Burgess-Olson, "Family Structure and Dynamics in Early Utah Mormon Families, 1847-1885," (Ph.D. diss., Northwestern University, 1975), 69-82, 131; and Foster, *Religion and Sexuality*, 209.

IN MEMORIAM
RICHARD D. POLL, 1904-94

No one has contributed more to the promotion and understanding of Utah and Mormon history than Richard D. Poll, master teacher, gifted writer, eloquent lecturer, and conscientious administrator, whose unexpected death on April 27, 1994, was a shock to all who knew him. He leaves an unforgettable legacy as an early leader in the Mormon History Association, an active participant in the Utah State Historical Society, the Western History Association, and the Organization of American Historians, and numerous other positions of administrative responsibility.

Yet his greatest service was to the thousands of students he taught and influenced during his long career as professor of history. Dick's remarkable teaching skills were revealed not only in large undergraduate classrooms, grueling graduate seminars, and adult education courses, but also in numerous travel-study tours that he directed in the United States, Europe, and around the world. As a teacher, he was always congenial and stimulating, his sense of humor both refreshing and reassuring. He challenged students to do their best and helped them recognize and value truth and accuracy. Nobody was ever the same after a vigorous learning experience with him.

To an even larger audience, Dick is known as a perceptive writer. He authored or coauthored/coedited several books, including *Utah's History* (1978, 1989), *Hugh B. Brown: His Life and Thought* (1975), *Quixotic Mediator: Thomas L. Kane and the Utah War* (1985), and *History and Faith: Reflections of a Mormon Historian* (1989), and many articles on a variety of topics dealing with Utah history and Mormon thought. At the time of his death he was working on a history of the Utah War. Undoubtedly, his most widely read article was the reflective essay he entitled, "What the Church Means to People Like Me," in which he delineated two types of committed Latter-day Saints, Iron Rods and Liahonas, and characterized their differences. Yet what is usually lost sight of in this perceptive portrayal was his underlying desire to help these two groups understand and accept one another.

Born in Salt Lake City on 23 April 1918, Dick received his B.A. and M.A. degrees from Texas Christian University and a Ph.D. from the University of California, Berkeley. He taught at Brigham Young University from 1948 to 1969, serving for several years as chairman of the History Department and associate director of the Honors Program. He pioneered the teaching of American Heritage on closed-circuit TV, on what many fondly referred to as the Dick Poll Show. In 1970 he became Vice President for Administration at Western Illinois University, serving in that capacity until 1975 when he resumed full-time teaching. Returning to Provo in 1983 after retirement, he and his wife, Gene, never retired from active participation in worthy academic, Church, and charitable service.

De Lamar Jensen
Provo, Utah

ADJUSTMENT OR APOSTASY? THE REORGANIZED CHURCH IN THE LATE TWENTIETH CENTURY

W. B. "Pat" Spillman

A few years ago I visited with some elderly friends who had been pillars of the church where I grew up in Denver. After retirement, they sold their home and fulfilled a life-long ambition to move to Zion in Independence. Unfortunately, the Zion of their dreams did not materialize. Instead of peace they found conflict. Rather than finding themselves strengthened by the presence of the thousands of members of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints in one of more than fifty congregations in the Kansas City area,

WESLEY B. "PAT" SPILLMAN, a bishop in the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, is an executive minister of the Church, who serves as director of the Real Estate Management Division. Additionally, he teaches in the Park College master's degree in religion program, was editor of the *John Whitmer Historical Association Journal* (1991-94), and has written numerous books, training courses, and articles on Church history and administration, including his most recent, *To Serve One Another* (Independence: Herald Publishing House, 1993). An earlier version of this paper was delivered at the Mormon History Association annual meeting, May 1993, Graceland College, Lamoni, Iowa, with Armand L. Mauss's parallel paper, "The Mormon Struggle with Growth, Assimilation, and the Erosion of Identity: Trends and Developments in the LDS Church since Midcentury," published in the spring 1994 issue of *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*.

they chose to belong to one of the smaller independent churches known as "Restoration" branches.

After catching up on our families' respective comings and goings, the conversation inevitably turned to the Church. With genuine sadness they told me why they were no longer attending the Church controlled by the "hierarchy." "The Church of today is simply not the Church I joined in my youth," the sister said. Of course, she was correct. The Church has changed considerably since the days of her childhood in the early twentieth century. Most of that change has come since 1960.¹

The RLDS Church has passed through at least three distinct periods of self-identity since its founding in the early 1850s. The first focus might be called the "claim to authenticity," as the name of the first RLDS periodical, "The *True* Latter Day Saints Herald," testified. For their first fifty years of existence, the "Josephites," as their Utah cousins often termed them, steadfastly insisted they were the authentic Mormon Church, those who maintained the true doctrines taught by Joseph Smith, Jr., instead of the perversions being promoted by the "Brighamites." Yet despite their claims of legitimacy and uninterrupted ecclesiastical authority, early RLDS were hardly unified in their theology, nor did they have an accurate understanding of their church's history. Their leaders, coming from a variety of other Restoration factions, held a wide variety of understandings about the nature of the church from which so many different groups emerged after the assassination of the Prophet Joseph. They earnestly debated among themselves doctrines such as baptism for the dead, plurality of gods, and even whether the Prophet had ever been involved in polygamy.² Although they de-

¹Adapted from W. B. "Pat" Spillman, "Will Contention Ever Cease? A Personal Reflection," in *Distinguished Author Lectures, Vol. 5* (Independence: Herald Publishing House, 1993), 27-28.

²See, for example, Roger D. Launius's treatment of the debate over the Book of Abraham and the plurality of gods doctrine in *Joseph Smith III: Pragmatic Prophet* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988), 152-53, and polygamy, 190-217. See also the seminal "Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints: Moderate Mormons," by Alma R. Blair, in F. Mark McKiernan, Alma R. Blair, and Paul M. Edwards, eds., *The Restoration Movement: Essays in Mormon History* (Independence: Herald Publishing House, 1979), 207-30.

cided early in their history to accept Emma Smith's insistence that her husband was free of the stain of polygamy, they argued for many years over other aspects of the faith. Other than their opposition to polygamy, most RLDS leaders expressed unanimity on only one other doctrine, that of lineal succession to the presidency of the church. Long before the Prophet's son, Joseph III, accepted the role as president, they claimed that the true leader could come only from one of Smith's direct descendants.

The earliest missionary efforts of the RLDS were predictably directed toward the Mormons and members of other Restoration remnant groups. Their message was simple: Joseph Smith III was the true inheritor of his father's leadership mantle, not Brigham Young, whom the RLDS regarded as the worst kind of apostate. When relatively few of Young's followers left his fold to unite with the Josephites, the RLDS changed their focus to gaining converts from other Christian groups and the unchurched. Although the RLDS Church wanted to present a less defensive message, its greatest challenge was the ever-constant confusion with the larger church of the almost identical name. Dozens of accounts of early RLDS missionaries express the frustration they felt as they had to explain how they were different from the Mormons before they could put forth their own claims to legitimacy and authority.³

By the end of the nineteenth century, the RLDS Church entered what might be called its "established sect" phase of theological development.⁴ During this second period, the RLDS message became more positive, though still staunchly exclusivist. Missionary sermons during the first half of the twentieth century emphasized that the Reorganized Church was "the only true and living church upon the face of the whole earth, with which . . . the Lord was well pleased" (D&C 1:5e), the only church on earth organized according to God's plan and the only one which possessed God's authorized priesthood. According to RLDS claims, God charged the Church with the holy

³See for example, W. B. "Pat" Spillman, "Spreading the 'Banner of Truth': A Century of the RLDS Missionary Effort in Scandinavia," *John Whitmer Historical Association Journal* 7 (1987): 46.

⁴Glenn M. Vernon, *Sociology of Religion* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1962), 162-80.

mission of building Zion, the heavenly kingdom on earth which would usher in the Lord Jesus' second coming. Faithful Church members living at Christ's return would receive an endowment of special powers enabling them to overcome adversity and survive the turmoil of the final era. Those who had gone on to their eternal reward would inherit celestial glory and the privilege of living with the Father and the Son in heaven. It was a comforting theology, assuring its adherents that although their church was small and embattled, it had God's special blessing. It was that church which my friends joined in the 1920s; it was still very much that church into which I was baptized in 1948 as a child of eight.

Even as the Church was just becoming comfortable with its more positive self-image, the seeds of its third period of development were unknowingly being sown by the RLDS prophet, Frederick Madison Smith, who served as president from 1915 until his death in 1946. As an ardent Progressive, Fred M., as Church members fondly called him, had an unquenchable faith in the efficacy of trained experts to promote needed social reforms.⁵ Himself the possessor of a Ph.D. in sociol psychology, rare for the era and virtually unequalled in the Church, Smith tirelessly encouraged ministerial training and membership education as a way of prying the Church out of an all-too-pervasive ruralist and pietistic stance which regarded formal schooling with suspicion and which located education and spirituality on opposite ends of a mutually exclusive continuum. These goals were unavoidably delayed by a staggering debt the Church incurred during the Great Depression. His younger brother and successor, Israel A. Smith, pursued Fred M.'s vision and, after the Church's financial recovery, put into action some of his brother's dreams. He launched an ambitious program of religious education including a massive curriculum project which defined most Church activities as educationally related.⁶ He also expanded an already existing priesthood education program by formally launching the School of the

⁵Larry E. Hunt, *F. M. Smith: Saint as Reformer* (Independence: Herald Publishing House, 1982), 2:387-90.

⁶"Manual of Curriculum Construction of the Reorganized Church of Latter Day Saints," mimeographed booklet, no date, 3-4; RLDS Library and Archives, Independence.

Restoration in 1955, the Church's first attempt since the days of Nauvoo to create a permanent training institute.⁷ As a result, the legitimacy of education increased among the membership of the Church. Although Church-sponsored educational materials continued to be firmly directed toward sectarian ends through the 1950s, the emphasis on increased educational preparation of Church leaders began to bear fruit in ways that neither Fred M. nor Israel Smith might have predicted.

The most far-reaching changes, however, came during the administration of W. Wallace Smith, the third son of Joseph III to preside over the Church. After succeeding to the presidency in 1958 after Israel's death in an automobile accident, W. Wallace Smith activated policies and programs that challenged many traditional beliefs and practices, and ushered in a third period—what might be called “evolution toward the mainstream.”

Three decades of upgrading the educational preparation of Church leaders, especially in headquarters departments, led to the first of the increasingly rapid changes. In the early 1960s the Department of Religious Education began employing young RLDS staff members with training from Protestant seminaries.⁸ Inevitably, they influenced the Sunday School curriculum and other educational activities promoted at headquarters. For example, Richard Lancaster, a graduate of the liberal United Methodist seminary, St. Paul School of Theology in Kansas City, organized a series of seminars the First Presidency sponsored for the Church's governing Joint Council of the First Presidency, Council of Twelve Apostles, and Presiding Bishopric in 1967. These seminars examined a variety of traditional

⁷The School of the Restoration had two clienteles: Church employees (mainly “appointees”) and “self-sustaining” priesthood members. In the RLDS Church, most ministry is provided by adults. It is unusual for persons below age eighteen to be ordained, even to Aaronic offices. Most priesthood members earn their living in secular occupations. Church “appointees” are priesthood members employed by the Church in various ministerial, technical, and administrative tasks. The school provided residence curricula for appointees and home study materials for self-sustaining priesthood members.

⁸William J. Knapp, “Professionalizing Religious Education in the Church: The ‘New Curriculum Controversy,’” *John Whitmer Historical Association Journal* 2 (1982): 48.

Christian and RLDS doctrines; some of Lancaster's former professors spoke, among other comments urging the Church to see itself as part of a larger Christian effort rather than maintaining a limited role as faithful defender of the Restorationist gospel.⁹

The professors' suggestions fell on receptive ears. The First Presidency had called for the seminars in the first place because missionary work during the late 1940s and 1950s was struggling with the challenges of internationalism. Prior to World War II, most RLDS lived in North America, Britain, and Australia with a scattering of members in French Polynesia, Britain, Germany, and Scandinavia. In the twenty years following the war, however, the Church expanded into more than a dozen new missions in Asia and Africa.¹⁰ In Korea, Japan, and the Ryukyu Islands (Okinawa), members of the American occupation forces bore their testimonies to native peoples. By 1967 the Church had new missions operating in those nations, India, the Philippines, Mexico, Brazil, Peru, and Nigeria. The Council of Twelve was preparing to open still others in Haiti, Kenya, New Caledonia, and Fiji within the next year.

A major challenge facing missionaries in non-Christian cultures was a lack of interest in, or even comprehension of the importance of doctrinal differences between various divisions of the Latter Day Saint faith. Nor were they impressed with the RLDS Church's claim of exclusive authority to represent Christ. To people never exposed to the Christian message and often in dire physical distress, the importance of belonging to the "true" Church was meaningless. Traditional RLDS missionary methods simply did not work. Apostle Charles D. Neff, who, with his family, lived in Japan for four years in the early 1960s, put the central aspects of the problem in concise terms:

- What is the message at the heart of the Christian gospel? What does the RLDS Church's traditional understanding of its position vis-à-vis the Mormons have to do with it?

⁹Ibid., 49.

¹⁰Maurice L. Draper, *Isles and Continents* (Independence: Herald Publishing House, 1982), 60-65.

- In non-Christian cultures, can other Christian churches be allies rather than adversaries?
- How useful is the image of centrality of the United States to the development of the Church abroad?
- Can American Church leaders learn to turn over initiative and responsibility for important programs to indigenous leadership?¹¹

Forced to distill RLDS doctrine to the Christian basics to reach people in non-Western cultures, the First Presidency sponsored the Joint Council Seminars as one of the first ways by which the Church sought to identify which of its beliefs were absolutely essential and which were secondary—helpful but not crucial.

Beyond retailoring the Church's traditional missionary message to changing conditions, the Church found that working within local laws and customs of increasingly independent and nationalistic Third World nations required further adjustments, even when they breached long-standing Church traditions and rules. For example, the name of the Church was believed to be divinely inspired; but in some languages, all or part of the name was untranslatable or unusable. In Japan, "Reorganized" has derogatory business connotations. Should the Church maintain its traditional name or choose a more appropriate expression of its mission in Japan? It chose the latter and the Church in Japan became known as the "Restored Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints." In Kenya, unfortunate experiences with early Mormon missionaries led the government to outlaw the term "Latter Day Saints" just as the Church was trying to organize in East Africa. Consequently, it incorporated in that nation as the "Christian Community Fellowship of Africa."

Political and social challenges increasingly impacted the Church's program and administrative priorities in a variety of ways. In Haiti, government officials refused to allow the Church to establish

¹¹Paraphrased from Richard P. Howard, *The Church Through the Years, Volume 2: The Reorganization Comes of Age, 1860-1992* (Independence: Herald Publishing House, 1993), 359-60, summarized from an unpublished presentation given by Clifford A. Cole to a Joint Council seminar at Park College, 18 September 1976, 5-6, RLDS Library-Archives.

chapels or Church schools until it first engaged in community development and health care ministries. In other nations, the Church could not organize unless control was centered in an indigenous "juridical person," thus requiring the Church to relinquish some of its centralized authority to local officials. In the early 1970s, an especially ironic theological quandary confronted the Church as a result of its successful missionary contacts among the Sora tribes of Orissa State in India. Some who sought baptism were involved in polygamous marriages, a common practice with strong economic justification in that culture. The Council of Twelve faced a perplexing dilemma: risk enraging conservatives who believed that baptizing polygamists was a sell-out to the most despised of all Nauvoo-era doctrines or compassionately proceed with baptism while outlawing new plural marriages from that point on. To their credit, the council did not dodge the issue but permitted the baptisms to take place.¹² Apostolic courage bore fruit; a generation later, polygamy is rare in communities where the RLDS Church is established.

The numerous problems and questions arising from the clash of cultures which inevitably resulted from the Church's forays into non-Western societies led many of the Church's appointees assigned to missions abroad to request more specific theological and administrative guidance. As a result, the First Presidency developed a formal Statement of Objectives which the quorum presented to the Church's 1966 World Conference. Among the most significant assertions of this pivotal document were declarations that:

- Spiritual experience "must be expressed through forms of worship which are indigenous to the cultural patterns of the worshippers."

¹²President W. Wallace Smith tried to reassure the Church that by baptizing polygamists, it was not endorsing the marital practice. His inspired message to the World Conference of 1972, written as if the Lord were giving the instruction, said: "Monogamy is the basic principle on which Christian married life is built. Yet, as I have said before, there are also those who are not of this fold to whom the saving grace of the gospel must go. When this is done the church must be willing to bear the burden of their sin, nurturing them in the faith, accepting that degree of repentance which it is possible for them to achieve, looking forward to the day when through patience and love they can be free as a people from the sins of the years of their ignorance" (D&C 150:10a,b).

- "The Church in every nation must be encouraged to be self-supporting in leadership and finance."
- "There is a great need to interpret concepts about the kingdom of God and Zionite communities in a worldwide context."¹³

Each of these goals prompted significant changes in both doctrinal interpretation and administrative practice in the decades to follow.

At the same time the Joint Council was examining the Church's belief system in light of the new realities of its missions abroad, the Christian Education Department introduced a new curriculum for children and youth, and other headquarters divisions broadened their resources to emphasize the missional aspects of congregational life. In general, these resources identified with the larger Christian scene while taking a more objective, less defensive view of the Church's history. This new approach triggered serious opposition from traditionalists in the Church. Organized resistance to the new curriculum materials led to the introduction of increasingly strident resolutions in the Church's biennial World Conference to censure Christian Education staff and force the rewriting of those resources which conservative members condemned for abandoning traditional doctrines and encouraging too much ecumenism.¹⁴ Although these initiatives generally got nowhere, their sponsors did not give up easily. The result was increasing dissension and turmoil through the 1970s and 1980s over many issues. Pacifists and "hawks" debated in World Conferences over the Church's position on the Vietnam War and selective conscientious objection to military service. Conservatives squared off against perceived "liberals" over the Church stance on abortion, the Book of Mormon, and the role of women in Church leadership.

The latter has become, for many, the defining issue of the current RLDS president, Wallace B. Smith, who succeeded his father,

¹³"Statement on Objectives for the Church," *World Conference Bulletin* (18 April 1966): 239-40.

¹⁴*World Conference Bulletin*, 12 April 1972, 244-46; 31 March 1974, 189-92; 28 March 1976, 188.

W. Wallace Smith, upon his voluntarily retirement in 1978. Wallace B. Smith was an Independence ophthalmologist who had served the Church in only local volunteer roles before accepting his father's call in 1976 to serve a two-year term as "prophet and president designate," then to assume the prophetic office himself. During this training period, Dr. Wallace B. Smith traveled widely throughout the world becoming acquainted with the Church's varied ministries; he also undertook accelerated studies in theology, Christian history, and other topics from a variety of sources including private tutoring by professors at the St. Paul School of Theology.

In receiving education from St. Paul, he was not alone among Church leaders. When the Church found itself with a temporary deficit in the late 1960s, it hastily released a number of full-time ministers and cut back on what were seen as less essential programs, among them the School of the Restoration. For several years thereafter, the Church's very few new full-time appointees were sent directly into the field without formal training. When financial stability returned in the mid-1970s and the Church again opened new full-time positions, rather than reestablishing its own training program, it sent many of its appointee minister trainees to St. Paul, conveniently located just a few miles from the Auditorium. Between 1975 and 1983 when the Church established its own accredited master's degree in religion through Park College, the Church sent nearly all of its new appointees to St. Paul or other Protestant seminaries, where they took what amounted to the first year of a standard master of divinity degree program. In addition, as part of a major effort to upgrade the educational background of older leaders, many other headquarters personnel received financial support to attend seminaries as part of a continuing education program. At least one member of the First Presidency, three members of the Council of Twelve, and an influential Independence Temple Center director earned master of divinity degrees at St. Paul School of Theology during the 1970s, and several other members of the presiding quorums took courses there.¹⁵

¹⁵W. Grant McMurray, a member of the First Presidency, retired apostle Geoffrey F. Spencer (formerly President of the Council of the Twelve), former Apostle Paul Booth (recently retired as Presiding Patriarch), and retired Apostle Lloyd B. Hurshman, as well as Wayne A. Ham, director of the Temple Ministries Center (a top headquarters

It would be an oversimplification to suggest that widespread exposure to theology from a recognizably liberal Protestant seminary was the primary influence in redirecting RLDS thought. Rather, the willingness of Church leaders to attend St. Paul's and send trainees to its courses probably reflected a trend toward mainstream Protestantism instituted by other factors. After all, the Kansas City area has two other major theological schools, the Midwest Baptist and Nazarene Theological Seminaries. Both are conservative, although the Baptist school is relatively moderate for the Southern Baptist faith. While both schools have been willing to accept RLDS students, few Church leaders have attended either one.¹⁶ Moreover, when the Church sent appointees to seminaries in other cities when they could not come to headquarters for their training, the schools tended to be United Methodist, such as Iliff School of Theology in Denver, or other mainstream institutions such as the seminaries at Claremont and Berkeley in California, or the Princeton Theological School in New Jersey. Today, most new appointee ministers are assigned to the master's degree program in religion at Church-affiliated Park College; its core program of biblical and historical studies has been taught by professors from the Presbyterian, Episcopal, and Nazarene faiths.

The most likely explanation is that the Church's decision to identify with the larger Christian community in its missions abroad allowed its leaders to consider new scriptural and historical interpretations and to be less concerned about maintaining doctrinal purity or upholding traditional practices. The Church's increasing emphasis on education led its leaders to seek more scholarly resources than the small RLDS organization could muster on its own. St. Paul's was not only convenient but also willingly accepted RLDS students without demanding doctrinal concessions as many other conservative evangelical seminaries do. An interesting question is what might have happened if St. Paul had been a conservative seminary like the other two in Kansas City instead of one of the most liberal of the United Methodist faith.

post), received the M.Div. from St. Paul. Ham also received a master's degree in Hebrew from Brigham Young University.

¹⁶Retired Apostle Aleah Koury and former Division of Program Services director Thomas Noffsinger received M.Div. degrees from Midwest Baptist.

Without a doubt, the most notable change in RLDS theology and practice during the 1980s was the ordination of women to the Church's priesthood offices. For many years feminists and others had pressed unsuccessfully for a World Conference mandate for ordination. Although there was stiff and highly vocal opposition from the Church's most conservative members, the First Presidency was not opposed to the move. In 1976, Maurice Draper, one of W. Wallace Smith's counselors, read a statement to a World Conference audience in which he stated that there were no theological barriers to women's ordination, and confirmed rumors that calls of women to the priesthood had been forwarded to the First Presidency for action. The issue was not a theological one, Draper asserted, but a matter of sociology and tradition.¹⁷ Accordingly, the First Presidency proposed a resolution to the World Conference to void a 1905 Conference action opposing women's ordination; this action would allow the presidency to consider but defer action on the matter until the Church, "by common consent, is ready to accept such ministry." The conference narrowly accepted the resolution after strenuous efforts to amend or defeat it.¹⁸

In the face of increasingly strident dissent over other theological matters, successive World Conferences refused to deal with the issue; by the 1980s, fear of irrevocable schism seemed to have permanently stopped the conference from considering the matter.¹⁹ While the advocates of women's ordination recognized that their only hope was for a prophetic initiative from the Church's president himself, even the most ardent supporters probably did not suspect it would come as soon as it did.

¹⁷"Letter from the President to Headquarters and Field Administrators," *World Conference Bulletin*, 2 April 1976, 265-66.

¹⁸*World Conference Bulletin*, 28 March 1976, 181; 2 April 1976, 264.

¹⁹A resolution which would unequivocally place the Church on record as opposing the ordination of women was offered to the 1980 World Conference but never made it to the floor as a delegate's "objection to consideration" of the matter was upheld. *World Conference Bulletin*, 8 April 1980, 274; 12 April 1980, 307. In 1982, another resolution which would have affirmed that the Church would have no legislative barriers to ordination based on "race, ethnic or national origin, or gender" was referred to the First Presidency. *World Conference Bulletin*, 31 March 1982, 331; 3 April 1982, 355.

The announcement came in 1984 in Wallace B. Smith's biennial inspired message to the Church. In the midst of rebuking the priesthood for neglecting their duties and using their office for personal aggrandizement, the document then surprised the delegates with the following words, traditionally read as if Christ were speaking:

I say to you now, as I have said in the past, that all are called according to the gifts which have been given them. This applies to priesthood as well as to any other aspects of the work. Therefore, do not wonder that some women of the Church are being called to priesthood responsibilities. This is in harmony with my will and where these calls are made known to my servants, they may be processed according to administrative procedures and provisions of the law. (D&C 156:9b,c.)

As expected, the document generated more emotional debate than any issue since the 1920s. Nevertheless, the conference expressed its faith in Wallace B. Smith's leadership and accepted it as an inspired message by an overwhelming majority. The first ordinations of women to the RLDS clergy came in November 1985. Since then, thousands of women have taken their place alongside men in the ministry of the Church and are serving in a variety of administrative roles including pastor and stake president. The only priesthood offices to which women have not yet been ordained are the presiding quorums. Leaders agree that women will soon occupy some of these positions as well.

The ordination of women was the final straw for thousands of the Church's traditionalists, who began forming independent "Restoration" branches almost immediately after the acceptance of Section 156 and its inclusion within the Doctrine and Covenants. Sometimes leaving peacefully, at other times acrimoniously under court order, fundamentalists, as they commonly call themselves, have formed over a hundred separate congregations in the United States and Canada. Those influenced by fundamentalist propagandist Richard Price of Independence have resisted organizing above the congregational level and hold out hope that God will remove the "liberal hierarchy" from power and return the Church to their control. Others, such as the Restoration Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, believe that it is more realistic to create their own denominational structure. Although the Church's public assessment is that the impact of these defections is minimal, field administrators privately estimate that between a fourth and a third of the Church's active

membership in the early 1980s is now affiliated with one of the dissenting groups.²⁰

While ordination of women was the issue that provoked the major schism, other significant doctrinal differences between "loyal" RLDS and the dissidents guarantee that the rift probably will be permanent. For example, current RLDS policy supports ecumenical contacts and joint efforts with other churches; fundamentalists oppose such relationships on the grounds that ecumenism may require the Church to give up cherished and distinctive beliefs. Second, the RLDS leadership has long since abandoned the "one true Church" stance that fundamentalists hold is the Church's chief *raison d'être*. Third, fundamentalists charge that the RLDS Church has deserted the Book of Mormon. While that is overstating the case, there is ample evidence that the scripture is not being used as widely in RLDS congregations as in the past. Fourth, fundamentalists still hold the traditional view that Zion is a community in Jackson County, Missouri, to which the faithful must eventually gather. The RLDS, on the other hand, largely consider Zion a quality of community life which can and should be promoted anywhere; they do not encourage a gathering to Independence or any other specific center of Church life.²¹

Few leaders of either the RLDS Church or its many dissident factions seriously believe the current divisions will ever be over-

²⁰Stephanie Kelley, RLDS Church spokeswoman, states that between 1984 and 1991 less than one half of 1 percent of the membership has officially withdrawn. However, few people who leave the Church ever officially withdraw their names. Most simply attend elsewhere or not at all. Richard Price urges his followers to keep their names "on the books" for the time when the "hierarchy" fails and the fundamentalists inherit the Church.

²¹For further information on the current schism in the RLDS Church, see William D. Russell, "The Fundamentalist Schism, 1958–Present," Larry W. Conrad, "Dissent among Dissenters: Theological Dimensions of Dissent in Reorganization," and W. B. "Pat" Spillman, "Dissent and the Future of the Church," in Roger D. Launius and W. B. "Pat" Spillman, eds., *Let Contention Cease: The Dynamics of Dissent in the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints* (Independence: Greenland/Park Press, 1991). See also William D. Russell, "Richard Price: Leading Publicist of the Reorganized Church's Schismatics," in Roger D. Launius and Linda Thatcher, eds., *Differing Visions: Dissenters in Mormon History* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994).

come. Richard Price continues to urge his followers to have patience, promising that they will inherit the Church when the hierarchy ultimately fails. But as the history of past dissenter movements has shown, that scenario is not likely. For their part, the RLDS leadership insists that essential doctrines have not changed. As Roger Yarrington, assistant to the First Presidency and official Church spokesman wrote, "The Church has changed, is changing, but not its central beliefs which, when addressed to a changing world, are still vital and are still being taught, believed, and lived."²²

Are the changes that have come to the RLDS Church since the end of World War II "adjustments" or "apostasy"? It all depends on what one considers essential doctrines. Apparently what has changed for the RLDS Church in the past two generations has to do with what is defined as essential.

Today's RLDS Church is still in transition. The final outcome of its transformation is difficult to foresee, but one may confidently predict that, whatever happens between the RLDS and their dissident factions, the RLDS and LDS experiences will continue to diverge. A major reason the two churches have improved their relationships so much in the past thirty years is that they are now so different that there is no longer any significant competition between them. Their theologies appeal to greatly different groups. They are like two siblings who, as children, were bitter rivals, but now as adults, have gone their own separate ways, one to particular success (if numbers are the chief measure). While confessing to occasional twinges of jealousy over the rapid expansion of the LDS Church since mid-century, the RLDS no longer resent that growth as illegitimate. They wish their counterparts well in the ministry to which both churches feel called—that of bringing people to a better understanding of the Christ and his teachings.

²²Roger Yarrington, "Changes in the Church," *Saints Herald* 137 (September 1990): 356, 362.

CAUSES OF THE UTAH WAR RECONSIDERED

Richard D. Poll and William P. MacKinnon

The bedrock fact upon which all explanations of the Utah War rest is that what the Mormons built during their first decade in the Great Basin was a theocracy. Governing power derived as much—if not more—from ecclesiastical than political office. To the overwhelming majority of its population, Utah Territory was Zion, their refuge from Babylon, presided over by a God-designated prophet. To the tiny minority of Gentiles and inactive Saints who went along to get along,

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Utah seemed an isolated land of modest opportunities, controlled by an astute, usually benevolent, occasionally ruthless autocrat. An even smaller minority composed of Gentile critics and apostate Mormons often perceived Utah as a dangerous anomaly in mid-nineteenth-century America, one ruled by a fanatical tyrant.

The events of 1850-57, during which Brigham Young served as governor, superintendent of Indian affairs, and militia commander provided support for all three perceptions. When an emphatic majority of Americans outside Utah came to share the perspective of the anti-Mormon minority inside, the pressures on the federal government mounted to terminate Young's secular appointments and to challenge the theocratic control of the territory. These tasks confronted sixty-five-year-old President James Buchanan ("Old Buck" to some of his supporters) as he took office on 4 March 1857.

What soon followed was the Utah War of 1857-58, also termed the Utah Expedition and Johnston's Army. It was the most extensive and expensive military operation in the United States during the period between the Mexican and Civil Wars, ultimately involving nearly one-third of the U.S. Army. A largely bloodless, year-long confrontation between Mormonism and the federal government, this campaign had far-reaching costs and consequences for both sides.

This article is a revisionist interpretation of Buchanan's decision to send a new governor and a military force to Utah Territory and of Brigham Young's initial responses to these initiatives. Some historians have called the conflict that followed "Buchanan's Blunder," but we believe that a more even-handed characterization might be "Buck and Brigham's Blunders."¹

¹Norman F. Furniss's excellent monograph, *The Mormon Conflict, 1850-1859* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1960), has been reprinted (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1977) but not revised; when Furniss wrote this monograph, the main documentary resource in the archives of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (hereafter LDS Church Archives) accessible to him was the *Journal History*. Subsequent volumes that cast additional light on the story include Leonard J. Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1958), and *Brigham Young: American Moses* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1985); Juanita Brooks, *The Mountain Meadows Massacre* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962); Eugene E. Campbell, *Establishing Zion* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1988); Everett L. Cooley, ed., *Diary of Brigham Young 1857* (Salt Lake City: Tanner Trust

THE CAMPAIGN

Irrespective of its origins, the campaign eventually pitted, on the one hand, Brevet Brigadier General Albert Sidney Johnston's two federal brigades, a force larger than that with which Ulysses S. Grant garrisoned a recalcitrant Mississippi ten years later, and, on the other, Brigham Young's Utah Territorial Militia (Nauvoo Legion), a command perhaps larger than the entire U.S. Army. The setting was the mountain ranges and deserts of Utah, not today's familiar, near-rectangular state but an enormous, sprawling territory that stretched from Kansas Territory to California, encompassing the present states of Utah and Nevada and parts of Wyoming, Colorado, and Idaho.

As Johnston's command approached Utah in the late summer of 1857, Young reacted by recalling missionaries from Europe and the eastern states, pulling in the large Mormon colonies at San Bernardino, San Francisco, and Carson Valley, and stockpiling and manufacturing arms and ammunition. He proclaimed martial law, sealed the territory's borders, and mobilized the Nauvoo Legion, which launched a campaign of scorched earth and guerrilla-style harassment along Utah's eastern frontier. They burned Forts Bridger and Supply, fortified and blocked mountain passes, and attacked and burned a significant portion of federal supply trains, resulting in huge losses of rations, uniforms, tents, and ammunition. When the legion also torched miles of grassland needed for forage and raided army herds, Johnston lost thousands of cavalry mounts, draft animals, and beef cattle, a blow that sent federal detachments hunting remounts in British possessions to the north and New Mexico Territory to the south.

Thus weakened and harassed, Johnston concluded, with the arrival of snowfall, that he could not force the passes into Salt Lake City that winter. His command settled into the charred remains of Fort Bridger and an embarrassing, frustrating, and uncomfortable winter on half-rations. While waiting for spring, remounts, and

Fund, 1980); Donald R. Moorman, with Gene A. Sessions, *Camp Floyd and the Mormons: The Utah War* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1992); Kenneth M. Stampp, *America in 1857* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990); and Clifford L. Stott, *Search for Sanctuary* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1984).

reinforcements, the cold and hungry troops labored as draft animals, and pickets exchanged gunfire with Mormon scouts.

As 1858 opened, both sides strengthened their forces while exploring their options. For example, the army's general-in-chief, Brevet Lieutenant General Winfield Scott, prepared to inject a second brigade into Utah's western flank by sending it across the Isthmus of Panama and through southern California. He later abandoned this plan in favor of a more conventional thrust from Kansas Territory in the spring. Thomas L. Kane, the influential Pennsylvanian who had for ten years been a friend of the Mormons, made his way to Utah as Buchanan's unofficial mediator. He found Brigham Young and his associates ready for peace but distrustful; and while he was at Camp Scott late in March negotiating with the new governor, Alfred Cumming, the Mormons launched the epic "move south."

About 30,000 people abandoned the northern settlements, preparing them for burning if the army moved west. Trekking fifty miles or more to towns in central and southern Utah, they marked time in shared and improvised housing. In April Kane and Cumming reached Salt Lake City where Young relinquished his governmental roles. In June, Ben McCulloch, a U.S. marshal and former head of the Texas Rangers, and Lazarus Powell, former governor of Kentucky, arrived as official representatives from Buchanan. They bore a blanket presidential pardon for Utah's population in exchange for peace, an arrangement which Young accepted after certain rhetorical flourishes. On 26 June 1858, Johnston and his reinforced troops then marched unopposed through a Salt Lake City deserted and ready for the torch. In the southern part of Salt Lake Valley, they established Camp Floyd, the nation's largest garrison until the Civil War. Mormon refugees then began returning to their homes, and the active phase of the Utah War ended.²

²This overview of the Utah War borrows both substance and language from Poll's "Utah Expedition," *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, 4 vols. (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1991), 4:1500-1502 and MacKinnon's letter to the editor, *Parameters: Journal of the US Army War College* 13 (September 1983): 85-86, prompted by John M. Gates, "Indians and Insurrectos: The U.S. Army's Experience with Insurgency," *ibid.*, 13 (March 1983): 59-68, which failed to discuss the Utah War.

PERCEPTIONS AND RESPONSES

Had Millard Fillmore and Franklin Pierce, Buchanan's predecessors, followed the suggestions of Kane and John M. Bernhisel, the territorial delegate, to appoint only Mormons and sympathetic Gentiles to all territorial offices, federal policies and bureaucratic procedures might possibly have accommodated for years the pioneer Mormons' vision of an intermountain Zion. But precedents, public opinion, insensitivity, and patronage politics made this advice impractical; and the motley group of federally appointed judges, secretaries of state, attorneys, marshals, surveyors, and Indian agents who moved in and abruptly out of Utah in the early 1850s turned an unusual situation into an impossibly volatile one. Incompatible personalities, even more than incompatible policies, turned memories of Missouri and Illinois persecutions into a Mormon sense of alienation from the federal government while simultaneously contributing to a national consensus that there really was a "Mormon problem."

Both perceptions and responses were complicated by the fact that, in terms of communications, Salt Lake City and Washington were almost a month apart until the development of the Pony Express and transcontinental telegraph in the early 1860s. This time/distance factor, even greater in winter than in summer, aggravated the stereotypes that developed and influenced decision-making in both places, while discouraging even routine attempts to confirm reports and rumors. When Illinois Senator Stephen A. Douglas cut his long-standing ties with the Mormons in June 1857, he made his call for action conditional: "If, upon a full investigation, . . . authentic evidence . . . shall establish the facts which are believed to exist, it will become the duty of Congress to apply the knife and cut out this loathsome, disgusting ulcer [Utah]."³ Before taking the steps that produced the

³Speech of Stephen A. Douglas at Springfield, Illinois, 12 June 1857, *New York Times*, 23 June 1857; quoted in William Alexander Linn, *The Story of the Mormons* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1902), 476-77. Douglas had cultivated the Mormon vote in Illinois and remained accessible to their representatives after the move west. Now he made a conditional call for action to protect his "popular sovereignty" doctrine against charges that it favored the Mormons. For a discussion of his Springfield address and Abraham Lincoln's needling response, see Poll, "The Mormon Question Enters National Politics, 1850-1856," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 25 (April 1957): 117-31.

Utah War, neither James Buchanan nor Brigham Young took the time to investigate.

Even with faster communications, it is questionable whether either leader was temperamentally, culturally, or politically capable of understanding one another, let alone probing for the full facts under the circumstances.⁴ The contrasts between the two men were enormous. Young was the president of his church and its prophet, while Buchanan, ambivalent about organized religion, was not baptized a Christian until his old age in the late 1860s. Buchanan was a lifelong bachelor, while Brigham Young had multiple wives. Buchanan had been seriously ill for months from a debilitating gastrointestinal disorder that nearly kept him from his own inauguration. Perhaps as a result, he was passive and unquestioning on Utah affairs, despite his legal training.

A sore point with Utahns was that a congressional committee had investigated violence in Kansas Territory during Pierce's administration. In July Buchanan sent both Ben McCulloch and Attorney General Jeremiah S. Black to observe affairs in Kansas but not Utah. The LDS leaders quickly noted this difference in federal investigation and referred to Utah's being slighted frequently and with bitterness. As early as 1 July 1857, while unconfirmed rumors of the expeditionary force circulated, the *Deseret News* editorialized: "The universal yell is 'President Buchanan must do something with the Mormons!' Not yet knowing how long and how well he will be able to withstand the terribly clamorous and unjust pressure, and we being known to be on the side of economy as well as justice, we most respectfully suggest . . . [he] send them [several unbiased civilians to be appointed] to Utah on a short visit to look around and see what they can see, and return and report."⁵ Two months later, when Brigham Young met with Captain Stewart Van Vliet, an army quartermaster, Brigham Young pointedly observed, "Congress has promptly sent investigating committees to Kansas and other places, as occasion has

⁴Shirley Greenwood Jones, "Brigham Young's Rhetoric: A Critical and Cultural Analysis of Key Sermons in Five Rhetorical Events" (Ph.D. diss., University of Utah, 1992), 216-17.

⁵"Advice to President Buchanan and Cabinet," unsigned editorial, *Deseret News*, 1 July 1857, 132.

required; but upon the merest rumor it has sent 2,000 armed soldiers to destroy the people of Utah, without investigating the subject at all."⁶ Young's proclamation of martial law a few days later repeated the complaint: "The Government has not condescended to cause an investigation committee . . . to inquire into and ascertain the truth, as is customary in such cases. . . . We are condemned [by] . . . corrupt officials who have brought false accusations against us to screen themselves in their own infamy."⁷

Buchanan also chose not to consult congressional leaders or convene a special session of Congress during the normal March-November recess. Winfield Scott, who had earlier relocated army headquarters to an island in New York harbor, was potentially connected to Washington, D.C., by ferry, telegraph, and overnight mail; however, Buchanan did not seek either Scott's return to the capital or his views. Consequently, the expeditionary force was already initiated when Scott wrote a memorandum to Secretary of War John B. Floyd dated 26 May 1857 urging that the campaign be delayed until 1858 for logistical reasons and better weather; Buchanan later stated that he was unaware of this document.⁸

Aside from poor or no communications with Congress and the general-in-chief at critical times, Buchanan's personal style of communication also caused misunderstandings within his own cabinet and family. For example, early in Buchanan's administration, Vice President John C. Breckenridge attempted to meet with him. Buchanan's response was such that Breckenridge felt that he had been rebuffed and told to communicate indirectly through Harriet Lane, the bachelor president's young niece and official hostess. Infuriated, Breckenridge withdrew to Kentucky for an extended period. Buchanan later explained that referring him to Harriet Lane was intended to facilitate access rather than impede it, but damage had already been done to Buchanan's relationship with the vice president. During

⁶Quoted in Susa Young Gates and Leah D. Widtsoe, *The Life Story of Brigham Young* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1930), 177-78.

⁷Proclamation of Governor Brigham Young, 15 September 1857, *The Utah Expedition*, 35th Cong., 1st Sess., 1857-58, Serial 956, House Exec. Doc. 71, 34-35.

⁸See M. Hamlin Cannon, "Winfield Scott and the Utah Expedition," *Military Affairs* 5 (Fall 1941): 208-11.

the secession crisis of 1860-61, Buchanan could not bring himself to meet Floyd face to face and, even after Floyd was indicted for irregularities in financing the Utah War, left the unpleasant task of firing him to Breckenridge.

Brigham Young's temperament and style were radically different from Buchanan's. He was neither ill nor aged and certainly not lawyerly nor crabbed. Yet with all of his personal leadership skills, Young was capable at times of plunging prematurely into action or lapsing into apparent passivity without probing for the full facts. Three crucial incidents during the Utah War demonstrate his temperament:

1. During August-September 1857, Young, without consulting Buchanan or Secretary of State Lewis Cass, declared martial law, sealed Utah's borders, mobilized the territorial militia, and committed it against the U.S. Army—acts unprecedented in American history until Fort Sumter.

2. When more than 120 members of the Fancher party were slaughtered at Mountain Meadows in September 1857, Young declined to investigate thoroughly, even though the Nauvoo Legion, Indians, and LDS members involved were all under his ultimate authority as militia commander, superintendent of Indian affairs, and/or Church president. Weeks later when John D. Lee, major of the Nauvoo Legion, came to Salt Lake City to report on the massacre, Young cut him off, testifying nearly twenty years later: "[Lee] called at my Office and had much to say with regard to the Indians, their being stirred up to anger and threatening the settlements of the whites; and then commenced giving an account of the massacre. I told him to stop, as from what I had already learned by rumor, I did not wish my feelings harrowed up by a recital of details."⁹

3. Later in the Utah War with Johnston's troops wintering at Fort Bridger, Young put thirty thousand Mormon refugees on the road to an unannounced destination, clinging to the unverified and

⁹Brigham Young, "Response to Ninth Interrogatory," affidavit of Brigham Young subscribed under date of 30 July 1875, Huntington Library, San Marino, California, reprinted in Epilogue and Appendix V of Hugh C. Garner, "Two Trials: A Study in Duplicity and Betrayal," unpublished manuscript, Salt Lake City, 1994, photocopy in MacKinnon's possession.

quite mistaken idea that an oasis in the deserts of Utah's White Mountains would provide them with refuge.¹⁰

With respect to style, it could be argued that one of Brigham Young's earliest and perhaps unwitting blunders was the use of inflammatory rhetoric to motivate his flock. For example, during the Reformation of 1856-57, dramatic language in at least three of Young's sermons created perceptions in the minds of some Mormons and many Gentiles that a doctrine of "blood atonement" or ecclesiastical murder was being promulgated in Salt Lake City. On 2 March 1856, Young preached: "The time is coming when justice will be laid to the line and righteousness to the plummet; when we shall take the old broad sword and ask, 'are you for God?' and if you are not heartily on the Lord's side, you will be hewn down."¹¹ Six months later, he continued the theme:

There are sins that men commit for which they cannot receive forgiveness in this world, or that which is to come, and if they had their eyes open to see their true condition, they would be perfectly willing to have their blood spilt upon the ground. . . . I know, when you hear my brethren telling about cutting people off from the earth, that you consider it is strong doctrine; but it is to save them, not destroy them. . . . I have had men come to me and offer their lives to atone for their sins.¹²

On 18 February 1857, Young had more stern messages for LDS backsliders: "Suppose that [a man] . . . has committed a sin that he knows will deprive him of that exaltation which he desires . . . and also knows that by having his blood shed he will atone for that sin and be saved. . . . Is there a man or woman in this house but what would say, 'shed my blood, that I may be saved . . . ' . . . If [a man] wants salvation and it is necessary to spill his blood on the earth in order that he may be saved, spill it."¹³

¹⁰Stott, *Search for Sanctuary*, 215.

¹¹*Deseret News*, 12 March 1856, quoted in MacKinnon, "President James Buchanan and the Utah Expedition: A Question of Expediency Rather Than Principle" (senior honors essay, Yale University History Department, 1960), 22.

¹²In B. H. Roberts, *A Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 6 vols. (Provo, Utah: BYU Press, 1965), 4:130.

¹³*Deseret News*, 18 February 1857, in MacKinnon, "President James Buchanan," 23-24.

It is also possible to see rhetorical excess in Brigham Young's 1851 comment, as reported by a federal judge, that former U.S. President Zachary Taylor "is dead and in hell, and I am glad of it." John Bernhisel denied to President Millard Fillmore that Young had made such a comment; he had been present and the judge had not. Unfortunately, Young candidly stated in the judge's presence: "I love the government and the Constitution of the United States but I do not love the d_____ rascals who administer the government. I know Zachary Taylor is dead and damned and I cannot help it."¹⁴ Shocked federal appointees read in such statements incitements to Church-inspired murder, disloyalty, and rebellion; and the Mormon image in the eastern United States and California suffered accordingly.

Such language was particularly shocking because it contrasted so sharply with the nineteenth-century American tradition of presidential restraint. Buchanan, for instance, did not make public addresses except during his election campaign. Martin Van Buren was partially ostracized for a minor violation of this tradition, and Andrew Johnson's public comments were described as "intemperate, inflammatory, and scandalous harangues" in Article 10 of his impeachment proceedings.¹⁵ It can thus be argued that Young's choice of words over the years contributed to the clamor for an armed expedition against Utah.

In short, the communications lag between Salt Lake City and Washington aggravated the deterioration of federal-Mormon relations; but Buchanan's and Brigham Young's personal styles also played a role. Young's sometimes inflammatory language intensified a volatile situation; while Buchanan's lawyerly cunning, passive aggression, and nonconfrontational style worked against the resolution of a situation that might have been defused through the use of creativity, risky accommodation, and unambiguous plain speaking.

¹⁴In Leland Hargrave Creer, *Utah and the Nation* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1929), 95 note 3, 97.

¹⁵Walter Berns, "The Prattling Presidency," *Wall Street Journal*, 31 October 1984, A-14. See also Jeffrey K. Tulis, *The Rhetorical Presidency* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987).

ISSUES IN BUCHANAN'S UTAH POLICY

The background against which Buchanan shaped his Utah policy included several interrelated elements. The first was the well-known cumulative effect of negative reports from federal appointees serving in Utah, beginning with the so-called runaway officials of 1851-52 who had returned east to report a hostile Mormon population. Five years later, a second group of self-defined refugees, led by Associate Supreme Court Justice W. W. Drummond, fled Utah and reported more perceptions of disloyalty and rebellion on the part of Utah's people and their Mormon leaders. Throughout the 1850s, then, federal appointees who did not approve of the Mormon approach to Indian relations, land titles, or the administration of justice filled departmental files in Washington with complaints of Mormon disloyalty and calls for replacing Young as governor, often at bayonet point.¹⁶

A second major factor was the widespread distaste produced in the United States and abroad by the 1852 public announcement of Mormon plural marriage.¹⁷

Third were the political interpretations that antislavery spokesmen attached to the controversial doctrine of "popular sovereignty," the feature of the Compromise of 1850 which left the explosive issue of slavery in the territories to be settled by local option. The fact that Utah Territory was one of the precedents for the 1854 Kansas-Nebraska bill almost guaranteed that debate would exploit the ambiguity of that bill's pledge "to leave the people thereof perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way." When the Democrats offered Buchanan and "popular sovereignty" to the electorate in 1856, the new Republican party's platform insisted that "it is both the right and the imperative duty of Congress to prohibit in the Territories those twin relics of barbarism—Polygamy, and Slavery."¹⁸ Although Buchanan won the presidency in 1856, the

¹⁶Furniss, *The Mormon Conflict*, 21-94; Campbell, *Establishing Zion*, 201-32; MacKinnon, "President James Buchanan," 7-34; Everett L. Cooley, "Carpetbag Rule—Territorial Government in Utah," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 26 (April 1959): 107-29.

¹⁷Poll, "The Mormon Question Enters National Politics," 117-31, emphasizes the impact of plural marriage.

partisan clamor placed him under heavy pressure to demonstrate that Democratic dogma did not protect Mormonism or Governor Young.

President Franklin Pierce had offered Utah's governorship to Lieutenant Colonel E. J. Steptoe when Young's term expired in 1854. Steptoe, who was in Utah with a small military detachment to investigate the Gunnison massacre, declined in the midst of rumors of inappropriate behavior; Young continued to serve.¹⁹ Apart from naming Judge Drummond and a few other territorial functionaries, Pierce took no further action toward Utah, but the lame-duck period of his administration (November 1856-March 1857) was dominated by two problems that affected his successor's Utah policy.

