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Walter Johnson Eve Elizabeth Hill Mayer

Troublesome Children: Mormon Families, Race, and United States Westward Expansion, 1848-1893

Abstract

Debates over Mormons in the nineteenth century United States were rarely solely about Mormonism. This dissertation examines the ways in which Utah-oriented discourses of outsider groups influenced political debates at the local, regional, and national levels between 1848 and 1893. As recent studies by Sarah Barringer Gordon and Terryl Givens have shown, the conflicts around which these discourses developed pertained to Mormons and polygamy specifically, but also to broader questions of religious freedom, racial diversity, and the extent to which a community might operate autonomously within the United States.

The dissertation expands on decades-old analyses of visual and literary representations of Mormons, considering intertextual dynamics and drawing on a broad source base including non-traditional artifacts such as government reports, objects, maps, and personal writing. My analysis of the changing attitudes towards and representations of Mormon settlement is informed by the growing historiographies of anti-polygamy, anti-Mormonism, and the relationship between gender, family and empire. Examining anti-polygamy discourse through the lens of settler colonialism offers a fresh perspective on the motives, anxieties, and priorities of United States policymakers seeking control of the resources and people of the Great Basin. I will argue that this analytical viewpoint,

which has been used primarily in indigenous and subaltern studies, can also be meaningfully applied to a religious sect that was part of the racial majority.

Exploring objections to Mormon settlement over time reveals the extent to which Mormon self-fashioning was seen as potentially destabilizing to Anglo-American categories of race and gender—and the profound implications of those categories in political and economic terms. Overall, my analysis reinforces the significance of monogamy as a means of maintaining political control and enforcing racial order. The resolution of the "Mormon Question" in favor of the prevailing kinship model contributed to gendered imperial practices of the United States in the subsequent period of overseas expansion. As a site of confrontation between United States expansionism and distinct social and cultural configurations, the Great Basin was a principal laboratory for the development and testing of issues of United States colonial policy prior to the Spanish-American War.

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To my father

Introduction

Great Basin Settlement and the Limits of Pluralism in the West

The San Francisco periodical *The* Wasp, founded in 1876, took an equal opportunity approach to satire. The illustrated magazine—nominally Republican at the outset, but politically agnostic depending on the issue at hand—gained a reputation for biting coverage under the editorial leadership of Ambrose Bierce. While remaining engaged with national politics, *The Wasp* focused particularly on the West—its populations, politics, and problems.[1]

In the December 16, 1881 issue of the magazine, *The Wasp* took on three of its pet topics in a single cartoon. Entitled "The Three Troublesome Children" (Fig. 1), the image shows an embattled Columbia overwhelmed by three charges: one Chinese, one Native American, and one Mormon. The Native American child swipes at toy soldiers with his tomahawk. In the background, an oblivious Uncle Sam remains absorbed in his newspaper, marked "POLITICS."[2]

[1] Gary Brechin, "The Wasp: Stinging Editorials and Political Cartoons," *Bancroftiana: Newsletter of the Friends of the Bancroft Library* 121 (2002). A book-length illustrated history of *The Wasp* covers the magazine's focus on anti-Chinese propaganda among other themes. See Richard Samuel West. *The San Francisco Wasp: An Illustrated History*. Northampton, MA: Periodyssey Press, 2004.
[2] G. Frederick Keller, "The Three Troublesome Children," *The Wasp*, December 16, 1881.

Fig. 1 "The Three Troublesome Children," 1881

The three children so easily ignored by a distracted Uncle Sam represented distinctly Western groups. Beyond the regional association, however, the cartoon implies little connecting the three as populations or as political issues. Indeed, there was much to distinguish them. In 1880, the national debate over the exclusion of Chinese immigrants from the United States was underway. No longer eligible to naturalize, Chinese men and women faced violent persecution in California and a national exclusion movement rooted in racial prejudice and economic insecurity.[3] Native Americans, whose indigenous origins precluded exclusion, struggled to negotiate their political status following the

[3] Although Chinese immigration had been a political issue in the United States since the 1860s, the election of 1880 arguably marked the height of the national furor for exclusion. See Andrew Gyory, *Closing the Gate: Race, Politics, and the Chinese Exclusion Act* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 187.

extinguishing of tribal recognition in 1879. Increasingly, their options were war with the federal government, confinement to ever-shrinking reservations, or attempted assimilation into mainstream Anglo-American culture.[4] The predominantly Anglo-American Mormon population, concentrated in the intermountain West, faced their own set of challenges. Allowed full rights of citizenship and property, Mormons were stigmatized and attacked for the practice of polygamy exercised by some members of their religious community and sanctioned by their church.[5]

The depiction of Mormons alongside seemingly distinct groups was not unusual. As recent studies by Sarah Barringer Gordon, Terryl Givens, and others have shown, debates over Mormonism were often rooted in much broader political, economic, social, and cultural anxieties. For this reason, anti-Mormon caricatures created unexpected connections between Mormons and a variety of racial and ethnic groups.[6] This study examines some of the ways in which Utah-oriented discourses of outsider groups influenced political debates at the local, regional, and national levels between 1848 and 1893. The debates around which these discourses developed pertained to Mormons and polygamy specifically, but also to broader questions of religious freedom and the extent to which a community might operate autonomously within the United States.

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[4] Although the Citizenship Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment secured citizenship for some Native Americans, it did not apply to those not "living under the jurisdiction" of the United States. Indigenous citizenship rights for Native Americans born in the United States were not universally conferred until the Indian Citizenship Act of 1924. Kevin Bruyneel, "Challenging American Boundaries: Indigenous People and the "Gift" of U.S. Citizenship." *Studies in American Political Development* 18 (2004): 30-43.
[5] For a recent overview of this controversy, see "The Rise and Fall of Plural Marriage, 1852-1896," Matthew Bowman, *The Mormon People: The Making of an American Faith*, (New York: Random House, 2011), 124-151.
[6] Sarah Barringer Gordon, *The Mormon Question: Polygamy and Constitutional Conflict in Nineteenth-Century America.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001; Terryl Givens, *Viper on the Hearth: Mormons, Myths, and the Construction of Heresy*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1997.

The source material upon which my analysis is based is intentionally broad. To date, the majority of work on representations of Mormons has focused on a single genre, such as political speech or popular fiction. The two most important studies in this area are *The Mormon Graphic Image*, by Gary Bunker and Davis Bitton, and Terryl Givens' more recent *The Viper on the Hearth*, which focuses on literary culture.[7] Bunker and Bitton's collection of anti-Mormon cartoons, while several decades old, remains the only work devoted entirely to visual imagery of anti-Mormonism. Although Anti-polygamy and anti-Mormon literature has received somewhat more attention, the most focused treatments of the subject prior to Givens' book were a series of articles by Leonard Arrington between the late 1960s and the early 1980s.[8]

Changing perspectives on "representation" in recent decades have expanded the parameters for a study of Mormon representations considerably. Recognition of the diversity of print culture, and the continuities of imagery across media, have pushed forward intertextual analyses and arguments based on "systems of representation" and "textual communities."[9] This recasting often brings to light ruptures as well as continuities, as "images expand or even contradict [a] narrative, creating a kind of

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[7] The imagery of the "twin relics," discussed by Gordon and Burgett, has received by far the most attention from historians. Bunker and Bitton address gender and race as visual themes without exploring the links to demography and settlement. Gary L. Bunker and Davis Bitton, *The Mormon Graphic Image, 1834-1914: Cartoons, Caricatures, and Illustrations.* Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1983.

[8] Leonard J. Arrington and Jon Haupt, "The Missouri and Illinois Mormons in Anti-Bellum Fiction," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 5 (1970); Leonard J. Arrington and Jon Haupt, "Intolerable Zion: The Image of Mormonism in Nineteenth Century American Literature," *Western Humanities Review* 22 (1968): 243-260; Leonard J. Arrington and Rebecca Cornwall Foster, "Perpetuation of a Myth: Mormon Danites in Five Western Novels, 1840-1890," *Brigham Young University Studies* 23 (1983): 147-165. Another source cited by Givens is Neil Lambert, "Saints, Sinners, and Scribes: A Look at Mormons in Fiction," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 36 (1968): 63-76.

[9] For more on "systems of representation," see Stuart Hall, ed. *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*. New York: Sage, 1997; Laurel Brake, Bill Bell, and David Finklestein, eds., *Nineteenth-Century Media and the Construction of Identities*. New York; London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2001; Marko Juvan. "Towards a History of Intertextuality in Literary and Culture Studies." *CLCWeb: Comparative Literature and Culture* 10.3 (2008):<http://docs.lib.purdue.edu/clcweb/vol10/iss3/1>; see also Whitney Davis, *A General Theory of Visual Culture*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2011.

antagonistic relationship between word and picture."[10] In addition to unpacking visual and literary sources, contemporary analyses of representation increasingly consider a broad source base including non-traditional artifacts such as government reports, objects, maps, and personal writing.[11]

This dissertation expands on previous analyses of visual and literary representations of Mormons, looking at unpacked themes traceable across genres and time. Beginning with representations of a Mormon and Indian military alliance in the 1850s, images of Mormons in the West developed to incorporate anxieties over the demographic implications of polygamy. Morality aside, polygamy represented a challenge to a basic mechanism of federal control: a unified system of limited, individual families with balanced gender ratios in the U.S. West.[12]

My analysis of the changing attitudes towards and representations of Mormon settlement is informed by the growing historiographies of anti-polygamy and anti-Mormonism, gender and empire, and the changing dynamics of race and citizenship in the nineteenth-century United States. The so-called "Mormon Question"—the conundrum over how to reconcile Mormon religious practice with prevalent American political and cultural ideals—engaged a wide variety of unsettled political and social questions as it worked its way through the courts and the court of public opinion, intersecting with other

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[10] Andrew J. Kunka, "Intertextuality and the Historical Graphic Narrative: Kyle Baker's *Nat Turner* and the Styron Controversy," College Literature 38 (2011): 168-193.

[11] For more on the evolving relationship between cultural and visual studies, see W.J.T. Mitchell, *Picture Theory: Essays on Verbal and Visual Representation*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995; W.J. T. Mitchell, "Showing Seeing: A Critique of Visual Culture," *Journal of Visual Culture* 1 (2002): 165-181; Manfred Beller and Joep Leerson, Eds., *Imagology: The Cultural Construction and Literary Representation of National Characters*. Amsterdam: Rodpoi, 2007. Two visual and literary analyses that particularly informed this work are Helen M. Cooper, Adrienne Auslander Munich, and Susan Merrill Squire, eds., *Arms and the Woman*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989; and Reina Lewis, *Gendering Orientalism: Race, Femininity, and Representation*. New York: Routledge, 1995.

[12] Hyde, Anne Farrar. *Empires, Nations, and Families: A History of the North American West, 1800-1860*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2011.

events and movements including Nativism, violent conflict with Native Americans, and Chinese Exclusion.

This dissertation will consider the ways in which representations of marriage and family were frequently used to connect Mormons with racialized and subordinated groups.[13] Although previous studies of anti-polygamy and anti-Mormon imagery have analyzed representations of Mormon men, women, and "white slaves," there is no work focusing on representations of family specifically. These comparisons changed over time in response to shifting political and cultural preoccupations. I will argue that many of the anxieties reflected in these popular representations of family and domesticity were reactions to the uncertain place of a diverse West within the expanding American nation.[14]

The affront of Mormon polygamy had much to do with the connection between marriage and political, economic, and social order. In *Public Vows*, Nancy Cott outlines

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[13] Mexican immigrants and Mexican-Americans did not usually appear in comparative renderings of Mormons. Mexico (and Mexicans residing in Mexico) did enter into anti-Mormon propaganda as a possible source of support for Mormon separatism after the Civil War. See, for example, "Chinese and Mormons. Mongolians Paving the Way for Crossing the Southern Border," *San Francisco Evening Bulletin*, 1885. For recent work on Mormon colonies in Mexico, see Janet Bennion, *Desert Patriarchy: Mormon and Mennonite Communities in the Chihuahua Valley.* Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2004.

[14] The anti-polygamy movement has been studied from a variety of angles. For more on women's movements and anti-polygamy, see Joan Smyth Iverson, *The Anti-Polygamy Controversy in U.S. Women's Movements: A Debate on the American Home*. New York: Routledge, 1997; Peggy Pascoe, *Relations of Rescue: The Search for Female Moral Authority in the American West, 1874-1939*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1990. For legal histories of anti-polygamy, see Sarah Barringer Gordon, *The Mormon Question: Polygamy and Constitutional Conflict in Nineteenth-Century America.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001; Bruce Burgett, "On the Mormon Question: Race, Sex and Polygamy in the 1850s and the 1990s," *American Quarterly* 57 (2005): 75-102. For general studies of anti-Mormon imagery and literature, see Gary L. Bunker and Davis Bitton, *The Mormon Graphic Image, 1834-1914: Cartoons, Caricatures, and Illustrations.* Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1983; Terryl Givens, *Viper on the Hearth: Mormons, Myths, and the Construction of Heresy*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1997. For more on Mormon family and domestic life from a social perspective, see Jessie L. Embry, *Mormon Polygamous Families: Life in the Principle*, 2nd edition. Salt Lake City: Gregg Kofford Books, 2008; Kathryn M. Daynes, *More Wives Than One: Transformation of the Mormon Marriage System, 1840-1910*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2001. For interesting recent work on the relationship between "white slavery" activism and racial and gender hierarchies, see Brian Donovan, *White Slave Crusades: Race, Gender, and Anti-Vice Activism, 1887-1917*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2006.

the regulation of marriage as a means of controlling political, economic, and cultural processes. Cott's analysis begins with the fundamental connection posited in eighteenth-century political theory between monogamous marriage and political consent. Marriage was and is a state system for controlling and ordering behavior, and particularly, in historical terms, of imprinting gender "by making men and women into husbands and wives."[15] The attention paid to marriage in any nation makes sense, she explains, "because of [its] direct impact on reproducing and composing the population." Monogamy and limited family unity were standards that allowed nineteenth-century reformers to maintain control of race-mixing and political order in the West and throughout the country.[16]

After the Civil War, representations of Mormons became even more abstract emblems of diversity. These images evoked fears of a mixed-race, multicultural West—developed through both immigration and reproduction. The sense that uncontrollable, racially and culturally diverse forces might disrupt American Protestant hegemony in the Great Basin and Southwest troubled the imperatives of settler colonialism and threatened to destabilize the seemingly preordained western expansion of the United States.

The key comparisons I explore in this dissertation are between Mormons, Native Americans, and the Chinese. Unlike Catholics or African Americans, these three groups were particularly associated with the West. Looking at the imperatives of settler colonialism offers a fresh perspective on the motives, anxieties, and priorities of United States policymakers seeking control of the resources and people of the Great Basin. I will argue that this analytical perspective, which has been used primarily in indigenous and

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[15] *Ibid.*, 3.
[16] Nancy F. Cott, *Public Vows: A History of Marriage and the Nation* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press), 4-5; 24.

subaltern studies, can also be meaningfully applied to a religious sect that was part of the racial majority.

This introductory chapter is structured to achieve a number of preliminary goals: to familiarize the reader with the framing device of settler colonialism; to describe the historical context of Mormon settlement in the West and early anti-Mormonism; to lay out the historiography on which this dissertation builds; and to outline the following five chapters in which my analysis unfolds.

Origins of Anti-Mormonism and the "Mormon Question"

In order to understand the evolution of anti-Mormon representations in a Western context, it is necessary to understand the origins of Mormonism, its early representations, and its sources of initial opposition in the 1830s and 1840s. This back-story is particularly important in terms of grasping the relationships—real and imagined—between Mormons and Native Americans, including persistent fears of a Mormon-Indian alliance through the 1880s. This section will provide a brief overview of several subjects and their attendant literature: early Mormon history and anti-Mormonism, including the fraught relationship between Mormons and the federal government; Native American societies in the Great Basin, and Anglo-American perceptions of Great Basin tribes; and the theological and social connections between Mormons and Native Americans.

The Mormons sought meaning as well as plenitude across the continent. Born in the burned-over district of New York state during the height of the Second Great Awakening, Mormonism flourished alongside many other new sects and denominations. The shared characteristic of most of the contemporary sects emerging in this period was

millennialism. Perhaps the most fervent believers in the coming of the Second Advent of Christ were the Millerites, who anticipated the event on a specific day: October 22, 1844. After what came to be known as the "Great Disappointment" of 1844, the national Millerite movement splintered, with many adherents converting to Quakerism.[17]

Some of these new faiths functioned as utopian communities, with varying levels of communalist living, economic and political separatism, and unorthodox sexual practices. The Oneida community, for example, practiced "complex marriage" or group marriage, while the Shakers, on the other end of the spectrum, adhered to a strict policy of celibacy.[18] At the time of its formal organization as the Church of Christ in 1830, the religion that would become Mormonism lacked any such extreme characteristics. Following the Church's founder, Joseph Smith, as a prophet, the early Latter-Day Saints saw their new faith as a form of primitive Christianity that would prepare them spiritually for the coming millennium.[19]

The theology of this new religion revolved around a divine link with the North American continent. The Book of Mormon presented an elaborate explanation of the peopling of the Americas, linking the Old and New Worlds through a shared ancient history. Native Americans held a special place in this cosmology, as the descendents of a lost tribe of Israel whose history appears in detail in Mormon scripture. The notion that the Native inhabitants of the Americas might constitute a lost tribe of Israel—an idea discussed since at least the seventeenth century—experienced a resurgence in the early

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[17] For more on Mormon millennialism, see Grant Underwood, *The Millenarian World of Early Mormonism*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993; Dan Erickson, "*As A Thief in the Night": The Mormon Quest for Millennial Deliverance.* Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1998.
[18] See Lawrence Foster, "Sex and Conflict in New Religious Movements: A Comparison of the Oneida Community Under John Humphrey Noyes and the Early Mormons Under Joseph Smith and his Would-be Successors," *Nova Religio: The Journal of Alternative and Emergent Religions* 13 (2010): 34-58.
[19] See Underwood, *The Millenarian World of Early Mormonism*, 15-45.

nineteenth century. Critics seeking to impugn the authenticity of Joseph Smith's revelations would later point to a contemporary text by Congregationalist minister Ethan Smith, *Views of the Hebrews*, in which he compares the North American mounds to the "high places" of Israel. Whether or not Ethan Smith's theory influenced the Mormon theology dictated by Joseph Smith, it contributed to a wider context of speculation over Indian origins that proceeded along religious lines.[20]

The North American setting of the Book of Mormon appealed to converts like Nancy Peirson, a resident of western Massachusetts in the mid-1840s. "Reading the account of Christ's appearing to the People of this continent-" she wrote in her journal, "truly this is a chosen and choice land." Intrigued by the claims of a special Mormon relationship to the Indians, Peirson wondered whether the reported discoveries of white Indians in Mexico would offer clues to the New World past.[21]

The relationship between Native Americans and the lost tribe of "Lamanites" in the Book of Mormon was a subject of disagreement in the nineteenth century, as it remains today. While some interpretations cast all Polynesian and Native American people as direct descendents of the Lamanites, others cited the Lamanites as a single indigenous group or, more frequently, as a small original group that intermarried with indigenous tribes. In this interpretation, Israelites were only distantly related to nineteenth-century Native Americans. Individual opinions on this issue contributed to the level of Church presence in an area. The connections that some Mormon leaders (most notably George Q. Cannon) felt to the Hawaiian Islands, for example, led to sustained efforts to convert indigenous Hawaiians and maintain a lasting presence in the South

[20] A book making this case is David Persuitte, *Joseph Smith and the Origins of the Book of Mormon*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 1985.
[21] Diary of Nancy Peirson, 1846-1849. FAC 554. The Huntington Library, San Marino, CA.

Pacific. This relationship to Native Americans fueled speculation of a military alliance between Mormons and Indians in both Eastern and Western contexts.[22]

The Mormon religion found detractors as quickly as adherents. Driven to Ohio and then further into the Midwest, Mormons faced local opposition at every turn. This hostility sometimes manifested itself in extreme violence, either condoned or expressly supported by state governments. During these itinerant years, Joseph Smith guided his congregation through a number of new initiatives, including experiments with communalist economic models. He ran for president in 1844 on a platform of "theodemocracy"—the political philosophy by which he governed his followers. Smith also began practicing polygamy, citing a revelation he had received endorsing the practice as a means of swelling the Mormon ranks.[23]

Persecution followed the Mormons to Nauvoo, Illinois, the final stop of their Midwestern sojourn. In June of 1844, Joseph Smith and his brother Hyrum were arrested by authorities and subsequently killed by an angry mob while awaiting trial. After a protracted crisis of succession, a member of Smith's Quorum of Twelve Apostles named Brigham Young emerged as the second prophet of the Church.[24]

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[22] For a bibliography of work on the complex relationship between the Mormon community and North American indigenous groups, see David J. Whittaker, "Mormons and Native Americans: A Historical and Bibliographical Introduction," *Dialogue* 18 (1985): 33-65. While this listing is of course somewhat out of date, it provides a good entry point into the themes and issues underlying Mormon-Indian relations over time.

[23] Richard Lyman Bushman, *Joseph Smith: Rough Stone Rolling* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2005), 437-58; D. Michael Quinn, *The Mormon Hierarchy: Origins of Power* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books in association with Smith Research Associates, 1994), 105-43; Jan Shipps, "Difference and Otherness: Mormonism and the American Religious Mainstream," in *Sojourner in the Promised Land: Forty Years Among the Mormons* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2000), 302-28; Kenneth S. Winn, *Exiles in a Land of Liberty: Mormons in America, 1830-1846* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989), 18-39.

[24] For a book-length study of Young's character and career, see Leonard J. Arrington, *Brigham Young: American Moses*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1985.

Young saw opportunity for his Church in the deserts of the North American West. Studying the new maps of the interior western continent produced following federal survey leader John C. Frémont's expedition through the interior West, Young led his congregation beyond the boundaries of the United States toward the Great Salt Lake and the area marked on maps as the "Great American Desert." The first company of Mormons arrived in the Salt Lake Valley, then still a part of Mexico, just a few years after Frémont's expedition.

Converts like Nancy Peirson responded to the millennialist message of the migration west. Peirson read jealously about the "Saints…gathering as fast as they can to the Great Salt Lake City," and hoped to make her trek west before the "last days." (She stayed in Massachusetts with her husband who, she suspected, challenged her chosen faith just to be contrary.)[25]

The diaries of Isaac Chauncey Wright, a young man growing up in upstate New York, show the complex relationship of Mormon converts to the federal government during the period of early Western settlement. For Wright, Mormon meetings satisfied a need for "life and spirit" in his religious life that gave even the Baptist revivals he had once favored a relative "cold formality."[26] Unlike Peirson, the unattached Wright was free to follow his chosen community to Nauvoo and then to the Salt Lake Valley. Although nervous upon setting off to an uncharted western site, Wright believed that this was "the place where He designed for the land of our inheritance" and a rightful home for his church.[27]

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[25] Diary of Nancy Peirson, 1846-1849. FAC 554. The Huntington Library, San Marino, CA.
[26] Isaac Chauncey Wright Journal, The Huntington Library, San Marino, CA.
[27] *Ibid*.

Wright's account reflects the tense relationship between the Mormons and the country they were leaving. Isaac Wright saw the apparent indifference of the federal government to the Mormons' persecutions as a betrayal of national principle. It was necessary to trek westward, he reasoned, to "get away from this wicked nation stained with the blood of the Prophets." When his wagon train paused to organize companies of soldiers for the United States offensive against Mexico, Wright was indignant, writing that "it caused me curious feeling to see brethren go to serve a country that has driven us or suffered us to be driven from our homes." Once settled in the Salt Lake Valley, Wright observed with interest the symbolism of national redemption. He described the anniversary celebration of settlement, an extravaganza of cannon fire, processions, and feasting, in which Brigham Young read the United States Declaration of Independence aloud to a cheering crowd.[28]

The spiritual interest of Mormons in the Great Basin was coupled with practical considerations. The first petition submitted to Congress for territorial recognition in the Great Basin, in 1849, emphasized the region's geographic benefits. Including a port at San Diego and a border with Mexico, the proposed state of Deseret (a term from the Book of Mormon meaning "honeybee") would have encompassed most of the territory acquired in the Mexican Cession and would connect United States and Mexican trade networks with the Pacific.[29] The development of militias within Utah and the printing of books in the "Deseret Alphabet," rather than English, fueled rumors of separatism.[30]

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[28] *Ibid.*

[29] For more on projections of Deseret, see Edward Leo Lyman, "Larger Than Texas: Proposals to Combine California and Mormon Deseret as One State," *California History* 80 (2001): 18-33.

[30] The alphabet, which was taught in Utah schools for a short time, was intended to offer a more phonetic representation of English, to ease immigrants' transition to literacy. See Patricia A. Lynott, "Communicationg Insularity: The Deseret Alphabet of Nineteenth-Century Mormon Education," *American Educational History Journal* 26 (1999): 20-26.

The eventual compromise, following the entry of California into the Union as a free state in 1850, created a Territory that included the present-day states of Utah and Nevada, along with portions of Colorado and Montana. Mormon leaders, and those they appointed, became the territorial leaders of Utah, with Brigham Young as Governor and Indian Agent.

Survival in the Great Basin required accommodation with its indigenous occupants. The mid-nineteenth-century Great Basin was home to dozens of tribal units, many of which followed complex annual migratory patterns snaking in and out of the region.[31] Anglo-Americans would come to refer to the largest of the groups as the Utes, Paiutes, and Shoshone, but these tribal designations overarched smaller clan divisions. On the borders of the Great Basin, the Navajo, Bannock, and Hopi also contributed to the political and cultural dynamics of the region. The Utes, the namesake of the Utah Territory, were the dominant group in terms of United States diplomacy, having risen to the top of the regional trade networks through their mastery of the Indian slave trade.[32]

Marriage was a useful means of negotiating the complex social and political dynamics of the region. Kinship networks had a long history of anchoring European and Indian relationships and economic ties in the Great Basin, as in other areas of North America. Traders and mountain men who spent time in the region before large-scale

[31] Virginia McConnell Simmons, *The Ute Indians of Utah, Colorado, and New Mexico* (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2000), 2-14.

[32] Older scholarship focusing on a single Great Basin indigenous group or modern state has tended to obscure the political, cultural, and ecological dynamics of the region. See Charles H. Marsh, *People of the Shining Mountains: The Utes of Colorado*. Boulder: Pruett, 1982; Joel Janetski, *The Ute of Utah Lake*. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1991; Isabel T. Kelly, *Southern Paiute Ethnography*. New York: Garland, 1976; Carling I. Malouf, *The Goshiute Indians*. New York: Garland, 1974.

Anglo settlement understood the kinship systems of regional bands. Traders regularly leveraged marriages to Native women to enter clan-based trade networks.[33]

Anglo-American settlers in the Great Basin, like traders, needed to form alliances in order to ensure success. The first Mormon settlers reached the Salt Lake Valley in 1847, followed shortly thereafter by competing Anglo settlers from the East. Both Mormons and Gentiles had to contend with the so-called "Digger" Indians—Paiutes and Shoshones, predominantly—often described by Anglos as especially primitive and degraded.[34] Dependence on scarce natural resources brought Anglo settlers, Mormon and Gentile, into conflict with Native Americans as early as the 1840s. The settlement of Anglos near waterways impeded indigenous nomadic subsistence cycles. In response, individuals and groups frequently raided settlements. One of the best known of these conflicts is the Walker War, which spanned from 1853-1854. This series of raids and skirmishes pitted a trans-tribal indigenous force led by Walkara against Anglo settlers.[35]

Native American raids affected both Mormons and Gentiles, blurring distinctions of religion as well as tribe. The Walker War is a case in point. Originally allied with Mormons and baptized into the Mormon religion, Walkara and his intertribal followers were unable to distinguish between "Mormonees" and "Mericats."[36]

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[33] See Simmons*, The Ute Indians*, 26-8. For more on gender, kinship, and the fur trade in North America, see Sylvia Van Kirk, *'Many Tender Ties': Women in Fur-Trade Society, 1670-1870*. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1980; Jennifer H. S. Brown, *Strangers in Blood: Fur Trade Company Families in Indian Country*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1980.
[34] In the late nineteenth century, anthropologist Julian Steward used an ethnographic approach to confirm the existing prejudice against Great Basin Indians as the least civilized of indigenous peoples. See Richard O. Clemmer, L. Daniel Myers, and Mary Elizabeth Rudden. *Julian Seward and the Great Basin: The Making of an Anthropologist.* Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1999.
[35] See Blackhawk, *Violence Over the Land: Indians and Empires in the Early American West* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008), 242-244.
[36] See James B. Allen and Glen M. Leonard. *The Story of the Latter-Day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Books, 1976), 271-3.

Despite the tension between Mormon settlers and Indians, Mormons were increasingly accused of inciting, funding, and leading indigenous resistance in the region. While the appointment of Young as territorial governor suggests a measure of trust in his loyalties to the United States, this trust was not universal. Alliances between Mormons and Native Americans based on marriage, trade, and religious conversion helped to protect Mormon settlements to some extent.[37] Whether Young's influence would ultimately safeguard or endanger Gentile settlements, however, was a matter of debate. California was the only far Western state established before the Civil War. With few outposts and little sign of American federal authority elsewhere in the West, territorial governments were expected to stabilize an area in order to integrate and populate the remaining gaps in continental authority. Some observers argued that Mormon self-interest and hostility towards the government would favor separatism or war rather than contributing to the spread of American control.

The tentative optimism regarding Mormon settlement and the promise of Brigham Young as an instrument in achieving federal goals suffered deep strain in 1852, with the formal acknowledgement of church-sanctioned plural marriage.[38] The anti-polygamy movement quickly rose to prominence, reaching maximum national exposure during the election of 1856. Seeking popular, uniting issues, the fledgling Republican Party linked polygamy and African slavery as "twin relics of barbarism," the existence of which,

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[37] Blackhawk, *Violence Over the Land,* 237-9.

[38] No precise numbers exist for the percentage of Mormons practicing polygamy. Scholarly estimates range from around five percent to upwards of forty percent. If the extent of practice is unknown, however, its structure is not. The number of wives depended on status within the community and the Church hierarchy. While Church leaders are known to have married over fifty wives each, the majority of Mormons practicing polygamy probably had only two or three wives at the height of the practice. As a recent study by Thomas Carter shows, the kinship structure of Mormonism manifested itself in unexpected places, including a particular vernacular architecture. See Thomas Carter, "Living the Principle: Mormon Polygamous Housing in Nineteenth-Century Utah," *Winterthur Portfolio* 35 (2000): 223-251.

Republicans claimed, precluded the institution of republican democracy in the American South and West.[39] Political and economic anxiety was couched largely in cultural terms, singling out polygamy as an affront to American values and a reduction of white people to the level of barbarous races.[40] Sarah Barringer Gordon has persuasively argued that the "Mormon Question" became the locus of legal tests concerning territorial independence and self-governance. The restrictions put in place to control Mormon social and political behaviors resulted in a legacy of restricted freedoms, religious and otherwise, throughout the United States.[41]

While anti-polygamy was central to anti-Mormonism after 1852, it was not synonymous. Polygamy was one of many movements against vice and aberrant sexuality in this period. The successes of the Mormons relative to other utopian and communalist groups, however, made them a particularly attractive target for politicians, Christian reformers, and satirists.[42] From the period from 1852 through the renunciation of polygamy as a formal Church practice in 1890, polygamy proved to be a malleable issue that could serve as a convenient excuse for political posturing. Rejection of Mormon

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[39] For more on Mormons and the courts, see Stephen Cresswell, *Mormons and Cowboys, Moonshiners and Klansmen: Federal Law Enforcement in the South & West, 1870-1893*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1991; Daniel L. Drakeman, "The Church Historians Who Made the First Amendment What It is Today," *Religion and American Culture* 17 (2007), 27-56; Edwin Brown Firmage and Richard Collin Mangrum, *Zion in the Courts: A Legal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1830-1900*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988; Bruce Burgett, "On the Mormon Question: Race, Sex and Polygamy in the 1850s and the 1990s," *American Quarterly* 57 (2005): 75-102.

[40] Contemporary scholarship in the emerging field of Anthropology informed academic and public understanding of racial and ethnic hierarchies in the increasingly diverse United States. For a concise overview of the American School of Anthropology, see Adam Dewbury, "The American School and Scientific Racism in Early American Anthropology," *Histories of Anthropology Annual* 3 (2007): 121-147.

[41] Gordon, "The Twin Relics of Barbarism" in *The Mormon Question,* 55-84.

[42] For more on the comparative sexual and kinship practices of nineteenth-century utopian groups, see Lawrence Foster, *Religion and Sexuality: Three American Communal Experiments of the Nineteenth Century*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1981; Lawrence Foster, *Women, Family and Utopia: Communal Experiments of the Shakers, the Oneida Community, and the Mormons*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1991; Louis J. Kern, *An Ordered Love: Sex Roles and Sexuality in Victorian Utopias—the Shakers, the Mormons, and the Oneida Community*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1981; D. Michael Quinn, *Same-Sex Dynamics among Nineteenth-Century Americas: A Mormon Example.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1996.

"celestial marriage" ultimately served as a pretext for the suppression of male and female suffrage, the destruction of Mormon businesses, and a mass movement of federal troops in opposition to Utah's territorial government. Although continuities in prejudice were apparent, anti-polygamy and anti-Mormonism took on new dimensions in a Western context. Polygamy also came to represent a range of cultural, political, and economic anxieties specific to the American settlement of the North American West.

Gender, Marriage, and Settler Colonialism

Despite its promise as a forerunner of American hegemony, Mormon settlement also challenged the U.S. colonial model as an overtly expansionist political and social entity. Mormon missionaries sought the conversion of Great Basin peoples as a theological imperative, setting up Native American missions throughout the region. Missions in Great Britain and Scandinavia were the most reliable sources of converts from overseas. European converts were encouraged to "gather" in the settlements in and around Utah, with financial assistance from the Church's Perpetual Emigration Fund, in order to enrich "The Kingdom."[43] Mormon missionaries also set up outposts in Hawaii and South and Central America, triggering concerns about aggressive Mormon expansion in the era of the filibuster.[44]

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[43] For a classic history of the economic underpinnings of this development, see Leonard J. Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom: An Economic History of the Latter-Day Saints, 1830-1900*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1958. A more recent history of the Great Basin "Kingdom" is David Bigler, *Forgotten Kingdom: The Mormon Theocracy in the West, 1847-1896*. Logan: Utah State University Press, 1998.

[44] The history of Mormon involvement in the South Pacific is complex. There has been some attention paid to Mormon activity in the Pacific as it related to United States expansionism. A good recent example of this is Laurie F. Maffly-Kipp and Reid L. Neilson, eds., *Proclamation to the People: Nineteenth-Century Mormonism and the Pacific Basin Frontier,* Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2008. Another good resource is the recently-published journal of Caroline Barnes Crosby, *No Place to Call Home: The 1807-1857 Life Writings of Caroline Barnes Crosby, Chronicler of Outlying Mormon Communities*. Logan, UT: Utah State University Press, 2005.

Missionary efforts sometimes sparked violent confrontations between the Mormons and their prospective converts, in both the Eastern United States and in the Western Territories. Although these episodes made for sensational news items, it was the successes of missionaries in drawing converts to the settlements of the U.S. West that most inflamed the Gentile press and fueled anti-Mormon sentiment and anti-polygamy legislation.[45]

Mormon settlement in the intermountain West added a new dimension to the unique dynamics of the region. The Great Basin was characterized by a complex collection of competing channels of authority—Mormon, American, and indigenous. As Michael Warner has pointed out, the categories of "colonized" and "colonizing" are not mutually exclusive.[46] The nineteenth-century Great Basin, with its overlapping colonial trajectories, is an excellent illustration of Warner's point. The presence of the Mormons—mostly Anglo-American settlers who predated the U.S. victory over Mexico—compounded the problems facing the federal government in asserting authority over its new acquisitions. Functioning as a culturally and to some extent politically and economically distinct unit, the Mormon settlements of the West occupied a gray area in the American political sphere. Over time, the cultural and political autonomy of this group would face forced cultural assimilation in the pursuit of political acceptance.

The concept of settler colonialism provides a valuable framework for analyzing the seemingly disproportionate alarm occasioned by Mormon settlement in the American

[45] Approximately 90,000 Mormon converts immigrated to the United States during the nineteenth century. For analysis of the social and economic mobility of migrants in the first few decades of Western settlement, see Scott Alan Carson, "European Immigration to America's Great Basin, 1850-1870." *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 34 (2004): 569-94.

[46] Michael Warner, "What's Colonial About Colonial America?" in Robert Blair St. George, ed., *Possible Pasts: Becoming Colonial in Early America*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2000.

West. “Settler colonialism” refers to the strategic of deployment of self-perpetuating family units as a means of extending the political and economic power of a state. The concept has received a considerable amount of recent attention from historians working across a wide geographic and chronological scope.[47] One of the most important recent works in this vein is James Belich’s *Replenishing the Earth*, which focuses on the aboriginal peoples of New Zealand.[48]

Historians of Native America and the U.S. West have increasingly come to embrace settler colonialism as a concept that is helpful in describing the establishment of United States authority in much of North America, including the Great Basin.[49] In the words of historian Patrick Wolfe, settler colonialism “destroys to replace.” Within this model, “invasion is a structure not an event,” as gradual settlement achieves hegemonic goals.[50] The expanding United States sought permanent settlements in the West. The imperative of settlement as a means of retaining control became critical after the 1846-8

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[47] See Lorenzo Veracini, *Settler Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview.* New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2010; Patrick Wolfe, *Settler Colonialism and the Transformation of Anthropology.* New York: Continuum, 1998; Caroline Elkins and Susan Pederson, eds., *Settler Colonialism in the Twentieth Century: Projects, Practices, Legacies*. New York: Routledge, 2005; Fiona Bateman and Lionel Pilkington, eds., *Studies in Settler Colonialism: Politics, Identity, and Culture.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011; Candace Fujikane and Jonathan Y. Okamura, eds., *Asian Settler Colonialism: From Local Governance to the Habits of Everyday Life in Hawai'i*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008.

[48] James Belich*, Replenishing the Earth: The Settler Revolution and the Rise of the Angloworld, 1783-1839.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2009.

[49] Comparative work is increasingly drawing North American indigenous populations into the same settler colonial framework applied to Australia, New Zealand, and some African colonies. For recent work on the subject, see Lisa Ford, *Settler Sovereignty: Jurisdiction and Indigenous People in America and Australia, 1788-1836.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010; Peter H. Russell, *Recognizing Aboriginal Title: The Mabo Case and Indigenous Resistance to English Settler-Colonialism.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005; Annie Coombes, ed., *Rethinking Settler Colonialism: History and Memory in Australia, Canada, Aotearoa New Zealand and South Africa.* Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006; Margaret D. Jacobs, *White Mother to a Dark Race: Settler Colonialism, Maternalism, and the Removal of Indigenous Children in the American West and Australia, 1880-1940*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009.

[50] Patrick Wolfe, "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native,” *Journal of Genocide Research* 8 (2006), 388.

expansionist war with Mexico, hotly contested among American citizens and politicians, resulted in the single largest acquisition of territory in United States history.[51]

Mormon settlement in the Salt Lake Valley in 1846, followed by the expansion of United States dominion in 1848, complicated an already tangled political web of alliances and influences.[52] Ned Blackhawk has argued for a reinterpretation of Great Basin history in terms of the dynamics of indigenous and European empires.[53] Blackhawk describes how Great Basin tribes such as the Utes remade their societies in response to the economic pressures and "cycles of violence" occurring as a result of other indigenous and Spanish expansionism. These adaptations included Ute participation in the Indian slave trade, in which Southern Paiutes and Western Shoshones were enslaved in large numbers.[54]

The strategy of rapid settlement was central to the expansionist ideology that came to be known as "Manifest Destiny." In 1845, John L. Sullivan coined the phrase in an editorial endorsing the country's "manifest destiny to overspread the Continent allotted by Providence for the free development of our yearly multiplying millions."[55] Won through aggression against Mexico and retained through violence towards Native

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[51] Scholarship on the U.S.-Mexican conflict is vast and complex. For analyses of political and social conflicts surrounding the War, see Paul Foos, *A Short, Offhand, Killing Affair: Soldiers and Social Conflict During the Mexican-American War*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002; John C. Pinheiro, *Manifest Ambition: James K. Polk and Civil-Military Relations During the Mexican War*. Westport, CT: Praeger, 2007; Irving W. Levinson, *Wars Within War: Mexican Guerillas, Domestic Elites, and the United States of America*. Fort Worth, TX: 2005; Damon Eubank, *The Response of Kentucky to the Mexican War, 1846-1848*. Lewiston, NY: E. Mellen Press, 2004; James M. McCaffrey, *Army of Manifest Destiny: The American Soldier in the Mexican War, 1846-1848*. New York: New York University Press, 1992; For a collection of scholarly essays mapping out the conflict surrounding expansionism, Donald S. Frazier, ed., *The United States and Mexico at War: Nineteenth-Century Expansionism and Conflict*. New York: MacMillan, 1998.

[52] See Blackhawk, "Utah's Indians and the Crisis of Mormon Settlement," *Violence Over the Land,* 226-266.

[53] Blackhawk, *Violence Over the Land*, 7.

[54] *Ibid.*, 25-27.

[55] John O'Sullivan, "The Democratic Principle," *Democratic Review,* July/August, 1845.

Americans and others, United States dominion in the Far West also relied on a growing population of subjects loyal to the government and tied to the national economy. The settlement of communities that could multiply proved a challenge immediately following the war with Mexico. While the Gold Rush brought men west in large numbers, women were less immediately available.[56]

Manifest Destiny was never entirely coherent as an ideology and has thus proved difficult for historians to define.[57] One of the central and more readily definable assumptions of Manifest Destiny, however, was the supremacy of Europeans over other races. Romantic race theories of the period emphasized the natural divisions between races in a way that emphasized the spiritual importance of racial purity and the common destinies of race-based groups. This line of thinking suggested that non-white and particularly indigenous Western populations would give way to Anglo-American settlements naturally, if not of their own accord.[58] The establishment of reproducing communities—in addition to warfare, diplomacy, and other means—was part of the presumed preordained western movement of civilization.[59]

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[56] For more on the gender dynamics of the West in the late 1840s and early 1850s, see Christopher Herbert, "'Life's Prizes are by Labor Got': Rosk, Reward, and White Manliness in the California Gold Rush," *Pacific Historical Review* 80 (2011): 339-368. For a recent overview of historical analyses of gender and power in this period, see Karen J. Leong, "Still Walking, Still Brave: Mapping Gender, Race, and Power in U.S. Western History," *Pacific Historical Review* 79 (2010): 618-628.

[57] While most commonly recognized in a North American context, the racial and political theories of "Manifest Destiny" are also evident in Central and South America. For explicit links between American Western empire and other regional histories, see David Maybury-Lewis, Theodore Macdonald, and Bjorn Maybury-Lewis, eds., *Manifest Destinies and Indigenous Peoples.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies; Harvard University Press, 2009.

[58] For more on perceptions of Native Americans and the cultural consequences of those assumptions, see Steven Conn, *History's Shadow: Native Americans and Historical Consciousness in the Nineteenth Century*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004; Ann Fabian. *The Skull Collectors: Race, Science, and America's Unburied Dead*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010. For the development of racial hierarchies in a Western context, see Tomas Almaguer, *Racial Fault Lines: The Historical Origins of White Supremacy in California*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994.

[59] For a recent overview of competing ideas of Western settlement, see Steven E. Woodworth, *Manifest Destinies: America's Westward Expansion and the Road to the Civil War*. New York: Knopf, 2010.

Anti-Mormon arguments and visuals cast Mormons as challengers to the basic mechanism of United States settler colonialism. As a Zionist religion with a relatively balanced gender ratio, Mormon society in the West presented a demographic challenge to Anglo-American settlements in certain parts of the West during specific windows of time—most plausibly in Utah Territory during the period of early settlement, after 1848 but before the transcontinental rail and telegraph innovations of the 1860s, and later on in more sparsely populated areas of the territories.[60] Perceptions of Mormon families and Mormon women as vectors of an oppositional generation colored anti-Mormon imagery, literature, and political rhetoric in the middle decades of nineteenth century. This dynamic heightened the significance of family structure and domestic culture beyond the salacious drama of "white slavery."

Increasingly, as the nineteenth century wore on, Mormons became emblematic of a diverse West beyond religious and political categories. By challenging the limits of pluralism in the expanding nation in terms of religious observance and social practice, Mormons tested the assumed relationship between race and political destiny. More abstract, though no less threatening, than the demographic possibilities of Mormon settlement was the suggestion by anti-polygamy activists that Mormon "barbarism" threatened the racial underpinnings of Anglo-American progress in the West. Frequent comparisons with racial minorities aimed to make the Mormons—overwhelmingly of Scandinavian and British descent or origin—seem less white.[61] The "troublesome

[60] One of my chapters looks specifically at the Colorado Plateau, an area centered on the Four Corners region. Other contested areas included what is now southern Idaho and eastern Nevada. See W. Paul Reeve, *Making Space on the Western Frontier.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2006.
[61] This phenomenon was a literary as well as a visual theme. See "'They Ain't Whites…They're Mormons": Fictive Responses to the Anxiety of Seduction," in Givens, *The Viper on the Hearth*, 121-152.

children" linked to Mormons in popular visual culture represented racial and cultural diversity that transcended Mormon divergence from the Anglo-American mainstream.

Historians have explored the implicit and explicit comparisons between polygamy and slavery in depth.[62] The connections between the anti-Mormonism movement, federal Indian policy, and immigration restriction have received far less attention, a critical oversight that this dissertation begins to address. Specifically, I will consider the ways in which perhaps familiar anti-Mormon imagery, literature, and rhetoric takes on a new significance in the wake of the historiography of race, gender, and empire that has emerged over the past ten to fifteen years.

Following Ned Blackhawk's characterization of the Great Basin as a region of overlapping empires, I will examine the ways in which competing settlement of the region by Mormons and other Anglo-Americans influenced representations of Mormons in both the East and the West.[63] In *Messy Beginnings,* Malini Johar Schueller and Edward Watts point to American examples to prove that "settler colonialism is not dyadic," and to examine the "complex and contradicting ways in which colonial authority [may be] constituted." Rather than exempting the United States from colonial and postcolonial analysis, Schueller and Watts seek to explore "locally imaged nationalisms" that defined

[62] While Sarah Barringer Gordon's *The Mormon Question* is the most in-depth exploration of the polygamy and slavery link, the "twin relics" rhetoric connecting the issues was established as part of the Republican Party platform in the 1850s and has never been obscure—despite Bruce Burgett's recent claim that this connection has been "forgotten." Bruce Burgett, "On the Mormon Question: Race, Sex and Polygamy in the 1850s and the 1990s," *American Quarterly* 57 (2005): 75-102.

[63] Although much of the terminology I use comes from literature on empire, my analysis does not depend upon classification of the United States as an empire. A note about empire and hegemony: I am defining "empire" as an unequal exertion of power from the center upon the periphery. Hegemony is a model with a more equal distribution of power. The shifting relationship of the federal government to Utah's Mormons is generally consistent with hegemony, while the relationship with Native Americans is far less clear cut.

differences between groups on the American frontier before 1898.[64] The Mormon Culture Region and the debates its settlement triggered constitute an important and unexamined piece of this scholarly project.[65]

My analysis borrows several key concepts from the body of scholarship concerned with gender and empire. Specifically, I have employed Ann Laura Stoler's "intimate sites of governance" to understand the relationship between domestic relationships and larger political systems. The control of political orientation and economic function through the regulation of marriage, as described by Nancy Cott, is more closely analyzed in the work of Stoler and others within different colonial frameworks. I have also grappled with the recent literature on the gendering of American empire, and the ways in which images of women and children intersected with ideas and concerns about the future of the nation.[66]

Another element adopted from the gender and empire literature is Laura Briggs' concept of "reproducing empire" as essential to the settler colonialist project. Regulating marriage and family composition was necessary to reproduce empire in the West.[67] Fear over Mormon separatism was directly connected to the perceived ability of Mormons to

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[64] Malini Johar Schueller and Edward Watts, eds., *Messy Beginnings: Postcoloniality and Early American Studies* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2003), 2-5.

[65] D. W. Meinig. *The Shaping of America: A Geographical Perspective on 500 Years of History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), 47-51.

[66] See Ann Laura Stoler, "Matters of Intimacy as Matters of State: A Response," *Journal of American History* 88 (2001), 893; Ann Laura Stoler, *Haunted by Empire: Geographies of Intimacy in North American History.* Durham: Duke University Press, 2006; Ida Blom, Karen Hagemann, and Catherine Hall, eds., *Gendered Nations: Nationalisms and Gender Order in the Long Nineteenth Century*. New York: Berg, 2000; Amy S. Greenberg, *Manifest Manhood and the Antebellum American Empire.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

[67] Although Briggs' study focuses on a different place and time (nineteenth- and twentieth-century Puerto Rico), her concepts are applicable to United States colonial policies earlier in the nineteenth century. Laura Briggs, *Reproducing Empire: Race, Sex, Science, and U.S. Imperialism in Puerto Rico*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002. Briggs' point is echoed by Nancy Cott's statement that nation states regulate marriage forms which contribute to "reproducing and composing the population." Cott, *Marriage Vows*, 5.

reproduce their own empire (or Kingdom, in this case) at an impressive rate—both because of the successes of Mormon missionaries in attracting new settlers, male and female, and because of beliefs about polygamy as a means of rapid procreation. Anti-Mormon imagery of the mid-nineteenth century regularly featured armies of women and children primed to attack the United States. These children were "troublesome," I will argue, because of their demographic strength and implications as much as any specific theological difference.[68]

As suggested in the *Wasp* cartoon described at the beginning of the chapter, Mormon settlements were not the only source of "troublesome children." In the post-Civil War Era, Anglo-Americans faced the prospect of a multi-racial national "family" for the first time. Studies of Chinese Exclusion have shown that the reality of citizenship for former slaves spurred intolerance for non-white immigrants.[69] It also became a moment for the restriction of Mormon citizenship, and the attempted exclusion of Mormon immigrants. While not directly comparable, Mormon and Chinese Exclusion were discussed and debated together. These observed connections, while certainly opportunistic, also drew from a sincere anxiety over pluralism in its many forms.

Over time, the Mormon family came to represent not only a territorial crisis in the legal and political sense, but also the cultural conundrum of how to fit a demographically diverse West into the evolving American nation.[70] In order to claim a place for the state of Utah within the nation, Mormon and non-Mormon leaders had to directly assert the

[68] A new book focusing on demography specifically is Karl Ittmann, Dennis D. Cordell, and Gregory H. Maddox, eds., *The Demographics of Empire: The Colonial Order and the Creation of Knowledge.* Athens: Ohio University Press, 2010.
[69] See Helen H. Jun. "Black Orientalism: Nineteenth-Century Narratives of Race and U.S. Citizenship." *American Quarterly* 58 (2006): 1047-1066.
[70] See Armand Mauss, *The Angel and the Beehive: The Mormon Struggle with Assimilation*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994.

common heritage of Utahns with mainstream Anglo-America. In the late nineteenth century, Utah's leaders made a case for the rightful inclusion of their state in a new phase of empire, an informal empire overseas, based on a shared heritage and common economic purpose. They made this case by seizing control of their own representation, replacing old images with more flattering and familiar ones.

Ultimately, this project aims to better integrate the conflicts in the nineteenth-century Great Basin into evolving narratives in Western and U.S. history. The anomalies of Great Basin history have set it apart from broader trends in Western historiography. Jan Shipps has described Utah's place in Western historiography as "the hole in the donut," distinct from other regional patterns and dynamics and difficult to integrate into secular narratives of conquest and incorporation.[71] Shipps notes that the research questions posed by historians of Mormon social and even political history have sometimes supported or even embraced regional exceptionalism.[72]

The historiographical segregation—of Utah in particular, and the Great Basin more generally—that Shipps describes persists in some recent syntheses of Western expansion, despite excellent placed-based studies by Jared Farmer and W. Paul Reeve.[73] Heather Cox Richardson's *West from Appomattox*, for all of its rich discussion of

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[71] Jan Shipps, "Gentiles, Mormons, and the History of the American West," in *Sojourner in the Promised Land*, 21.

[72] Shipps blames the secularism of American historians, as a larger group, for neglecting to include Mormon history in their narratives. Other historians, including Thomas Alexander and D. Michael Quinn, have also pointed to secularism for the relative absence of religion in Western historiography. D. Michael Quinn, "Religion in the American West," in *Under an Open Sky: Rethinking America's Western Past*, eds. William Cronon, George Miles, and Jay Gitlin (New York: W. W. Norton, 1992), 165; Thomas G. Alexander, "Establishing Zion," *The Mormon History Association's Tanner Lectures: The First Twenty Years*, eds. Dean L. May and Reid L. Neilson (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2006), 117-18.

[73] W. Paul Reeve, *Making Space on the Western Frontier.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2006; Jared Farmer, *On Zion's Mount: Mormons, Indians, and the American Landscape.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008.

Reconstruction in the West, does not mention Utah even once.[74] Ned Blackhawk points out the segregation of Great Basin Indians from American historical narratives.[75] While my study is external, looking at perceptions rather than experiences of Great Basin populations, it nonetheless contributes to a larger effort to draw the Great Basin into the most pressing national debates of the period.

Scope and Structure of this Study

Each chapter of this dissertation is modeled as a thematic (if also roughly chronological) essay, examining a different theme or turning point in changing representations of Mormon settlement, marriages, and families. Taken together, these distinct chapters collectively outline a trajectory of anti-polygamy and anti-Mormon sentiments responsive to immigration patterns, racial attitudes, and economic anxieties in the developing U.S. West.

While public sentiments regarding Mormons and Mormon settlement were never monolithic, there were nonetheless discernable shifts and changing themes in popular treatments of the subject over time. Unexplored or underexplored themes addressed here are Mormons as instigators of Native American violence, Mormons as vectors of a rising anti-American population, and Mormons as primitives set in opposition to industrial development. A focus on these images and representations across genres and formats offers insight into the ways in which ideas evolved and recombined over time and in different contexts. The episodes that are the focus of each chapter are intended to isolate moments showing the changing resonances of Mormon settlement.

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[74] Heather Cox Richardson, *West from Appomattox: The Reconstruction of America After the Civil War*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007.
[75] Blackhawk, *Violence Over the Land*, 3.

My source material reflects a broad interpretation of the term "representation," including political rhetoric, local and national news coverage, and personal correspondence, in addition to visual and literary sources. This analytical focus on representation does not necessarily illuminate lived experience. The degree to which my analysis considers the motivations of specific constituencies in a focused, systematic way, varies by chapter and example. These limitations are necessary in approaching a subject, such as prejudice, with a wide range of causes and motivations—some vague and notional, others immediate and instrumental.

One of the primary benefits of this approach is the ability to sidestep some of the dominant and possibly intractable historiographical debates in the literature. In some cases, this simply means delving into areas that the authors mention in passing. For example, Bunker and Bitton devote a single paragraph to the connection between racial comparisons and anxieties about a racially diverse western population. This theme appears pivotal and complex in light of the connection between social composition, reproduction, and cultural control outlined by Nancy Cott and Laura Briggs.[76]

My study also considers the connections between gender, domesticity, and race in images of Mormons, rather than treating each theme separately. In contrast, Bunker and Bitton look at broad thematic sections, including a section on the depiction of women in anti-Mormon propaganda and another dealing with comparisons between Mormons and racial minorities. Givens, like Bunker and Bitton, cites racial comparisons between Mormons and other groups, as well as the propagandistic effects of using the image of an embattled woman as a marker of Mormon savagery. Yet, because of Givens' interest in the theological bases for conflict apparent in these sources, he often pays little attention

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[76] Cott, *Public Vows*, 4-5; Briggs, "Introduction," *Reproducing Empire*.

to the political context in which his source material appeared. I will argue that this context is essential to analysis of Mormonism as a distinctly Western threat. Only within larger anxieties about Western demography and political stability can many of the themes embedded in these sources be fully understood.

The first chapter considers early representations of Mormons in the U.S. West. These images focused increasingly on Mormons as a military threat following the death of United States scout John Gunnison in 1853, and the subsequent trial of his alleged Indian attackers in Salt Lake City. Press coverage of the Gunnison murders and trial cited these events as evidence of a close and sinister alliance between Mormons and Indians, with Mormons cast as leaders and manipulators of Native American hordes. Representations of Mormon-Indian alliance, established in the mid-1850s, remained a theme of anti-Mormon propaganda throughout the remainder of the century.

The interpretation of violence in the Great Basin as driven by this alliance was reinforced by the subsequent killing of a group of emigrants at Mountain Meadows, allegedly at the hands of both Mormons and Indians. Strong public reactions to this event perpetuated the claim that Mormons were directing and organizing violence against United States settlements and settlers. Examining this prevalent theme of anti-Mormonism in relation to Mountain Meadows sidesteps the predominant historiographical debate over the role of Brigham Young in orchestrating the attacks to look at how the press made sense of and expressed the significance of events in Utah.[77]

[77] The two major recent books on this subject are Will Bagley, *Blood of the Prophets: Brigham Young and the Massacre at Mountain Meadows*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2002; and Ronald W. Walker, Richard E. Turley, and Glen M. Leonard, *Massacre at Mountain Meadows*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2008.

The specter of physical violence also appeared in anti-Mormon literature and imagery in a more domestic context. Building on anti-Catholic themes, anti-Mormon literature charged Mormon leaders with undermining individual conscience and degrading the sanctity of the family. Similar representations appeared in periodical coverage, personal letters, and images, which often suggested the physical danger that Mormon society posed to both women and children. In the context of the relatively unsettled West, this theme had particularly profound implications. Endangering the next generation of Anglo-Americans or women—whose relative scarcity in the West made perpetuating settlements difficult—undermined the settler colonialist project.

At the same time that Mormons were condemned for endangering women and children, images of Mormons dramatized the potential threat posed by Mormon women and children in the West. Chapter 2 examines the demographic aspect of the polygamist threat, especially as reflected in visual depictions of Mormon families over time. In popular illustrations and cartoons, the Mormon threat often appeared as a sea of women and babies, often brandishing weapons. These images evolved from familiar representations of Mormon military aggression, casting women and children as combatants in place of a force of Indian foot soldiers with Mormon men as officers.

As Mormon and Anglo-American settlement expanded, anti-Mormon representations reflected a broadening geographic scope. Chapter 3 considers representations of Mormons on the Colorado Plateau after the Civil War. The chapter focuses on the career of federal Indian Agent William F. M. Arny, examining the significance of Mormon settlement in terms of local control and the advancement of Ulysses S. Grant's Peace Policy. Arny was able to manipulate images of Mormons to

advance particular personal goals. While invoking Mountain Meadows, his primary focus was on Mormons as anti-industry primitivists who would agitate Native Americans to thwart United States economic expansion.

This case usefully illustrates the ways in which anti-Mormon themes emerged outside of Utah and beyond questions of polygamy. Marriage (and particularly interracial marriage) played into a broader power struggle on the Colorado Plateau that involved Mormons, but concerned polygamy only indirectly. William Arny's career provides insight into the ways in which ordering marriage and family life were also useful for creating a specific political and economic system. The efforts of federal officials to untangle interracial trade networks on the Colorado Plateau, separating Indian from Anglo, were fundamental to the assimilationist aims of federal Indian policy at the time.[78]

Chapter 4 looks at Mormon and Chinese Exclusion debates as linked phenomena. The arguments supporting Chinese Exclusion in the 1870s and 1880s were extended to Mormons, as well, in order to stem the tide of unwanted immigrants. While the push for exclusion of Mormon immigrants did not succeed, the goals of the movement were met to some extent by the highly restrictive 1887 Edmunds Act, which struck at the Church hierarchy directly and disenfranchised many Mormon men and all of the women in Utah. Examining the legislative debates surrounding this question, and also drawing on the ways in which visual culture presented Chinese and Mormon Exclusion, reveals a range of perspectives on race and marriage as requisites of American citizenship.

Representations of Mormons and Mormon families during this contentious period

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[78] The Colorado Plateau is centered on the Four Corners area of the Southwest, including southeastern Utah and much of northern Arizona. For an introduction to this region see Robert Fillmore, *Geological Evolution of the Colorado Plateau of Eastern Utah and Western Colorado.* Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2011.

reveal how Mormons became emblematic of broader concerns over diversity in the West. The rhetorical emphasis on Mormon and Chinese immigrants overwhelming other settlers reflects an anxiety regarding demography and national progress that persisted from the conflicts of the 1850s, despite the radically different demographic realities of the late nineteenth century.

In 1890, after a series of major legislative and legal losses, LDS President Wilford Woodruff issued a Manifesto stating that the Church would no longer sanction plural marriage. Although the practice of polygamy as well as anti-polygamy activism continued in some measure beyond the 1890s, its geography and politics were forever changed. With an increasingly diverse population and powerful presence in the national economy, Utah was all but assured statehood.[79] The establishment of polygamous communities in Mexico and Canada in the late 1880s and early 1890s fueled rumors of that the 1890 Manifesto was only a temporary measure. Despite the persistence of some polygamous sects to this day, plural marriage never reentered mainstream practice.[80]

My fifth and final chapter analyses Utah's participation in the 1893 Columbian Exposition as a platform for the Territory to define itself in a way that would attract capital and settlement. The Exposition, held in Chicago three years after Woodruff's Manifesto, served as a perfect opportunity for the political and economic leadership of Utah to rebrand the Territory, its citizens, and its families without the interference of the imagery of anti-polygamy. At the Exposition, Utah's people—Mormon and Gentile—

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[79] The two standard monographs on Utah statehood are Edward Leo Lyman, *Political Deliverance: The Mormon Quest for Utah Statehood*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986; and Gustave O. Larsen, *The "Americanization" of Utah for Statehood*. San Marino, CA: Huntington Institution, 1971.

[80] For an interesting analysis of the diplomatic issues raised by polygamists in Canada, see Dan Erickson, "Alberta Polygamists? The Canadian Climate and Response to the Introduction of Mormonism's 'Peculiar Institution,'" *The Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 86 (1995): 155-164.

portrayed themselves as culturally allied with the rest of the nation. The presentation directly refuted charges of barbarism and other anti-Mormon prejudices regarding the refinement and respectability men and women in Utah, alongside displays of Utah's wares and natural resources. Utah's implicit argument for inclusion in the political nation was its economic promise and the allegiance of its leaders and institutions to the ideals of American industrial production and the United States informal empire.

Utah's Exposition events included a recasting of Native Americans that coincided with predominant American narratives of race and progress. Just as ideas of race had quietly helped to shape anti-Mormon attitudes for most of the century, Utah's Territorial leaders projected an implicit racial argument for inclusion in the union. They got their wish just months after the close of the Exposition, with the granting of Utah statehood in 1894 and Utah's formal admission into the Union two years later.

The mutability of the Mormon image stemmed from the liminal status of Mormons in relation to mainstream Anglo-American society. Perceived and represented as both like other white Americans and unlike them, related and yet somehow alien, Mormons had an unusually flexible image that contributed to the often contradictory representations of Mormon families, social customs, and long-term goals. Examining some common themes of these depictions across genres reflects the spectrum of opinion and belief, as well as the ways in which images could be reinforced, recombined, and deployed by individuals and federal agencies for political and economic reasons.

Mormon settlements in the West were a double-edged sword. While initially relied upon to establish a U.S. presence in the Great Basin, Mormons were simultaneously reviled for their beliefs and feared as competitors in the race to people the

West. The chapters of this dissertation are designed to explore these countervailing tensions, and the ways in which they shaped anti-Mormon and anti-polygamy policies through much of the nineteenth century.

Examining objections to Mormon settlement over time, however, reveals the extent to which Mormon self-fashioning was seen as potentially destabilizing to Anglo-American categories of race and gender—and the profound implications of those categories in political and economic terms. While underscoring the primacy of race in nineteenth-century American nationalism, this analysis also reinforces the significance of monogamy as a means of political control. Regulation of families and reproduction was an essential tool with which federal officials created order in colonized land. The resolution of the "Mormon Question" in favor of this prevailing kinship model contributed to the gendered imperial practices of the United States in the subsequent period of overseas expansion. As a site of confrontation between United States expansionism and distinct social and cultural configurations, the Great Basin was a principal laboratory for the development and testing of issues of United States colonial policy prior to the Spanish-American War.

Chapter One

"From Nuisance to Crime": Mormons, Indians and the "Great Pathway" West

> "Let us thank Providence that the Mormons have been more easily disposed of than the Seminoles. Forty millions the latter cost the people of the United States, making no allowance for the valuable lives lost in the everglades and swamps of Florida. Less than half that sum…or something like forty cents for each adult white male, will probably free us from the Mormons."
>
> -*Harper's Weekly*, July 24, 1858

In mid-October of 1853, in the snowy camp outside of Manti in the Utah Territory, John Gunnison rushed to finish a letter home. He tried to write to his wife, Martha, about once a month, reasoning that this was the maximum volume that the unreliable mail service could handle. Besides, Gunnison had little leisure time. As the leader of the Pacific Railroad Survey, he was responsible not only for the collection of reports on possible passage through the Rocky Mountains, but also for the safety of his fifteen men.

Now in Utah, he was treading familiar ground, yet the atmosphere had taken a sharp turn since his last visit several years earlier. "There is a war between the Mormons + the Indians + parties of less than a dozen do not dare to travel," he told Martha. "We did not know what a risk we have lately been assuming until coming here for I have been riding carelessly in the mountains." Gunnison's friend and guide, a Ute Indian man, had left to protect "his squaw and papooses, not daring to come near these people." Without a guide, in the middle of a war zone, Gunnison knew he had no choice but to wait out the

long winter. He assured Martha, who was eager to travel from New Hampshire to Washington to meet him, that they would reschedule the trip.[81]

The next letter that Martha Gunnison received from the western territories informed her apologetically of her husband's death. Lieutenant Edward Beckwith, Gunnison's second in command, offered consolation but little further information. Over the next few months a sketch of the episode emerged, at some points delving into graphic detail.

A week after writing his last letter to Martha, Gunnison had traveled with half of his party to Lake Sevier. He split up his team after hearing rumors that a number of Ute Indians, angry about the killing of several Pahvant Ute men some days earlier, was in the area. The band caught up with Gunnison on the banks of Lake Sevier and killed the Captain and his seven men in reciprocity for the earlier murders.

Gunnison had arrived at a time of widespread conflict between Mormon settlers and neighboring native groups, particularly the Utes. The area was so volatile that no one dared to collect the bodies of Gunnison and the other casualties. "By the time the party dispatched from this city reached the ground, the wolves had eaten the flesh & scattered the bones promiscuously over large area," Mormon religious leader Brigham Young, who also served as territorial Governor of Utah, wrote to Martha Gunnison. After combing the area, Young was only able to offer the widow "a small part of one thigh bone & a small lock of hair belonging to your deeply lamented husband."[82]

[81] John Gunnison to Martha Gunnison, October 18, 1853, John Gunnison Papers, FAC 706, The Huntington Library, San Marino, CA.
[82] Brigham Young to Martha Gunnison, February 19, 1854, John Gunnison Papers, FAC 706, The Huntington Library, San Marino, CA.

The news of Gunnison's death made for a sensational story of territorial violence. One eastern paper justified its extensive coverage of the episode with the reasoning that "everything connected with the late massacre of Capt. Gunnison and his party is interesting to the public."[83] The aftermath of the incident also engaged readers. Following the failure of Brigham Young and the other territorial authorities to isolate suspects in the case, Secretary of War Jefferson Davis sent three hundred men under the command of Colonel Edward J. Steptoe to find the perpetrators.

A meeting of Brigham Young and the Ute leader Kanosh resulted in the surrender of five Ute men and one woman to the Utah courts. At trial, the Utes' attorney, A.W. Babbitt, argued that the ongoing warfare between Mormons and Utes negated the charge of murder.[84] The killings had taken place during a widespread conflict identified by Gunnison in his last letter home, a series of raids and counter attacks pitting Utes under leaders Walkara and Arrapene against a Mormon militia of about seven hundred men. Known commonly as "Walker's War," the violence included theft and executions on both sides.[85]

The verdict in the Gunnison trial was a jolt. After hearing testimony from Indian and Anglo witnesses, the all-Mormon jury returned a verdict in late March of 1855 for the lesser charge of manslaughter. Immediately, newspapers reacted to this "infamous outrage upon justice." Many believed that Mormon influence lay at the root of the verdict

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[83] "The Gunnison Massacre," *New York Times*, September 29, 1854.
[84] Babbitt's death during the trial contributed to anti-Mormon conspiracy theories in the Eastern press. See R. Kent Fielding, *The Unsolicited Chronicler: an Account of the Gunnison Massacre, Its Causes and Consequences.* Brookline, MA.: Paradigm Publications, 1993.
[85] The raids that comprised Walker's War were not sanctioned by all of the Ute leaders in contact with Mormon settlers. Kanosh was among the dissenters, as were Sowiet and Peteetneet. The end of the aggression came with a treaty at Chicken Creek in 1854 overseen by Kanosh and signed by Walkara, whose ranks had been thinned by ongoing skirmishes with the Shoshone. Simmons, *The Ute Indians of Utah*, 94.

and perhaps of the killings themselves. "No words can do justice to the indignation of the few *American* citizens here," wrote a correspondent for the *New-York Daily Times*. "It is to go forth to the people of the United States that eight American citizens may be murdered in Utah in cold blood, and a Mormon jury shall find it *killing without malice*, for Brigham Young has said it, and he is the mouth-piece of God." The threat posed by this apparent manipulation of justice reinforced latent prejudice against Mormons as "alien and inimical to the parent government in every point of view." Casting back to the series of violent confrontations that had driven the Mormons to the Rocky Mountains, the *Times* correspondent asserted that "the cause in Missouri, Illinois, and in Utah, has been marked by no change but from bad to worse,—from nuisance to crime."[86]

The Gunnison trial revived old anxieties about Mormon separatism and lawlessness that had been suspended, to some extent, since the sect's exodus from Missouri to the Salt Lake Valley. Anti-Mormon sentiment in Illinois and Missouri had revolved around charges of separatism and depravity, particularly as rumors of polygamy began to surface. The situation became more tenuous as relations between the federal government and the LDS Church declined over the following several years. Between 1855 and 1857, the conflict accelerated to the point of war. Shortly after his inauguration in 1857, President James Buchanan sent a federally appointed replacement for Brigham Young, accompanied by 2,500 troops. Winter conditions slowed the advance and gave Mormon settlers a chance to retreat from their homes and farms in a scorched-earth campaign.[87]

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[86] *New York Daily Times* [clipping], FAC 706, The Huntington Library, San Marino, CA.
[87] Recent scholarship suggests that negotiation between Brigham Young and Thomas L. Kane may have resulted in Young's decision to allow federal troops to enter Utah peacefully. See Matthew J. Grow,

Although the Utah War concluded without military engagement, tensions between Mormons and the federal government did lead to bloodshed in Utah. One incident in particular grabbed national attention. Anticipating the arrival of federal troops and war with the United States, a group of Mormons and southern Paiutes participated in the mass killing of the members of an emigrant wagon train in southern Utah in September of 1857. This brutal episode, known as the Mountain Meadows Massacre, is easily one of the most controversial and frequently analyzed in Mormon history for the its rumored connections to the LDS hierarchy. The participation of Mormon settlers as well as Paiutes in the Massacre gave readers an inflated sense of an Indian-Mormon alliance at the direction of Church leaders.