The first problem was turmoil in Kansas Territory, where Governor John W. Geary, having calmed the storm after the proslavery raid on Lawrence, Kansas, and John Brown's retaliatory Pottawatomie massacre, had resigned in disgust. Buchanan's choice as his replacement was Robert J. Walker, a former senator from Mississippi and a member of President James Polk's cabinet. Walker accepted, provided that Brevet Brigadier General William S. Harney and fifteen hundred federal troops be designated a *posse comitatus*, available to him for law enforcement and peace-keeping purposes.²⁰

The second development was the Dred Scott case, handed down by the Supreme Court two days after Buchanan's inauguration. This ill-starred decision and the controversy over whether it had earlier been leaked to Buchanan revitalized the "twin relics" argument and forced the new administration to confront civil conflict in Kansas and the Mormon question in Utah.²¹

¹⁸Francis N. Thorpe, ed., *Federal and State Constitutions, Colonial Charters, and Other Organized Laws of the States, Territories and Colonies . . .* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1909), 2:1175; Kirk H. Porter, ed., *National Party Platforms* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1924), 48.

¹⁹Poll, "The Mormon Question Enters National Politics," 38-41; Roy F. Nichols, *Franklin Pierce: Young Hickory of the Granite Hills* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1931), 402-3.

²⁰Stampp, *America in 1857*, 159-60. A *posse comitatus* is a group available to be summoned to help keep the peace.

²¹*Ibid.*, 68-109. Stampp shows how the Supreme Court's effort to deny congressional authority to prohibit slavery in the territories intensified the sectional conflict. Because Congress did not convene until December 1857, Buchanan's early

As initiated during his first three months in office, Buchanan's Utah policy was simple: Replace Brigham Young with a non-Mormon governor, fill the major territorial offices with other non-Mormons, send a military *posse comitatus* to insure that they could do their jobs, and transfer the Utah mail contract from a Mormon to a non-Mormon agent.

ORIGINS OF THE WAR: CONSPIRACY THEORIES

The rationale and timing of these decisions have been both unclear and much misunderstood. Compounding this ambiguity is the historiographical phenomenon by which, over the years, three principal explanations—all conspiracy theories of sorts—have been advanced to explain Buchanan's decision: (1) he wanted to benefit commercial friends of the administration, especially the huge western freighting firm of Russell, Majors, and Waddell; (2) he wanted to divert national attention from Kansas's explosive slavery dispute; and (3) he wanted to station federal troops far away from potential involvement in suppressing a southern secession movement. All three theories remain unproven, but each offers a simple and, at times, appealing explanation of a military campaign rooted in a complex, decades-long flow of events.

There was, in fact, a sort of "contractors' war," but patronage and greed were unattractive by-products of the Utah War rather than its source. Neither multiple congressional investigations nor an examination of the papers of Russell, Majors, and Waddell and its partners yield evidence of any other conclusion, although the Buchanan administration's record of laxness, insensitivity, and boldness in dispensing patronage, especially during 1858-60, has led some historians to project this record back onto the administration's earliest days.

Similarly, the concept of a pro-southern cabal in Buchanan's cabinet has been used to explain the 1860-61 secession movement, the Union Army's early reverses, and the origins of the Utah War. However, notwithstanding the Confederate war records or sympa-

actions concerning Kansas, the Dred Scott decision, and Utah were taken independently of Congress.

thies of four cabinet secretaries, it is yet to be established that any or all of them were traitors, let alone prescient ones, as early as 1857.²²

The third conspiracy theory is the complex and promising view that Buchanan saw a military expedition to Utah as a way to syphon soldiers out of Kansas. Robert Tyler, son of the former president and then a prominent Pennsylvania Democrat, suggested to Buchanan in April 1857 that such a strategy could reduce the public uproar over Kansas by minimizing clashes between federal troops and emotional civilian factions there while undertaking military action against the unpopular Mormons. By the spring of 1857, it was clear that Kansas, rather than Utah, was Buchanan's greater worry; nonetheless, it is possible that his health, personal style, and reactions to pressure made irresistible the temptation to yield to public demands for action against Utah.²³

Irrespective of conspiracy theories, it is clear that replacing Brigham Young as governor was on Buchanan's agenda when he took office, despite efforts by Kane and Bernhisel to persuade him to wait. The designation of a new appointee was delayed by the press of other business and Buchanan's protracted and unsuccessful efforts to persuade Ben McCulloch to take the job. Only after considering several other candidates did Buchanan settle upon Alfred Cumming, former mayor of Augusta, Georgia, and Superintendent of Indian Affairs in

²²Yet to be conducted is a rigorous examination of the personal and official papers of these men: Secretary of War John B. Floyd, Secretary of the Treasury Howell Cobb, Secretary of the Interior Jacob Thompson, and Secretary of the Navy Isaac Toucey. Also to be examined are the papers of other cabinet officials, Winfield Scott, Harriet Lane (Buchanan's niece and official White House hostess), James Buchanan Henry (Buchanan's nephew and personal secretary), and John Appleton (the cabinet secretary) for the crucial decision period of January-May 1857. The James Buchanan papers in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania shed little light on the topic. Philip S. Klein, *President James Buchanan: A Biography* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1962), the most recent scholarly biography, contains several errors in its eight-paragraph account of the Utah conflict, 315-17. Earlier works about Buchanan, including Buchanan's defense of his presidency, focus on sectional issues.

²³Again, additional research in the papers of those close to Buchanan is necessary before firm conclusions can be drawn. See William P. MacKinnon, "125 Years of Conspiracy Theories: Origins of the Utah Expedition of 1857-58," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 52 (Summer 1984): 227-28; Furniss, *The Mormon Conflict*, 70-75; and Poll, "The Mormon Question Enters National Politics," 92-94.

Nebraska Territory, who came to Washington in May with Kane's endorsement and some questions of his own. His letter of appointment was not issued until 13 July, after the first components of the Utah Expedition were already on the move.²⁴

No conclusive evidence explains why and precisely when the president decided to send a military force along with the new governor. Documentation on this part of the Buchanan administration is fragmentary, due partly to the destruction and loss of many of Buchanan's and John B. Floyd's personal papers and the absence of internal memoranda from the president's cabinet and War Department. What is known is that, in April 1857, significant troop movements were ordered. On 28 May, Scott announced the creation of a Military Department of Utah and the intent to garrison it with a multi-regiment expeditionary force of 2,500 infantry, artillery, and dragoons to be assembled at Fort Leavenworth.²⁵ A few weeks later, Scott's aide-de-camp informed the expedition's commander that "the community and, in part, the civil government of Utah Territory are in a state of substantial rebellion against the laws and authority of the United States."²⁶ Buchanan's and Floyd's first public comment came in the president's December 1857 message to Congress, when Johnston's army was already bivouacked in discomfort at Fort Bridger. Buchanan then complained that Brigham Young had "for several years . . . been industriously employed in collecting and fabricating arms and munitions of war. . . . This is the first rebellion which has existed in our territories, and humanity

²⁴Furniss, *The Mormon Conflict*, 96-97, notes that Cumming had by then gone to Fort Leavenworth, presumably to look into the military arrangements. The three federal judges and superintendent of Indian affairs, all patronage appointees, went west with Cumming, but their influence on 1857 events was minimal.

²⁵General Circular, 28 May 1857, in LeRoy R. Hafen and Ann W. Hafen, eds., *The Utah Expedition, 1857-1858: A Documentary Account* (Glendale, Calif.: Arthur H. Clark, 1958), 27-29 or U.S. Congress, House, *The Utah Expedition*, 35th Cong. 1st Sess., 1857-58, House Exec. Doc. 71, Serial 956, 4-5. These documents are analyzed in William P. MacKinnon, "The Buchanan Spoils System and the Utah Expedition: Careers of W. M. F. Magraw and John M. Hockaday," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 31 (Spring 1963): 127-50.

²⁶Lieutenant Colonel George W. Lay, Letter to Brevet Brigadier General William S. Harney, 29 June 1857, *Utah Expedition*, House Exec. Doc. 71, 71.

itself requires that we should put it down in such a manner that it shall be the last."²⁷

These few documents add little to Buchanan's later official response to a congressional request for information. It seems likely that Judge Drummond's inflammatory letter of resignation, which reached Buchanan and the press early in April, accelerated the search for a governor and injected the idea of a *posse comitatus* into the planning.²⁸ Kenneth Stampp, whose exhaustive study of 1857 politics found no "smoking gun" document to identify the source of the idea, believes that one or more of the candidates for governor may have argued successfully to apply Kansas's solution to Utah's problems.²⁹ Although undocumented, a promise of military force may have been the reassurance that Cumming sought when he met with Buchanan and Lewis Cass, to whom territorial governors reported.

Certainly the Drummond sensation generated public demand for military intervention. The editor of *Harper's Weekly* was bellicose: "We do not call for fire or slaughter. No Highland clan sort of operation—no Glencoe massacre. But, at whatever cost, the United States must declare and vindicate its supremacy." The Democratic *New York Herald*, once a friendly observer of the Mormon scene, suggested a "sensible, judicious governor, with soldiers enough to constitute him a bodyguard." Robert Tyler wrote to Buchanan, "The eyes and hearts of the nation may be made to find so much interest in Utah as to forget Kansas!"³⁰

²⁷James D. Richardson, comp., "First Annual Message of President Buchanan," *Messages and Papers of the Presidents, 1789-1897* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1897), 5:455-56; see also MacKinnon, "125 Years of Conspiracy Theories," 216-18.

²⁸Moorman and Sessions, *Camp Floyd and the Mormons*, 10-15, provide a detailed account of Drummond's activities and support this conclusion.

²⁹See Stampp, *America in 1857*. Stampp also expressed these ideas in a 23 October 1990 telephone conversation with Poll, a student in Stampp's 1947 Civil War seminar. Drummond offered to accept the governorship "upon the condition that I can have the aid of a Military force sufficient to enable me to enforce obedience to the Laws." Drummond, Letter to Attorney General Jeremiah S. Black, 18 April 1857, Black Papers, Reel 3, Library of Congress.

³⁰*Harper's Weekly*, 25 April 1857; *New York Herald*, 3 May 1857; Tyler to Buchanan, 27 April 1857, all as quoted in Stampp, *America in 1857*, 201.

Weeks of public and private discussion ensued before the War Department issued Harney his orders. From the beginning, they differed sufficiently from the instructions subsequently given to Cumming by the State Department to produce misunderstandings during the campaign and for many months thereafter.³¹

Nearly simultaneously, on 10 June, Buchanan canceled the Mormon contract to carry the U.S. mail between Independence and Salt Lake City. Brigham Young had entered into this contract through the Brigham Young Express and Carrying Company during the winter of 1856-57, and had, through Hiram Kimball as agent, begun carrying the monthly mail in December 1856. Anti-Mormon sentiment, political patronage, and concern for secure communications with the Utah Expedition apparently motivated the cancellation. Either through carelessness or a lapse in communications, notice of the cancellation did not reach BYX representatives until they tried unsuccessfully to pick up the mail in St. Louis about 1 July.³² The cancellation and its awkward implementation strengthened the impression in the Great Basin that a secret anti-Mormon campaign was afoot.

There is no evidence that either Buchanan or the War Department intended to keep the Cumming appointment or the Utah Expedition secret.³³ The press had speculated about such possible developments during the winter, and speculation gave way to news reports as the administration acted. No attempt was made to prevent the Mormon mail carriers from returning to Utah or to interfere with Mormon immigrants or other travelers en route to the Great Basin. Indeed, casual contacts between military personnel and Mormon

³¹Furniss, *The Mormon Conflict*, 97-99; Moorman and Sessions, *Camp Floyd and the Mormons*, 37-41, 70, 114.

³²Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom*, 162-70.

³³Klein, *President James Buchanan*, 316, states that an official notice of Cumming's appointment was in the mail held up in St. Louis, but the sources he cites do not support his claim. Moorman and Sessions, *Camp Floyd and the Mormons*, 16-17, state that "the president issued secret military orders directing General Winfield Scott to collect an army to march against the Mormons," but they give no documentation. Scott's 26 May memorandum to Floyd recommending delay was confidential, but his 28 May circular ordering troops to Fort Leavenworth became public knowledge almost immediately. Poll, "The Mormon Question Enters National Politics," 90-91, 77-80.

travelers were apparently trouble-free except for abusive and threatening comments from soldiers to Mormon agents in Kansas. All of this, of course, changed once Mormon raiders began harassing the government supply trains which had moved onto the plains in advance of the soldiers. Harney had been ordered to be prepared for anything; but his instructions to Captain Stewart Van Vliet, who was sent ahead to make supply arrangements for the Utah Expedition, suggest that he and the War Department did not anticipate serious trouble. This situation changed when Van Vliet was turned away from Great Salt Lake City in mid-September with an earful of rhetoric but no quartermaster contracts.³⁴

Harney's own deportment supports the same interpretation. He was quite willing to stay in turbulent Kansas and let Colonel Albert Sidney Johnston take charge of the Utah Expedition on 29 August. Harney was a fighting general, and the Utah assignment promised only garrison duty in the Great Basin at that point. A few weeks later, however, when a fight with the Mormons seemed likely, he wrote directly to Buchanan, offering suggestions on Utah policy and expressing appreciation for Buchanan's reported intention to give Harney the expanded Utah command.³⁵

BUCHANAN'S MISSTEPS

In summary, Buchanan's initial "blunders" included implementing a decision to send a new governor to Utah that, under the circumstances, could be defended as understandable and appropriate, depending upon one's point of view. However, reacting without inquiry to alarmist reports about conditions in the territory, Buchanan hastily launched a large and costly military operation that was hampered by poor communications and poor coordination. Beset by medical problems and exhausted by hordes of office-seekers, Bucha-

³⁴Furniss, *The Mormon Conflict*, 99-107.

³⁵Harney, Letter to Buchanan, 9 October and 29 November 1857, Buchanan Papers, reel 33, Library of Congress. Harney did not receive command of the army's new Utah Department until after the death of the first appointee, Brigadier General Persifor F. Smith on 17 May 1858. Harney never served in Utah. See Moorman and Sessions, *Camp Floyd and the Mormons*, 31, 54-55; Wilford Hill LeCheminant, "A Crisis Averted? General Harney and the Change in Command of the Utah Expedition," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 51 (Winter 1983): 30-45.

nan then moved so slowly to dispatch a governor, a military commander, or an interim spokesman, that uncertainty, alarm, and religious enthusiasm compounded in far-away Utah to produce, like a self-fulfilling prophecy, the Mormon "rebellion" that his policy intended to suppress. Cancellation of the Mormon mail contract did not keep news of the administration's slowly developing plans from reaching Utah, but it contributed to the perception that Buchanan's intentions were hostile. The fact that Van Vliet, the first quasi-official embodiment of those intentions, sought accommodations for what might be viewed as an army of occupation only reinforced this impression.³⁶

YOUNG'S MISJUDGMENTS

Many widely read treatments of the Utah War have been uncritical or laudatory of Brigham Young's responses to Buchanan's flawed program. For example, a century ago Bancroft's *History of Utah* described the Utah Expedition as "an ill-advised measure" and commented that the Mormon response "won the respect and almost the esteem of a large portion of the gentile world." Bancroft further argued that when Brigham Young received the news publicly on 24 July and announced a policy of armed resistance to his people, "his genius rose superior to all obstacles."³⁷

In a 1940 volume from which a generation of college students learned Utah history, Andrew Love Neff wrote: "The brilliantly conceived and executed maneuvers attending every stage of the offensive-defensive program of President-Governor Young during the Utah War reached their culminating climax in the spectacular heroism of the 'exodus.'"³⁸

³⁶Furniss, *The Mormon Conflict*, 62-94, offers a comprehensive treatment of "causes of the war" with which we disagree more in details and emphases than in general substance. As he should be, Furniss is particularly severe on Buchanan for acting without investigation (67-70).

³⁷Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of Utah* (San Francisco: The History Company, 1890), 538, 505.

³⁸Andrew Love Neff, *History of Utah, 1847 to 1869* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1940), 494. Moorman and Sessions, *Camp Floyd and the Mormons*, 40, also describe the move south as "another masterful strategic maneuver on the part of Brigham Young."

The most extensive treatment of the Utah War before Furniss, and probably the most influential in shaping contemporary Mormon opinion, is that written by B. H. Roberts in 1930:

In the light of experiences of the Latter-day Saints, and in the absence of any clear understanding of what were the intentions of the administration . . . it was not possible for the Latter-day Saint Church leaders to be so assured of the pacific intentions of the administration. The "Expedition" was an army, and an army meant war, not peace. It meant coercion, and . . . the subversion of their constitutional rights, the destruction of their liberties . . . perhaps even, their community existence. Such being their conception, . . . they met the issue as brave and strong men, conscious of the uprightness of their own course and intentions . . . ; they resolved upon resistance. Their descendants would have less cause to be proud of them as Americans had they not, under all the circumstances, resolved upon resistance.³⁹

Leonard Arrington, whose understanding of Brigham Young in the Utah period is magisterial, has noted that the Utah War cost the pioneers dearly, but he did not pass judgment on the decisions of the Mormon leadership.⁴⁰ The most comprehensive recent history of the Church describes the Saints' reaction to the Utah Expedition as "just what might have been expected."⁴¹ Furniss is critical of Mormon attitudes and conduct toward the federal government and its representatives both prior to and during the conflict, but he treats Young's decisions as understandable under the circumstances.⁴² Clifford Stott

³⁹Roberts, *A Comprehensive History of the Church*, 4:262-63.

⁴⁰Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom*, 194, acknowledges that the pioneer decade of "achievement and social independence" ended in 1858 "in poverty and disappointment." His *Brigham Young: American Moses*, 250-68, describes but does not evaluate Young's Utah War leadership. Arrington and Davis Bitton, *The Mormon Experience: A History of the Latter-day Saints* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1979), 169, characterize the Utah War as "a confrontation that had been heralded as apocalyptic but had always had something of the incongruity of comic opera" and assign responsibility only to Buchanan.

⁴¹James B. Allen and Glen M. Leonard, *The Story of the Latter-day Saints*, 2nd ed. rev. and enl. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1976), 308.

⁴²Furniss, *The Mormon Conflict*, 168. Most of the non-Mormon and anti-Mormon writers who have discussed the Utah War have been similarly critical, even bitter, but they have seen the response of the Mormons as understandable, even heroic. See, for example, T. B. H. Stenhouse, *The Rocky Mountain Saints . . .* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1873), 345-99.

and Eugene Campbell note that the 1858 move south was predicated on an erroneous understanding of the Great Basin's geography.⁴³ But only Campbell, basing his judgment more on the outcome of the Utah War than on the feasibility of the policies pursued, anticipates the thesis of this article: "General Johnston's army was an unfortunate episode that could have been avoided. Leadership on both sides share the blame equally."⁴⁴

Both doctrine and experience shaped the Mormon reaction to Buchanan's initiatives. Brigham Young presided over an estimated thirty-five to forty thousand Latter-day Saints in the Great Basin. Whether all of them had experienced the traumas endured by the Church in Missouri and Illinois is less important than the central role those persecutions played in the Mormon group mind and in the Mormon conceptualization of their history. Militant millennialism shaped their world view. Except for a dissenting handful, neither the large numbers of European-born converts who had never experienced political democracy nor the American Saints for whom democracy had often meant mob rule were disposed to challenge Brigham Young's leadership or the radical formula, "The Kingdom or nothing."⁴⁵ The fiery Missouri sermons of Sidney Rigdon in the 1830s resonated twenty years later in the public utterances of Heber C. Kimball, George A. Smith, and other leaders—including Brigham Young—in early Utah. The conviction that Zion and Babylon were locked in a confrontation to be resolved soon in the Saints' favor by Christ's second coming moved Jedediah M. Grant, one of Young's counselors, to declare in a March 1856 sermon:

We are lawful and loyal citizens of the government of the United States, and a few poor, miserable, pusillanimous, rotten stinking rebels, come here and threaten us with the armies of the United States. We wish all such characters to understand that if the generals and armies and those who wish to send them, are as corrupt as those who threaten

⁴³Stott, *Search for Sanctuary*, 215; Campbell, *Establishing Zion*, 247-48; Richard D. Poll, "The Move South," *Brigham Young University Studies* 29 (Fall 1989): 66.

⁴⁴Campbell, *Establishing Zion*, 252.

⁴⁵Young, sermon, 9 August 1857, quoted in Campbell, *Establishing Zion*, 239.

us, and as vile as most of those heretofore sent, we defy them, and the sooner we come in contact with them the better.⁴⁶

The revivalist Reformation of late 1856 and early 1857, which stemmed from leadership concern that the devotion and obedience of the Saints might be flagging, contributed to the Utah War in several ways. It inspired oratory and acts of violence sufficiently disquieting to produce more "runaway officials" and charges of rebellion in Utah. It recalled earlier mistreatment of the Latter-day Saints, emphasizing it with a fervor that disposed Mormons to see Buchanan's policy as persecution. It also brought the Mormon communities—both followers and leaders—to a level of zeal and commitment that profoundly affected and polarized their responses to the federal government's undertakings.⁴⁷

Buchanan's policies left Brigham Young and his people with four options:

1. Accept the proposed governor and military garrison without a fight.
2. Resist the governor and Utah Expedition by force.
3. Try to negotiate a compromise with Buchanan that would keep the troops out.
4. Abandon the Mormon settlements, relocating elsewhere in the Great Basin or beyond.

There is evidence that Mormon leaders considered all of these options during the summer of 1857 and the winter and spring that followed. Had Buchanan acted quickly and made his peaceful intentions clear to Young as soon as possible, Young might have chosen

⁴⁶Grant, sermon in the Tabernacle, 1 March 1856, published in *Deseret News*, 12 March 1856, quoted in Furniss, *The Mormon Conflict*, 94.

⁴⁷See Paul H. Peterson, "The Mormon Reformation" (Ph.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1981). B. H. Roberts was probably correct in holding that such extreme teachings as "blood atonement" were not meant to be taken literally, but this stout defender of the Saints nevertheless regretted the "overzealous words" and "ill-advised things" which were said during this crusade against sin. Roberts, *A Comprehensive History*, 4:126-30, 242-44. See also Thomas G. Alexander, "Wilford Woodruff and the Mormon Reformation of 1855-57," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 25 (Summer 1992): 25-39; and Juanita Brooks, *The Mountain Meadows Massacre* (1962; new ed., Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991), 3-59; Jones, "Brigham Young's Rhetoric," 201-37.

the first option (accommodation). After all, Young had said in 1855, "When the President appoints another man to be Governor of Utah, you may acknowledge that the Lord has done it."⁴⁸ But when John Bernhisel left Washington late in April, the *posse comitatus* aspect of administration planning was still unresolved, and he was unable to give the Utah leaders any positive assurances when he reached Salt Lake City on 29 May. With the press of personal business, Kane had lost touch with Buchanan, so there was no new information from that quarter. Consequently the impact of Drummond's charges and press speculation about military intervention fed the uneasiness in Utah. According to Hosea Stout, a prominent Mormon attorney, the morning session in the Tabernacle on Sunday, 14 June, "was taken up in reading to the congregation the different accounts against the mormons as came in last mail." He added, "It appears that there is now through out the U.S. the most bitter, revengeful, and mobocratic feeling against us that has ever been manifested."⁴⁹

The sermons of Young and his associates demonstrate that the initial decision to resist stemmed at least as much from apocalyptic as strategic considerations. On 11 August Young wrote in his diary: "Fixed my detirmination not to let any troops enter this territory . . . , and make every preparation to give the U. S. a Sound drubbing I do not feel to be imposed upon any more." As late as 18 October he declared in the Tabernacle, "We are free. There is no yoke upon us now, and we will never put it on again." The voluminous instructions that went out from Church headquarters after the army movement was confirmed in July are fatalistic in tone. For example, the letter Samuel W. Richards carried to the eastern United States and Europe instructed all the missionaries to come home and "let the world go to the Devil, while we are all defending ourselves against our enemies."⁵⁰

⁴⁸Young, 18 February 1855, *Journal of Discourses*, 27 vols. (London and Liverpool: LDS Booksellers Depot, 1855-86), 2:183. He expressed a similar idea to Erastus Snow in a letter 28 February 1855, quoted in Arrington, *Brigham Young*, 247.

⁴⁹In *On the Mormon Frontier: The Diary of Hosea Stout, 1844-1861*, edited by Juanita Brooks (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1964), 2:627-28; see also Wilford Woodruff, *Wilford Woodruff's Journal, 1833-1898*, typescript, edited by Scott G. Kenny, 9 vols. (Midvale, Utah: Signature Books, 1983-85): 5:4.

⁵⁰Cooley, *Diary of Brigham Young 1857*, 58; October letter as quoted in Stott,

Casting the conflict as a heroic contest between the forces of good and evil probably influenced the ease with which one rather improbable, but dramatic, element of the tradition took shape. The BYX mail carriers, Abraham O. Smoot, Judson L. Stoddard, and Orrin Porter Rockwell, arrived in Great Salt Lake City on the same day, 22 July, that Brigham Young left for the tenth anniversary Pioneer Day celebration in Big Cottonwood Canyon. It is not known whether they saw him in the city. Their failure to rush after him may imply that they felt insufficient urgency, or it may support Everett L. Cooley's suggestion that their arrival in the canyon at noon on 24 July was staged for effect. Tradition has made their appearance an epic event. However, the journals of people who were there suggest that the news did not cause a great sensation. It confirmed earlier reports that troops would be accompanying the new governor, but it left Buchanan's intentions vague.⁵¹

With the rather recent surfacing of a printed version of Governor Young's proclamation of martial law, bearing a 5 August date, several writers have assumed that the order forbidding the army to enter Utah was issued in early August, then reissued in a slightly revised form on 15 September after Van Vliet's visit.⁵² No evidence exists, however, that such a declaration circulated anywhere in August. Lieutenant General Daniel H. Wells, the Nauvoo Legion's military commander, was not assigned to draft a proclamation until 29 August; then Mormon leadership reviewed it in September. Why one printed and apparently uncirculated draft has a 5 August date is unexplained.⁵³

Search for Sanctuary, 27; and Young, Letter to Samuel Richards and George Snyder, 5 August 1857, Brigham Young Letterbooks, Reel 7, LDS Church Archives.

⁵¹Cooley, *Diary of Brigham Young 1857*, 49-53, note 50, also provides evidence that the substance of Buchanan's plan was known in Utah before 24 July.

⁵²See Arrington, *Brigham Young: American Moses*, 254, and Campbell, *Establishing Zion*, 240-41.

⁵³Cooley, *Diary of Brigham Young 1857*, 69-70, 80-81; photocopies of the two versions of the proclamation appear on 82-83. The *Deseret News* published neither version, and the *Millennial Star* carried only an oblique editorial reference to martial law on 19 December 1857. Arrington cites a document in the LDS Church Archives, while Cooley uses a copy in the Marriott Library, University of Utah. Perhaps the only place where originals of both versions may be found is the Western Americana

Ardor and anxiety spurned the option of quiet accommodation. Of the three remaining options, Brigham Young chose the second (resistance) and third (negotiation) in what proved to be a counter-productive combination—then he moved to the fourth option (retreat) at a time and under circumstances when it was neither appropriate nor effective. Ironically, after the expenditure of tremendous material resources and human exertion in trying to avoid the first option, Brigham Young accepted this course of action in June 1858 after all.

With hindsight, it could be argued that the Utah War did not show Brigham Young at his best. On 26 July 1857 he described himself as a “Yankee guesser” who hypothesized that Buchanan was sending the troops “to appease the angry hounds” who were calling for action.⁵⁴ The determination to oppose this invasion did not blind him to the advantages of a negotiated compromise, and he sent Samuel W. Richards in August and John Bernhisel in September to ask Kane to intercede with the administration. “We feel,” he wrote, “that we can rely upon your aid and influence in averting the fearful storm.”⁵⁵ By the time Kane got to Buchanan in November, however, the repercussions of the other half of Young’s policy had made diplomacy immensely more difficult.

The July-August decisions to mobilize the Nauvoo Legion, recall the missionaries, shut down outlying settlements, and organize for defense were responses comparable to Buchanan’s overreaction to the Drummond letter, but they were not irreversible. However, the decisions to turn away Van Vliet, declare martial law, block the Wasatch passes, and harass the supply trains and advance units of the Utah Expedition are hard to reconcile with any peace policy. Young explained these actions to Kane as strategies for delaying the army until negotiations might perhaps lead to its recall. However, their immediate effect was to antagonize the army, stiffen the resolve of the new territorial officials, anger the American public, and make it

Collection, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

⁵⁴In Arrington, *Brigham Young*, 253.

⁵⁵Young, Letter to Kane, 12 September 1857, quoted in Richard D. Poll, *Quixotic Mediator: Thomas L. Kane and the Utah War* (Dello G. Dayton Memorial Lecture, 25 April 1984) (Ogden, Utah: Weber State College Press, 1985), 10.

politically impossible for Buchanan to send Kane to Utah as an official mediator.⁵⁶

In short, the scorched earth policy in combination with the administration's dilatory conduct and the onset of winter *did* keep the army from reaching the Great Basin in 1857. However, it prompted Buchanan's decision to reinforce the Utah Expedition and it complicated Kane's dealings with Alfred Cumming and Albert Sidney Johnston when he reached them in March 1858, by way of Panama and California, as an unofficial peacemaker. These difficulties, in turn, precipitated the unnecessary, costly, and demoralizing move south, an action which was among the greatest judgmental errors of the Utah War.⁵⁷

Brigham Young's actions are understandable if one is willing to credit him, as we do, with sincerely believing what he frequently preached during the long crisis: the second coming of Christ was near. The United States would soon be sundered, and the Mormon priesthood would then correctly apply the principles of the U.S. Constitution in an earthly kingdom of God. All temporal arrangements were, therefore, temporary; God's purposes would be fulfilled. If they sought his guidance, his leadership was sure. Young's pragmatism—*noted by contemporaries and applauded by twentieth century historians*—was entirely tactical; his religious convictions shaped his Utah War strategy as they shaped his life. They gave him confidence in making decisions and equanimity in accepting their consequences, as illustrated by this comment, made 15 August 1858 after stability had been restored:

God controls all the acts of men. When Col Kane Came to visit us He tried to point out a line of Policy for me to persue but I told him I should not turn to the right or left or persue any Course ownly as God dictated me. . . . when he found that I would not be influenced ownly as the spirit of the Lord led me he felt discouraged & said he would not go to the army. But He finally said if I would dictate he would execute I told him as he has been inspired to Come here he should go to the army and do as the spirit led him to do and all would be right and he did so and all was right.⁵⁸

⁵⁶Ibid, 9-11.

⁵⁷Poll, "The Move South," 86-88.

⁵⁸In Woodruff, *Wilford Woodruff's Journal*, 5:208-9; see also Poll, *Quixotic*

The Nauvoo Legionnaires who confronted the Utah Expedition shared the bitter memories and millennial expectations of the Mormon population from which they were mobilized. Individuals varied in their willingness to sacrifice property and comfort for the kingdom's sake; in general, however, their confidence was in God and his spokesman, President Brigham Young.⁵⁹ Fanned by the Reformation and by exhortations to stand fast against the invaders, this confidence could prompt a rough Mormon scout and Nauvoo Legion officer like Lot Smith, in response to a federal wagon master's appeal, "For God's sake, don't burn the wagons," to declare, "It's for his sake that I am going to burn them." This same conviction could prompt John D. Lee, a community leader and Nauvoo Legion officer, to return from the Mountain Meadows massacre, saying, "Thanks be to the Lord God of Israel, who has this day delivered our enemies into our hands."⁶⁰

BLUNDERS AND CONSEQUENCES

Had Brigham Young, a strong leader but a man with no formal military training or experience, played the "Yankee guesser" as skillfully in 1857-58 as he did in many other testing situations during his long and impressive career, Buchanan's blunders might not have compounded into the Utah War. Without the judgmental errors of both Buck and Brigham, the Utah War would not have occurred. Neither leader was temperamentally equipped to change direction with a bold, unconventional, and risky diplomatic stroke of the type

Mediator, 8-9. Although Arrington is cautious about faulting Young's judgment, the image that emerges from *Brigham Young: American Moses* is consistent with this evaluation. So are the personality and ideology which permeate Young's sermons. See Eugene E. Campbell, ed., *The Essential Brigham Young* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1992).

⁵⁹References to grumbling and apostasy are scattered through the documents generated during the Utah War period, but this aspect of the story needs further study. See Poll, "The Move South," 83-85.

⁶⁰Smith quoted in Roberts, *Comprehensive History of the Church*, 4:282; Lee quoted in Brooks, *The Mountain Meadows Massacre*, 139. One of those present when Lot Smith and his detachment destroyed Captain Simpson's wagon train was William F. Cody, then an eleven-year-old civilian teamster for Russell, Majors, and Waddell.

by which Richard M. Nixon resumed relations with China and Jimmy Carter brokered the Camp David accords.

From this avoidable episode, the Buchanan administration and even Abraham Lincoln reaped painful consequences. With cost estimates ranging from \$14 million to \$40 million for the federal side alone, the Utah War drained the U.S. Treasury, already strained by the impact of the Financial Panic of 1857. Whether Buchanan's military humiliation in Utah undercut his subsequent willingness to deal crisply with southern secession in 1860-61 has yet to be determined, but the residual effects of the campaign clearly hurt the Union Army in two ways. First, at the Civil War's beginning, the regular army's largest garrison was in Utah, an inaccessibility about which both Buchanan and Lincoln complained. Second, Lincoln was politically unwilling to mobilize the Nauvoo Legion, then the nation's largest and most experienced militia. Later he decided to protect Utah's strategic telegraph and stage lines, not with Mormon troops, but with a brigade of infantry and cavalry from California and therefore unavailable to the Union Army in the East.

The Mormon community won some media sympathy, but the war's costs were more extensive and enduring than any gain, especially considering the damage to the Nauvoo Legion's and LDS Church's reputation at Mountain Meadows. The move south alone depleted scarce capital, disrupted community and religious life, weakened morale among some Mormons while solidifying it among others, and interrupted missionary, immigration, and colonization efforts. It was a migration that underscored their loss of the dream of a Zion geographically separate from the world of unbelievers. Before them lay the prospect of a federal expeditionary force with thousands of Gentiles; unknown to Utah at the time was the even larger influx of Gentiles that would follow during the Civil War as part of General Patrick E. Connor's California Volunteer Brigade or the stampede of miners that his pro-mineral policy spawned. The ratio of Saints to Gentiles changed forever as a result.

Equally significant, the move south exacerbated tensions and misunderstandings that had produced the conflict in the first place and pushed the successful quest for statehood another forty years into the future.⁶¹ Significantly, when statehood came in 1896, it was for a smaller Utah, one largely dismembered after 1858 to form

Nevada and parts of Wyoming, Idaho, and Colorado. Consequences were geographic as well as political, social, and economic.

Small wonder that at least one poet chose to lampoon both Brigham Young and James Buchanan, as well as their military entanglements, in *Mormoniad*, a hundred-page epic satire published anonymously in Boston during 1858:

Of Brigham Young, the Mormon King,
 And great Buchanan's wrath, I sing;
 How first the Imposter rose, and hurled
 Predictions round the wondering world,
 That all mankind, in time, should be
 Partakers of Polygamy;
 How he, who would not wed [Buchanan], decreed
 The Utah Bull [Young] be doomed to bleed,
 And—when the Kansas war was done,
 And freemen were no longer slaves—
 His legions toward the setting sun
 Drew off, to fill more glorious graves,
 Beyond the Rocky Mountains, in
 The land of salt, and sand, and sin;
 Or—meet reward for murderous deeds—
 Ride back upon their stolen steeds!⁶²

⁶¹Poll, "Utah Expedition," 4:1501.

⁶²Anonymous, *Mormoniad* (Boston: A. Williams & Co., 1858), 5-6.

THE MORMON SETTLEMENT OF SOUTHEASTERN IDAHO, 1845-1900

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THE "IDEA" OF IDAHO

The idea of Idaho enters Mormon history on 31 March 1844, when Joseph Smith sent emissaries to Washington, D.C., hoping that Congress would fund a Mormon expedition to Oregon. President John Tyler and Illinois Senators James Semple and Stephen A. Douglas explained that the slavery question, the British agreement on the joint

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occupation of Oregon, and questions about annexing Texas made such sponsorship unlikely.¹

Instead, Douglas gave Orson Hyde a map of Oregon and a copy of John C. Frémont's report on his explorations of the West.² The next serious discussion of these sources occurs in December 1845, after Joseph Smith's death, when Franklin D. Richards and Parley P. Pratt read aloud from Frémont's journal to the Council of Twelve and others.³ They were especially interested in Frémont's account of traveling up the Platte River, through South Pass, and "into the picturesque valley of Bear river [present-day Idaho], the principal tributary to the Great Salt Lake."⁴

On 21 August 1843, Frémont had described the Bear River Valley:

This river and some of the creeks which I saw, form a natural resting and recruiting station for travellers, now, and in all time to come. The bottoms are extensive; water excellent; timber sufficient; the soil good, and well adapted to the grains and grasses suited to such an elevated region. A military post, and a civilized settlement, would be of great value here; and cattle and horses would do well where grass and salt abound. The lake will furnish exhaustless supplies of salt. All the mountain sides here are covered with a valuable nutritious grass, called bunch grass, from the form in which grows, which has a second growth in the fall. The beasts of the Indians were fat upon it; our own found it a good subsistence; and its quantity will sustain any amount of cattle, [and] make this truly a bucolic region.⁵

Frémont spent twenty-six days exploring the Bear River region

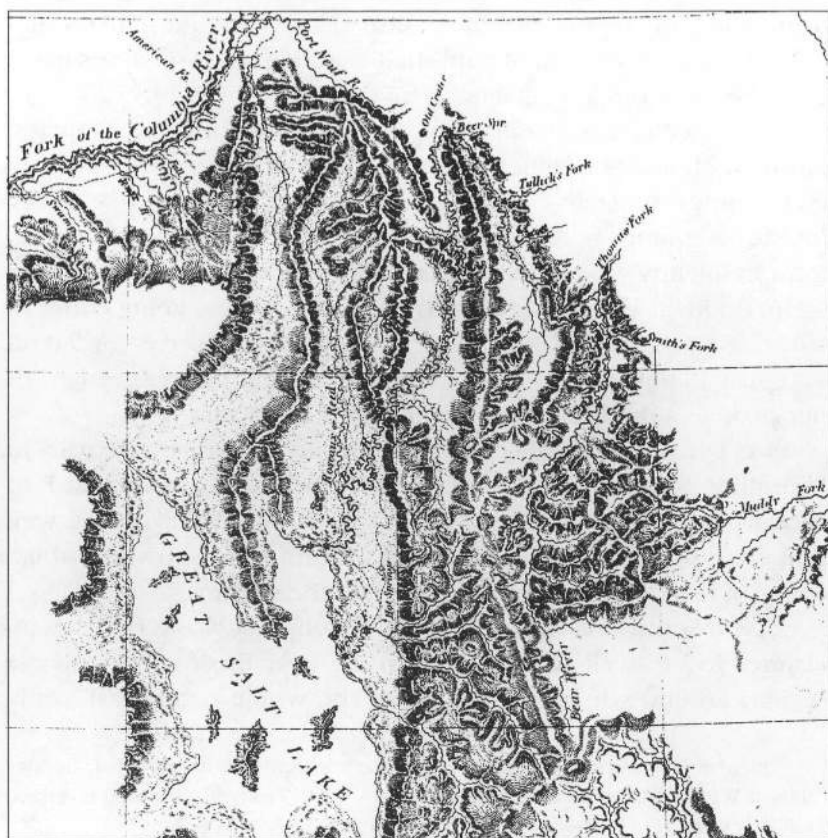
¹Joseph Smith, Jr., et al., *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints*, edited by B. H. Roberts, 7 vols., 2nd ed. rev. (Salt Lake: Deseret Book, 1948 printing), 6:282, 369-75.

²*Ibid.*, 373-76. Douglas had borrowed the book from Frémont's father-in-law, Senator Thomas Hart Benton, and Hyde promised Douglas that he would "not tell anyone in this city" where he got the book.

³*Ibid.*, 7:548, 555-56, 558. They also read from "Hasting's account of California . . . [and] various works written by travelers in those regions."

⁴J. C. Frémont, *Report of the Exploring Expedition to the Rocky Mountains in the Year 1842 and to Oregon and North California in the Years 1843-44* (Washington, D.C.: Gales and Seaton, Printers, 1845), 471. The Mormons published excerpts from Frémont's report in the *Millennial Star* in March, June, and July 1846.

⁵*Ibid.*, 516.



Map 1. The Salt Lake and Bear River region from Map of the Exploring Expedition to the Rocky Mountains in the Year 1842 and to Oregon & North California in the Years 1843-44 by Brevet Capt. J. C. Frémont of the Corps of Topographical Engineers under the orders of Col. J. J. Albert, Chief of the Topographical Bureau. Lithograph. Baltimore, Md.: E. Weber & Co., n.d.

and other streams draining into the Great Salt Lake. His report included maps of the trail across the plains, the Bear River Valley, Soda Springs, and the Great Salt Lake as well as considerable descriptive detail about the elevation, latitude, longitude, game, geological formations, and topography of the Bear Lake, Utah Lake, and the Salt Lake. Close examination of published materials and Frémont's maps gave the Mormons a mental image of the region.

Frémont's report and maps were a major influence on the Mormon choice of a settlement site. Although some preferred Vancouver in present-day Washington or an isolated region in the Yellowstone country north of Fort Laramie, the area they mentioned most frequently was the Bear River Valley.⁶ In August and September 1846, Brigham Young told various people they were going either to "the Great Salt Lake or Bear River Valley."⁷ John D. Lee recorded on 7 August 1846 that the Mormons "intend settling the greater part of our people in the great Basin or the Bear River Valley."⁸

As late as 4 June 1847, with the vanguard company actually in Wyoming, Brigham Young and others heard from residents at Fort Laramie "very favorable reports about Bear River Valley, being well timbered, plenty of good grass, light winters, little snow and abundance of fish, especially spotted trout, in the streams."⁹

Near South Pass, however, the Mormons met Moses Harris, who claimed to be "well acquainted with the Bear River valley and the regions around salt Lake," described "the whole region [as] Sandy

⁶Richard Edmond Bennett, "Mormons at the Missouri: A History of the Latter-day Saints at Winter Quarters and at Kaneshville, 1846-52—A Study in American Overland Trail Migration" (Ph. D. diss., Wayne State University, 1984), 310-33.

⁷John D. Lee, Journal, 7 August 1846, Historical Department of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (hereafter cited as LDS Church Archives).

⁸Elden J. Watson, ed., *Brigham Young Manuscript History, 1846-47*, 7 and 9 August 1846 and 15 February 1847 (Salt Lake City: Elden J. Watson, 1971), 296, 298. Near the junction of the North and South Forks of the Platt River on 2 and 11 May 1847, Wilford Woodruff wrote: "Professor Pratt took an observation for the Latitude & found it . . . agrees with Freemonts observation." *Wilford Woodruff's Journal, 1833-1898*, typescript, edited by Scott G. Kennedy, 9 vols. (Midvale, Utah: Signature Books, 1983-85) 3:166, 173.

⁹William Clayton, *William Clayton's Journal: A Daily Record of the Journey of the Original Company of "Mormon" Pioneers from Nauvoo, Illinois, to the Valley of the Great Salt Lake* (Salt Lake City: Clayton Family Association, 1921), 214.

and destitute of timber and vegetation except for wild sage," but praised Cache Valley "40 miles above the mouth of the Bear River and 30 miles below Bear Springs which might answer our purpose pretty well." Confused by "so contradictory" reports,¹⁰ the travelers next met Jim Bridger who similarly disparaged Bear River and characterized Frémont's journals as inaccurate and unreliable.¹¹ When they arrived on the Bear River thirty-two miles from Fort Bridger, Woodruff described it as "not very interesting," and they chose the trail the Donner Party had used the previous year which led them into the Salt Lake Valley.¹²

FIRST SETTLEMENTS IN IDAHO, 1850S-1860S

In the first rush of settlement during the 1850s, the Mormons planted nearly one hundred towns in a region larger than Texas. The northernmost of these settlements at the time was in Idaho—Fort Limhi, established on a tributary of the Salmon River but later abandoned. The string of settlements extended to San Bernardino in California on the south and westward from Carson Valley (today Nevada) to the Elk Mountain Mission on the east, near what is today Moab, Utah.¹³

The next interest in colonizing southeastern Idaho came in 1860. Although Fort Limhi and other outlying settlements had been abandoned during the 1857-58 Utah War, Brigham Young wanted to keep Utah's borders as large as possible, enhancing the safety of the

¹⁰William Clayton, *An Intimate Chronicle: The Journals of William Clayton*, edited by George D. Smith (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1991), 347-48.

¹¹The pioneers had already come to similar conclusions. On 18 May, William Clayton said Willard Richards handed him Frémont's map, "but [I] soon found the map does not agree with my scale nor Elder Pratt's calculations. I then proposed . . . [we] wait until we get through the journey and take all necessary data and then make a new one instead of making our route on Frémont's." Clayton, *Clayton's Journal*, 159.

¹²Woodruff 3:227-8.

¹³Milton R. Hunter, *Brigham Young the Colonizer* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1940), 361-33; Richard D. Poll, Thomas G. Alexander, Eugene E. Campbell, and David E. Miller, eds., *Utah's History* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1978), 730; D. W. Meinig, "The Mormon Culture Region: Strategies and Patterns in the Geography of the American West, 1847-1964," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 55 (1965): 191-220.

center. Furthermore, Utah's population increased more than 250 percent during the 1850s. The 1860 federal census showed Utah having 40,273 people.¹⁴ As the Mormons established a string of eight settlements in Cache Valley, one of these pioneer hamlets was Franklin, settled in 1860. On 4 March 1863, when Idaho Territory was created, the boundary line established between Utah and Idaho put Franklin on the Idaho side.¹⁵

Indians living along the Bear River provided the most formidable obstacles to expansion northward from Cache Valley. In January 1863, U.S. Army Col. Patrick E. Connor—initially sent into the area to control the Mormons—ironically aided settlement by supervising the brutal massacre of a band of Shoshone-Bannock Indians in the Battle of Bear River.¹⁶ In May, Connor escorted a Mormon splinter group called the Morrisites to Soda Springs, established an army post, and offered to protect them from both the Indians and the Salt Lake Mormons. In July and October, Connor and Indian Superintendent James Doty convinced many Shoshone-Bannocks to sign treaties at Box Elder and Soda Springs, ensuring the safety of travelers and settlers and permitting the construction of telegraph, stage, and railroad stations.¹⁷ Additional treaties negotiated with Ruby Valley Indians in the Nevada Territory and in the “Tuilla Valley” in Utah paved the way for the Mormon settlements in Idaho.

In the fall of 1861, Brigham Young decided to settle the Uinta Valley due to “the great increase of population,” but Utah Indian agents promptly requested that President Abraham Lincoln close the Uinta Basin to settlers.¹⁸ As a result, the Saints turned to Idaho. In

¹⁴*Ibid.*, 689.

¹⁵Leonard J. Arrington, *History of Idaho*, 2 vols. (Moscow: University of Idaho Press, 1994), 1:209-28.

¹⁶See Brigham D. Madsen, *Glory Hunter: A Biography of Patrick Edward Connor* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1990) and James F. Varley, *Brigham and the Brigadier: General Patrick Connor and His California Volunteers in Utah and along the Overland Trail* (Tucson, Ariz.: Westernlore Press, 1989).

¹⁷Charles J. Kappler, ed., *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties* (Washington, D.C., 1870), 2:848-51.

¹⁸“A New Settlement,” *Deseret News*, 11 September 1861, 160; Henry Martin, Acting Utah Indian Superintendent, Letter to William P. Dole, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 2 September 1861, *Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs*,

August 1863, Brigham Young told the Council of Twelve: "We have it in our minds to settle Bear River Valley. . . . Now if you will keep this matter to yourselves nobody will know anything about it, but otherwise it will be telegraphed to old Abe Lincoln by some of these army officers, and then it will be made a reservation . . . to prevent us from getting it."¹⁹

Soon after Idaho became a territory in 1863, the Mormons began using Franklin as a base for colonizing Idaho. That fall, Apostle Charles C. Rich, on assignment from Brigham Young, guided settlers northeast to the Bear Lake and founded Paris. Promising Chief Washakie that they would not settle on the east side of the lake, the Saints began the next year by planting seven other settlements along the Bear River drainage—Bennington, Bloomington, Fish Haven, Liberty, Montpelier, Ovid, and St. Charles. At the same time, the Saints founded Garden City and Laketown on the Utah side of the boundary.²⁰

Also during 1864, a second wave of Mormons migrated north and west of Franklin and established Malad in a broad valley, Stockton and Oxford in Round Valley, and Woodland in Marsh Valley. The next year, four more Mormon villages sprang up beside these first villages: Weston, Rushville, Woodruff, and Cherry Creek. In all, the Mormons founded sixteen villages in Idaho while the nation struggled through the Civil War.

During the next decade, Mormons flocked to farms and ranches along the drainage systems of the Malad and the Bear rivers. Some of these new settlers moved into established villages; for example, the Welch came to Malad. Others planted the new towns of Dayton, Fairview, Treasureton, Samaria, Cambridge, Georgetown, Grant, Preston, Riverdale, Mapleton, Mink Creek, Bern, and Whitney.²¹

Meanwhile during the 1870s, a third group of Mormons began

1824-81 for the Utah Superintendency, 1861-1862 (Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Service Microfilm, 1957), Roll 900.

¹⁹In Leonard J. Arrington, *Charles C. Rich: Mormon General and Western Frontiersman* (Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1974), 249.

²⁰A. J. Simmonds, "Southeast Idaho as a Pioneer Mormon Safety Valve," *Idaho Yesterdays* 24 (Winter 1980): 20-30.