Outcry over the Gunnison murders and the Mountain Meadows Massacre damaged tentative confidence, tipping the unsteady balance of public sentiment back towards the negative. Anxieties regarding a Mormon-Indian alliance have been overlooked by historians in their treatment of Mountain Meadows. This perceived alliance, inflated in the national press, crystallized anxieties regarding not only military opposition but also the perpetuation of Anglo settlements on a Protestant model in the interior West. The combination of Indian and Mormon threats also had the effect of simplifying Anglo-Mormon conflict in racial terms. Commentators and journalists compared Mormons with Indians, and categorized conflict with Mormons as an "Indian war," which had clear precedent and perhaps more support than aggression against other white Europeans.

"Liberty to the Downtrodden": Thomas L. Kane, Romantic Reformer. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009, 186.

Accusations of Mormons inciting Indian violence arose in the Midwest, before Western settlement. This dimension of Mormon-Gentile conflict rarely appeared in anti-Mormon visual culture, however, before 1853.[88] Such representations became a regular part of anti-Mormon propaganda following the Gunnison murders. While this supposed alliance was primarily military in nature, its visual and rhetorical representations were closely connected to issues of family, gender, and marriage. John Gunnison's death came on the heels of the church's formal public acknowledgment of plural marriage in 1852. Anti-polygamy imagery implicitly argued that the practice posed a threat of cultural and political disorder to United States hegemony in the West.

This chapter will consider changing representations of Mormons and Mormon settlement during the period surrounding the Gunnison trial and the murders at Mountain Meadows in 1857. Interpretations and popular representations of the perceived Mormon-Indian alliance centered on military opposition to the federal government. Together, Mormons and Indians were depicted as a joint threat to the expansion of federal authority and Anglo-American settlements. I will argue that these representations functioned as a means of defining Mormons as distinct from other Anglo-Americans through the manipulation of racial imagery.

Although the change in public opinion was based on questions of militancy and separatism, rather than polygamy, family ties and particularly interracial marriage were present in discussions of the assumed alliance. This relationship between Mormons and Indians appeared in cartoons and rhetoric as an emblem of shared savagery later on in the nineteenth century. At the end of this chapter, I will explore the ways in which this visual

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[88] This assertion is based on my own survey of anti-Mormon propaganda. For an overview of the major themes of this material up to the 1850s, see "The Development of the Visual Image" in Bunker & Bitton, *The Mormon Graphic Image*, 9-30.

and rhetorical association formed the basis of later arguments, many of which were based on the assumption of Mormon leadership in Indian revivals, as well as acts of aggression and self-defense.

The Gunnison trial and its aftermath ignited public paranoia regarding the prospects of the federal government in the Great Basin. Since 1847, Mormon settlement in the West had provoked a response of mixed optimism and concern from both federal officials and the national press. Brigham Young served as the territorial government of the new Utah Territory, and also as its Indian Agent. These appointments invested Young with the authority to act as a broker between the federal government and the Great Basin tribes with which he interacted. They also tethered Young to federal authority to a certain extent, compelling him to report on his activities in the region, and to govern the Utah settlements (at least officially) under the auspices of the United States government. Despite a persistent base of detractors, many business and religious interests, along with individual visitors, saw promising developments in Utah.

The reports and letters of the ill-fated John Gunnison presented Mormon settlement as beneficial to the country as a whole. Gunnison had been an outspoken proponent of Mormon home-rule since his experiences in Utah on the Stansbury Expedition, an 1849-1851 federal survey of possible transcontinental rail routes led by naturalist Howard Stansbury. Upon his return to Washington, Gunnison wrote a book entitled *The Mormons or Latter-Day Saints, in the Valley of the Great Salt Lake: A History of Their Rise and Progress, Peculiar Doctrines, Present Condition* explaining the religious settlements in unthreatening terms. A veteran of the Seminole Wars and an

officer dispatched to enforce Cherokee removal, Gunnison had witnessed the violent settlement of new territories. In the case of Mormon settlements, however, he advocated a much softer approach, attesting that the Mormons "have formed everything on the model of a republican state…adopted a constitution, liberal, free, and tolerant of conscience in religion."[89]

This is not to say that Gunnison accepted Mormon culture unreservedly. He commented to his wife Martha that "the influence of polygamy in degrading the female sex is very perceptible thus early, and…will doubtless end in making her a slave or blowing up the whole system."[90] Despite his doubts, Gunnison defended the rights of the Utah settlers to self-government with a sympathy not displayed in his previous campaigns against the Seminoles. When officials appointed by President Fillmore left the Territory in 1851 following disagreements with Brigham Young, Gunnison spoke out in defense of retaining Young as territorial governor.[91]

John Gunnison was not the only outsider to see promise in Mormon settlements. Reports by visitors to Utah often represented the Mormons' progress in glowing terms. Eastern traveler Addison Crane noted that the rapid colonization of the Salt Lake Valley had transformed at least a corner of the Great American Desert into a recognizable American city. "It seems but as yesterday since Fremont published to the world his wonderful story of this great unknown + unexplored basin," wrote Crane. "Now we find ourselves in the midst of a city, on this same ground, having a population of 10,000!" The "unknown + unexplored basin" was now notable to Crane and his party as the site of

[89] John Gunnison. *The Mormons or Latter-Day Saints, in the Valley of the Great Salt Lake: a history of their rise and progress, peculiar doctrines, present condition, and prospects, derived from personal observation, during a residence among them* (Philadelphia, PA: J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1852), 154-5.
[90] John Gunnison to Martha Gunnison, FAC 706, The Huntington Library, San Marino, CA.
[91] See John W. Gunnison, *The Mormons or Latter-Day Saints,* 55-6.

"the famous city of the Mormons."[92] Maps began to show the Mormon settlement blocked out around the Great Salt Lake as one of the few known features of the region.[93]

Government reports also reflected promising advances in the West. In his widely read survey report, Howard Stansbury described orderly and productive Mormon agriculturalists in the Great Basin. In the context of a lengthy treatise on geography, flora, and fauna, Mormon settlers appeared as a natural part of a developing West. Stansbury rationalized the existence of a virtual theocracy in the region, arguing that such an arrangement of a civil government was not surprising given the common beliefs of the settlers, and their common devotion to men "by whom they had been from a land of persecution into this far-off wilderness, which, under their lead, was already beginning to blossom like a rose."[94] Stansbury left Salt Lake City convinced that "a more loyal and patriotic people cannot be found within the limits of the Union."[95]

Most visitors to the settlements cast the industrious Mormons as civilizing influences in the wilderness. Thomas L. Kane, who would make something of a career out of lobbying for Utah statehood, told a Philadelphia audience in 1850 that the Mormons contrasted favorably with "the vile scum" on the borders of western Missouri and Iowa. "I can scarcely describe the gratification I felt in associating again with persons

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[92] Addison M. Crane Journal, July 9, 1852, HM 19333 (FAC), The Huntington Library, San Marino, CA.
[93] The appearance of Mormon settlements on maps mirrored the cartographic demarcations of Native American tribes. Rather than stating a town or city name, as was the case with Anglo settlements in California, Mormon towns were listed as specifically "Mormon settlements." See Francaviglia, *Mapping and Imagination in the Great Basin,* 42.
[94] Captain J. Howard Stansbury, *An Exploring Expedition to the Valley of the Great Salt Lake* (Washington: R. Armstrong, 1853), 130-132.
[95] *Ibid.,* 144.

who were almost all of Eastern American origin," Kane recounted, "persons of refined and cleanly habits and decent language."[96]

The endorsements of Kane and others proliferated the local press. Newspapers from New Bedford, Massachusetts to Columbus, Ohio assured their readers that the Mormons "deserve favorable consideration from government for adding a cultivated territory to the Union, where the ordinary manner of civilization would not have reached for years, and just where we need a thriving agricultural people between our Atlantic and Pacific empires."[97] This emphasis on refinement, reiterated in many contemporary accounts of Salt Lake City, established the sense that Utah's Mormons were culturally compatible with respectable Anglo-American society.[98] Mormons' reported ability to make the desert bloom could be critical in establishing profitable American settlements in the Great Basin.

Mormon settlement was also supported by competing religious interests. The interdenominational periodical the *Home Missionary* described Utah's Mormons as a bulwark of civilization in the Great Basin. In a survey of the western regions and their potential in 1849, the *Home Missionary* cast "Upper California" as the great prize of the war not because of its size and sparse population, but because of its relative proximity to Asian paganism. "Whatever of science, invention, mechanical skill, commercial or

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[96] Thomas L. Kane. *The Mormons*: *a discourse delivered before the Historical Society of Philadelphia, March 26 1850* (Philadelphia: King & Baird, printers, 1850), 27. Like Gunnison, Kane's enthusiasm for Mormon settlement was tempered by his rejection of polygamy. For more on Kane, see Matthew J. Grow, "*Liberty to the Downtrodden": Thomas L. Kane, Romantic Reformer*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009.
[97] "Interesting from the Great Salt Lake Country," *The New-Bedford Mercury*, November 29, 1850, 2. In keeping with the antebellum culture of reprinting, this article appeared virtually unchanged in newspapers across the country. For example, this item had run ten days earlier in Columbus' *Ohio Statesman,* and appeared in additional papers over the following weeks.
[98] See Richard L. Bushman, *The Refinement of America: Persons, Houses, Cities*. New York: Vintage, 1993.

religious enterprise, can be brought to bear on the conversion of mankind," the reasoning went, "is found in the nations of Eastern America and Western Europe." The key strategy for exporting Christianity "will be to take some *advanced position*, far on towards the strong holds of Paganism, from whence those great auxiliaries of the Gospel, commerce and civilized intercourse, may act with directness and vigor? Such an advanced post is the vacant coast of Western America."[99]

This geography cast the interior west as the key to the Pacific world. The *Home Missionary* regarded with interest "that anomalous feature in our continent, the GREAT BASIN, the existence of which was advanced as a theory after the second expedition, and is now established as a geographical fact." Despite the desert reputation of the Great Basin, "there is nothing in the climate of this great interior region, elevated as it is, and surrounded and traversed by snowy mountains, to prevent civilized man from making it his home, and finding in its arable parts the means of a comfortable subsistence." In fact, "this the Mormons will probably soon prove in the parts about the Great Salt Lake. The progress of their settlement is already great. On the first of April of the present year, they had 3,000 acres in wheat, seven saw and grist mills, seven hundred houses in a fortified enclosure of sixty acres, stock and other accompaniments of a flourishing settlement."[100]

John Gunnison, a relatively secular observer, also saw a pathway for Christian Anglo-Americans through the Great Basin. "It is astonishing what infatuation has seized on the race of red men," John Gunnison wrote to his wife Martha from Salt Lake City in 1850, observing the fallout of the measles epidemic. "They are not only at war with each other as tribe against tribe, but bands of the same tribe are fighting and destroying one

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[99] *The Home Missionary*, January 1849, 194, Amer BX 8608 .A1; Americana Collection; L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University.
[100] *Ibid.,* 197-198.

another." These developments led Gunnison to believe that the Indians were "a doomed race;--and following the law promulgated by God, that a people adhering to murderous, idolatrous practices shall be extinguished."[101] Without crediting Mormons specifically, Gunnison pointed to the hand of God in subduing Native Americans in the region, and projected future progress toward Christian civilization.

Interest in the Great Basin as a path for a transcontinental railway focused business interests on the region. For potential railroad investors, the appearance of established, respectable cities and towns throughout the region was imperative. The lack of information on the Great Basin had stymied early attempts to draw capital West. According to Richard Francaviglia's excellent analysis of Great Basin cartography, maps served as expansionist propaganda as early as the 1830s by suggesting that the intermountain West was easily traversed and virtually uninhabited. As plans for the railroad continued to take shape, the apparent stability represented by Mormon settlement encouraged the idea of transcontinental rail. In this context, specific representations of Mormon settlement had a direct economic consequence.[102]

Negative representations of Mormon settlement, never completely absent from public discourse, set the stage for sinister interpretations of the Gunnison case. The mid-1850s saw an increased number of settlers and emigrants moving across the Great Basin in the wake of the discovery of gold in California. Although for the most part Native American relationships to Anglo-Americans remained peaceful, increased settlement and

[101] John Gunnison to Martha Gunnison, Great Salt Lake City, March 1 1850, John Gunnison Papers, FAC 706, The Huntington Library, San Marino, CA.
[102] The marginalization of Native American tribes as political entities is evident in mid-century maps of the Great Basin. Early railroad surveys of the late 1850s replaced the names of tribes, found on earlier maps, with the words "Unexplored Territory." See Francaviglia, *Mapping and Imagination in the Great Basin*, 73-78.

wagon train traffic bred competition for natural resources. Significant clashes between Indians and Anglos (Mormon and Gentile) in the Great Basin in 1853 and again in 1855 suggested a volatile trend.[103]

Brigham Young emphasized the potential for local violence in his reports to Congress. In one such Indian Affairs briefing, he outlined how he had doused the flames of conflict by paying off the Native insurgents. Young's reports tended to reflect positively on the local tribes, and particularly upon the benefits of the Mormon relationship as emissaries of United States progress. Young decried the fact that Indians had "long been a prey and enigma to their brethren, the white." He further insisted that "the natives within Utah's borders are generally at peace among themselves, also with their white neighbors and passing travelers." Indians in his territory had even begun to embrace agricultural lives, Young wrote. He pointed out what a feat he had accomplished for the States in taming the "great number of numerous, wild, and unusually degraded tribes claiming this Territory for their home" at little expense to the federal treasury.[104]

Charges of Mormon subversion emerging around the Gunnison trial supported a different interpretation of the relationship between Native and Mormon Great Basin populations. Increasingly, problems with Native peoples of the Great Basin appeared in Eastern newspapers as acceptable to, and perhaps even instigated by, Brigham Young and the Mormon Church. The Gunnison killings and trial appeared in the Eastern press as

[103] Blackhawk, *Violence Over the Land*, 235-237.
[104] Letter from B. Young, Governor and ex-officio Superintendent of Indian Affairs to Hon. George W. Manypenny, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Washington, D.C., No. 99. Office of Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Utah Territory, Great Salt Lake City, September 29, 1855, 515; Amer AC 901 .A1a #1085, Americana Collection. L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University.

emblematic of the sinister alliance between Mormon and Indian in the West that would endanger American settlers, businesses, and the circulation of the mail.[105]

Personal correspondence also reflected this interpretation. Martha Gunnison suspected the direct involvement of the Mormons in her husband's death, a charge first spread by Gentile reporters in their dispatches on the Gunnison trial. Her inquiries yielded information that "the whole affair was a deep and maturely laid plan to murder the whole party of engineers, or surveyors, and charge the murder upon the Indians." Judge William W. Drummond informed her that the culprit had "told the Indians how they could recognize the Mormon from the Americans, which was by certain peculiar marks on the garment which he wore next his body."[106] This understanding of the case seemed to provide proof of the subversive intentions of the Utah settlers towards not just individuals but towards the development of railroads and industry in the region.

Most immediately, the decision of the Salt Lake City court in the Gunnison case raised questions about the capacity for federal law enforcement within a jury pool dominated by allegiance to a single religious hierarchy. The light punishment of the presumed Native culprits in the Gunnison case—who were convicted of manslaughter rather than murder—was widely interpreted as a willful refusal on the part of Brigham Young to enforce common law and respect the judicial process of the United States. Martha Gunnison's judicial source William Drummond would resign in protest following the Mountain Meadows Massacre in 1857, calling for federal intervention in Utah. Other

[105] The lack of regularity in mail service to Salt Lake City before 1869 was a constant source of tension between Brigham Young and the federal government, particularly in Young's role as Indian Agent. The mail would become a source of tension in Arizona in the 1870s, when government agents charged Mormon influence with the disruption of the mail by the Navajo. For an example of a dispute over the mail during this period, see Brigham Young letter to P. Clayton, Feb. 7, 1855, Vault MSS 80. L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University.
[106] Judge William W. Drummond to Martha Gunnison, FAC 706, The Huntington Library, San Marino, CA.

appointees, along with Drummond, filed myriad complaints about Brigham Young's influence in the period from 1854 until the Utah War in 1857-8.[107]

The series of conflicts touched off by John Gunnison's death cast doubt on the public image of Mormons as agents of United States interests.[108] It was a theme that would persist in anti-Mormon rhetoric through the remainder of the nineteenth century, overwhelming the more positive representations of Mormons as civilizers and cultivators of the land.

One particularly influential federal report helped to further define images of the Mormon threat. In 1855, Colonel Edward Steptoe presented a report on the Utah Territory to Secretary of War Jefferson Davis. Davis has sent Steptoe to Utah in the wake of the Gunnison trial to gather information and take steps to resolve any outstanding issues in the case. Departing from Howard Stansbury's tolerant view, Steptoe described the Mormon settlements in the Great Basin not as outposts of American national interests, but rather as an economically competitive entity. He noted the richness of the land, as had previous visitors, but he also noted the potential geographic advantages the Mormons might hold if they ever developed their commercial prospects. Using the waterways of the Colorado River, they could conceivably "introduce their supplies, and send off their surplus products by the Gulf of California; and when there is wealth and enterprise

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[107] For a succinct summary of these complaints, see Patricia Nelson Limerick, *The Legacy of Conquest: The Unbroken Past of the American West* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1988), 284.

[108] Mormons were accused of causing Gunnison's murder as well as inciting Indian violence across the region. For primary source material regarding Mormon influence on Indians after Gunnison's death, see "The Mormons Exciting the Indians Against Americans," *North American and United States Gazette*, January 20, 1857; "More Mormon and Indian Doings," *Daily Evening Bulletin,* October 28, 1857; "Mormon and Indian Alliance," *The Weekly Herald*, November 21, 1857; "The Mormons Tampering with the Indians," *The New York Herald*, February 14, 1858. For more on Manifest Destiny and race, see Matthew Baigell, "Territory, Race, Religion: Images of Manifest Destiny," *Smithsonian Studies in American Art* 4 (1990): 2-21.Two good starting points for Manifest Destiny literature are Reginald Horsman, *Race and Manifest Destiny.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1981; Sam W. Haynes and Christopher Morris, eds., *Manifest Destiny and Empire: American Antebellum Expansionism.* College Station: Texas A & M for the University of Texas at Arlington, 1997.

enough, they might connect the Great Salt Lake City with the Colorado by a railroad, and thus avail themselves of the coal, iron, and other resources, in the southern portion of their Territory."[109]

Steptoe read Mormon theocracy and polygamy as portents of an expansive and antidemocratic power in the West. While echoing much of the alarmed public sentiment about polygamy, especially since the sect's formal embrace of "plural marriage" in 1852, Steptoe's sense of its import varied dramatically from Gunnison's testimony just a few years before. Like Gunnison, Steptoe rejected polygamy as a viable cultural option, seeing it as degraded and unnatural. Where Gunnison had seen a fatally flawed institution in decline, however, Steptoe saw a rising threat. His view on polygamy aligned with his warning about the potential economic challenge of Mormon settlement in the territories. Not only did polygamy highlight the normative differences between Utah and the States, it could serve as a mechanism for economic competition and deepening separatism.

At least as disturbing to Steptoe as polygamy itself was the idea of intermarriage between white men and indigenous women. He reported that Mormon men were known to marry "digger squaws"—as many as ten wives to one man—and worried that this close familial influence might poison the Natives against the United States. "It is generally believed that the Indians there are taught to consider Mormons and Americans as different people," Steptoe wrote. "It is *certain* the Indian makes a distinction. Whether this teaching is sanctioned or prompted by Governor Young, I cannot say; but one thing

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[109] *Message from the President of the United States to the Two Houses of Congress at the Commencement of the First Session of the Thirty-Fourth Congress*, Part II, 1855, Report of the Secretary of War, Mor 979.2 A1a #76. L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University.

is plain: he is all-powerful to cause them to be properly instructed as to the real relations existing between his people and the citizens of the republic."[110]

The association of Mormons and Indians also undermined the image of Mormons as models of Anglo-American refinement. Racial stereotypes alone might have tarnished the Mormons. Native Americans of the Great Basin, however, had a particularly unsavory image. Despite the wealth of cultural variations and political divisions in the Great Basin, the image of indigenous life in the region remained largely monolithic over the middle decades of the nineteenth century, and also overwhelmingly negative. Described as "diggers," in reference to the consumption of roots, the Native Americans of the Great Basin often became an example in the East of the lowest forms of Native American culture.[111] Mormon intermarriage with "Diggers" might have been particularly distressing to Steptoe's readers.

The report as a whole warned of the slipping authority of the United States in the Great Basin. Steptoe advised the posting of troops in the area to keep the Indians and white settlers peaceful and separate.[112] In short, Steptoe warned, the Mormons had the makings of their own empire in the deserts of the Great Basin, and the distinction between Mormon and American prevalent in indigenous circles could not stand. The intermarriage that had secured trade ties in the past could be used against American economic and demographic supremacy in the West. The "barbarism" brewing in Utah

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[110] *Message from the President of the United States to the Two Houses of Congress at the Commencement of the First Session of the Thirty-Fourth Congress*, Part II, 1855, Report of the Secretary of War, Mor 979.2 A1a #76. L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University.
[111] The "digger" stereotype, which originated in reference to Great Basin tribes, was subsequently used to characterize indigenous people living in Central California and other areas of the West. Allan Lonneberg, "The Digger Indian Stereotype in California," *Journal of California and Great Basin Anthropology* 3 (1981): 215-223.
[112] *Message from the President of the United States to the Two Houses of Congress at the Commencement of the First Session of the Thirty-Fourth Congress*, Part II, 1855, Report of the Secretary of War, Mor 979.2 A1a #76. L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University.

had a particular racial resonance, as polygamy estranged Mormon settlers from the mainstream American assumptions about civilization, marriage, and progress.[113]

Journalists responding to Steptoe's report linked the conspiracy apparent in the Gunnison trial directly to Mormon and Indian marriage. The *New York Times* saw the trial as "brought about by the Mormons for the express purpose of conciliating the Indians and exasperating them against the federal government. For some time past," the report continued, "Mormon missionaries have been maintained among the Indians, and Brigham Young has proposed that *intermarriage* between the Indians and the Mormons be introduced and encouraged, as rapidly as possible." This constituted "a system of tampering with the Indians on the part of the Mormon leaders, from which the worst results may be apprehended."[114] Like Colonel Steptoe, the author of this column argued that the "worst results," which in this context presumably included military engagement, would result from the intermarriage of Mormons and Indians.

Polygamy and family added a particularly intimate dimension to representations of a Native and Mormon alliance. The charge of frequent intermarriage was very loosely based on a sketchy Gentile understanding of Mormon theology. Native Americans occupied a place of particular significance in LDS cosmology as descendents of a Lost Tribe of Israel. This belief formed the theological premise for missionary efforts to convert Native individuals and groups in and around the Great Basin.[115]

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[113] For more on the link between race and civilization in nineteenth-century U.S. expansionism see Amy S. Greenberg, *Manifest Manhood and the Antebellum American Empire.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005.
[114] "The Mormons and the Indians," *Bangor Whig & Courier*, May 22, 1855.
[115] Racial attitudes and assumptions of Mormon missionaries changed over time and according to setting. For more on the flexibility of Mormon perspectives on non-whites, see Thomas W. Murphy, "From Racist Stereotype to Ethnic Identity: instrumental Uses of Mormon Racial Doctrine," *Ethnohistory* 46 (1999): 451-180.

The complex relationship between Mormons and Indians nourished conspiracy theories.[116] Many Indians were baptized in the early 1850s, with several bands converting en masse. The Pahvant Utes were involved in Mormon settlement from the outset and remained close because of the personal relationship between the Pahvant leader, Kanosh, and Brigham Young. Kanosh married a Southern Paiute woman raised in the home of Brigham Young and another woman raised in a Mormon home. As a result, Kanosh himself was baptized into the faith, and allied his band with Young during the Utah War. This relationship is a good example of the time of marriage-based union federal officials thought might support a general Indian war or an Indian-supported war with the Mormons in the Great Basin.[117]

The Mormon and Native American conspiracy was depicted as physically harmful to Anglo-American families and particularly children. Attacks on wagon trains broadened the perceived threat of allied Mormons and Indians beyond the military to the family. The Great Plains and Mountain West were understood as perilous stretches separating the East from the mineral wealth of the West coast, while Kansas and Nebraska remained torn by violent confrontation. The raiding of wagon trains and settlements increased as Native Americans on the Plains and in the West were pushed away from critical natural resources.[118] Immediately following the Gunnison trial, newspapers across the country spoke of an alarming increase in Indian attacks on wagon trains, and in attacks directed at Anglo children. Michael Tate has referred to the paranoia of Indian violence towards

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[116] For a more comprehensive overview of Mormon racial doctrine over time, see Armand Mauss, *All Abraham's Children: Changing Mormon Conceptions of Race and Lineage*. Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2003.

[117] See John A. Peterson, "Kanosh" in Arnold K. Garr, Donald Q. Cannon and Richard O. Cowan, *Encyclopedia of Latter-day Saint History* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Books, 2000), 600.

[118] Blackhawk, *Violence Over the Land*, 249-250.

white children in this period as the "Goldilocks Syndrome." As apparent supporters of these activities, Mormons were of an uncertain racial allegiance despite their heavily British and Scandinavian origins.[119]

The Mormon and Indian alliance became a critical piece of pro-war propaganda in the months leading up to the deployment of federal troops in the summer of 1857. With war on the horizon, national newspapers spoke of a Mormon-Indian force stretching across the Great Basin to California. In January of 1857, the *North American and United States Gazette* published an account of Mormons "exciting the Indians against Americans" by telling the Pah-vants that an Anglo party travelling in the area intended to make further arrests in the Gunnison case. Had the Pah-vants believed it, the report claimed, "they might have been massacred like the Gunnison party and, as in that case, the murder been charged to Mormon hostility."[120] By the winter, newspapers warned their readers of "20,000 Indians taking the field," preparing to block the movement of federal troops marching towards Utah.[121] Eyewitnesses in the Great Basin reported "a number of white men with the Indians" robbing Anglo immigrants travelling across the Territory.[122]

The Mountain Meadows Massacre seemed to confirm suspicions of a conspiracy. In the fall of 1857, reports of the murder of a group of Missouri migrants in the Great

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[119] See Michael L. Tate, *Indians and Emigrants: Encounters on the Overland Trails*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2006.
[120] "The Mormons Exciting the Indians Against Americans," *North American and United States Gazette*, January 20, 1857.
[121] This story appeared in more or less identical format in newspapers across the Northeast. See "Mormon and Indian Alliance," *New York Herald*, November 17, 1857; "Mormon and Indian Alliance," *The Weekly Herald*, November 21, 1857; "The people in Carson's Valley and that neighborhood…," *Lowell Daily Citizen and News*, November 20, 1857; "Mormon and Indian Alliance," *Newark Advocate*, December 2, 1857.
[122] "More Mormon and Indian Doings—The Last of the Immigrants," *Daily Evening Bulletin*, October 28, 1857.

Basin seized the attention of newspaper editors and readers alike until "the whole United States rang with its horrors."[123] "HORRIBLE MASSACRE OF EMIGRANTS," blared the headlines of the *New York Times*, adding ominously: "Suspected Implication of Mormons."[124] The description of the crime included all of the elements that had appeared in Mormon/Indian alliance representations for the past few years: the direction of Indian foot soldiers by Mormon leaders, the confusion of white and Native identities, and the destruction of Anglo-American children and families.

The incidents that transpired at Mountain Meadows on September 11, 1857, have sparked controversy and suspicion since the first reports emerged. The Massacre stands at the center of an emotionally charged historiographical debate regarding the role of the church hierarchy in the violence. From the appearance of Juanita Brooks' mid-century scholarship linking the LDS leadership to Mountain Meadows, historians have continually debated the events of 1857. Brooks' *Mountain Meadows Massacre* is widely considered to be the historiographical seed of a "New Mormon History," which tries to reconcile academic rigor with church membership. The questions Brooks raised in her book anchor the most recent writing on Mountain Meadows, including Sally Denton's *American Massacre* and Will Bagley's *Blood of the Prophets*.[125]

The most recent book on the subject, *Massacre At Mountain Meadows,* uses new archival sources to argue that the event is best understood as an outbreak of local tensions rather than of religious aggression. This interpretation downplays the role of Brigham

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[123] Mark Twain, *Roughing It* (Philadelphia: D. Ashmead, 1872), Appendix B.
[124] *New York Times*, November 17, 1857, 2.
[125] See Juanita Brooks, *The Mountain Meadows Massacre.* Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1950; Sally Denton, *American Massacre: The Tragedy at Mountain Meadows, September 1857.* New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2003; Will Bagley, *Blood of the Prophets*: *Brigham Young and the Massacre at Mountain Meadows.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2002.

Young in the attacks, crediting John D. Lee and more immediate disputes with the ensuing violence. While the authors do consider external forces shaping the historical moment of the massacre, such as the nineteenth-century culture of violence, the angle of their analysis remains internal. Underlying the book is the question of how and why a group of settlers would perpetrate as brutal an action as Mountain Meadows. While interesting in its own right, this question does little to illuminate the external understanding of the massacre. Such an understanding is essential to establishing a historical interpretation of the mid-century Great Basin conflicts as items of national significance.[126]

In evaluating the significance of antebellum Great Basin conflicts in a broader regional and national narrative, however, establishing the internal chain of command in Utah is of little importance. For contemporary Eastern readers, Mountain Meadows seemed to confirm reports of joint Mormon and Indian aggression. One such report came from a Californian source calling himself "Pilgrim", who claimed that Mormon militants had killed several dissenters in the Utah Valley during the spring of 1857. "Such occurrences are frequent," Pilgrim explained, noting that "there are regular organized bandits throughout the country."[127] Viewing Mountain Meadows as part of a series of conflicts suggests the nature of anti-Mormon sentiment rooted in a particular time and place. Reactions to and representations of the Gunnison trial and to Mountain Meadows were rooted in imperatives of regional control regardless of what specific local tensions triggered the violence.

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[126] See Ronald W. Walker, Richard E. Turley Jr., Glen M. Leonard, *Massacre At Mountain Meadows: An American Tragedy.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2008.
[127] "Letter from San Bernadino," *San Francisco Bulletin*, May 14, 1857, 3.

Running parallel to the “New Mormon” historiography is the prevailing antebellum synthesis placing Kansas and Nebraska as the most telling site of national conflict at the time. Viewed against one another this historiographical contrast casts the tensions in Utah as a sideshow, curiously playing out alongside the deepening sectional rift between North and South. A close reading of the reactions to Mountain Meadows begins to reveal the shortsightedness of this interpretation. Descriptions of the Massacre suggest the depth of Eastern anxieties over Mormons and Native American groups in the West as impediments to national expansion. Rather than defending their fellow whites against marauding Indians, the Mormons had apparently worked in concert with Paiutes to ambush the Fancher Party. Their willingness to kill the migrants represented a roadblock to Western colonization and a destabilization of the fragile and relatively vulnerable regional trade networks that would facilitate a robust transcontinental economy. The massacre reflected uncertainties of race and nationalism similar to those playing out in Kansas, deepening Eastern ambivalence about pluralist settlement in the West.

The participation of Paiutes at Mountain Meadows fueled rumors that Native Americans were acting as Mormon soldiers. Following Mountain Meadows, reports of Mormon and Indian violence proliferated Eastern and Californian newspapers. Brigham Young, while not admitting to Mormon involvement, used the incident as an example of what Indian depravities might await Anglo-Americans without the bulwark of Mormon settlement and influence.[128] A California paper reported that Young and 20,000 Indian allies would “exterminate the troops” and “then come west, and in predatory bands…ravage the border, rob, plunder, and murder.” The Indians allies were “instructed

[128] Hyde, *Empires, Nations, and Families*, 487.

in the Mormon religion" so as to make them "superstitious in regard to the God of a superior race, yet modifying none of their ferocity." Indians converted to Mormonism were thus molded into the perfect weapons against Anglo settlements.[129]

In the aftermath of Mountain Meadows, nearly any Western emigrant trouble might be blamed on a Mormon-Indian alliance. Correspondents from Salt Lake warned of "injuries sustained by California and Oregon in their overland trade and immigration by the wanton and atrocious depredations of those who had planted themselves on the avenues of approach from the Atlantic States."[130] Mormons were implicated in Indian skirmishes with federal troops along the Truckee River. The supposed aim of the insurrection was the killing of cattle and the interruption of the mail service. Soldiers were installed at the mail stations after the destruction of the depot at Shell Creek. In 1859, an article reprinted in newspapers across the country warned of a Mormon and Indian plot to rise up against Californians as well as settlers on the western borders of the States. Mormon influence was cited in Anglo-Indian conflicts from New Mexico north to the Canadian border.[131]

Worried observers saw Mormon influence far beyond the Great Basin. A letter circulated among California newspaper editors in late 1857 warned of "the Mormon Indian outrages on the Plains and the hostile condition generally of Utah Territory" as a pattern of aggression.[132] Other articles also linked Mormon rebellion to Plains violence, and especially to federal clashes with the Cheyenne. At least one journalist blamed

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[129] "Mormon and Indian Alliance," Sacramento *Age*, October 16, 1858.
[130] "The Mormon-Indian Depredations," *Daily Evening Bulletin*, October 31, 1859, Column C.
[131] "Indian Hostilities in California and Utah," *New York Herald*, June 13, 1860, Column A; "Highly Interesting From Utah," *New York Herald*, July 7, 1860, 2, Column A. The Mormons were frequently accused of trying to impede mail service through intimidation, largely to prevent news of their exploits to leave Salt Lake City. See "Our Salt Lake Correspondence," *New York Herald*, October 19, 1856, Column E.
[132] "Later from Southern California," *The Daily Evening Bulletin*, November 11, 1857, 2.

Mormon insurrection for the recent Indian wars in Oregon and Washington.[133] This connection extended the threat of violence towards emigrants at a sensitive time, as the troubles in Kansas and Nebraska threatened to block the draw of workers to California and, as of 1858, to Pike's Peak in Colorado. An unstable and hostile West might thus directly preclude the development of material resources in the region.[134]

The link between Mormons and Indians led to representations of the two groups as fluid. Descriptions of the "Danites," the so-called "Avenging Angels" of the LDS Church, recalled Indians characteristics. Appearing more prominently with the beginning of the Mormon Reformation in 1856, the "Avenging Angels" were alternately understood as bodyguards to Brigham Young, trained assassins, executioners, and thieves often disguised as Indians. Although alleged members of the Danites were pursued into the 1880s, it was in the 1850s that their exploits most intrigued the reading public. Danites were charged with the so-called Aiken Massacre of 1857, in which two brothers were killed. More individual charges and rumors followed.[135]

Danites were spotted in Kansas in 1858, menacing the population and undermining popular sovereignty**.** In Salt Lake City, Danites reportedly intimidated mail

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[133] These conflicts had resulted in the killing of native women and children, along with armed combat in some areas. Mormon settlement in Oregon provided a tenuous geographic connection behind the rumors of church instigation, although no additional evidence existed to substantiate the claim. "The Mormons," *New York Daily Times*, April 21, 1857, 1.

[134] See Elliott West, *The Contested Plains: Indians, Goldseekers & the Rush to Colorado.* Kansas: University of Kansas, 1998.

[135] In 1859, for example, a man arriving in San Francisco from Salt Lake City told of a Mr. Carpenter allegedly killed by Danites for offending the Church in some way. "Another Danite Murder from Salt Lake City," *Daily Evening Bulletin*, October 3, 1859, Column C. The Danites were a fraternal organization and vigilante groups founded by Mormons in Illinois in 1838. The existence of this organization in the West has never been clearly established. Nonetheless, Danites have shown remarkable staying power in Mormon and anti-Mormon folklore. The persistence of this theme is the focus of Jon Krakauer's controversial popular book on Mormons and violence, *Under the Banner of Heaven*. New York: Random House, 2003.

carriers from leaving the city.[136] Sources from within Utah told of Danite sacrificial ceremonies, in which their unfortunate victims would have their throats cut, their hearts ripped out, and their bodies mutilated.[137] The Danite phenomenon also supplied readers with eccentric characters including Porter "Old Port" Rockwell, who wore his hair long and proudly announced that he "never killed anyone but needed killing."[138] Describing Rockwell as the "that most terrifying instrument that can be wielded by fanaticism," Fitz Hugh Ludlow characterized Rockwell as "in his humor a Yankee lumberman; in his memory a Bourbon; in his vengeance an Indian." Ludlow saw this "strange mixture" as one "only to be found on the American continent."[139] This "mixture" of Indian and New England traits placed Rockwell in an uncertain racial category, clearly distinguished from Anglo-American civilization.

Representations of Great Basin horrors reflected the blurred identities of these two groups beyond the Danites. In violent episodes such as the Gunnison and Mountain Meadows Massacres, Mormons and Indians blended together into a common threat through camouflage and costume. Mormon attackers covered in war paint became indistinguishable from their Indian allies. Daniel Abbott relayed a sensational story about a wagon train wiped out by Indians, led by white men "cursing in regular Mormon slang." Abbott reported that the men called out to him "to get out of the country, as they

[136] See "From Camp Scott," *The Sunday Republican—St. Louis*, July 4, 1858; "Additional From Utah," *New York Herald*, May 26, 1858, Column A.
[137] "History of the Danite Organization," *Kirk Anderson's Valley Tan*, April 19, 1859, Column A.
[138] "Porter Rockwell," *San Francisco Evening Bulletin*, October 16, 1869, Column G. Rockwell first became known when he attempted to murder the ex-Missouri Governor Lilburn Boggs. He was so well known by 1860 that Sir Richard Burton made a point of visiting with Rockwell on his Western voyage. Some of the Danite rhetoric was less intimidating than Rockwell's rants. Jedediah M. Grant reportedly declared his belief that meddling Gentiles "should be winked at by blind men, they should be kicked across lots by cripples, they should be nibbled to death by young ducks, and be drawn through the keyhole to hell by bumble bees." *New York Herald,* October 19, 1856, Column E.
[139] This is a quotation often attributed to Ludlow, although I could not find primary source confirmation. See Donald P. Dulcinos, *Pioneer of Inner Space: The Life of Fitz Hugh Ludlow, Hasheesh Eater* (Brooklyn: Autonomedia, 1998), 153.

had no business there, and they (the Mormons) would kill them all."[140] The *New York Times* reported in 1857 that the Mormons were training their Indian allies in military tactics. Another New York paper, illustrating the warlike intentions of the Mormons, described a "social party" at which "Elder WM. WALKER danced an Indian dance in costume, armed."[141] Newspapers across the states began pushing for war with the Mormons before they could mobilize an Indian army numbering in the tens of thousands.[142]

Paranoia about the alliance of Mormon and Indian propelled a case for war in two ways: by inflaming anti-Mormon sentiment and by raising alarm about the state of Indian affairs. Public outrage provoked by the Gunnison trial and Mountain Meadows made the Utah War an initially popular political move. This fear compounded the belief that regular legal proceedings were impossible in a territory where any juror "would eat his boots or starve" before moving against the wishes of church elders.[143] President Buchanan's quick decision to initiate military action against the Mormons, without exploring the ameliorative options suggested by Utah's delegates, may well have been an attempt to distract the country from the tensions in Kansa and Nebraska with a less divisive military contest. As Pennsylvania Democrat Robert Tyler suggested to Buchanan

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[140] "Further Indian Troubles," *Daily Globe*, November 1, 1857, 2.
[141] "Mormonism In Our Midst," *The New York Daily News*, April 16, 1857, 4.
[142] The numbers of projected Indian troops varied significantly in external reports. Estimations ranged from a few thousand to twenty thousand (see "Mormon and Indian Alliance," *The Philadelphia Press*, November 18 1857). One article quoted Wakara, who had recently led a broad regional revolt against Anglo settlement, as declaring that "the Sioux, Cheyennes, and Arapahoes have banded together against the Gentiles to the number of 3,000 warriors" indicating a spreading Mormon influence. "The Mormons," *The New York Daily Times,* April 21, 1857, 1.
[143] "Affairs in Utah-The Other Side," *San Francisco Bulletin*, October 31, 1857, 2.

in 1857, "I believe we can supersede the Negro-Mania [in Kansas] with the almost universal excitement of an anti-Mormon crusade."[144]

Portrayed as Indian allies, Mormons were more readily marked as outsiders. The rhetoric surrounding military action in Utah cast the Mormon conflict as part of a larger effort to bring Native Americans under federal authority. Shortly after Mountain Meadows, the *New York Times* announced the dispatch of a "prominent Indian fighter" to lead troops against the Mormon transgressors. Even in the wake of a reported Mormon exodus to the Carson Valley, papers reported that "in case they should desire to fight with the [federal] troops, they have the means, and it is thought that the Indians will unite forces with them."[145] *Harper's* called upon its readers to "thank Providence that the Mormons have been more easily disposed of than the Seminoles." While the United States had lost lives and forty million dollars "in the everglades and swamps of Florida," *Harper's* opined that "less than half that sum…or something like forty cents for each adult white male, will probably free us from the Mormons."[146]

In comparing the Utah War with an Indian war, the *Harper's* editorial continued the decade long elision of Mormon and Indian opposition in the Great Basin. Other anticipations of war also linked Mormon and Indian campaigns. Assuming that the Mormons would position themselves among the Great Basin tribes as the federal troops advanced, one editorialist argued that "all these tribes will have to be conquered before the Mormons can be brought to terms." The Mormons were especially tricky opponents because "their system of warfare will be predatory, after the Indian fashion." With both

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[144] Quoted in Grow, *"Liberty to the Downtrodden,"* 150. An overview of the interpretations of Buchanan's motivations for deploying troops appears in David L. Bigler. "A Lion in the Path: Genesis of the Utah War," *Utah History Quarterly* 76 (2008): 4-21.
[145] "A Mormon Heijira," *The Baltimore Sun*, November 6, 1857, 1.
[146] *Harper's Weekly*, July 24, 1858.

Indians and Mormons removed from power in Utah, "the territory lying between our eastern and western frontiers will be redeemed from barbarian rule."[147] Linking the two groups made them part of a common opposition and also undermined claims to Mormon gentility or cultural similarity to the Anglo-American Protestant mainstream.

In the summer of 1858, Eastern readers of newspapers and periodicals learned that the Mormons had deserted Salt Lake City. Over the past decade, they had read articles about the prodigious growth of the western metropolis. They had seen renderings of impressive institutions—the theater which kept the settlers entertained through long winters, the wide streets neatly lined with homes, and the silver meeting house in the city center.[148] As the U.S. troops advanced, led by the same General A. S. Johnston who would soon lead Confederate troops against the Union, Brigham Young ordered the retreat of his people. The scorched earth campaign that followed left little for the federal troops to find besides burned out towns and empty streets. The desertion ruined, from the perspective of one disappointed editorial board, "the glory that might have resulted from a successful onslaught of the Mormons."[149] Salt Lake City became occupied territory.

In the aftermath of the raid, local authorities retained control of the probate courts and Brigham Young, while stripped of the governorship, remained a powerful broker of regional economic development. Young was instrumental in the negotiation of the building of the transcontinental railroad, completed in 1869. Perhaps due to his apparent support for internal improvements following the Utah War, Young's reputation rebounded quickly in some areas. Even Joseph Smith received a positive mention in an

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[147] "The Coming Mormon War," *San Joaquin Republican*, November 7, 1857, 1.
[148] Illustrations of the temple and of the neat and orderly streets of Salt Lake City appeared in *Harper's Weekly*, July 11, 1857.
[149] *Harper's*, July 24, 1858.

1859 issue of the *Atlantic*, which described the changing opinion of Smith from "a Mahometan Sam Slick" to a man of "great native strength" in just a few short months.[150]

Expensive and mismanaged, the Utah War proved anticlimactic and was unpopular enough to acquire the moniker "Buchanan's Blunder." No battles were fought, and the practice of polygamy continued in the Utah Territory long after the withdrawal of federal forces. This disapproval belied, however, the limited successes of the intervention in terms of federal control. As a result of the Utah War, the federal government was able to assert its presence in the Territory in some measure. By 1858, basic administrative order returned to Utah, now removed from Brigham Young's official governance and policed by federal troops.[151]

Sarah Barringer Gordon has described the Utah War as essentially an assertion of federal authority over territorial politics in the midst of a deepening sectional crisis. The Republican yoking of slavery and polygamy as the "twin relics of barbarism" neatly equated two forms of human bondage. These questions tested the limits of popular sovereignty in relation to the federal government in both Kansas and in Utah.[152]

The contemporary comparison of African and white slavery by the Republican Party has obscured, to some extent, the more immediate link between Mormon and

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[150] "The Utah Expedition," Utah Views Collection, 1849-1924, Mss B 724, Box 1, F7. Utah Historical Society, Salt Lake City, Utah.

[151] The official report on the Utah Expedition recommended continued military presence in Salt Lake City to preclude a reversion to its previous political state. See *The Utah Expedition, Message from the President of the United States*. Washington, D.C.: Congressional Printing Office, 1858. This document also includes reprinted government reports from 1856, building up the case for intervention in Utah.

[152] Debates during this antebellum phase of the "Mormon Question" revolved around the issue of "squatter sovereignty." Advocates of intervention in Utah's legal and political system argued that popular sovereignty was not possible under the control of Brigham Young. A similar argument arose in the 1880s in opposition to women's suffrage in Utah. See "'Squatter Sovereignty' at Salt Lake- Mormon Outrages," *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel*, May 23, 1857; "The Charleston Mercury insists…," *Daily National Intelligencer*, June 23, 1857; "Further of Matters in Mormondom," *New York Times,* September 23, 1859; "Horace Greeley's Views of Mormondom—The Sham of 'Popular Sovereignty' in Utah," *Daily Evening Bulletin*, October 22, 1859.

Indian threats. As with African slavery, the federal effort to control Mormons and Indians in the Great Basin had as much to do with economic power as moral rectitude. Had they "occupied any other theatre," Secretary of War John Floyd explained in 1858, the Mormons might "be allowed to work out their own cure" as a community. Precluding this possibility, "their settlements lie in the great pathway that leads from our Atlantic states to the new and flourishing communities growing up on our Pacific seaboard."[153] Floyd's analysis places the Utah conflicts in a clear context of United States expansion. Mormon influence presented a potential challenge to federal authority that transcended the slavery and nativism debates taking place elsewhere in the country.

Examining representations of Mormon and Native Americans as a linked threat is not to equate federal policy towards them. While federal officials and the press saw Mormons and Indians as military allies in some conflicts, these two groups retained different sets of political rights and capabilities for assimilation circumscribed by race. As a matter of policy, public opinion precluded certain actions against Mormons. The wanton killing of women and children and the execution of leaders—two tactics regularly used against Indians both before and after the Civil War—were not countenanced in the Mormon case. One man, John D. Lee, was convicted in the Mountain Meadows case and was ultimately executed. This full legal proceeding and long-delayed (and controversial) use of capital punishment bears little resemblance, however, to the mass killing

[153] Floyd's remarks as reported in *The San Joaquin Republican*, January 23, 1858, 4. Floyd's Virginia origins may have reinforced this public embrace of non-intervention and community self-definition. Despite these stated reservations, Floyd joined other leading Southern Democrats in pushing for war in Utah.

characteristic of U.S. Indian wars.[154] At no point were Mormon children removed from their homes, as were Native Americans later in the century.

The difference in actions towards Mormons and Native Americans underscores the critical role of race in shaping public opinion and federal policies. Assumptions of racial hierarchy also dictated the depiction of the Mormon/Native American relationship in the popular press. The vast majority of articles, images, and even political rhetoric surrounding the alleged alliance pointed to the dominance of Brigham Young and other Mormon leaders over their Indian allies. The trope of Indians as Mormon foot soldiers, made popular during the Gunnison and Mountain Meadows episodes, would be a lasting legacy of these conflicts. This trope sometimes intersected with anti-polygamy sentiment and propaganda and, at other times, had very little to do with marriage or family. The persistence of this non-polygamy-specific strand of anti-Mormonism, directly related to Native Americans, has been obscured by the historical focus on anti-polygamy in the nineteenth century.

The millennial Ghost Dance Movement, led by the Native American prophet Wovoka, also attracted anti-Mormon sentiment both because of its Great Basin origins and because Wovoka had grown up on a Mormon farm. The Ghost Dance movements of 1870 and 1890 were rooted in the Great Basin and emphasized Indian cultural revivalism and the need for demographic resilience. Yet recognition of Indian leadership was slow in coming. Non-Mormon Anglo observers noticed the millennial commonalities of

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[154] Such military action had already touched Oregon and Washington in the late 1855-6, while the Great Basin tribes were several years away from conflict on a similar scale. For more on this period in the Pacific Northwest, see Nathan Douthit, *Uncertain Encounters: Indians and Whites at Peace and War in Southern Oregon*. Corvallis: Oregon State University Press, 2002; E.A. Schwartz, *The Rogue River Indian War and Its Aftermath, 1850–1980*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997. J.A. Eckrom, *Remembered Drums: A History of the Puget Sound Indian War*. Walla Walla: Pioneer Press, 1989.

Mormonism and the Ghost Dance, attaching responsibility for the movement to missionary work over the preceding decades.[155] Some Anglo observers were so convinced of Mormon guilt in the Ghost Dance (seen as an aggressive movement by nervous outsiders) that the Wounded Knee Massacre, which occurred far from any Mormon stronghold, appeared to be evidence of a Mormon plot.[156]

Throughout the contentious decades of the 1870s and 1880s, Mormons were consistently blamed for Native American unrest. The Bannock War was discussed in the press as having been aided by Mormons. The *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* conceded that Indian agency failings had precipitated the revolt, and that Mormons were not directly involved in the fighting. Nonetheless, the newspaper claimed, “that the Mormons should go unpunished in monstrous. They are even more guilty than the Indians.” Punishment was necessary so that “the whole Mormon community…[will] understand that we mean to govern the Indians ourselves, and will tolerate no interference from Mormons or anyone else.”[157]

Ignoring the premises of Indian resistance allowed the Anglo mainstream and the federal government to sidestep the argument for continued tribal landholding. Reading the Ghost Dance as a Mormon plot, for example, placed the spotlight on Mormons and cast Wovoka as a pawn in an LDS scheme. This approach allowed Anglo reformers to

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[155] See Michael Hittman, *Wovoka and the Ghost Dance, Expanded Ed.* Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1998. See, for example, “Mormon-Indian Messiahs,” *Daily Evening Bulletin*, January 3, 1891, Col. G.
[156] See, for example, “Work of Mormon Propagating the Messiah Craze,” *The Milwaukee Sentinel,* 28 November 1890, Col. C; “General Miles’ theory that the Indian Messiah idea originated with scheming Mormons…” *Daily Inter Ocean* (Chicago), January 26, 1891, 4.
[157] St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*, July 24, 1878, 4.

dismiss the protests of Native American leaders, past and present, as byproducts of the debate over Mormon self-rule.[158]

Invoking Mormon influence to explain problems in Anglo-Indian relations was also sometimes useful for Native Americans in advancing their own interests. The White River War or Ute War was one such instance. In 1879, tensions erupted when White River Indian Agent Nathaniel Meeker clumsily promoted an agricultural program. Ploughing up land in use by the Utes as a racing track, Meeker invoked the rage of his charges and sparked a standoff between Utes and federal troops lasting six days. The leader of the Ute force was a man known as Captain Jack, recalling the leader of the same name who contributed to the costly Modoc War of 1873. The conflict ultimately resulted in the forced migration of the outnumbered Utes to Utah, opening up thousands of acres for white settlers in Colorado.

Observers quickly identified Mormon influence as the instigating factor in the White River uprising. Uncompahgre Ute leader Ouray, a well-known diplomat, encouraged speculation of Mormon influence. Ouray reported that "Mormons have been conferring with White River Utes and attempting to prolong hostilities by promising to furnish arms and ammunition at certain points on the Grand River as long as they were wanted." Presenting no evidence, Ouray promised that in time "he would be able to establish a connection of the Mormons with the origins of the outbreak." Ouray claimed

[158] The same approach shaped views of Native American history. An 1880 catalogue of a Chicago collector's anti-Mormon treatises and mementos described the Great Basin Indian leader Wakara, who led a coalition of Indians against Mormon settlements, as a prominent Mormon historical figure. Although Wakara did convert following his military defeat, his historical significance lies in his role as an anti-Mormon military leader. *Bibliothica—Scallawagiana. Catalogue of a Matchless Collection of Books, Pamphlets, Autographs, Pictures, & c. Relating to Mormonism and the Mormons.* New York: Bangs & Co, 1880.

that Mormon representatives had been in contact with Captain Jack for months, offering him unnamed "inducements" to initiate conflict with federal Indian agents.[159]

The national press ran with Ouray's story. A correspondent reporting from the Los Pinos Agency in Colorado particularly played up possible Mormon involvement, feeding information to newspapers nationwide about the "Mormon deviltry" that would soon come to light.[160] When evidence implicating Mormon interference at White River failed to materialize, charges quickly disappeared from the papers. Given the lack of evidence despite interest in Mormon involvement, it seems likely that Ouray's claims were more diversionary than revelatory.

As military conflict between Native Americans and the federal government accelerated after the Civil War, many Anglo observers and government officials feared that peace in the West, as in the South, wound only be won through warfare between all of the allied tribes and the United States. Rumors and theories about the nature of this final battle percolated in the editorial columns of newspapers across the country for the remainder of the nineteenth century. The worst-case scenario of a "general Indian war" arose often in these opinion pieces, and was often mentioned on the floor of congress. The scenario usually involved tribes of the West (including the Plains) banding together to resist federal domination.[161]

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[159] *Bangor Daily Whig & Courier,* November 24, 1879, Column C.

[160] See "ON THE BORDER. News From the White River Commission-The Mormons at Their Deviltry." *Daily Arkansas Gazette*, December 2, 1879, Column C; "THE HOSTILES. The White River Utes Before the Commission." *Daily Inter-Ocean,* December 2, 1879, Column B.

[161] The specter of a "general Indian war" appeared in nearly every region west of the Mississippi, from the northern Plains to the Pacific Northwest to the Southwest. While speculation of Mormon influence appeared in all of these geographic contexts, it was most often invoked in reference to unrest in the Great Basin and Southwest. Concern over an 1882 Ute, Paiute, and Navajo insurrection in Arizona, Utah, and New Mexico, as reported by territorial officials to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, seemed to be "growing out of Mormon influence and interference." See "Mormons and Indians: The Polygamist Charged with Inciting the Red Men to Acts of Violence," *New York Times,* January 27, 1882, 3.

In this corner of popular political discourse, Mormon "influence" often amounted to an arms trade with Indians. Articles across the country reported that the Mormons were arming groups of Indian men, as in one report that the Snakes, Bannocks and others were receiving "ammunition and guns" from their Mormon allies.[162] Another headline on the matter suggested that: "The Mormons and Indians [are] Said to be Meeting for a Grand Massacre."[163] Mormon influence was seen behind "almost every Indian war…directly or indirectly," and that violence towards Gentiles was a duty conferred by conversion to the Mormon faith.[164]

If left to their own devices, anti-polygamy proponents argued, Mormons might incite Western tribes into a second regional Civil War over polygamy. "It would appear from the great effort put forth in all directions to gather men into Utah that the Mormon Church is anxious to increase its numbers in anticipation of the coming struggle," a *New York Times* column read. "It is acquiring strength every year, and the longer the foul disgrace of polygamy is permitted to remain the more difficult it will be to wipe it out when the conflict comes."[165] This model usually involved the recruitment of Native Americans as foot soldiers in the Mormon-led crusade for "barbarism," achieved through the protections of states' rights.

The portrayal of a shared Mormon-Indian primitivism was frequently and consistently expressed in visual culture through the late 1880s. In "The Mormon

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[162] "Mormon Allies. Demonstration of a Large Body of Indians Near Corinne," *Inter Ocean*, August 11, 1875, 5.
[163] This article, in a Denver newspaper, reasoned that "the sooner the question is decided whether the Indians are the wards of the government or the Mormon church, the better it will be, for Indians in the hands of murderers are a dangerous element, and their movements at present foreshadow danger to the community." "THE BIG SCARE AT CORINNE, The Mormons and Indians Said to be Meeting for a Grand Massacre," *Daily Rocky Mountain News,* August 13, 1875, B.
[164] "The Indian Troubles. The Authors of the War—New Light on This Important Subject—The Mormons Trying to Frighten Away Other Settlers," *New York Tribune*, July 23, 1878, 5.
[165] "Looking for Proselytes," *New York Times*, 1881, 2.

Bluebeard," an image from 1883, (Fig. 2) a Mormon patriarch dominates a Western landscape, trailed by a pack of women. The reference to Bluebeard, Charles Perrault's murderous aristocrat, suggests a dark looming fate for the many wives. In a display of barbaric solidarity, the Mormon Bluebeard wears two feathers tucked into a headband in a style associated with Plains Indians.[166]

Fig. 2 "The Mormon Bluebeard." *The Daily Graphic,* August 21, 1883.

Polygamy also appeared sporadically as a way of connecting Mormons and Indians. In another image (Fig. 3), a Mormon man speaks to his Indian ally. "Much Guns, Much Ammunition, Much Whiskey, and Much Kill Pale Face," reads the caption. The line is credited to a "Polygamous Barbarian," ostensibly the Indian figure, though the ambiguous attribution leaves room to wonder which figure is in fact the barbarian. These images operated at two levels: to remind the viewer of an unholy alliance between Mormons and Indians, and to suggest that the practice of multiple marriage observed by

[166] "The Mormon Bluebeard," *The Daily Graphic,* 1883.

many tribes reinforced old habits of Indian barbarism and reversed the progress of federal Indian policy. At the same time, the image of Indians as Mormon foot soldiers suggested that the Mormon male hierarchy was enslaving Indians as well as white women.

References to polygamy were commonly used in the popular press to refer to antiquated forms of trade, including the bartering of women and children. An 1881 report on the "Indians of Wyoming, Colorado, Idaho, and Montana" in reference to the trade in beaver pelts described this connection. The "female slaves" or "squaw wives" of these tribes were regularly traded for pelts, according to the *London Field*, "in good Mormon fashion." This report reinforced the trope of the indifferent Mormon man, the enslavement of Mormon wives, and the shared inhumanity of Mormons and Indians, particularly in the case of "half-breeds."[167]

Fig. 3 Thomas Nast. "When Springtime Comes, Gentle—Indian! *Polygamous Barbarian.* 'Much Guns, Much Ammunition, Much Whiskey, and Much Kill Pale Face.'" *Harper's Weekly*, February 18, 1882.

[167] "BEAVERS," *New York Times*, July 24, 1881, 3.

As a visual and rhetorical theme, the Mormon connection to Native Americans evolved little over time. Painted as instigators of Native violence in the 1850s, Mormons continued to garner credit (or blame) for Indian opposition to the federal incursions through the end of the nineteenth century. This strand of anti-Mormon sentiment transcended space as well as time, as Mormons were linked to Indian uprisings in locations from the Dakotas to California to the Southwest. In each case, from Mountain Meadows to the Ghost Dance, Mormons were assumed to have led Indian opposition. The effect of this imagery and rhetoric was to indict the Mormons for their actions while dehumanizing Native Americans.

This representation of Mormons and Indians rested on shared assumptions of racial hierarchy. As an ideology, Manifest Destiny rested upon scientific theories of immutable and coherent racial characteristics. The Caucasian race would naturally flourish across the continent, expansionists argued, while lesser groups would fall away.[168] Mormon clashes with other Anglo-Americans confounded ideas of solidarity based on heritage or background. The depiction of Mormon conflicts as Indian wars may have helped to resolve some of the complex tension at the heart of anti-Mormonism. The interpretation of Mormons as the masters of their Native American allies was another way of stabilizing this hierarchy intellectually.

Every negative image or idea about Mormon settlement during this period was compounded by the question of population. In the 1850s, articles warning readers of a Mormon and Indian military force quoted ever-inflating numbers in the tens of

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[168] Elliott West, “Reconstructing Race,” *Western Historical Quarterly* 34 (2003): 9-11.

thousands. Meanwhile, images of Mormon polygamists showed men with wives and children in seemingly endless numbers. Notices in port cities told of shiploads of Mormon converts arriving every month. Representations of Mormon marriage and reproduction as a threat to Anglo-American hegemony wove intermarriage into broader fears of racial and cultural disorder in the United States that would manifest themselves in localities as diverse as the Great Basin and the urban centers of the Northeast.

Chapter Two

Tawny Brides and Infant Armies: Reproduction and Subversion in the Great Basin

On the week of August 13, 1859, *Harper's Weekly* opened with an image of the American West (Fig. 4). The cover illustration, commemorating the massacre of 120 emigrants at Mountain Meadows two years before, was one of desolation. The bones of the Baker-Fancher party lay scattered across a barren landscape of rock and a few skeletal trees. The illustration accompanied recent reporting on the Massacre, available for the first time to an intrigued public. "The scene was one too horrible and sickening for language to describe," read the report. Even two years after the attack, "human skeletons, disjointed bones, ghastly skulls and the hair of women were scattered in frightful profusion of two miles."[169]

The Special Report of Brevet Major J. H. Carleton was troubling. Sent off from California "to bury the bones of the victims of that terrible massacre," Carleton surveyed the damage and interviewed witnesses. His account painted a vivid and cruel picture. "Women's hair, in detached locks and masses, hung to the sage bushes and was strewn over the ground in many places," Carleton observed. "Parts of little children's dresses

[169] Early impressions of the Massacre were not illustrated, but were formed from patchwork accounts of murder and collusion, stitched together from eyewitness testimonies, local rumor, and the unsigned editorial observations of the *Los Angeles Star*. Near the rim of the Great Basin, the *Star* reported, "a train of emigrants, from Missouri and Arkansas, for this state, were waylaid and cruelly butchered on the route." Ignoring the flag of truce, "the savages…immediately rushed in and murdered all of them, with the exception of fifteen infant children," who were later sold into Latter Day Saint households. Attributing the killings themselves to a vague intertribal consortium, the *Star* registered "a general belief pervad[ing] the public mind here that the Indians were instigated to their crime by the 'Destroying Angels' of the [LDS] church." To give specific explanations for the purported Mormon treachery "would be unnecessary," presumed the *Star*'s correspondent, "from the simple fact it will be attributed to the Mormon people." *New York Times*, November 17, 1857, 2.

and of female costume dangled from the shrubbery." Wolves clustered around holes in the ground in search of limbs.[170]

Fig. 4 *Harper's Weekly*, August 13, 1859

Carleton concluded with a plea for swift federal action, insisting that the matter was urgent for practical reasons. As emigrants streamed westward and railroad ties inched towards a meeting place in the intermountain West, Young's control of traffic through Utah became a subject of immediate concern. Carleton argued that Mormon activities had to be controlled due to the developing importance of the Great Basin to the national economy, lamenting the fact that "the Mormons were permitted to settle…upon the great thoroughfare between the two oceans."[171] The Mormon and Southern Paiute

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[170] James Henry Carleton, *Special Report of the Mountain Meadows Massacre* (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1902), 3.
[171] *Ibid.,* 17.

killing of the migrants, within this framework, represented a roadblock to colonization as well as a perversion of justice. The massacre of would-be settlers could disrupt the unstable and relatively vulnerable regional trade networks that would facilitate a transcontinental economy.

The Mountain Meadows Massacre seemed to confirm Eastern suspicions of a dangerous Mormon-Indian alliance. Despite the increased presence of federal troops in the region following the Utah War of 1857-8, overland passage to the Pacific remained treacherous. Reports of emigrant massacres were not confined to Utah, and some were as disturbing as the scene at Mountain Meadows. An 1860 dispatch told of female survivors of a Snake Indian attack in Washington Territory consuming the dead bodies of husbands and children to survive. When discovered by Captain Dent of the U.S. Army, one woman was roasting her husband's head over a campfire. "When will the government," asked the *New York Herald*, "take some action to guard and protect our emigrant roads to the Pacific coast?"[172] In the aftermath of the Utah War, Congress deployed a federal commission to assess the political stability and loyalty of the Utah Territory and its settlers.[173]

The rise of polygamy as a national issue roughly coincided with federal aggression towards Utah. The fledgling Republican Party, which drew the majority of its support from the North and the West, centered its 1856 Platform on the "twin relics of barbarism"—slavery and polygamy. Marriage and family were focal points of many contemporary reform campaigns—anti-polygamy, anti-slavery, the reframing of federal Indian policy, and even the reactionary nativism of the Know Nothings.

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[172] "News From Washington Territory," *New York Herald*, December 26, 1860, Column A.
[173] See *Congressional Globe*, 35th Congress, 2nd Session, 119.

The connection between Mormon separatism, and physical violence, and polygamy took shape as a popular image during the period that included the Gunnison and Mountain Meadows incidents. Images of polygamous families also suggested a subtler challenge, however, having to do with Mormon reproductive rates. The perceived threat of polygamy as a demographic factor—specifically, in polygamy's possible contribution to growing Mormon numbers in the West—emerged in anti-Mormon rhetoric and imagery of the period.

The rapid reproduction of Mormon society was praised at a time when Mormons were seen as forerunners of Anglo-American society in the West. As that impression soured over the course of the 1850s, the reproduction rates of Great Basin populations became the subject of anxious scrutiny. Mormons frequently appeared in the press as foreign invaders rather than American citizens, and their settlements were cast as politically illegitimate sites of "squatter sovereignty." Establishing the state of Nevada was pitched explicitly as a counter-measure to Mormon political power rooted in population growth.

Visual sources offer insight into the demographic threat of Mormon settlement and polygamy in the U.S. West. Visual culture, including cartoons and magazine illustrations, introduced nineteenth-century Eastern audiences to this new region of the continent, and helped to categorize Great Basin conflicts in terms of race, ethnicity, and gender. Illustrations of the family drew out concerns over changing Western demographics, Mormon immigration and foreign settlement, and racial mixing in the West that dovetailed with journalistic coverage. The degradation of women and children

represented in popular culture clashed with images of Western economic and social development, and particularly of Utah as a mineral-rich land of promise.

Examining visual and rhetorical tropes of antebellum anti-Mormonism reveals the extent to which anxiety over the reproductive implications of polygamy factored into the upsurge in negative feeling towards Utah's settlers during the tumultuous 1850s. The literature of settler colonialism, along with recent work on gender and empire, provides a frame through which to understand this phenomenon in a larger context.[174] The visual and rhetorical theme of Mormon children presented a counterpoint to understanding Mormons as a physical threat. Playing off of existing depictions of Mormon militancy, images of women, children, and families presented Mormons as a threat to Anglo-American demographic dominance in areas of Mormon settlement.

This chapter examines the ways in which visual culture reflected, promoted, and occasionally even mocked public fears of Mormon reproduction and the growth of the Mormon population. The range of depictions and variety of possible interpretations attests to the range of opinions on the "Mormon Question," even at the height of public outrage over violence in Utah. Anxiety over demographic trends was rooted not only in racism, but also in the potential complications that a mixed-race population might pose in terms of land distribution. Analysis of these themes underscores the significance of women, children, and family units were key structural elements of United States political and economic control in the Great Basin and across the West.

[174] For recent overviews of this subject, see Lorenzo Veracini, *Settler Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview.* New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2010; Caroline Elkins and Susan Pederson, eds., *Settler Colonialism in the Twentieth Century: Projects, Practices, Legacies*. New York: Routledge, 2005; Fiona Bateman and Lionel Pilkington, eds., *Studies in Settler Colonialism: Politics, Identity, and Culture.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.

The anti-polygamy movement of the 1850s cast Mormons as denigrators of traditional family roles and sadistic abusers of women and children. Brevet Major Carleton's observations at Mountain Meadows targeted this theme, focusing on the remains of women and children at the site. "I saw several bones of what must have been very small children," Carleton wrote. "Dr. Brewer says from what he saw he thinks some infants were butchered." Carleton could not help meditating on this new information, speculating that "the mothers doubtless had these [infants] in their arms, and the same shot or blow may have deprived both of life." In light of these details, a disgusted Carleton deigned the Mormon culture "an ulcer upon the body politic. An ulcer which it needs more than cutlery to cure."[175]

Carleton's report includes a listing of the children who survived the Massacre, including their temporary care from Mormon women. This section implies that Mormon "training" kept the women from initially responding to the children with sympathy. Carleton describes one of these women as "trained by the Mormons" to disregard Gentile suffering. "Of the shooting of the emigrants, which she had herself heard, and knew at the time what was going on, she seemed to speak without a shudder, or any very great feeling," he wrote, "but when she told of the 17 orphan children who were brought by such a crowd to her house of one small room there in the darkness of night, two of the children cruelly mangled and the most of them with their parents' blood still wet upon their clothes, and all of them shrieking with terror and grief and anguish, her own mother heart was touched."[176] The anguish of the children was enough to restore some of the

[175] Carleton, *Special Report of the Mountain Meadows Massacre,* 17.
[176] *Ibid.*, 6-7.

humanity of these women who, by Carleton's description, had been conditioned not to protect or care about the welfare of any Gentile.

The emphasis on women, children, and family in Carleton's report became commonplace in descriptions of the Massacre. These gruesome descriptions (coupled with conspiracy changes implicating Brigham Young) have sustained interest in Mountain Meadows for well over a century. Coverage of Mountain Meadows shaped descriptions of supposed Mormon-Indian violence in the immediate aftermath of the Massacre. "The Indians on the Northern California route are still engaged in massacring the emigrants," reported *The Daily Cleveland Herald* in 1859, adding: "there is no doubt but these Indians are aided and abetted by Mormons." Topping Mountain Meadows was a story in the *Herald* in which women and children were tortured and dismembered by a Mormon and Indian horde.[177]

Beneath the savagery evoked by these details lay the suggestion of deeper Eastern anxieties over Mormons in the West. In the relatively undeveloped territories, women and children had a value beyond the sentimental. The rising population cemented imperial bonds, with the family structure representing transplanted Anglo-American values. To dismember a family was to completely annihilate the United States presence, and the presence of civilization, in the territories. The adoption of surviving children into Mormon homes only added insult to injury. The seventeen survivors of Mountain Meadows were repatriated to the East and returned to members of their extended family. One newspaper report described the children living in "a most wretched condition, half

[177] "Horrible Massacre by the Indians and Mormons," *Daily Cleveland Herald*, November 16, 1859, Column B.

starved, half naked, filthy, infested with vermin, and their eyes diseased from the cruel neglect to which they had been exposed."[178]

Anti-Mormon rhetoric regularly cast Utah as a hell for children and Mormonism as a faith that twisted the foundations of family. This argument was advanced through comparison of Mormons with another group better known to Eastern readers: Catholics.

The refrain of both anti-Mormon and anti-Catholic literature and visual culture was white slavery. This existing theme in anti-Catholic literature provided a template for anti-Mormon propaganda beginning in the 1850s.[179] The trope of a naïve woman impressed into polygamous unions quickly became a staple of anti-Mormon works, both fictional and biographical, with slight variations from the anti-Catholic works already consumed by an eager public. In anti-Catholic literature, the victims were most often daughters sent off to convents to be the prey of lascivious priests. In the Mormon scenarios, the subjects might be either Gentiles abducted from the East or Mormon women naturally averse to plural marriage forced into the system.