²¹Arrington, *History of Idaho*, 1:259-81.

a migration movement along Goose, Warm, and Rock creeks and Raft River, after government officials tried forcing the Indians to stay on the Fort Hall Indian Reservation. Settlement began along the Raft River in 1873, near present-day Elba. Two years later, Mormons settled near Albion. And in 1877, they settled near Sublett and the following year, on the upper Raft River near present-day Almo. The next year, Mormons settled in Goose Creek Valley and at Yost. Then in 1879, they colonized Rock Creek. Two years later, they founded Marion west of Goose Creek and settled on Warm Creek about four miles from present-day American Falls.²²

During the 1870s and 1880s, construction of a narrow-gauge railroad to the mines in Montana influenced Mormon migration. Largely Mormon crews cut timber for ties and laid the rails from Ogden to Franklin by 30 April 1874 and then to Blackfoot, Eagle Rock (later Idaho Falls), Market Lake (renamed Roberts), and Monida Pass on the Montana border by 1880. Several villages came into being not far from the railroad in the region south of Pocatello, where Mormons founded Chesterfield in 1879, and later established Bancroft, Hatch, and Lund.²³

In 1878, John R. Poole, an employee of the grading crew, discovered fertile land near the Menan Buttes, where Henry's Fork joins the Snake River. Poole reported his discovery to Church leaders, who encouraged settlement. Between 1879 and 1889, hundreds of Mormons settled in nine major communities: Egin, Lewisville, Rexburg, Lyman, Salem, Teton, Wilford, and Rigby. From this foundation, many other Saints colonized a 150-mile stretch from Pocatello to Victor in the upper Snake River Valley. Furthermore, more Saints settled among the non-Mormons in Pocatello, Blackfoot, and Eagle Rock.²⁴

By 1900, Mormons had established a solid core of settlements

²²Andrew Jenson, *Encyclopedic History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Publishing Company, 1941), 807. Albion, 10; Almo, 12; Basin, 44; Elba, 217; Marion, 477; Neeley, 566; Oakley, 600; Sublett, 600; Rockland, 716; and Yost, 967.

²³Merrill D. Beal, "The Story of the Utah Northern Railroad," *Idaho Yesterdays* 22 (Spring 1978): 26-28.

²⁴Arrington, *History of Idaho*, 1:327-30.

in southeastern Idaho. After the turn of the century, few new Mormon villages sprang up, but Mormons steadily swelled their numbers in non-Mormon towns and cities.

ETHNIC ORIGINS FROM THE FEDERAL CENSUS

The record created by federal census-takers in 1870 allows us to reconstruct a profile of some of these early Mormon settlements in southeastern Idaho. Immigrants from Great Britain and Scandinavian countries comprised a large proportion of the inhabitants; and in only two towns—Clifton and Oxford—did foreign-born residents comprise less than 20 percent of the population. In Malad City and Ovid, immigrants were a majority; most typically, immigrants covered the 30 to 40 percent range. The English-born predominated (43 percent) with at least a few in every settlement. Danes and Scots were about half as numerous as the English but settled in only nine of the region's thirteen Mormon communities. Only Franklin contained at least a few of every group, while Bennington was comprised exclusively of English immigrants. In Malad City, Welsh predominated; in Weston and Ovid, it was the Danes; in Fish Haven, South Africans and people from the Isle of Jersey.

According to the 1880 census, the number of Swedes nearly doubled. By 1880 they comprised the largest proportion of St. Charles's population. New immigrants from Prussia or German principalities also entered the area. By far the most dramatic national increase consisted of Swiss-born immigrants. The census showed only five in 1870, four of whom lived in the Gentile town of Soda Springs; but by 1880, there were 108 Swiss, concentrated most heavily in Montpelier.

A helpful comparison is the ethnic mixture in Oregon's Willamette Valley, settled permanently during the 1850s. Differences predominate over similarities—not only the religious unity and central planning characteristic of Idaho but also Idaho's defensive posture toward the Indians. The settlers who first ventured west of the Appalachians traveled west down the Ohio River, through the Cumberland Gap, or over the Wilderness Trail, typically first constructed forts, which evolved into wilderness stations, then towns. The Mormon town of Franklin, Idaho, founded in 1860, followed the same pattern. In contrast is Paris, Idaho, founded only three years later than

Franklin but after the Indian danger had been reduced. Fred Perris and Joseph C. Rich, oldest son of the colony's founder, laid out Paris in the "Mormon village plan" based on Joseph Smith's proposed City of Zion—large square blocks, spacious lots, wide streets at right angles to one another, with farms lying outside the village.

In Oregon's Willamette Valley, however, disease decimated the native population in the 1830s, leaving immigrants free to settle on scattered ranches with little worry about community protection. Towns developed at economic and geographical junctions, usually on rivers near possible logging areas and at important crossroads.

The Willamette Valley, however, had virtually no ethnic clusterings except for retired French-Canadian employees of the Hudson's Bay Company in the northern end of the valley. One study shows that a higher percentage of foreign-born residents could be found in early towns than in rural areas.²⁵ In Benton County, Oregon, in 1860, foreign-born residents, most of them Irish and Germans, comprised only 9 percent of the total population. Among native-born residents, midwesterners predominated; in the Mormon settlements of Idaho, the most frequent birthplace of the native-born was Utah.

Although nearly all males were engaged in farm-related activities, occupational diversity had an immediate effect on architecture. For example, three stone and brick masons from England probably constructed one of the earliest stone houses in Franklin, when they constructed a home in 1872 for Bishop Lorenzo Hill Hatch, a Vermont-born convert who had served a mission to England.²⁶ Although most of the men in Franklin in 1870 were engaged in farm-related occupations, other skilled workers included two carpenters (one from Scotland, the other from Kentucky); two weavers, a blacksmith, a tailor, a machinist, a shoemaker, and a telegraph operator from England; and two additional blacksmiths, one from Sweden and one from Wales.

²⁵William A. Bowen, *The Willamette Valley: Migration and Settlement on the Oregon Frontier* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1978), 43.

²⁶Jennifer Eastman Attebery, *Building Idaho: An Architectural History* (Moscow: University of Idaho Press, 1991), 34-35, also identifies the 1865 Doney house, the 1870 James Chadwick house, and the 1875 Lafayette Hatch house as notable examples of stone architecture.

Nearby Paris had one stone mason from Rhode Island, seven carpenters (four from England, one from Scotland, and two from Pennsylvania), a plasterer from England, and a millwright from New York. As a result of this occupational diversity, frame structures dominate Paris's early buildings. By 1884, when construction began on the Paris Tabernacle, Swiss-born stone masons Jacob Tueller and his sons shaped the sandstone blocks from a Bear Lake quarry. According to oral accounts, English shipbuilder James Collings, Sr., crafted the unique ceiling from native timber. He does not appear in either the 1880 or 1900 census. James Nye, the carpenter credited with making the window frames and banisters, appears in the 1880 census as a forty year-old immigrant from England. In 1900 at age sixty, his occupational status had become that of "laborer."

Robert Price, a Mormon convert from England, reached Paris via New York City, Connecticut, Nebraska, and Salt Lake City. Originally a carpenter, he prospered financially in Idaho and, in the early 1880s, purchased the Paris cooperative shingle mill and a sawmill operation and further stimulated carpentry and related trades in Paris and nearby Montpelier.

MORMON ECONOMIC HISTORY IN IDAHO

During the 1860s, the economy of Mormon's Idaho settlers ran counter to the free enterprise system of other Idahoans. In the fall of 1868, Brigham Young, trying to keep Gentile influence from their communities, called for the creation of cooperative enterprises throughout the Mormon empire. Charles C. Rich dutifully founded the Paris Cooperative Store. In 1874, Wilford Woodruff traveled with Rich throughout the Bear River Valley, expanding the cooperative concept to include producing goods. As a result, the Paris Cooperative became the Paris Cooperative Institute, which also included a tannery. Families invested in the stock, shared the dividend payments, purchased food, clothing, and other supplies from the store, and banded together to form producer cooperatives. A cooperative dairy and a shingle, lath, and planing mill followed. Later a shoe shop and harness facility appeared as a natural extension of the tannery. In 1881, a tin shop, cabinet shop, and tailor shop completed the producer co-ops.²⁷ The 1880 census clearly reveals that the coopera-

TABLE 1.
SKILLED OCCUPATIONS AND ETHNICITY IN TWO MORMON
COMMUNITIES

<i>Country of Origin</i>	<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Franklin 1870</i>	<i>Paris 1970</i>	<i>Paris 1880</i>
England	blacksmith	1	1	2
	butcher		1	
	carpenter		4	6
	furniture finisher	1		
	gardener		1	
	harness maker	1	1	
	lumberman	1		
	merchant		1	
	shoemaker	1	2	4
	stone/brick mason	3	2	
	potter		1	
	printer		1	
	tailor		1	
	tanner		1	
weaver		2	1	
Prussia	stone/brick mason	1		
Scotland	carpenter	1	1	
Sweden	blacksmith	1	1	
Switzerland	millwright	1		
	shoemaker	1		
	stone\brick mason	1		
Wales	blacksmith	1	1	1

Note: occupations from the United States included blacksmith (Utah), carpenter (Kentucky, Pennsylvania, Utah), cattle buyer (New York), cooper (New York), furniture dealer (Utah), harness maker (Utah, Ohio), millwright (New York), shoemaker (Pennsylvania), stone/brick mason (Rhode Island, Connecticut), and tanner (Illinois).

tive in Paris touched every phase of life; in contrast, Franklin had no similar institution. (See Table 1.)

In 1882, the Oregon Short Line reached Idaho from Cheyenne and passed through Montpelier, Soda Springs, Pocatello, and Boise. Although cash for men working in railroad construction temporarily stimulated the local economy, its cheap transportation destroyed the competitive advantage of local goods. The production co-ops could not withstand the competition. The dairy was the last to close in 1886. These same factors, combined with the national depression of 1893, eventually doomed the cooperative store as well, and it ceased operations in 1896.²⁸

The railroad also changed population patterns. Oxford, for instance, lost its Mormon majority. Other towns, like Montpelier became divided between Gentiles and Mormons. Within a few years, the large concentration of Mormons in southeastern and south-central Idaho infuriated the growing non-LDS Idaho population and set the stage for further changes.

MORMON POLITICS IN IDAHO

Voting as a bloc, Mormons helped the Democratic party to control politics in Idaho Territory beginning in 1872. In 1882, the U.S. Congress passed the Edmunds-Tucker Act, disfranchising polygamists, barring them from holding public office, and excluding them from juries. Anti-Mormons and Republicans used this measure to strike at the political power of the Church. Two years later, the Idaho Legislature passed the Test Oath to disfranchise all voters who believed in plural marriage, practiced it, or belonged to an organization teaching this doctrine.²⁹ No study of the number of plural

²⁷Dean L. May, "Mormon Cooperatives in Paris, Idaho, 1869-1896," *Idaho Yesterdays* 19 (Summer 1975): 28.

²⁸*Ibid.*, 30.

²⁹*General Laws of the Territory of Idaho, passed at the Thirteenth Session of the Territorial Legislature, convened on the eighth day of December, A. D. 1884, and Adjourned on the Fifth Day of February, A. D. 1885, at Boise City* (Boise: Jas. A. Pinney, Territorial Printer, 1885), 57; see also Dana Bennett, "Mormon Polygamy in Early Southeast Idaho," *Idaho Yesterdays* 28 (1984): 24-30. Merle W. Wells, *Anti-Mormonism in Idaho, 1872-92* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1978).

marriages has been made for Idaho, but traditional estimates have ranged from 2 to 20 percent.³⁰ Simultaneously, the legislature created Bingham County out of the northern part of predominately Mormon Oneida County and extended its southern boundary to include Oxford, the now predominately Gentile town. This gerrymandering was intended to curb Mormon influence in southeastern Idaho.

To enforce the Test Oath, marshals and judges adopted intrusive measures. For example, Fred T. DuBois, the U.S. marshal from Blackfoot, hounded polygamists, arrested them, and sent them to prison by using anti-Mormon juries. An 1885 report lists the names of 45 Mormons who were imprisoned for violating the Edmunds law; 109 names appeared in 1886; 180 in 1887; and 84 in 1888.³¹

During this period, over two hundred Mormons left ten towns in southeastern Idaho (Paris, Bennington, Montpelier, Franklin, Malad, Mink Creek, Oxford, Fairfield, Preston, and Weston) and went to Arizona, Canada, Mexico, Europe, California, other states, and "unknown" places.³² Other Mormon men met this political crisis by removing their names from Church records. A survey of the ward membership for these ten towns shows that 2 percent of the men removed their names from the rolls in 1888.³³

³⁰Stanley S. Ivins, "Notes on Mormon Polygamy," *Western Humanities Review* 10 (Summer 1956): 229-39, claimed a Churchwide estimate of between 15 and 20 percent in a study now almost forty years old; Lowell "Ben" Bennion, "The Incidence of Mormon Polygamy in 1880: 'Dixie' versus Davis Stake," *Journal of Mormon History* 11 (1984): 27-42, in a study limited to two Utah locales in 1880, found rates as high as 40 percent.

³¹"Prosecutions, Convictions, and Prisoners for Conscience Sake in Utah and Idaho," compiled by Moses Franklin Farnsworth during the anti-plural marriage campaign and recorded by Raymond B. Fransworth (grandson), 17 August 1981. It covers 1875-88. Located in the Thomas E. Ricks Collection, Ricks College Archives, Rexburg, Idaho.

³²These statistics were collected from the membership records of the wards listed. See also Lawrence B. Lee, "The Mormons Come to Canada, 1887-1902," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 59 (1968): 5, No. 1 (January 1968): 11-22 and F. LaMond Tullis, *Mormons in Mexico: The Dynamics of Faith and Culture* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1987).

³³For example, the clerk in Oxford recorded that Azubah D. Bennyton "withdrew membership so that he could vote." In addition to these towns, twenty-three removed their names from the records in the Liberty Ward, forty-four in St. Charles, fourteen in

Even with this out-migration and removal of names, when Idaho became a state in 1890, nearly 20 percent of all the inhabitants were Mormons: almost 96 percent of those in Oneida County; 91 percent in Bear Lake, 62 percent in Bingham, and 53 percent in Cassia Counties.³⁴

Although this population was essential for Idaho to qualify for statehood, the test oath, incorporated as Article VI, section 3 of the Idaho Constitution, barred its Mormon men from voting or holding office.³⁵ Clearly, political considerations controlled this issue—if Mormons voted, they would vote Democratic. If they voted Democratic, they would jeopardize statehood since the Republican party controlled both houses of Congress after the elections of 1888. A comparison with Democratic-controlled New Mexico and Arizona territories is an interesting parallel. Both became territories in 1850 but were not granted statehood until 1912.

In summary, the history of Mormon migration into and settlement of southeastern Idaho is instructive for a number of reasons. First, the Mormon settlement of southeastern Idaho in less than a quarter of a century includes most of the ways people of European ancestry settled the vast reaches of the West over a period of 150 years. In other words, the Mormons' short period of settling southeastern Idaho is, in a sense, a compressed version of the settlement

the Bern Ward, twenty-one in Georgetown, fourteen in Clifton, ten in Cambridge, eight at Soda Springs, and relatively small numbers in other towns with three in Chesterfield, four men in Eagle Rock, and three in Taylor. Microfilm copies of the membership records of the wards mentioned in this paragraph were used for counting those who took their names off the rolls to vote. Most took their names off in 1888.

³⁴We counted the membership records for each ecclesiastical unit in Idaho in 1890; there were a total of 22,945, a higher number than the 17,051 listed in the Presiding Bishopric Statistical reports for 1851-69, 1877-1902. We feel that the ward statistics are more accurate. The Presiding Bishop's report lists only 3,946 Mormons in Bingham County while Andrew Jenson listed 3,861 members for twenty congregations in the Bannock Stake in 1890; there were more than twenty congregations in Jenson's report. For Idaho population in each county see Table II-3, "Population of Idaho Counties in Census Years: 1890-1960," in the *Idaho Statistical Abstract* in the *Idaho Bureau of Business and Economic Report* No. 10, 27. Because of this concentration, D. W. Meinig, "Mormon Culture Region," 214, refers to Idaho as part of Mormonism's "core."

³⁵See Wells, *Anti-Mormonism in Idaho*, 133-46.

of the West, which took about five times as long. Mormons went from the utilization of a fort at Franklin in 1860 to railroad communities within about twenty years.

Second, the multi-ethnic composition of early southeastern Idaho Mormon communities invites further study. Recent writers on the history of the American West—most notably, Patricia Nelson Limerick—stress that the region has been the meeting place of many ethnic and racial groups.³⁶ Mormon settlements helped to make this pattern the rule in southeastern Idaho, in contrast to the relative homogeneity of areas like Benton County in western Oregon.

Church leaders in Salt Lake City placed strong pressure on these foreign-born Mormons to become Americanized and abandon the more conspicuous aspects of their ethnic heritage. They also provided strong centralized direction to speed the process by providing a body of commonly shared religious beliefs, an intensive schedule of religious activities, and a code of behaviors, which were supposed to override personal and ethnic norms. The Danish fondness for beer and the English love for tea, for example, were supposed to yield to the directives of the Word of Wisdom, which forbade both. Brigham Young strenuously but unsuccessfully urged adoption of the Deseret Alphabet during the 1860s and 1870s as a tool for speeding assimilation: "You put a work into the hands of a Jerman Frenchman Dane or Sweed or any other Nation printed in the Deseret Alphabet & in a little time they will all read and spell alike much sooner than they could learn a new language."³⁷ But as Leonard Arrington points out in his history of Idaho, ethnic groups in southeastern Idaho clung to their European heritage.³⁸

Third, Mormon out-migration is a rich lode for future scholars.³⁹

³⁶Patricia Nelson Limerick, *The Legacy of Conquest: The Unbroken Past of the American West* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1987), esp. 259-92.

³⁷Woodruff, 31 January 1859, 5:281.

³⁸Arrington, *History of Idaho*, 2:268-72.

³⁹Again, if a comparison with the Willamette Valley is fruitful, such scholars may find that dashed expectations prompted much out-migration. Settler Wilson Blain noted in 1851 that some disliked the "rough and craggy hills, clothed with dark forests" while entering the Willamette Valley. California's climate drew others away, and the gold rush attracted an estimated two-thirds of the Willamette Valley's able-bodied men, some of whom stayed. There are Mormon parallels to all three patterns, although their

It is probable that many Mormons who left Idaho due to persecution never returned. An especially interesting possibility for further analysis would be to trace European converts who left Idaho; did they relocate elsewhere in America or return to their country of origin? It would also be interesting to know whether foreign-born converts responded differently than native-born Mormons to the anti-polygamy crusade.

Fourth, settlement in southeastern Idaho spread northward, thanks largely to the railroad's penetration of the upper Snake River Valley in the 1880s. Because the arid climate required irrigation for productive farming and because the Mormons could amass both the capital and the cooperative labor, they made significant contributions to the hundred-plus canals operating in the area by 1910, channeling the waters of the South Fork of the Snake, Henry's Fork, the Teton River, the Blackfoot River, and the main Snake River. Such Mormon settlements as Moreland, New Sweden, Thomas, Springfield, and Aberdeen followed the canals.

Finally, this investigation of Mormon communities in southeastern Idaho challenges the prevailing view that Brigham Young and his colleagues left Nauvoo with the Salt Lake Valley firmly in mind. An equally valid scenario shows the Mormons, impressed by Frémont's journals, planning to locate their Zion in the Bear River Valley but revising those decisions en route. Nor is it sufficient to see Mormon settlements in Idaho as simple outposts of the Utah core. History requires us to tell a more complicated but more interesting story than that rooted in tradition.

extent in Idaho is not known. Wilson Blain, Letter to John B. Dales, 1 April 1851, Wilson Blain Collection, typescript copy, Manuscript 1035, Oregon Historical Society, Portland; Joseph Schafer, ed., "Documents Relative to Warre and Vavasour's Military Reconnaissance in Oregon, 1845-6," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 10, no. 1 (March 1909): 2; James Neville Tattersall, "The Economic Development of the Pacific Northwest to 1920," (Ph.D. diss., University of Washington, 1960), 39; Jack H. Blok, "The Evolution of Agricultural Resource Use Strategies in the Willamette Valley," (Ph.D. diss., Oregon State University, 1973), 48-49.

JOSEPH SMITH, W. W. PHELPS, AND THE POETIC PARAPHRASE OF "THE VISION"

Michael Hicks

Recently, an unusual text has emerged in the Joseph Smith canon—a seventy-eight stanza poem which paraphrases Doctrine and Covenants 76, originally known as “the Vision,” because it recounted the vision of the three degrees of glory received by Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon. First published in 1843 over Smith’s signature, the poem was almost forgotten for more than a century. During the last two decades, however, it has achieved considerable attention, being reprinted in anthologies and scriptural commentaries, and cited in dissertations, articles, and conference papers.¹ Those sources seldom question its attribution to Smith.

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¹See Richard H. Cracroft and Neal E. Lambert, *A Believing People: Literature of the Latter-day Saints* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1974), 258-66; Robert J. Woodford, “The Historical Development of the Doctrine and Covenants,” 3 vols. (Ph.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1974), 2:933-34; Lyndon

But to assess the poem's authenticity, we must consider its cultural context—the literary habits of early Mormons, their methods for producing poems, and this poem's specific background. We must also scrutinize the structure and diction of the poem. Does it ring true to Joseph's already established voice? Finally, we must sift through whatever manuscript sources might answer a fundamental question: did Joseph have both the occasion and the ability to write the poem? As it turns out, virtually all of the evidence in these matters weighs against Joseph Smith as the poem's author and points instead to W. W. Phelps.²

I

Nineteenth-century American poetry was seldom written by "poets." Like most arts in the New World, poetry was a democratic enterprise. Homespun, didactic, and sometimes ungainly, vernacular poetry crowded into the pages of letters, diaries, newspapers, and primers. For many Americans, making a poem to teach a principle was like making a wash to clean clothes—common, necessary, quick, and only slightly premeditated. Either read or sung, as the occasion dictated, much of this poetry consisted of rhymed reworkings of scriptures or revisions of already popular poems and songs. To

W. Cook, *The Revelations of the Prophet Joseph Smith* (Provo, Utah: Seventy's Mission Bookstore, 1981), 158-66; Roger K. Petersen, "Joseph Smith Prophet-Poet: A Literary Analysis of Writings Commonly Associated with His Name" (Ph.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1981), 151-52; Karl Best, "Changes in the Revelations," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 25 (Spring 1992): 106; Richard N. Holzapfel, "Joseph Smith's Psalm: The Poetic Version of Doctrine and Covenants Section 76," paper read at the Sperry Symposium, 26 September 1992, Brigham Young University and published with considerable revisions as "'Eternity Sketch'd in a Vision': The Poetic Version of Doctrine and Covenants 76," in *The Heavens Are Open: The 1992 Sperry Symposium on the Doctrine and Covenants and Church History*, compiled by Byron R. Merrill et al. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1993), 141-62. The Merrill volume also cites other recent references to the poem.

²At least two scholars have already informally come to this conclusion. Cracroft, *A Believing People*, 258 note, writes: "Close textual comparisons . . . lead one to suspect that W. W. Phelps was the author"; Bruce A. Van Orden, "William W. Phelps's Service as Joseph Smith's Political Clerk," *Brigham Young University Studies* 32 (Winter/Spring 1991): 94, note 29, concludes, "I strongly suspect that it was Phelps who wrote 'The Answer' himself."

understand the poetic paraphrase of "The Vision," we need to understand two popular nineteenth-century genres—scriptural versification and song adaptation.

Many Protestant sects believed that a Christian should sing nothing but God's word. Thus, they needed paraphrases of biblical texts to fit musical meters; most of the earliest specimens of poetry produced in the United States were actually metrical paraphrases of psalms.³ Furthermore, hymn-writers often based their narrative texts on scriptural stories. A good example is John Newton's versification of the story of Joseph of Egypt meeting his siblings during the famine. It began:

When Joseph his brethren beheld,
Afflicted and trembling with fear,
His heart with compassion was fill'd,
From weeping he could not forebear.

Latter-day Saints understood and imitated this method of creating sacred poem/song texts. They included "When Joseph His Brethren Beheld" in the first Mormon hymnbook and made their own poetic paraphrases of the prodigal son story and Isaiah 60.⁴ Moreover, the Saints had a special form of sacred versification, which they called "Songs of Zion." These consisted of songs sung in tongues and interpreted, with the interpretation coming either in rhyming verses or in prose that was later paraphrased into rhyme.⁵ One of the best

³For more on the history of psalmodies in the New World, see Albert Christ-Janer et al., *American Hymns Old and New* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1980), 3-16.

⁴These appeared in *The Evening and the Morning Star* 1 (November 1832): 8 and *Elders' Journal of the Church of Latter Day Saints* 1 (November 1837): 31-32, respectively. The former, entitled "The Younger Son," is labeled "selected hymn," a designation that usually suggests a borrowing from a Protestant source. But certain aspects of the text suggest it is indigenous Mormon. Also, a search of the massive microfilm set *Dictionary of American Hymnology: First Line Index* (New York: University Music Editions, 1984) reveals no hymn with an identical or similar first line ("Behold the son that went away").

⁵See my *Mormonism and Music: A History* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989), 35-38. Other examples of "Songs of Zion" with this connotation may be found in the Thomas Bullock Papers, Historical Department Archives, Church of Jesus Christ

examples is a song about Enoch sung in tongues in the Kirtland Temple, interpreted, versified (probably by Phelps), and published in *The Evening and the Morning Star*.⁶ These passages show the process:

Kirtland Revelation Book

And with his finger he [God] touched his eyes
and he saw heaven, he gazed on eternity
and sang an angelic song

• • •

"Hosanna!
To God who dwells above the sky:
Hosanna! The sound of the trumpet
around the throne of God

echoed and echoed again
and rang and reechoed until eternity was
filled with his voice.

Poetic Paraphrase

With finger end God touch'd his eyes
That he might gaze within the skies;
His voice he rais'd to God on high,
Who heard his groans and drew him nigh.

Hosanna, he aloud did cry,

Again, Hosanna did resound,
Among the heav'nly hosts around.
His voice he rais'd in higher strains,
Echo'd and re-echo'd again,
Till heaven and earth his voice did hear:
Eternity did record bare.

Another way of creating sacred poem/song texts was to adapt an existing one, by changing the words either to fit a particular doctrine or to suit a special occasion. Many songs that appeared in hymnbooks and in secular songsters had long lives, reappearing in numerous adapted forms. One well-known song, for example, began "This world is all a fleeting show / For man's illusions given" and ended every verse with the line "There's nothing true but heaven." Revivalists created many variants, including a direct response: "This world's not all a fleeting show / For man's illusions given . . . There's something here of heaven."⁷ Early Mormons

of Latter-day Saints (hereafter cited as LDS Church Archives).

⁶The prose version of what follows may be found in Fred Collier, comp., *Unpublished Revelations of the Prophets and Presidents of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints* [sic] (Salt Lake City: Collier's Publishing Co., 1981), 62-63. The poetic version is published under the rubric "Songs of Zion" in *The Evening and the Morning Star*, May 1833. I am indebted to Lynn Carson for showing me the connection between the two.

⁷Other adaptations went: "The faithless world promiscuous flows / Enrapt in fancy's vision . . . There is a brighter heaven"; and "There is an hour of peaceful rest / To mourning wand'ers given . . . 'Tis found above in heaven." "There's nothing true

continued the adaptation. Phelps took "There's nothing true but heaven" as the basis for his "Adam-ondi-Ahman" ("This world was once a garden place / with all her glories common"⁸), which other Mormon writers then adapted and readapted ("This land was once a glorious place / With all its verdure common"; "This earth shall be a blessed place / To saints celestial given"; and so forth).⁹

Such Mormon adaptations followed a well-established pattern in Christendom. They also corresponded to the Saints' strong sense of community—their desire to conceive of their works as efforts of the group rather than of individual members. Fellowship and common consent were among the highest values in the Church. The Mormon law of consecration allowed the community to absorb goods from all of its members and reassign them to the needy. Mormons also believed in an investiture of authority, by which one person could be ordained to do a work in someone's behalf or speak as the voice of another. All told, intellectual property in early Mormonism was an almost unheard of commodity. Any sort of text might be made by many and belong to all.

Joseph Smith was often the beneficiary of the community's literary talents. Throughout his career, he depended on scribes who edited and refined his manuscripts. Seminal Joseph Smith documents like the "Articles and Covenants of the Church of Christ" and the "Articles of Faith" apparently were based on earlier drafts by

but heaven" appears in Charles Warren's *The Missouri Harmony* (1836). The variants cited are from, respectively, William Walker's *The Southern Harmony and Musical Companion* (1835), 110 and 24; and *The Baptist Harmony*, 433. My thanks to Cheryl Christensen for providing this source. Because the meter of the basic text (8,7,8,8,7) is unique among hymn texts, it is relatively easy to trace the adaptations.

⁸"This *world*," as originally published in *Latter Day Saints' Messenger and Advocate* 1 (June 1835): 144; it was changed to "this *earth*" in all later publications. For a broader study of the phenomenon of Mormon song adaptation, see my "Poetic Borrowing in Early Mormonism," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 18 (Spring 1985): 132-42.

⁹The first variant given is from Brigham Young et al., comps., *A Collection of Sacred Hymns for the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Europe* (Manchester, Eng.: W. R. Thomas, 1840), 277; the second is from David W. Rogers, comp., *A Collection of Sacred Hymns for the Church of the Latter Day Saints* (New York: C. Vinton, 1838), 105.

others.¹⁰ The dedicatory prayer for the Kirtland Temple, published under Joseph's name, appears to have been written by a committee.¹¹ Howard Coray recalled that, in writing Joseph Smith's personal history, Smith "was to furnish all the materials; and our business, was not only to combine, and arrange in c[h]ronological order, but to spread out or amplify not a little."¹² During the last two years of his life, Joseph increasingly attached his name to documents written largely by others. As fame, legal battles, and the growing population of the Church threatened to drain all of his time, literary delegation became crucial. The presence of his name on any document from his last years is not an answer but a question.

II

On the day after Christmas 1842, Smith was arrested and taken to Springfield, Illinois, on a charge of conspiring to murder Missouri governor Lilburn Boggs. Twelve days later, having won his petition of habeas corpus, he was released. His release reminded Wilson Law and Willard Richards of the Scottish song "Nae Luck About the House," whose chorus opined, "there's nae luck [and] little pleasure in the house / When our goodman's awa'." Its first verse began:

And are ye sure the news is true?
 And are ye sure he's well?
 Is this a time to tawk of wark?
 Make haste! set by your wheel!¹³

¹⁰David J. Whittaker, "The 'Articles of Faith' in Early Mormon Literature and Thought," in *New Views of Mormon History: A Collection of Essays in Honor of Leonard J. Arrington*, edited by Davis Bitton and Maureen Ursenbach Beecher (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1987), 63-92.

¹¹Peter Crawley, "A Bibliography of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in New York, Ohio, and Missouri," *Brigham Young University Studies* 12 (Summer 1972): 507-08.

¹²In Dean Jessee, "Howard Coray's Recollections of Joseph Smith," *Brigham Young University Studies* 17 (Spring 1977): 346.

¹³This version is taken from the two-volume facsimile edition of James Johnson's 1853 four-volume set, *The Scots Musical Museum* (Hartboro, Pa.: Folklore Associates, 1962), 1:44.

Law and Richards wrote an adaptation of the song, calling it "The Mormon Jubilee." It began:

And are you sure the news is true?
 And are you sure he's free?
 Then let us join with one accord
 And have a jubilee!¹⁴

This adapted song set the tone for a series of celebrations of the Prophet's return—public meetings on Tuesday, 17 January, and an invitation-only feast at the Mansion House the following day. For the feast Eliza Snow produced her own adaptation of "Nae Luck." Both it and the Law-Richards version were printed on cards, distributed to the guests at the feast, and published in Nauvoo newspapers.¹⁵

W. W. Phelps was not invited to the feast. Phelps had had a difficult relationship with the Prophet, who needed Phelps's talents and experience but scorned his pride. He assigned Phelps many tasks and exploited Phelps's skills in writing, editing, and publishing but privately joked about his eccentricities and never allowed him past the fringes of his social life.¹⁶ Phelps, like many other Saints, aspired to closer intimacy with his leader. One method he used was to compose and present unsolicited poetic thoughts to the Prophet, sometimes even calling them "revelations" for added authority.¹⁷

¹⁴Published in the *Wasp*, 1, no. 37 (14 January 1843): 1. The manuscript version is transcribed in Scott Faulring, ed., *An American Prophet's Record: The Diaries and Journals of Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1989), 287-89.

¹⁵The Eliza R. Snow version appeared in the *Times and Seasons* 4 (1 February 1843): 96. For the guest list and an account of the feast, see Joseph Smith, Jr., et al., *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, edited by B. H. Roberts, 7 vols., 2nd ed. rev. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1964), 5:248, 252-53.

¹⁶For Phelps's relationship with Smith, see Hugh Nibley, "The Meaning of the Kirtland Egyptian Papers," *Brigham Young University Studies* 11 (Summer 1971): 391-96.

¹⁷W. W. Phelps, Letter to Brigham Young, 25 September 1860, wrote that he was sending Young a "revelation" (a short homily) "as I used to with Joseph." My thanks to David C. Whittaker for sharing his notes on the Brigham Young Papers, LDS Church Archives, and several other sources in this paper.

When Smith visited Phelps two days after the feast, Phelps presented him with yet another tribute on his release, adapted from a song specifically about imprisonment and homecoming. Purporting to be a paraphrase of the words of Chief Black Hawk to his captors, "The Indian Hunter" began and ended every verse with a plea to "let me go" to his home "in the west . . . [where] the bright waters flow . . . where parents will greet me. . . . Let me go to my father [and] dear mother whose heart will o'er flow at the sight of her child [and] to my own dark-eyed maid who taught me to love in my early days."¹⁸ As the textual model for the poem Phelps would present to the Prophet, "The Indian Hunter" fit the situation well.

But Phelps thoroughly rewrote "The Indian Hunter." He changed the leitmotif from "let me go" to "go with me," transforming "The Indian Hunter" into an invitation from the narrator (an idealized Phelps) for the Prophet to accompany him to "the next, better world, where the righteous reside . . . in the joys of a vast paradise" free from "tyrants [and] mobbers" where "the system is perfect." There in "the mansions above," "the bliss and the knowledge, the light and the love, and the glory of God [will] eternally be."

Although poetry generally was published on the back page of the *Times and Seasons*, this poem appeared on the front page. It was one of a set of three items that opened the 1 February 1843 issue: (1) an essay entitled "Ancient Poetry," credited to the editor, John Taylor; (2) Phelps's four-stanza poem, labeled "From W. W. Phelps to Joseph Smith: The Prophet," titled "Vade Mecum, (Translated.) Go With Me," and dated (at its end) "Nauvoo, January, 1843"; and (3) a 312-line poem labeled "The Answer. To W. W. Phelps, Esq.," titled (in italics) "A Vision," signed "Joseph Smith," and dated "Nauvoo, Feb. 1843."

"A Vision" was by far the longest poem ever published in a Latter-day Saint newspaper and the only rhyming poem ever publish-

¹⁸These phrases appear in a version of the song in Solomon Hancock, Biography, microfilm of typescript, Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah. A slightly different version, with a tune, appears in Gale Huntington, *Songs the Whalemen Sang* (Barre, Mass.: Barre Publishers, 1964), 180-81. In *Times and Seasons* 6 (15 January 1845): 783, Phelps designates "The Indian Hunter" as the tune to which his revision of "Go With Me" should be sung.

ed over Joseph Smith's name. It was in some respects a song adaptation: it picked up where "Go With Me" left off, continuing the theme in the same dactylic meter, although, unlike the Phelps, the number of syllables per line occasionally varied: usually eleven, it was sometimes ten or twelve. But it was also a scriptural paraphrase, a metrical version of the revelation commonly called "The Vision."¹⁹ Here is a sample of the paraphrase technique:

"The Vision"

For thus saith the Lord—
I, the Lord, am merciful and gracious unto those
who fear me, and delight to honor those

who serve me in righteousness and in truth
unto the end.
Great shall be their reward and
eternal shall be their glory
And to them will I reveal all mysteries,
yea, all the hidden mysteries of my kingdom

Poetic Paraphrase

For thus saith the Lord, in the spirit of truth,
I am merciful, gracious, and good unto those
That fear me, and live for the life that's to come;
My delight is to honor the saints with repose;

That serve me in righteousness true to the end;
Eternal's their glory, and great their reward;
I'll surely reveal all my myst'ries to them,—
The great hidden myst'ries in my kingdom stor'd

The paraphrase expanded on some points in the original revelation, but omitted other points. Generally, the poem elaborated on the prose in its earlier parts, but did so progressively less as it wore on. By its final stanzas, the poem actually skipped over much of the prose. Thus, the poem devoted nine full stanzas (nos. 2-10 as published) to the first ten verses of "The Vision," but only four stanzas (nos. 74-77) to the last fifteen verses.²⁰ Perhaps the poem's most obvious departure from the prose was the change of its point of view. While "The Vision" always spoke in the first person plural, from the perspective of both Smith and Rigdon, the poem was entirely in the singular, speaking as Joseph alone. Thus:

¹⁹"The Vision" was section 91 in the first edition of the Doctrine and Covenants (1835); it was section 92 in editions from 1844 to 1869, and section 76 from 1876 to the present.

²⁰"The Vision," as originally published in the 1835 Doctrine and Covenants, had only eight very long verses. The verse numbers I use here are those of twentieth-century editions. I am indebted to Matthew Donaldson for providing me with a parallel column arrangement of the prose and the poem.

Of [Christ] we bear record;
and the record which we bear is the fulness
of the gospel of Jesus Christ, who is the Son,
whom we saw and with whom we
conversed in the heavenly vision.

Of [Christ] I bear record, as all prophets have,
And the record I bear is the fullness,—yea even
The truth of the gospel of Jesus—the Christ,
With whom I convers'd in the vision of heav'n.

Prefacing both poems, the essay entitled “Ancient Poetry” tried to explain “the following very curious poetic composition.” The article explained that, although “the common landmarks of modern poetry are entirely disregarded” in what followed, “there is something so dignified and exalted conveyed in the ideas of this production, that it cannot fail to strike the attention of every superficial observer.” The article went on to extol the ideas—though not particularly the style—displayed by “our poet.” It explained that what followed was typical of ancient poetic prophecy. Imagery, insight, and vision distinguished it, not the “dry forms, and simple jingling of poetry, alone.”

In its final paragraph, “Ancient Poetry” took an interesting turn, suggesting a reason for the whole presentation: “Whatever may have been the preconceived opinion of Justin Butterfield Esq., we are persuaded [sic] that he will now be convinced that the modern Prophets can prophecy in poetry, as well as the ancient prophets and that no difference, even of that kind any longer exists.” Justin Butterfield was the attorney who represented Smith at his recent trial.²¹ During breaks in the proceedings, Butterfield, Smith, and others discussed the nature of prophets and prophecy. Perhaps as a result of these discussions, Butterfield observed to the court that “if there is a difference between [Joseph Smith] and other men, it is that this people believe in prophecy, and others do not.” But, for some unknown reason, he added: “The old prophets prophesied in poetry and the modern in prose.”²² The “poetic composition” that accompanied the editorialized explanation was thus intended to refute Butterfield’s assertion.

²¹Dallin H. Oaks and Joseph I. Bentley, “Joseph Smith and the Legal Process: In the Wake of the Steamboat *Nauvoo*,” *Brigham Young University Studies* 19 (Winter 1979): 181-91.

²²In *History of the Church* 5:222. For Smith’s discussions on the nature of prophecy, see 215-16, 231-32.

III

Anyone who had read Joseph Smith's letters or heard him speak knew that he had a gift for crisp images and pithy turns of phrase. But there is only slight evidence that he ever wrote poetry; virtually nothing foreshadows a massive poetic paraphrase like "The Vision." In a 1903 letter, Benjamin Johnson reported that Joseph loved to engage in pastimes such as "Jokes[,] Rebuses, Matching Cuplets in Rhymes &c."²³ In a personal entry in the "Book of the Law of the Lord," 23 August 1842, Joseph wrote two passages—the first on his father and the second on his brother, Alvin—that, while not actually metered or arranged in lines, contain clear rhyme schemes:

Sacred to me is his dust, and the spot where he is laid. Sacred to me is the tomb I have made to encircle o'er his head. Let the memory of my father eternally live. Let his soul, or the spirit my follies forgive. With him may I reign one day, in the mansions above; and tune up the Lyre of anthems, of the eternal Jove. . . .

In [Alvin] there was no guile. He lived without spot from the time he was a child. From the time of his birth, he never knew mirth. He was candid and sober and never would play; and minded his father, and mother, in toiling all day.²⁴

The only other known example of Smith's writing purposeful "poetry" is a stanza in the autograph book of Barbara Neff, dating from May 1844. Curiously, the stanza is a response to W. W. Phelps, who had first written this quatrain for Neff:

Two things will beautify a youth
That is: Let *virtue* decorate the *truth*
and so you know; every little helps
yours—W. W. Phelps

Smith responded:

²³Dean R. Zimmermann, *I Knew the Prophets: An Analysis of the Letter of Benjamin F. Johnson to George F. Gibbs, Reporting Doctrinal Views of Joseph Smith and Brigham Young* (Bountiful, Utah: Horizon, 1976), 19.

²⁴In Dean C. Jessee, comp. and ed., *The Personal Writings of Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1984), 535. I thank Richard Neitzel Holzapfel for bringing this and the following passage to my attention.

The truth and virtue both are good
 When rightly understood
 But Charity is better Miss
 That takes us home to bliss
 and so forthwith
 remember Joseph Smith²⁵

During the early 1840s, W. W. Phelps was Joseph's most prolific ghostwriter. In 1842 he took on what he called "the largest amount of business that I have ever undertaken, since I have been in the Church: It is to write and compile the history of br. Joseph embracing the e[n]tire history of the church & it will occupy my time and talents for a long time, should nothing intervene."²⁶ According to his diary, he did not actually begin writing until the day after Smith's January 1843 feast and the day before he presented "Come with Me" to Smith.²⁷ As Smith ventured into national politics, Phelps also began to author some of his letters, speeches, and pamphlets, including Smith's official "platform" document, *Views on the Powers and Policy of the Government of the United States*.²⁸ Phelps had many occasions to accustom himself to writing in Joseph Smith's voice.

Phelps was simultaneously honing his skills at poetic paraphrases of the scriptures. Just after the 19 January 1843 entry in his diary, Phelps drafted a metrical version of the Lord's Prayer, published later that year, and several unrhymed passages from Isaiah, revised into florid prose.²⁹ Evidence from later years shows that Phelps

²⁵In Jessee, *Personal Writings of Joseph Smith*, 575-77.

²⁶W. W. Phelps, Letter to Parley P. Pratt, 16 June 1842, Parley Pratt Papers, LDS Church Archives.

²⁷W. W. Phelps, Diary, 19 January 1843, holograph, LDS Church Archives.

²⁸See Phelps's comments in a letter to Brigham Young, 6 August 1863, Whittaker notes; Wilford Woodruff, *Wilford Woodruff's Journal: 1833-1898*, edited by Scott G. Kenney, 9 vols. (Midvale, Utah: Signature Press, 1983), 2:349; Van Orden, "William W. Phelps's Service," 81-94. Consider also the quite obvious correspondences between passages in a letter of Joseph Smith to James Arlington Bennett, dated 13 November 1843 (*History of the Church* 6:73-78), and passages in Phelps's funeral sermon for Smith, published in Richard Van Wagoner and Steven C. Walker, "The Joseph/Hyrum Smith Funeral Sermon," *Brigham Young University Studies* 23 (Winter 1983): 9-18.

²⁹Phelps, "The Lord's Prayer," *Times and Seasons* 4 (1 September 1843): 319.

continued this practice to some degree for the rest of his life.³⁰ If it was unique for Joseph Smith to write a poetic paraphrase of scripture, it was not at all unusual for Phelps, who in early 1843 was also helping Joseph compile a new edition of the Doctrine and Covenants.³¹

Perhaps not surprisingly, the poetic paraphrase of "The Vision" contains many passages that read more like Phelps than Smith.³² Consider the following points:

1. The prose version of "The Vision" refers to terrestrial inhabitants as those "who are not valiant in the testimony of Jesus," while the poem changes the reference to those who were "not valiant for truth." It is hard to imagine Joseph would have changed the original wording here, since he was very particular about the phrase "the testimony of Jesus."³³

2. The poem (stanza 58) alludes to the parable of the leaven (Matt. 13:33), likening the "three measures of meal" to the three kingdoms of glory. Joseph Smith, however, always interpreted the "three measures" as referring to the three witnesses of the Book of Mormon or to the three members of the First Presidency.³⁴

3. The seventh stanza refers to "the council in Kolob." Except for his translation of the Book of Abraham, no record exists that Smith ever alluded to Kolob as the site of the heavenly "council." Phelps, however, had an abiding interest in this subject, as with other arcane ideas linked to his work on the so-called "Kirtland Egyptian Papers."³⁵

³⁰Phelps, Letters to Brigham Young, 16 January 1860 and 29 September 1862, Whittaker notes.

³¹Faulring, *An American Prophet's Record*, 305.

³²I am basing statements about Smith's typical usage on the entries in Truman Madsen, ed., *Concordance of Doctrinal Statements of Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: I.E.S. Publishing, 1985), which indexes the *History of the Church*, Jesse's *Personal Writings*, and Andrew F. Ehat and Lyndon W. Cook, comps. and eds., *The Words of Joseph Smith: The Contemporary Accounts of the Nauvoo Discourses of the Prophet Joseph* (Provo, Utah: BYU Religious Studies Center, 1980). My conclusions about Phelps's usage derive from a less systematic but still thorough examination over the past ten years of his published and unpublished works—poetry, essays, letters, editorials, sermons, and almanacs.

³³See his comments in *History of the Church* 3:28, 226, 229; 5:215.

³⁴*History of the Church* 2:270 and 5:207.

(His well-known poem that begins "If you could hie to Kolob" is a good example.)

4. The twelfth stanza refers to a time "before the world was or a system had run." The allusion here to a cosmic/planetary *system* differs from every other instance of Smith's use of that word, which he reserved for religious and political systems. Phelps, however, used *system* frequently to denote cosmic things. In his poem "The Sky," for example, he observes that "there [in the sky] systems roll in endless light"; in his funeral sermon for Joseph and Hyrum Smith he speaks of the souls of men passing "from system to system"; and in an 1844 letter to William Smith he mentions having gleaned from Joseph's Egyptian documents the precise age of "this system, (not this world)."³⁶

5. The poetic paraphrase is filled with characteristically Phelpsian usages and constructions: the exclamatory "alas!" inserted twice in the text (stanzas 22 and 28), phrases such as "eternity's heirs" (46) and "the archives of heaven" (51), and parallelisms such as "eternity goes and eternity comes" (30) or "in darkness they worshipp'd; to darkness they go" (72).

6. In the poem's last stanza, the poet writes:

I will go, I will go, while the secret of life
Is blooming in heaven, and blasting in hell;
Is leaving on earth, and a budding in space:
I will go, I will go, with you, brother, farewell.

Not only is the floral imagery more compatible with Phelps's style than Smith's, but the use of the word "space" is peculiar. While Phelps often used the word to denote universal space, Smith never did in any of his available writings and speeches. He reserved it for its more mundane applications—a space in which to put something, or a space of time.

7. Finally, the poem contains two similar references to virtue,

³⁵Nibley, "The Meaning of the Kirtland Egyptian Papers," 359-62, 369, 391.

³⁶Phelps, "The Sky," *Times and Seasons* 6 (1 May 1845): 895; Van Wagoner and Walker, "The Joseph/Hyrum Smith Funeral Sermon," 11; Phelps, Letter to William Smith, 25 December 1844, *Times and Seasons* 5 (1 January 1845): 758.

the first in stanza 1 ("virtue's the value, and life the reward"), and the second in stanza 40 ("virtue's the value, above all that's priced"). Not only did Phelps use the word "virtue" in his essays and letters far more than Smith, but also, in his autograph book response to Phelps, Smith made it clear he thought virtue something less than "*the* value above all that's priced"—charity was greater.³⁷

There are two other considerations: meter and point of view. The strict meter of "Vade Mecum" differs slightly from the somewhat freer meter of the poetic paraphrase of "The Vision." At least one scholar has proposed that the practicing poet Phelps would naturally be more scrupulous in his attention to meter, accent, and syllabification than the fledgling poet Joseph Smith.³⁸

But in the Neff autographs, Smith's poem is a quatrain in common meter (8-6-8-6), while Phelps's is quite irregular (8-10-9, with a rhyming signature of 4, 6). In fact, except for hymns, which had to fit a tune, metrical freedom characterized most of Phelps's work. Thus, the metrical raggedness of the poetic paraphrase of "The Vision" cannot argue for Smith's authorship.

Although the vision of degrees of glory was an experience jointly experienced and recounted by Smith and Rigdon and is thus recorded as "we saw," etc., the poetic paraphrase uses first person singular ("I saw," etc.) throughout. The change may be due to the rhetorical context of the poem: if it were published specifically to vindicate his prowess as a bona fide post-biblical prophet, its voice might well be that of Smith alone. Some might also see the change as a reflection of the strain that had arisen between Smith and Rigdon. Much of that strain, however, seems to have been overestimated.³⁹ In any case, on 11 February 1843, Smith and Rigdon were fully reconciled. According to Smith's diary, he "had been conversing with Elder Rigdon and he and his family were willing to be saved. Good feelings prevailed and we have shaken hands together."⁴⁰ Thus,

³⁷It is possible, of course, that by the time of his 1844 quatrain, Smith had changed his mind; he seldom used "virtue" as an abstract value, and it appears primarily in formulaic expressions like "by virtue of." See Madsen's concordance.

³⁸Richard Holzapfel, in personal conversation and in earlier drafts of his "Eternity Sketch'd in a Vision."