The examples of two prominent works illustrate the major themes of anti-Mormon works sold as autobiographical accounts. *Fifteen Years Among the Mormons*, the memoir of a Mormon woman named Mrs. Mary Ettie V. Smith, described the detention of women against their will in Salt Lake City.[180] In Maria Ward's widely read *Female Life Among the Mormons*, Gentile women (including Maria), were manipulated

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[178] "The Mountain Meadows Massacre," *San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin*, May 31, 1859.
[179] Anti-Catholic literature was a genre with English roots and a complex history. See Susan M. Griffin, *Anti-Catholicism and Nineteenth-Century Fiction.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
[180] Nelson Winch Green, *Fifteen Years Among the Mormons: Being the Narrative of Mrs. Mary Ettie V. Smith, Late of Great Salt Lake City, a Sister of One of the Mormon High Priests…"* New York: C. Scribner, 1858.

into polygamy and spirited away to Utah by seductive Mormon strangers (Fig. 5).[181] While extremely popular, the Maria Ward book was almost certainly not authentic. Scholars believe that the true author was Elizabeth Ferris, the wife of Utah Territorial Secretary Benjamin G. Ferris.[182]

Fig. 5 Fictional portrayals of Mormon men cast them as seducers and even murderers of innocent women.[183]

Accounts of white slavery in fiction and the popular press stressed not only threats to women, but to the family. Maria Ward's narrative described the process of being wrenched from her family and her lineage. These same themes appeared in

[181] Maria Ward, *Female Life Among the Mormons; a Narrative of Many Years' Personal Experience.* New York: J. C. Derby, 1855.
[182] Michael W. Homer and Massimo Introvigne, "'The Great Polygamy Hotel': Sherlock Holmes, Farandoul, and the Popularization of Mormon Stereotypes in Nineteenth Century Fiction," CESNUR: Center for Studies on New Religions, http://www.cesnur.org/2005/mi_02_06.htm.
[183] Image from Orvilla S. Belisle, *The Prophets; or, Mormonism Unveiled,* Philadelphia: William White Smith, 1855.

contemporary news coverage. One *New York Tribune* article told the story of a woman whose husband abandoned his children for a life of plural marriage, leaving his family impoverished, "crushed and heartbroken."[184] Homes might also be wrecked by the powers of Mormon seduction. The efforts of Parley Pratt, an original member of the Quorum of Twelve, to entice a Gentile woman away from her husband became widely known when the husband killed Pratt in retaliation. Contemporary coverage stressed the rending of domestic ties, particularly the "stealing" of the children for a new life in Utah, "the valley or moral death."[185] Like Catholicism, the Mormon belief system appeared to endanger Protestant domestic standards considered essential to the perpetuation of democratic principles.[186]

Children who did remain in Mormon homes were reportedly mistreated. "In regard to the Mormon children," read a column in the *Daily Cleveland Herald,* "they appear like a neglected, uncared-for set." This correspondent described "urchins" running the streets, and families in which "all parts of the human body are spoken of familiarly, in terms that would make anybody but a Mormon blush."[187] Details in the *Lowell Daily*

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[184] "A Mormon Woman in Distress," *New-York Daily Tribune*, July 7, 1955, 5. This page of the newspaper also features a story entitled "Shocking Occurrence at a Mormon Baptism," about the accidental drowning of a father and son who had just converted.

[185] "Violent Death of Parley P. Pratt," *The Daily Cleveland Herald*, May 27, 1857. Pratt was in fact tried in an Oklahoma court prior to his murder, and found guilty of absconding with baby clothes. The events at Mountain Meadows have been interpreted as retaliation for the Pratt murder, since many members of the Baker-Fancher Party hailed from that state. For more contemporary reactions to the Pratt murder, see "Death of Parley P. Pratt," *Daily Evening Bulletin*, July 1, 1857; "The Murder of Parley Pratt," Augusta *Daily Chronicle & Sentinel*, June 13, 1857.

[186] In the early 1960s, David Brion Davis published two articles comparing anti-Mormonism to other contemporary movements based in prejudice—particularly the anti-Catholic and anti-Masonic movements. "The literature produced by these movements," Davis writes, "evoked images of a great American enemy that closely resembled traditional European stereotypes of conspiracy and subversion." Rather than attacking the nobility, however, these groups were portrayed as undermining "ideals or a way of life." David Brion Davis, "Some Themes of Counter-subversion: An Analysis of Anti-Masonic, Anti-Catholic, and Anti-Mormon Literature," *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 47 (1960): 205-224. See also David Brion Davis, "Some Ideological Functions of Prejudice in Ante-Bellum America," *American Quarterly* 15 (1963): 115-125.

[187] *The Daily Cleveland Herald*, February, 1857, Column C.

Citizen were even more disturbing. In the space of one column, readers learned of an Englishman suing to recover his stolen children from Utah, Brigham Young's supposed plans for his children to intermarry, and a Mormon community's unconcerned attitude towards dying babies. After watching a small child suffer and die, the unnamed correspondent reported, the response of the community was that it would have "we will have one less pig to feed."[188]

Cast as uneducated foreigners, Mormons—like Catholics—were thought to be more susceptible to manipulation at the hands of a heartless church hierarchy. While directly undermining democratic political involvement, church control might also degrade the integrity of the family. When a priest beat 8-year-old Barbara Foreman to death at St. Mary's School in Cleveland, the local newspaper observed: "we are not disposed to believe that this is the only atrocity committed upon children of the Catholic Church." The parents of these children being "poor, and ignorant" might not feel that they could object to a priest's actions. It was the role of the state to step in and restore order, in the absence of parental control.[189] News from Europe told of Jewish children kidnapped and converted to Catholicism, under the Church protection.[190] In both of these cases, the powerlessness of parents drew as much anger as the actual harm done to a child.

Opponents of Catholic immigration including the Know Nothings saw Catholicism as degrading to the family hierarchy and to the education of American citizens. Children would look to priests or the Pope as authority figures, they warned,

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[188] This same correspondent, Mr. Murray, claimed to have observed "a number of Mormon children dying, and no attention paid to them, either before or after death." *Lowell Daily Citizen*, June 30, 1856, Column C.
[189] "The Inhuman Killing of a Child by a Catholic Priest," *Daily Cleveland Herald*, October 20, 1856, Column B.
[190] "Catholic Abduction of a Jewish Child," *Boston Investigator,* December 8, 1858, Column D.

undermining the possibility of parental protection and guidance**.** In *The Jesuit's Daughter; A Novel for Americans to Read*, the priest who has kidnapped Katrine O'Sullivan tells her: "I am your spiritual father in the church—your earthly father will see you no more." Women in these novels were usually denied the right to marry American men, severing ties that might encourage a new generation of patriots. The dominance of the priest as a "foreign father" was threatening not only because of the physical menace priests might pose to young women, but because their trumping of paternal control upset the balance of domestic life.[191]

Anti-Mormon rhetoric built on this argument, as critics charged the LDS Church hierarchy with forcing adults and children into unnatural and unsafe kinship configurations. Charges of polygamous incest, for example, were not only salacious but also reminded readers or listeners of the dangers of upsetting the most basic relationships in the Anglo-American family.[192]

The perceived assault on the family by Catholics and Mormons had both cultural and political implications. Population was a major part of the political equation. As the numbers of Catholics in Eastern cities swelled, "Native American" observers feared that immigrants would dominate local elections and institutions. The role of demography in anti-Mormonism, on the other hand, was specific to a Western setting.[193] At the time of

[191] Griffin, *Anti-Catholicism and Nineteenth-Century Fiction,* 94-5.
[192] For more on anti-polygamy and sentimental fiction, see Sarah Barringer Gordon, "'Our National Hearthstone': Anti-Polygamy Fiction and the Sentimental Campaign Against Moral Diversity in Antebellum America," *Yale Journal of the Arts & Humanities* 8 (1996).
[193] A correspondent writing to the *New York Tribune* in 1856 further warned that Brigham Young's omnipotence made popular sovereignty untenable. Despite the apparent Mormon ambivalence on the issue of slavery, this commentator explained that "if it were Brigham's policy to have this a Slave State (African I mean), it certainly would be such, notwithstanding three-fourths of our population are foreigners of that class who readily affiliate and sympathize with the negro." Not only were immigrants to Utah transcendent of American racial hierarchies, suggested this author, but the social and political construction of the territory precluded the American electoral process. The final verdict of the commentator is that Brigham

Mountain Meadows, there was little federal infrastructure in the far reaches of the territories. The tendency of both Mormons and Catholics to vote as a bloc inspired an anti-immigrant upsurge that manifested itself politically as the Know Nothing or American Party. The Know Nothings existed for a short time during the breakdown of the Whig Party, in the 1850, and enjoyed a round of victories in the 1854 elections.

American Party candidates focused the majority of their attention on German and Irish Catholics—large immigrant groups in the Eastern cities where nativism thrived. Mormons, living in the remote West and hailing largely from England, seemed unlikely targets for nativist rage. Yet increasingly, as anti-immigrant fervor rose in the 1850s, Mormon settlement was cast as a foreign incursion. Newspaper articles noted with alarm the influx of Mormon immigrants. "Our readers will be surprised, perhaps, to hear that there are 150 Mormons in Alton," reported the *Democrat* in Alton, Illinois. "The number is constantly increasing by foreigners arriving, and were it not that body of them leaves every Spring, this sect would surpass any other in Alton…They are from nearly every European country, and not an American born is to be found among them. They are mostly very illiterate—drawn from the lowest degree of humanity, as regards wealth and social position."[194] Such descriptions not only foretold a gathering threat, but also yoked anti-Mormon sentiment to contemporary xenophobic movements.

In addition to violence, the representation of women and children in militaristic scenes reflected a demographic anxiety. Catholic immigrants were frequently accused of breeding beyond their means, overwhelming the political and social balance in Eastern

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Young prefers White Slavery to African. *New-York Daily Tribune*, "The Political Secrets of Mormonism," August 7, 1856, 3.

[194] *Alton Democrat* reprinted in the *New York Daily Times*, February 9, 1857, 11.

cities.[195] Images Mormons in the West also had a demographic dimension. The presence of Mormon women on the frontier was not just notable not just as an anomaly, but as a potential hazard to controlling the Great Basin. Nearly every report on Mormon settlement noted an unusually high percentage of females.[196] A large female population ensured that the Mormon settlers would be capable of social and cultural reproduction while the single mining men would not give rise to another generation. The initiation of the comic theme of militarized babies just as Easterners became aware of polygamy reinforced the idea that the most sinister implications of the practice would flow from the demographic realities of the Utah territory.[197]

Indeed, visitors to the Mormon settlements, and editorialists observing them from afar, commented on the demographic boom with trepidation. The swift multiplication of American citizens was understood to be at the heart of the inevitable expansion of the nation. It was demography that would drive Manifest Destiny. In his initial coining of the phrase, editor John O'Sullivan pointed to the importance of the overpowering numbers of American citizens pushing West. "It is our manifest destiny to overspread the continent allotted by Providence," O'Sullivan declared, "for the free development of our yearly multiplying millions."[198] In a demographic sense, settler colonialism depended upon the ability and willingness of a settler population to "reproduce empire." Regulating the

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[195] For background on Nativism, see Tyler G. Anbinder, *Nativism and Slavery: The Northern Know Nothings and the Politics of the 1850s.* New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992; David H. Bennett, *The Party of Fear: From Nativist Movements to the New Right in American History.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988.

[196] In addition to women settlers, Mormons reportedly produced a mysteriously large number of female offspring. See, for example, *The Daily Cleveland Herald*, February, 1857, Column C.

[197] Susan Lee Johnson, *Roaring Camp: The Social World of the California Gold Rush*. New York: W.W. Norton, 1999.

[198] John O'Sullivan, "The Democratic Principle," *Democratic Review,* July/August, 1845. For a good brief analysis of the concept of Manifest Destiny, see Robert W. Johannsen, "The Meaning of Manifest Destiny", in Sam W. Hayes and Christopher Morris, eds., *Manifest Destiny and Empire: American Antebellum Expansionism*. College Station, Texas: Texas A&M University Press, 1997.

family lives of racial minorities and social outliers was an essential component of this model.[199]

The perceived rapid reproduction of the Mormon population seemed to threaten the dominance of American demography in the Utah territory. Visitors were impressed, and a little alarmed, at the Mormon successes in establishing a civilized Western settlement. "Within three years of its founding," Howard Stansbury reported in 1852, "a large and flourishing community [arose] upon a spot so remote from the abodes of man that neither had connections with oceanic trade nor inland navigation."[200]

Stansbury and other visitors cited the large percentage of women in the Mormon population, and the practice of polygamy more specifically, as central to the exponential growth of the Western settlements. Stansbury noted that polygamy was intended not as a sensual practice, but as a means of propagating a new generation of believers.[201] William Chandless echoed Stansbury's accurate report on polygamy as a means of increasing the Mormon population. Another traveler added that "since Mormon emigrants consisted of more women, without polygamy part of the social field would remain untilled."[202] The demographic strength that seemed to render American continental domination inevitable might be turned against national interests in the remote deserts of the new territories if Mormons were able reproduce at a pace that overwhelmed other Anglos.

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[199] These concepts are adopted from "Introduction," Laura Briggs, *Reproducing Empire: Race, Sex, Science, and U.S. Imperialism in Puerto Rico*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002.
[200] Stansbury, 123.
[201] Regardless of the role of polygamy, the reality of propagation as a religious tenet kept the Mormon birth rate high. In the early twentieth century, the first available statistical information showed the birth rate in Utah to be over twice the rate for members of other religious groups. For research on the continuing phenomenon of high fertility rates in the Mormon community, see Evelyn J. Lehrer, "Religion as a Determinant of Marital Fertility," *Journal of Population Statistics* 9 (1996): 173-196; Tim B. Heaton, "How Does Religion Influence Fertility? The Case of the Mormons," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 25 (1986): 248-258.
[202] Martin Mitchell, "Gentile Impressions of Salt Lake City, Utah, 1849-1870," *The Geographical Review*, 13.

The literature of settler colonialism helps to explain the significance of regulating sex and gender in the West. Settler colonialism refers to the strategy of establishing control over a territory through the planting of permanent, self-perpetuating settlements. In many if not most cases, this strategy specifically displaced indigenous populations either by creating a demographic majority or through the active disruption of kin-based political and economic systems. In the 1850s, these dynamics favored Mormons rather than Gentiles in the Great Basin. In the race for populating the region, Mormon women and children were potent weapons against the colonial efforts of other white settlers as supported by the United States government.

Visual culture of the mid-nineteenth century illuminates the particular significance of demography in anti-Mormon sentiment. Women and children emerge as the central axis of power in political cartoons of the period. A cartoon depicting the rebuffing of U.S. troops in the Utah territory, appearing in 1857 in the pages of a Philadelphia magazine at the height of federal aggression towards Mormon settlers in the Great Basin, is in many respects typical of the historical moment (Fig. 6). Like many caricatures, this image features Mormon women mobilized for combat, in full Victorian dress, shielding their shrinking male counterparts from harm. Although a second string of warriors dressed in women's clothing backs them up, the women in the line of fire stand defiantly with nothing but their screaming offspring to protect them. The federal troops are shown retreating from the sound of the babies' wails.

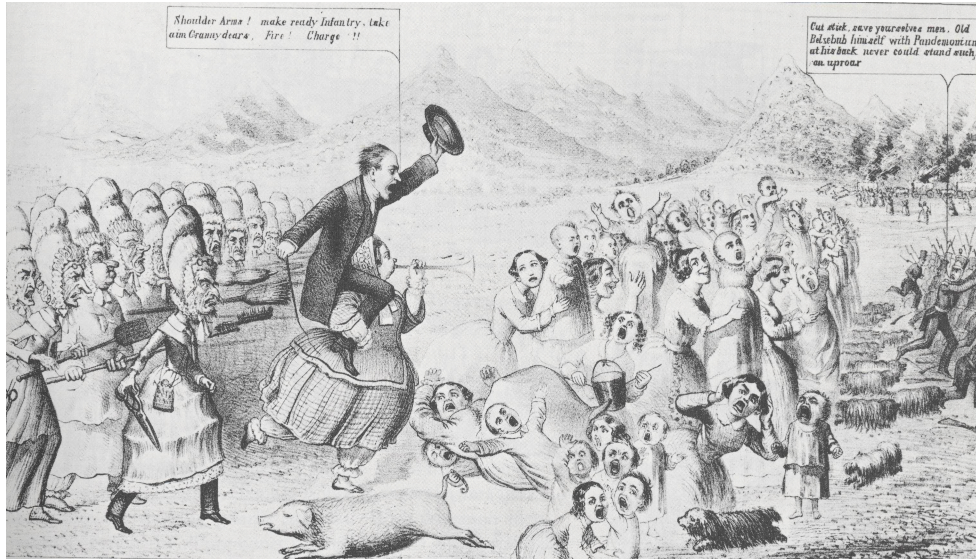

Fig. 6 “Brigham Young from behind His Breastworks Charging the United States Troops.”[203]

In their extensive collection *The Mormon Graphic Image*, Gary Bunker and Davis Bitton describe this scene in terms of degraded Mormon masculinity. The female militia image reinforced an idea of Mormon patriarchs as wasted shells of American manhood. An image showing the projected aftermath of the U.S. invasion of Utah further illustrates the theme to which Bunker and Bitton refer. As American troops dance with the numerous women of Salt Lake City, spindly Mormon men lie in a heap at their feet. Just as in Fig. 6, the men in this cartoon are emasculated and helpless.[204] The theme of the emasculated Mormon man functioned as a visual joke and an insult, while also referencing anti-Catholic arguments of the same period. Like Catholic men, effectively emasculated by the authority of priests and the Pope, Mormon men also lost their

[203] Image reprinted from Gary L. Bunker and Davis Bitton, *The Mormon Graphic Image,* 21. Bunker and Bitton attribute this image to a private sale in Philadelphia. I was unable to locate an original place of publication.
[204] This image might also suggest the lack of a substantial military threat in the West. This interpretation jibes with editorials claiming that women’s moral force, rather that federal troops, was needed to cast off the system of plural marriage. See “Mormon Polygamy,” *New York Tribune*, October 10, 1853.

masculinity through the interventions of the church, which could grant and take away wives and children.

While masculinity (or lack thereof) was indeed a prominent theme in anti-Mormon imagery of the 1850s, the graphic record also suggests another dynamic not addressed by Bunker and Bitton. Focusing on the assumptions about Mormon women, children, and domestic space underlying these images of the Mormon threat highlights the potential danger of polygamy as a battle tactic. In Fig. 6, the female militia wields babies as weapons. It is the many screaming children, rather than the women themselves, that repulse the federal troops and protect the cowering Mormon men. On the one hand, the idea of women and children as a military threat is clearly intended as a comic inversion of gender standards and characteristics. On the other hand, this comic image can be read as reflecting a demographic threat posed by a rising Mormon population in the West. The rapid reproduction associated with polygamous marriage constituted an imperial threat to American empire, and it was a threat that centered on the family specifically.

Another example, from 1858, further illustrates this particular brand of satire at the expense of Mormon families (Fig. 7). This image appeared in *Nix Nax* under the title: "The Mormon War." Here again, the theme of the female militia appears as Mormon women form the "parasol guard" and an artillery unit "prepared with their fire irons." As the Mormon men flee, their children—screaming, as always—stand in for them as the "Mormon Infant-ry." The caption of this image, showing a baby held by his sneering mother, proclaims that children are "the only Mormons who are in arms." The Mormons pictured in these cartoons are not physically threatening to American troops—in fact, the

images seem to poke fun at the idea of a Mormon military challenge. At the same time, the consistent militarization of women and children contributes to the idea of mothers and families as a source of opposition to United States interests.

Fig. 7 "The Mormon War," *Nick Nax*, June 1858.

Militarization of women and children became particularly prominent in the years leading up to the Utah War, as Eastern newspapers reported the declaration of Mormon leaders to arm men, women, and children in defiance of federal authority.[205] The trope of

[205] Heber Kimball quoted in *The Charleston Mercury*, October 30, 1857, Col. G. Kimball's own family was of interest to outsiders studying the growing Mormon population. Two years later, the *Lowell Daily Citizen and News* reported that "Heber Kimball had fourteen children born to him in the month of November last,

Mormon children as weaponry, however, predated the conflicts of the late 1850s. As an engraving from 1852 shows, images of Mormon mothers and children as the key to regional power emerged just after the Church formally announced the practice of plural marriage (Fig. 8). The announcement brought a swift resurgence of anti-Mormon literature and imagery, including a cartoon that shows a scene very similar to the one depicted in 1857. In this image, Mormon men are barely featured. As in the 1857 print (Fig. 6), Mormon mothers hold their babies aloft to defend against the incursions of the outside world. The military implications are clear, though the early date seems to preclude reference to a specific western conflict.

Fig. 8 "Mormon Breastworks and U.S. Troops," *The Old Soldier,* April 1, 1852.

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all doing well. Heber and Brigham have harems that cover each an acre of ground," *Lowell Daily Citizen*, March 16, 1859, Column D.

Although the theme of militarized women and children did not contain explicitly racial themes, race did figure into other contemporary depictions of Mormons. Mormons were frequently characterized as “Oriental” in books, periodicals, and plays as early as the 1850s. In one such play published in 1858, Brigham Young appears as a hypocritical drunk who ensnares innocent women into plural marriage. During an extended dream sequence, Young joins Mohammed in his harem for a day of lounging and hookah smoking. Mohammed councils his guest on the benefits of polygamy, and teaches him how to perpetuate his polygamous society.[206]

Connecting Mormons to Asiatic “barbarians” reinforced the sense of Mormon society as a throwback going against the grain of civilization and progress. Described as “Turks” and compared to African tribes, polygamy became a sort of point of reference used to compare and to group those outside the American cultural mainstream. These comparisons also had racial implications in the sense that, by grouping Mormons with non-whites, Mormons became a bit more foreign and a bit less white. As Terryl Givens has noted, this characterization helped to situate anti-Mormonism within the broader anti-immigration movement.[207]

Representations of Great Basin populations also reflected anxieties regarding the dispersal of land and the displacement of Indians. The division of land constituted a major theme of Congressional debate during the period of the Utah War. Congress discussed and debated the distribution of land and the promotion of Western settlement in

[206] Thomas Dunn English, *The Mormons, or, Life at Salt Lake City: A Drama in Three Acts*. New York: S. French, 1858. One of the more sympathetic characters in English’s play is an Irishman traveling West from New York, who ultimately assists in the rescue of an abducted woman from the clutches of the Mormon elders.

[207] See “’They Ain’t Whites…They’re Mormons,’: Fictive Responses to the Anxiety of Seduction” in Givens, *The Viper On the Hearth*, 121-152.

a fashion that would benefit federal interests. "All I have to say," stated Senator Stephen Douglas in 1858, "is that we know that the Indians are fading away before the advance of civilization like snow before the vernal sun; we know they are disappearing; they must disappear; we know that the white man must take their place; we know that our settlements are flowing to the Pacific Ocean." In order to maintain this momentum, the government would "remove the Indians from the path of civilization."[208]

Representations of a Mormon and Indian alliance confounded the demographic patterns—white Americans washing over the West, Indians receding—that Stephen Douglas presented as natural and preordained. Intermarriage symbolized political alliance based at the domestic level, and hinted at an atavistic turn among Anglo-Saxons. Indian women were connected with the degradation of Anglo-Saxon families. John Hyde's 1857 exposé of plural marriage cited the taking of "tawny beauties" as wives to Mormon patriarchs, while Mormon men might forsake their own white offspring as they pleased.[209] Mary Ettie Smith finally refused to marry her Mormon betrothed after discovering that he had been sealed to an Indian woman, while anti-Mormon fiction told of white women being given to Indians as "squaws." Firsthand accounts told of households with wives of different races, nationalities, and ages.[210]

The propagation of a mixed-race Anglo and Indian settler class was particularly problematic for negotiating federal land policies. In 1858 and 1859, as Congress contemplated its next move in Utah, it also debated the rights of "half-breed Indians" in

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[208] *Congressional Globe*, 36th Congress, 1st Session, 1248.
[209] John Hyde, *Mormonism: Its Leaders and Designs* (New York: W. P. Fetridge, 1857), 109-111. Hyde pointed to adoption of sons, and the use of daughters as bargaining chips, as evidence of a dangerous fanaticism. Hyde's is a rare account in that it warns of a "trafficking in sons" as well as young women.
[210] For an example of these themes in a supposedly firsthand account, see Maria Ward, *Female Life Among the Mormons; a Narrative of Many Years' Personal Experience.* New York: J. C. Derby, 1855. See also Mary Ettie V. Smith, *Fifteen Years Among the Mormons; being the narrative of Mrs. Mary Ettie V. Smith, late of Great Salt Lake City: a sister of one of the Mormon high priests,* New York: H. Dayton, 1859.

and around Kansas. The question of whether the federal government should enact treaties granting land titles to these Indians progressed explicitly along racial lines. Senator Jefferson Davis objected to the titles on the grounds that "roving" Indians lacked the social and political infrastructure to make treaties meaningful. Supporters of the measure explained that these Indians, being half Anglo, were "semi-intelligent" and capable of agricultural productivity. Although both sides agreed that this kind of logic could not be applied to the tribes of the West, the uncertain rights and capacities of these Indians made intermarriage particularly complex from the perspective of federal policymakers. Even the supporters of titles for "half-breeds" thought it prudent to enact policies that would insulate Anglos and Indians from each other.[211]

Justifying the expense of the Utah War before Congress in 1859, President James Buchanan invoked the benefits his actions had brought about for emigration and settlement in the interior West. Buchanan presented his argument in the context of broader remarks about popular sovereignty in Kansas and homesteading throughout the Territories. "The present condition of the Territory of Utah, when contrasted with what it was one year ago, is a subject for congratulation," Buchanan stated. "It was then in a state of open rebellion and, lost what it might, the character of the Government required that this rebellion should be suppressed" in "distant and dangerous" Utah.[212]

Buchanan specifically argued for the importance of the Utah War as a means of reassuring prospective settlers. "The march of the army to Salt Lake City, through the Indian Territory," he explained, "has had a powerful effect in restraining the hostile feelings against the United States, which existed among the Indians in that region, and in

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[211] *Congressional Globe*, 36th Congress, Second Session, 119.
[212] *Congressional Globe*, 36th Congress, Special Session, 2.

securing emigrants to the far West against their depredations." In order to promote peaceful settlement under federal auspices, Buchanan recommended two major actions: "establishing military posts and promoting settlements along the routes" that the soldiers had taken. In Utah, he recommended "that the benefits of our land laws and preemption system by extended…by the establishment of a land office in that Territory."[213] This would entail the designation of land to individuals and families, passed down through the "head of household." The federal government could reappropriate the land if its occupants failed to cultivate crops or otherwise develop the economic potential of the plot.[214]

These representations of intermarriage and land division rested on an assumed link between proliferating the population and controlling space. Without federal action, the nearly entirely male mining communities in Carson City and Pike's Peak would not be able to challenge the reproductive capacities of Mormon Utah. Beyond the distribution of land within Utah, there was a more dramatic proposal for supporting the crowding out of Mormons in the Great Basin: building up Nevada as a competing demographic base. Nevada appeared in political debate as a counterweight to Mormon and Indian populations in the region. Advocates of establishing a Nevada Territory argued that with "legal protection and an increased immigration," Nevadans could counter the Mormon hordes and the numbers of their Indian allies. "The population," read one editorial, "thus

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[213] *Congressional Globe*, 36th Congress, Special Session, 3.

[214] Some Mormon families were literally replaced following the Utah War evacuations. Newspapers reported, for example, that "honest and industrious emigrants" had purchased many of the abandoned Mormon homes in San Bernadino from speculators. See "Removal of Mormons from California," *Daily National Intelligencer*, November 19, 1857.

increased, would soon check the Indians, and restore peace and prosperity in the Territory."[215]

The demographic issues evoked by militarized women and children could perhaps be offset by the creation of Nevada as an independent state. The "establishment of a territorial government, thus securing…legal protection and an increased emigration," would subdue the Indians and promote peace. Nevada's entry into the Union was explained in the press as "part of the measures designed to compress the limits of the Mormons to the Great Basin, and defeat their efforts to confederate with the Indian tribes who reside in or roam through western Utah. For these and many other reasons no time will be lost to organize a Territory over western Utah, that there may be concentrated there a large Gentile population, as a check both upon the Indians and Mormons."[216]

Nevada settlements were particularly important because of the efforts of Missionary Mormons "who, for the purpose of making proselytes, take Indian squaws for wives." Mormons were waiting to "receive more recruits from abroad" before mounting another rebellion.[217] The *Grass Valley Telegraph* warned that "unless active measure are soon taken to supplant [the Mormons] with a more congenial population," they would increase their settlements to three states. "Their increase is regular and substantial," the *Telegraph* noted, "and steadily advancing in geometrical proportion."[218] Without intervention, the prodigious population growth polygamy allowed would only deepen the political crisis in the Great Basin.

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[215] "The Territory of Nevada—Utah—The Mormons and the Indian War," *The Omaha Nebraskian*, June 23, 1858. See also "The New Territory of Nevada," *The New York Herald*, May 17, 1858.
[216] "The Proposed Territory of 'Sierra Nevada,'" *San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin*, March 23, 1858.
[217] "The Territory of Nevada—Utah—The Indians and the Indian War," *The Omaha Nebraskian*, June 23, 1858.
[218] "The Eastern Slope of the Sierra Nevada—Mormon Progress," San Francisco *Daily Evening Bulletin,* May 8, 1856.

The emphasis on reproduction in perceptions of the Mormon threat ties the history of the Great Basin into a broader story of gender and empire. Much of the existing literature on this subject in an American context deals with overseas activity and expansion beyond North America beginning in the 1840s. Campaigns in and military occupations of Haiti, Hawaii, South and Central America have all been subject to gender analyses revealing the stakes of expansion and conflict over two centuries.[219]

Ann Laura Stoler's work on "the intimate as a strategic site of colonial governance" introduces the critical argument that domestic space may constitute a "critical vantage point for identifying how categories of exclusion were fortified and made common sense, shaping the constraints in which subjects and citizens were produced, their refusals framed, and their lives lived."[220] Nowhere in the American empire was domestic life a thornier and more urgent concern than in the Great Basin. As federal Indian policies and anti-bigamy legislation evolved after the Civil War, Indian and Mormon households were used as "microsites of governance" with the aim of advancing United States expansionist interests.[221] The imprinting of gender roles as well

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[219] Historians such as Amy Kaplan have also begun applying Stoler's framework to analyses of the U.S. West and Manifest Destiny. Kaplan's work examines developing images of U.S. empire in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, largely through literature and film. Gender and family emerge as a central point in creating order in the empire. In idealized film representations of the U.S. army in Cuba, for example, Kaplan describes how scripted domestic scenes helped draw broad audiences to screenings of essentially propagandistic newsreels. Amy Kaplan, *The Anarchy of Empire in the Making of U.S. Culture* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002). Other recent work, such as Mary Renda's *Taking Haiti*, has described the function of imperial activity to reinforce concepts of gender and race. Mary A. Renda, *Taking Haiti: Military Occupation and the Culture of U.S. Imperialism, 1915-1940* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001). Amy Greenberg's *Manifest Manhood* covers the aftermath of the Mexican War, but does not include an analysis of imperial dynamics within the newly expanded United States.

[220] Ann Laura Stoler, "Matters of Intimacy as Matters of State: A Response," *Journal of American History* 88 (2001), 893.

[221] Manipulations of gender roles and family structure characterized Indian policy throughout the United States in the nineteenth century, often resulting in the loss of women's traditional power within the tribal hierarchy. For an account of this phenomenon in an Eastern context, see Theda Perdue, *Cherokee Women: Gender and Culture Change, 1700-1835*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998.

as family structure was of critical importance to a successful American settler colonialist project.

That representations of Mormon marriage, gender roles, and reproduction were often comic suggests that perceptions of the Mormon threat were mixed. On the one hand, images of "infant armies" called attention to public concern regarding Mormon settlement. At the same time, these images suggested the absurdity of fearing the onslaught of women and children. Humorists including Artemus Ward and Mark Twain would pose similar comic criticisms of the Mormon family without any edge of fear or intimidation—Twain deriding the Book of Mormon as "chloroform in print," while Ward presenting Mormons as curiosities or hayseeds rather than a true menace (Fig. 9).[222] Despite the prominence of the anti-polygamy movement, which also understandably looms large in Mormon historiography, visual and popular literary culture suggests a more complex and varied spectrum of opinion, including considerable detached indifference.

[222] Twain's famous commentary on Mormonism appears in *Roughing It*, 107-116. Artemus Ward (whose real name was Charles Farrar Browne) devoted an entire book to Mormon humor. See Artemus Ward, *Artemus Ward (his travels) Among the Mormons*. London: James Camden Hotten, 1862. For an (unsympathetic) analysis of this phenomenon, see Richard C. Cracroft, "Distorting Polygamy for Fun and Profit: Artemus Ward and Mark Twain Among the Mormons," BYU Studies 14 (1974): 272-290.

BRIGHAM YOUNG AND HIS WIVES EN FAMILLE.

saw a not good-looking person of over forty, I asked "if there were any connection between her homely face, her strong mind, her age, and her name of *Miss?*"

Mr. B. laughed. "No, no," said he; "she was one of Smith's wives, and now belongs to Brigham. The strong-minded women of *Utah*, instead of usurping the man's place, only give all the wives they can get to their husbands." "What a lesson for Miss Lucy Stone!" cried Harry. After a row of these guys, as their costume made them appear, came a number of little children, then some women with babies, then some women with more children. There were over a dozen women, and Brigham might have turned round, pointed to them, and, as a second Alexander Selkirk, have sang,

"I'm monarch of all I survey."

I could not listen to the sermon for looking at these wretched and deluded women, who, first enslaved by this atrocious fanaticism, were then swayed at the will of their prophet. I asked myself what new principle of mental magnetism or psychology could fully explain their submission and his power. That it was voluntary on their part there could be no doubt, for many had offered themselves to Brigham as wives and had been rejected. Ladies forgive the reflection—I thought women must certainly be very weak-minded after all, and that Salt Lake polygamy must rob the Anglo-Saxon females of their boast of intellect, and the age of its vaunt of progress.

Next day we presented ourselves to Brigham at his office, as per invitation, and were very courteously received. The old fellow seemed in a very good humor, and we tried to make ourselves very agreeable. Pshaw! I remember how we tried to talk him out of an invitation to dinner, and a smile lurked at each corner of his mouth; for I believe he saw through our object, and was only making fun of us in his heart. However, we received the invitation as the bell rang, and, escorted by our remarkable host, we entered his long dining-hall.

He sat at the head of the table, behind him stood his negro waiter, a slave named Isaac. On one side of him sat Lady Young, a stout, pleasant-looking lady; on the other sat Emeline, whom report said was his favorite. There sat also some twenty others of his wives. Several of them had a little child seated by them. All styles of beauty were there, from the black-eyed and raven-haired houris of the old Mohammedan dreams of Paradise, to the blue eyes and auburn hair of Saxon girls. There, too, sat Joseph A. Young, Brigham's eldest son, between his wife and sweet-heart. Opposite to him was Brigham Young, Jun., a younger son of the prophet, who, though only a boy, now has a wife Catharine, and a little child, and was then busily engaged courting another lady, who also sat beside him, for the Mormon youths are very preco-

BALL AT THE MORMON THEATRE.

Fig. 9 Illustrations of Artemus Ward's account of Mormon life present Mormon gender imbalance as absurd rather than dangerous

Opinions regarding Mormon immigration and settlement continued to shift and evolve in the decades following the Civil War, without ever reaching a national consensus. A major factor in this change was geography and Anglo-American patterns of settlement. Following the completion of the transcontinental railway through Utah in 1869, regional demography would never again tilt in favor of Utah's Mormons. The war and postbellum years also saw a drastic expansion of federal power in the West, including an aggressive promotion of homesteading and the establishment of new states and territories including, in 1860, the State of Nevada.

Yet, the association between Mormons and a diverse West remained. Rather than disappearing as a theme, Mormon children and families continued to appear in American visual culture as an emblem of rising foreign populations. Images of Mormons and polygamy were also manipulated to justify policies and actions beyond the Great Basin. As federal aggression and Gentile settlements complicated the capability of Utah's Mormon community for self-rule, the geographic scope of "the Kingdom" also shifted and spread. By the 1870s, some Mormon families had followed missionaries into the southwestern Territories of Arizona and New Mexico.

Representations of Mormon evolved with this shift in economic, cultural, and political context. In the 1870s, images of Mormon communalism and economic isolation drew on existing themes of militancy and manipulation of Native Americans. As in Utah, images of Mormons on the Colorado Plateau had instrumental value. Examination of these representations shows the ways in which individuals and organizations made sense and tried to seize control of the largely unknown deserts of the United States Southwest and its populations.