³⁹*History of the Church*, 5:121-23.

bitterness should not have been a factor in excising Rigdon from the verse account, particularly if Smith “dictated” the poem on 24 February 1843, as the official *History of the Church* claims. (See discussion below.)

Another reason why such an excision seems unlikely is Smith’s scrupulousness about testimony regarding supernatural events, in part because he accepted the scriptural law of “two or three” witnesses.⁴¹ Like most Mormon leaders, he appealed to multiple witnesses of religious phenomena whenever possible. The prose account of Smith and Rigdon’s vision even alludes to “the many testimonies which have been given” of Christ, calling their own testimony the “last of all” (D&C 76:22). Because this revelation was largely an expansion and clarification of the apostle Paul’s discussion of the resurrection, their statement clearly is an addendum to the catalogue of witnesses Paul enumerates (1 Cor. 15:5-8, where he lists his own testimony as “last of all”). So it seems doubtful that Smith would have negated an additional testimony of the vision by removing all reference to Rigdon in a poetic version.⁴²

Unfortunately, no manuscript version of the poem in Smith’s or Phelps’s hand has been found. Smith’s papers include a holograph of the two poems, but the two run continuously one to the other, suggesting that this version is a copy from other sources.⁴³ The exact date of composition is also blurry. Willard Richards kept Smith’s diary during this period, filling it with accounts of mundane happenings or notes on sermons. He recorded the entire “Mormon Jubilee” text that he had co-written with William Law, but the only mention of “Come with Me” is the entry for 20 January 1843: “Phelps presented some po[e]try to Joseph Smith the Prophet—‘Will

⁴⁰In Faulring, *An American Prophet’s Record*, 302.

⁴¹Even Brigham Young, who was later hostile toward Rigdon, took care to attribute the vision to both. See *Journal of Discourses* 6:293, 9:107, 16:42.

⁴²It is unclear how Phelps felt about Rigdon; after Smith’s assassination, he argued for Rigdon’s expulsion from the Church and alluded to a passage in “the Vision” (D&C 76:99-100): “Brother Sidney is endeavoring to draw off a party, and he will be like those who are spoken of in the vision: some for Paul, some for Apollos, some for Cephas, &c.” “Continuation of Elder Rigdon’s Trial,” *Times and Seasons* 5 (1 October 1844): 633.

⁴³Joseph Smith, Papers, Miscellany, Box 5, Folder 18, LDS Church Archives.

you go with me in.”⁴⁴ (The garbling of the first line suggests that Richards did not read the poem closely.) There is no mention in the diary that Smith ever composed a poem in response, let alone one so vast as “The Vision.”

The diary Richards kept for Joseph Smith provided the basis for the corresponding passages in the official “History of Joseph Smith,” serialized in the *Deseret News* and the *Millennial Star*, and later published as the *History of the Church*. The rough draft of this history for the date 20 January 1843 originally read “Bro Phelps presented me with the following,” after which was a citation to the *Times and Seasons* publication of “Go With Me.” The introductory words were later crossed out and inexplicably replaced by: “I received the following communication.”⁴⁵ For the date of 24 February 1843, however, the published history made a crucial emendation. The diary entry closed after mentioning that the Prophet “walked a way with Elder Young at about 3 P.M.” The printed version of the history added: “In reply to W. W. Phelps’ Vade Mecum, or ‘Go with me,’ of 20th of January last, I dictated the following answer,” after which appeared the entire text of the poetic paraphrase.⁴⁶ No plausible basis has been found for this emendation, apparently intended as a correction by one of the workers in the Church Historian’s Office. Willard Richards seems an unlikely source. He had kept the original diary himself, contemporaneously recording the receipt of a poem from Phelps, the production of a poem by Eliza Snow, and the entire text of his own co-written poem. Would he have neglected to mention Smith’s composition of a very long poem, one probably requiring a great deal of time to compose, and one contributing new and unique doctrine? And if Smith simply “dictated” it in the late afternoon or

⁴⁴In Faulring, *An American Prophet’s Record*, 293.

⁴⁵Early Drafts of the *History of the Church*, CR 100 92, holograph in LDS Church Archives.

⁴⁶This emendation first appeared in “History of Joseph Smith,” *Deseret News*, 14 May 1856. Unfortunately the corresponding page for the rough draft of the history is missing. Woodford, “Historical Development of the Doctrine and Covenants,” cites the same passage as published in *History of the Church* 5:288, as authority for attributing the poem to Smith.

evening of a single day, that would have been a feat rivalling his dictation of prose revelations. Far less significant literary endeavors received attention in the diary and far more humdrum matters were dutifully noted (such as the reference to Smith "walking a way" with Brigham Young). Why not the poem?

Several points, then, argue for Phelps's authorship of the poem. First, much of the poem's diction and imagery is more characteristic of Phelps than Smith. Second, the poem seems to deny Rigdon his irrevocable place as a witness to the vision. Third, Smith's diary inexplicably makes no mention of his creation of so weighty a document. Fourth, Phelps was authorized to write for Smith. Fifth, he was practiced in poetic paraphrases of scripture.

How and why did the poem probably come to be? The Phelps "Go With Me" is scarcely a self-contained work. Rather, it seems little more than a pretext for the poetic paraphrase of "The Vision." Although Phelps might have given "Go With Me" to Smith, expecting him to respond in kind, it is unlikely. Phelps, of all people, knew well the demands on the Prophet's time: Smith needed Phelps to write for him, not the other way around. It is more plausible that the poem presented to Joseph Smith on 20 January 1843 and mentioned in his diary was already in two parts—the invitation and the response. This scenario is even implied by "Ancient Poetry," which consistently refers only to a "poetic composition" (not compositions) authored by "our poet" (not poets).⁴⁷ This two-part poetic composition would have arisen from Phelps's affection for the Prophet, his joy at Smith's release, his renewed interest in scriptural paraphrase, his assignment as Smith's ghostwriter, and his work on the new edition of the Doctrine and Covenants.

EPILOGUE

Shortly after Smith's death, Phelps revised "Go With Me" from a plea *to* the Prophet into a plea *from* the Prophet. The revision (with four new stanzas added) was called "A Voice from the Prophet: Come to Me." A rather strange invitation to join Smith in the spirit world (presumably by dying), it was published as a song on the back page

⁴⁷Phelps may even have written the preface; compare Phelps's essay "Sacred Poetry," *The Evening and the Morning Star* 1, no. 6 (November 1832): [5].

of the *Times and Seasons* and the *Nauvoo Neighbor*. "Come to Me" included a note that the words were to be sung to the tune of "The Indian Hunter," but made no reference to its earlier incarnation as "Go With Me."

Like most songs linked to Smith's martyrdom, "Come to Me" became a sentimental favorite. Many Saints copied it into their journals or fashioned their own homespun adaptations of the song. Eliza Snow wrote at least two versions. One was an exhortation to flee to the West, ending with the stanza:

Let us go, let us go to the far western shore,
Where the blood-thirsty "Christians" will hunt us no more;
Where the waves of the ocean will echo the sound,
And the shout of salvation extend the world round.⁴⁸

The second version celebrated the return of Brigham Young and Heber C. Kimball to the Salt Lake Valley in 1848 ("You have come, you have come to the valley once more").⁴⁹ Levi Hancock wrote a version to his children, a plea for them to visit him ("Come to me, will you come, all my children forlorn").⁵⁰ From 1849 to 1927 Phelps's "Come to Me" appeared in Mormon hymnbooks. Specially composed musical settings of the text were featured in the *Latter-day Saints' Psalmody* of 1889 (#298) and in *Latter-day Saint Hymns* of 1927 (#157). In 1905 the *Improvement Era* published four verses of the text under the heading "Voice from Joseph."⁵¹

But unlike "Come to Me," the poetic paraphrase of "The Vision" never fully captured the Saints' affection. There are perhaps two reasons for this. One is that "The Vision" itself remained for many years a troublesome doctrinal statement for the Saints.⁵² Another

⁴⁸"Let Us Go," in Eliza R. Snow, *Poems, Religious, Historical, and Political*, Vol. 1 (Liverpool: F. D. Richards, 1856), 146-47.

⁴⁹This song, under the heading "To Prest. B. Young & Councillor H. C. Kimball," is in a folder of manuscript songs in the Thomas Bullock Papers, MS 12475, LDS Church Archives.

⁵⁰Levi Hancock, Poetry Book, holograph, LDS Church Archives.

⁵¹*Improvement Era* 9 (December 1905): 93.

⁵²James B. Allen, Ronald K. Esplin, and David J. Whittaker, *Men with a Mission*,

reason may be found in the mediocrity of the poetry. Consider the reception of the poem in Great Britain. Six months after the *Times and Seasons* printing of "Ancient Poetry" and its accompanying poems, all three items appeared in the *Millennial Star*. The editor, Thomas Ward, took occasion to comment:

We have thought fit to publish the piece entitled Ancient Poetry, from the pen of our beloved president Joseph Smith, because of the intrinsic merit of the subject matter, the glorious doctrines and sublime truths which it comprises. We are well aware that the construction of the verse may be subject to criticism, but we should certainly pity the individual who would make the inequalities of measure, or whatever else he may deem faults, an extinguisher of the rare and sublime doctrines it contains.⁵³

Thirty-five years later, Mormon writer Edward Tullidge similarly criticized the poem while in the process of defending it. In his *Life of Joseph the Prophet*, he noted that Smith had expanded "the Messianic subject, not only to the including of a host of nations, but a host of worlds!" He then cited Smith's "poem, vast in compass of idea, if not strictly artistic in versification," and quoted three and a half stanzas to bolster his point. After the quotation, however, he felt compelled to reiterate his criticism: "Whatever may be said of the versification, the subject is infinitely vast."⁵⁴

B. H. Roberts was even less kind to the poem. In his multi-volume collation of the *History of the Church* (1902), for the date of 24 February 1843, Roberts altered the statement that had appeared in the *Deseret News* and *Millennial Star* publications of the "History of Joseph Smith." He included the words "In reply to W. W. Phelps' Vade Mecum, or 'Go with me,' of 20th of January last, I dictated" but changed "the following" to "an answer." He then omitted the entire poem, noting in brackets, "It consisted of the 'Revelation known as the Vision of the Three Glories,' Doctrine and Covenants, section lxxvi, made into verse." He gave no further information for the reader

1837-1841: *The Quorum of the Twelve Apostles in the British Isles* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1992), 241.

⁵³Editorial, *Millennial Star* 4 (August 1843): 62-63.

⁵⁴Edward Tullidge, *Life of Joseph the Prophet* (New York: Tullidge and Crandall, 1878), 361-62.

who might be interested in reading it.⁵⁵ So deliberate an omission suggests that Roberts considered the poem unrepresentative, embarrassing, or both. His annotated copy of the *Millennial Star's* "History of Joseph Smith" gives no indication of why he might cut the poem. He even marked two stanzas (19-20), as though with approbation, probably because of one unique doctrine there: all inhabitants of the universe, "from the first to the last, / Are sav'd by the very same Saviour of ours."⁵⁶ It is clear from the body of his work, however, that Roberts revered the Prophet and would never have omitted anything he thought Smith himself had authored. He also had little tolerance for the more loquacious contributions of Phelps, which he exposed wherever he could. He chided Phelps's ghostwriting for its "displays of pedantry . . . in no way germane to the subjects of which they treat," insisting that they "mar" the Prophet's work.⁵⁷

Except for Roberts's edition of *History of the Church*, the poem received no mention in all of the standard biographies of Joseph Smith through the mid-twentieth century. In the 1930s I. B. Ball published essays in the *Improvement Era* on poetry in Joseph Smith's writings, but did not cite the poetic paraphrase of "The Vision."⁵⁸ It was not until 1951 that the poem was reprinted, in Nels Lundwall's book entitled *The Vision*.⁵⁹ In 1958 Bruce R. McConkie quoted four stanzas in his popular *Mormon Doctrine*, under the heading "Atonement of Christ." He called it an "explanation" of Smith's and Rigdon's vision in Doctrine and Covenants

⁵⁵*History of the Church*, 5:288.

⁵⁶The annotations on the poem consist only of several pencilled check marks and an orange crayon bracket to the right of stanzas 20-21—the stanzas most often cited by later scholars because they clearly say that Christ is the Savior of the inhabitants of all other worlds. See the bound *Millennial Star* volumes in the Brigham Henry Roberts Collection, LDS Church Archives.

⁵⁷*History of the Church* 6:75 note; see also Truman G. Madsen, *Defender of the Faith: The B. H. Roberts Story* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1980), 291-92.

⁵⁸I. B. Ball, "The Poetic Quality in the Writings of Joseph Smith," *Improvement Era* 37 (December 1934): 717, and 38 (December 1935): 734-35.

⁵⁹N. B. Lundwall, comp., *The Vision; or, The Degrees of Glory* (Kaysville, Utah: Inland Printing, 1951), 154-64—and many subsequent printings, many of them without dates. The book is a compendium of doctrinal statements related to the vision of the degrees of glory.

76.⁶⁰ In 1967 a facsimile reprint of the *Times and Seasons* made the poem more accessible to students of Mormon history and literature. Since then, it has received more attention than in all the years since its first publication. But the question of authorship seemed to have become moot.

Authorship should not be an insignificant question to those who want to understand the legacy of Joseph Smith. If he wrote the poem, then it would indeed be an important text. It would show the Prophet endeavoring to expand his literary powers into a new genre. It would feature some new word patterns and interpretations that may impinge on other texts of the period. It would connote a radical and very public change in his attitude toward shared visionary experience. It would also cast some doubt on the reliability of his diary concerning what he did and when he did it. But Phelps's probable authorship of the poem, and Smith's tacit acceptance of it as his own, raise additional questions. Why would Smith allow it to be published over his name? How vague did he want the boundaries of his written canon to be? Did he actually welcome the creation of an apocrypha around his name? The authorship of the poetic paraphrase of "The Vision" is another piece in the puzzle of Joseph Smith—who he was, how he worked, what he aspired to be, and how he hoped to be remembered.

⁶⁰Bruce R. McConkie, *Mormon Doctrine* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1958), 63. McConkie's source was the poem's *Millennial Star* publication.

THE LDS CHURCH'S CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT

D. Michael Quinn

After the 1982 defeat of the proposed Equal Rights Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, sociologist O. Kendall White wrote that "small Mormon minorities exerted disproportionate influence over the fate

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He describes himself as dubious about the Equal Rights Amendment during its attempted ratification. "As the child of a single mother who worked in factories while I was growing up," he says, "I was opposed to the loss of gender-specific protective legislation which had benefitted her. I was not willing for those provisions to be suspended for even one day by ratification of the ERA. However, I did not accept the claims that the Equal Rights Amendment was a threat to family life, and I supported the gender equality intent of the amendment. From inside sources, I was aware of many of the LDS Church-sponsored actions in the anti-ERA campaign. At the time I felt no criticism for what headquarters planned to do at the IWY conference in Utah in 1977 or what LDS leaders were doing as part of the Church's anti-ERA campaign outside Utah during the next five years. I did not inform my pro-ERA friends of what I knew, but I regretted then (as I do now) the polarization, polemical hysteria, and disaffection surrounding the ERA."

of the ERA in Virginia, Missouri, Florida, Illinois, and North Carolina." As a result, White, a Mormon who had favored ratification, concluded that Mormons tipped the scales against ratification of the ERA for the entire nation.¹

Yet two historians analyzing the defeat of the ERA barely mention the influence of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.² The LDS Church's officially published almanac gives only one reference to the Equal Rights Amendment: the date of its defeat in June 1982.³

These contrasting views raise three questions: (1) Did the LDS Church conduct a significant national campaign against ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment? My answer is yes. The LDS Church was part of a religious coalition which was decisive in defeating the ERA. (2) In this campaign, did the Church "subvert" the American political process? White implies that it did, while non-Mormon sociologist Anson D. Shupe, who sees the LDS Church in conspiratorial terms, made the charge explicit.⁴ I argue

¹O. Kendall White Jr., professor of sociology, Washington and Lee University at Lexington, Virginia, "Overt and Covert Politics: The Mormon Church's Anti-ERA Campaign in Virginia," *Virginia Social Science Journal* 19 (Winter 1984): 14. White was in an alphabetical list of Mormons who favored the ERA and wrote supportive letters to Sonia Johnson, Folder 1, Box 11, Sonia Johnson Papers, Manuscripts Division, J. Willard Marriott Library, University of Utah, Salt Lake City.

²Jane J. Mansbridge, *Why We Lost the ERA* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), 3, limited discussion of the LDS Church to half of one sentence in the text: "Opposition to the ERA . . . centered in the fundamentalist South, including southern Illinois, and in the Mormon states of Utah and Nevada, where the Mormon church actively fought the ERA." Mary Frances Berry, *Why ERA Failed: Politics, Women's Rights, and the Amending Process of the Constitution* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986), 76, reported the LDS Church president's official opposition to the ERA, but mentions nothing of the Church's lobbying efforts, even in Utah.

³*Deseret News 1993-1994 Church Almanac: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1992), 366.

⁴White, "Overt and Covert Politics," 15-16; White, "Mormonism and the Equal Rights Amendment," *Journal of Church and State* 31 (Spring 1989): 249-267, esp. 252-54, 266-67. For Shupe's conspiracy interpretations of the LDS Church, see Shupe and John Heinerman, "Mormonism and the New Christian Right: An Emerging Coalition?" *Review of Religious Research* 27 (December 1985): 146-157; Heinerman and Shupe, *The Mormon Corporate Empire* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1985), 144-52; Shupe, *The Darker Side of Virtue: Corruption, Scandal, and the Mormon Empire*

that the anti-ERA activities of the LDS Church, as well as of other churches, neither subverted nor abused the American political system. Churches, like other special interest groups, have a right to use the political processes to further their own interests as long as they are prepared to absorb the political costs involved. (3) Were such activities, if they occurred, an aberration in Mormon history? Again the answer is no.

I will discuss the last question first, then trace the history of the LDS Church's development of its anti-ERA campaign, describe the conduct of that campaign, examine the role of the International Women's Year state conventions as part of the larger picture, and analyze the costs and benefits to the Church of its anti-ERA involvement.

THE PERSPECTIVE OF SONIA JOHNSON

Sonia Johnson, a self-proclaimed "radical feminist" and national president of "Mormons for the Equal Rights Amendment," testified in 1978 before the U.S. Senate about a golden age in Mormonism when intellectually independent Mormon women of the nineteenth century had campaigned for women's suffrage and for other rights that ratification would now assure for women.⁵

Excommunicated from the LDS Church in December 1979 for the stridency of her pro-ERA campaign,⁶ Johnson had a confronta-

(Buffalo, N.Y.: Prometheus Books, 1991).

⁵In 1978, she decided the label "radical feminist" described her accurately. Sonia Johnson, *From Housewife to Heretic* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday and Co., 1981), 111; Sonia Johnson testimony before the U.S. Senate Constitutional Rights Subcommittee, 4 August 1978, beginning with her prepared statement, followed by questions and answers, transcript, Folder 1, Box 9, Johnson Papers.

⁶On her excommunication, see Johnson, *From Housewife to Heretic*, 321-53, Folders 1-8, Box 3, Johnson Papers; "Mormon Feminist Faces Church Trial," *New York Times*, 27 November 1979, B-11; "EXONERATE SONIA JOHNSON: The Following [257] People Support the Review of the Sonia Johnson Case," advertisement in *Salt Lake Tribune*, 27 November 1979, A-8 and in *Deseret News*, 27 November 1979, A-12; "Advertisement Protests Mormon Court Trial of Pro-ERA Activist," *Arizona Republic*, 28 November 1979, A-17; "Father Doesn't Back Daughter on ERA," *Deseret News*, 30 November 1979, A-17; "Feminist Rally Backs Sonia: Majority Not LDS," *Deseret News*, 1 December 1979, B-4; "Brother Backs LDS Church Against Sister," *Phoenix Gazette*, 1 December 1979, A-2; "Dozens Back Feminist Facing Mormon

tional meeting in February with Mormon apostle Gordon B. Hinckley and Neal A. Maxwell, then one of the presidency of the Seventy. "I told them that I miss the Church of my youth where we just went and heard the gospel, where we were taught correct principles and that when we left the Church building, we were on our own to try to figure out what to do with those principles, how to put them to work."⁷ Sonia Johnson and other pro-ERA Mormons objected that LDS leaders turned "Church meetings into precinct meetings" to

Expulsion," *New York Times*, 2 December 1979, I-32; "Mormon Leaders to Rule on ERA Advocate's Status," *Christian Science Monitor*, 3 December 1979, 2; "Mormon Feminist Awaiting Verdict of Her Church Trial," *New York Times*, 3 December 1979, A-18; Michael J. Weiss, "Irked by Sonia Johnson's ERA Crusade, Church Elders Throw the Book of Mormon at Her," *People Weekly*, 3 December 1979, 44-45; "Can a Mormon Support the ERA?" *Newsweek*, 3 December 1979, 88; "Mormon Church Excommunicates a Supporter of Rights Amendment," *New York Times*, 6 December 1979, A-26; "Mormon Feminist Sonia Johnson," *Christian Science Monitor*, 7 December 1979, 2; "Mormons Eject ERA Activist," *New York Times*, 9 December 1979, A-6; "A Savage Misogyny," *Time*, 17 December 1979, 80; Jan Shipp, "Sonia Johnson, Mormonism and the Media," *Christian Century*, 2 January 1980, 5-6; "Equal Rights Meets Its Martyr," *Macleans*, 21 January 1980, 37-38; Barbara Howard, "Sonia Johnson and Mormon Political Power," *Christian Century*, 6 February 1980, 126-27; Michael J. Weiss, "Sonia Johnson's Excommunication by the Mormons Cut the 'Big String' that Held Her Marriage Together," *People Weekly*, 11 February 1980, 45-56; "Sonia Johnson's Mid-life Crisis," *Phoenix Gazette*, 22 February 1980, B-22, B-23; "Church Court Action Clarified," *Ensign* 10 (March 1980): 79-80; Lisa Cronin Wohl, "Feminist Latter-Day Saint: Why Sonia Johnson Won't Give up on the ERA or the Mormon Church," *Ms.* 8 (March 1980): 39-42; Sydney Allen, "Mormon Crackdown Under Attack," *Christian Century*, 5 March 1980, 259-61; Claudia Capos, "The Mormon Kingdom: Crisis in Zion," *Detroit News Magazine*, 18 May 1980, 14-18, 22, 25, 31, 34-36, 38, 41; Mary L. Bradford, "The Odyssey of Sonia Johnson," and Sonia Johnson, "All on Fire: An Interview with Sonia Johnson," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 14 (Summer 1981): 14-26, 27-47; Sonia Johnson, "The Woman Who Talked Back to God and Didn't Get Zapped," *Ms.* 10 (November 1981): 51-54; Linda Sillitoe, "Off the Record: Telling the Rest of the Truth," *Sunstone* 14 (December 1990): 17-19; Alice Allred Pottmyer, "Sonia Johnson: Mormonism's Feminist Heretic," in Roger D. Launius and Linda Thatcher, eds., *Differing Visions: Dissenters in Mormon History* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994), 366-83.

⁷Interview with Gordon [B.] Hinckley and Neal [A.] Maxwell as recalled by Sonia Johnson, undated transcript of a meeting in February 1980, p. 5, Folder 1, Box 8, Johnson Papers; also Johnson, *From Housewife to Heretic*, 155.

defeat the Equal Rights Amendment. In their view, churches should not act politically.⁸

Was she correct? Had Mormonism previously been a non-partisan religion against which the Church's anti-ERA campaign was a modern aberration? The answer is no. Although the Church's political involvement has varied in its intensity, success, and level of internal support, it has never excluded itself completely from politics. In fact, Mormon theology mandates the LDS Church's political intervention.⁹

THE LDS CHURCH AS THEOCRACY

As with all issues in Mormonism, the essential starting point for Mormon civil theology is within the standard works of LDS scripture. In the midst of Andrew Jackson's first term (1829-33) when the

⁸Johnson, *From Housewife to Heretic*, 101-2; White, "Mormonism and the Equal Rights Amendment," 253; Lisa Cronin Wohl, "A Mormon Connection? The Defeat of the ERA in Nevada," *Ms.* 6 (July 1977): 70. However, some pro-ERA Mormons did not oppose the LDS leadership's right to speak out on other public issues.

⁹Discussions of Mormon political theory are found in G. Homer Durham, *Joseph Smith, Prophet-Statesman* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1944); Edward G. Janosik, "The Political Theory of the Mormon Church" (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1951); Gaylen L. Caldwell, "Mormon Concept of Individual Rights and Political Obligation" (Ph.D. diss., Stanford University, 1952); Hyrum L. Andrus, "Joseph Smith: Social Philosopher, Theorist, and Prophet" (D.S.S. diss., Syracuse University, 1955); Hyrum L. Andrus, *Joseph Smith and World Government* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1958); George R. Gayler, "A Social, Economic and Political Study of the Mormons in Western Illinois, 1839-1846" (Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, 1965); "The Political Ideas of Joseph Smith," in Kenneth W. Godfrey, "Causes of Mormon Non-Mormon Conflict in Hancock County, Illinois, 1839-1846" (Ph.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1967), 26-42; Hyrum L. Andrus, *Doctrines of the Kingdom*, Vol. 3 of *Foundations of the Millennial Kingdom of Christ* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1973), 352-401; Klaus J. Hansen, *Quest for Empire: The Political Kingdom of God and the Council of Fifty in Mormon History* (Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1967), 3-44; Edward Allen Warner, "Mormon Theodemocracy: Theocratic and Democratic Elements in Early Latter-day Saint Ideology, 1827-1846" (Ph.D. diss., University of Iowa, 1973); Gordon Pollock, "In Search of Security: The Mormons and the Kingdom of God on Earth, 1830-1844" (Ph.D. diss., Queen's University, 1977); Warren David Hansen, "Re-establishing Community: An Analysis of Joseph Smith's Social Thought in the Context of Philosophical Tradition" (Ph.D. diss., Rutgers University, 1980).

national rhetoric praised the common man and democracy, the Book of Mormon favored monarchy. Although the Book of Mormon warned about the dangers of having a tyrant upon the throne, monarchy was still the ideal: "If it were possible that ye could have just men to be your kings, which would establish the laws of God, and judge this people according to his commandments . . . then *it would be expedient that ye should always have kings to rule over you*" (Mosiah 29:13, Salt Lake City editions; emphasis mine).¹⁰ This scriptural passage establishes the ideal form of Mormon government as a theocratic monarchy of good men who would establish the laws of God, govern his people righteously, and prepare them for the coming of Christ.

In the Mormon conception of the perfect political system, individual freedom exists by being subject to Christ as king. A revelation of January 1831 stated: "Wherefore, hear my voice and follow me, and you shall be a free people, and ye shall have no laws but my laws, when I come, for I am your Lawgiver, and what can stay my hand?"¹¹ Prior to the establishment of this millennial rule, Mormons were conditioned by the Book of Mormon to regard authoritarian government by godly men as the stepping stone of this world which would lead to the perfect order of the next.

In August 1833, an important revelation established Mormonism as *imperium in imperio*—a religious sovereignty within the civil sovereignty of the United States of America, and governing became part of Joseph Smith's duties as God's representative on earth:

And now, verily, I say unto you concerning the laws of the land, it is my will that my people should observe to do all things whatsoever I command them.

¹⁰John W. Ward, *Andrew Jackson: Symbol for an Age* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1955); Marvin Meyers, *The Jacksonian Persuasion: Politics and Belief* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1957); Robert H. Wiebe, *The Opening of American Society: From the Adoption of the Constitution to the Eve of Disunion* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1984), 234-52, 265-90; Richard L. Bushman, "The Book of Mormon and the American Revolution," *Brigham Young University Studies* 17 (Autumn 1976): 3-20.

¹¹*The Doctrine and Covenants of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, Salt Lake City current edition, section 38:22, hereafter cited as D&C by section and verse number(s).

And that law of the land, which is constitutional, supporting that principle of freedom in maintaining rights and privileges, belongs to all mankind and is justifiable before me.

Therefore, I the Lord justifieth you, and your brethren of my church, in befriending that law which is the constitutional law of the land.

And as pertaining to law of man, whatsoever is more or less than these, cometh of evil.

I, the Lord God, make you free, therefore ye are free indeed; and the law also maketh you free.

Nevertheless, when the wicked rule the people mourn.

Wherefore, honest men and wise men should be sought for diligently, and good men and wise men ye should observe to uphold; otherwise whatsoever is less than these cometh of evil.

And I give unto you a commandment, that ye shall forsake all evil and cleave unto all good, that ye shall live by every word which proceedeth forth out of the mouth of God. (D&C 98:4-11)

In the wake of the nation's recent nullification crisis with South Carolina,¹² this Mormon revelation, though unnoticed outside the Church, was as inherently radical within the United States of America in 1833 as the Declaration of Independence was within the British Empire less than sixty years before. It immediately constricted the authority of all secular government and correspondingly expanded the prerogatives of a this-worldly theocracy.

First, this revelation gives religious law precedence over secular law, both civil and criminal. Second, "constitutional law" is defined as liberating, rather than as proscribing, personal conduct and rights. Third, the Mormons are to obey these secular laws, not because they were created by governmental authority to which the Mormons are subject, but only because God "justifies" the Mormons in obeying law which he deems "constitutional." Fourth, any divinely disapproved ruler or disapproved law "cometh of evil," which God commands Mormons to forsake. In short, this revelation requires Mormons to disobey secular laws and civil leaders that do not conform to the commandments of God. An earlier revelation had established Joseph Smith, as president of the Church, as the only source of binding commandments for the Church (D&C 28:2).

¹²Richard E. Ellis, *The Union at Risk: Jacksonian Democracy, States' Rights, and the Nullification Crisis* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987).

It is from this foundation of theocratic autonomy that all other political pronouncements of Mormonism must be understood, many of them enunciated during Joseph Smith's lifetime. Despite the first claims of God on members' obedience, Mormonism stressed civic loyalty as well. An 1833 revelation stated that God had "established the Constitution of this land," and instructed the Mormons to seek satisfaction through civil courts for losses sustained by persecution (D&C 101:80). An 1835 policy statement of belief supported civil government and obedience to secular laws and officers of government. The document added: "We do not believe it just to mingle religious influence with civil government, whereby one religious society is fostered and another proscribed in its spiritual privileges, and the individual rights of its members, as citizens, denied" (D&C 134:9). On the surface, this seems to be a denial of theocracy; but within the Mormon context, it was not. Further, an 1842 credo affirmed: "We believe in being subject to kings, presidents, rulers and magistrates, in obeying, honoring, and sustaining the law."¹³

It is important to recognize that Joseph Smith did not announce either the 1835 or 1842 statements as revelations, and both lack his authoritative pronouncement, "Thus saith the Lord." Further, the 1835 statement denies the right of civil government to limit the freedoms of competing religious societies. However, this statement does not address the situation in which a church permeates all functions of civil government, while allowing freedom to competing religious systems. In one sense, that has been the historic role of "civil religion" in Protestant America.¹⁴ The Mormon political ideal, real-

¹³Joseph Smith, Jr., et al., *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, edited by B.H. Roberts, 7 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1978), 4:541. These statements of belief are known to the LDS Church, headquartered in Salt Lake City as "The Articles of Faith," and by the RLDS Church, headquartered in Independence, as "The Epitome of Faith."

¹⁴Russell E. Richey and Donald E. Jones, eds., *American Civil Religion* (New York: Harper and Row, 1974); Catherine L. Albanese, *Sons of the Fathers: The Civil Religion of the American Revolution* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1976); Jonathan S. Woocher, *Sacred Survival: The Civil Religion of American Jews* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986); Andrew M. Manis, *Southern Civil Religions in Conflict: Black and White Baptists and Civil Rights, 1947-1957*

ized for a few years in Illinois and for a few decades in Utah, was a theocratic kingdom of God that would control a religiously tolerant society. Joseph Smith preached and created a gathered community of believers whom he (and later Brigham Young) forged into a people with a counter culture and a radical vision of their role as the vanguard of Christ's return.¹⁵

Thus, before the Church was five years old, Joseph Smith had set the stage for theocracy with scriptural endorsements of theocratic monarchy, an authoritarian system of priesthood, and divine injunctions to be one in all things under prophetic direction and to make decisions unanimously, thus avoiding factionalism (D&C 101:50, 102:3, 104:21, 107:27). Within that context, it was crucial that an early "Thus saith the Lord" revelation removed the dividing line between religious and secular concerns of Mormonism by stating that "all things unto me are spiritual" (D&C 29:34-35). Moreover, the 1833 revelation allowed Mormons to disregard "evil" laws and unwise rulers (which Mormon leaders would openly do for nearly sixty years thereafter). In a manner never clarified in Joseph Smith's revelations, this authoritarian and theocratic system was

(Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1987); Robert N. Bellah, *Varieties of Civil Religion* (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1980); Bellah, *Broken Covenant: American Civil Religion in Time of Trial*, 2d. ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992).

¹⁵Robert Bruce Flanders, *Nauvoo: Kingdom on the Mississippi* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1965); Hansen, *Quest for Empire*; D. Michael Quinn, "Socio-Religious Radicalism of the Mormon Church: A Parallel to the Anabaptists," in Davis Bitton and Maureen Ursenbach Beecher, eds., *New Views of Mormon History: A Collection of Essays in Honor of Leonard J. Arrington* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1987); Stephen C. LeSueur, *The 1838 Mormon War in Missouri* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1987); Eugene E. Campbell, *Establishing Zion: The Mormon Church in the American West, 1847-1869* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1988); Marvin S. Hill, *Quest for Refuge: The Mormon Flight from American Pluralism* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1989), xiv-xvi, 140; Kenneth H. Winn, *Exiles in a Land of Liberty: Mormons in America, 1830-1846* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989), 5, 85-95; Donald R. Moorman and Gene A. Sessions, *Camp Floyd and the Mormons: The Utah War* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1992); D. Michael Quinn, "The Kingdom of God in Nauvoo, Illinois," in his *The Mormon Hierarchy: Origins of Power* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1994).

supposed to mesh with the republicanism of the "divinely inspired" U.S. Constitution.

After the exodus of 1847, Mormonism dominated the social order of pioneer Utah; 99 percent of voters supported the candidates sponsored by the LDS Church in all but one election. In that single election, less than 4 percent of Utah's electorate voted against the approved candidates. There was no secret ballot in Utah until 1878, so it was easy for election officers (most of whom were LDS bishops) to identify dissenting voters.¹⁶ During the elections from the creation of Utah territory in 1850 until the mid-1880s, General Authorities dominated the Utah Legislature, comprising as much as 69 percent of its upper chamber.¹⁷ Even as Mormon leaders abandoned their resistance to federal authority in the 1890s and compromised to save the LDS Church and obtain Utah statehood, they remained involved in the political process behind the scenes.¹⁸

However, by the 1930s Mormons demonstrated marked independence from the political agenda of the Church's hierarchy. Although LDS president Heber J. Grant defined Prohibition as a "moral issue," Utah Mormons overwhelmingly "voted for anti-Prohibition candidates. Utah was the final state needed to ratify Prohibition's

¹⁶Ronald Collett Jack, "Utah Territorial Politics, 1847-1876" (Ph.D. diss., University of Utah, 1970), 69, 70, 99, 101, 104, 106, 108, 110-11, 116-17; "The Utah Election Law," *Deseret Evening News*, 29 January 1878, [2]; "The New Election Law," *Deseret Evening News*, 25 February 1878, [2].

¹⁷D. Michael Quinn, "From Sacred Grove to Sacral Power Structure," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 17 (Summer 1984): 24; also JoAnn Barnett Shippy, "The Mormons in Politics: The First Hundred Years" (Ph.D. diss., University of Colorado, 1965); Jan Shippy, "Utah Comes of Age Politically: A Study in the State's Politics in the Early Years of the Twentieth Century," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 35 (Spring 1967): 91-111; J. Keith Melville, *Conflict and Compromise: The Mormons in Mid-Nineteenth-Century American Politics* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1975); Edward Leo Lyman, *Political Deliverance: The Mormon Quest for Utah Statehood* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986); Ken Driggs, "The Mormon Church-State Confrontation in Nineteenth Century America," *Journal of Church and State* 30 (Spring 1988): 273-89; Eugene E. Campbell, *Establishing Zion: The Mormon Church in the American West* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1988), 201-31.

¹⁸See Lyman, *Political Deliverance*.

repeal in 1933.¹⁹ Although the Church-owned *Deseret News* ran front-page editorials urging Mormons not to vote for Democratic president Franklin D. Roosevelt, and J. Reuben Clark, counselor in the First Presidency, actively campaigned for Roosevelt's opponent, nearly 70 percent of Mormons voted for Roosevelt and the New Deal in four presidential elections between 1932 and 1944.²⁰

General Authorities in 1953-54 also tried to influence Utah's vote on reapportioning the legislature. Apostle Henry D. Moyle told some inquiring Mormons privately, "Brethren, don't you realize that if this proposal is passed that the Church will control twenty-six of twenty-nine [state] senators."²¹ In the pattern established by J. Reuben Clark, Democratic apostle Henry D. Moyle and Republican apostle Harold B. Lee jointly lobbied the legislators of their respective parties, reporting their success back to Clark and to David O. McKay, then Church president.²²

Ward bishops and stake presidents later acknowledged that "Church welfare trucks were loaded with pamphlets and sent to the various wards and stakes throughout the state [of Utah]. In many wards and stakes[,] priesthood members were handed bundles of

¹⁹John Kearnes, "Utah, Sexton of Prohibition," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 47 (Winter 1979): 4-21; also Larry Earl Nelson, "Problems of Prohibition Enforcement in Utah, 1917-1933" (M.S. thesis, University of Utah, 1970); John Kearnes, "Utah Electoral Politics, 1932-1938" (Ph.D. diss., University of Utah, 1972), 89-116.

²⁰Kearnes, "Utah Electoral Politics, 1932-1938," 197-200; Wayne Kendall Hinton, "The New Deal Years in Utah: A Political History of Utah (1932-1940)" (M.S. thesis, Utah State University, 1963), 183-89; Frank H. Jonas and Garth N. Jones, "Utah Presidential Elections, 1896-1952," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 24 (October 1956): 304-305; D. Michael Quinn, *J. Reuben Clark: The Church Years* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1983), 74-75, 86-87.

²¹Henry D. Moyle statement quoted in an interview with an unidentified person, 4 April 1956, in Kenneth Holmes Mitchell, "The Struggle for Reapportionment in Utah" (M.A. thesis, University of Utah, 1960), 96-97.

²²Quinn, *J. Reuben Clark*, 193; Mitchell, "The Struggle for Reapportionment in Utah," 97-102; J. Reuben Clark, Office Diary, 2 March 1953, 2 December 1954, Special Collections and Manuscripts Department, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, typed transcripts in my possession; Henry D. Moyle, Diary, 29 January, 6 March, 10 March, 12 March 1953, and David O. McKay, Office Diary, 12 March 1953, Historical Department Archives of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, (hereafter cited as LDS Church Archives), typed transcripts in my possession.

pamphlets and told to get them to every door in their areas." Bishops throughout Utah were also asked to read statements at sacrament meetings in support of reapportionment. The effort collapsed when a Mormon political scientist complained to McKay about these activities. Despite their former approval and encouragement, McKay and his counselors issued a statement that "the Church takes no position" regarding Utah's reapportionment. Despite all the evidence of LDS Church influence in support of the reapportionment plan, Utah's voters defeated it 142,972 to 80,044.²³ Sonia Johnson's memory of non-partisan Church meetings of her youth in Utah was faulty in view of this effort which apparently reached every LDS congregation, including her Cache Valley ward. She was eighteen at the conclusion of this political controversy in 1954.²⁴

The Mormon hierarchy's campaign for reapportionment in 1953-54 could not be justified as a "moral issue." Reapportionment was simply an effort to secure the LDS Church's "control of the [Utah] State Senate."²⁵ It is not clear what would have happened if McKay had been willing to accept public criticism for a private campaign that had been going on for a full year and had continued this activism. Not until 1968 did the Church launch another political campaign, this time against liquor by the drink in Utah, which was easily defined as a moral issue. Nevertheless, as a recent history published by Deseret Book Company observes: "Significantly, opposition to the Church's stand [on liquor by the drink] was not construed as disloyalty to the Church."²⁶

²³Mitchell, "The Struggle for Reapportionment in Utah," 113-14, 118-19; Frank H. Jonas, "Reapportionment in Utah and the Mormon Church," *Proceedings of the Utah Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters*, Vol. 46, Part 1 (1969): 19-20; Q. Michael Croft, "Influence of the L.D.S. Church on Utah Politics, 1945-1985" (Ph.D. diss., University of Utah, 1985), 90, 222-23.

²⁴For her residence in Utah during that period, see Bradford, "Odyssey of Sonia Johnson," 14-15.

²⁵Croft, "Influence of the L.D.S. Church on Utah Politics, 1945-1985," 8.

²⁶James B. Allen and Glen M. Leonard, *The Story of the Latter-day Saints*, 2nd ed. rev. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1992), 620; also "From Pres. McKay: Urges Stand Against Liquor Plan: Statement by President David O. McKay of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints," *Deseret News*, 11 May 1968, A-1; "Law of the Spirit: From Mormon Chief McKay, a call to battle against liquor by the drink,"

However, between those two Utah incidents, the First Presidency in 1965 quietly tried to secure the votes of Mormon Congressmen and senators in support of federal anti-union legislation. Although presented as a moral defense of "free agency," this action had the appearance of trying to maintain Utah's artificially low worker-wages and corporation-friendly economy. The effort backfired: Mormon Democrats disclosed the Church's effort to secure their congressional votes, a great deal of unwelcome publicity ensued, and half of the Mormon congressmen and senators voted contrary to the First Presidency's expressed wishes.²⁷

Nevertheless, a change was underway in Mormonism that has profoundly affected the political influence of the First Presidency since the 1950s. The Mormon hierarchy and Church publications encouraged an unprecedented adoration of Church president David O. McKay who was handsome, charismatic, warmly outgoing, long-lived, and extremely popular. Extensive use of radio and television heightened his personal and ceremonial impact on members of the Church. References in LDS conferences and publications in the early 1950s began identifying him as "the Prophet," "our Prophet," and "beloved Prophet." Those terms had previously applied to the mar-

Newsweek, 22 July 1968, 87-89; Gordon B. Hinckley, "Liquor by the Drink," *Improvement Era* 71 (October 1968): 4-7, released just before the election balloting to decide the matter; Croft, "Influence of the L.D.S. Church on Utah Politics, 1945-1985," 91.

²⁷"Congress Spurns Mormon Plea To Keep Taft-Hartley Section," *New York Times*, 15 July 1965, 19; "The Right to Vote," *Newsweek*, 26 July 1965, 83; "Mormons Soften Opposition to 'Right-to-Work' Section," *New York Times*, 26 July 1965, 11; "LDS Church Stands Firm: Right to Work," *Deseret News*, 27 July 1965, A-1; "LDS View on Work Law Unchanged: Rap Unauthorized Thinking," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 28 July 1965, 19; Robert L. Morlan, "Church and State: The Mormons and 14(b)," *Frontier*, July 1966, 9-11; H. George Frederickson and Allen J. Stevens, "The Mormon Congressmen and the Line Between Church and State," and Richard B. Wirthlin and Bruce D. Merrill, "The L.D.S. Church as a Significant Political Reference Group in Utah—Right to Work," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 3 (Summer 1968): 124-29, 129-33; Ken W. Dyal, former U.S. Congressman from California, to the editors, *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 3 (Autumn 1968): 11-14; David K. Elton, "The Mormons and the Right to Work Law" (M.A. thesis, Arizona State University, 1968).

tyred prophet, Joseph Smith, while the living LDS president had simply been "the President."²⁸

A side effect of this popular adoration of the person of the LDS president was political. It became more difficult for the majority of faithful Mormons to dissent from the First Presidency's political positions than it had been in the first half of the twentieth century. Reverence for the living president of the LDS Church recreated in Mormonism the kind of political unity that persecution and theocracy maintained in the nineteenth century.

INDEPENDENT WOMEN AND LDS LEADERSHIP, 1847-1970

What about Sonia Johnson's second claim: that nineteenth-century Mormon women exercised an autonomy rare in Victorian America? Here she was on firmer ground. Almost from its settlement by the Mormons in 1847, Utah women had equal access with males to Utah's institutions of higher education, the right to file for divorce on grounds of incompatibility, the virtual guarantee of such divorce petitions, the right to own property, the right to engage in any business enterprise, official encouragement to be trained as bookkeepers and take care of the family's finances if husbands were

²⁸Gary Huxford (born 1931), "The Changing Image of Prophet," *Sunstone* 5 (July-August 1980): 38-39 described this "shift" from his own experience as a pre-McKay youth. He was careful not to overstate his point and acknowledged that there were occasions at general conferences when pre-McKay presidents were called "the Prophet." However, they were the exceptions rather than the rule such designation became after the 1950s. The Huxford hypothesis, as I call it, is consistent with casual observations I have heard over the years by Samuel W. Taylor, George S. Tanner, Richard Poll, and numerous others.

Modeled on the computer analysis of general conference talks in Gordon Shepherd and Gary Shepherd, *A Kingdom Transformed: Themes in the Development of Mormonism* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1984), a researcher could test the Huxford hypothesis by running a computer search and historical analysis of every general conference use of the phrases "the president," "our president," "beloved president," "the prophet," "our prophet," "beloved prophet" with two commercially available software packages, *New and Expanded LDS Historical Library on CD-ROM* (Orem, Utah: Infobases International, Inc., 1993), which includes *Journal of Discourses* for 1855-86 and *Collected Discourses* for 1886-98 and a second software program, *1950-1970 Conference Addresses: 20 Years of General Conference Addresses at the Touch of a Key* (Orem, Utah: Infobases International, Inc., 1993).

inefficient, and official instruction to seek medical treatment from other women rather than from males. During the 1870s, Mormon women voted, served on the central committee of the Mormon political party, edited a Mormon suffragist periodical, graduated with M.D. degrees from eastern medical schools, administered the first Mormon hospital, became lawyers at the Utah bar. A Mormon woman in 1896 was the first female state senator in the nation.²⁹

²⁹A significant comparative study is Anne Firor Scott, "Mormon Women, Other Women: Paradoxes and Challenges," *Journal of Mormon History* 13 (1986-87): 3-19. See also Thomas G. Alexander, "An Experiment in Progressive Legislation: The Granting of Woman Suffrage in Utah in 1870," and Jean Bickmore White, "Gentle Persuaders: Utah's First Women Legislators," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 38 (Winter 1970): 20-30, 31-49; Jean Bickmore White, "Woman's Place Is in the Constitution: The Struggle for Equal Rights in Utah in 1895," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 42 (Fall 1974): 344-69; Maureen Ursenbach Beecher, "Three Women and the Life of the Mind," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 43 (Winter 1975): 26-40; Jill C. Mulvay, "Eliza R. Snow and the Woman Question," *Brigham Young University Studies* 16 (Winter 1976): 250-64; Jill C. Mulvay, "The Liberal Shall Be Blessed: Sarah M. Kimball," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 44 (Summer 1976): 205-21; Judith Rasmussen Dushku, "Feminists," and other relevant essays in Claudia L. Bushman, ed., *Mormon Sisters: Women in Early Utah* (Salt Lake City: Olympus Publishing Co., 1976); Beverly Beeton, "Woman Suffrage in Territorial Utah" and Miriam B. Murphy, "The Working Women of Salt Lake City: A Review of the *Utah Gazetteer, 1892-93*," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 46 (Spring 1978): 100-20, and 121-35; Jill Mulvay Derr, "Woman's Place in Brigham Young's World," *Brigham Young University Studies* 18 (Spring 1978): 377-95; Jill Mulvay Derr and Ann Vest Lobb, "Women in Early Utah," in Richard D. Poll, et al., eds., *Utah's History* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1978); relevant essays in Vicky Burgess-Olson, ed., *Sister Saints* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1978); Leonard J. Arrington, "Persons for All Seasons: Women in Mormon History," *Brigham Young University Studies* 20 (Fall 1979): 39-58; Maureen Ursenbach Beecher, "Women's Work on the Mormon Frontier," and Sherilyn Cox Bennion, "Enterprising Ladies: Utah's Nineteenth-century Women Editors," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 49 (Summer 1981): 276-90, 291-304; Carol Cornwall Madsen, "Mormon Women and the Struggle for Definition: The Nineteenth Century Church," *Sunstone* 6 (November-December 1981): 7-11, reprinted in *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 14 (Winter 1981): 40-47; Maureen Ursenbach Beecher, "The 'Leading Sisters': A Female Hierarchy in Nineteenth Century Mormon Society," *Journal of Mormon History* 9 (1982): 25-39, reprinted in D. Michael Quinn, ed., *The New Mormon History: Revisionist Essays on the Past* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1991); Kenneth W. Godfrey, Audrey Godfrey, and Jill Mulvay Derr, *Women's Voices: An Unwritten History of the Church, 1830-1900* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1982); Leonard J. Arrington and Susan Arrington Madsen, *Sunbonnet Sisters:*

A nineteenth-century Mormon woman could also attack the Victorian cult of the family³⁰ and still be rewarded with high Church office by the Mormon leadership. For example, as editor of the Mormon suffragist publication from 1875 onward, Emmeline B. Wells publicly ridiculed the Victorian image of womanhood as being the equivalent of "a painted doll" or "household deity." Instead she insisted that every married woman must be "a joint-partner in the domestic firm." The First Presidency appointed her as president of the Mormon women's world-wide organization, the Relief Society. She served as Relief Society president from 1910 until just weeks before her death in 1921.³¹

The Stories of Mormon Women and Frontier Life (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1984); Michael Vinson, "From Housework to Office Clerk: Utah's Working Women, 1870-1900," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 53 (Fall 1985): 326-35; Linda King Newell, "Gifts of the Spirit: Women's Share," and Jill Mulvay Derr, "'Strength in Our Union': The Making of Mormon Sisterhood," in *Sisters in Spirit: Mormon Women in Historical and Cultural Perspective*, edited by Maureen Ursenbach Beecher and Lavina Fielding Anderson (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987), 111-50, 153-207; Leonard J. Arrington, "Modern Lysistratas: Mormon Women in the International Peace Movement," *Journal of Mormon History* 15 (1989): 89-104; Martha S. Bradley, "Mary Teasdel: Yet Another American in Paris," and Harriet Horne Arrington, "Alice Merrill Horne: Art Promoter and Early Utah Legislator," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 58 (Summer 1990): 244-60, 261-76; Leonard J. Arrington, "The Legacy of Early Latter-day Saint Women," Tom Morain, "A Review," and Imogene Goodyear, "A Feminist Critique," *John Whitmer Historical Association Journal* 10 (1990): 3-17, 18-20, 21-23; Carol Cornwall Madsen, "'Feme Covert': Journey of a Metaphor," *Journal of Mormon History* 17 (1991): 43-61; and relevant essays in Maxine Hanks, ed., *Women and Authority: Re-emerging Mormon Feminism* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1992).

³⁰The classic essay on this is Barbara Welter, "The Cult of True Womanhood: 1820-1860," *American Quarterly* 18 (Summer 1966): 151-74, which she reprinted in her *Dimity Convictions: The American Woman in the Nineteenth Century* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1976). For other views see Carl N. Degler, *At Odds: Women and the Family in America from the Revolution to the Present* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980); Mabel Collins Donnelly, *The American Victorian Woman: The Myth and the Reality* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood-Praeger Press, 1986).

³¹Carol Cornwall Madsen, "A Mormon Woman in Victorian America" (Ph.D. diss., University of Utah, 1985), esp. 164-65; D. Michael Quinn, "Emmeline Blanche Woodward Wells," in John A. Garraty, editor, *American National Biography* (forthcoming). Also Carol Cornwall Madsen, "Emmeline B. Wells: 'Am I Not a Woman

However, from the 1920s onward, Mormon women experienced an erosion of their autonomy and status, both social and ecclesiastical. In this complex, multi-faceted development, General Authorities increasingly adopted Victorian America's ideals of domesticity and ignored early Mormon teachings and examples of female autonomy.³² Administratively the process was complete as of July 1970 when the First Presidency ended the financial autonomy of the Relief Society in a letter that also dismissed the organization's traditional fund-raising bazaar in congregations as "a noisy, carnival-like or commercial atmosphere."³³

THE ERA AND ITS MORMON SUPPORTERS TO 1974

Having become socially conservative in the twentieth century, LDS Church leadership spoke critically of "women's liberation" during the late 1960s and early 1970s. Coming on the heels of widespread anti-authoritarianism, the drug and "hippie" culture, the homosexual liberation movement, and a widespread rejection of traditional values, "equal rights" had become a slogan which polarized Americans.³⁴ For example, in January 1971, before the Equal Rights

and a Sister?" *Brigham Young University Studies* 22 (Spring 1982): 161-78; Carol Cornwall Madsen, "Emmeline B. Wells: A Voice for Mormon Women," *John Whitmer Historical Association Journal* 2 (1982): 11-22.

³²Lawrence Foster, "From Frontier Activism to Neo-Victorian Domesticity: Mormon Women in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries," *Journal of Mormon History* 6 (1979): 3-21; Linda King Newell, "A Gift Given, A Gift Taken: Washing, Anointing, and Blessing the Sick Among Mormon Women," *Sunstone* 6 (September-October 1981): 16-25.

³³Joseph Fielding Smith, Harold B. Lee, and N. Eldon Tanner statement, 17 July 1970, photocopy in my possession; statement summarized but not quoted in Jill Mulvay Derr, Janath Russell Cannon, and Maureen Ursenbach Beecher, *Women of Covenant: The Story of Relief Society* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1992), 341.

³⁴For feminist developments in the 1960s, see Eleanor Flexner, *Century of Struggle: The Woman's Rights Movement in the United States* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press/Harvard University Press, 1959); Betty Friedan, *The Feminine Mystique* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1963); William L. O'Neill, *Everyone Was Brave: The Rise and Fall of Feminism in America* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1969); *Voices of the New Feminism* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1970); Cellestine Ware, *Woman Power: The Movement for Women's Liberation* (New York: Tower

Amendment was reconsidered by Congress, the Joseph Fielding Smith presidency sent a printed message in which the Church president criticized "the more radical ideas of women's liberation." Each copy of the *Ensign* had a specially recorded vinyl disk of this message for home listening.³⁵ However, these conservative attitudes did not translate initially to opposition against the proposed Equal Rights Amendment, even within the First Presidency.

Although some Mormons became aware of the Equal Rights Amendment only in the 1970s, it had attracted congressional and First Presidency attention decades earlier. The National Woman's Party succeeded in introducing it for consideration in Congress in 1923. The Republican national platform officially endorsed the idea of an equal rights amendment for women in 1940, followed by the Democratic Party's national endorsement in 1944. However, despite

Publications, 1970); Shulmith Firestone, *The Dialectic of Sex: The Case for Feminist Revolution* (New York: Morrow, 1970); June Sochen, *The New Feminism in Twentieth-Century America* (Lexington, Mass.: D.C. Heath, 1971); Judith Hole, *Rebirth of Feminism* (New York: Quadrangle Books, 1971). For the social upheaval of the 1960s in America generally, see Kenneth Keniston, *Young Radicals: Notes on Committed Youth* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and World, 1968); Theodore Roszak, *The Making of a Counter Culture: Reflections on the Technocratic Society and Its Youthful Opposition* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1969); Philip Slater, *The Pursuit of Loneliness: American Culture at the Breaking Point* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1970); David Burner, Robert D. Marcus, and Thomas R. West, *A Giant's Strength: America in the 1960s* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1971); William L. O'Neill, *Coming Apart: An Informal History of America in the 1960's* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1971); Donald D. Warren, *The Radical Center: Middle Americans and the Politics of Alienation* (South Bend, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1976); Morris Dickstein, *Gates of Eden: American Culture in the Sixties* (New York: Basic Books, 1977); Charles R. Morris, *A Time of Passion: America, 1960-1980* (New York: Harper and Row, 1984); Allen J. Matusow, *The Unraveling of America: A History of Liberalism in the 1960s* (New York: Harper and Row, 1984); Kim McQuaid, *The Anxious Years: America in the Vietnam-Watergate Era* (New York: Basic Books, 1989).

³⁵"Message from the First Presidency," *Ensign* 1 (January 1971): 1. Although he wrongly dates the above statement as 1970, Val Norman Edwards, "A Rhetorical Analysis of Three Policy Statements of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints" (M.S. thesis, University of Utah, 1987), 32-77 gives a very perceptive analysis of the ideology and rhetoric of the LDS Church's campaign against women's liberation and against the Equal Rights Amendment.

this technical support by the major national parties for the next three decades, the idea lacked congressional support because of labor union arguments that this was an elitist proposal which threatened existing protections and benefits of female blue-collar workers.³⁶

On 25 January 1950, the U.S. Senate approved the carefully worded version of the Equal Rights Amendment. Its first clause was identical to the proposed Equal Rights Amendment a generation later, but its text in 1950 had an additional clause that was absent in the later proposal: "The provisions of this article shall not be construed to impair any rights, benefits, or exemptions now or hereafter conferred by law upon persons of the female sex." In 1950 Utah's two Mormon senators split their votes, Democrat Elbert D. Thomas for the amendment and Republican Arthur V. Watkins against.³⁷

The Relief Society general presidency assumed that First Presidency counselor J. Reuben Clark would oppose this 1950 Equal Rights Amendment due to his strict constructionist views of the U.S. Constitution. Instead, on the day of the U.S. Senate's vote, Clark responded to the Relief Society presidency and "suggested they keep out of it; there will be some of the women who think it is a fine thing."³⁸ There is no way of knowing whether the absence of the exemption clause would have affected J. Reuben Clark's acquiescent support of the proposed Equal Rights Amendment in the 1970s, since he died before the shortened ERA became a divisive national issue.

The Equal Rights Amendment was approved by the U.S. House of Representatives in October 1971 and by the U.S. Senate in March

³⁶Gilbert Y. Steiner, *Constitutional Inequality: The Political Fortunes of the Equal Rights Amendment* (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1985), 6-21; Donald Bruce Johnson, comp., *National Party Platforms*, 2 vols. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1978), 1:393, 403, 412, 453, 486, 504, 537, 554, 2:791, 820, 880, 976.

³⁷*Congressional Record* 96: 861; Joan Hoff-Wilson, ed., *Rights of Passage: The Past and Future of the ERA* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986), 122; "Mormons Who Have Served In U.S. Government (As of October 1982)," in *Deseret News 1983 Church Almanac: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1982), 284.

³⁸J. Reuben Clark, Office Diary, 25 January 1950. For Clark as a strict constructionist, see Martin B. Hickman, "J. Reuben Clark, Jr.: The Constitution and The Great Fundamentals," *Brigham Young University Studies* 13 (Spring 1973): 255-72.

1972, after which it began the ratification process by individual states. Without instructions from Church headquarters, LDS Congressmen voted their conscience across party lines, although Democratic Mormons tended to be more supportive of the ERA. In the House, the "aye" votes included Arizona's Morris K. Udall (D), and three Mormon representatives from California: Delwin M. Clawson (R), Richard T. Hannah (D), and John E. Moss (D). Two Republican Mormons abstained from the House vote: Utah's Sherman P. Lloyd and Idaho's Orval H. Hansen. Utah Democrat Gunn McKay was the only Mormon who voted against the ERA in the House. In the U.S. Senate, Utah's Wallace F. Bennett cast his Republican vote against the ERA, while Utah's Democratic senator Frank E. Moss voted for the amendment as did Nevada's Mormon senator Howard W. Cannon, also a Democrat.³⁹

As of December 1972, bipartisan action of twenty-two state legislatures ratified this proposed Equal Rights Amendment. LDS legislators voted for the ERA in Hawaii, Idaho, Colorado, and California where Mormons had significant percentages of the population. In states without Mormon representation in their legislatures, rank-and-file Mormons encouraged ERA ratification, especially in Maryland, where "Belt Route" Mormons were prominent near the nation's capital, and in Massachusetts where there was a thriving Mormon community in the Boston area.⁴⁰ Idaho ratified the ERA in a landslide vote of 58-5 in the House and 31-4 in the state Senate, with the aye-vote of nearly every legislator from the Mormon counties of southeastern Idaho. "I don't believe in women's liberation," said Republican representative Elaine Kearnes of Idaho Falls, "but I will go along with the women on this issue."⁴¹

³⁹*Congressional Record* 117:35815, 118:9598; "Mormons Who Have Served in U.S. Government (As of October 1982)," in *Deseret News 1983 Church Almanac*, 284.

⁴⁰Janet K. Boles, *The Politics of the Equal Rights Amendment: Conflict and the Decision Process* (New York: Longman, 1979), 2-3; Berry, *Why ERA Failed*, 64; Kate Gardner, "What The ERA Will Mean To You," *Exponent II: A Quarterly Newspaper Concerning Mormon Women, Published by Mormon Women, and of Interest to Mormon Women and Others* (Arlington, Mass.) 1 (July 1974): 2, its first issue.

⁴¹"Gem Legislature Ratifies Amendment to Ensure Women's Equal Rights," *Idaho*

In September 1974, twenty-four female legislators of Utah publicly endorsed the Equal Rights amendment. Twenty-one of these current and former legislators were Mormon, eighteen Democrats and three Republicans.⁴²

In fact, ERA support was dominant within the Mormon population in Utah, despite the social turmoil of the sixties and conservative criticism of the women's movement. In November 1974, the *Deseret News* published a survey showing that 63.1 percent of Utah-Mormons favored ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment. Even 70.3 percent of southern Utah's conservative population wanted the ERA.⁴³ By 1974, thirty-three states had ratified the amendment, without a contrary word from LDS headquarters concerning this support by two-thirds of the Union.⁴⁴

EARLY ANTI-ERA ACTIVITIES, 1974-77

Because of that evidence of widespread Mormon support for the Equal Rights Amendment, Church headquarters soon presented a different view. A recent history published by Deseret Book Com-

Statesman (Boise), 25 March 1972, 14; "Idaho Ratifies Equal Rights," *Idaho Falls Post-Register*, 25 March 1972, A-11.

⁴²*The Woman's Chronicler: The Equal Rights Amendment: Pertinent Issues Affecting Women—Distributed by the Utah Order of Women Legislators—Salt Lake City, Utah* 1 (September 1974), 2 (October 1976); also Delila M. Abbott and Beverly J. White, *Women Legislators of Utah, 1896-1933* ([Salt Lake City:], 1993); Church censuses, 1914-60, Family History Library, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah. Rearranged in alphabetical order, these LDS women were Delila Richards Abbott (Republican), Sunday Cardall Anderson (Democrat), Algje Eggertsen Ballif (Democrat), Reva Beck Bosone (Democrat), Vervene ("Vee") Carlisle (Democrat), Lois Bowen Christensen (Republican), Odessa Allred Cullimore (Democrat), Nellie Haynes Jack (Democrat), Cleo Lund Jensen (Democrat), Josephine Scott Jensen (Democrat), Mary Lorraine Haynes Johnson (Democrat), Margot Ralphs Cannon Kimball (Democrat), Della Lisonbee Loveridge (Democrat), Beatrice Petersen Marchant (Democrat), Ivie Vawdrey Mitchell (Democrat), Rebecca Adams Nalder (Democrat), Ethel Pyne (Republican), Elizabeth Miller Bodell Skanchy (Democrat), Rita Urie (Democrat), Mary Elizabeth Averett Vance (Democrat), and Beverly J. Larson White (Democrat).

⁴³"Most Favor Full Rights For Women," *Deseret News*, 15 November 1974, A-1, A-7.

⁴⁴Boles, *Politics of the Equal Rights Amendment*, 2-3.

pany observes that the "Special Affairs Committee, organized in 1974, gathered information on various questions that affected the Church and helped formulate a Church response."⁴⁵ Defeating the Equal Rights Amendment was apparently the specific reason for the organization of the Special Affairs Committee which began its behind-the-scenes activities a month after the *Deseret News* poll. Committee members Gordon B. Hinckley and James E. Faust, a Republican and a Democrat, asked the general president of the Relief Society to publicly oppose the Equal Rights Amendment. The two apostles "instructed" Barbara B. Smith "on what to say" in her speech to the LDS Institute of Religion at the University of Utah.⁴⁶ "It is my considered judgment that the Equal Rights Amendment is not the way," declared the prepared text of her talk on 13 December 1974. She continued: "Once it is passed, the enforcement will demand an undeviating approach which will create endless problems for an already troubled society."⁴⁷

For the time being, male leaders maintained public silence about the ERA and allowed Barbara Smith to be the proxy spokesperson for the policy statements of the Special Affairs Committee. Although sources at Church headquarters later verified that the General Authorities were already committed against the ERA before January 1975, Spencer W. Kimball declined to comment to the media that month about the proposed amendment because it was a "political" matter.⁴⁸

A week after the LDS president's noncommittal statement, Church headquarters gave the only signal necessary to defeat Utah's ratification of the ERA. An official editorial in the *LDS Church News*

⁴⁵Allen and Leonard, *Story of the Latter-day Saints*, 659.

⁴⁶Robert Gottlieb and Peter Wiley, *America's Saints: The Rise of Mormon Power* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1984), 204, and 269 which cites the correspondence of Barbara B. Smith with Doris M. Harker of the law firm of Romney, Nelson, and Cassity, as the source for this discussion.

⁴⁷"Equal Rights Amendment Is Opposed by Relief Society President," Church News section of the *Deseret News* (hereafter cited as *Church News*) 21 December 1974, 7; also "Relief Society President Assails ERA," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 14 December 1974, B-1.

⁴⁸*San Jose Mercury News* (4 January 1975); White, "Overt and Covert Politics," 11; Gottlieb and Wiley, *America's Saints*, 203-4.

opposed ratification, and Apostle Mark E. Petersen, widely known as author of these editorials, was universally assumed to be its author. The newspaper of Logan, Utah, predicted: "Church Stand Apparently Dooms ERA Amendment."⁴⁹

To no one's surprise, pro-ratification Mormon legislators switched sides to defeat the ERA in Utah, 54-21, on 18 February 1975. Bishop M. Byron Fisher, the Utah legislator who had previously co-sponsored the Equal Rights Amendment, explained that he now opposed the ERA due to the Church editorial: "It is my church and as a bishop, I'm not going to vote against its wishes."⁵⁰ However, an unsigned editorial in the *Church News* was not enough to discourage pro-ERA Mormons in Utah. In May 1975, former legislator Beatrice Marchant organized the Equal Rights Coalition of Utah.⁵¹

By fall 1976, thirty-four states had ratified the ERA, only four short of the requirement for the proposal to become part of the U.S. Constitution.⁵² Those at headquarters recognized that more than an unsigned editorial would be necessary to galvanize enough Mormons outside Utah to be effective. On 22 October 1976, the First Presidency issued a formal statement against ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment to the U.S. Constitution "which could indeed bring them far more restraints and repressions. We fear it will even stifle many God-given feminine instincts."⁵³

⁴⁹"Equal Rights Amendment," *Church News*, 11 January 1975, 16; "Church Stand Apparently Dooms ERA Amendment," *Herald Journal* (Logan, Utah), 19 January 1975, 1; Peggy Petersen Barton, *Mark E. Petersen: A Biography* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1985), 114; also *Church News*, 15 January 1984, 3 said that Mark E. Petersen "had written the editorials since the beginning of the weekly publication in 1931."

⁵⁰M. Byron Fisher statement in "ERA Effort Fails to Take Hold," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 22 January 1975, A-4; "Equal Rights Amendment Suffers Defeat Amid Emotional Voting," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 19 February 1975, A-1; "Utah House Rejects ERA by 54-21 Vote," *Deseret News*, 19 February 1975, A-1; White, "Overt and Covert Politics," 11; White, "Mormonism and the Equal Rights Amendment," 251.

⁵¹Minutes and by-laws, 6 May 1975, Collection of the Equal Rights Coalition of Utah, Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City; also Beatrice Marchant, "Common Carrier: Questions Church Political Influence," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 21 November 1976, B-14.

⁵²Boles, *Politics of the Equal Rights Amendment*, 2-3.

⁵³"LDS Leaders Oppose ERA," *Deseret News*, 22 October 1976, B-1; Peter James

Two months later on 29 December, Ezra Taft Benson, president of the Quorum of the Twelve, instructed all mission presidents and stake presidents in a supplemental letter: "As the Equal Rights Amendment issue is activated in some states, we suggest that you urge members of the Church, *as citizens* of this great nation, to join others in efforts to defeat the ERA."⁵⁴ Benson, a long-time advocate of the ultraconservative John Birch Society, had long taken a strict stand on the Constitution. During the Church's campaign against the Equal Rights Amendment, he also urged women to accept their traditional roles as full-time mothers and homemakers.⁵⁵

In January 1977, Apostle Boyd K. Packer delivered a major address against the ERA in Pocatello, Idaho. This was just days before Idahoans voted on a referendum to rescind the Idaho legislature's ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment. Although the legislature had sustained the ERA with a two-thirds majority, a simple majority of Idahoans now voted to rescind that action.⁵⁶ In a brief embarrassment to the LDS Church, the Idaho Secretary of State's office required Packer to show cause why he should not be prosecuted for violating

Caulfield, "Rhetoric and the Equal Rights Amendment: Contemporary Means of Persuasion" (D.A. diss., University of Michigan, 1984), 136-37 regarded the First Presidency's argument as a puzzling fear that legislation could alter biology.

⁵⁴Ezra Taft Benson, Letter to "All Stake and Mission Presidents in the United States," 29 December 1976, emphasis in original, photocopy in my possession.

⁵⁵For Apostle Ezra Taft Benson's relationship to the John Birch Society and my descriptive use of "ultraconservative," see D. Michael Quinn, "Ezra Taft Benson and Mormon Political Conflicts," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 26 (Summer 1993): 1-87. On 4 March 1979, Benson told males in a fourteen-stake fireside at Brigham Young University: "You are the provider, and it takes the edge off your manliness when you have the mother of your children also be a provider." Benson, "In His Steps," 1979 *Devotional Speeches of the Year* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1980), 64. On 26 September 1981, addressing the women's general meeting, Benson instructed them that their "first and most important role has been ushering [children] into mortality. . . . Adam was instructed to earn the bread. . . —not Eve. Contrary to conventional wisdom, a mother's place is in the home! . . . The responsibilities of motherhood cannot be successfully delegated." "The Honored Place of Woman," *Ensign* 11 (November 1981): 105-6.

⁵⁶"LDS Apostle Sees ERA As 'Threat' to Family," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 9 January 1977, B-4, 12 January 1977, 20; "Chronology: The Mormon Anti-ERA Campaign," *Mormons for ERA Newsletter* 5 (February 1983): [5].

the lobbyist registration law in his pre-vote speech.⁵⁷ Two months later, the Church printed Packer's talk in the official magazine for adults, *The Ensign*.⁵⁸

Idaho's federal district judge Marion J. Callister, who ruled on a challenge to the constitutionality his state's rescinding of its ERA ratification, was a regional representative of the Twelve. The evidence is clear that regional representatives had specific instructions from Church headquarters to coordinate activities to prevent ratification in other states (see section "The National LDS Anti-ERA Campaign, 1977-82" below), and Callister remained a regional representative of the Twelve until mid-way through the court case. Although the U.S. Justice Department and the National Organization for Women (NOW) both tried to remove him from the case, Callister refused to disqualify himself. He eventually ruled that it was constitutional for states to rescind their prior ratification of the ERA and unconstitutional to extend the ratification period. However, the U.S. Supreme court issued an indefinite "stay" of Callister's order, without overturning it.⁵⁹

One of Callister's three Mormon law clerks at this time was a son of Neal A. Maxwell, a General Authority member of the Special Affairs Committee which was in charge of the LDS Church's anti-ERA cam-

⁵⁷"Idaho Asks LDS Official to Respond," *Deseret News*, 21 January 1977, D-1; "Idaho Clears Church in Lobby Accusation," *Deseret News*, 22 January 1977, A-4.

⁵⁸Boyd K. Packer, "The Equal Rights Amendment," *Ensign* 7 (March 1977): 6-9.

⁵⁹"Regional Representatives [1967-82]," *Deseret News 1983 Church Almanac: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1982), 113; "Marion J. Callister Papers: The File on Idaho v. Freeman," MS 1512, Special Collections and Manuscripts Department, Lee Library; chronology of Callister's role in the Equal Rights Amendment, Folder 15, Box 2, Collection of Utah Women's Issues, 1970s-1980s, Manuscripts Division, Marriott Library; also "Judge's Removal Sought in Suit Against ERA," *New York Times*, 26 August 1979, 25; "NOW Renews Effort to Remove LDS Judge," *Deseret News*, 3 December 1979, A-1; "8 in House Seek Mormon Judge's Ouster in Rights Amendment Case," *New York Times*, 7 December 1979, A-23; "Idahoans Say Religion Won't Sway Judge on ERA," *New York Times*, 26 December 1979, A-20; "The Judge Gave Up the Wrong Task," *New York Times*, 29 January 1980, 18; "Judge Refuses to Drop Case on Rights Amendment," *New York Times*, 19 August 1980, 8; "Mormon Judge Challenged on Rights Amendment Suit," *New York Times*, 24 September 1980, A-7; "Laws of the Land: Callister's Decision," *Sunstone* 7 (March/April 1982): 60-63; Berry, *Why ERA Failed*, 79.

paign. Widely regarded as a politically liberal voice in the hierarchy because of his experience as a university professor, Maxwell's service with Hinckley on this Special Affairs Committee may have contributed to his appointment as the apostle's replacement in the Quorum of Twelve when Hinckley advanced into the First Presidency.⁶⁰

Six months after the Idaho vote to rescind, the anti-ERA campaign drew the Church into a broader resistance to the feminist movement as embodied in the International Women's Year conferences in the summer of 1977. This episode was important in reinforcing the commitment of Church leaders against what they perceived as a national feminist agenda, in testing political tactics that would be useful against state-level ratification efforts, and in proving how easily Mormon women could be mobilized for political causes in which they felt they were defending their families and manifesting loyalty to the Church.

THE IWY STATE CONFERENCES OF 1977

When the International Women's Year state conference was scheduled for 24 June 1977 in downtown Salt Lake City, LDS Church leaders initially resisted requests for them to encourage Mormon women to attend, because their attendance might seem to be an endorsement of feminism.⁶¹ Then it occurred to one of the authori-

⁶⁰LDS Official's Son Works for Idaho Judge," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 21 January 1980, C-6; *Deseret News 1993-1994 Church Almanac*, 15, 18; Gottlieb and Wiley, *America's Saints*, 92, 257; "Elder Gordon B. Hinckley Called to First Presidency, Elder Neal A. Maxwell to Quorum of Twelve," *Ensign* 11 (September 1981): 73. Maxwell A. Miller and Nancie George, "Judicial Activism and the Constitutional Amendment Process," *Journal of Social, Political, and Economic Studies* 9 (Fall 1984): 293-308 presented a seemingly thorough defense of Callister's conduct and decision in the Freeman case. However, their Mormon anti-ERA bias was evident in two respects: first, their citation of BYU law professor Rex E. Lee's booklet as the only source for legal interpretations of the ERA's consequences (293, 304 note 2); second, their dismissal of the validity of charges of religious bias against Callister (296, 298) without acknowledging that he was a regional representative, and therefore, like other regional representatives, received specific instructions from LDS headquarters to help defeat the ERA within their geographical jurisdictions. Nor did the authors acknowledge the possible significance that one of the judge's clerks was the son of a man who was directing the national campaign of Mormons against ratification of the ERA.

⁶¹Patricia Brim, "The IWY Conference in Utah," 4, Folder 35, Box 4, Collection

ties that a legion of loyal Mormon women could overwhelm the IWY conference. A conservative Mormon majority could set aside the presumed feminist agenda of the Utah IWY meeting, and act as a standard bearer of Mormon "traditional family values" to the national IWY conference in Houston.

In early June 1977, five days of meetings began among a four-person strategy team: Oscar W. McConkie, Jr., senior partner of the LDS Church's law firm; Wendell Ashton, director of the Church's Public Communications Department; Georgia Bodell Peterson, president of the conservative "Let's Govern Ourselves" organization; and Young Woman's General Board member Moana Ballif Bennett who was "a consultant in women's affairs for the Public Communications Department of the Church," and an occasional speech-writer for the Relief Society's general president. Together the four created a strategy for neutralizing the IWY conference, and even turning it to the Church's advantage. During these meetings, Ashton acted as liaison with the Church's Special Affairs Committee.⁶²

In early June 1977, by means of a telephone tree, Ezra Taft Benson communicated down the Mormon echelons of leadership in Utah to send ten conservative women from each ward in the state to

of Utah Women's Issues; Linda Sillitoe, "Women Scorned: Inside the IWY Conference," *Utah Holiday* 6 (August 1977): 27; Derr, Cannon, and Beecher, *Women of Covenant*, 370.

⁶²Georgia Peterson interview, 19 January 1992, cited in Martha Sonntag Bradley, "The Mormon Relief Society and the International Women's Year Conference" *Journal of Mormon History*, forthcoming spring 1995; also Gottlieb and Wiley, *America's Saints*, 204; "Dedicated Legal Team Counsels Church Law," *Church News*, 9 January 1971, 4, for McConkie's position; *Deseret News 1977 Church Almanac* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1977), 224 for Ashton's position; Sillitoe, "Women Scorned: Inside the IWY Conference," 63-64 for Peterson's organization; *Between Ring & Temple: A Handbook for Engaged L.D.S. Couples (and others who need a review)* (Salt Lake City: Olympus Publishing Co., 1981), 9 for Moana Ballif Bennett's official positions; statement to me on 1 October 1994 by Lavina Fielding Anderson (formerly associate editor of the Church's *Ensign* magazine) about Moana Bennett's role as speech-writer for Relief Society president Barbara B. Smith. However, available sources have not yet identified the person who first suggested overwhelming the Utah IWY conference with conservative Mormon women, and it is possible that this idea simply emerged during the discussions of the four persons involved in this *ad hoc* committee.

the upcoming IWY Conference.⁶³ Expecting no more than 3,000 attenders, the IWY organizers were swamped with 13,867 women. This was more than twice the attendance at the IWY state meeting in California which had twenty times Utah's population.⁶⁴

Fourteen years later, Belva Barlow Ashton, a member of the Relief Society General Board, said that these preparations for the IWY Conference in Utah occurred because LDS women in Hawaii and New York had reported to the Relief Society general leadership that feminists "railroaded" those IWY conventions "and they would not allow us to participate."⁶⁵ This cannot have been accurate. The Utah IWY conference occurred *before* the IWY meetings in Hawaii and New York and became the model for Mormon tactics in those conventions.

Before going to the IWY meeting in June, many of the Utah Mormon women attended anti-feminist, anti-ERA orientations by the Conservative Caucus of Utah, led by Mormon bishop Dennis R. Ker.⁶⁶ In one of those orientations, Amy Y. Valentine, a member of the Relief Society General Board, told the meeting that "she was voting against

⁶³Relief Society General Presidency, with no signatures or names, to "All Regional Representatives in Utah," 3 June 1977, copy in collection of Equal Rights Coalition of Utah; Sheri L. Dew, *Ezra Taft Benson: A Biography* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1987), 453-54. Derr, Cannon, and Beecher, *Women of Covenant*, 371: "First came 'a priesthood telephone call' to the Utah regional representatives; then a follow-up letter was sent from Relief Society to the regional representatives and also to stake Relief Society presidents."

⁶⁴"10,000 Jam Hall, Foyer at Women's Sessions," *Deseret News*, 24 June 1977, A-1; "Mormon Turnout Overwhelms Women's Conference in Utah," *New York Times*, 25 July 1977, 26; "Mormon Utah: Where a Church Shapes the Life of a State," *U.S. News and World Report* 83 (19 December 1977): 59.

⁶⁵Belva Ashton interview, 30 August 1991, quoted in Bradley, "The Mormon Relief Society and the International Women's Year Conference." For her service on the general board (1962-78), see Derr, Cannon, and Beecher, *Women of Covenant*, 438.

⁶⁶Linda Sillitoe, typed transcript of interview with Dennis Ker, director of the Conservative Caucus in Utah's 2nd Congressional District, 2 July 1977, Folder 10, Box 6, Collection of Utah Women's Issues. Although misspelled in some publications, Ker was the spelling of this bishop's name in *The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints Directory: General Authorities and Officers, 1978* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1977), 115.

all the national resolutions. She said Barbara Smith took the same position, but couldn't say so publicly, and was letting it be known through the General Board members.⁶⁷ The John Birch Society newspaper in Utah also editorialized that "every woman who is for motherhood and opposed to the E.R.A. [should] attend this meeting to select delegates to represent Utah."⁶⁸ In fact, a member of Georgia Peterson's conservative "Let's Govern Ourselves" organization claimed that Bircher women and men took over this pre-IWY orientation in 1977, often using the name of Peterson's group without her knowledge or authorization.⁶⁹

In the scheduled workshops and voting at the Utah IWY conference, the conservative Mormon delegates shouted down women they identified as "feminist," sometimes calling them lesbians. In the heated rhetoric and polarization of 1977, it was common for critics throughout the nation to accuse the IWY supporters of being lesbians.⁷⁰ Frequently coordinated by men with walkie-talkies, these conservative women called for immediate votes on proposals without allowing discussion and, thanks to their stunning majority, rejected all forty-seven proposals of the national IWY leaders.⁷¹

⁶⁷Lisa Bolin Hawkins, "Report on the Utah International Women's Year Meeting," 2, Folder 5, Box 2, Collection of Utah Women's Issues. For Amy Y. Valentine's general board service (1969-82), see Derr, Cannon, and Beecher, *Women of Covenant*, 439, which gives an inadequate statement of the situation (371) in view of Valentine's instructions at these meetings: "The [Relief Society general] presidency had not sanctioned the pre-conference sessions, but they were sometimes given an aura of authority by being identified with Relief Society."

⁶⁸"Stop E.R.A. on June 24-25," *The Utah Independent: Dedicated to the Constitution, Liberty, Morality, and Truth* (23 June 1977): 11. For the Birch connection of this newspaper, see Quinn, "Ezra Taft Benson and Mormon Political Conflicts," 15 note 53, 71 note 281.

⁶⁹Notes of my telephone interview with Lou Chandler on 10 May 1994.

⁷⁰Edith Mayo and Jerry K. Frye, "The ERA: Postmortem of a Failure in Political Communication," in Hoff-Wilson, *Rights of Passage*, 76; Berry, *Why ERA Failed*, 68; Renee Feinberg, *The Equal Rights Amendment: An Annotated Bibliography of the Issues, 1976-1985* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1986), 115, entry 10-22.

⁷¹Hawkins, "Report on the Utah International Women's Year Meeting," 5, 7-8, Folder 5, Box 2, and Brim, "The IWY Conference in Utah," Folder 35, Box 4, Collection of Utah Women's Issues; "Papers of the International Women's Year Conference,

Some were recommendations which one would expect both conservative and liberal women to endorse. For example:

Federal and State governments should cooperate in providing more humane, sensible, and economic treatment of young women who are subject to court jurisdiction because they have run away from home, have family or school problems, or commit sexual offenses.

Federal and State laws relating to marital property, inheritance, and domestic relations should be based on the principle that marriage is a partnership, in which the contribution of each spouse is of equal importance and value.

Alimony, child support, and property arrangements at divorce should be such that minor children's needs are first to be met and spouses share the economic dislocation of divorce.

Medicare coverage should be liberalized and the use of generic drugs of certified equivalent quality should be allowed and encouraged, to reduce the cost of medicines.

State and local governments should revise rape laws to provide for graduated degrees of the crime, to apply to assault by or upon both sexes; to include all types of sexual assault against adults; and to otherwise redefine the crime so that victims are under no greater legal handicaps than victims of other crimes.

Homemakers displaced by widowhood or divorce should be helped to become self-sufficient members of society through programs

Utah," Manuscripts Division, Marriott Library; Sillitoe, "Women Scorned: Inside the IWY Conference," 26-28, 63-69; Dixie Snow Huefner, "Church and Politics at the Utah IWY Conference," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 11 (Spring 1978): 58-75; Maureen Ursenbach Beecher and Kathryn L. MacKay, "Women in Twentieth-century Utah" in Poll, *Utah's History*, 583-84; Gottlieb and Wiley, *America's Saints*, 201-02; Bradley, "The Mormon Relief Society and the International Women's Year Conference."

providing job counseling, training, and placement; advice on financial management; and legal advice.⁷²

Conference voters could accept any of the above proposals, while rejecting any disapproved item from the total list of national IWY recommendations. Nevertheless, these LDS women rejected all of the humanitarian proposals along with those that were controversial, liberal, or feminist. They even rejected a resolution against pornography.

The men of the Conservative Caucus and at least one Relief Society general board member had told these Utah Mormon women to vote against every IWY proposal, no matter how good it might seem, and the women obeyed.⁷³ "When two such inflammatory issues as abortion and ERA were established as major goals of the IWY commission," a president of a stake Relief Society told the media, "how could IWY's leaders have expected all peace and love[?]"⁷⁴

Utah's IWY leaders, many of them pro-ERA Mormons, immediately protested that the conference takeover had been inspired by right-wing, John Birch Society elements within the LDS Church.⁷⁵ The Relief Society general presidency, Barbara Bradshaw Smith, Janath Russell Cannon, and Marian Richards Boyer, sent out a form letter on 11 July 1977 that referred to the activities of Conservative Caucus: "Our [noncommittal] approach made some feel that they could contact Relief Society sisters without

⁷²"Sample Ballot," in Vertical File for "International Women's Year," Special Collections, Marriott Library. The Utah ballot proposals had been extracted from National Commission on the Observance of International Women's Year, ". . . TO FORM A MORE PERFECT UNION . . .": *Justice for American Women* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1976).

⁷³Sillitoe, "Women Scorned: Inside the IWY Conference," 64, 66; Huefner, "Church and Politics at the Utah IWY Conference," 64.

⁷⁴Ellie Colton, president of the Washington D.C. Stake Relief Society, statement in "A Mormon Woman Looks at the ERA," *Washington Post*, 21 November 1977, quoted in Derr, Cannon, and Beecher, *Women of Covenant*, 370. Colton's statement referred to the national IWY conference at Houston, but it applied equally well to the conference in Utah.

⁷⁵"Mormon Turnout Overwhelms Women's Conference in Utah," *New York Times*, 25 July 1977, 26; "IWY Issues Missing As State Meets Take Sides on Abortion, ERA," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 11 July 1977, A-2.

our tacit approval and imply that their information was Church sanctioned." Barbara Smith also told the media that "the Relief Society had been used by the far right" in connection with the Utah IWY conference.⁷⁶

In part, this may have been public relations damage-control on the part of the Relief Society president. After all, a General Board member who was her speech-writer had joined with the president of the conservative "Let's Govern Ourselves" organization in the official preparations for the takeover of Utah's IWY conference. Another Relief Society board member had been a speaker at the pre-IWY meetings sponsored by the Conservative Caucus and had invoked Barbara Smith's name for instructions that delegates vote against all IWY proposals. The post-IWY statements of the Relief Society general presidency were directed at the loose-cannon activities of Mormon Birchers and other ultra-conservatives. Barbara Smith was certainly offering no public criticism of the pre-IWY preparations at LDS headquarters by the ad hoc group which represented the Special Affairs Committee, the Public Communications Department, and the Church's official law firm.⁷⁷

The Utah IWY in June was merely the first and most successful instance of the Church's effort to wrest control of the IWY meetings from what the Mormon hierarchy regarded as the feminist agenda. LDS women attending Hawaii's IWY conference, scheduled for early July, received the following written instructions from their LDS leaders: "Report to Traditional Values Van, sign in, pick up dissent forms. Sit together. Stay together to vote on rules. Ask Presidency for help if needed." Those in Honolulu car-pooled from the LDS stake

⁷⁶Form letter from Barbara Smith, Janath R. Cannon, Marian R. Boyer, general presidency of the Relief Society, 11 July 1977, Folder 15, Box 6, Collection of Utah Women's Issues; "Relief Society Head Sensitive to Women," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 14 August 1977, W-1.

⁷⁷In denying a role of "the Mormon male hierarchy" in packing the Utah IWY conference, Derr, Cannon, and Beecher, *Women of Covenant*, 371, emphasized that the local IWY organizers had originally requested that Church headquarters encourage attendance. However, this history's discussion makes no reference to the June planning meeting of McConkie, Ashton, Peterson, and Bennett at Church headquarters to devise a strategy for controlling the IWY meeting.

parking lot; those at the Brigham Young University-Hawaii campus at Laie on the north shore were bused to the IWY meeting. The Honolulu newspaper reported that "a militant bloc of conservatives led by women of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Mormon) outnumber[ed] the more liberal faction about 2 to 1" at the Hawaii women's conference.⁷⁸

Two Mormon delegates, however, wrote a letter of protest to the national IWY commission describing Hawaii's convention as a *feminist* takeover:

The parliamentarian, Clara Kakalia, was also observed to be wearing a pro-E.R.A. wristband and she took visible satisfaction in rulings that went against the Women for Traditional Values group. . . . and there were complaints that she snatched lists of candidates from voters and ejected at least one Traditional Values woman from the polling place. . . . Through parliamentary maneuvering and obstruction, a small minority of pro-E.R.A. advocates was able to totally control Saturday and Sunday sessions to the almost complete exclusion of participation by anyone else.⁷⁹

Control, not dialogue, was the goal of most anti-ERA and pro-ERA women at the IWY conferences of 1977. Each group claimed it was only responding to the manipulative tactics of the other.⁸⁰

According to the *New York Times*, LDS women constituted half or more of the attenders at the IWY conventions in Montana and Washington in early July. Thereby Mormons controlled the IWY conventions in both states even though they were a minority of each state's population. These LDS women then voted down "resolutions supporting the E.R.A."⁸¹ At the Montana IWY, there was the now-fa-

⁷⁸Collection of Conservative Women Opposed to the Equal Rights Amendment, MSS SC 1827, Special Collections and Manuscripts Department, Lee Library; "Bitter Battle Expected at Women's Meeting," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 8 July 1977; "Conservative Bloc Exceeds Liberals," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 9 July 1977, 2.

⁷⁹Terry Bosgra and Lissa Atkinson to National Commission on the Observance of International Women's Year, 15 July 1977, 2, Folder 1, Collection of Conservative Women Opposed to the Equal Rights Amendment.

⁸⁰Huefner, "Church and Politics at the Utah IWY Conference," 66; Derr, Cannon, and Beecher, *Women of Covenant*, 369.

⁸¹"Mormon Turnout Overwhelms Women's Conference in Utah," *New York Times*, 25 July 1977, 26, which belatedly reported the Utah IWY meeting along with

miliar sight of a Mormon man coordinating Mormon women delegates with a walkie-talkie.⁸²

Mark Koltko, then an LDS convert of two years, was one of those who used walkie-talkies to coordinate Mormon women at the New York state IWY meeting in July. He described how two high councilors in Manhattan organized the Mormons who were bused from New York City to the IWY meeting in Albany. There they joined Mormons from throughout the state. An LDS observer with a walkie-talkie attended each IWY workshop and session. When a vote was about to occur, he notified his counterpart in the other sessions. These coordinators then told the Mormon women in their respective locations to rush to the site of the upcoming vote. The otherwise outnumbered LDS attenders used this method to overwhelm the feminists on each IWY vote.⁸³ This walkie-talkie tactic succeeded better at some IWY meetings than at others.

As in Utah, anti-ERA Mormons often derided the IWY organizers in other states as lesbians. For example, on the Saturday before the IWY meetings in Hawaii, the Honolulu LDS stake held workshops for Mormon women assigned to attend the IWY. The first workshop had the following title: "Feminists—Consciousness raising (Homosexuality)." In the pre-convention workshops sponsored at the LDS wards in Honolulu, Mormon women were also warned that lesbians would be showing X-rated movies at the IWY convention. In her description of the national IWY convention to an LDS ward in Las Vegas, Nevada Assemblywoman Karen Hayes, an LDS Democrat, used the words "lesbians," "lesbianism," "gay," "lesbian," or "dyke" forty-five times in three typed pages.⁸⁴ Nevertheless, Hayes could be an outspoken

similar tactics by Mormons in the subsequent meetings in Montana and Washington.

⁸² "IWY Issues Missing As State Meets Take Sides on Abortion, ERA," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 11 July 1977, A-2. The newspaper identified him as Jack Piippo.

⁸³ Notes of my telephone interview with Mark Edward Koltko on 24 March 1994, following his briefer statement to me in person on 19 March 1994 concerning his role at the IWY in Albany, New York.

⁸⁴ "Honolulu Stake Workshop Assignments," July 1977, Folder 1, Collection of Conservative Women Opposed to the Equal Rights Amendment; "Bitter Battle Expected at Women's Meeting," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 8 July 1977; transcript of an untitled talk by Assemblywoman Karen Hayes, at the Las Vegas 2nd and 8th Ward meetinghouse, 15 February 1978, 4-6, Folder 7, Box 7, Johnson Papers.

feminist in her own right and later stated for publication: "I don't think it's necessarily the church brethren," but "of course we have chauvinists in the church."⁸⁵

The IWY national commission was appalled by the Mormon response to the International Women's Year and by the Mormon takeover of various state meetings. The commission issued an official report which lumped the LDS Church with the Ku Klux Klan and John Birch Society as "engaged in attacks to subvert the purposes of Public Law 94-167 and the goals of the national commission."⁸⁶ The LDS First Presidency issued a statement in reply: "The extent of the Church's involvement in International Women's Year activities has been to encourage its members, as part of their civic responsibilities, to participate in various state meetings."⁸⁷ The statement was true only in the technical sense.

During the IWY conferences in the summer of 1977, the LDS hierarchy learned a crucial lesson, unprecedented in Mormon history. With minimal direction from headquarters in Salt Lake City, Mormon women cooperated with male leaders to carry out a political agenda as far away as Hawaii or as close as Montana, even where Mormons were a minority. The IWY meetings were significant patterns for the LDS Church's campaign against the state ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment. The General Authorities also showed themselves willing to accept two prices: the disaffection of some previously loyal Church members and some scathing media coverage.⁸⁸ As a result, the officially appointed "public communications

⁸⁵Karen Hayes statement in Ann Terry, Marilyn Slaght-Griffin, and Elizabeth Terry, *Mormons & Women* (Santa Barbara, Calif.: Butterfly Publishing, Inc., 1980), 101.

⁸⁶"Senators, Mormons Ask Apology in IWY Flap," *Ogden Standard-Examiner*, 22 November 1977, A-10. Apparently there was no newspaper story about the IWY allegations until the report of Mormon response to it on 19 November which stories only paraphrased the IWY statement, while *Standard-Examiner* quoted it here.

⁸⁷"Church Repudiates Charges," *Deseret News*, 19 November 1977, A-1; also "Senators, Mormons Ask Apology in IWY Flap," *Ogden Standard-Examiner*, 22 November 1977, A-10; "State Department Repudiates IWY Charge," *Deseret News*, 24 November 1977, B-1.

⁸⁸For examples of alienation, see "Dissident Mormon Women Tell Why They Defy Church on ERA," *Provo Herald*, 4 February 1979, 46; "Feminist Mormons Speak Out for ERA: Women's Group Goes Against Church Policy," *Los Angeles Times*, 6 May

coordinators" increased their efforts in what they called the "cultivation of media representatives."⁸⁹

THE NATIONAL LDS ANTI-ERA CAMPAIGN, 1977-82

As of January 1977, thirty-five states had ratified the proposed

1979, VII-1, 14-18; Jan L. Tyler, "Who Is My Sister?: A Discussion of What Women Do To, For, With and Against Each Other," presented to the Women's Forum, Provo, Utah, 12 May 1979, Folder 7, Box 4, Collection of Utah Women's Issues; "Aerial Note Says LDS Back ERA: Banner Hovers Temple Square," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 6 October 1979, B-12; "Many Mormon Women Feel Torn Between Rights Plan and Church," *New York Times*, 26 November 1979, A-1; "Feminist Seeking End to Mormon Ties: Excommunication Is Requested By Aide [Arlene Wood] to Leader [Sonia Johnson] of ERA Fight," *Arizona Republic*, 1 January 1980, B-6; "Oregon Feminist [Linda Sandroek] Requests Ouster," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 16 January 1980, D-3; "Woman [Leanne Boyd], 27, Excommunicated," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 23 January 1980, D-1, reprinted in "ERA Backer Excommunicated," *Arizona Republic*, 23 January 1980; "Ogden Feminist [Mary Jean Uebelgunne] Joins Sonia, Leaves LDS Church," *Ogden Standard-Examiner*, 29 February 1980, B-2; flier titled "X-Mormons for ERA invite you to Picket the Mormon Conference Sun. Oct. 5, [1980]," and Mary La Brosse, *THE MORMON CONSPIRACY: Highly Organized, Highly Motivated, Directed by Male Leaders in Utah* (Kingston, Wash.: Mormons for ERA, [1980]), Folder 10 and Folder 33, Box 4, Collection of Utah Women's Issues; "Two ERA Supporters Chain Themselves to Mormon Temple," *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, 16 November 1980, A-2; "20 Women Arrested in Protests at Mormon Temple," *Seattle Times*, 17 November 1980; "Mormon Temple Protest Leads to the Arrest of 19," *New York Times*, 18 November 1980, A-10; "Mormons Drop Charges Against 15 Who Chained Themselves to Gates," *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, 17 January 1981, A-11; "Sustaining Vote Gets 5 Nays at Conference," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 5 April 1981, A-4; Cleo Fellers Kocol, "Civil Disobedience at the Mormon Temple," *Humanist* 41 (September-October 1981): 5-14; "Pro-ERA Picketers Becoming Regular Conference Occurrence," *Daily Universe* (Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah; hereafter cited as *Daily Universe*), 5 October 1981, 3; "ERA Rally & Temple Picket: April 3, 1982, [sponsored by Utah NOW]," flier in collection of the Equal Rights Coalition of Utah. For examples of negative media coverage, see also examples in various notes of this article.

⁸⁹F. Charles Graves, LDS Public Communications Department coordinator for New York City, "Cultivation of Media Representatives," 30 March 1976, LDS Church Archives; *The Importance of the Ward Public Communications Director* (Salt Lake City: Public Communications Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1977); *Media Relations Training Outline* (Salt Lake City: Public Communications/Special Affairs Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1987).

Equal Rights Amendment.⁹⁰ This 70 percent approval by the states reflected national support for the ERA during the next five years, including polls of full-time housewives.⁹¹ ERA ratification was now only three states short of the constitutional requirement of three-fourths approval. ERA opponents saw themselves in a last-ditch effort to stall the national momentum, if they could not reverse it.⁹² By September 1977, a nationally syndicated newspaper story reported: "The Mormon presence helped defeat ERA resolutions in several states."⁹³

Existing evidence verifies a centrally directed, locally implemented, and successful effort by the LDS Church to prevent ratification of the ERA in Arizona, Florida, Georgia, Illinois, Missouri, Nevada, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, and Virginia. Those combined losses of ratification guaranteed the defeat of the proposed Equal Rights Amendment. In addition, LDS leaders publicly and successfully campaigned to rescind ratification in Idaho, and they supported the successful rescission efforts in Kentucky, Nebraska, South Dakota, and Tennessee. However, Mormons and their ecumenical allies were unsuccessful in rescinding ERA ratification in California, Hawaii, Iowa, Montana, Texas, and Wyoming.⁹⁴

Mormon influence in the anti-ERA effort of many states greatly exceeded the numerical significance of the Mormon population. For

⁹⁰Boles, *Politics of the Equal Rights Amendment*, 2-3; Orrin G. Hatch, *The Equal Rights Amendment: Myths and Realities* (N.p.: Savant Press, 1983), 89-94.