Chapter Three

Protecting "Our Indians": William Arny, Grant's Peace Policy, and Images of Mormon Settlement on the Colorado Plateau

The representations of Mormons that helped to shape and justify federal actions in Utah had a role to play in other regions of Mormon and Anglo-American settlement as well. Mormon missionaries traveled throughout the world, including many areas, such as Hawaii, in which the United States government took more than a passing interest. Within North America, Mormons established a strong presence in a particularly unstable portion of the American continental empire: the Arizona Territory.

LDS interest in the Southwest dated from the early years of Western settlement. Mormon missionaries visited Arizona from the early 1850s onward. In the 1870s, however, the church began its Arizona Mission in earnest. In 1873, the church dispatched missionaries on an expedition to scout out northern Arizona and plant a permanent Mormon presence there. Even after initial failures, Brigham Young continued to believe in the potential of "the rich valleys south and east of the Little Colorado," which "offer homes for hundreds of those who desire to extend the curtains of Zion in that direction."[223]

Efforts to place permanent settlements in Arizona continued. "Here at home and tending meetings where President B. Young and Council and 12 Apostles and many of the Brethren was calculating the best means of colonizing that part of Arizona that we had been exploring," early missionary James Stephens Brown wrote in 1876, "for they

[223] James Stephens Brown Diary (typescript), 1875-6, 19, BYU MSS SC 807. L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University.

had just called 200 brethren to move into the country and settle it." Brown noted the strong popular enthusiasm for southern expansion. Visiting his home in Utah after three months of missionary work, Brown reported that "people began to call on me with all manner of questions about Indians and Arazona, and from that time…my house was thronged continually up to the very last moment of my starting back."

Brigham Young personally encouraged this enthusiasm for a move south. "After a few days rest I met with President B. Young who told me that he had been thinking of me," Brown wrote, "…as he intended to keep pushing out and onward in the Arizona and New Mexico." Young gave Brown a letter, stating: "Brother Brown is also authorized to received the names of those who are willing or desirous of helping to build up the Kingdom of God in that region."[224] As the transcontinental railroad undermined Mormon isolation and autonomy in the Great Basin, the relatively unpeopled deserts of Arizona offered an outlet by which to regain cultural and economic control over the church and its followers.

While Arizona was not the only contingency option that Young and other leaders considered, it was one of the most practical. Southern expansion would allow Mormon settlements access to inland routes to the California coast and to Mexico. Overseas expansion was another possibility that the embattled Mormons had explored from around the time of the Utah War. In the late 1850s, individuals connected with the church petitioned Congress (unsuccessfully) for the right to colonize New Guinea. Anti-

[224] James Stephens Brown Diary (typescript), 1875-6, 19, BYU MSS SC 807. L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University.

polygamists were wary of Mormon missionary activity in South America and the South Pacific, in particular, where multiple marriages were not uncommon.[225]

As in other areas of the Great Basin, Mormons on the Colorado Plateau frequently served as emissaries between the United States and Native Americans, both officially and unofficially. Jacob Hamblin, known as the "Buckskin Apostle" for the LDS Church, also served as a federal Indian Agent and guide. In 1870, he assisted John Wesley Powell on his second federally funded exploration of the Grand Canyon.[226] Although the rapidly increasing military and diplomatic federal presence in the area following the Civil War complicated their status, Mormons remained key arbiters in negotiating trade agreements and maintaining communication between Anglo and Indian groups on the Colorado Plateau.

As in Utah, the image of Mormons on the Colorado Plateau as corrupters of Anglo and Indian relations, and underminers of moral reform and assimilation, prevailed. These themes of anti-Mormonism, which had developed in the Midwest and in Utah, took on new contours in the context of the Colorado Plateau. The image of Mormons and concerns over Mormon influence in Arizona reflect the specific challenges of that environment, from the federal perspective, and also the prevalence of fears regarding marriage as a fundamental component of assimilation and establishing order. Federal reports and newspaper commentaries presented Mormons as an economic threat, due to their communalist beliefs and participation in existing, kin-based trade networks. The

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[225] For more on Mormons in the Pacific world, see Laurie F. Maffy-Kipp, Reid L. Neilson, and R. Lanier Britsch, *Proclamation to the People: 19th Century Mormonism and the Pacific Basin Frontier*. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2008.

[226] Hamblin appears frequently in Powell's reports, as do John D. Lee and his wife Emma. A published journal by a member of Powell's expeditions features encounters with both Hamblin and the Lees in the mid-1870s. See Don D. Fowler, ed., "*Photographed All the Best Scenery": Jack Hiller's Diary of the Powell Expeditions*. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1972.

disruption of these networks was essential to the easy integration of this region with the national economy. These images appeared, evolved, and were manipulated through newspaper coverage, federal reports, personal correspondence, and visual culture.

The career of William Arny, the federally appointed Indian Agent for the Navajo, offers a useful entry point for examining the image of Mormons in Arizona in the early 1870s. Arny assumed his post in 1873, as part of Ulysses S. Grants "Peace Policy," which aimed to "civilize" Native Americans under the auspices of a range of religious institutions. In his effort to assume local authority, William Arny leveraged the reputation of Mormon settlers, and the memory of Mountain Meadows, to elevate his position and break up local power structures. A dispute between Mormons and the Navajo in 1873 provided Arny with an opportunity to promote a specific view of Mormon settlement that played on existing fears. Arny's experience suggests perceived threats of Mormon settlement beyond polygamy, and shows the role of marriage regulation in controlling populations on the Colorado Plateau that were unrelated to religious practice.

The career of William Arny mirrored the rise of Republicanism on the national stage. An ardent Free-Soiler, Arny spent the second half of the 1850s in war-torn Kansas, brokering deals for federal aid and railroad construction. Although he was originally from the District of Columbia, William Arny was a self-styled frontiersman during his Kansas days. He appeared in a formal portrait in 1860 wearing panther skin clothes (Fig. 10). He presented Abraham and Mary Todd Lincoln with a Navajo blanket acquired in the

Rockies.[227] He wrote in to publications with his recommendation on a remedy for rattlesnake venom (iodine, no whiskey).[228]

Fig. 10 William F. M. Arny in his frontier garb[229]

With the ascent of the Republican Party, Arny, too, ascended. In 1862, he moved to New Mexico, serving as Indian Agent and Territorial Governor.[230] He embraced President Grant's Peace Policy of assimilation through allotment on reservations. Grant's reimagined reservation system was touted as protecting Indians from the depredations of white settlers and corrupt military officials, while protecting the settlers from Indians. The movement was in many ways an outgrowth of abolitionism, as former abolitionists

[227] "Major W.F.M. Arny, U.S. Indian Agent, New Mexico, Successor of Kit Carson, Rocky Mountain Ranger," *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, July 5, 1862.
[228] W.F.M Arny, "An Effectual Remedy for the Bite of a Rattlesnake," *The Cleveland Daily Herald,* November 9, 1858.
[229] Frontispiece from *Indian Agent in New Mexico: The Journal of Special Agent W. F. M. Arny, 1870.* Santa Fe: Stagecoach Press, 1967.
[230] Arny first served as the Ute and Jicarilla Apache Agent at Cimarron before moving to Santa Fe as Territorial governor. Arny spent much of his time building up the Republican Party in New Mexico, including the removal of Democratic officeholders and securing of the *New Mexican* newspaper for a Republican editor.

such as Wendell Phillips turned their attentions to the federal mistreatment of Native Americans, which Phillips decried as an "extermination policy."[231] In response to these charges, a sympathetic Congress appointed the Board of Indian Commissioners in 1869, mostly comprised of evangelical leaders and eastern reformers. President Grant appointed Ely Parker, himself a Seneca, to be the commissioner of Indian Affairs. The new religious cast of Indian reform emphasized the betterment of Native Americans through agricultural training and moral instruction.

At the managerial level, the Peace Policy rested on the transfer of power from military to religious authorities, who often brought their wives with them to their posts. Each approved religious sect—which did not include Jews or Mormons—maintained control of the personnel working in a specified Indian Agency or set of agencies. For the Navajo, the most important element of the Peace Policy was the establishment of a large reservation in 1868, after years of disastrous relocation at the Bosque Redondo.[232] The treaty establishing the new Navajo Reservation included provisions to encourage the tribe to overhaul existing social and economic customs. The government would provide annuities for ten years in hopes of promoting a patriarchal system of family farmers on the reservation.

[231] Robert W. Mardock, "Indian Rights Movement Until 1887," in Wilcomb E. Washburn, *Handbook of North American Indians* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2003), 303.

[232] The Bosque Redondo was a reservation in southeast New Mexico set up by the federal government in the early 1860s. The stated aim behind the reservation's construction was the training of Navajos and Mescalero Apaches in agricultural pursuits, moving them away from a polygamous, nomadic lifestyle. The forced relocation of the Navajo to Bosque Redondo is remembered as "The Long Walk." Those who survived relocation only lived at the new reservation until 1868, when the government declared the effort a failure and created a revised reservation system in the southwest. The agency eventually led by William Arny was one of the new outfits established at this time, as was a temporary agency run by Mormon missionary and scout Jacob Hamblin. See Gerald Thomas, *The Army and the Navajo: The Bosque Redondo Reservation Experiment, 1863-1868,* Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1973; Raymond Bial, *Great Journeys: The Long Walk—The Story of Navajo Captivity*, New York: Benchmark Books, 2003.

The new Navajo Agency was overseen by Presbyterian authorities under federal auspices. Although Indian Agents appointed by the Presbyterian Church did not necessarily need to be Presbyterian, officials of that denomination, operating out of New York City, judged applicants against their own moral standards. A formal application included letters of recommendation that would attest to the applicants moral as well as managerial skills and experience in the field. In William Arny's case, his background in Indian service and decades of commitment to the Disciples of Christ qualified him—along with his wife Salina—to be representatives of civilization. By the 1870s, Arny looked the part of the civilized man, trading in his buckskin for a suit.[233]

Arny was to set an example of Christian marriage and the Christian home that might be replicated throughout the West.[234] The establishment of "Christian" homes was a central imperative of Grant's approach to the "Indian Question," and part of a national movement to regulate (and re-sacralize) marriage.[235] As Ohio Senator George Pendleton stated, Indians would become civilized by accepting "the trinity upon which all civilization depends—family, home, and property." Historians have interpreted Peace Policy initiatives as emphasizing "monogamy, stationery life, and private property." As

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[233] Jennifer Nez Denetdale, *Reclaiming Diné History: the Legacies of Chief Manuelito and Juanita* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2007), 25; 112.

[234] The role of Protestant evangelicals in Reconstruction policy has been studied more extensively in the Southern rather than the Western context. See, for examples of the angles of this scholarship: Joe Martin Richardson, *Christian Reconstruction: the American Missionary Society and Southern Blacks, 1861-1890.* Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1986; Edward J. Blum, *Reforging the White Republic: Race, Religion, and American Nationalism, 1865-1890.* Baton Rouge: University of Louisiana Press, 2005; Paul Harvey, *Freedom's Coming: Religious Culture and the Shaping of the South from the Civil War Through the Civil Rights Era*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005. Blum's book is especially provocative in terms of comparison with studies of anti-Mormonism. Blum essentially argues that assertions of white Protestant nationalism became a means of traversing sectional and racial rifts in the decades following the Civil War. Although Blum does not discuss Indian policy or Mormonism at length, the dynamics he describes do resonate with Great Basin history—if on a slightly different timeframe. As I will discuss further in a later chapter, Mormons used the white nationalist rhetoric that Blum describes to fit Utah and its inhabitants into a national cultural and political narrative towards the end of the century.

[235] Cott, *Public Vows*, 112-117.

Robert Keller writes in his analysis of Protestant Indian Agency management, "these assumptions inspired and sustained the Peace Policy."[236] The nomadic, polygamous, and communitarian Navajo were ideal targets for these policies.

Part of promoting this "civilizing" project among the Indians was the enforcement of racial and geographic boundaries. In 1873, at the time of the Grass Valley conflict, congress debated the best way in which to "moralize" Native Americans and protect them from the influence of immoral whites. "The necessity is that we surround the Indians with protection by our laws," suggested Senator Morrill of Maine, "to the end that bad men shall not come into contact with them." Senator Stewart objected to the plausibility of total isolation of the Indians. "The fact has been," he stated, "that while you do surround them by laws, only bad men go there, and by the regulations of the Indians themselves, they allow those who intermarry with them to come there. I believe the fact has been that only the very worst class of white men have gone among them."[237] Intermarriage was thus the mechanism for infiltrating Indian societies and reinforcing the tribal identities that made Indians "quasi-foreign."[238]

Regulating marriage was a priority for William Arny. Arny had begun his intervention in the Fort Defiance Agency while still stationed in New Mexico. At that time, he complained about the appointment of a British immigrant named Thomas Keam to the position of Special Agent for the Navajo. Born in Cornwall, England, Keam had been recruited to the Union Army upon his first arrival in San Francisco and sent to

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[236] Robert H. Keller, *American Protestantism and United States Indian Policy, 1869-82.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983.
[237] *Congressional Globe*, 42nd Congress, 3rd Session, 370.
[238] *Congressional Globe*, 42nd Congress, 3rd Session, 372.

Arizona. At the conclusion of the Civil War, he decided to stay in Arizona, marrying a Navajo woman named Asdzaan Liba in a traditional ceremony.[239]

The post of Special Agent was roughly equal in stature to that of Indian Agent, and his appointment to the position gave Keam hope of someday running the Agency at Fort Defiance. Unfortunately for Keam, he did not meet William Arny's standards of virtue. Writing to John Lowrie, the Presbyterian mission secretary, Arny complained about the immorality at Fort Defiance, and about Keam in particular. Arny argued that the Agency should not be run by men who cohabited with Navajo women outside of Christian marriage, swore, drank, or gambled. He recommended another man for the post before taking it over himself.[240]

Keam was also charged with harboring employees involved in illicit domestic situations with Navajo women. He voiced his protest against this indictment, which would have been a matter of personal concern. "There are two employees of this Agency living with and married to the Navajo women according to the customs of the Navajoes which in no way conflicts with their morals," Keam explained in a letter to Superintendant Nathaniel Pope. "These men have families and naturally look to the women as their wives, and treat them as such." He suspected that Arny's objections to his appointment on moral grounds masked more selfish motivations. "I judge this false information has been given by some party who from mercenary and office seeking

[239] Denetdale, *Reclaiming Diné History*, 150.
[240] Lowrie to Arny, September 30, 1873, American Indian Correspondence: The Presbyterian Historical Society Collection of Missionaries' Letters, 1833-1893, Philadelphia, PA; and Lowrie to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, April 22, 1873, United States National Archives, Department of the Interior, Appointment Papers: New Mexico, Navajo Agency, K-Z, 1872-1903, microcopy M750, Washington, D.C.

motives, under the cloak of Christianity, seeks to injure these men."[241] Keam charged Arny with manipulating the regulation of marriage in order to advance his career.

Upon his arrival at Fort Defiance in 1873, William Arny continued to push against the influence of "squaw men." He denied Keam a license to operate a trade post. He then fired at least five Anglo and Mexican employees of the Agency on the grounds that each man had a Navajo wife. In at least one case, Arny charged the offending employee with bigamy as well.[242] Banished from service, Keam did not leave the area, remaining close to Fort Defiance. His wife remained linked to the Navajo reservation, which probably assisted Keam in maintaining his status among the Navajo headmen through his period of exile from federal service. The headmen were in charge of the flocks of sheep that formed the basis of the Navajo trade economy. Although the Navajo were matriarchal, men represented each family in formal negotiations. The headmen were political as well as economic leaders, again representing the interests of extended family units.[243]

Racial antipathies between Anglo settlers and Indians in Arizona relegated anti-Mormon sentiment to a secondary position. Anglo settlers tended to be much more accepting of Mormons as part of mainstream society than federal officials such as William Arny. The non-Mormon Anglo settlers, and particularly those who leaned Democratic, were willing to accept Mormons as fellow settlers. "We rather think," stated an editorial in the *Arizona Miner*, "that before long, many Mormons will cross the line of

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[241] Quoted in Frank McNitt, *The Indian Traders* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1989), 136.
[242] Arny to Smith, August 16, 1873, United States National Archives, Department of the Interior, Letters Received, Office of Indian Affairs, 1849-1880, New Mexico Superintendency, microcopy 234, Washington D. C.
[243] For more on the evolution of the informal Navajo economic system over time, see Michael Joseph Francisconi, *Kinship, Capitalism, Change: The Informal Economy of the Navajo, 1868-1995.* New York: Garland Publishing, 1998.

our Territory…and we are of the opinion that they would be welcomed by our people." Mormon settlement would be welcomed in particular if it might aid in the tasks of "developing the resources of the Territory and subduing the Indians." As for polygamy, the columnist declared: "no man would be allowed to have more than one wife, and our bachelors would be pretty certain to have said laws enforced."[244]

The idea that Mormon settlers could "subdue the Indians" may have arisen from the known connections between Mormons and Native Americans developed over the preceding decades. This perception was supported by contemporary reports of the railroad surveyors. John Wesley Powell, for example, had reported that Jacob Hamblin was well respected among the Indians they had encountered during his tour of the Grand Canyon. This influence would have been of great use to Arizona settlers confronting hostile Indian forces without the support of the federal government or the full force of the military.

Federal officials recognized the Colorado Plateau as an area in which Mormon settlement outpaced the institution of federal authority. In 1870, Brigham Young briefly left Salt Lake City under threat of prosecution for bigamy. Utah Governor George S. Woods wrote to President Grant in November of 1870: "I suppose you have heard, long ere this, of the flight of Brigham Young and others, associated with him in crime. He left on the night of Oct. 24 and traveled rapidly south…he is either in the extreme Southern portion of the Territory or in Arizona." Woods advised against pursuing Young in this

[244] "The Mormons and Arizona," *The Weekly Arizona Miner*, March 12, 1870. For more on resistance to Mormon settlement in Arizona, see JoAnn W. Bair and Richard A. Jensen, "Prosecution of the Mormons in Arizona Territory in the 1880s," *Journal of the Southwest: Arizona and the West* 19 (1977): 25-46; Richard S. Van Wagoner, *Mormon Polygamy: A History*. Salt Lake City, UT: Signature Books, 1986.

area, reasoning that "if he is in Utah he is in the extreme South where the settlements are exclusively Mormon, where the wildest fanaticism prevails."[245]

Understood to be a stronghold of Mormon separatism, southern Utah and Arizona became areas of particular concern for anti-polygamy advocates. Rumors of Mormon expansion into Mexico were common in contemporary newspapers. "Speaking of the San Francisco Mountain Mission in Arizona," gabbed the *Cleveland Morning Daily Herald* in 1873, "it is well known that for years a hiding place has been talked of, and that a safe retreat is always a desideratum with the heads of the Mormon Church. There is a well founded rumor that Mormon agents are negotiating for large tracts of land in Mexico."[246] The geographic expansion of Mormon settlement also expanded the scope of the "Mormon Question" by threatening to touch the new and promising settlements of the southwest. Depictions of this dynamic highlighted the primitivism of Mormons as their most objectionable quality.

The visual theme of the primitive Mormon developed after the Civil War to accommodate the burgeoning United Order movement—the Mormon communalist response to the new economics and demographics of the Great Basin.[247] In the popular press, humorists typically represented the United Orders via the icon of the wooden shoe. The premise of the joke was Brigham Young's suggestion that locally-made wooden shoes might replace factory-made shoes imported from the States. The image fit in with

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[245] Vault MSS 73; Letter from UT Gov. George S. Woods to President U.S. Grant, November 13, 1870; L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University.

[246] *Cleveland Morning Daily Herald*, February 14, 1873, 39, D. Visions of Mormon colonization of Mexico were realized after 1890, when the distancing of the church from polygamy led to the initiation of polygamous colonies in northern Mexican territory.

[247] The initiation of the movement in 1874 led to the founding of many new towns on a communal model, including the towns of Snowflake, Woodruff, St. Joseph, and Obed in Arizona. For an overview of Mormon collectivism, see Leonard J. Arrington, Feramorz Y. Fox, and Dean L. May, *Building the City of God: Community and Cooperation Among the Mormons.* Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1976.

existing tropes of Mormon culture as old-fashioned and silly.[248] Cartoons often showed Brigham Young wearing wooden shoes, or living in a shoe surrounded by multitudes of children (Fig. 11). These images are less threatening than the images of children published around the time of the Utah War. Instead they meant to poke fun at the disorder of an expanded and uncontrollable family while reflecting a real objection to expanding Mormon settlement in the Great Basin and Southwest.

[248] A typical United Order agreement included a provision that the community members would "be temperate, economical and frugal in our food and drink, avoiding as much as possible the use of imported luxuries." These luxuries included women's fashions. The Millard County United Order agreement stated its position in the following way: "We believe that the beauty of our garment should be the workmanship of our own hands." Millard County United Order, MSS 171. L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University. Criticism of Mormon women as primitive beings in their homemade clothes gained momentum in the wake of this change. The donning of "plain" garments disrupted notions of class, refinement, and gender, rending Mormon women degraded to their non-Mormon counterparts. Visitors to Utah praised the Salt Lake City architecture as an example of Western refinement. Its grand buildings, wide streets, and well-kept gardens suggested a particular moral order. Those Mormon women who did not conform to Eastern and European codes of fashion were considered culturally backward and troublingly incongruous with the institutions of Salt Lake City.

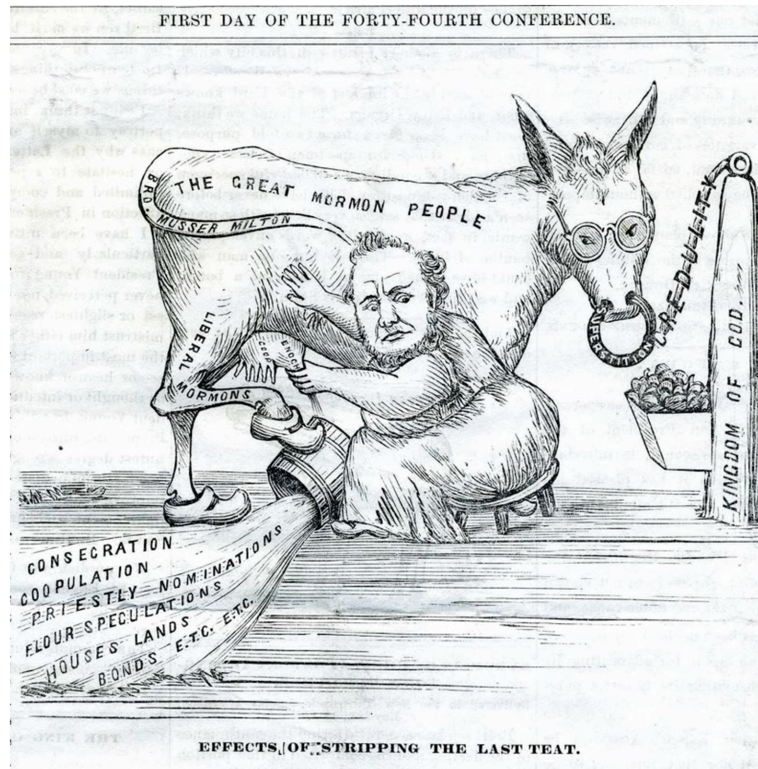

Fig. 11 In this allegorical cartoon, the animal (probably a cow/donkey hybrid) representing "The Great Mormon People" wears wooden shoes and spectacles."Effects of Stripping the Last Teat." *Enoch's Advocate*, May 4, 1874.

The United Order movement played into ideas of savagery and backwardness associated with Native American cultures. The significance of this allegation was economic as well as cultural. "The average Mormon is perfectly satisfied if he can have two or three wives in an adobe hut of one room," declared a Presbyterian minister living in Ogden, Utah, who further declared Mormonism "a foe to all civilization. Brigham Young cursed the Gentiles for opening up the mines of Utah. He did all in his power to prevent the progress of the Pacific Railway until he saw its dark circle of iron coiling firmly around the bloody soul of Utah."[249] The trend among some United Order

[249] Philip Van Zile, Scrapbook 1879-83, MSS SC 81. "Mormonism Arraigned: Lecture Delivered by Rev. George W. Gallagher, in Ogden, on Sunday Evening, January 18th, on the Opening of the Presbyterian Church"; L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University. Brigham Young's aversion to mining, in particular, contributed to his characterization as a primitivist. There were

Mormons of wearing moccasins instead of their uncomfortable wooden shoes only emphasized the sense of Mormon atavism.[250]

Mormon antagonism to economic integration had implications for would-be industrialists like William Arny. In addition to the moral affront of polygamy, anti-Mormon sentiment often included assumptions of Mormon primitivism and antagonism towards industry. The active interest of the railroad industry in Arizona gave this assumption immediate relevance. In 1869, the United States Congress had listened to proposals to construct a southern rail under the auspices of the South-Western Pacific Railroad Company. Championed by Republican Representative William Pitt Kellogg of Louisiana, the South-Western rail and telegraph would run from Arkansas "thence through New Mexico and Arizona to a point on the Rio Colorado, near the south-eastern boundary of California, and thence to San Francisco."[251] Passing through northern Arizona, the railroad would almost certainly cut across part of the Navajo Reservation—a point not lost on William Arny. At the time of his appointment to the Fort Defiance Agency, Arny began to lobby Washington for land cession from the northwestern sector of the reservation.[252]

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even rumors circulated in the Great Basin and southwest that Young would attempt to destroy the railroads and mines in order to maintain local control.

[250] Wooden shoes, while easily sourced locally, proved exceptionally uncomfortable. Although the idea of the United Order stressed the sole use of products from within the order, Native Americans and other trading partners could in some cases offer much more attractive options. The diary of Orson W. Huntsman recounts the author's acquisition of some moccasins from a local Paiute band in exchange for some potatoes and flour. Arriving at church that weekend in his contraband footwear, Huntsman found that "the Bishop and others had to acknowledge that the moccasins took the shine off the old wooden shoes, both for comfort and handsome." Huntsman kicked off the moccasin trend in his community of Hebron. Diary of Orson W. Huntsman [typescript] vol. I, 78; L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University.

[251] Kellogg presented this proposal on behalf of the House Committee on Pacific Railroads. The Company he proposed for incorporation would require an initial investment of one million dollars. "XLTH CONGRESS---IIIRD SESSION," *New-York Tribune,* January 15, 1869, 8.

[252] Laura Graves. *Thomas Varker Keam, Indian Trader.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998.

Since his early career in Kansas, Arny had believed in the transformative power of the railroad. The completion of a railway through Kansas, he had argued, would iron out the ideological differences between settlers. This theory also prevailed regarding the effects of the railroad in Utah. The underlying assumption was that engagement with the market would have a corrective influence on Utah's Mormons, peacefully erasing their more aberrant behaviors. Mormon polygamists would be undone by the demands of fashion. Having to dress more than one wife in the latest styles, anti-polygamists argued, would quickly render polygamy impractical.[253] An 1873 report stated that one of Brigham Young's sons had given up two of his three wives and moved to Philadelphia after becoming involved in the railroad industry.[254]

Indian reformers placed a similar amount of stock in the magical effects of capitalism. The Peace Policy that Arny advocated and represented assumed that Indian citizenship would be predicated on an embrace of private property. As one reformer stated, "We need to awaken in [the Indian] wants…Discontent with the teepee and the starving rations of the Indian camp in winter is needed to get the Indian out of the blanket and into trousers,--and trousers with a pocket in them, and with a pocket that aches to be filled with dollars!"[255] Contact with capitalism would encourage selfishness, which in these descriptions was indistinguishable from the individualism necessary for United States citizenship.

The civilizing effects of the railroad would touch not only the Mormons in Utah, but the Anglo and Indian residents of the southwest, stabilizing the economy and the mail

[253] "The Pacific Railroad and Mormon Polygamy," *The World* (NY), May 5, 1869, 4. Another article declared the "Mormon problem…solved," explaining that "Paris fashions have taken a foothold in Utah, and every Elder will be ruined in six months. Think of one man dressing twenty women."
[254] *Cleveland Morning Daily Herald*, February 14, 1873, 39, D.
[255] See *Lake Mohonk Conference Proceedings*, 11.

service in that region. Horace Greeley's *New-York Tribune* argued that "the Southern road will place the commercial and political future of all Northern Mexico in our hands. It will hasten permanent Reconstruction more than any other possible agency. It will develop the great resources of the South…by opening a new and vital outlet, thus showing the disaffected that she is to share equally with the North in all the privileges and benefits of a restored Union." Citing the high incidence of violent clashes with Indians in the Southwest, the *Tribune* enthusiastically stated "it is cheaper to build Pacific railways than to fight Indians!" The South-Western rail could reduce the standing army as it promoted commerce and communication.[256] Construct the railroads, one advocate promised, and the United States "would have Arizona by the umbilical chord [sic] now and for all time."[257]

Congressional debates concerning anti-polygamy measures considered the influence on Mormons on the southern rail route. Representative Ward of New York encouraged further legislation on the grounds that Mormons were multiplying and influencing other western populations. Ward expressed "apprehension that persons connected with the Pacific Railroad and persons living in adjacent States and Territories were becoming debauched through their contiguity to Utah." Representative Schenck, another Republican from Ohio, was not sure that this measure was necessary. He was "inclined to believe that the advance of the lines of railways and of the telegraph, and the progress of the tide of emigration, carrying with it all the influences of Christian

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[256] Greeley further argued that, although he believed that construction of the Southern rail would ultimately pay for itself, the United States should take on the expense no matter what the cost. Comparing the construction to the education of a child, Greeley asked rhetorically whether a parent wouldn't pay for this education regardless of his personal debt. "Two More Pacific Railways," *New-York Tribune,* January 20, 1869, 2.
[257] *Weekly Arizonian*, August 14, 1870.

civilization, would be more effective than all the enactments of Congress to accomplish the object in view."[258]

Rumors of Mormon and Indian conspiracy to disrupt the railroad and mining industries, as well as the perennial issue of mail service, remained a constant of anti-Mormon sentiment. "A Washington dispatch asserts that the Mormon plan of retaliation for the government's action against polygamy, is to foment an Indian war from Arizona to the northern bounds of Dakota," buzzed a newspaper in the faraway town of Bangor, Maine. The aim of the Mormons, according to this news item, was to "destroy the overland railroads, and to devastate the whole western frontier. The Mormons are not prepared for a direct conflict now, and the Indians seem to them to be an instrument ready at their hands to be used against the nation without destroying themselves."[259] Arny's reasoning jibed with the suspicion (longstanding, by the 1870s) that Mormon settlement in the West necessarily included an element of military conspiracy with Native American allies.

William Arny had both the professional task and personal incentive for making sure that the Arizona economy thrived. His attempts to regulate the economic and social structure of the territory, through the marriages of Thomas Keam and others, was one method he used to assert his authority and implement an order he could control. Another chance came in the spring of 1873, during a brief moment of local crisis.

Shortly after William Arny took control of the Navajo Agency, a trade disagreement between career criminals Tom and Bill McCarty and a group of young Navajo men in southern Utah turned violent. The McCartys opened fire on their

[258] This exchange occurred in debate over the Cullom Bill in 1870. See "XLIST CONGRESS—2D SESSION," *New-York Tribune*, March 23, 1870, 8.
[259] *Bangor Daily Whig & Courier,* October 23, 1871.

adversaries, killing three men and wounding another. The McCarty band then helped themselves to the dead men's horses and possessions.[260]

In late August, a contingent of Navajo men and one woman arrived at the Mormon encampment in northeastern Arizona seeking redress for the murders. Missionary William Henry Solomon recognized among his guests the Navajo military leader Ketchene and two of his sons, "Father and brothers of the Indians murdered at Grape Valley near Circle Ville, Utah." Although Solomon was not initially aware of the purpose of the visit, he sensed tension. When Ketchene tried to place his hand on Solomon's pistol, a wary Solomon resisted.[261]

Despite his apprehension, Solomon soon discerned that the purpose of the visit was diplomatic. Ketchene wanted to talk, not fight. He invited two men, Ira Hatch and John Blythe, to travel from the Mormon outpost to his camp in order to discuss the question of culpability in the Grass Valley murders. It was a question of some complexity. Although Ketchene recognized the McCartys as the actual killers, and did not necessarily believe that they were Mormons, he nonetheless held the Mormons responsible for the deaths.

By the time of the murders, Ketchene had decades of experience interacting with Mormon missionaries on the Colorado Plateau. In a letter to the Navajo headmen following Ketchene's visit, Jacob Hamblin tried to reaffirm his relationship with the tribe. "Three years ago we had a great peace talk with you," he recalled. "We offered you the

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[260] The McCartys would earn a reputation in the 1880s as bank robbers. They also contributed to the annals of Western outlaw history by introducing a Circleville neighbor, Robert Parker, to a life of crime. Parker became nationally famous for his exploits under the name of Butch Cassidy. The exact nature of the disagreement that precipitated the 1873 killings is unknown.

[261] "Grape Valley" refers to Grass Valley, an area in southern Utah east of Circleville. William Henry Solomon, Diary of the Arizona Mission, 1873 [Typescript], 31 MSS SC 790. L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University.

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Olive [branch], which you accepted in good faith, as we verily believe from the course you have taken since in returning stolen property." The "peace talk" to which Hamblin referred was a treaty he himself had signed at Fort Defiance in 1870, restricting the Navajo from southern Utah except when Hamblin granted them permission and protection to travel.[262] "We have felt to rejoice in the hopes of living in peace with you [since 1870]," Hamblin wrote, "which I am confident we would have done had it not been for one McCarty, killing three of your people and wounding one more. This man is a stranger to us and not of our people."[263]

Hamblin's language delineated Mormons from other Anglo settlers, despite the racial similarities and common national identification that united them. Doing so reinforced a particular power structure in the region based on Mormon autonomy as a group. Not only were Mormons not responsible for these murders, Hamblin suggested, but they did not consider themselves related to the Anglos—"strangers" to the Mormons and not kin.

Ketchene argued that the Mormons were responsible for the 1873 killings regardless of the McCartys's religious affiliation. He demanded retribution, despite Solomon's insistence that "the Mormons were not guilty of the crime, that we were their friends." Ketchene was unwilling to let the matter drop. The location of the killings probably also touched a nerve, as Circleville had been the site of a Mormon massacre of

[262] Hamblin sometimes personally escorted the Navajo on their trade missions to the north. Members of the second Powell Expedition encountered Hamblin and a Navajo party returning from one such trip in 1872. The entire group—four Mormons and nine Navajos—had gone to the Mormon settlements to trade blankets for sheep and horses. See Evelyn Brack Measeles, *Lee's Ferry: A Crossing on the Colorado* (Boulder, CO: Pruett Pub. Co.), 18.
[263] MSS SC 785; Bureau of Indian Affairs Correspondence Letter 2: From Jacob Hamblin and other Mormon signatories on the Moqui Pueblos, 3 May 1874, via Fort Defiance, to the Chiefs of the Navajo Nation; L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University.

Paiutes seven years prior.[264] He requested that the Mormons meet him in 10 days at the camp of the Navajo leader Peokon. To remind them of their appointment, Ketchene, “cut 10 notches on a stick to represent the days.”[265]

The Grass Valley murders offered a moment for William Arny to assert his federally mandated authority on the Colorado Plateau.[266] Arny wrote to Colonel J. Irvine Gregg, Commander of the District of New Mexico based in Santa Fe. “Sir,” began Arny, “the complication existing between the Mormons, Gentile settlers, Navajo, Moqui and Utah Indians, in my judgment, renders it essentially necessary that I should visit the country west of this reservation.”[267] Arny insisted that Mormons were to blame for the unrest among the Navajo. “McCarty who killed the Indians referred to is a Gentile,” Arny reported to his superiors, “but he had mormons to help him.”[268]

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[264] This incident was part of the series of raids known as the Black Hawk War. During this extended conflict, bands of Indian raiders under the loose direction of Paiute military leader Antonga Black Hawk clashed with Mormon settlers in central and Southern Utah over access to natural resources. For a good recent history of this conflict, see John Alton Peterson, *Utah's Black Hawk War*. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1999.