⁹¹Mark R. Daniels, Robert Darcy, and Joseph W. Westphal, "The ERA Won—At Least in the Opinion Polls," *PS* 15 (Fall 1982): 578-84; also "Gallup Poll: More Americans Favor ERA Than Before," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 9 August 1981, A-4. Anti-ERA arguments never achieved the support of more than 34 percent of America's housewives; and during the ten-year ratification controversy only one-fourth of America's housewives expressed consistent opposition to the ERA in various opinion polls.

⁹²Berry, *Why ERA Failed*, 66-69.

⁹³Kay Mills, "Groups Split Over ERA: Mormons, Feminists At Odds," *Phoenix Gazette*, 17 September 1977, A-10, wire-service story by Newhouse News Service.

⁹⁴Hatch, *The Equal Rights Amendment*, 89-94, provides a useful summary of successful rescissions and formal defeats (by legislative action or voter referendum) of rescission proposals. However, he did not identify states where there were rescission efforts that failed to garner enough support to be placed on the ballot or to receive legislative vote.

example, a history of the successful effort to rescind ratification in South Dakota specifically mentioned the influence of Mormons in this anti-ERA effort, even though they were only 1 percent of the state's population.⁹⁵ Actually, rescission was an unnecessary goal if opponents could prevent initial ratification by three more states.

From 1977 to 1982, the Church's anti-ERA campaign followed a similar pattern in every state where the proposed amendment was up for ratification or for consideration of rescinding the state's ratification of the ERA. In a situation where only three ratifying votes were needed, every state was crucial. The following examples from individual states describe a coordinated campaign that was basically the same in twenty-one states outside Utah. There is no evidence that LDS Church tactics varied from state to state. Rather, existing evidence from each state replicates the anti-ERA activities in other states. Such similarity is one of the hallmarks of centrally directed political campaigns.

One evidence for the central direction of this effort is a meeting in Salt Lake City for "all of Missouri and Illinois stake presidents and state[wide] ERA coordinators," on 5 October 1979, presided over by Apostle Gordon B. Hinckley. He instructed them:

1. People should not be set apart for this work
2. Should not use LDS in title of organizations
3. Church building[s] may be used for ERA education
4. Any and all Church meetings are appropriate forums for discussing ERA
5. Should not use church funds
6. Educating members on ERA issues [is appropriate]
7. Do not endorse political candidates—but publish incumbent voting record.⁹⁶

Therefore, Hinckley privately reversed the previous limitation in the Church's encouragement for Mormons "to join others in efforts to defeat ERA," in which official statement the Twelve's president Ezra Taft Benson had instructed stake and mission presidents:

⁹⁵Ruth Ann Alexander, "South Dakota Women Stake a Claim: A Feminist Memoir, 1964-1989," *South Dakota History* 19 (Winter 1989): 552; *Deseret News 1993-1994 Church Almanac*, 162.

⁹⁶Karen Mecham, Memorandum, 5 October 1979, Folder 26, Box 7, Johnson Papers, quoted as in the original.

"Please keep in mind that Church buildings and organizations are not to be used for this or any other political or legislative purposes."⁹⁷ Hinckley may have given such contrary instructions in other private meetings at Salt Lake City during general conferences for stake presidents and "ERA coordinators" of other states. The evidence indicates that regional representatives gave at least verbal instructions about those matters to the anti-ERA "coordinators" in their state.

1. The Church's *Ensign* magazine published statements by President Spencer W. Kimball and by various apostles against ratification. Local leaders then read these talks over the pulpit in local LDS congregations and distributed copies to every Mormon's home before crucial elections or referendum votes. This included distribution to the public communications directors in every North American stake in December 1979, of copies of the editorial, "Sonia's Bishop Was the Real Hero," by Catholic ultraconservative Patrick J. Buchanan. As of March 1980 this official distribution of anti-ERA materials also included the *Ensign's* publication of a twenty-three page insert, *The Church and the Proposed Equal Rights Amendment: A Moral Issue*. There is specific evidence that local LDS leaders organized pre-election distribution of these materials in such widely scattered states as Virginia, Florida, Nevada, and Missouri.⁹⁸

⁹⁷Ezra Taft Benson to "All Stake and Mission Presidents in the United States," 29 December 1976. This reflected the official position of the First Presidency since the 1960s, as specified in the front-page announcement, "Statement of the First Presidency," *Deseret News*, 23 August 1962, A-1.

⁹⁸White, "Mormonism and the Equal Rights Amendment," 254-55; "The Church and ERA," *Vienna Vision* (ward newsletter) August 1978, and "Prophet Calls For Positive Action Against ERA," *Oakton Virginia Stake Newsletter* (November 1978), both in Folder 10, Box 3, Collection of Utah Women's Issues; *Ensign* 10 (March 1980): insert between pages 40 and 41; copy of mailing, postmarked 21 October 1980, of anti-ERA materials, "apparently sent to everyone in both St. Louis stakes," according to attached note of Bob Mecham, 3 November 1980, Folder 4, Box 7, Kent White statement, [1979], at Las Vegas, Nevada, Folder 5, Box 7, Sheldon M. Rampton statement, 11 April 1979, Folder 7, Box 7, Oakton Virginia Stake Presidency (individually signed) "To All Families in the Oakton Virginia Stake," 8 September 1978, Folder 27, Box 7, copy of Heber A. Woolsey, Managing Director of Church Public Communications to "Public Communications Directors" (in every stake of the United

2. LDS leaders gave anti-ERA talks in Church meetinghouses. For example, stake presidency counselor Charles Dahlquist introduced his anti-ERA talk to a Virginia ward by saying the people were “here tonight to be taught, not to contend with each other, not to debate, but to be taught.” He said that the Equal Rights Amendment “can be summed up in just four words. Those four words: The Prophet has Spoken.” He concluded: “President [N. Eldon] Tanner once said, ‘Given a choice, I would rather proceed blindly following the Prophet than proceed on my own with little knowledge.’ Nevertheless, each one of us has an obligation to gain for ourselves that unshakable testimony of the divine appointment of our Prophet.” There is specific evidence that local leaders gave similar talks to their congregations in Georgia. Since Hinckley’s instructions were that “any and all Church meetings are appropriate forums for discussing ERA,” such talks probably occurred in numerous LDS meetinghouses throughout the United States.⁹⁹

3. Mormon congregations received leaflets describing how to vote on ERA referendums or for state legislators. Such voting instructions can be verified for Nevada, Arizona, and Georgia, and probably occurred in other relevant states.¹⁰⁰ Mormons who were not partisans on either side of the ERA controversy expressed gratitude for this intervention. An ERA advocate in Nevada reported: “Ann Bryant of the 12th Ward told me that the Quest ‘survey sheet’ was distributed in her Sunday School Class. She believed that it was a nice gesture of

States), 14 December 1979, Folder 27, Box 7, Sonia Johnson Papers; Ken Driggs, Letter to the Editor, *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 11 (Autumn 1978): 6.

⁹⁹Charles Dahlquist talk at Sterling Park Ward chapel, Oakton Stake, Virginia, 14 December 1978, transcript, 1, 3, Folder 21, Box 3, Collection of Utah Women’s Issues; Gottlieb and Wiley, *America’s Saints*, 205.

¹⁰⁰Kent White statement [1979], Folder 5, Box 7, also Sheldon M. Rampton statement, 11 April 1979, Folder 7, Box 7, also copy of *Equal Rights—Yes! E.R.A.—NO!*, Folder 8, Box 7, also typed document “given to every person who attended the Mormon churches in Las Vegas on Sunday Nov. 5 and taken to them at their homes by home teachers (organized in every ward of the church through priesthood quorums) if they did not attend,” Folder 16, Box 7, Johnson Papers; Ms. Lou Ann Stoker Dickson to “Sonja” Johnson, undated, with “enclosed sheaf of papers was mailed by the Bishopric of the Tempe 8th Ward, Tempe Stake of the L.D.S. Church, to all families in the Ward,” Folder 1, Box 3, Collection of Utah Women’s Issues; Gottlieb and Wiley, *America’s Saints*, 205.

someone to take the time to help her learn about the various candidates. I'm convinced that her reaction is typical of most faithful Mormons."¹⁰¹

4. On ERA referendums, Mormons outside Utah exceeded that state's traditionally high voter turnout. Estimates are that 90-95 percent of eligible Mormons voted on ERA referendums.¹⁰² That compares to 76.8 percent of Utah's registered electorate who voted in 1980, and a national average of 53.2 percent of the total American electorate who voted that same year.¹⁰³

5. On crucial ERA referendums, Mormon congregations tried to distribute anti-ERA leaflets to the doorsteps or car windshields of all eligible voters, both non-Mormon and Mormon. Wards in Tempe, Arizona, made this pamphlet distribution an assignment for Aaronic priesthood boys ages fourteen to sixteen.¹⁰⁴ During the two days before the Nevada referendum, up to 9,000 Mormons telephoned every voter they knew and distributed anti-ERA pamphlets "on virtually every doorstep in Las Vegas the day before the election." Despite pre-election polls showing pro-ERA forces with a slight lead, Nevada voters overwhelmingly defeated the amendment.¹⁰⁵

6. Full-time missionaries sometimes became involved in this pre-election canvassing of voters. In Florida, LDS ward mission leaders coordinated full-time missionaries in distributing anti-ERA literature door-to-door. Although the mission president may not have organized this activity himself, the mission's zone leaders and district leaders told regular full-time missionaries that this anti-ERA activity was their "assignment."¹⁰⁶ Influencing the ERA vote in Virginia may

¹⁰¹Renee Marchant Rampton statement, 10 April 1979, 3, Folder 7, Box 7, Johnson Papers.

¹⁰²Wohl, "A Mormon Connection?" 70; James T. Richardson, "The 'Old Right' in Action: Mormon and Catholic Involvement in an Equal Rights Amendment Referendum," in David Bromley and Anson Shupe, eds., *New Christian Politics* (Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press, 1984), 223; "Chronology: The Mormon Anti-ERA Campaign," *Mormons For the ERA Newsletter* 5 (February 1983): [5].

¹⁰³Croft, "Influence of the L.D.S. Church on Utah Politics, 1945-1985," 97.

¹⁰⁴Lou Ann Stoker Dickson, Tempe, Arizona, Letter to "Sonja," n.d., Folder 1, Box 3, Collection of Utah Women's Issues, and Folder 1, Box 2, Johnson Papers.

¹⁰⁵Richardson, "The 'Old Right' in Action," 222, compare 216.

¹⁰⁶Statements to me on 21 March 1994 by Maxine Hanks who served in the

have also been the unstated intent of the Washington D.C. mission president's 1979 letter to his full-time missionaries: "I have been authorized to put a copy of the attached statement of the Church position on the ERA in the hands of each missionary to assist you in answering questions you may be getting. I know you will handle this matter prayerfully."¹⁰⁷

7. In each state, anti-ERA "civic" organizations of Mormons, sometimes of women only, were organized under the direction of regional representatives of the Twelve. The regional leaders acted under the direction of Gordon B. Hinckley, chair of the Special Affairs Committee at LDS headquarters.¹⁰⁸ For example, the Oakton Virginia Stake newsletter proclaimed in 1978:

President Kimball recently asked President Julian Lowe, Regional Representative to the Council of the Twelve, to call a committee of Mormon women to work together against the passage of the Equal Rights Amendment.

The resulting committee leaders include Beverly Campbell and Leila Horne of Oakton Stake and Elaine Nelson of Annandale. The four Stake Relief Society presidents of the region will also sit on the board, and three sisters will be asked to represent each ward. These three will serve as liaison officers, each organizing a group of ten women who will help in writing letters, making phone calls, and educating people in general. The resulting organization will form an impressive coalition of nearly 1,000 people.

Another Church newsletter described Hinckley's similar calling to a priesthood leader "to coordinate the anti-ERA efforts in the state of Illinois."¹⁰⁹ Aside from stake newsletters, stake presidents some-

Florida-Tampa Mission during the state's ERA vote. She and her missionary companion participated in this anti-ERA canvassing one evening but declined to do so after that.

¹⁰⁷Lyle M. Ward, Letter to "Dear Missionaries," 8 December 1979, Folder 27, Box 7, Johnson Papers.

¹⁰⁸Transcript minutes of meeting of "Latter-day Saint Women's Coalition," in Vienna, Virginia, 8 November 1978, 1, Folder 13, Box 3, Linda Sillitoe interview with Julian Lowe, an LDS regional representative, 14 February 1979, Folder 10, Box 5, Linda Sillitoe interview with Don Ladd, an LDS regional representative, 15 February 1979, Folder 10, Box 5, Collection of Utah Women's Issues; White, "Overt and Covert Politics," 13; Johnson, *From Housewife to Heretic*, 164-173; Gottlieb and Wiley, *America's Saints*, 81-82.

¹⁰⁹"PROPHET CALLS FOR POSITIVE ACTION AGAINST ERA," Oakton Virginia

times instructed every ward bishop to read endorsements of these organizations over the pulpit at sacrament meetings.¹¹⁰ Regional representative W. Don Ladd acknowledged that the "line between [the Virginia Citizens] Coalition and Church [was] fine, but [he was] not concerned because of Pres. K[imball's]. commitment to defeating ERA."¹¹¹

There is no direct evidence that Kimball authorized this specific activity. Rather it was Gordon B. Hinckley who held the meeting with Lowe. The newsletter's perhaps innocent use of Kimball's name, however, is understandable. It represented the reflexive belief of Latter-day Saints generally that if "the Church" asked for their participation in a political activity, then all activities connected therewith had specific approval of the prophet.

Usually formed by instructions from LDS headquarters to regional representatives in 1977-78, these anti-ERA organizations had such names as Arizona Home and Family Rally Committee, Citizens for Family Life (Iowa), Citizens Quest for Quality Government (Nevada), Families Are Concerned Today (Florida), *Hana Pono* ["Do What Is Right"] Political Action Caucus (Hawaii), Illinois Citizens For Family Life, Missouri Citizens Council, Pro-Family Coalition (California), Pro-Family Unity (South Carolina), Save Our Families Today (Tennessee), Standard of Liberty Political Action Group (California), and Virginia Citizens Coalition.¹¹² Mormons in North Carolina did not

Stake newsletter, November 1978, Folder 10, Box 3, Collection of Utah Women's Issues; Gottlieb and Wiley, *America's Saints*, 205.

¹¹⁰For example, "ANNOUNCEMENT FOR OAHU BISHOPS TO READ," December [1978], Folder 1, Collection of Conservative Women Opposed to the Equal Rights Amendment.

¹¹¹Linda Sillitoe, notes of interview with regional representative [W.] Donald Ladd on 15 February 1979, Folder 10, Box 5, Collection of Utah Women's Issues; "Regional Representatives [1967-82]," *Deseret News 1983 Church Almanac*, 114.

¹¹²Charter of incorporation for Hana Pono, 26 August 1977, and "HANA PONO ADDS PAC," *Hana Pono Forum 2* (February 1979): 1, Folder 2, Collection of Conservative Women Opposed to the Equal Rights Amendment; documents of Missouri Citizens Council, Folder 14, Box 3, Collection of Utah Women's Issues; Renee M. Rampton, Letter to Spencer W. Kimball, 23 November 1976, copy in Folder 7, Box 7, Illinois Citizens for Family Life promotional literature showing organization date of 16 November 1977, copy in Folder 26, Box 7, and memoranda about Pro-Family Unity, Save our Families Today (SOFT), and about "Mormon Anti-ERA Organizations in Iowa,"

form their own organization but joined with members of the John Birch Society and fundamentalist Protestants in forming the North Carolinians Against ERA. The editor of the Baptist *Biblical Recorder* acknowledged that "there was a Mormon network at the core of the organization," and the head of the Charlotte chapter of NCAERA was also president of the LDS stake's organization for young women. Likewise, Mormons in Tennessee's Save Our Families Today (SOFT) associated with the non-LDS, ultraconservative Eagle Forum, and Mormons in Oklahoma did the same.¹¹³

In terms of prominent LDS leadership, the anti-ERA organization with the highest profile was California's Standard of Liberty Political Action Group. Its officers included former lieutenant-governor John L. Harmer and current regional representative Jay N. Lybbert.¹¹⁴

Although established through the LDS chain-of-command, the internal structure of these anti-ERA organizations sometimes mirrored a state's political sub-divisions, rather than the boundaries of wards and stakes. For example, in an anti-ERA book published by Mormon women, the president of Pro-Family Coalition explained: "What we do is divide the state in 40 regions—Senate regions. Each

Folder 26, Box 7, Johnson Papers; "2,500 Protest Women's Conference: Rally at State Capitol," *Arizona Republic*, 20 November 1977, A-8; Sillitoe, "The New Mormon Activists: Fighting the ERA in Virginia," *Utah Holiday* 8 (March 1979): 12-13; Terry, Slaght-Griffin, and Terry, *Mormons & Women*, 107; "How the Mormons Helped Scuttle ERA," *Miami Herald*, 20 April 1980, A-33; notes of statement to me on 16 October 1992 by George Johannesen, a member of Illinois Citizens for Family Life in the late-1970s. "Mormon 'Front' Organizations," *Sunstone* 5 (May-June 1980): 6-7 mistakenly identified Pro-Family Unity as the LDS organization in North Carolina (which was actually served by North Carolinians Against ERA) and mistakenly identified United Families of America as one of the LDS Church's anti-ERA organizations. See next note and Clifford Cumming, the LDS president of United Families of America, letter to editors, *Sunstone* 5 (September-October 1980): 2.

¹¹³Donald G. Mathews and Jane Sherron De Hart, *Sex, Gender, and the Politics of ERA: A State and the Nation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 67; memoranda concerning NCAERA and Save Our Families Today (SOFT), Folder 26, Box 7, Johnson Papers; Gottlieb and Wiley, *America's Saints*, 205.

¹¹⁴"Mormon 'Front' Organizations," *Sunstone* 5 (May-June 1980): 6; "Regional Representatives [1967-82]," *Deseret News 1983 Church Almanac*, 115. This organization was also identified as "SOLPAC," in other words, Standard of Liberty Political Action Committee.

region has a chairman and keeps its own identity—such as California Family Women. They do whatever they can in that area.”¹¹⁵ The result, and perhaps intent, of each group keeping “its own identity” was to obscure the fact that all forty anti-ERA groups in the state were actually branches of a single Mormon organization.

8. These anti-ERA groups sponsored public meetings with prominent LDS speakers. For example, U.S. Senator Orrin G. Hatch and Ida Smith of the BYU Women’s Research Institute traveled to Hawaii to speak at anti-ERA meetings publicly sponsored by the Mormon group, *Hana Pono*. These were held in such non-religious sites as public schools.¹¹⁶

9. The Church’s anti-ERA groups sometimes also scheduled speakers in LDS chapels. For example, in February 1978, Nevada Representative Karen Hayes gave her lesbian-gay-dyke talk about the IWY conference in an LDS chapel. She also told the women assembled there how to join the Citizens for Responsible Government, which she described as follows: “And they do endorse candidates. They do help develop candidates.” Also, in November 1979, the Missouri Citizens Council advertised an anti-ERA meeting to be held “in the LDS Church on Clayton Road, Frontenac, Missouri.” The principal speaker was Relief Society general president Barbara Smith whose announced topic was “How E.R.A. Will Affect the Family.”¹¹⁷

BYU maintained a similar policy of selective non-partisanship in its buildings. For the most part, BYU limited its anti-ERA speakers to General Authorities and others with high Church positions. In Janu-

¹¹⁵Statement by Doris Enderle of Huntington Beach, California, in Terry, Slaght-Griffin, and Terry, *Mormons & Women*, 109. The book’s interviews with pro-ERA activists like Sonia Johnson and Marilee Latta were overwhelmed numerically by anti-ERA interviews, and the book concluded with several testimonials and pleas against ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment.

¹¹⁶ANNOUNCEMENT FOR OAHU BISHOPS TO READ,” December [1978], Folder 1, and bulletin of Hana Pono announcing Ida Smith as speaker on Thursday, 7 June [1979], Folder 2, Collection of Conservative Women Opposed to the Equal Rights Amendment.

¹¹⁷Transcript of untitled talk by Assemblywoman Karen Hayes, at the Las Vegas 2nd and 8th Ward meetinghouse, 15 February 1978, 4-6 (for lesbian-gay-dyke) and 13 for Citizens for Responsible Government, Folder 7, Box 7, Johnson Papers; Missouri Citizens Council, printed program for Barbara Smith as speaker on 15 November 1979, Folder 14, Box 3, Collection of Utah Women’s Issues.

ary 1980, the BYU administration decided not to allow Beverly Campbell to address BYU students about the Equal Rights Amendment, even though she was an official Church spokesperson. Dallin H. Oaks made this decision in order "to limit overt political activity and to eliminate excessive debate of political issues" at BYU. However, Apostle Ezra Taft Benson responded by arranging for the invitation of nationally known ultraconservative Phyllis Schlafly to speak against the ERA at BYU.¹¹⁸

10. The Mormon anti-ERA effort was ecumenical. In February 1979, regional representative Julian Lowe said that anti-ERA Mormons "have allied with other groups—whoever sees things the way we do—Catholic, Baptist . . ." ¹¹⁹ For example, James I. Gibson, a regional representative and member of the Nevada state senate, officially introduced into the legislature an anti-ERA letter written by the highest-ranking Catholic in Nevada, the Most Reverend Norman F. McFarland.¹²⁰ Mormon bishops in various states distributed within LDS chapels the publications of such organizations as Phyllis Schlafly's Eagle Forum, and publications of her STOP-ERA organization were on display inside the distribution center for temple garments in Las Vegas, Nevada.¹²¹

11. Regional representatives asked Mormons in one state (e.g., California) to contribute to the LDS Church's anti-ERA organizations

¹¹⁸BYU President's weekly meeting minutes, 23 January 1980, p. 4, photocopy in my possession; Gary James Bergera and Ronald Priddis, *Brigham Young University: A House of Faith* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1985), 223; also Paul Swenson, "Who Is Beverly Campbell and Why Is Everyone Afraid of Her?" *Utah Holiday* 8 (February 1979): 13; Linda Sillitoe, "The New Mormon Activists: Fighting the ERA in Virginia," *Utah Holiday* 8 (March 1979): 12-13; also Carol Felsenthal, *The Sweetheart of the Silent Majority: The Biography of Phyllis Schlafly* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Co., 1981).

¹¹⁹Linda Sillitoe, Notes of Interview with Julian Lowe, an LDS regional representative in Virginia, 14 February 1979, Folder 10, Box 5, Collection of Utah Women's Issues; "Regional Representatives [1967-82]," *Deseret News 1983 Church Almanac*, 115.

¹²⁰Richardson, "The 'Old Right' in Action," 218.

¹²¹Sheldon M. Rampton statement, 11 April 1979, page 2, Folder 7, Box 7, Johnson Papers; White, "Mormonism and the Equal Rights Amendment," 255; White, "Mormonism and the Equal Rights Amendment," 255; Gottlieb and Wiley, *America's Saints*, 204-05.

in other states (e.g., Florida). Financial reports show that hundreds of identified Mormons donated, often only ten to twenty dollars each, in one two-day solicitation that produced \$13,000 for a single anti-ERA organization. However, John K. Carmack was the largest single donor with his wife Shirley. They contributed \$3,000 each to the anti-ERA organization of Mormons in Florida, Families Are Concerned Today. Carmack was then a regional representative in Southern California and is now a member of the First Quorum of Seventy. His specific role in coordinating those anti-ERA donations is presently unknown.¹²² An article in the *Florida Historical Quarterly* notes: "Because the funds went to candidates or to the organization, 'Families Are Concerned Today,' as contributions from individual donors, they were not identified initially as part of an organized campaign."¹²³

Florida's regional representative Jay N. Lybbert, a political scientist at Tallahassee Junior College, explained the anti-ERA donations from California by saying: "I just talked to a few of my friends." He did not volunteer that he was also an executive committee member of the California Mormon anti-ERA organization, Standard of Liberty Political Action Group.¹²⁴ In a surprisingly candid comment about

¹²²White "Overt and Covert Politics," 15; White, "Mormonism and the Equal Rights Amendment," 255; "Mormon Muscle: Members' Funds Fought ERA," *Sacramento Bee*, 19 April 1980, A-1; "Mormon Money Worked Against Florida's ERA," *Miami Herald*, 20 April 1980, A-1, A-33; "Church Orchestrated Florida Anti-ERA Drive, Report Details," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 21 April 1980, D-1; "Mormon Church Plays Key Role in Anti-ERA Fight," *Sacramento Bee* (4 May 1980); "Update," *Sunstone* 5 (May-June 1980): 6-7; Florida "Campaign Treasurer's Report, Contributions," from "FACT PAC—Families Are Concerned Today Pol. Action Com.," in separately dated reports covering 14 October 1978 through 2 January 1979, copies in Folder 5, Box 3, Collection of Utah Women's Issues, and in Folder 3, Box 7, Johnson Papers; Gottlieb and Wiley, *America's Saints*, 204; also Cindy Le Fevre, "California State National Organization for Women, Sacramento National Organization for Women, and the Equal Rights Amendment, 1972-82," senior seminar paper, California State University at Sacramento, courtesy of its author. For Carmack, see also *Deseret News 1993-1994 Church Almanac*, 23.

¹²³Joan S. Carver, "The Equal Rights Amendment and the Florida Legislature," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 60 (April 1982): 475 note 62.

¹²⁴Lybbert statement in "How the Mormons Helped Scuttle ERA," *Miami Herald*, 20 April 1980, A-33, quoted in "Church Orchestrated Florida Anti-ERA Drive, Report Details," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 21 April 1980, D-1 and in "Florida ERA Campaign," *Sunstone* 5 (May-June 1980): 6, with his affiliation in "SOLPAC" on same page of

these cross-state financial transactions between LDS political action committees, Church spokesman Jerry Cahill told the media that "things undoubtedly were done that on review shouldn't have been done."¹²⁵ On the other hand, when asked about the financial contributions to Florida's FACT organization, Bill Evans, on the staff of the Special Affairs Committee, claimed he "doesn't know if money's been raised in other states to send to unratified states."¹²⁶

However, there are few details of this cross-state financial activity or even of donations within a state because most of the Mormon anti-ERA organizations failed to register with any state as lobbyists or to file the legally required reports of donations. For example, legal registration and financial reports did not occur in Virginia and Florida until the media exposed the Mormon organization as an illegal, political action committee (PAC).¹²⁷ Investigative reporting was less rigorous in nineteen other states where regional representatives had established these anti-ERA organizations.

12. These LDS anti-ERA organizations also made cross-state donations of thousands of dollars at a time to non-Mormon organizations, some of which likewise donated to other Mormon organizations. For example, the Mormon president of California's Pro-Family Coalition said in 1980, "We're hoping to raise \$10,000 to give to Phyllis [Schlafly in Illinois]."¹²⁸ Although most of the LDS organizations did not file the required financial disclosures, the reports for Families Are Concerned Today showed that Schlafly's STOP-ERA

Sunstone under "Mormon 'Front' Organizations."

¹²⁵In "Mormon Money Worked Against Florida's ERA," *Miami Herald*, 20 April 1980, A-1.

¹²⁶Linda Sillitoe, Notes of undated interview with Bill Evans concerning the Special Affairs Committee, Folder 10, Box 5, Collection of Utah Women's Issues.

¹²⁷"State Official Probes Mormon Lobbying," *Reston [Virginia] Times*, 1 March 1979, 1; "Mormon Lobby On ERA Probed," *Alexandria [Virginia] Gazette*, 1 March 1979, 2; "Mormon Anti-ERA Group to Register as a Lobby," *Arlington-Alexandria [Virginia] Star*, 15 March 1979, A-1; "Mormon Money Worked Against Florida's ERA," *Miami Herald*, 20 April 1980, A-1; "Church Orchestrated Florida Anti-ERA Drive, Report Details," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 21 April 1980, D-1; "State to Probe Mormon Contributions," *Miami Herald*, 22 April 1980, II-1.

¹²⁸Statement by Doris Enderle of Huntington Beach, California, in Terry, Slaght-Griffin, and Terry, *Mormons & Women*, 101.

organization in Illinois donated \$3,000 to that LDS organization in Florida during September 1978 alone.¹²⁹ The same pattern probably happened in other states.

13. These Mormon "civic" organizations worked through the local chain of LDS leaders to organize carpools or buses of Mormons to anti-ERA demonstrations at state legislatures. These demonstrations involved several hundred to several thousand Mormons at a time.¹³⁰ For example, the bishop of a North Carolina ward gave money to the ward's Relief Society president to pay the costs of transportation and motel rooms for ten women in the ward to attend an anti-ERA rally on the steps of the state legislature at Raleigh. When she and her ten women arrived at the rally, they were joined by hundreds of other LDS women from every county of North Carolina. This Relief Society president was "thrilled" at how efficiently "the Church" had organized this state-wide rally. However, she did not know whether the funds she received came from the ward budget or from private donations by the bishopric.¹³¹ Nevada bishops who paid for anti-ERA activities insisted that the "money had been donated by members of the bishopric, *as private citizens*."¹³²

14. Some local leaders posted anti-ERA petitions in the foyers of LDS chapels for Mormons to sign. Other bishops passed the petitions among the congregation during sacrament meetings. Specific evidence exists for this procedure in both Virginia and Georgia, and similar action probably occurred in other states where the LDS campaign operated.¹³³

¹²⁹Florida "Campaign Treasurer's Report, Report of Contribution Receipts and Expenditures," for FACT PAC—Families Are Concerned Today PAC, 16-29 September 1978, copies in Folder 2, Box 7, Sonia Johnson Papers; "How the Mormons Helped Scuttle ERA," *Miami Herald*, 20 April 1980, A-33.

¹³⁰Ken Driggs, Letter to the editor, *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 11 (Autumn 1978): 6; Johnson, *From Housewife to Heretic*, 175.

¹³¹Reported to me by the Relief Society president's brother, Charles R. Davis, 19 March 1994.

¹³²Dickson to "Sonja."

¹³³Copy of petition left in foyers of LDS wards in Virginia, "We consider the Equal Rights Amendment a nonpartisan issue and will, in the 1979 elections, vote only for those candidates who oppose ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment." Folder 18, Box 3, Collection of Utah Women's Issues; also "Chronology: The Mormon Anti-ERA

15. Local LDS leaders or these separate anti-ERA organizations encouraged Mormons to write letters to state legislators or to sign pre-printed anti-ERA postcards. They were instructed not to identify themselves as Mormons in these letters. This activity occurred in every state where the Special Affairs Committee had commissioned the anti-ERA campaign.¹³⁴

In Georgia, letter-writing occurred within the ward meeting-houses.¹³⁵ However, busy meeting schedules made it impractical to limit letter-writing to chapels. One LDS woman describes a social she held for other Mormon women at her home where they signed anti-ERA letters to Virginia legislators. She had already typed most of the letters or had already written them in longhand.¹³⁶

The results were numerically staggering. The Church's public relations coordinator for Las Vegas claimed that local LDS leaders amassed 4,000 such letters within one day after receiving the assignment from Elder Boyd K. Packer in Salt Lake City.¹³⁷ Some estimates put 85 percent of the anti-ERA mail received by state legislators in Virginia as actually written by Mormons. They comprised less than 1 percent of the state's population.¹³⁸ A study of the anti-ERA campaign in North Carolina noted that "one woman walked into the General Assembly carrying five thousand letters to each legislator in her district. She came back later with fifteen hundred more." The study described this woman during its discussion of the "Mormon network" that was at the center of this organized campaign. Again, Latter-day Saints were less than 1 percent of the state's population.¹³⁹

Campaign," *Mormons for the ERA Newsletter* 5 (February 1983): [5]; Gottlieb and Wiley, *America's Saints*, 205.

¹³⁴"Mormons Wage Letter-Writing Blitz Against ERA in Va. General Assembly," *Washington Star*, 10 January 1979, A-4; White, "Mormonism and the Equal Rights Amendment," 257.

¹³⁵Gottlieb and Wiley, *America's Saints*, 205.

¹³⁶Notes of my interview with Ruth Knight on 14 October 1992.

¹³⁷White, "Mormonism and the Equal Rights Amendment," 252; Wohl, "A Mormon Connection?" 68-70, 80, 83-85; Sheldon M. Rampton statement, 11 April 1979, Folder 7, Box 7, Johnson Papers.

¹³⁸Chronology: The Mormon Anti-ERA Campaign," *Mormons for ERA Newsletter* 5 (February 1983): 5; *Deseret News 1993-1994 Church Almanac*, 179.

¹³⁹Mathews and De Hart, *Sex, Gender, and the Politics of ERA*, 67; *Deseret*

In Arizona Mormons comprised a large percentage of the population, the female coordinator of the anti-ERA effort presented a petition to Congress in February 1978 "signed by 70,000 Arizonans opposed to it."¹⁴⁰

16. Mormon women were the main participants in all local activities against the Equal Rights Amendment. "Women opposed the ERA because it jeopardized a way of life they had entered in good faith," wrote one non-LDS author about the prominence of women in the anti-ERA campaign in every state. "A critical reason for ERA's defeat was opposition from women."¹⁴¹ However, it is misleading to claim that the majority of Mormon women were spontaneous participants in anti-ERA activities or to imply that Relief Society women "became involved" by some happenstance.¹⁴² Mormon women throughout the United States enthusiastically joined anti-ERA activities that were mandated by headquarters in Salt Lake City and directed by the LDS Church's regional representatives in various states. In the Mormon way, the agenda and direction were male-authorized and hierarchical.

INTERNAL TENSIONS AND RESPONSES, 1977-82

Never before had LDS Church headquarters conducted a political campaign so vast in geography, in rank-and-file participation, and in consequences. In states a thousand miles from Salt Lake City, political instructions flowed down the LDS chain of command from regional representatives of the Twelve to stake presidents and mission presidents, to "state[wide] ERA coordinators," to bishops and

News 1993-1994 Church Almanac, 152.

¹⁴⁰ "ERA Appears Dead This Year," *Phoenix Gazette*, 10 February 1978, A-8, which reported that "Mrs. Bess Stinson, a former state senator [is] leading the lobbying effort against ERA." For her Phoenix residence and background, see *Phoenix Metropolitan Telephone Directory, January 1978* (Phoenix: Mountain Bell, 1978), 1230, and "Without Women's Lib," editorial, *Arizona Republic*, 15 March 1974, both in Arizona Room, Phoenix Public Library.

¹⁴¹ Andrew Hacker, "ERA-RIP," *Harper's* 261 (September 1980): 14, 10.

¹⁴² Derr, Cannon, and Beecher, *Women of Covenant*, 368: "The publicity also served to draw more Latter-day Saint women into political activity. When a state legislature's agenda included possible ratification of the ERA (or rescission of an earlier ratification), Relief Society women became involved."

branch presidents, to Relief Society presidents and missionary zone leaders, to rank-and-file Mormons. The resulting political activism extended from small towns to state capitals, as the Mormon hierarchy joined a religiously ecumenical effort to prevent the Equal Rights Amendment from becoming part of the U.S. Constitution.

Whatever the outcome, all sides in this controversy recognized that the LDS Church's activities had direct consequences for the political rights of non-Mormons numbering in the hundreds of millions. The effort to ratify or to defeat the Equal Rights Amendment eclipsed the good will of most activists toward opponents within the same political party, or same church, or same social class, or same race, or same gender.

Not surprisingly this campaign resulted in conflict between anti-ERA Mormons, pro-ERA Mormons, and their non-Mormon counterparts. Less expected, perhaps, was the fact that each side experienced internal controversies over tactics.

These divisions among Mormons became public during the rancorous IWY conference in Utah in June 1977. As the official history of the Relief Society acknowledges, "Some of the faithful Latter-day Saints among them [the IWY supporters] felt betrayed."¹⁴³ However, anti-ERA legislator Georgia B. Peterson was equally outraged by the behavior of ultraconservative women at the Utah conference. When she formed a national organization for politically conservative women three years later, Peterson publicly specified that the organization would not admit any "extremist" women who "identify with the Eagle Forum," Phyllis Schlafly's national organization.¹⁴⁴

In 1978 Brigham Young University's president Dallin H. Oaks became the center of public controversy over pro-ERA boycotts of Utah. On 27 April, he officially protested against the "repressive tactic" of national organizations which had announced boycotts of Utah for not ratifying the Equal Rights Amendment. He explained: "A boycott is an ugly instrument by which to impose one's will upon others, since its efforts to penalize the adversary necessarily inflict

¹⁴³Derr, Cannon, and Beecher, *Women of Covenant*, 373.

¹⁴⁴Peterson Heads New Women's Group: 'Voice of Moderation,'" *Salt Lake Tribune*, 25 April 1980, C-3; Lou Chandler interview, 10 May 1994.

injury on the innocent." He condemned all boycotts because their "morality is contemptible."

These organizations included the American Home Economics Association, American Political Science Association, American Psychological Association, American Theatre Association, American Association of University Women, the Organization of American Historians, and the Speech Communication Association. In a letter to each, Oaks threatened to withdraw BYU's membership from them, an action which was ironically also a boycott.¹⁴⁵ As a less recognized dimension of this action and his public announcement of it, Oaks was at this time a regional representative,¹⁴⁶ all of whom had the responsibility of furthering anti-ERA efforts.

A few days later on 2 May, Sybel Alger, editor of BYU's student newspaper, the *Daily Universe*, printed the text of his letter along with comments on it by BYU faculty members. Two days later, her signed editorial observed: "Apparently [President Oaks] does not realize that boycotts are an accepted part of society. . . . One must wonder why Pres. Oaks chose to protest this particular boycott." Oaks sent Alger a letter of rebuke because her editorial "does not meet the standard I have come to expect of *Universe* writers sufficiently experienced to use a byline."¹⁴⁷

In response, the *Daily Universe* editors published two letters from community members critical of Oaks's position. The first was from Loneta Murphy of the Utah League of Women Voters, who criticized Oaks, praised Alger's editorial, and condemned the LDS Church's opposition to the ERA. The second letter, by a husband and wife, observed that two days after Oaks's letter to the faculty, the First Presidency had asked for a boycott of the kind BYU's president described as a "repressive tactic" which was morally "contemptible" and "an ugly instrument by which to impose one's will upon others."

¹⁴⁵Dallin H. Oaks, Memorandum to all BYU faculty and staff, 27 April 1978, quoted in "Pres. Oaks Attacks ERA Groups in Letter," *Daily Universe*, 2 May 1978, 1.

¹⁴⁶Regional Representatives [1967-82]," *Deseret News 1983 Church Almanac*, 115.

¹⁴⁷"Boycotts Part of U.S. History: ERA No Different," *Daily Universe*, 4 May 1978, 14; Dallin H. Oaks, Letter to Sybel Alger, 5 May 1978, photocopy in my possession; Bergera and Priddis, *Brigham Young University*, 39.

The presidency had publicly asked for a twenty-four-hour "TV Boycott" by all faithful Mormons to protest unacceptable network programming.¹⁴⁸

Oaks privately instructed the employee-supervisors of the *Daily Universe* to "take whatever steps are necessary" to prevent the future publication of similar letters critical of his stance on the ERA. Alger's by-line did not appear on an editorial for nearly three months.¹⁴⁹ Oaks then formally withdrew BYU's membership from pro-ERA organizations which had boycotted Utah.¹⁵⁰

Three months after this public controversy at BYU over ERA boycotts, the First Presidency issued its second official statement against the Equal Rights Amendment, clearly labeling the issue a "moral" one. Unlike the 1976 statement, this August 1978 document detailed the religious, moral, legal, and political context of the First Presidency's views on the ERA. One analyst sees this document as a response to Sonia Johnson's criticism of the Church's anti-ERA campaign in Virginia and other states.¹⁵¹

The statement opened: "We believe ERA is a moral issue with many disturbing ramifications for women and for the family." It warned in dire terms against "the possible train of unnatural consequences which could result because of its very vagueness—encouragement of those who seek a unisex society, an increase in the practice of homosexual and lesbian activities, and other concepts which could alter the natural, God-given relationship of men and women."¹⁵²

¹⁴⁸Leneta [Loneta] Murphy, "Cheers Editorial," Dennis Jensen and Robyn Savage Jensen, "Arguments Invalid," *Daily Universe*, 11 May 1978, 14, referring to First Presidency statement in "Church Leaders Urge TV Boycott Support," *Church News*, 29 April 1978, 6.

¹⁴⁹Dallin H. Oaks, Letter to Lael Woodbury and Dallas Burnett, 19 May 1978, photocopy in my possession. Alger's next editorial appeared in *Daily Universe*, 10 August 1978, 8. All student editorials were signed by their authors.

¹⁵⁰BYU President's weekly meeting minutes, 14 June 1978, 2, photocopy in my possession.

¹⁵¹Edwards, "A Rhetorical Analysis of Three Policy Statements of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints," 59-60; also Caulfield, "Rhetoric and the Equal Rights Amendment," 138-39.

¹⁵²"Church Leaders Reaffirm ERA Stand," *Church News*, 26 August 1978, 2; "First

To many observers, homosexuality and lesbianism may not have seemed the preeminent objections to the Equal Rights Amendment, yet this focus by Spencer W. Kimball and his counselors mirrored the emphasis in the briefings given at LDS meetinghouses before the IWY conferences in 1977. A possible explanation is that Kimball's assignment for decades had been counseling homosexual Mormons, and the topic had become a personal preoccupation.¹⁵³ Likewise, two years later Rex E. Lee's legalistic rejection of the Equal Rights Amendment gave six separate references to homosexual conduct in a booklet published by Brigham Young University, over which he would later become president.¹⁵⁴ Using homophobia as an anti-ERA argument was also common nationally, especially among Protestant fundamentalists.¹⁵⁵

In their 1978 statement, the First Presidency also expressed concern that the ERA would lead to nontraditional families, increased divorce, and "challenge[s] to almost every legally accepted social custom." They also feared nullification of the gender-discriminatory provisions in current laws which provided special protections and benefits to women.¹⁵⁶

One immediate effect of the First Presidency's statement was the retreat into silence of a previously pro-ERA publication. The Utah Order of Women Legislators published the third issue of its *Woman's*

Presidency Re-affirms Opposition to ERA," *Ensign* 8 (October 1978): 63.

¹⁵³Edward L. Kimball and Andrew E. Kimball Jr., *Spencer W. Kimball* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1977), 272-73, 325-27, 381-83; Spencer W. Kimball, *New Horizons for Homosexuals* (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1971).

¹⁵⁴Rex E. Lee, *A Lawyer Looks at the Equal Rights Amendment* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1980), xii, 49, 51, 61, 64-65, 81; *Deseret News 1991-1992 Church Almanac: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1990), 8, 312, 317. By contrast Orrin G. Hatch, fellow Mormon and conservative U.S. senator, simply acknowledged the concern about ERA's potential effect on homosexuality laws and discussed the matter once in his *The Equal Rights Amendment: Myths and Realities*, 51-54.

¹⁵⁵Boles, *Politics of the Equal Rights Amendment*, 26; Jane Dehart-Mathews and Donald Mathews, "The Cultural Politics of the ERA's Defeat," and Edith Mayo and Jerry K. Frye, "The ERA: Postmortem of a Failure in Political Communication," in Hoff-Wilson, *Rights of Passage*, 49, 85.

¹⁵⁶First Presidency statement, *Church News*, 26 August 1978, 2.

Chronicler in September. The organization dropped the Equal Rights Amendment from the publication's masthead and also featured an article about anti-ERA Georgia B. Peterson alongside articles about two of the LDS women who had advocated the ERA in the first issue. This third issue made no reference to the amendment.¹⁵⁷

In October 1978, the First Presidency distributed a follow-up letter: "We urge our people to join actively with other citizens who share our concerns and who are engaged in working to reject this measure on the basis of its threat to the moral climate of the future." While acknowledging that these anti-ERA activities are "political processes, we are convinced that because of its predictable results the matter is basically a moral rather than a political issue." This statement was a significant modification of the First Presidency's statement less than two months earlier. In a question-answer format on 24 August, Kimball and his counselors seemed to flatly deny that the ERA was a political issue.¹⁵⁸

In direct response to the First Presidency's recent statements, thirty-eight Mormons signed a pro-ERA pamphlet in 1979. Titled *Another Mormon View of the ERA*, this publication was a clear alternative to the official position of the LDS Church. Its signers included such distinguished Latter-day Saints as Lucybeth Rampton, wife of Utah's Democratic governor, Utah's Democratic U.S. Senator Frank E. Moss and wife Phyllis, Esther W. Eggertsen Peterson, former Assistant Secretary of the U.S. Labor Department, Jean M. Westwood, former national chair of the Democratic Party, and Christine Meaders Durham, now a Utah Supreme Court justice.¹⁵⁹ There were no

¹⁵⁷*Woman's Chronicler* 3 (September 1978).

¹⁵⁸Spencer W. Kimball, N. Eldon Tanner, and Marion G. Romney statement, 12 October 1978, copy in collection of Equal Rights Coalition of Utah, and in Folder 27, Box 7, Johnson Papers; compared with "First Presidency Reaffirms Opposition to ERA," *Ensign* 8 (October 1978): 63. The acknowledgement of anti-ERA activities as "political" on 12 October was probably a result of comments the First Presidency received following the distribution of the October issue of the *Ensign*.

¹⁵⁹*Another Mormon View of the ERA* (Salt Lake City: Equal Rights Coalition of Utah, 1979), copy in Folder 33, Box 4, Collection of Utah Women's Issues. The other signers (listed here in alphabetical order) were Ramona Adams, Margaret B. Adamson, Marlena Ahanin, Algie E. Ballif, Sherilyn Cox Bennion, Gladys Carling, Linda T. Christensen, Rebecca Cornwall, Au-Deane S. Cowley, Louise Davis, Teresa M. Dodge,

Church sanctions against these individuals, despite their published dissent against an official position that the First Presidency publicly defined as a "moral issue."

Another area of controversy was that the Church's anti-ERA organizations sometimes concealed from the general public the fact that the group was sponsored by the LDS Church. In 1979, a Mormon and former bishop in Missouri began a letter to Neal A. Maxwell of the Special Affairs Committee by saying: "My concerns are not with that ultimate goal [of defeating the ERA], but with the methods the MCC [Missouri Citizens Council] uses to persuade members of the Church and to influence legislators." He explained: "My first concern is with the surreptitious manner in which the group operates. The leaders of the MCC publicly deny being a Church sponsored organization, yet the facts indicate otherwise." The writer concluded that the Missouri Citizens Council "is and will be perceived as a Church sponsored organization and their denials will only invite criticism, anger, and ridicule from the public."¹⁶⁰

The concealment of financial donations by these LDS organizations also resulted in internal conflict among those who shared the goal of defeating the ERA. Linda Goold, then a recent graduate of BYU's law school, became the legal counsel for the Virginia Citizens Coalition by request of regional representative Julian Lowe. She withdrew from the organization when its leaders declined to file the legally required lobbying registration and financial statements.¹⁶¹

Sonia Johnson formed the national organization of "Mormons for ERA" (MERA) in Virginia in 1979. Similar groups organized that same year in California, Arizona, Montana, and Washington state.¹⁶²

Kathleen Flake, Afton Forsgren, Suzanna Mae Grua, Dixie Snow Huefner, Rodello Hunter, Virginia Husband, Nancy Stowe Kader, A. W. Kelson, Virginia Kelson, Jane Cannon King, R. Lee Last, Marilee Latta, Betty M. Madsen, Barbara M. Merrill, Loneta Murphy, Kenneth R. Pangborn, Kay Senzee, Paul Swenson, Sharon Lee Swenson, Eldon M. Tolman, and Thelma E. Weight.

¹⁶⁰Robert Mecham [former bishop of the LDS ward in Cambridge, Mass.] to Apostle Neal A. Maxwell, 5 December 1979, copy in Folder 19, Box 3, Collection of Utah Women's Issues.

¹⁶¹Notes of my telephone interview with Linda Goold on 31 March 1994.

¹⁶²NEWSLETTER: MORMONS FOR ERA, November 1979, copy in Folder 18, Box 4, Collection of Utah Women's Issues; Box 10, Johnson Papers; Mormons for ERA

Utah Mormons for ERA (UMERA) organized in February 1980 but fragmented within months due to personality conflicts with its first director and its internal dispute over admitting males to the UMERA board. The director resigned and males became members of the board.¹⁶³

At its peak, a thousand persons belonged to Mormons for ERA.¹⁶⁴ That was a very small number compared to the tens of thousands of Mormons whom LDS officials organized into anti-ERA demonstrators, letter-writers, and voters. Even more significant, of the pro-ERA correspondence sent to Sonia Johnson, non-Mormon writers outnumbered LDS writers by four to one.¹⁶⁵ In both numbers and internal impact pro-ERA Mormons were a marginal dimension of the LDS Church, yet gained attention from the nation at large. Ironically, the disproportionate influence of pro-ERA Mormons on non-Mormons mirrored the national impact of the LDS Church's organized effort to defeat the ERA among non-Mormons.

In December 1979, Sonia Johnson was excommunicated from

organizational materials; O. Kendall White Jr., "A Feminist Challenge: 'Mormons for ERA' As An Internal Social Movement," *Journal of Ethnic Studies* 13 (Spring 1985): 29-50.

¹⁶³For the formation, in-fighting, reorganization, incorporation, and admission of males to the board of Utah Mormons for ERA, see Mary Ann Payne, Executive Director, to "Dear Friends," 9 April 1980, Kathryn L. MacKay to Mary Ann [Payne], with copies to Sonia Johnson, June Fulmer, and Marilee Latta, Kathryn [L. MacKay] to Jan [Tyler], 18 April 1980, Mary Ann Payne to Kathryn [L. MacKay], with copies to Sonia Johnson, Marilee Latta, and June Fulmer, 21 April 1980, Sonia Johnson to Kathryn [L. MacKay], 8 May 1980, Folder 7, Box 4, undated mimeographed sheet, titled "Proposal for compromise to resolve issues relating to organization of Utah Mormons for the ERA," Folder 10, Box 4, complete list of names in the address list of "Mormons for E.R.A. [-] February 23, 1980," Folder 13, Box 4, minutes of the governing board of Utah Mormons for E.R.A. (8 March 1980-1 June 1980), Folder 15, Box 4, memorandum from June Fulmer, Marilee Latta, and Kathryn MacKay as the executive board of Utah Mormons for E.R.A. to its governing board, 2 May 1980, Folder 16, Box 4, Collection of Utah Women's Issues; also in Folders 29-30, Box 9, Johnson Papers.

¹⁶⁴Johnson, *From Housewife to Heretic*, 153.

¹⁶⁵Alphabetical list of 484 LDS persons who were pro-ERA correspondents, Folder 1, Box 11, and alphabetical list of 1,758 non-LDS persons who were pro-ERA correspondents, Folder 1, Box 16, Johnson Papers.

the LDS Church, becoming a national martyr to supporters of the Equal Rights Amendment.¹⁶⁶ For men and women who openly supported the ERA, the collision between their religious ideals and political realism made continued participation in Mormonism painful. Within three years, 19.4 percent of the membership of Mormons for ERA had been "excommunicated by personal choice or by the church."¹⁶⁷

Nevertheless, there were some commendable exceptions to this often unpleasant dispute among Mormons. For example, in 1980 the pro-ERA *Exponent II*, "published by Mormon Women," printed a Mormon man's anti-ERA article that filled more than one full page in this twenty-page newspaper.¹⁶⁸ That same year LDS women Ann Terry, Marilyn Slaght-Griffin, and Elizabeth Terry published an anti-ERA book which included long and respectful interviews with ERA activists Sonia Johnson and Marilee Latta.¹⁶⁹

However, by 1981, the LDS Church's coordinated campaign against the ERA also resulted in a backlash from national feminist organizations. Eleanor Smeal, president of the National Organization for Women, explained: "We are carrying our fight for equal justice for women to the heart of the opposition, the Mormons." In May 1981, NOW began sending up to one hundred pro-ERA "missionaries" to canvass the cities of Salt Lake City, Ogden and Provo, because "the

¹⁶⁶"Mormon Church Excommunicates a Supporter of Rights Amendment," *New York Times*, 6 December 1979, A-26; "Mormon Feminist Sonia Johnson," *Christian Science Monitor*, 7 December 1979, 2; "Mormons Eject ERA Activist," *New York Times*, 9 December 1979, A-6; "A Savage Misogyny," *Time*, 17 December 1979: 80; David Macfarlane, "Equal Rights Meets Its Martyr," *Macleans*, 21 January 1980: 37-38; Wohl, "Feminist Latter-Day Saint," 39-40; "A Mormon Rebel Fights For ERA," *Newsweek*, 6 October 1980, 16; Mary L. Bradford, "The Odyssey of Sonia Johnson," and Sonia Johnson, "All on Fire: An Interview with Sonia Johnson," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 14 (Summer 1981): 14-26, 27-47; Linda Sillitoe, "Off the Record: Telling the Rest of the Truth," *Sunstone* 14 (December 1990): 17-19.

¹⁶⁷"A Profile of 170 Mormons for ERA," *Mormons for ERA Newsletter* 5 (May 1983): [3].

¹⁶⁸Tony Kimball, "Church and State: Separation Without Substance," *Exponent II* 6 (Winter 1980): 8-9; compare with its first issue's title page and lead article by Kate Gardner, "What the ERA Will Mean To You," in July 1974.

¹⁶⁹Terry, Slaght-Griffin, and Terry, *Mormons & Women*.

facts are clear that the Mormon Church has worked actively against ERA."¹⁷⁰

This proselyting only increased the perception of many Latter-day Saints that Mormonism was under siege by feminists. The *Los Angeles Times* reported that during the Utah Pioneer's Day parade in July 1981, "some spectators heckled, threw fruit and spat on ERA missionaries" who were marching in the parade.¹⁷¹

Nevertheless, the overwhelming support of most Mormons for the LDS Church's anti-ERA campaign also concealed a curious fact about their private views. More than half of Mormons continued to support the content of the Equal Rights Amendment, even after First Presidency statements in 1976, 1978, and 1980. Polls during the 1980s showed that 53 percent of Mormons who said they were opposed to the Equal Rights Amendment actually agreed with the phrase: "equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by a state on account of sex," when that statement was presented to them without identifying it as the Equal Rights Amendment. In total, 69.3 percent of the Mormon sample in 1982 favored the text of the ERA. The Church's official rejection of the ERA was apparently what made the difference.¹⁷²

In fact, Mormons and Jews were the only religious groups whose response to the Equal Rights Amendment was overwhelmingly one-directional. A national study showed that 85.7 percent of Jewish women supported the ERA, compared with 25 percent of

¹⁷⁰"NOW Will Take Case to Mormons," *Los Angeles Times*, 7 May 1981, V-22; *ERA Yes: ERA Missionary Project* (Salt Lake City: ERA Missionary Project, [1981]), and quote from *An Appeal to Members of the LDS Church* (Salt Lake City: National Organization for Women, ERA Missionary Project, [1981]) in Folder 15, Box 1, Collection of Utah Women's Issues; "NOW Missionaries in Utah," *Sunstone* 6 (July-August 1981): 5; also Patrick Butler, researcher for the NOW Missionary Project, "Mormon Church Against the ERA: 'Full Institutional Involvement' in Politics," 30 April 1981, mimeographed document, 13 pages, collection of Equal Rights Coalition of Utah.

¹⁷¹"ERA 'Missionaries Crusade in Utah," *Los Angeles Times*, 4 September 1981, V-7.

¹⁷²John U. Zussman and Shauna M. Adix, "Content and Conjecture in the Equal Rights Amendment Controversy in Utah," *Women's Studies International Forum* 5 (1982): 475-86, esp. 484; also the earlier "Voters Opposed to ERA, But Support Its Concept," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 11 May 1980, A-1.

Mormon women. Likewise, 89.4 percent of Jewish men supported the ERA, whereas only 12.5 percent of Mormon men supported the amendment. No other American religious groups had such unified responses to the ERA.¹⁷³ The specific ERA label in this survey was why its results varied so dramatically from the previously cited surveys of Mormon support for the ERA's provisions.

EXTENT AND LIMITS OF HEADQUARTERS INVOLVEMENT

Throughout its anti-ERA campaign, LDS Church headquarters officially maintained three positions. First, LDS chapels and meetinghouses should not be used for overtly political activities connected with ERA. Ezra Taft Benson's official letter of December 1976 had emphasized this restriction on the anti-ERA campaign. However, the use of LDS meetinghouses for anti-ERA activities was actually encouraged in Gordon B. Hinckley's private instructions to regional representatives, stake presidents, and "state[wide] ERA coordinators."

Nevertheless, the second official position which Church leaders maintained in interviews with the media and with hostile inquirers was that there was still an official policy against conducting overtly political activities of the anti-ERA campaign in LDS meetinghouses. A corollary response was that if such activities had occurred, they were sporadic and unauthorized. For example, Virginia's regional representative Julian C. Lowe commented in February 1979: "I personally advocated not doing those things in church bldg[s]. but some [local leaders] may have done them." Regional

¹⁷³Val Burris, "Who Opposed the ERA?: An Analysis of the Social Bases of Antifeminism," *Social Science Quarterly* 64 (June 1983): 308-10 which identified Jews and Mormons as the only persons in the national survey whose religious affiliation was "consistently related to ERA attitudes." For other studies of the religious dimension in women's opposition to the Equal Rights Amendment, see David W. Brady and Kent L. Tedin, "Ladies in Pink: Religion and Political Ideology in the Anti-ERA Movement," *Social Science Quarterly* 36 (March 1976): 564-75; Kent L. Tedin, "Religious Preferences and Pro/Anti Activism on the Equal Rights Amendment Issue," *Pacific Sociological Review* 21 (January 1978): 55-61; Carol Mueller and Thomas Dimieri, "The Structure of Belief Systems Among Contending ERA Activists," *Social Forces* 60 (March 1982): 657-73; Donald G. Mathews, "'Spiritual Warfare': Cultural Fundamentalism and the Equal Rights Amendment," *Religion and American Culture* 3 (Summer 1993): 129-54.

Representative W. Donald Ladd, now a General Authority, concurred.¹⁷⁴ Not only did these regional representatives maintain that position, but in March 1980 the First Presidency reaffirmed the publicly disseminated policy: "It is, however, contrary to our counsel and advice that ward, branch or stake premises, chapels or other Church facilities be used in any way for political campaign purposes, whether it be for speech-making, distribution of literature, or class discussion."¹⁷⁵ That official policy was necessary to protect the tax-exempt status of LDS meetinghouses in the United States.

Nevertheless, previously cited examples demonstrate that various kinds of anti-ERA activities occurred in LDS meetinghouses throughout the United States. This included using LDS chapels for such political activities as circulating petitions to government officials, distributing the voting records of candidates, promoting the election of candidates with anti-ERA views, writing letters or signing pre-written letters to legislators with requests to vote in particular ways, announcing upcoming meetings of political action committees, holding advertised meetings of such political organizations, and using the chapel's parking lot as the point of departure for political rallies. These activities were all consistent with Gordon B. Hinckley's private instructions which had, in fact, authorized these activities.

However, the third claim from LDS headquarters was that the thousands of Mormons involved in anti-ERA activities were acting without central direction. For example, in February 1978, Gordon B. Hinckley also told the media: "If Mormons seem to have a cohesiveness, it springs from the convictions of basic Mormon principles," Hinckley explained. Nor does the church tell a person specifically how to vote. But, he admitted, it is not unusual for Mormons to be of a like mind."¹⁷⁶ From the days of founder Joseph Smith, that was

¹⁷⁴Linda Sillitoe, Notes of interviews with Virginia's regional representatives Julian C. Lowe on 14 February 1979 and [W.] Donald Ladd on 15 February 1979, Folder 10, Box 5, Collection of Utah Women's Issues; also "Seven General Authorities Called to Serve," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 3 April 1994, A-11.

¹⁷⁵"Political Involvement Urged," *Church News*, 8 March 1980, 3, a First Presidency statement of 5 March which was summarized in "Keep Partisan Political Actions Out of Church, Urge LDS," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 6 March 1980, B-1.

¹⁷⁶"Mormon Politicians Not Told How to Vote: No Church Conspiracy," *Las Vegas Review-Journal*, 25 February 1978, A-4.

the vintage explanation for Mormon bloc-voting and other lock-step political activities.

In a private meeting with Hinckley two years later, Sonia Johnson asked: "Did you meet with Regional Representative Julian Lowe to set up the Virginia Citizens Coalition?" Unaware that the Oakton Virginia Stake newsletter and Lowe himself had already described this authorization, Hinckley twice denied such a meeting. Sonia Johnson icily replied: "Gordon, [either] you're lying to me or else Julian Lowe is." The record of their interview continued: "Then he remembered he had met with Lowe."¹⁷⁷

An unofficial claim in Mormon folklore was that if there were "abuses" during the anti-ERA campaigns in various states, Church headquarters was not responsible for them since the General Authorities did not know the details of what local leaders were doing. A corollary was the claim that Gordon B. Hinckley was the only General Authority who knew what was happening at the local level. Virginia's regional representatives Ladd and Lowe denied both claims. When asked, "Do the Brethren know what you've been doing?" Lowe replied in February 1979, "Oh, they know what's going on. We update them from time to time." The two regional leaders indicated that these reports of anti-ERA activities also went to General Authorities besides Hinckley.¹⁷⁸ The well-established LDS practices of dele-

¹⁷⁷"Meeting between Sonia Johnson, Jan Tyler, Gordon Hinckley, and Neal Maxwell as recalled by Jan Tyler," undated description of a private meeting at Salt Lake City [in February 1980], Folder 1, Box 5, Collection of Utah Women's Issues. Johnson, who had been excommunicated two months earlier, felt that Hinckley and Maxwell were being "condescending" and "patronizing" to her and Jan Tyler, who accompanied her. They also felt Hinckley showed a lack of seriousness about women's issues by "giggling." Johnson deliberately called both apostles by their first names, a significant breach of Church etiquette. *Ibid.*; "Interview with Gordon Hinckley and Neal Maxwell as recalled by Sonia Johnson," n.d. [February 1980], 2, Folder 1, Box 8, Johnson Papers; Johnson, *From Housewife to Heretic*, 155. (It seems fair to point out that Gordon B. Hinckley, with whom I once met for an hour in his home about a controversial matter, frequently chuckles to himself good-naturedly. I did not interpret it as demeaning to me or as a lack of seriousness about the issue but rather as an administrative style that helped ease the tension of our conversation.)

¹⁷⁸Linda Sillitoe, Notes of interviews with Virginia's regional representatives Julian C. Lowe on 14 February 1979 and [W.] Donald Ladd on 15 February 1979. I heard numerous examples of such folk beliefs from the late-1970s to the present but

gation and stewardship-reporting undoubtedly operated in like manner for dozens of regional representatives involved in the Church's anti-ERA campaign in twenty other states.

However, until July 1981, the First Presidency was not informed of the methods of the Church's anti-ERA campaign on the local level in any state. During a candid interview, Rodney P. Foster, an assistant secretary in the First Presidency's office from 1974 to 1981, explained that he was not even aware of the existence of the Special Affairs Committee until about 1977, three years after its formation. Foster said that the anti-ERA campaign's local tactics were not referred to in the First Presidency meetings he attended. Nor did reports of the local anti-ERA efforts appear in the detailed minutes he transcribed of First Presidency meetings he did not attend. "The actual grass-roots [anti-ERA] movement and working with regional representatives, and setting up meetings—that was all done under cloak of other authority," Foster said, "what they now call Special Affairs." In his view, the Special Affairs Committee purposely kept the LDS president and his counselors uninformed of the committee's activities. He added that Kimball and his counselors may have preferred to be uninformed of the specifics in the Church's anti-ERA campaign.¹⁷⁹ In any event, apparently no one in the First Presidency's office knew the details of the Church's anti-ERA campaign until Hinckley moved from the Special Affairs Committee to become a special counselor to the First Presidency in July 1981. By that time, Kimball and his first two counselors were severely limited by health problems.¹⁸⁰

It is also important to recognize that LDS Church funds did not support the anti-ERA campaign in various states. Gordon B. Hinckley emphasized that restriction in his instructions at the

no folklorist has conducted a study of such beliefs, to my knowledge.

¹⁷⁹Tape-recordings and transcribed notes of my interviews on 5-6 September 1992 with Rodney P. Foster, assistant secretary in the First Presidency's office from 1974 to 1981.

¹⁸⁰G. Homer Durham, *N. Eldon Tanner: His Life and Service* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1982), 278-79; Edward L. Kimball, "A Time of Reaching Out: The Administration of Spencer W. Kimball," *Sunstone* 11 (March 1987): 8, 13-14; F. Burton Howard, *Marion G. Romney: His Life and Faith* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1988), 240; *Deseret News 1993-1994 Church Almanac*, 366.

meeting of 5 October 1979. Alan Blodgett, the Church's chief financial officer during the years of the anti-ERA campaign, explains that LDS headquarters distributed no funds to the various political action committees established by the regional representatives. Also, Lowell M. Durham, president of the Church's Deseret Book Company at the time, confirms that LDS business corporations were not asked to donate funds to anti-ERA groups and did not do so. However, Blodgett understood at the time that "someone" was arranging for individual Mormons to donate funds to the LDS organizations established in various states to defeat the Equal Rights Amendment.¹⁸¹

Government documents, Church spokesman Jerry Cahill, and regional representative Julian Lowe all verify Blodgett's understanding of these financial operations.¹⁸² Therefore, while Church headquarters used regional representatives to coordinate anti-ERA donations by individual Mormons, there is no truth to the LDS side of a nationally circulated claim that "banks and insurance companies, together with the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day [sic] Saints, spent great sums of money to defeat the amendment."¹⁸³

¹⁸¹Tape-recordings and transcriptions of my interviews on 29-30 August 1992 with Alan Blodgett, managing director of the LDS Church's Financial Department from 1969 to 1980, and managing director of the Investment Department from 1980 to 1985, and of my interview on 30 October 1992 with Lowell M. Durham, Jr., vice president and then president of Deseret Book Company from 1976 to 1982, who became vice-president and then president of Zion's Cooperative Mercantile Institution (ZCMI) from 1982 to 1990.

¹⁸²Linda Sillitoe, Notes of interview with Julian Lowe, 14 February 1979, Folder 10, Box 5, Collection of Utah Women's Issues; White "Overt and Covert Politics," 15; White, "Mormonism and the Equal Rights Amendment," 255; "Mormon Muscle: Members' Funds Fought ERA," *Sacramento Bee*, 19 April 1980, A-1 (quoting Cahill); "Mormon Money Worked Against Florida's ERA," *Miami Herald*, 20 April 1980, A-1 (quoting Cahill); "Mormon Church Plays Key Role in Anti-ERA Fight," *Sacramento Bee*, 4 May 1980; "Update," *Sunstone* 5 (May-June 1980): 6-7; Florida "Campaign Treasurer's Report, Contributions," from "FACT PAC—Families Are Concerned Today Pol. Action Com.," in separately dated reports covering total period from 14 October 1978 through 2 January 1979, copies in Folder 5, Box 3, Collection of Utah Women's Issues, and in Folder 3, Box 7, Johnson Papers.

¹⁸³Dehart-Mathews and Mathews, "The Cultural Politics of the ERA's Defeat," in

CONCLUSIONS

The assertion that the LDS Church's campaign was the final straw in breaking the back of ERA ratification is debatable. It may be true but is unverifiable. What is clear, however, is that immediately after Mormon anti-ERA campaigns in several states, the pro-ERA forces lost their slight edge of support among state legislators or among voters facing an ERA referendum. However, the Roman Catholic Church and fundamentalist Protestant churches also made similar last-ditch efforts.¹⁸⁴ At the least, it is fair to say that Mormons were significant players in the religious coalition which defeated the Equal Rights Amendment.¹⁸⁵

The larger question was the one raised in anger and anguish by Sonia Johnson and other pro-ERA Mormons. What right did LDS leaders have to conduct a political campaign against the Equal Rights Amendment? Some Mormons and many non-Mormons simply ridiculed Hinckley's statement to the media: "We have construed that the ERA is a moral issue."¹⁸⁶

In recent decades LDS leaders have often identified their political campaigns as a "moral issue," but that certainly is not required by Mormon theology. For example, in the midst of the Church's campaign against the Equal Rights Amendment, the First Presidency asked all western Congressmen to vote against the deregulation of the airlines. That was hardly a matter of faith or morals.¹⁸⁷

Hoff-Wilson, *Rights of Passage*, 45-46.

¹⁸⁴Wohl, "A Mormon Connection?" 70; Ken Driggs, letter to the editor, *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 11 (Autumn 1978): 5-7; Richardson, "The 'Old Right' in Action," 221-22; White, "Mormonism and the Equal Rights Amendment," 252-53, 254-55, 257-58; Mansbridge, *Why We Lost the ERA*, 174-75.

¹⁸⁵Allen and Leonard, *The Story of the Latter-day Saints*, 659; O. Kendall White Jr., "A Review and Commentary on the Prospects of a Mormon-New Christian Right Coalition," *Review of Religious Research* 28 (December 1986): 184.

¹⁸⁶Norman Sklarewitz, "Interview: Gordon B. Hinckley," *PSA Magazine*, June 1980, 120, copy in Vertical File for Hinckley, Special Collections, Marriott Library, and also in Folder 7, Box 3, of Collection of Utah Women's Issues.

¹⁸⁷"LDS Oppose Airline Bill," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 15 July 1977, C-2; "LDS Letter Opposes Airline Bill," *Deseret News*, 15 July 1977, B-4, which (in response to the *Tribune's* morning report) acknowledged only that the First Presidency letter went to "some Congressmen June 10." In fact, the letter against deregulation of the airlines

Moreover, Mormon sociologist White's complaint is irrelevant when he decries "the whim" of Mormon leaders for mounting a political assault on the ERA as "a moral issue" in the 1970s-1980s. He contrasted its opposition with the general aloofness of most LDS leaders toward the civil rights movement of the 1960s because Mormon leaders defined that as "a political issue."¹⁸⁸ Nevertheless, every organization—secular or sacred—has the right to draw its own battle lines.

The LDS Church, like other organizations, also has the right to impose whatever penalty it chooses upon members who dissent from such decisions, as long as the punishment does not violate the secular laws to which the Church is also subject. From that perspective, Sonia Johnson was simply a casualty, not a martyr.

One can debate whether the LDS Church's anti-ERA campaign weakened particular values or expectations of some of its members. Certainly, the Equal Rights Amendment helped the Church grow stronger at a personal and institutional level. For the first time in their lives, thousands of Mormon women participated directly in the American political process. They were not only "good Mormon soldiers" in letter-writing campaigns and public demonstrations but were often also the local organizers and spokespersons in the anti-ERA campaign. Although LDS women were usually assigned to these activities by male priesthood leaders, for the most part these women enthusiastically participated in the anti-ERA campaign as an expression of their own deeply felt views. Two historians of the ERA's defeat

went to the Congressmen of every western state as part of the First Presidency's effort to protect the financial stability of Western Airlines in which the LDS Church was a significant stockholder. See Croft, "Influence of the L.D.S. Church on Utah Politics, 1945-1985," 92; Robert J. Serling, *The Only Way to Fly: The Story of Western Airlines, America's Senior Air Carrier* (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday & Co., 1976), 17; and *Moody's Transportation Manual* (New York: Moody's Investors Services, 1976-1982) identifying Presiding Bishop Victor L. Brown as one of Western Airline's directors during this period.

¹⁸⁸White, "Overt and Covert Politics," 12-13, 15; White, "Mormonism and the Equal Rights Amendment," 266-67. The most vocal General Authority about the civil rights movement in the 1960s was Ezra Taft Benson who condemned it as a conspiracy by the Communist Party. See Quinn, "Ezra Taft Benson and Mormon Political Conflicts," 26-27, 31-32, 60-61, 64, 82.

have stated that female "Birchers, Mormons, and [other] right-wing women may have been new to the public forum, but they had as much right to it as their counterparts from a different political culture."¹⁸⁹

Also, for the first time, the Mormon hierarchy planned and successfully administered a multi-directional political campaign in widely scattered states and in hundreds of cities and towns. Institutionally, the LDS Church won the short-term battle against the Equal Rights Amendment and also its century-old war with the power of the federal government. "Opponents, even if they supported the objectives [of the ERA], felt that the federal government should not be involved," wrote LDS historians James B. Allen and Glen M. Leonard.¹⁹⁰

However, there were intangible costs, impossible to quantify, involving psychological and spiritual strains on participants in the anti-ERA campaign who realized that their political strategies required some amount of subterfuge, deceit, and misdirection to protect the Church's direct involvement.¹⁹¹

The larger national question is whether the LDS Church has a right to use the American political process to achieve Mormon goals which affect the civil rights of non-Mormons numbering in the hundreds of millions. That was certainly the outcome of the Mormon assault against the Equal Rights Amendment, whether one agreed or disagreed with the ERA.

Institutional self-interest is the only answer to the above inquiry. The First Amendment limits governmental intrusions on religion and prevents government advocacy of religious groups, but the First Amendment does not limit religions from making non-coercive intrusions upon U.S. citizens.¹⁹² Politically active churches and church-

¹⁸⁹Mathews and De Hart, *Sex, Gender, and the Politics of ERA*, 217.

¹⁹⁰Allen and Leonard, *The Story of the Latter-day Saints*, 659.

¹⁹¹Dallin H. Oaks, "Gospel Teachings About Lying," *Clark Memorandum* [of the J. Reuben Clark School of Law, Brigham Young University], Spring 1994, 16-17 acknowledges "lying for the Lord" by early Mormon leaders who found themselves in difficult circumstances. Oaks admitted that he could not predict what he would do in similar circumstances.

¹⁹²For example, judicial decisions against the display of a menorah, cross, or Christmas creche on government property are prohibitions against government

sponsored political organizations are simply examples of special-interest lobbying in the United States.¹⁹³

The LDS Church, like any other church, has the right to use the political process to maximize its goals. However, Mormon leaders must always decide whether a popular backlash is worth the effort for a proselytizing church. In order to defeat the Equal Rights Amendment, the LDS Church's hierarchy clearly was ready to accept any consequences of using the American political process to the fullest. Nevertheless, another legacy of the anti-ERA campaign has been a widespread lack of credibility for the LDS Church as an advocate for women, despite numerous talks at LDS general conferences which honor women and their contributions and despite a higher public profile for the general presidencies of the women's auxiliaries in recent years.

Beyond the historical facts of the anti-ERA campaign, the political activism of Mormon leaders is embedded in LDS theology. In the decade since winning its anti-ERA battle, the Mormon hierarchy has continued to intervene in a variety of political issues in Utah, such as a 1992 ballot initiative for pari-mutuel betting.¹⁹⁴

A 1994 vote in Oklahoma, discussed in a *Church News* article, shows the decentralization and expansion of the Special Affairs Committee at headquarters into permanent "Public Affairs Councils" of the LDS Church on an area, regional, statewide, and local level. This change occurred in 1991.¹⁹⁵

endorsement of specific religions, not restrictions on the religious groups represented by those symbols.

¹⁹³Daniel John O'Neill, *Church Lobbying in a Western State: A Case Study on Abortion Legislation* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1970); Michael T. Hayes, *Lobbyists and Legislators: A Theory of Political Markets* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1981).

¹⁹⁴"Horse-Race Petitions to Hit Streets: LDS Battle Plan Afoot? Church Keeping Quiet," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 2 April 1992, A-1; "LDS Leaders Attack Pari-Mutuel Betting," *Deseret News*, 1 June 1992, A-1.

¹⁹⁵*Public Affairs Handbook* (Salt Lake City: Public Affairs Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1991); Bruce L. Olsen, "Developing a Non-Profit Public Relations Network," *Public Relations Quarterly* 36 (Spring 1992): 27-29. Olsen is managing director of the Church-wide Public Affairs Department; for its connection with Special Affairs, see "LDS Church Names Director of Special Affairs Department," *Deseret News*, 26 May 1989, B-2.

Although "members of the Church in Oklahoma make up less than 1 percent of the state's population," they directed "a statewide campaign against the lottery, resulting in its defeat May 10 by a 60 percent to 40 percent vote," this article reads. The campaign occurred "under direction of the North American Southwest Area presidency and local public affairs councils." The article identifies the two General Authorities involved as Elders W. Mack Lawrence and D. Todd Christofferson, president and counselor in the area presidency. The article did not specify that the area presidency consulted with Public Affairs at LDS headquarters about this political activism, but such stewardship reporting is automatic for General Authorities with assignments outside Utah.

The article noted that prior to the LDS Church's political activism, "public opinion polls showed 75 percent for the initiative, 25 percent against." The *Church News* outlined this political campaign which persuaded 35 percent of the non-Mormon electorate to change their intended votes. "Two weeks before the vote, Elder Christofferson . . . met with a local LDS public affairs council. Included in that meeting were members of a non-member organization, 'Oklahomans Against the Lottery.'" This centrally coordinated campaign also included Southern Baptists, Methodists, and members of the Assembly of God. Nevertheless, "the 'spinal cord' of the work," according to Oklahoma's statewide director of LDS Public Affairs, "was the network of LDS public affairs."¹⁹⁶

With its Public Affairs directors (some of whom are full-time employees), the LDS Church has the capability of intervening politically on any "moral issue" that involves Congress, state legislatures, county supervisors, local school boards, or city councils throughout the United States. In addition, thirteen countries have a higher percentage of Mormon population than in the United States.¹⁹⁷ It

¹⁹⁶Members Help Defeat Lottery Initiative," *Church News*, 23 July 1994, 12. For the background and LDS assignments of W. Mack Lawrence, see *Deseret News 1993-1994 Church Almanac*, 36, 101. The appointment of D. Todd Christofferson as a General Authority and member of the Seventy occurred in 1993 after the publication of this almanac.

¹⁹⁷Compared to the Mormon population of 1.6 percent as of the 1990 U.S. census, Tonga is 33.3 percent Mormon, Samoa (29 percent), Niue (12 percent), Kiribati (6.3 percent), Tahiti (6.1 percent), Cook Islands or Rarotonga (4.4 percent), Marshall

seems likely that the Church will, sooner or later, also take a stand on "moral issues" in the political life of other countries. Still, nothing has yet rivaled the scope and impact of the LDS Church's political activism of the late-1970s and early 1980s. Only time will tell to what extent the Mormon hierarchy will engage in political activism that rivals the precedent of its successful anti-ERA campaign.

Islands (4 percent), Chile (2.4 percent), New Zealand (2.3 percent), Alberta province, Canada (2.3 percent), Palau ((misspelled Belau, 2.2 percent), Uruguay (1.9 percent), and Micronesia (1.8 percent). See *Deseret News 1993-1994 Church Almanac*, 199, 206, 210, 217, 237, 241, 246, 249, 251, 270, 273, 279, 282, 399; *The World Almanac and Book of Facts 1993* (New York: World Almanac/Pharos Books/Scripps Howard, 1992), 385. The *Church Almanac*, 395, shows that a year after the 1990 census, the LDS proportion of the U.S. population had increased by one-tenth of 1 percent.

WRITING SOUTHERN UTAH HISTORY: AN APPRAISAL AND A BIBLIOGRAPHY

Douglas D. Alder

Why do so many write so much and so often about such a small place as Utah's Dixie and about such a comparatively small period as its 150-year past? There are now books about several Mormon subregions such as Sanpete, Cache Valley, Bear Lake, the Little Colorado, the Mexican Colonies and so on, but the volume of Dixie histories is amazing. (See bibliography.) Is it merely because two productive people happened to have lived there—Juanita Brooks and Andrew Karl Larson? Had they moved away like their prolific compatriot, LeRoy Hafen, would they have written about other topics instead of Dixie?

Or is there something about Dixie itself that would have drawn others into the same research and writing? The privation the early pioneers faced on the Mohave Desert was certainly intense. Their descendants found it worthy of recording, and pride permeates their prolific writings. But pioneers on many Mormon frontiers suffered

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immense hardships, even if the new Dixie's luxuriant "playground" reputation stands in ironic contrast to pioneer self-sufficiency. I hypothesize that Dixie is characterized by a tragedy. The Mountain Meadows Massacre presented a conundrum that called for explanation through history, even, I conjecture, histories that never mention it but instead try to construct convincing pictures to cover its moral immensity.

In analyzing the types of histories written about Dixie, I borrow three helpful categories of local history: celebratory history, revisionist history, and radical history.¹

CELEBRATORY HISTORY

A convenient example of congratulatory history is H. Lorenzo Reid's *Dixie of the Desert* (1964). It becomes clear in reading the book that Reid wanted his students at Dixie College to have a convenient text which concisely summarized Dixie history. Even more importantly, he wanted his students to admire the founders of Dixie. Thus, his frontispiece quotes Orville Dewey: "They who do not remember and revere their ancestors who have done worthy deeds are not likely to leave a posterity that will be worthy of being remembered." And his text celebrates their achievements.

His obvious approbation, however, does not stop him from some tough-mindedness. For example, he goes well beyond the "Cotton Mission" motive for settling Dixie, pointing out that the southern capital was also established for geopolitical reasons—to preempt the land before the Gentiles did and to protect the southern route into Utah from California for future Mormon immigrants.

Reid was also able to look at the Mormons through the eyes of Indians, who saw the Saints as part of the white invasion. And he candidly recounted how Orson Pratt moved to the upper Virgin Valley, initially refusing to come to St. George after a disagreement with fellow apostle Erastus Snow. As a result, despite its celebratory intent, the book still reads well today because it is evenhanded, not

¹Michael Bruce Lybarger, "The Historiography of Social Studies: Retrospect, Circumspect, and Prospect," in *Handbook of Research on Social Studies Teaching and Learning*, edited by James P. Shaver (New York: Macmillan, 1990), 3, 4.

overstated. Still, one knows clearly where the author stands. He has values and recommends them.

Juanita Brooks's early works also fit into the celebratory category. In her biography of Dudley Leavitt, her paternal grandfather, she uncritically includes as fact the story of the mantle of the Prophet Joseph Smith falling on Brigham Young, not even explaining whether Dudley was the source of the story. Praying for rain, fighting grasshoppers, surviving floods and intense heat—these experiences are told reverently as part of a faith-promoting history.

Andrew Karl Larson is likewise clear about his purpose: "I strongly feel that the accomplishment of these men and their sturdy associates should be perpetuated."² Why? Larson implies that later generations need the values of the founders. Honoring them will memorialize their purposes.

Clearly Brooks and Larson are the giants of Dixie history but it is not quite so clear whether it was their personal skill that caused them to write or if it was the story of the region that worked upon them. At least in Larson's case, the message was the medium more than any aim at professional preferment. Juanita Brooks was also motivated at least as much by the Dixie story as by the desire to write. The combination of the two made her a spokesperson for a subculture.

The early Brooks, like most of Larson and Reid, captured the saga, enshrining it in words that connected the community. Their books were intended to bind a folk, much like the texts that ancient rabbis wrote and read to their people, especially in schools. It is perhaps not coincidence that all three were college teachers.

Perpetuation of values through stories—whether folklore, faith-promoting accounts, songs, plays, genealogies, or annals—helps create a culture. The Dixie historians were particularly influenced by diarists like James G. Bleak, John D. Lee, and Charles Walker who left magnificent records of the pioneer experience that embodied pioneer values. These diarists were not conspiring to indoctrinate, did not write by assignment, and did not submit their texts for approval; but community response to their work must have been present in

²Andrew Karl Larson, *The Red Hills of November* (1957; reprinted St. George, Utah: Dixie College Foundation, 1993), x.

their minds. Often Walker, Lee, and Bleak merely reported what happened, but they frequently went beyond the facts to underscore a truth—a true story that was sacred to their people. These classic diaries, along with dozens of others transcribed as part of a WPA project, gave Dixie historians rich sources we still find commanding.

The historians intentionally perpetuated those values, stressing the parallels with ancient Israel (wandering in the desert, revering prophets, and eventually building a temple city). The celebratory historians were concerned that new generations, beneficiaries of pioneer sacrifices, would become a generation in need of values more than valuables.

A fourth celebratory volume makes its purpose clear with its title: *Under the Dixie Sun: A History of Washington County by Those Who Loved Their Forebears*. This volume of twenty-eight essays, a Daughters of Utah Pioneers project, was edited by Roxey Romney, the Washington County librarian, with contributions by more than a score of authors, including both Brooks and Larson, and some who chose to remain anonymous. The essays vary in sophistication, including, as a special category, some homespun folktales. It focuses on the founders, town by town.

Albert E. Miller, St. George mayor and state legislator, wrote *Immortal Pioneers* (1946). His motive, according to his preface, was “to see how vividly the lives of the men and women in St. George could be reproduced—their struggles to found a place of safety, their ways of working, their sacrifices to erect buildings that would be ‘an ornament to their city and a credit to their enterprise.’”

Though the book is overly focused on mayors, it is a wonderful beginning for an administrative history, including useful information about civic affairs well into the twentieth century. Miller’s view of history is that most of it originates in the city office and he unquestionably feels that the historian’s job is to be laudatory.

Those with post-World War II academic training may feel that historical writing that intertwines indoctrination and objective narrative is marred. Before we judge, however, we should read their texts. We should ride the Arizona Strip with Anthony Atkin in his autobiography; we should read through Andrew Karl Larson’s descriptions of broken dams three times a season on the Virgin River; we should negotiate with Indians in their hogans through James C.

Little's biography of Jacob Hamblin, based on Hamblin's journal. Further, as historians we should remember those who cradle dying babies, who suffered with cholera and burning heat. We should understand, as Erastus Snow did, what it took to keep families from abandoning the colony. We should visit the Virgin River when it swept away Grafton and see the Santa Clara Creek when it destroyed Hamblin's fort. We should read of meeting after meeting of canal company leaders, deciding to levy taxes again for yet another dam on the Virgin. We should consider Apostle Snow's response to the Presiding Bishop who asked for twenty-five well-supplied teams from the failing Cotton Mission to go to Nebraska to support the handcart Saints. We should peruse the tax rolls which requisitioned labor to build roads and schools before homes. We should digest Martha Cragun Cox's memoirs about teaching school in a hostile Gentile community, leaving her baby with a sister wife.

Only then will we know why people wrote Dixie history. They were not brainwashed. They had not sold out to propaganda. Larson was a sensitively critical writer, especially about the Mountain Meadows Massacre. Miller was very candid about the Cottonwood water project. But all of them were obsessed by the story. Yes, there were pioneer privations all over the West, and Dixie multiplied the challenge because of heat and drought. Their Indian story was not rare, but Jacob Hamblin, the peacemaker, was. Their concept of community went beyond a town to a whole kingdom. Their belief in leadership and in family destiny (including polygamy) was unshaken. And then the whole survival story was compounded by the controversy of the Mountain Meadows Massacre.

These Mormon celebrationists wrote partly because the story compelled them to and partly because the kingdom of God that the pioneers were planting in the desert, with all its limitations, was sacred writ to those who stayed at their parched posts. The authors believed it, too, so they created reverential texts for the community. Reid, Larson, and Brooks have better skills and a more critical eye than the scores who wrote family histories, town histories, and autobiographies which unconsciously assumed that history is praise. Still, they were kindred spirits. They had a reverence for documents while the amateurs used mostly memories, but the distance between the professionals and the amateurs was not nearly as pronounced as in the two later categories. Philosophically they agreed on honoring

the founders and perpetuating the values. And thanks to these writers, Mormon Israel in Southern Utah still has a clear-edged identity.

REVISIONIST HISTORY

The second approach to Dixie history is revisionism—partly because a new generation of writers grew up asking the kinds of questions that the original histories left unanswered. These sometimes irreverent historians felt that the previous histories needed to be revised. They eschewed eulogy, valuing analysis over narrative. They were suspicious of “official” history, seeing history as an individual achievement rather than as the expression of a collective voice. They refused to reinforce dogma.

The celebratory histories written about Dixie revered leaders, idealized the suffering of settlers, ignored those who left the colony, but lionized those who stayed to face the parched landscape. The revisionists take on the relatively thankless task of correcting the distortions that arise from that approach.

The classic example is Juanita Brooks, who evolved from a devoted celebratory historian to a noted revisionist. Her biographies of Dudley Leavitt, George Brooks, and Jacob Hamblin were works of praise. Yet just prior to the 1947 centennial year of Utah, in an essay entitled “The First One Hundred Years of Southern Utah History,” she described family histories as weakened by

the stand that only the praiseworthy shall be told, that nothing shall go out from their organization that can in any way be construed to be uncomplimentary to the Mormon people. . . .

They do not wish to see their pioneers realistically as tough frontiersmen, sometimes disagreeing among themselves, quarrelling upon occasion, swearing under provocation, drinking a little once-in-a-while, loyal to each other but cheating Gentiles with impunity. Like the pink-and-white portraits of the leaders, all smoothed of character wrinkles, they lack only a halo. . . . In our desire to eulogize them, many of us misrepresent them by magnifying their virtues and blotting out their faults until they appear luminous sub-deities.³

³Juanita Brooks, “The First One Hundred Years of Southern Utah History,” (pamphlet) (n.p., n.d.), original in possession of Karl Brooks, photocopy in my possession, 1.

Although she generously included herself among the group she was chastising, her two most famous works, *Mountain Meadows Massacre* and *John Doyle Lee*, show Brooks plying a rigorous and careful craft. She presses for historical accuracy from documentary sources, telling a tale some wanted left untold, certainly not eulogizing pioneer leaders. Brooks was intent on revising the pioneer story, bringing balance, accuracy, and authenticity to the reverential narrative. She was convinced that the saga would withstand criticism, thereby becoming more believable. She set aside her previous goal of inculcating pioneer values and adopted a more restricted goal: to tell a story as it actually happened and thus to press the reader to participate with the writer in creating an act of shared meaning. Her subject was the Mountain Meadows Massacre, but her approach was intended to go beyond that crucial event to all of Southern Utah history, all of Mormon history. The book on Mountain Meadows was, in a way, a test case. Could it be written objectively? Could it attract an independent publisher? Could the Mormon community deal with the challenge? Would this approach generate further professional studies or would it sink the ship?

Brooks went beyond the relatively accurate accounts that had been published previously to develop an explanation for the inexplicable behavior of her Mormon protagonists at the Meadows. She treated the massacre participants naturalistically, exploring motives of revenge, self-benefit, and an attraction to violence—all values invisible to celebratory historians.

Larson also treated the massacre critically, but Brooks was the historian committed by the need to air the issue fully. Her work preceded the so-called New Mormon History, but in some ways, she discovered it without benefit of the academic training that conditioned scores of later scholars. Her experiment did not sink the ship, but her thesis, that John D. Lee was a scapegoat, tended to overcompensate previous writings. Her book illustrates the fact that one can abandon the celebratory yet still not achieve perfect objectivity. Still, she came closer than anyone had before, probably thanks to her mentor-correspondents: Dale Morgan, Nels Anderson, Wallace Stegner, Bernard DeVoto, and Fawn Brodie. Her historical seminar was her own kitchen. She trained herself by collecting and studying pioneer journals, producing historical manuscripts under trying limi-

tations, and shipping them off to Morgan for criticism. She became a resourceful detective, driven to uncover evidence, even when it punctured the celebratory tradition which she had nurtured.

Novelist Maurine Whipple, influenced by naturalism in literature, produced a single major historical novel, *The Giant Joshua*. Instead of focusing on the harmony of pioneering families, she chose to portray conflict, particularly in polygamist Mormon marriages. Her revisionist view of male-dominated colonization, polygamy, and priesthood leadership, was, like Brooks's revisionist work, highly controversial. Her career is an enigma. She blazed across the literary sky and seemed to disappear. Her novel, appearing when she was thirty-eight, won national acclaim, immediately became a landmark in Mormon fiction, and has retained a glittering reputation among critics to this day. It heralded a brilliant career that never materialized.⁴ Unlike Virginia Sorensen or Bernard DeVoto, who also became nationally known from a Utah beginning, Whipple, who stayed in Utah, made one contribution which ended her impact.⁴ Nonetheless her novel is a high water mark, capturing the Dixie pioneer story in a classic revisionist view.

Another kind of revisionism is created by folklore studies. Professional scholars have begun to look at folk tales, folk songs, folk crafts, and folk humor as an insightful source for understanding a society. This is history from the bottom up. Arthur K. Hafen published a pamphlet privately, *Dixie Folklore and Pioneer Memoirs* (1961, 1964). Other tales were included in *Under the Dixie Sun*. Both Juanita Brooks and Andrew Karl Larson published articles about Dixie folk tales. Olive W. Burt, a novelist, collected folk tales about Dixie in the delightful anthology entitled *Lore of Faith and Folly*, edited by Thomas Cheney (University of Utah Press, 1971). Professional folklorists who studied the whole of Mormon culture found

⁴She continued to write, although she published little but magazine articles, and left parts of three novels unfinished at her death. Both her inconsistent writing career and her biography are explored in Maurine Whipple, *The Lost Works*, edited by Veda Tebbs Hale and Lavina Fielding Anderson (Salt Lake City: Aspen Books, forthcoming) and Veda Tebbs Hale, *Swell Suffering: The Life of Maurine Whipple* (Salt Lake City: Aspen Books, forthcoming.)

Dixie a rich vein. These include Austin and Alta Fife, Hector Lee, Wayland Hand, and William A. (Bert) Wilson.

RADICAL HISTORY

A third kind of history being written today on many historical subjects is radicalism. Genuinely radical history has yet to be written about Dixie, but there is at least one effort in that direction by Larry Logue. Radicals go well beyond revisionism's goal of objectivity. Instead of merely being skeptical of past pieties and devoted to professional methodologies and craftsmanship, radical historians adopt a new ideological framework to cover their interpretations.

For example, Marxist historians are committed to an economic interpretation which they feel explains why people, institutions, and nations act the way they do. Other contemporary radical historical theories are environmental exploitation, history as violence (human interactions are based on conflict), class, gender, and ethnicity. Certainly the Indian remains in Dixie, dating into the twentieth century, invite the attention of some thoughtful scholar.

Social history, though not necessarily radical in theory, makes a definite break from traditional political/institutional history by focusing on the common people rather than the leaders. While celebratory histories of Dixie prominently feature Erastus Snow, John D. Lee, Jacob Hamblin, and Brigham Young, social historians consider the daily work of common people, kinship systems, birth survival rates, caloric intake, marriage patterns, property ownership, medicine, and food preparation. Social historians frequently use a different set of sources from revisionists, who often simply use the former sources but with a more rigorous methodology. Their imaginative mining of census records, vital statistics, advertisements, and even telephone books pieces together a different history than the narratives and biographies that come from diaries, political records, speeches, and newspapers—the sources of choice of traditional scholars. Social historians do not necessarily adopt a Marxist or environmentalist ideology, though some do.

Although this contemporary school of history is still comparatively rare among Dixie histories, an outstanding example is Larry Logue's *Sermon in the Desert: Belief and Behavior in Early St. George, Utah* (1968). His work examines daily life, work, and diet,

modifies the previous image of polygamy, and reconstructs infancy and childhood more thoroughly than previous histories. He tests the hypothesis that people under stress will abandon official dogma as the stress increases. To his surprise, Dixie data do not support his thesis, even though the stress mounted high from heat, irrigation failures, famine, cholera, high mortality rates, and Indian challenges. However, the settlers found meaning in their suffering and purpose that enabled them to withstand the stress as they internalized the official goal of "building the Kingdom of God." The predicted gap between the message of the leaders in sermons and the followers in their diaries did not develop. True, some settlers left and several settlements were abandoned. Dixie required subsidization and many visits, even residence, from Brigham Young. But both the towns and the ideology survived.

An interesting comparison to Logue's work is Susan Hendricks Swetnam's *Lives of the Saints* (1991), based on an archive of about two hundred journals, biographies, and autobiographies by Southern Idaho Mormons. Like Logue, Swetnam argues that the lives of the common people have been ignored too often by historians. Her work document deviations from official dogma but evaluates the first-person experiences rather than testing a thesis. It is more a tool for social historians than social history itself.

CONCLUSION

So why did people write Dixie history? Most, both amateurs and professionals, wrote to celebrate the achievements of the founders and those who followed, and to perpetuate pioneer values. Writing such history is nearly as much an act of faith as the pioneers' building of canals, schools, and homes. Celebratory history, voluminous and thriving, is still being produced, particularly as family histories, biographies, and autobiographies.

Revisionist and social history exist in Dixie mainly because of professionals. The market for Dixie history is shifting, thanks in large part to the new demographics of the area. Dixie's intellectual life is no longer dominated by fifth-generation descendants of original pioneers but rather responds to the thousands of people, many of them well educated and accustomed to cosmopolitanism, who have moved to Southern Utah and want to feel part of their adopted

community. I confidently anticipate the appearance of histories reflecting this cosmopolitan orientation within a few years.

Under these circumstances, can Dixie history continue to function as a separate subgenre? Or will the emphasis shift to new questions such as the interaction between environment, resources, and human needs, or community as a balance to individualism? Obviously twentieth-century Dixie history is badly in need of writing. Most Dixie histories currently available hardly mention post-1900 events. And will the values that made Dixie still be viable in the new Dixie history, or will affluence change them more easily than privation preserved them? Dixie will be a good test to see if local history will continue to thrive in the future as it has in the past, in the land below the rim of the Great Basin.

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Reviews

Owen Dudley Edwards, ed., *Arthur Conan Doyle, A Study in Scarlet*, Volume 1 of *The Oxford Sherlock Holmes*, general editor, Owen Dudley Edwards. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993. Currently available only as part of the complete set.

Reviewed by Michael W. Homer

Since the first appearance of Arthur Conan Doyle's *A Study in Scarlet* in 1887, most reviewers have concentrated on Part I, "The Reminiscences of John H. Watson, M.D.," rather than on Part II, "The Country of the Saints." For obvious reasons, the London-based portion of the first Sherlock Holmes story, describing his deductive methods, personal idiosyncracies, and encounter with the admiring John Watson, is considered more important than the Mormon melodrama. That melodrama is a rather improbable romance about John Ferrier and his ward, little Lucy, who are rescued from sure death in the American desert by the harsh-faced and harsh-faithed Mormons en route to Utah. Shortly after their recovery, Ferrier adopts Lucy as his daughter, they convert to Mormonism, and become very prosperous in Utah. Ferrier refuses to marry and definitely refuses polygamy. When Lucy is a blooming young woman, Brigham Young orders her marriage to either Enoch Drebbler or Joseph Stangerson—both practicing polygamists and sons of members of the (mythical) Council of the Sacred Four—within a month. Ferrier refuses Young's ultimatum and, together with Lucy, attempts to escape Utah with the help of a non-Mormon, Jefferson Hope. Young's Avenging Angels (read Danites) track them and attack. Lucy's father dies, and several days later, the broken-hearted Lucy follows. Hope escapes and vows vengeance on Drebbler and Stangerson. After a twenty-year search, he tracks them down in London and kills them. Their murders are Sherlock Holmes's first case.

Commentaries about the Mormon "subplot" of this story have usually perpetuated many of Doyle's inaccuracies. Although the introduction and notes by Owen Dudley Edwards to *The Oxford Sherlock Holmes* continue to favor the Sherlockian content, he refreshingly does not assume that all

the events described in Utah are based on historical facts and provides considerable valuable commentary for readers not familiar with Mormon history. *A Study in Scarlet* is one of the nine volumes in *The Oxford Sherlock Holmes*, which contains all fifty-six short stories and four novels published between 1887 and 1927. Although two prior attempts have been made to annotate the Holmes corpus, *The Oxford Sherlock Holmes* is by far the most ambitious and successful. Edwards, Reader in Commonwealth and American History at the University of Edinburgh, has also taught at the universities of Oregon, Aberdeen, South Carolina, and California State University at San Francisco, and has been lecturer, writer, journalist, and broadcaster in the British Isles and North America for over thirty years. Each volume in this series contains the general editor's preface to the series, an introduction to the volume, a select bibliography, and a chronology of Arthur Conan Doyle. *A Study in Scarlet* also contains an appendix of autobiographical notes by Doyle, contemporary reviews, and other commentaries (pp. 130-33). The contemporary reviews republished in *A Study in Scarlet* demonstrate some interest in the Mormon subplot, for Mormonism in 1887 was a sensational topic and plural marriage was a shocking and titillating subject for most English Victorians. Relying on this type of abundant (and redundant) material, *A Study in Scarlet* is also sensationalist and overdrawn. In fact, *A Study in Scarlet* was published under the title "Mormons; or the Curse of Utah" in William Randolph Hearst's *New York Evening Journal* in January 1899 as part of the campaign to prevent the seating of B. H. Roberts in the United States House of Representatives.