[265] William Henry Solomon, Diary of the Arizona Mission, 1873 [Typescript], 31, MSS SC 790. L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University. The territorial authorities treated Ketchene's ultimatum as a threat of war. William Arny requested an “escort of not less than One Company of Troops, with Officers of judgment, to cooperate with me in an endeavor to make peace between the Indians, Mormons, and others interested…I have hesitated in asking this, but the growing trouble, in my opinion, demands prompt action to prevent war.” He also recommended sending messages to “the parties interested, in Colorado, Utah and Arizona, so that we can all meet at the crossing of the Colorado, as soon as possible.” Bureau of Indian Affairs Correspondence, Letter 1: From WFM Arny, Agent for Navajo Indians at the Navajo Indian Agency, Fort Defiance, AZ, June 3, 1874 to Col J Irvine Gregg, Commanding District of New Mexico, Santa Fe, MSS SC 785. L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University.

[266] I am using the shorthand of “Grass Valley murders” or “Grass Valley incident” to refer both to the murders themselves and to the ensuing tension between the Navajo and Mormons.

[267] A note on the “Moqui” moniker: tribal names have shifted significantly over time. “Moqui” is an antiquated term for Hopi, and probably originated with the Zuni. The Zuni are also responsible for the term “Navajo,” roughly translated to mean “excrement-people.” Although some Native peoples still identify as Navajo, many prefer to be categorized as Dine. See discussion of these evolving preferences of identification in Peter Iverson, *Dine: A History of the Navajos.* Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2002.

[268] Although Brigham Young had called for the conversion of southwestern tribes in his plans to settle Mormon towns in Arizona, this was by no means a new policy. In his instructions to James Stephens Brown, Young mentioned Zunis and the Moqui (Hopi) specifically as potentially sympathetic groups.

William Arny's presentation of Mormons as instigators of Indian violence reinforced widely held assumptions about Mormon goals and methods. Exacerbating these anxieties helped Arny to further his goal of gaining control over the five-year-old Navajo Reservation. To do this, he needed to displace older systems of trade and diplomacy in the region that were hampering the larger policies of reservation seclusion and agricultural training. Undermining Mormon authority offered a means of disrupting the existing local power structure, in order to replace that structure with a federally integrative cultural and economic model.

Like the segregation championed by John Wesley Powell, assimilating Native Americans into the national economy was the more progressive of several competing ideas of Southwestern settlement. The disruption of indigenous kinship systems was one of the few alternatives to extermination considered the national level. Extermination was not an unpopular choice. A vocal group of Arizona settlers condemned the Peace Policy as favoring Indians—and particularly the Apache—over Anglos and essentially allowing the murder of white settlers. As evidence of the need for extermination, Arizona newspapers printed lists of Anglos killed by Apaches since 1864. General George Crook, the Apache Agent, complained that the Peace Policy tied the hands of the military.[269]

Frustrated settlers blamed President Grant for continued clashes with Native Americans throughout the region. The reading public of New York learned that "the Indians seem more determined than ever to annihilate the whites of Southern New-Mexico and Arizona," illustrated with a gory story about the death of a mail coach

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James Stephens Brown Diary (typescript), 1875-6, 19, MSS SC 807. L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University.

[269] See "The Indian Problem in Arizona—Johnny Apache as a "Man and Brother,"" *Daily Evening Bulletin*, September 25, 1871.

operator. The conductor of a Santa Fe Overland Mail and Express line was found "horribly mutilated…the breast laid open, the heart removed, split, and placed upon the face." Adding insult to injury, some of the lost mail was later recovered, "with the checks cut to pieces."[270]

This violent activity occurred primarily in the southern part of the Territory, outside of the range of the Navajo. Nonetheless, bloodshed in the southwest led to a general indictment of the Peace Policy. In April of 1871, an uprising of Anglo, Mexican, and Indian residents of Arizona killed over a hundred and forty Apache men, women, and children near Camp Grant. The Apaches had set up this encampment under the pledged protection of the federal government.[271] Criticism of the Peace Policy gained support following Camp Grant, which detractors claimed showed Grant's sympathy for Indians over Anglo settlers. "It is not to be supposed that Grant favored the murder of the Arizona people," read one particularly generous editorial. "No doubt he would rather have them live than die. But he attends to little public business…Because the President of the United States likes better to eat heavy dinners, and to quarrel with the best men in the Republican party, and to amuse himself, than to do his duty, therefore men and women and little children in Arizona have had to die cruel deaths, during the last three years, by the hands of the Apaches."[272]

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[270] This story, which ran in the *New-York Tribune*, was reprinted from a Sante Fe news source and was probably intended to arouse sympathy for the Anglo settlers of the southwest. "The Indians," *New-York Tribune*, April 29, 1871, 1.

[271] Historian Karl Jacoby has illuminated the complex and varied motivations for participation in the Camp Grant Massacres. Among Jacoby's key points is that analysis of Camp Grant breaks down expected dynamics of white versus Indian or even white versus non-white. The Grass Valley case—while much less dramatic than Camp Grant—reveals similarly complex racial dynamics. Arny's categorization of the Mormons and "squaw men" as unacceptable settlers showed a specific understanding of what it meant to be white and to be American. Karl Jacoby, *Shadows At Dawn: A Borderlands Massacre and the Violence of History*. New York: Penguin Press, 2008.

[272] "Grant in Arizona," *New-York Tribune,* July 12, 1872, 4.

William Arny assumed his post as Indian Agent at Fort Defiance in the aftermath of this well publicized episode. The federal government responded to Camp Grant with a large-scale investigation of the "Indian Question" in the West, including the Colorado Plateau and Utah. An 1873 survey of Great Basin tribes conducted by John Wesley Powell resulted in a recommendation for further reservation restrictions, since Indians were not safe near areas of white settlement.[273] This emphasis placed on separating Anglo-American from Indian, in keeping with Powell's recommendations, rendered existing Mormon settlements and alliances in the regions particularly undesirable. Powell argued that whites and Indians in close proximity could lead not only to Indian violence, but to white violence directed at Indians.

William Arny's reports presented Mormon and Indian contact as potentially dangerous by tying the relatively small-scale incident at Grass Valley to Mountain Meadows. By invoking Mormon complicity in or encouragement of Indian violence, Arny cast Jacob Hamblin's behavior as an eerie echo of past events. He worried aloud that the Colorado Plateau might be an environment in which the long-feared Mormon-Indian alliance could continue to incubate. Arny pointed out to his superiors that "the leading Mormon who controls the ferry on the Colorado river is J. D. Lee who was so notorious in 'the Mountain Meadows Massacre' and who from all I can learn is doing

[273] Powell's visit came on the heels of the Modoc or Lava Beds War in California, a deadly standoff between the U.S. Army and the Modoc Indians, instigated by the mismanagement of reservation settlement. "The commission was delayed a couple of days by snows that blockaded the railroads over the mountains, but arrived in Salt Lake City early in May," began Powell's report. "At that time there was much excitement in the country, consequent on the disastrous conflict with the Modocs. The commission found that the feelings of the white people inhabiting the territory under consideration were wrought to a high state of resentment, which frequently found vent in indignities on the Indians, while the latter were terrified, and many of them had fled to the mountains for refuge." *Report of Special Commissioners J.W. Powell and G.W. Ingalls on the Condition of the Ute Indians of Nevada; the Pai-utes of Utah, Northern Arizona, Southern Nevada, and Southeastern California; the Go-si Utes of Utah and Nevada; the Northwestern Shoshones of Idaho and Utah; and the Western Shoshones of Nevada; and Report Concerning Settlers in the Mo-a-pa Valley, (Southeastern Nevada.)* Washington: Government Printing Office, 1874.

much to encourage the Indians to steal from 'the Gentiles.'"[274] This interpretation drew on fears of Mormon and Indian alliance while simultaneously invoking the image of Mormon settlement as an economic roadblock to federal and private interests in Arizona.

Jacob Hamblin, aware of the perception of Mormons as out of step with Anglo-American economic imperatives, called upon the business sensibilities of William Arny in asking for help with the Grass Valley fallout. Hamblin was faced with an untenable price to the Navajo for their perceived failure to keep order. Mormon diplomats traveled to Oraibi, a predominantly Hopi village in Navajo territory, to discuss the matter. There, Ketchene delivered a list of demands to be met by June 13, 1874, including hundreds of horses and heads of cattle.[275]

Faced with this penalty, the local Mormon authorities appealed to the federal government for protection. He argued that the Mormons were contributing members of the local community, "having in good faith and with earnestness of purpose settled and made improvements [in the land] having built houses and opened up farms for the purpose of raising grain and growing stock."[276] He further insisted that "the growing

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[274] The perennial issues of Mountain Meadows and the Gunnison Massacre, in particular, became burdens on Mormons weary of defending their patriotism. "The Sevier bears the silent record of the massacre of poor Gunnison and his party," mused the *Mountaineer,* "and the bones of nearly two hundred men, women and children tell the sad story of the Mountain Meadows…we wish to see the murderers, white or red…arraigned, and by the same verdict that convicts them, see the mass of our citizens exonerated." Frustrated Utah residents pointed to their own continuing antagonisms with Indians as a sign of their allegiance to the United States. It was the Indians, insisted the local press, who were terrorizing Mormon settlers and causing trouble in the region. Ayer 1 M92, Newberry Library, Chicago, IL.

[275] William Henry Solomon, Diary of the Arizona Mission, 1873 [typescript], MSS SC 790. L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University. Ketchene's precise demands vary in the documentation of the incident. One letter lists his central demand as 400 heads of cattle, for example, while another indicates 192 horses and 100 heads of cattle. Despite these inconsistencies it is clear that Ketchene asked for a major compensation that would have severely taxed Mormon communities in southern Utah during a period of economic instability.

[276] This approach of exploiting their double status as American insiders and outsiders was not unusual in Mormon negotiations. What was unusual in the proceedings was the possible generational division among the Navajo and Paiutes on the issue of Mormon allegiance. During negotiations, while "Ketcheene and one of his sons looked cheerful and friendly," William Henry Solomon reported, "the other drew the collar of his coat up around his mouth and looked sad and sullen." William Henry Solomon, Diary of the Arizona

importance of the San Juan mines and other parts of our Territory, are benefited by the establishment of [Mormon] settlements." Hamblin's argument refuted the prejudice against Mormons as separatists and as antagonistic to industry and trade.[277]

This evidence of good citizenship notwithstanding, Arny urged that Mormon settlements be moved away from the Navajo reservation, presenting Mormons as a corrupting influence. The presence of Mormon settlements, he argued, could "in the judgment of Agent Defreese of the Moquis Agency and myself tend to demoralize both tribes of Indians."[278] Arny also had material concerns about settlement patterns and landholding. He believed that "the Mormons are so anxious to encroach and settle upon the Moqui and Navajo lands" rather than respecting federal allotments and reservation boundaries.[279] Without preserving the integrity of the reservation, the federal government would be virtually powerless to impose its "civilizing" policies, including allotment.

Arny's attempt to regulate Navajo trade was part of a larger project of assimilation. Teresa Wilkins has pointed out that the establishment of trading posts served federal ends by assimilating the Navajo into the capitalist economy.[280] While the federal government did encourage trade, issuing licenses to Anglo traders on a regular basis, they were also aware of trade occurring outside of the federal purview. After the Navajo return from Fort Sumner in 1868, many families settled outside of the reservation

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Mission, 1873 [Typescript], 31, MSS SC 790. L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University

[277] Arny to Dudley (National Archives Record Group 75, T21, Records of the NM Superintendency of Ind. Affairs), March 28, 1874.

[278] W.S. Defrees was the third Agent at the Moquis Pueblo Agency established at Keams Canyon in 1869. Like Arny, Defrees began his appointment in 1873 and lasted only one year in the position. Arny to Dudley (National Archives Record Group 75, T21, Records of the NM Superintendency of Ind. Affairs), March 28, 1874.

[279] Arny to Dudley (National Archives Record Group 75, T21, Records of the NM Superintendency of Indian Affairs), March 28, 1874.

[280] Teresa Wilkins, *Patterns of Exchange: Navajo Weavers and Traders* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2008), 23.

boundaries and continued a kinship-based trade system.[281] The kinds of unsupervised and unsanctioned trade activity that had precipitated the killings at Grass Valley were problematic to the Peace Policy on a fundamental level.

The targeting of John D. Lee in the Grass Valley controversy may also have been rooted in a federal desire to control local transportation and commerce. Lee, one of the named participants in the Mountain Meadows Massacre, had run the key ferry across the Colorado since 1871.[282] The isolated yet strategic location of the ferry made Lee a powerful figure in the region. Occasionally abandoning his post to elude capture, Lee spent much of his time operating the ferry, and became something of a tourist attraction in the area. John K. Hillers, the photographer on the Powell Expedition recounts having visited with Lee and his wife Emma on several occasions without incident. Rather than reviling Lee, Hillers considered him a local oddity. Just as tourists craned their necks to catch a glimpse of a polygamous family on the streets of Salt Lake City, visitors to Lee's Ferry enjoyed their brush with a figure of Mormon lore.[283] Hillers described spending the Mormon holiday Pioneer Day with Lee. Seeing locally prominent Mormons as an asset to their task rather than a threat, Powell and his men maintained a friendly relationship with John and Emma Lee.[284]

Arny played up Lee's presence as evidence that another Mountain Meadows was brewing in the southwest, vowing to "find out fully the intention of the Mormons in their

281 Kelley and Whitely, *Navajoland: Family Settlement and Land Use* (Tsale, AZ: Navajo Community College Press, 1989), 43-5.
282 Lee's ferry was situated at the confluence of the Colorado and Paria Rivers, just south of Glen Canyon.
283 Thomas K. Hafen. "City of Saints, City of Sinners: The Development of Salt Lake City as a Tourist Attraction, 1869-1900." *The Western Historical Quarterly* 28 (1997): 342-377.
284 Don. D. Fowler, *'Photographed All the Best Scenery': Jack Hillers' Diary of the Powell Expeditions, 1871–1875* (University of Utah Press, Salt Lake City, 1972), 103-6.

encroachments upon our Indians."[285] In his report to his superiors, Arny was able to invoke Mountain Meadows to ask for federal protection and support. "Hundreds of Indians are daily begging me for something to eat," he told his superiors in Santa Fe, noting that the Navajo police chief Manuelito "also demands pay."[286] He warned that the needed supplies "they can get by depredation on the settlements if not furnished to them. Four of the Mormons who have signed [Hamblin's letter] were engaged in the Mountain Meadows Massacre, and I am fully satisfied that the miners and Gentile settlers will be treated in the same manner and the crimes by Mormons will be charged to the Indians, unless they are kept on this reservation."[287] The report strongly implied that a failure to deal with the tensions on the Colorado Plateau would result in a undermining of the Peace Policy and its accomplishments.

Arny's final recommendation was that a delegation of Navajo leaders should be invited to Washington in order to assert federal authority and prevent war. The possibility of a southwestern war was particularly alarming in the aftermath of the Camp Grant disaster and the California Modoc War that had cost the federal government an estimated four million dollars just a year before.[288] "I am fully of the opinion that these matters must be settled, or war will result," wrote Arny. "To avoid this and save expense to the

[285] Arny to Dudley (National Archives Record Group 75, T21, Records of the NM Superintendency of Ind. Affairs), March 28, 1874.
[286] Arny to Colonel L. Edwin Dudley, May 12, 1874: enclosed copies from Mormon settlers west of Fort Defiance.
[287] Although the Mormon communalist United Order Movement does not appear in official documents concerning Grass Valley, it may have informed the argument against Mormon settlement in Arizona.
[288] Historian Robert Utley has argued that the Modoc War in fact was one of the events that undermined the Peace Policy. The other event Utley mentions is the Sioux War, in which once and future Apache Agent George Crook played a major role. See Robert Utley, *Frontier Regulars: The United States Army and the Indian, 1866-1891* (Norman: Bison Books, 1984), 206.

Government, the Indians must be fed, and a delegation of Ten Indians allowed to go to Washington, immediately, as they have requested."[289]

Arny had promoted the view of the U.S. President as the "Great Father" relentlessly while working on the 1870 Indian census, promising the President's protection to Indian populations throughout the Southwest. The 1873 discord between Mormons and the Navajo gave him a chance to assert, once again, the power of the "Great Father."[290] In the winter of 1874, a delegation of twelve Navajos disembarked at the Washington, D.C. train station. They were the first group of southwestern Indians to make such a journey. Unused to the climate and largely unable to speak English, the Navajo representatives relied on two translators to relay their words from Spanish. Their other companion was William Arny. It was Arny's charge to guide the Navajo through their cross-country journey, show them the sights of the East Coast, and ultimately escort them to their meeting with President Ulysses S. Grant.

The Navajo representatives included a number of prominent leaders within southwestern trade relations and reservation politics. A posed photograph of the delegation shows the whole troupe, including the trader and ranch owner Ganado Mucho and Navajo police chief Manuelito, who traveled with his son and wife Juanita.[291] When not posing for photographs, the delegation toured the city, attended a reception for William Arny, and hosted a display of southwestern Navajo manufactures, including

[289] Arny to Dudley (National Archives Record Group 75, T21, Records of the NM Superintendency of Ind. Affairs), March 28, 1874.

[290] See *Indian Agent in New Mexico: The Journal of Special Agent W. F. M. Arny, 1870* (Santa Fe: Stagecoach Press, 1967), 24.

[291] Press coverage of the Navajo group reflected public consciousness of Navajo polygamy. In at least one article, a journalist referred to Juanita as "one of" Manuelito's wives. Scholars have recently made great strides in reconstructing the biographies of Manuelito and Juanita, both of whom were central figures in the political and economic lives of the Navajo during the Reconstruction period. One finding that is significant to the themes treated in this chapter is that Juanita was originally adopted into the Navajo tribe as a raid captive. For the most extensive study of the pair, see Denetdale, *Reclaiming Dine History.*

pots, blankets, and beaded shoes. The *New York Times* read this display as evidence of Navajo industriousness. "Unlike other Indians," the *Times* informed its readers, the Navajo "are always glad to have the opportunity to labor for pay." Wage labor would not become a daily fact of life for the Navajo until the southwestern railroad construction of the 1880s. The description of Navajos as willing wage laborers in this case supported the idea that the Peace Policy was advancing capitalism, along with its civilizing effects.

A particular blanket caught the attention of the *Times* correspondent. "One blanket," the paper reported, "manufactured for presentation to the Centennial Exhibition, is magnificent." The blanket had the dates of the Centennial, 1776 and 1876, "woven into its texture." Along with the dates, the blanket featured the United States flag, "with thirteen stripes and thirty-six stars, with four smaller ones appearing near the field, representing the Territories of Colorado, New-Mexico, Utah, and Arizona" (Fig. 12).[292] Attributed to Manuelito's wife Juanita, this blanket symbolized the production capabilities of Navajo women under the guidance of federal officials like William Arny. The embroidered image of Arizona and the Navajo tribe becoming interwoven with the American flag made William Arny's point about the potential significance of his leadership none too subtly.[293]

[292] "The Nation's Wards—The Navajo Delegation in Washington," *New York Times*, December 4, 1874.
[293] A photograph from the delegation visit shows Arny and Juanita seated together with a number of women blankets, including the one pictured above. Denetdale, *Reclaiming Dine History,* 112.

Fig. 12 The blanket presented by the Navajo Delegation, now held by the Smithsonian Institution[294]

As the iconography of the blanket suggested, the uncertain political and economic status of Indians in the territories was the central issue of the Navajo visit. "The mission which has brought the delegation to Washington," stated the *New York Times,* was "to obtain satisfaction for the death of three of their number who are supposed to have been killed by Mormons, on the Little Colorado…and to negotiate the exchange of a portion of the northern end of their reservation for an equal amount of the public domain at the south of their reserve."[295] The elevation of these relatively small matters to national significance was the continuing federal interest in asserting authority and order in the

[294] Arny may have donated this unfinished piece to the Smithsonian as a way of illustrating Navajo weaving methods—which he claimed would contribute to the economic stability of the tribe in national markets. *Weaving Implement*, E16494-0, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.
[295] "The Nation's Wards, The Navajo Delegation in Washington," *New York Times*, December 4, 1874.

Southwest. Recruiting the Navajo, considered to be reasonably civilized Indians, as allies would be a step towards that goal.[296]

Feted by colleagues for his achievements as Navajo Agent, William Arny's troubles in the southwest nonetheless followed him to Washington. He saw his pet project of a land transfer thwarted when despised "squaw man" Thomas Keam appeared in the capitol. Charging Arny with disregard for the wellbeing of the Navajo, Keam effectively derailed the delegation proceedings through his influence with the headmen. The conflict between Keam, Arny, and the Navajo leaders would play out in Arizona and not on the national stage. Although no transcripts of the delegation's meeting with Grant exists, Navajo leaders left Washington discontented with Arny's performance and without significant alterations in Indian or Mormon policies. The Navajo did receive an increased annuity following the trip, perhaps intended to supply some of the reparations the headmen had demanded of the Mormons.[297]

In her biography of Keam, Laura Graves identifies Arny's handling of the delegation as evidence of personal greed. Graves argues that Keam was correct in his assessment of the situation: Arny set up the delegation, in part, as a means of engineering the land cession that he believed would advance railroad and mining interests in Arizona.

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[296] The testimony of religious leaders on Navajo character precipitated the failed experiment at Bosque Redondo, meant to be a "model pueblo." For an interesting analysis of Navajo perspectives on Anglo-Americans, see William H. Lyon, "Americans and Other Aliens in the Navajo Historical Imagination in the Nineteenth Century." *American Indian Quarterly*, 24 (2000): 142-161.

[297] Historian Robert S. McPherson—in the most in-depth analysis of the 1873-4 Grass Valley conflicts to date—evaluated the journey to Washington as evidence that the Navajo had become skilled at manipulating the federal government into increasing annuities. "The most instructive aspect of this incident," writes McPherson, "is the Navajos' use of threat and manipulation to receive their ends." While McPherson's point is valid, his interpretation sidesteps the issues that were of central importance to Arny and the other federal officials involved in the proceedings. It was arguably Keam, rather than the Navajo headmen, who derailed Arny's plans. If this was the case, then the episode might be read as a triumph of the old system of alliances that Arny hoped to dislodge rather than a triumph of of Navajo power per se. Robert S. McPherson, *The Northern Navajo Frontier, 1860-1900: Expansion Through Adversity (*Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1988), 32.

Graves further argues that Arny plotted to convince the Navajo headmen to swap arable land within the stated boundaries of the reservation for much more arid land. In Graves' interpretation, the episode seems more indicative of individual power and manipulation, rather than the potency of tribal threats. She does not take into the account the ongoing national discussions of where the southern rail would pass through Arizona. The land in question had also made national headlines as the site of a spectacular (and ultimately discredited) jewel discovery.[298]

Arny's overstepping of his boundaries as an advocate for the Navajo proved to be his undoing. In May of 1875, the Navajo headmen filed a formal complaint against William Arny. The men charged Arny with corruption and embezzlement, along with the excessive use of "high sounding and meaningless words." They requested that Keam become their Agent. "We believe Thomas Keams to possess all we ask for," they explained. "He has lived for many years among our people, he knows us, he speaks our language, we can make known our wants to him without the damages of false interpretations of wicked and selfish interpreters."[299]

Storming Arny's home at Fort Defiance, the Navajo headmen discovered a cache of materials including 110 pounds of yarn, 54 pounds of coffee, and 75 pairs of children's shoes. The Navajos judged these items to have been either directly stolen from or purchased corruptly through manipulation of the reservation annuities fund. Although Salina Arny insisted that her husband had come by the goods in a legitimate fashion, William Arny immediately tendered his resignation. After all of this, the Presbyterian

[298] See Graves, 72-75.
[299] Chiefs to Our Great Father, July 15, 1875, United States National Archives, Department of the Interior, Letters Received, Office of Indian Affairs, 1849-1880, New Mexico Superintendency, microcopy 234, Washington D. C.

board still excluded Keam from service, citing his lack of a Christian marriage and his British citizenship.[300]

While William Arny had personal, self-interested reasons for promoting a specific presentation of Mormon settlement in Arizona, others echoed his views. In his report entitled *The Indian Question,* published in 1874, former Commissioner of Indian Affairs Francis Amasa Walker, possibly the leading U.S. authority on federal Indian policy, sketched out the state of Indian reform. The confusion in the aftermath of the end of the treaty system, he argued, was evident in Arizona. "It is the most universal belief throughout the country, that the people of [Arizona] Territory have a deadly hostility to the Indians, and meditate nothing but mischief towards them." This, Walker explained, was a misreading of the situation. "When the press of Arizona cry out against the Indian policy of the government, and denounce Eastern philanthropy, they have in mind the warlike and depredating bands." Rather than disagreeing with the East on matters of Indian policy, "they are exasperated by what they deem, perhaps unreasonably but not unnaturally, the weakness and indecision of the executive in failing to properly protect the frontier."[301]

Walker repeated encouragingly a statistic from the 1872 BIC report stating that: "nearly five-sixths of all the Indian of the United States and Territories are now either civilized or partially civilized," with the southwestern tribes as the last holdouts. The implication was that these last wild tribes could be civilized and the "Indian Question" effectively neutralized if the agencies in the territories could overcome the specific challenges they faced.

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[300] McNitt, *Indian Traders*. 116.
[301] Walker, 18.

Walker singled out the presence and influence of Mormons as culpable for the failures of the reservation system. The very presence of the Mormons had ruined the efforts at "seclusion," as Walker termed the restriction of Indians to reservations. "While the Mormons have certainly been successful in maintaining good terms with the natives of the plains," the report indicated, "it is not so certain that their influence upon the Indians has been advantageous to the government, or to the white settlers not of the church." He directly refuted claims that Mormon settlement had been or was currently beneficial to the settlement of Arizona.[302]

Walker's analysis of the Mormon relationship to federal Indian policy was in opposition to the assumption that Mormons had a beneficial place within the framework of U.S. settler colonialism. "It clearly has been for their interest to attach the natives to themselves rather than to the government," Walker stated. "It clearly has been in their power to direct a great many agencies to that end; and it will probably require more faith in Mormon virtue than the majority of us possess to keep alive much of a doubt that they have actually done so." Walker reported that: "We certainly have the opinion of many persons well informed that it has been the constant policy of the Latter-Day Saints to teach the Indians to look to them rather than to the government as their benefactors and their protectors…to stir up, for special purposes or for general ends, troubles between the natives and the encroaching whites, east, west, and south; and, finally, so to alienate from the government and attach to themselves" Indians of the western tribes.[303] In short, Walker stated that the Mormons intended to disrupt the new balance of power between

[302] Walker, 54.
[303] *Ibid.*, 110.

the federal government and its Native wards. Rather than paving the way for a reformed national Indian policy, Mormons were a persistent threat to this type of progress.

This was substantially the case that William Arny presented in his assessment of the Mormon role on the Colorado Plateau. Mormons were not innocent forerunners of Anglo civilization, in Arny's eyes, but disruptors of what might otherwise be a peaceful relationship between Washington and the Navajo. The Grass Valley incident "in my judgment," reasoned Arny, "should be used in a peaceful way to prevent the settlement of the Mormons too near either the Moquis or the Navajo reservations."[304] The result of this estrangement would ostensibly be steady progress towards social and economic reform, rather than the "demoralization" brought by contact with Mormons.

The significance of the Mormon dimension of the Grass Valley conflict has largely been obscured by historical interpretations, which have focused on the evolving relationship between the federal government and the Navajo.[305] In fact, Grass Valley became a chance for the federal government to redefine its relationship to both Native Americans and Mormons. Although this effort was largely unsuccessful, the arrest of John D. Lee had lasting effects on anti-Mormonism as a mainstream phenomenon. Facilitated by the Poland Act passed in that year, Lee's arrest, trials, and execution brought Mountain Meadows back into the daily press, stoking anti-Mormon sentiment throughout the country through Lee's execution in 1877 and beyond. Although Arny's was not the only voice calling for Lee's arrest, his linking of the unrest on the Navajo

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[304] Arny to Dudley (National Archives Record Group 75, T21, Records of the NM Superintendency of Ind. Affairs), March 28, 1874.

[305] An example of this focus from the perspective of a historian of Native American history and policy is Norman J. Bender, *New Hope for the Indians: the Grant Peace Policy and the Navajos in the 1870s.* Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1989.

Reservation with Mountain Meadows related local concerns into matters of national policy and public interest.[306]

William Arny's efforts in the Grass Valley case reflected a desire not only to check old systems of local governance, but also to gain a sense of moral connection with the settlers of Arizona. While Arizona's Anglo settlers saw Mormons as relatively harmless, Arny and more powerful figures such as Francis Amasa Walker viewed them as a white "other" against which Anglos might forge a common purpose and identity. In the case of Lee, the project largely succeeded. The return of Lee to national consciousness revived a sense of Mormons as dangerous and predatory. One of the most widely read postwar anti-polygamy books, Fanny Stenhouse's *An Englishwoman in Utah*, provided the connection reformers sought between Lee and the reform agenda. The book included a preface by Harriet Beecher Stowe, reminding readers of the "twin relics" in no uncertain terms. The book ended with an abridged version of John D. Lee's confession, implicitly linking Mountain Meadows with the practice of polygamy.[307]

The removal of Lee, like the removal of Keam, did not result in federal control of natural resources and trade on the Colorado Plateau. In 1874, Jacob Hamblin established an official trade post at Lee's Ferry. The Ferry remained under Mormon control throughout Lee's legal wrangling, operated by his wife Emma, Jacob Hamblin, and others. Additional Mormon trading posts near the western edge of the Navajo

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[306] Lee was first tried in 1875 and then again in 1876, when the first verdict was thrown out. He was executed in 1877. For a classic monograph on Lee, see Juanita Brooks, *John Doyle Lee: Zealot, Pioneer Builder, Scapegoat*. Glendale, Calif.: A. H. Clark Co, 1962. Lee also wrote quite a bit about his life, experiences, and (as he saw it) his abandonment by the Church in the 1870s. For a recent edition of Lee's autobiography and selected writings, see John D. Lee, *Mormonism Unveiled: The Life and Confession of John D. Lee and the Complete Life of Brigham Young*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2008.

[307] Mrs. T. B. H. Stenhouse, *An Englishwoman in Utah: the Story of a Life's Experience in Mormonism: An Autobiography. With an Introductory Preface by Harriet Beecher Stowe.* London: S. Low, Marston, Seale & Rivington, 1880.

Reservation appeared in the late-1870s and 1880s. Even William Arny's son and namesake got into the act. The year after his father's ousting from power, William Arny the younger became a major trader and exporter of wool from the Navajo Reservation to the Eastern States. Arny was probably helped in his venture by his knowledge of the Navajo language, a skill cultivated while acting as a translator for his father in New Mexico. Family-run trading posts remained vital centers of the Colorado Plateau economy into the twentieth century.[308]

The Grass Valley incident and its aftermath also sheds light on the ways in which kinship played into western power struggles involving Mormons beyond the issue of polygamy. Charged with regulating the economic and spiritual betterment of the Navajo people, William Arny chose to use marriage as a mechanism of that regulation. His push to eradicate unsanctioned marriage was an assertion of a moral as well as political and economic order. Not only Mormons but also "squaw men" like Keam, and the extended family structures of the Navajo, undermined the economic and sociopolitical order that Republican reformers envisioned for the southwest. Arny's aims reflect the persistent importance of kinship to local economies and to local diplomacy outside the bounds of the mainstream anti-polygamy movement.

The Mormon experience in northern Arizona, and opposition to Mormon settlement, show the changing geography and significance of Mormon settlement beyond Salt Lake City. The parameters of the "Mormon Question" continued to shift in these ways in the following decades. Restrictive policies on polygamy intensified following the 1874 Poland Act, ultimately pushing the issues of land and marriage encountered in the American southwest to the farmlands of Canada's prairie provinces and northern Mexico.

[308] See Murphy, *Indian Agent in New Mexico,* 56.

The images of Mormons that appeared in opposition to settlement on the Colorado Plateau also informed anti-Mormon activism in these far-flung locations. Concern over Mormon influence on the Blackfeet in Alberta and the potential effects on the Canadian economy echoed the U.S. federal reaction in the Southwest.[309]

The regulation of marriage and family structure as a means of assimilating and controlling Native Americans also became an increasing focus of federal Indian policy in the 1870s and 1880s. The promotion of small, patriarchal family structures on an agrarian model emerged as explicit national policy in 1887, with the passage of the Dawes Act. The allotments of land distributed as a result of this piece of legislation allowed the federal government to decide what constituted a "household" and a "family," while clearly defining the head of each as male.

Within the United States, the pressures exerted to curtail both Indian and Mormon polygamy ultimately proved successful in colonial terms. Restrictions on marriage, and on those who practiced plural marriage, disrupted existing political and social hierarchies. In the case of Native Americans, tribal courts established in both Canada and the United States (in part, to police anti-polygamy statutes) invited a measure of self-governance while inverting tribal status among groups that practiced polygamy. With polygamous members—usually the highest ranking in the society—unable to participate, the courts tended to rule against elites and rendered their influence less formidable. The Mormon leadership faced jail time and the stripping of political and economic power within Utah and the surrounding territories and states of the U.S. West.

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[309] Historian Sarah Carter had examined the changing restrictions on marriage as Canadian authorities came to realize the implications of Mormon settlement in terms of land and Indian policy. See Sarah Carter, "Making 'Semi-widows' and 'Supernumerary wives': Prohibiting Polygamy in Prairie Canada's Aboriginal Communities to 1900," in *Contact Zones: Aboriginal and Settler Women in Canada's Colonial Past*, Myra Rutherdale and Katie Pickles, eds. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2005.

By dislodging tribal hierarchies and limiting church authority, federal policies made marriage codes a tool of reducing Native American political power and, ultimately, tribal existence.[310] James Brooks and Margaret Jacobs have described the regulation of kinship in the southwest during the periods before and after and Grass Valley, respectively. Both authors point to the increasing federal control of Native kinship in the late nineteenth century as a means of forcing political and cultural assimilation.[311]

Images of Mormons as destructive to economic development distanced them from the Anglo-American majority despite their racial and cultural similarities. As in Utah, these images undermined the racial, cultural, and political boundaries William Arny and other Peace Policy proponents tried to impose on the disorderly West. Although the role of polygamy in these images was not a prominent one, marriage and social structure was of significance in terms of local control. William Arny's invocation of anti-Mormon themes and prejudices to advance an agenda on the Colorado Plateau illustrates the practical use and adaptability of these representations.

The broad appeal of anti-Mormonism also brought Mormons into debates to which they had a much more tenuous connection. Debates over Chinese immigration made use of these familiar representations of Mormons and Indians in innovative and

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[310] The logic of elimination, writes Patrick Wolfe, "is a primary motivation or agenda of settler colonialism that distinguishes it from other forms of colonialism, such as chattel slavery on the U.S. model or franchise colonialism on the British-India model." The Navajo Peace Policy and Indian severalty were touted as a means of integrating Native Americans into the American political and cultural mainstream with the ultimate goal of eliminating difference and autonomy. The loss of tribal identity through the restrictive racialization of Native Americans represented a kind of social death that was essential to the American model of assimilationist settler colonialism. See Patrick Wolfe, "Structure and Event: Settler Colonialism, Time, and the Question of Genocide," in *Empire, Colony, Genocide: Conquest, Occupation and Subaltern Resistance in World History*, A. Dirk Moses, ed. (Berghan Books, 2008), 103-117. See also John Wunder, "The New Colonialism," in "*Retained By the People": A History of American Indians and the Bill of Rights*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1994.

[311] While Brooks ends his narrative in 1868, Jacobs begins her analysis in 1880. See Brooks, *Captives and Cousins;* Margaret D. Jacobs, *White Mother to a Dark Race: Settler Colonialism, Maternalism, and Indigenous Child Removal in the American West and Australia, 1880-1940.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2011.

increasingly abstract ways in the following decade, as the visual and rhetorical vernacular of anti-Mormonism branched out well beyond any grounding in the realities of Mormon settlement.