Edwards documents some of the possible sources Doyle drew his Mormon material from, including Joaquin [Cincinnatus Hiner] Miller, *The Danites in Sierras* (1881) (p. xiv); Robert Louis Stevenson, "The Dynamiters" (p. xxvii); and [Captain Thomas] Mayne Reid, *Scalp Hunters* (1852) (p. xxvi). Edwards also notes the Mormon pioneer party's correct location on the plains at the time *A Study in Scarlet* begins; the Mormons' participation in the Mexican War (p. 184); more accurate geography of the Mormon trail (pp. 183-84); and that the size of the vanguard company of pioneers was less than Doyle described (p. 186). Edwards also summarizes, without judgment, the Joseph Smith story (p. 186) and Brigham Young's background, quoting Bernard De Voto's description of Young as "'one of the foremost intelligences of our time' and, more reasonably, 'the first American who learned how to colonize the desert'" (p. 187). He also accurately describes Brigham Young's colonizing activities after his arrival in the Salt Lake Valley on 24 July 1847 (p. 189) and the conflict between the federal government and the Mormons during the 1850s (p. 192).

There are, however, some historical inaccuracies in Dudley Edwards's explanatory notes. Although minor, books such as this are probably more widely diffused than more serious historical works and thus may form a more

lasting impression on readers. As Sherlock himself said: "You know my method. It is founded upon the observance of trifles."

Edwards observes that a Mormon's wearing of a "Masonic device" was evidence of his apostasy, since Mormons were prevented from joining Freemasonry (p. 164). In fact, many in the Mormon hierarchy were Masons. During this same period, Brigham Young was photographed wearing a Masonic device.

Edwards comments that Christ's people in America in the Book of Mormon were "white" and that Brigham Young helped travelers "if they were white" (pp. 186-87) without realizing that at the time of Christ's visit in America, all "whites" and "reds" were Christ's people, that there were "blacks" in the first company of Mormon pioneers, and that Brigham Young had a benign policy toward the Indians in Utah Territory.

The claim that Brigham Young's statement upon entering the Salt Lake Valley, "This is the place," is not authenticated (p. 188). "This is the right place" is authenticated.

Edwards states that Mormon polygamy began to be practiced in 1843. Recent scholarship demonstrates that it was practiced much earlier.

The notes state that Jedediah M. Grant "announced" the doctrine of "blood atonement" (p. 192). Joseph Smith actually taught this controversial doctrine during his lifetime (*History of the Church* 1:434).

Edwards fails to identify the source for Brigham Young's reference to his wives as "heifers" (p. 194). Doyle borrowed it directly from *Artemus Ward's Lecture* in which he "quotes" Heber C. Kimball referring to his wives by this "endearing epitaph."

Even though Edwards recognizes that Doyle, to some extent, relied on inaccurate works for the historical part of *A Study in Scarlet*, Edwards himself has unwittingly relied on more recent and more scholarly works which are, in turn, inaccurate. Nevertheless, Edwards has done an outstanding job of editing and annotating *A Study in Scarlet* because his notes concerning Mormon history are far more accurate than inaccurate and do not reflect any obvious bias, except perhaps the racial attitudes of early Mormons. We may hope for more attention in future editions to Doyle's sources for the Mormon subplot and corrections of the trifling inaccuracies.

MICHAEL W. HOMER, an attorney in Salt Lake City, recently won the David Kirby Memorial Essay competition sponsored by the Arthur Conan Doyle Society in London for his essay, "The Absence of Holmes: The Continuation of the Mormon Subplot in 'Angels of Darkness,'" *ACD: The Journal of the Arthur Conan Doyle Society* 4 (1993): 57-74.

Gene A. Sessions. *Prophecy Upon the Bones: J. Reuben Clark and the*

Foreign Debt Crisis, 1933-1939. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992; xiv, 143 pp.

Reviewed by James S. Olson

To several hundred thousand Mormons in the 1930s and to millions more in subsequent decades, J. Reuben Clark was a special representative of God on earth, a General Authority, and a member of the First Presidency of the Mormon Church. To non-Mormon contemporaries, he was a conservative Republican uncompromisingly committed to the principles of hard work, thrift, small government, self-reliance, volunteerism, and individual accountability. And to students of recent American history, J. Reuben Clark was the Undersecretary of State in the Hoover administration who wrote the so-called Clark Memorandum, which launched the "Good Neighbor Policy" by criticizing the frequency of United States military intervention in Latin America. Most historians assume that when Franklin D. Roosevelt entered the White House, Clark returned to his Mormon home in Salt Lake City and spent the rest of his life working to build the kingdom of God.

But as Gene Sessions shows in *Prophecy Upon the Bones*, Clark still had battles to fight. For the man who had grown up on Mormon values, the Great Depression of the 1930s was a moral catastrophe. Nations around the world abandoned the gold standard in favor of soft money, and governments everywhere were running up huge debts. The federal government in the United States was growing enormously, and the welfare state had arrived. Individuals, private companies, and even governments were defaulting on their obligations. For Clark, debt, default, and the dole were cancers eating at America's moral foundation.

Franklin D. Roosevelt and the Mormon Church gave Clark the means of fighting the change, of standing up for the old order. In 1933 Clark was appointed to the Foreign Bondholders Protective Council, Inc. (FBPC), a private group launched at the federal government's request, to negotiate settlements with the issuers of foreign bonds in order to prevent permanent defaults and, in Clark's mind, economic chaos.

Clark headed the FBPC from 1934 to 1939, and he used it as a vehicle to preach, with the authority of a man who considered himself an agent of God, the virtues of the old order—balanced budgets, voluntary efforts to help the poor, hard money, and the orderly redemption of bonded debt. All the while, J. Reuben Clark was trying to practice what he preached, shuttling back and forth between the FBPC offices in New York City and Mormon Church headquarters in Salt Lake City, where he labored to create the Church Security Plan, a program to remove all members of the Mormon Church from government welfare rolls and place them on Church-operated welfare projects. Although the program never succeeded in doing that, it did evolve into the vaunted Mormon welfare system, which remains today one of the country's most successful experiments in volunteerism and self-help.

Clark had only mixed success as head of the FBPC. Absolutely committed

to maintaining the integrity of foreign bond investment, as an economic necessity and a moral imperative, he proved to be a skilled negotiator, working closely with creditor and debtor nations to prevent a wholesale collapse of the foreign bond market. But at the same time, his conservative values were etched in stone and out of synch with the dominant public policy mood of the 1930s. The FBPC found itself engaged in constant turf battles with the Securities and Exchange Commission, which wanted a government takeover of the negotiating process. In the end, Clark managed to preserve the independence of the FBPC, although its influence steadily diminished during the decade.

The book is tightly written and convincingly argued, an expansion of Sessions's 1974 dissertation at Florida State University. Frank W. Fox, Jr., *J. Reuben Clark: The Public Years* (1980), gives a brief summary of Clark's FBPC activity, and D. Michael Quinn, *J. Reuben Clark: The Church Years* mentions the topic briefly. But Sessions examines the topic exhaustively within the context of Clark's conservative personal and political philosophy. Sessions has explored all of the relevant primary sources, including the archives of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, the J. Reuben Clark Papers at Brigham Young University, the records of the Securities and Exchange Commission and the State Department, and the papers of the Foreign Bondholders Protective Council. It is, to be sure, a little book on a little topic; nevertheless, it convincingly shows what a skilled historian can do with even a narrowly focused topic—shed light on the past as well as the present. Sessions can be proud of *Prophesying Upon the Bones*.

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Doran J. Baker, Charles S. Peterson, Gene A. Ware, eds. *Isaac Sorensen's History of Mendon: A Pioneer Chronicle of a Mormon Settlement*. Salt Lake City: Cache County Historical Preservation Commission and Utah State Historical Society, 1988; xvii, 520 pp., 52 photographs, index. With an introduction by Charles S. Peterson, and Photographic Galleries by Richard B. Watkins and Paul R. Willie.

Reviewed by Susan Sessions Rugh

To commemorate the 130th anniversary of the founding of Mendon in Utah's Cache Valley, the Cache County Historical Preservation Commission posthumously published Isaac Sorensen's manuscript history of the town. Sorensen, a young Danish immigrant to Mendon in 1859, established a farm, married, fathered eleven children, and held various leadership positions in the com-

munity and Church before his death in 1922 at the age of eighty-two. The history he wrote in the waning years of his life has been capably transcribed and edited for this printing, a collaborative effort of faculty at Utah State University and Brigham Young University with the Division of State History and the Utah State Historical Society.

The bulk of the volume is Sorensen's "History of Mendon," divided by the editors into four main periods: "Frontier Settlement, 1856-1872," "After the Railroad, 1873-1895," "With Statehood, 1896-1908," and "The Coming Half Century, 1909-." Sorensen's history is supported by painstaking documentation provided in nearly 650 footnotes, many of them biographical references. Prefaced by a brief biographical sketch supplied by family members and a perceptive introduction written by Charles S. Peterson, Sorensen's narrative is followed by an elaborate appendix which includes the lyrics of a song he wrote, extracts from a 1920-21 history of himself and his wife, and a compilation of resource material about Mendon: lists of town officials, bishops, and early settlers, and a detailed chronology. A complete bibliography (which might better have been divided into categories for ease of use) and an extensively detailed index complete the book. A "Photographic Gallery" follows each chapter. A total of fifty-two photographs depict the religious, commercial, and social history of Mendon. Maps and sketches further illustrate the handsomely presented volume.

The authorial voice of Sorensen is engaging in its matter-of-factness. For example, his entry for 1864 opens with this sentence, which speaks volumes about frontier social relations: "In 1864, after a five years life in a fort where a splendid lesson had been taught and learned, it being really necessary to love the neighbors, there doors being only half speaking distance apart, which however, was quite convenient in one respect, as people had to borrow to quite an extent, it was not a great task to borrow and return" (p. 45; original spellings). A typical chapter summarizing a year's time usually dealt in order with: the weather; the state of crops and livestock; prices of farm produce; the accidents, illnesses, and deaths of Mendonites; the righteousness of the ward (measured by amount of tithing paid); and such community amusements as dances or band concerts. Because his history is abridged from his own journals, we do not sense as keenly as we might the maturation of the narrative voice. However, we notice that, beginning in the 1890s, Sorensen began to report on state and national politics; by World War I, he was interpreting world events as signs of an impending apocalypse. In his lengthening years, Sorensen's wise and prophetic pronouncements on the state of the world reveal a man who was no doubt a sage in the community.

From a scholarly perspective, the beauty of the "History" is in its susceptibility to multiple interpretations. Among the stories that emerge from its pages are: a "building the kingdom" Church history, a frontier saga, and the Americanization of immigrants, as well as the history of rural community. The value of the book is apparent whether one reads it through an ecclesiastical, historical, or sociological lens, or through a kaleidoscopic combina-

tion of them all. One can even apply post-modern cultural theory to ferret out meanings of gender and class which Sorensen did not intend. The picture of women that emerges from these pages includes not only producers of butter and eggs, and doers of good deeds in Relief Society, but also figures whose fashions were a barometer of community prosperity. In 1903 when grain stocks were low, Sorensen remarked that while "there was plenty to eat, and people dressed well indeed it may be said stylish—whil for a number of years the Ladies had dressed very respectable and tasty—but now trail dresses again made thier appearance, by no mean's a good fashion looked at from any side" (p. 183). The interweaving of multiple historical strands results in a richly textured fabric.

If we follow just one of those stories, that of rural community, Sorensen paints a classic picture of the rise and decline of countless farming towns in America. Mendon started out with a dangerous yet exciting settlement period, enjoyed the initial prosperity of linking with the railroad, then suffered a precarious dependence upon the whims of the market in which it became embedded. Only by mechanizing production and diversifying from growing wheat into raising hogs, cattle, and sugar beets, did those in Mendon stay afloat in the changing currents of the market. Progress in the town was measured by milestones—a central water system, sidewalks, a new ward building, and then electricity. Ultimately, the population began to decline in number as fewer were born than died or moved away, many to cheaper land in southeastern Idaho where they founded daughter colonies. Sorensen sadly noted a most telling sign of that depopulation in 1909: "There was an Orchastra band, but no brass band in Mendon now, the boys who made up the band had many of them removd to other places" (p. 227). Through the accumulation and layering of such detail, Sorensen painted a perceptive portrait of the transformation of a place through time.

Sorensen's history is not only delightful reading but is also a treasure trove of local history, a remarkable chronicle of life in Cache Valley, Utah, from settlement in 1856 to the early twentieth century. The publication of this documentary history is a shining example of the fruits of cooperation between professional and amateur historians. The usefulness of Sorensen's text for historical and genealogical research is heightened by the extensive framework of documentation provided by the editors; yet while the documentation ably supports Sorensen's history, its massive size can be daunting to the casual reader.

The book demonstrates the possibilities of analysis of autobiography to reveal patterns of the past in a region and an era. Although not a modern monograph like Laurel Thatcher Ulrich's revelatory study, *A Midwife's Tale*, the volume likewise uses one person's life to amplify our understanding. As a community history, Sorensen's history is more than a chronicle of the Mormon village. This book also illuminates the history of places historian Robert Wiebe has called "islands in the stream"—farming towns left behind as the nation followed an urban and industrial road into the twentieth century.

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Benson Young Parkinson. *S. Dilworth Young: General Authority, Scouter, Poet*. American Fork, Utah: Covenant Communications, Inc., 1994; xi, 321 pp., photographs, index; \$14.95. ISBN 1-55503-660-0

Reviewed by Gary Huxford

Those of us somewhat past middle age of a lifetime spent in the Church recall them still. They walked the streets of Salt Lake with a touch of old world aristocracy about them, even though there was more farm than foreign in their collective backgrounds. They sat before us in sessions of general conference, few enough that we knew their names, each with his own eccentricities: John A. Widtsoe's tweeds and goatee, J. Reuben Clark's eternal bow tie, Matthew Cowley's South Pacific inspired pastels. We learned to recognize their voices on radio and came to know them more intimately as they visited our stake conferences. I miss them, those unmechanized, pre-correlated, non-teleprompted leaders of the faith.

And there is more than nostalgia talking here. They represent a world we have lost. There is no use mourning that loss. It was inevitable and perhaps even desirable. But before we relegate the past entirely into the hands of historians, family chroniclers, antiquarians, or whatever, we need to examine what still remains in living memory, if for no other reason than to give us a sense of distance and direction.

Benson Young Parkinson writes a loving yet fairly evenhanded treatment of his grandfather, S. Dilworth Young. It is not the book most historians would have written, and therein are both its strength and its weakness. Parkinson's biography is primarily internal in the sense that it focuses on Young, with only occasional flashes to reflect the larger world around him. There is, for instance, a detailed description of Scouting as Young understood it and set up the program in Ogden in the 1920s and 1930s, a program, by the way, that would make a liability-loving law firm salivate. Parkinson also has a good chapter describing the evolution of the office and calling of the Seventy. By and large, however, the narrative seldom wanders from the main subject, Young himself. Parkinson occasionally succumbs to the all-in-the-family temptation to include the cutesy anecdote that adds no insight, stories best kept within the family, and events left unconnected and therefore without meaning.

In short, because the book is lean on context and, to the outside reader, long on sometimes irrelevant detail, it probably will not pass muster as one of the growing body of significant biographies.

And yet this is a good read that deserves a wide audience. It addresses two needs long noted among historians of Mormondom, the relative lack of biographies of second-echelon leaders, and the absence of histories that deal with life as it is lived at the operational level of the Church: the "ward as community" which Douglas Alder spoke of so eloquently in his MHA presidential address.

The Young that Parkinson describes is something of an enigma. Although he became one of the more ardent and outspoken defenders of the faith, there is little in his early years to indicate that the Church and its teachings were anything more than a cultural phenomenon that Dil, as a fourth-generation Latter-day Saint, took to as naturally, but unthinkingly, as breathing. An inactive father, a peripatetic childhood, and occasional disputes over local ecclesiastical policies made him a sometime attender—and a noisy one at that (pp. 31-32).

How Young came by his facility with language is, again, a mystery. He read widely and did well in school, although he came close to failing the test for acceptance to Annapolis. When he received the appointment, he turned it down. Thus, his poetic gift, in a sort of Lincolnesque manner, shows little development until suddenly—it is there. The actual poetry is a mixed bag—mundane at times but occasionally rising to sublime moments.

His Scouting career, a career he deemed the most successful experience of his life, came about almost by accident. He needed a job—as simple as that. He had little to guide him through that convoluted world of instructing and leading adolescent boys. Just days before his death, in a discussion with his daughter, Leonore, Young responded to her observation that she had raised nine children only to discover "I don't know how to raise children," with his own reflections: "Neither did I." And then he added, "Neither did my father" (p. 319). It is one of many powerfully moving moments in the book. In tribute to his wife, Gladys Pratt Young, Dil wrote: "Men not in love find ways to stay away from home. There has never been a night that I haven't faced toward home with anticipation . . . because you are there" (p. 246). She died at home, her dying prayer: "Please, God, do not let these agitations conquer me to the point I cannot endure them" (p. 260). He survived her by seventeen years, marrying Huldah Parker, a steady, supportive help, as his second wife.

In my opinion, the major contribution of this book is its commentary, often inadvertent, on a Church operating in a far simpler, more intimate, and, dare I say, delightfully eccentric way. Young's own ordination as a Seventy violated every procedural rule in the book. His now famous edict that had his elders in the New England mission proselyting "without purse or scrip" would get him recalled today (pp. 53-75). Calls to presiding quorums came often through family ties. Wards and stakes put on original dramas.

Parkinson serves us well by reminding us how much we miss this robust, forthright, dedicated man, and, indirectly, how removed we are from the world that made him. In the process of doing so, he bestows upon his grandfather a final gift of love.

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Maxine Hanks, ed. *Women and Authority: Re-emerging Mormon Feminism*. Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1992; xxxiii, 460 pp.; \$19.95; ISBN 1-56085-014-0.

Reviewed by Melodie Moench Charles

Women and Authority: Re-emerging Mormon Feminism is a marvelous anthology of articles and excerpts about Mormon women and authority. Editor Maxine Hanks defined her purpose as compiling much of the best of Mormon feminist writing from all periods, so that modern Mormon women, unaware of what had been said before, could stop covering the same ground over and over and move on (p. vii). Hanks includes excerpts from the original *Woman's Exponent* (1872-1914), representing what she calls the first wave of Mormon feminism. There is virtually nothing from the second wave of Mormon feminism, beginning in 1910, perhaps because the social feminism of this period did not address the issue of "authority." The third wave, beginning in the late 1960s, is well represented in excerpts from authors who published in *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*, *Sunstone*, *Exponent II*, *Mormons for ERA Newsletters*, *Mormon Women's Forum*, the Alice Louise Reynolds Forum, and interviews. In addition to this rich sampler are seventeen complete articles, all of them written in 1980 or later. She has chosen well and produced an important source book for anyone interested in learning about Mormon feminism or advancing its cause.

At first glance I understood "authority" in the title as so many in the Church have been conditioned to understand "priesthood"—as synonymous with males. This resulted in my reading it: "Women as They Relate to the Men in the Church Who Have Authority." I was delighted to find that the book dealt instead with "Women Having Authority."

D. Michael Quinn provides a useful definition of authority as both power and permission (p. 383). He gathered an astonishing number of statements from nineteenth-century male Church leaders saying that women held the priesthood (independently of their husbands). The hierarchy changed its position by the 1920s: when women claimed they had the priesthood, priesthood leaders typically told them that, unless they held priesthood office, they held no priesthood power. While Quinn has found no examples of women being ordained to priesthood offices, he explains that, according to Doctrine and Covenants 84 and 107, offices are only appendages to the priesthood. Endowed women have had and do have priesthood even though they hold no priesthood offices (p. 375). Quinn's article is highly revisionist. Among his important contributions is showing that hierarchs in charge of official records repeatedly altered them to eliminate references to women

having priesthood. Quinn insists and documents that "nineteenth century Mormon women performed healing ordinances by virtue of the priesthood they held, not simply as an act of faith" (p. 378).

That element of explicit empowerment is consequential. The Church gave women permission to use their priesthood, along with their faith, wisdom, fervor, and organizational ability, to perform healing and temple ordinances, to prophesy, and to set up and run their own organization and publications. Linda King Newell amply documents early Mormon women's performing healing ordinances. These women had personal power and also had the Church's permission to exercise it. During the twentieth century, male priesthood leaders gradually withdrew permission, then eventually condemned the idea of women healing or having priesthood, and finally denied that the Church had ever supported either. As Sonja Farnsworth puts it in her essay, "When LDS women expressed faith in their own priesthood empowerment, their words backfired, resulting in numerous official statements chastising them and depicting them as buffoons" (p. 308).

Loss or lack of permission to use power in institutional settings is not a trivial matter. From an organizational management point of view, Meg Wheatley says, whatever an institution tells its members (e.g., that God and the Church value females as much as males) is not as important as the structure they experience. The Church is structured so that males get the status roles, males get recognized, males make decisions, males conduct meetings, males counsel and judge, and males act as God's representatives. The decisions of female leaders must be approved by a male hierarchy. Since "each of us is susceptible to the reflected image of self we gain from others, those who receive positive messages about their abilities . . . come to regard themselves more highly." Those who do invisible or repetitious tasks "gradually lose the self-esteem they once possessed" (p. 157). Wheatley observes, "Although we are told that all callings are of equal value, certainly this is true only in the sight of God" (p. 156).

Because people who don't feel valued by an organization tend to withdraw their enthusiasm and commitment from it, the Church and women both lose. Wheatley and Hanks say the Church should decide what tasks really need priesthood, and open up all the others to women now (pp. 162, 325-27). The need for institutional equality shows in the words of Linda Jones's daughter, being reminded that females cannot be witnesses at a baptism: "Oh, I keep forgetting we aren't people at church" (p. 142).

Some authors make a persuasive case that the Church should again grant women both power and permission. Betina Lindsey says that Church acknowledgement and authorization *is* important. The Church validates men by teaching them that they can act as God's representatives, and can perform miracles with their priesthood and their faith. Men can perform Church ordinances that create the proper order through which God's power can flow (p. 446). In contrast, the Church invalidates women by teaching them to rely on the power of men; if they use their own spiritual power, they could be violating the Lord's proper order. A woman can pray for God to bless her

child, but can she pronounce a blessing on that child? If she blesses her child, can she put her hands on the child's head? Can she bless her sister or her husband? Can she invoke anyone's priesthood? Can she do this with any other person? Many women Lindsey talked to said that wanting to bless others came naturally, as did the "priesthood posture" of putting hands on the person's head, but they felt hesitant about doing either act (pp. 447-49). Lindsey says that for the Church to reauthorize women to bless would "strengthen the Church at large by increasing the spiritual authority of more than half its members" and that the Church should release women from their fear that what seems so natural is inappropriate (p. 448). Dorice Williams Elliott points out that women are "denied the spiritual stretching that elders must do, including calling down the powers of heaven We are not trained for it, not prepared for it, and have been trained to believe ourselves not capable or worthy of it" (p. 330). Those women who have given blessings in recent times don't feel free to share the experience except with trusted friends. As Nancy Freestone Turley says, "Women need to share their experience so we can all be edified and strengthened" (p. 271).

Hanks's subtitle, "Re-emerging Mormon Feminism," reflects a major theme of a significant number of essays: many Mormon women are newly aware of the past (no thanks to the current hierarchy who are trying to hide and distort it¹) and are rediscovering power. Karen A. Anderson, Gay Taylor, Suzanne Werner, Julie J. Nichols, D. Michael Quinn, and Margaret Merrill Toscano are among the authors who affirm that Mormon women still have priesthood and spiritual power. They challenge, in varying degrees, the Church's authority to grant or withhold permission. Some urge that women can and should continue their private use of their power.

Authors taking the position that women's personal and spiritual power exists apart from the Church's acknowledgement or authorization, mention power to be spiritually attuned to and transformed by Heavenly Mother, power to receive revelation and to prophesy, and power to bless and heal. Ian Barber explains that spontaneous gifts of the spirit "pose a serious challenge to structured religious authority." To maintain order, the hierarchy deemphasizes and discourages using these gifts (pp. 167, 178). Ranging in tone from defiance to "this is simply the way things are," these authors suggest that although the Church can discourage or encourage, it has no power to give or withhold permission in these areas.

A number of authors addressed President Gordon B. Hinckley's prohibi-

¹Elder Loren C. Dunn, as Church Historian, directed the Museum of Church History and Art to remove quotations from Joseph Smith, Bathsheba B. Smith, and Eliza R. Snow that spoke of women as priestesses (*Salt Lake Tribune*, 11 April 1992), while Elder Dallin H. Oaks implied that Joseph Smith gave women no priesthood keys and that the only ordinances women performed were temple ordinances (*Ensign*, May 1992).

tion on praying in public to Mother in Heaven. The reactions ranged from resentment that he would equate it with apostasy, to the practical, "that's like saying—"Don't talk to your mom anymore." (Martha Pierce, 250; Maria Olivia Stanton, 259; Janice Merrill Allred 275; Mimi Irving 282; Tiffany Smith, 293; Connie Disney, 295; Lynne Kanavel Whitesides, 261; Andrea Moore Emmett and Erin Emmett, 296). In 1910 Rudger Clawson said, "It doesn't take from our worship of the Eternal Father, to adore our Eternal mother, any more than it diminishes the love we bear our earthly fathers, to include our earthly mother in our affection" (p. 21 note 49; see also p. 138). Dorice Williams Elliot argues against "the assumption in the LDS church that male priesthood leaders have the right—even the responsibility to speak for and direct women in every area of their lives" (pp. 201-2).

Authority is not the only word or concept examined. Carell Sheldon and Laurel Thatcher Ulrich call for Church members and the institution to change our use of the word "priesthood," as in the common phrase, "We'd like to thank *the priesthood* for passing the sacrament" (pp. 93-94). The priesthood is God's power, they point out; it is not the people who hold God's power. If "priesthood" is synonymous with "men," then "men" is synonymous with "God's power," a dangerous idea. Ulrich observes, "Now that the Mutual Improvement Association . . . has become the Aaronic Priesthood/Young Women, it seems inevitable that the priesthood will become as much a synonym for *boys* as for *men*." Like Quinn, she cites Doctrine and Covenants 84 and 107 to point out that the priesthood is distinct from any office in it. The pairing of words like "Aaronic Priesthood and Young Women," "priesthood and sisters," has no symmetry or balance: the paired words are in different categories. The natural complement to "Young Women" is "Young Men," to "sisters" is "brothers." Sonja Farnsworth makes the most complete argument against pairing "priesthood and motherhood," rather than "fatherhood and motherhood."

Other authors express concern with how the Church institution and its members use language. Lavina Fielding Anderson writes, "The familiar speech of our religious experience excludes women" (p. 215). Taken together, Anderson and Carol Lynn Pearson say that females are virtually absent from our hymns, our prayers, our religious discourse, our lessons, our theology, and our scriptures. Neither author relies on the authority granted by precedent, neither is asking the hierarchy to get a revelation to authorize change, neither is interested in political correctness. Instead, both argue that moral correctness demands that we change the content and language of our texts and our speech. Anderson explains that "women must be fully included in the gospel of Jesus Christ, not because the scriptural texts or our theology fully include them, but because exclusion does violence to the fabric of the universe. . . . We must never, never acquiesce in justifying inequities" (pp. 216, 226). Pearson claims, "It is not right that we should have to [validate femaleness]. It is not right that our history, our theology, our present, and our future be given us solely in masculine terminology and from a male point of view. . . . Our children need to know the history and contributions of

women in our own church" (pp. 236, 238). She wants us to embrace the female in our godhead, find the place for females in our theology, celebrate the females in our history, and listen to women's voices with respect. "We can wait for a world that includes the female or work for it" (p. 243).

Like Pearson and Anderson, Edwin Brown Firmage argues that moral correctness demands that the Church publicly confer priesthood on women through the same ceremony of ordination that boys and men currently receive. "Once I thought about [ordaining women to priesthood] . . . without simply accepting the prohibition as if it were the natural order of things, I was shocked to conclude that no reason— . . . which is not on its face absurd—exists why women should not be ordained. . . . All the reasons . . . are founded upon discrimination against women so all-pervasive over millennia that we respond . . . without sufficient consciousness even to entertain the idea of change. . . . I believe that women should hold the priesthood . . . because no serious reason exists why they should not" (pp. 341-43).

The quality of analysis and scholarship in *Women and Authority* is high. Those who approach the book with curiosity and an open mind will find much to explore and think about. Even the most knowledgeable feminists and historians will learn from this book.

Yet it will not be an easy book to read. This book will no doubt frighten those who want to believe that the status quo—males having exclusive rights to priesthood authority and male priesthood tightly controlling all Church activities—was always and will always be God's and the Church's order. It makes the book liberating for those who dislike the current system and believe that historical precedent provides support for changing current practice. For my part, while I liked and agreed with most of the book, I also found a few ideas distasteful and ill conceived. No reader will agree with every argument, interpretation, proposal, and theological innovation that these authors propose. Yet even as I mentally argued with a few authors, rejecting their proposals, I was very glad that all these authors had been bold enough to think and say what they did, and that Maxine Hanks and Signature Books had brought their thoughts into the public domain. As people share, ponder, and discuss the ideas presented here, even better ideas will result.

MELODIE MOENCH CHARLES is author of "Precedents for Mormon Women from Scriptures" in *Sisters in Spirit: Mormon Women in Historical and Cultural Perspective*, edited by Maureen Ursenbach Beecher and Lavina Fielding Anderson (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987), and "The Need for a New Mormon Heaven," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 21 (Autumn 1988): 73-87.

Susan Buhler Taber. *Mormon Lives: A Year in the Elkton Ward*. Urbana

and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1993; 376 pp., glossary, index. ISBN 0-252-01966-0

Reviewed by Douglas D. Alder

Social history can be tedious—charts, graphs, statistics—but this book, although it uses some social history methods, is entirely fascinating to read. *Mormon Lives* is a look inside the Mormon Church—not the hierarchy, not the organization, not the doctrine, but at the members' lives. Nothing like it has been done before in a book-length study. It focuses on the Mormon ward as the locus of membership and the context in which Saints live their lives, make their decisions, struggle with themselves and with others, and grow in spirituality.

Over 100 oral histories from Elkton Ward, a unit in the Wilmington Stake in Delaware, recorded between September 1984 and March 1986, form the foundational documents from which this book is created; and they provide the main interest. Folklorists as well as general readers will be pleased because the individual texts are provided in the member's own words. The author does not distance the reader from the people by generalizing from the texts; rather the readers hear amazingly candid interviews that let them relate directly to each ward member, creating close personal ties based on trust, and making friendships with distinctive persons. I felt like a member of the ward.

We get an actual view of the Mormon membership spectrum—Iron Rodders and Liahonas, converts and fifth-generation stalwarts, blue collars and academics, two-parent families and singles, little children and teenagers, harried folks and calm ones, the doctrinally orthodox and the “pickers and choosers,” hyperactives and inactives, cosmopolitans and ethnocentrics, the thoughtful and the simplistic, the patriarchs and the feminists—all in one ward!

There are plenty of things to be proud of in the Elkton Ward and about as many that are troubling. One good sister is tearing herself apart over birth control and more than one is deeply disturbed about feminist matters while others have placed that issue into a context with which they feel comfortable. Some folks judge gospel truths too simply; some made their decision to join the Church for reasons that seem flimsy. One ward member heartens me with her maturity and compassion. Another is disturbing—the understanding of doctrine shallow, the testimony too self-serving. Both are real.

Karel Vander-Heyden is one of the people I'd like to know better. Born in Indonesia, he is a veteran of three wars in Asia and became a refugee in Holland before immigrating to the United States. In America he worked as a dishwasher before becoming more established. His daughter Astrid introduced him to the Church during her courtship with her future husband, a Mormon. Karel was always a Christian, but his LDS conversion enhanced his faith:

"I wish I was a Mormon long, long before I was baptized. I think I might have been able to comfort a lot of people at times. If I had had the priesthood in the prisoner of war camp, I might have stayed with somebody who was dying and comforted him. At that time everybody was just for himself, but if I had had the priesthood, maybe I would have had extra strength. In Korea, seeing people sick and wounded, I would have been able to help them." (p. 98)

For me, a high point was the record of Serge Bushman's farewell. Home from Boston University after one year, he is ready to take on the role of missionary but not without some soul-searching. "People who aren't Mormons or who don't have the same values can have some pretty good arguments about why we're wrong. . . . Before, I thought people made their own problems. Now I realize that people are unfortunate. A lot of things go against them" (p. 239).

The book also quotes from the oral histories of Serge's parents, Richard and Claudia Bushman, both long-time contributors to Mormon history. Richard was bishop of the ward when the concept of creating this record became an approved ward project. He formed the Elkton Ward Record Year Committee, whose members conducted a survey, collected records of the year, described the year's major events, tape-recorded many meetings, and conducted numerous oral histories, ninety-three of which are included in the book. Susan Taber designed the questionnaire for the interviews and fit them into the conceptual structure of the book. She and Jean Bingham conducted most of the interviews.

This is not a scientific analysis of Mormon demography. On the contrary it is entirely anecdotal. Nevertheless it is an amazing snapshot of where Mormonism is today. This ward is on the U.S. East Coast, not the Wasatch Front. Converts make up about half of the membership. Its stability is still emerging. The ward began in Cloyd and Ann Mullins's living room in 1976, became an official branch in 1978, then a ward in 1981. Its boundaries initially enclosed "everything south of the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal in Delaware as well as Cecil County in Maryland" (p. 220). Since the end of the project, Taber notes, a new stake has been formed, a new ward building constructed, and the name of the ward changed to Newark along with several boundary changes.

The methodology of the book is clearly a form of social history because it deals with people's daily lives instead of institutions, yet the book avoids the analytical approach of extracting generalizations from a strata of data. The author exhausts one locality and lets the documents speak for themselves; so the reader, not the compiler, is the analyst.

This book lets us talk about our experiences instead of trying to persuade one another. The sharing stirs empathy. It illustrates the breadth of commitment, the layers of life-styles, the degrees of assimilation, and the roles of generations in one of those important Mormon communities we call a ward.

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Maurice L. Draper. *The Founding Prophet: An Administrative Biography of Joseph Smith, Jr.* Independence, Missouri: Herald Publishing House. 1991; 255 pp., foreword, bibliography, no index, no illustrations. ISBN 0-8309-0596-0

Roger D. Launius. *Father Figure: Joseph Smith III and the Creation of the Reorganized Church.* Independence: Herald Publishing House. 1990; 216 pp., foreword, index, bibliography, illustrations. ISBN 0-8309-0576-0

Paul M. Edwards. *The Chief: An Administrative Biography of Fred M. Smith.* Independence: Herald Publishing House, 1988; 291 pp; foreword, illustrations, and bibliography, no index. ISBN 0-8309-0526-X

Norma Derry Hiles. *Gentle Monarch: The Presidency of Israel A. Smith.* Independence: Herald Publishing House, 1991. 198 pp.; foreword, illustrations, and bibliography, no index. ISBN 0-8309-0577-4

Reviewed by Valeen Tippetts Avery

Invariably, of course, it is the people who lend interest, variation, color, controversy, and an indelible stamp of personality to the institutions which they lead. When the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints in 1988 introduced a series of administrative biographies of their Church presidents, with Paul M. Edwards, director of the Temple School Division, as series editor, his foreword to *The Chief* succinctly addressed its purpose: "The feeling is that the church needs to know more about its leaders and about what brought us to this point in our history" (p. 11).

That "more," in the case of this series, can be defined as three precise purposes: to describe the process by which common men agreed to become prophets as well as Church presidents, to illustrate the manner in which members came to accept them as prophets who received the word of God, and to demonstrate the degree to which those first two complex phenomenologies successfully created an American religion. Daunting though such a project may have seemed, these four biographies, which appeared within the impressively short period of three years, begin the task. In 128 years, the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints has been led by only four men: a father, son, and two grandsons. They are Joseph Smith, Jr. (1805-44), Joseph Smith III (1832-1914), and two of Joseph Smith III's sons: Frederick Madison Smith (1874-1946) and Israel A. Smith (1876-1958). (Bi-

ographies have yet to appear on the fifth and sixth presidents, W. Wallace Smith and Wallace B. Smith.)

An administrative biography enhances the institution; it is a chronological account of bureaucratic decisions closely wrapped around the personalities and leadership abilities of "chiefs" whose corporate decisions reflect God's will rather than that of boards of directors. Roger Launius had recently finished a standard biography of Joseph Smith III when Edwards asked him to revisit Joseph III's life for this series. Launius realized, "Like outtakes from feature films left on the cutting room floor . . . this book is the exploration of certain issues I could only touch on in the earlier publication" (pp. 12-13). No previous biography of Israel Smith exists, and Norma Derry Hiles's fine biography is more personal, at least partly because his apprenticeship lasted until he was seventy, then his twelve-year presidency was cut short by his death in an automobile accident. If this volume were to be approximately the size of Joseph III's, who spent fifty-four years in office, additional personal material had to be included. Maurice Draper faced a plethora of biographies of Joseph Smith, Jr.; though posing difficulties of their own, this wealth of context meant he could summarize the personal details as a mere reminder, and concentrate on Smith's institutional decisions. That he successfully kept his focus is the strength of the book. Paul Edwards's compelling work on Fred M. reverses Roger Launius's model; from the "outtakes" of the administrative history surely we can hope a fully realized biography of Fred M. Smith will soon emerge. An unmistakable legacy of family characteristics prevailed despite differences in personality and talent. The strength of these biographies lies in their ability to spotlight the interaction between prophet-leader and institution rather than to produce hagiography.

These works escape the polemics of sanctity. One finds accounts of both petty squabbling and selfless sacrifice, unwise financial speculation and fiscal self-discipline, heated arguments about whether doctrine was revelation, jealousies and reconciliations, misguided campaigns and noble causes. The authors analyze the decisions the presidents made to strengthen the Church, but successfully combine objective professionalism with personal compassion. All four write about their prophet-presidents with honest affection and fidelity to their craft. With full access to Church archival holdings and protection a tradition of loyal dissent in the RLDS Church, they had the spiritual and scholarly freedom to produce texts of both interest and solid value. But the limitations inherent in an in-house series mean that a vested interest in the outcome determines the tone, if not the content.

By far the most difficult task, accounting for Joseph Smith, Jr., fell to Maurice Draper, whose experience as a member of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles and twenty-year stint as counselor in the First Presidency of the RLDS Church give him extraordinary experience with the issues about which he writes. Simultaneously, as holder of a Ph.D., he thinks as a scholar. Two stories play themselves out in *Founding Prophet*. One follows the series of decisions implemented by Joseph Smith, Jr., in creating both a new religious tradition and the administration necessary to implement it as a

church, and the other in the honest account of Draper's personal struggle with Joseph's story, which he oftentimes finds at odds with both his reason and education.

For example, he concludes that "the 'Nauvoo period' was also a time for theological speculation" (p. 187) and comments of Joseph's doctrine of pre-mortal existence and his establishment of proxy ordinances for the dead, "I personally find such ideas to be theologically unsound and irrational" (p. 188). I try to imagine an apostle of the Utah church making the same statements and fail. Draper's additional discussions of Freemasonry in Nauvoo, plural marriage, eternal progression, plurality of gods, and Joseph Smith's problematical Book of Abraham reflect both his obligation not to conceal controversial issues and his discomfort with them as theological constructions.

I found particularly valuable Draper's question of how prophets become prophets. "Prophetic ministry involved interaction between the prophet's perception of divine will and the human traits and circumstances of the prophet and the people. Under prevailing human circumstances, those of the prophet included, divine revelation is necessarily incomplete, and a more complete revelation of the will of God awaits the willingness and the capacity of the prophet and the people to receive it. Administratively, it urges flexibility in the execution of programs to accommodate changing circumstances" (p. 156). Concluding the most difficult section of the book, the Nauvoo years, he advises a judicious assessment of the Smith legacy: "Joseph Smith's prophetic spirit and insights are no guarantee of infallibility. If he strayed in relation to these esoteric speculations, let it be remembered nonetheless that he has stirred the minds and hearts of many persons with the exciting inspiration that he demonstrated in other aspects of his prophetic leadership" (p. 217). *Founding Prophet* succeeds in its goal to define administrative precedent in the RLDS Church. While marred by a dearth of sources, a pervasive passive voice, and a pastoral tone, it nevertheless connects the Church firmly to its roots, however controversial.

Western Mormonism came to comfortable terms with Nauvoo's legacy of strife and violence by first abandoning it, then mythologizing it. Utah Mormons could concentrate on continuing Nauvoo's theological traditions while downplaying some of the secular problems. But Joseph Smith III, eleven when his father died, grew to manhood in Nauvoo literally in the blowing ash of his father's temple. His mother never left Nauvoo, and the decaying city remained all his life both a magnetic and repelling force; he chose his followers from those who rejected both the Nauvoo traditions and the Utah Church and they came to him defensive and suspicious of his motives. When Nauvoo learned he had decided to become the RLDS prophet, it turned on him in the early 1860s, wanting no more of charismatic Mormonism. While city leaders later invited the Church back, that powerful lesson of rejection remained with Joseph III.

In *Father Figure*, Roger D. Launius expanded sections in his prize-win-

ning biography, *Joseph Smith III, Pragmatic Prophet*, to pose thoughtful questions about Smith's administrative style. Joseph built his church from dissenters who refused to go west but nevertheless left Nauvoo, who begged him to establish the Order of Enoch and create a utopian communal gathering in the face of his sure understanding that such a venture would be disastrous, who convinced him the prophetic mantle draped his shoulders, and who then fretted over an increasingly powerful Smith family dynasty. Launius clearly explains how Joseph—cautious, moderate, practical, and legalistic—recognized that he would have to carve out space between the excesses of Nauvoo, the extremity of the polygamous Mormons, and the traditional Protestant community for the RLDS movement to prove valid. Without the protection of the West's isolation, the RLDS movement depended upon acceptance by the democratic Midwest.

As a result, Joseph Smith III instituted what Launius terms the "hidden hand" approach to governance. Working behind the scenes, avoiding confrontation, using revelation as a last but most effective resort, and establishing a tradition of loyal opposition, the RLDS prophet guided his church for fifty-four years. His recognition that loyal dissent was important to former members of his father's church helped him increase membership and established the tradition of public debate in quorums and conferences to which each author points with some pride, even while acknowledging the costs of dissension.

In contrast to his father, Joseph III dealt largely in the secular rather than the sacred aspects of being a prophet. He believed that the Book of Mormon was divine, that modern prophets, himself included, received revelation, that the millennium was imminent, and that the RLDS Church must remain true to the original church. RLDS missionaries preached that he was the true successor to his father and that Brigham Young was not, and that polygamy was a false doctrine, whether his father initiated it or not. The focus on succession and polygamy locked both churches into a century of opposition. Polygamous Mormons scorned a church that chose to discard a revealed doctrine, while RLDS followers regarded Utah Mormons as dupes and prided themselves on adapting Mormonism to mainstream American culture. Joseph III's unwavering resistance to polygamy led him to testify against Utah polygamy in Congress, thus earning the enmity of the Utah contingent; to deny open discourse within his own church, thus frustrating and distancing two of his most outstanding apostles, Jason W. Briggs and Zenos H. Gurley, Jr.; and, notwithstanding his gentle sense of humor and inspiring leadership, to leave a divisive legacy in his church. Joseph Smith III's absolute determination to clear the onus of polygamy from his father's name leaves historians like Roger Launius divided between the imperatives of Mormonism and the imperatives of scholarship. That Launius balances the two so well is the strength of this book.

When the 1890 Utah Manifesto curtailing polygamy removed the icon of opposition, the RLDS movement needed in Joseph III's heir both a strong spiritual leader and a savvy political strategist. Joseph III's eldest son,

Frederick Madison Smith, both anticipated and dreaded the mantle. Paul Edwards's *The Chief: An Administrative Biography of Fred M. Smith* describes with both warmth and a hard edge the prophet who was also the author's grandfather. Fred M. never developed his father's diplomatic personal skills, peered disconcertingly through inadequately prescribed glasses for farsightedness, and saw too much or too little to inspire ease and comfort in his companions. He said ruefully of himself, "They have wasted an excellent engineer in the making of a mediocre preacher" (p. 56).

Paul Edwards's compelling analysis draws on interviews, papers, and personal reminiscences to recreate his picture of the third Church president. Fred M. tenaciously completed a doctorate after he became a prophet. Being a prophet in the twentieth century merged with his sense of secular leadership; tentative at first about the process of revelation, he grew into his role. With the same tenacity, he settled the long-time rivalry between the Presidency and the Twelve by asserting, at the April 1924 Conference, that "supreme directional control rest[ed] in the Presidency" (p. 178). The resulting centralization of power weakened the other quorums and instigated long debate over the parameters of prophetic leadership. Fred M.'s thirty-one years as president (1915-46) saw his people through two world wars and the Great Depression. Despite the Church's financial straits, he began construction of the Auditorium, innovated broadcasting, shored up presidential oversight of the *Herald*, and built up local educational opportunities in Independence. After his death at age seventy-two, his brother, Israel, only two years younger, assumed the presidency.

Norma Derry Hiles recognizes Israel A. Smith's ameliorating effect and also his achievement in *Gentle Monarch: The Presidency of Israel A. Smith*. Israel Smith waited in the wings for a most uncertain call almost all his life. His father, Joseph III, educated Fred M. first; Israel's law degree came almost as an afterthought. Israel's relationship with his father was stiff and uncomfortable until Joseph dictated his *Memoirs* to Israel in 1913, a remarkable apprenticeship, but without financial dividends. Law was not rewarding for this uncontentious man; Israel lived with penury for many years. When his father died in 1914, and his stepmother, Ada, passed away the following year, Israel and his wife, Nina, moved into his parents' home and raised the three young half-brothers (including W. Wallace Smith). Israel, twenty-four years W. Wallace's senior, thus became the father figure to his half-brother, who succeeded him in 1958.

Israel's apprenticeship included five stormy years as a counselor in the presiding bishopric (1920-25) until he was abruptly released in the power struggle between Fred M. and the presiding bishopric. Lacking experience in the secular world, Israel struggled to survive at law until Fred M. made him Church secretary and then counselor in the presidency. When he assumed the mantle of the prophet in 1946, Israel brought a serene maturity to the immediate post-war era. He loved baseball, had been a good ball player, and all his life eased into a good baseball story at the slightest provocation. He

led the Church into a world-wide ministry, healed many wounds left by the more abrasive Fred M., and grew into the demands of his calling gracefully.

Usually a bridge-builder and a peace-maker, he effected a rapprochement with his cousins in the Utah Church and attended the conference in which David O. McKay was sustained as its president. He was hurt when news photos that showed him standing in respect were criticized by his own members as a sign of support for the Utah president. He also refused to hear Paul Hanson, president of the Quorum of the Twelve, when he insisted it was better to confront the historical evidence for Joseph Smith, Jr.'s, involvement with polygamy and baptism for the dead than allow coming generations to discover the incriminating evidence in the Church's own archives. Israel absolutely forbade disclosure on grounds that conversions and donations would drop, no good purpose would be served, and the family name would be sullied on his watch.

In sum, these four biographies describe the efforts of men who led institutions fully steeped in American cultural values. Although the RLDS group defined its doctrine in counterpoint to the Utah church, it was only in American culture that such separateness could thrive. The RLDS people espoused latter-day prophets but also reserved the prerogative to bicker with and oppose them. The calling to bring God's word to a troubled world brought no protection from criticism about personal spending, priesthood assignments, or doctrinal pronouncements. Haunted by actual polygamy in the West and historical polygamy on the part of their founder, none of these four could summon up a final solution until corporate and administrative issues overshadowed the issue for both churches at the end of World War II. Having supported polygamy for years, the Mormons traded it for statehood in 1896 and brought a secular end to their spiritual commandment; the RLDS people hoped it never became truly authenticated in their own historical struggle for fear they might have to think about institutionalizing it.

It is hard to read these affirmative and illustrious administrative histories without a sense of tragedy at the rending of the Mormon family in Nauvoo. Like siblings separated at birth, the LDS and RLDS are still haunted and diminished by the loss of each other. What would now be wonderful is open disclosure and access to sources from the western church, realistic assessment of the historical past in Nauvoo from the Midwest, and a red telephone between two modern prophets who undoubtedly listen to the same God.

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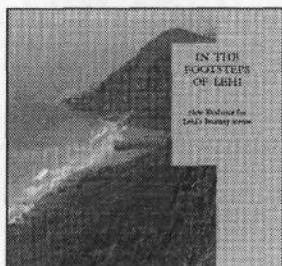
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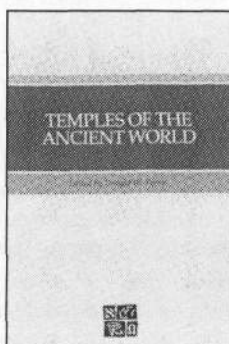
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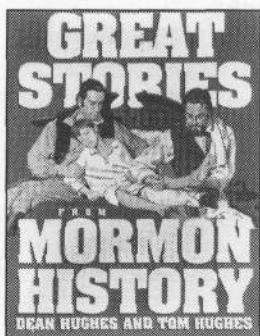


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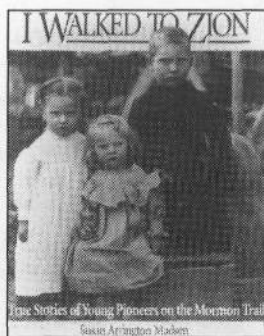


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