Chapter Four

"The Dregs and the Wine": Anti-Polygamy and Chinese Exclusion Debates in the Late Nineteenth Century

> "To acquit ourselves of our trust, to work out the problem of the future of America, it is absolutely essential that we scrutinize with care not only the factors we now have, but also those which are being constantly injected into our national life. We have taken the initial step, in excluding a race not homogenous; it is not also advisable to select the most desirable from our own race, instead of welcoming the dregs with the wine?"[312]

On October 12, 1885, the San Francisco *Daily Evening Bulletin* warned its readers of a troubling invasion. "Every few days a New York dispatch announces the arrival of a fresh consignment of Mormon converts from Europe," the item began. "While Congress and the courts are trying to stamp out polygamy in Utah, these heavy additions are permitted to be made to the offending society." The paper offered a solution to the problem along with its report. "This fact moves the Chicago *Sun* to advocate the exclusion of Mormon immigrants, and it cites the Chinese restriction as a parallel case, arguing that the right to keep out people whose manners and morals are repugnant to our civilization comes in the same category with the right to exclude paupers, criminals and diseased persons."[313] The *Bulletin* agreed with the *Sun's* suggestion.

The case for banning Mormon immigrants, both newspapers concurred, should follow the precedent of Chinese exclusion. The *Bulletin* column conceded, however, that

[312] This is a quote from Senator Thomas Palmer, whose 1887 immigration bill would have restricted Mormon as well as Asian immigrants from entering the United States. *Congressional Record*, 50th Congress, 2nd Session, 654.
[313] "Restriction of Mormon Immigrants," *Daily Evening Bulletin* (San Francisco), October 12, 1885, Column H.

this was a controversial position. "The discussion of the Chinese Restriction Act developed the fact that some of our people have contracted the absurd notion that we have no right to exclude immigrants unless they come under the description of paupers, criminals, or diseased persons," the column read. "Of course the better informed understand that a sovereign nation has the right to exclude whom it chooses, without giving any reason other than its own will." Any discrimination, "cause having been shown," was valid United States immigration policy. [314]

The justifications cited by the *Bulletin* for the exclusion of Mormons—political separatism, moral failings as evinced by their support of polygamy, and violence towards women—were in keeping with the established traditions of anti-Mormonism. The charges were given new life through the connection to anti-Chinese agitation in the 1870s and 1880s. Anti-polygamists and those with a competing economic stake in the Great Basin argued that Mormon immigration must be restricted in order to keep the "Mormon Question" manageable. With a thriving international missionary network, Mormons encouraged a "gathering" on converts in North America. Their efforts were particularly successful in Scandinavia and Great Britain among skilled and unskilled tradesmen.[315]

The argument that Mormons were dangerous separatists, for example, gained momentum through comparison with Chinese labor organizations. "Mormonism is a power within a power," the *Bulletin* column argued, adding that "the Chinese in like manner work up the Six Companies, or…are owned by them." Mormons were not fit

[314] "Restriction of Mormon Immigrants," *Daily Evening Bulletin*, October 12, 1885, Column H. Although not stated clearly in this article, the category of "criminals" included prostitutes, who could legally be excluded from entering the United States. Chinese and Mormon Exclusionists sought, in effect, to ban all women from the country on the assumption that they were bound for a life of exploitation in the United States of they were not already morally compromised.
[315] See Scott Alan Carson, "European Immigration to America's Great Basin," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 34 (2004): 569-594.

citizens because "every Mormon convert that enters this country…owes his first allegiance to the Mormon Church, as the Chinese do to the Man-dealers." Added to this were "the barbarous abominations of polygamy," a subject popular enough to be a part of both national party platforms. Polygamy, according to the *Bulletin* column, "is the twin relic of the other barbarism, coolie labor."[316]

The rhetorical equivalency of Chinese labor practices and African slavery as the "twin relic of barbarism" gave it additional force. Equating all Chinese labor with slavery helped to frame the exclusion of Chinese men and women as a humanitarian action as well as an economic imperative. At the same time, the Chinese tradition of polygamy among social elites tied Chinese immigrants to the other "twin relic," and was submitted as proof of Chinese immorality. These comparisons helped to assure passage of the landmark 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act, the most far-reaching immigration restriction in United States history.[317]

The 1882 Act is often invoked as the critical forerunner to the immigration quotas of the 1920s, targeting a wide range of immigrant groups including Europeans who had previously been considered white.[318] The use of Chinese Exclusion as precedent

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[316] The screed ends with the statement that continuing to admit Mormons to the country would be "political and social suicide." "Restriction of Mormon Immigrants," *Daily Evening Bulletin* (San Francisco), October 12, 1885, Column H.

[317] The exclusion of Chinese immigrants required the repeal of the Burlingame-Seward Treaty of 1868. The Burlingame Treaty normalized relations between the United States and China, assured protections to Chinese people "of every religious persuasion," and encouraged the immigration of Chinese workers to the United States. The Treaty was revised in 1880 to suspend Chinese immigration, which was then banned (for a period of ten years) by federal law in 1882.

[318] For some good recent studies looking at these evolving dynamics from a variety of angles, see Rick Baldoz, *The Third Asiatic Invasion: Empire and Migration in Filipino America, 1898-1946,* New York: New York University Press, 2011; Margaret Lynch-Brennan, *The Irish Bridget: Irish Immigrant Women in Domestic Service in America, 184-1930*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2009; Erika Lee, *At America's Gates: Chinese Immigration During the Exclusion Era, 1882-1943,* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003; Arthur A. Goren, *The Politics and Public Culture of American Jews*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999; Mae Ngai, *Impossible Subjects: Illegal Aliens and the Making of Modern America.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2004.

justifying Mormon Exclusion represents an immediate extension of the 1882 Exclusion Act, often overlooked in studies of race-based immigration restriction. Following from the premises of Chinese exclusion, anti-polygamy and anti-Mormon advocates argued that federal law could prohibit immigration based on religious affiliation and belief even in the absence of a criminal act. This line of reasoning was debated both in the popular press and in both houses of the United States Congress. Ultimately, these debates helped to propel the 1887 Edmunds-Tucker Act, which disenfranchised a large percentage of Mormon men and all women in Utah and dissolved the branch of the LDS Church that subsidized immigration.[319]

Although historians have given much attention to the Edmunds Act, they have not considered it in the context of immigration restriction.[320] This is probably because the 1882 Edmunds Act as written had little direct relevance to immigration policy. Close analysis of George Edmunds' anti-polygamy strategy, however, reveals an unexamined connection between the anti-Mormon and anti-Chinese causes.[321]

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[319] Although many observers assumed that the Perpetual Emigration Fund of the Church paid the costs of immigrant travel, the service it provided was one more of finance than of charity. Immigrants would entrust immigration agents with a portion of their fare and, after receiving financial assistance to settle in Utah, would repay the PEF over time from their subsequent earnings. See P.A.M. Taylor, *Expectations Westward: The Mormons and the Emigration of Their British Converts in the Nineteenth Century*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1966.

[320] See, for example, Jill Norgren, *American Cultural Pluralism and Law*. Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 2006. Norgren's book includes a chapter on Mormons, dealing with Edmunds-Tucker among other legislative restrictions, and chapters on immigration that do not mention Mormons.

[321] Existing scholarship on Mormon immigration very rarely takes a comparative view. Nonetheless, this work is extremely useful as a source of detailed information on the experiences of Mormon immigrants and LDS immigration policies. For a classic analysis of 19th-century Scandinavian immigration, see William Mulder. *Homeward to Zion: The Mormon Immigration from Scandinavia.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1957. See also Michael B. Toney, Carol McKewen Stinner, Stephan Kan, "Mormon and Non-Mormon Migration in and out of Utah," *Review of Religious Research* 25 (1983): 114-128; Scott Alan Carson, "Indentured Migration in America's Great Basin: Occupational Targeting and Adverse Selection," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 32 (2002): 387-404; "Immigration and Diversity" in Leonard Arrington and Davis Bitton, *The Mormon Experience: A History of the Latter-Day Saints.* New York: Knopf, 1979.

In her 2005 article "Polygamy, Prostitution, and the Federalization of Immigration Law," legal historian Kerry Abrams asserts the importance of the 1875 Page Law as a legal critical turning point in immigration restriction. The Page Law barred "lewd and immoral women" from entering the United States. Effectively, this ended immigration by all Chinese women until the end of the Exclusion era. While the Page Law is much less recognized than the 1882 Exclusion Act, Abrams persuasively argues that it set an important precedent in banning an entire demographic from the United States based on marital status.[322]

Abrams' argument appears even stronger when viewed in the context of anti-polygamy legislation targeting Mormons. Although the push to ban Mormon immigrants escalated after the Chinese Exclusion Act, the connection between the two issues as immigration matters was established in the earlier phase of anti-Chinese debate. In the mid-1870s, as Congress deliberated national imperatives in immigration law, it sought to outline parameters that would define acceptable and unacceptable attributes among immigrants. Those early debates, beginning in the 1870s, would shape debate over the place of Mormons within immigration law through the 1880s and beyond.[323]

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[322] Kerry Abrams, "Polygamy, Prostitution, and the Federalization of Immigration Law." *Columbia Law Review* 3 (2005): 641-716. Another recent piece by George Peffer examines the significance of the Page Law in nationalizing the Chinese Exclusion movement and thus shaping the next phase of immigration debate by engaging a national audience. George Anthony Peffer, *If They Don't Bring Their Women Here: Chinese Female Immigration Before Exclusion*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999. As Nancy Cott puts it, "The national government's insistence upon legal monogamy for ex-slaves, its war on polygamous alternatives [for minorities and immigrants], and its prevention of the mailing of obscenity and contraceptive information created an atmosphere of moral belligerence about Christian monogamous marriage as the national standard [after the Civil War]." Nancy F. Cott, *Public Vows*, 15.

[323] Mormon missionary history and immigration history are well-developed historiographical fields. Much of the recent work covering immigration restriction tends to focus on the experience of missionaries and converts coming to the United States either from Europe or from the Pacific. This work greatly enriches historical understanding of the racial dynamics of the nineteenth-century West, and complicates assumptions that Mormon settlements were geographically and culturally insular. This scholarship is generally not interested in the legal or political development of anti-Mormonism at the national level. The most directly relevant scholarship on the issue of anti-Mormon immigration agitation was written in the

Comparing the Chinese Question and the Mormon Question within congressional debates and popular discourse between 1875 and 1887 also provides insight into the role of race in rethinking immigration. That Mormons were targeted as a religious minority suggests the limitations of understanding these debates of the 1870s and 1880s as exclusively focused on race or racism. The debates at least addressed—if they ultimately sidestepped—broader questions of loyalty and belief as markers of political fitness. As race and ethnicity came to increasingly circumscribe immigration policy during the 1880s, Mormons benefitted from their mostly Western European origins. The argument for Chinese Exclusion as a matter of racial imperative may have inadvertently protected Mormons from more sweeping immigration restriction based on religious belief.

The immigration debates of the 1870s came, not coincidentally, at a time when the congressional role in regulating immigration had never been more central. Following the 1875 Chy Lung v. Freeman Supreme Court ruling placing immigration restriction in the hands of the federal government, congress struggled to define the scope of its power.[324] "The United States Supreme Court has now decided," stated Vermont Senator George F. Edmunds in a 1875 session, "…that there is no law that a State can pass which shall affect the introduction of persons as passengers into the United States." All previous

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1950s. See William Mulder, "Immigration and the 'Mormon Question': An International Episode," *The Western Political Quarterly* (1956): 416-433. For a recent example of Mormon missionary history focusing on the Pacific, see Laurie F. Maffly-Kipp and Reid L. Neilson, eds., *Proclamation to the People: Nineteenth-Century Mormonism and the Pacific Basin Frontier*. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2008.

[324] The case overturned a California decision that a Chinese female immigrant, Chy Lung, could be forced to pay money to the state in order to be allowed entrance. Chy Lung had been detained on the grounds that she was a "lewd woman," and therefore restricted from entrance to the United States by the Page Law. The U.S. Supreme Court found that immigration cases like this one fell under the purview of Congress through the Commerce Clause. 92 U.S. 275 CHY LUNG V. FREEMAN ET. AL., Supreme Court of the United States, 1875.

immigration law developed at the state level was thus rendered invalid. "In some way we ought to act," Edmunds reasoned. "And that we have the power to act, and the exclusive power now seems to be fully determined." As Edmunds acknowledged, the political moment offered opportunity for a redefinition of the fundamental principles governing United States immigration policy that might apply to all states.[325]

The Page Law was the first major restriction on Chinese immigration enacted by the United States Congress. Republican Senator Aaron Sargent of California testified before a congressional committee in the fall of 1876 that the Page Law was efficiently and effectively keeping prostitutes out of the United States. Immigration officials were able to discern which women were acceptable based on a photograph and a statement of marital status. Chinese men, on the other hand, were in Sargent's estimation much more difficult to judge. As a representative of California, a state in which anti-Chinese sentiment had become an integral part of both major parties' platforms, Sargent pushed the issue relentlessly on the national stage.[326]

On the floor of the senate, Sargent argued that Chinese immigration required swift and targeted congressional action that went beyond the Page Law. Although Sargent favored banning all Chinese immigrants from the United States, he expressed particular concern about the admittance of Chinese women. Sargent reiterated the arguments made to justify this restriction. Chinese women, he stated, were responsible for "the corruption of our children, of our boys nine and twelve and fourteen years of age." Sargent used the

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[325] *Congressional Record*, 44th Congress, 1st Session (1875), 2857-8.

[326] "Chinese Immigration—Operation of the Page Law Relative to the Immigration of the Chinese," *Daily Evening Bulletin*, 9 November 1876, Column C. Aaron Sargent made his career tracking and responding to social problems of the West. As a newspaper editor in Nevada in the 1850s, Sargent covered both anti-Mormon and anti-Chinese uprisings in the Nevada Territory. In his subsequent political life, Sargent aided both the extension of railroads through the Great Basin to California and remained close to the mining industry throughout his career.

medical testimony presented to make this case in order to argue for a reimagining of immigration policies. "I ask whether a system which is propagating these evils is to be endured forever simply because we have declared that men are free and equal, because there has been a certain sentimentalism which has been incorporated in our Constitution and laws?"[327]

Sargent anticipated that the stated U.S. commitment to providing refuge and asylum to people from across the world would be a major roadblock to Exclusion. He argued that immigration policies should reflect inherent racial and moral inequalities. "Our laws have always provided for the naturalization of those only who are "attached to the Constitution of the United States" and who are "well-disposed toward the peace and good order of the country."" The Chinese were not "inclined to republicanism," Sargent argued, and thus failed to meet the standard of being "intelligently attached to [the United States] form of government."[328] Sargent further argued that the Chinese should not be admitted because of their continued allegiance to China rather than to the United States. "They are saturated with the governmental training and habits of fifty centuries," he stated. This assumption allowed Sargent to argue for the exclusion of all Chinese individuals, and not just those proven to be immoral or incompetent.[329]

Workers from China had been present in California since the Gold Rush. From their first arrival, the Chinese faced Anglo opposition fueled by racism and economic insecurity. From the early 1850s, Californians actively marginalized Chinese immigrants

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[327] *Congressional Record,* 44th Congress, 1st Session (1875-6), 4420.
[328] *Congressional Record*, 44th Congress, 1st Session (1875-6), 2850.
[329] Indeed, Sargent argued that the Chinese had no concept of citizenship. When asked by Justin Morrill of Vermont to explain whether the resolution "contemplates the exclusion of the ordinary Chinese citizen," rather than its criminals, Sargent replied: "there is no such thing as a Chinese citizen." *Congressional Record*, 44th Congress, 1st Session (1875-6), 4418.

through legislation and, increasingly through the middle decades of the century, violence and intimidation. An 1854 state law cast Chinese people as racial "others" who—like Blacks and Indians—could not testify at trial. The economic depressions of the 1870s stoked anti-Chinese sentiment and led to widespread calls for the banning of Chinese laborers in the name of defending the access of Anglos to paying jobs in the U.S. West. Scientific racial theories and common prejudices provided support to the Exclusionist cause. While based in California, the anti-Chinese movement spread across the country, with anti-Chinese cartoons and editorials appearing in newspapers from New England to the Deep South.[330]

Chinese men, while less readily excluded than their female counterparts, were deemed unfit for citizenship because of their perceived dependency on labor organizations. These organizations, which imported and deployed Chinese laborers, were frequently compared to slave traders and slave owners of the antebellum South. Sargent described the system of importing Chinese labor as "in all of its features worse than the African slave trade." Chinese labor threatened white labor, he stated, because of the robotic nature of imported laborers. "The merit is claimed for the Chinese that they are industrious," Sargent said, "and this is true of a considerable class of them, although as many are lazy, opium-stupified drones." Even the legitimately hardworking Chinese people "are a source of injury to the community, in that they undersell other labor and work for prices on which no white man can support a family."[331] Sargent contended that

[330] For more on Chinese Exclusion as a national movement, see John Robert Soennichsen, *The Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882.* Santa Barbara, CA: Greenwood Press, 2011; Philip P. Choy, Lorraine Dong, and Marlon K. Hom, eds., *Coming Man: 19th Century American Perceptions of the Chinese.* Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1994; Roger Daniels, ed, *Anti-Chinese Violence in North America*. New York: Arno Press, 1978.

[331] *Congressional Record*, 44th Congress, 1st Session (1875-6), 2852.

Chinese labor in the United States ruined both Chinese and American homes, as Chinese men were forced to leave their families behind.[332]

Sargent agreed with Edmunds that the United States had a duty to protect all immigrants within its borders. "The remedy for the evils, if evils they are, of Chinese immigration lies entirely in the hands of the Federal Government," Sargent declared. Making a lengthy case that Chinese immigration constituted a significant threat, Sargent argued that the United States did not have an obligation to foreigners who had not yet reached American shores. "The prejudice of race cannot be considered when persons already among us apply for protection," the California senator conceded. "But when the question is as to the introduction of large numbers of people into the country whose admission is not a matter of right, but of policy, then we ought to consider whether they are a disturbing element, and whether exclusion is not the best and surest prevention against disorders which are difficult to cure when once fastened upon us."[333]

As Senator Edmunds noted in his opposition to Sargent's bill, the proposition reached far beyond the specific issue of Chinese immigration and California labor policies. Sargent's description of the evils wrought by Chinese immigration foreshadowed arguments of Mormon exclusionists. Among the most prominent of these arguments were the lack of Chinese allegiance to the United States, the corruption of women and children among the Chinese, and the propensity of the Chinese to import the lower classes to the United States as slaves. Given these facts of Chinese immigration, Sargent argued, exclusion was necessary to protect United States society and United States sovereignty.

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[332] *Ibid.*, 2853.
[333] *Ibid.*, 2850.

The arguments that Sargent articulated in 1876 were invoked both in the halls of congress and in the national press to justify restrictions on Mormons as well as the Chinese. In a statement read at the opening of the congressional session, President Ulysses S. Grant made a statement concerning the treatment of women in the West. "In nearly every annual address that I have had the honor of transmitting to congress," Grant began, " I have called attention to the anomalous, not to say scandalous, condition of affairs existing in the Territory of Utah." Grant underlined his belief that "polygamy should be banished from the land. While this is being done, I invite the attention of congress to another—though perhaps no less an evil—the importation of Chinese women," who are "rarely brought to our shore to pursue honorable occupations."[334] With this statement, Grant yoked Chinese immigration restriction to the perennial Republican cause of anti-polygamy. This represents an early link between the Chinese and Mormon Questions—a link that rose in political popularity through the early 1880s.

In addition to the traditional Republican opposition to the "twin relics," Grant had additional reasons for continuing to embrace the issue. The Mormon vote (which after 1870 included female citizens of Utah) was understood to be Democratic. Arguments against Utah statehood often focused on the inevitability of Mormons voting as a bloc, thereby inhibiting the democratic process. The argument that Mormons were unable to exercise this right of citizenship was a critical assumption of Mormon Exclusionism. The particular emphasis on Mormon women as mindless slaves, who were actually being

[334] *Congressional Record,* 44th Congress, 1st Session (1875-6), 180-1.

exploited through their enfranchisement, eventually led to the successful revoking of that right.[335]

Acknowledging the movement to exclude Mormons complicates the picture of white Americans closing ranks to re-racialize citizenship. Mormon settlement was debated as a point of immigration reform alongside Chinese restriction proposals despite the Western European origins of most Mormon converts.[336] Mormon Exclusionists capitalized on anti-Chinese sentiment to argue that white immigrants could be restricted based on their beliefs or membership in specific organizations. These charactistics, Exclusionists said, rendered would-be immigrants unassimilable. Rather than racializing citizenship, this approach to anti-Mormonism sought to create a religious test for United States citizenship transcending racial categories.[337] This debate exacerbated existing rifts in the Republican Party and the cause of excluding Mormons transcended party divisions, attracting the support of Democrats as well as Republicans.

The link between the Mormon and Chinese Questions as matters of immigration policy received significant attention for the first time in 1879. In that year, Secretary of State William M. Evarts personally intervened in the issue of Mormon immigration. Evarts sent a circular to American consulates throughout Europe asking for cooperation

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[335] For more on the argument against women's suffrage in Utah from a legal historical perspective, see Sarah Barringer Gordon, "The Liberty of Self-Degradation: Polygamy, Woman Suffrage, and Consent in Nineteenth-Century America," *The Journal of American History* 83 (1996): 815-847. See also Joan Iversen, "The Mormon-Suffrage Relationship: Personal and Political Quandries," *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 11 (1990): 8-16; Joan Smyth Iversen, "A Debate on the American Home: The Antipolygamy Controversy, 1880-1890," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 1 (1991): 585-602.

[336] The vast majority of these immigrants were British, with the second greatest number originating in Scandinavia. See Scott Alan Carson, "European Immigration to America's Great Basin," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 34 (2004): 569-594.

[337] I say religious rather than moral test because Mormon Exclusionists sought to exclude all followers of the Mormon religion based on their de facto support of polygamy. Although morality was the key objection and guided much existing immigration restriction, this action would have banned Mormons on the basis of immoral theology and belief rather than immoral practice. The partnership of Edmunds and John Tucker, who did believe that Mormons were essentially able to assimilate, shows the messy and sometimes contradictory dynamics of Mormon Exclusionism.

on the issue of restricting Mormon travel.[338] He asked that American representatives abroad put pressure foreign governments to retain Mormons bound for the United States, paying particular attention to female converts. Evarts argued that Mormon converts should be excluded on the basis of their intention to commit the crime of polygamy—a crime that, if committed previously, would have been sufficient to block entrance into the U.S. He cited the recent Supreme Court decision upholding the conviction of George Reynolds, a Mormon tried for bigamy, as meaningful precedent in the matter.[339]

Evarts' goal, as articulated in the circular, constituted Mormon Exclusion. While pointing to criminal behavior as the reason for keeping Mormon converts out of the country, Evarts pointed to the likelihood of future crimes, and inherent immorality, of Mormons rather than any existing criminal activity. "Under whatever specious guise the subject may be presented by those engaged in instigating the European movement to swell the numbers of the law-defying Mormons of Utah," Evarts wrote, "the bands and organizations which are got together in foreign lands as recruits cannot be regarded as otherwise than a deliberate and systematic attempt to bring persons to the United States with the intent of violating their laws."[340] The language of the circular was quickly reprinted in newspapers across the country, from New York to Salt Lake City.

The link between Chinese Exclusion and possible restrictions on Mormon immigration also appeared as part of visual culture. An 1879 cartoon called "Uncle Sam's Troublesome Bedfellows" shows Uncle Sam struggling to make a place for himself in a

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[338] "Diplomatic Correspondence, Circular No. 10, August 9, 1879, Sent to Diplomatic and Consular Officers of the United States," Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States 1879 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1880), 11-12.
[339] REYNOLDS v. U.S., 98 U.S. 145 (1878).
[340] "Diplomatic Correspondence, Circular No. 10, August 9, 1879, Sent to Diplomatic and Consular Officers of the United States," Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States 1879 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1880), 11-12.

bed full of mischievous outsiders. To the right of Sam are three characters who have managed to stay in the bed: an Indian, an African, and a sleeping (or passed out) Irishman. Sam is in the process of kicking two additional pests out of the bed: a Chinese man and a Mormon man, identified by a paper in his hand that reads: POLYGAMY (Fig. 13).[341]

"Troublesome Bedfellows" draws a clear distinction between two classes of racial and cultural outsiders: domestic outsiders already a part of the nation, and foreigners who can be excluded. The Indian, African, and Irish figures lie in bed with Uncle Sam, grinning. These figures represent groups that are—following the Reconstruction Era Amendments—part of the "national family" and cannot be purged from it. Meanwhile, the Mormon and Chinese figures are flung out of bed, restricted or excluded in order to avoid an even more mongrelized and unruly population. This cartoon, reminiscent of anti-Mormon images of a chaotic, overpopulated bedroom, expands the domestic image to a national scope.

[341] Even a quick review of the visual dimension of anti-Mormonism reveals the continuing problem of identifying Mormons phenotypically. In most images, Mormons are identified by the word "polygamy" in a caption or label, in the absence of other clear visual markers. Mormon men are often shown with beards in the style of Brigham Young—an icon who provided a visual reference for the entire religious community. The lack of a racial or ethnic delineation between Mormons and mainstream Anglo society became increasingly problematic as anti-Mormon advocates pushed measures to block Mormon political rights and immigration opportunities in the late nineteenth century. See Bunker and Bitton, "Troublesome Bedfellows: Mormons and Other Minorities," 75-95.

Fig. 13 “Troublesome Bedfellows.” The *Wasp*, February 8, 1879.

Questioned by the press in Salt Lake City, Mormon elders expressed a cautious indifference to the threat of immigration restriction. George Q. Cannon theorized that Evarts’ move was a political ploy to “mak[e] Mormonism odious to the Democrats” and thus prevent Utah statehood. Cannon nonetheless thought it possible that European governments might accept Evarts’ proposal as a way of stemming emigration. Cannon and other leaders interviewed, including Albert Carrington, classified Evarts’ actions as unconstitutional. “Some seemed to think it would advertise the Mormon Church,” reported Chicago’s *Inter Ocean*, “and be the means of attracting attention and investigation of their doctrines, and in this way be a good thing for them.”[342] The *Deseret News* was somewhat more emphatic in their dismissal of the circular. “The doctrine of ‘gathering’ which our missionaries preach is true,” and directed by God. Therefore, “any

[342] “Our Salt Lake Letter,” *Inter Ocean*, August 19, 1879, 2.

governments of this world who stand themselves in earnest against [Zion] the Lord will smite them with fire and dash them in fire like a potter's vessel."[343]

Other observers shared Cannon's view that Evarts' proposal was unconstitutional. "Convicted criminals can be prohibited from our shores," read the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, but while polygamy might be "bad and vicious…the Mormon women who have been placed under the ban of the State Department are not convicts." This editorial used Evarts' own position in the Chinese exclusion debate to undermine his reasoning in this matter. "The marriage ceremonies of the Chinese are not up to our standard," the editorial read, "and the women imported by the Chinese Six Companies would hardly pass muster as vestals, but when the anti-Chinese bill was before Congress a few months ago Mr. Evarts did all in his power to stop it." Evarts was behaving selectively in his treatment of immigrants, according to this editorial. "If we can stand the Mongolian hordes we need not become frightened at the advent of a few hundred deluded white women who propose to try fractional matrimony in Utah."[344]

The *New York Times* echoed this judgment, stating that "Mormonism has not been declared a crime, though Mormon polygamy has been," and that circulars like Evarts' were insufficient to solve the Mormon Question. Restriction would not be possible without a reciprocal agreement from Europe, as the United States had obtained from the Chinese government.[345]

The *Times* reported a discouraging initial response from Britain, the source of the majority of Mormon immigrants bound for Utah. The *Times* of London came just short of

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[343] *Deseret News* quoted in "The Mormons Arming; Effect of Secretary Evarts' Circular Letter," *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, August 15, 1879, 3.
[344] "Secretary Evarts has instructed our representatives abroad…" *St. Louis Globe Democrat*, August 12, 1879, 4.
[345] "Mormonism Shaken," *New York Times*, August 14, 1879, 4.

mocking Evarts, and "very justly [said] that many difficulties are in the way of any direct interference by European Governments with Mormon migration."[346] The *Times* argued that "if the United States should determine to forbid the landing of any Mormon proselytes, it would be necessary for them to declare the profession of Mormonism to be an offence in itself, and to institute an inquisition over the religious opinions of immigrants."[347] In addition to a general refusal to discriminate based on religious belief and future crimes, the British government would not have a way of weeding out individual Mormons. "If the transportation companies cannot discriminate between Mormons and non-Mormons, the agents of the Governments of Europe surely cannot." Thus the barring of Mormons from among the throngs of immigrants would be impractical as well as ethically suspect.[348]

The British government resisted Evarts' proposal on just these grounds. Despite reports in some U.S. papers that European governments had been receptive to Evarts' circular[349], and the support of English anti-white slavery organizations[350], Mormon

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[346] "*Ibid*. The London *Examiner* expressed slightly more ambivalence on the matter. While sympathetic to Evarts' call, the *Examiner* agreed with the logic of the *Times* that Evarts' proposal was untenable under British law. Quoted in *New York Times*, August 30, 1879.

[347] London *Times* quoted in "The letter of Secretary Evarts to European nations on the Mormon matter…," Boston *Congregationalist*, August 20, 1879, 8. The *Congregationalist* actually endorsed the criminalizing of Mormonism citing other examples of imperial crackdowns on dangerous religious practices. "It will be no difficult matter," the August 20th Column read, "to show that the profession of Mormonism, which is nothing short of the most unbridled licentiousness, a bondage of womanhood for the sake of lust and power, is an offense against the laws of this country." Such actions had been taken to repress other religious expressions, including Suttee worship in Indian and "Pocasset murders" in Massachusetts. The *Congregationalist* warned its readers that large numbers of Mormons were entering the country, and "eighty fresh missionaries were sent to Europe from Utah."

[348] "Mormonism Shaken," *New York Times*, August 14, 1879, 4. The London *Examiner* expressed slightly more ambivalence on the matter. While sympathetic to Evarts' call, the *Examiner* agreed with the logic of the *Times* that Evarts' proposal was untenable under British law. Quoted in *New York Times*, August 30, 1879.

[349] One San Francisco *Daily Evening Bulletin* item even reported that "officers at the principle points of shipments of Mormon converts, state that the police are energetically to stop such emigration by formal notifications that our Government will arrest and prosecute emigrants of this sect upon their arrival, etc. Secretary Evarts now feels confident that, with the cooperation of the governments addressed, the inflow of Mormon proselytes form the Old World will be almost entirely cut off, and with the energetic measures

immigration continued.[351] Danish Foreign Minister Baron Rosenorn-Lehn responded directly to William Evarts. Despite some apparent sympathy, the Minister expressed confusion at Evarts' position in the matter. Converting to the Mormon faith, he insisted, "can in no way be likened to the contract to promote polygamous alliances. Thus, he failed to see how the conversion and recruitment of Danes constituted "an attempt to incite to a violation of the laws of the United States." He promised to remain vigilant in Danish efforts to prevent criminal emigration.[352] The United Kingdoms of Norway and Sweden made a similar pledge.[353]

Evarts' attempt to draw European governments into restricting immigration of Mormons resulted in few substantive policy changes abroad.[354] On the domestic front, however, congress and the general public continued to debate potential immigration

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now being enforced in Utah, the whole system will speedily crumble to pieces." "Secretary Evarts' Circular on Mormonism Favorably Received By European Governments," *Daily Evening Bulletin*, October 27, 1879, Column F.

[350] The specter of "white slavery," which first arose in England, spread to the United States by 1885 and receded only after World War One. As a xenophobic movement, white slavery had much in common with anti-polygamy as it sought to restrict immigration on the grounds of protecting young, white women. As Cecilia Devereux notes, white slavery can be read as a reaction to the expanding global reach of both the United States and Britain. "The white slave can be seen to have emerged in the context of a fiercely contested imperial expansion at the end of the nineteenth century," Devereux writes, "and to function more compellingly as an index of fears about the condition of dominant races and about gender and mobility within imperial space" than as a reflection of an actual trade in kidnapped white prostitutes. Concern over white slave traders (almost always described as dark- or olive-skinned) contributed to public support for the United States immigration quotas of the 1920s. See Cecilia Devereux, "'The Maiden Tribute' and the Rise of the White Slave in the Nineteenth Century: The Making of an Imperial Construct," *Victorian Review* 26 (2000): 2.

[351] An Arkansas paper quoted one Mormon missionary as saying that "the request of Mr. Evarts is generally laughed at among foreigners, who think that the idea of interference with a person's religious belief is ridiculous." "Utah Recruits, *Daily Arkansas Gazette*, November 2, 1879, 7; see also "Notwithstanding the vigorous issuing of a circular…" *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel*, September 23, 1879. For more on the demographics of Mormon immigrants, see Scott Alan Carson, "European Immigration to America's Great Basin," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 34 (2004): 569-594.

[352] Baron Rosenarn-Lehn to William Evarts, January 31, 1880, *Foreign Relations 1880*, 936.

[353] M. J. Cramer to Secretary Evarts, October 17, 1879, *Foreign Relations 1879*, 345; John L. Stevens to Secretary Evarts, September 23, 1879, *Foreign Relations 1879*, 964.

[354] Only Prussia agreed to ban Mormon missionaries in response to the circular.

restrictions. A Danish immigrant's observation in 1880 that "everyone is talking about Utah" owed something to the perceived immigration crisis.[355]

The argument for restricting Mormon immigration intensified following the successful passage of the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1882. Newspaper columnists nationwide floated the idea of Mormon exclusion on the model of Chinese exclusion. An 1882 column in the New Hampshire *Independent Statesman* expressed concern that racial prejudices would limit exclusion to the Chinese, and inhibit legislators from turning the force of the Exclusion Act against Mormons. If Chinese immigrants were going to be excluded for their heathenism, the author argued, this rule should apply to immigrants from all nations equally.[356]

Recent scholarship has linked the Sinophobia that culminated in the 1882 Exclusion Act to evolving political dynamics after the Civil War. This scholarship seeks more precise answers to the question of how white labor and Anglo elites viewed Chinese immigrants in terms of expanding definitions of citizenship. Naija Aarim-Heriot's work on Chinese Exclusion and the late-nineteenth-century re-racialization of citizenship proceeds from the uncontroversial premise that racial categories were not static, and that racism was manipulated for purposes of social and political control.[357] Aarim-Heriot compares the rhetoric of Exclusion with debates over the political rights of African Americans during and following Reconstruction. Like emancipated slaves, Chinese immigrants by their very presence raised questions about what qualified an individual for U.S. citizenship, and who could be excluded. The newly expanded right of Congress to

[355] C. C. A. Christensen, Digte og Afhandlinger, John S. Hansen, ed. Salt Lake City: Bikubens Bibliotek, 1921, 294.
[356] "The Chinese and Mormon Problems," *Independent Statesman*, March 23, 1882, 194.
[357] Andrew Gyory's complicates a major school of thought on Chinese Exclusion that he calls "the national racism consensus theory." See Andrew Gyory, *Closing the Gate*, 5-31.

oversee immigration touched off a period in which the boundaries of congressional power were consistently tested.

Chinese settlement alongside Anglos had been a reality of Western life since the Gold Rush. The Chinese presence became more threatening, however, as white Americans contemplated a mixed-race society that would continue to grow and diversify. Exclusion can be read as a matter of maintaining racial supremacy and control in a broader sense, rather than a kneejerk reaction to the presence of the Chinese specifically.[358] Indeed, the desire to maintain a certain amount of homogeneity in the country emerges in Aarim-Heriot's analysis as the consensus point for a coalition of white elites and non-elites.[359]

The opportunity presented by Chinese Exclusion reinvigorated old anti-Mormon energies. Despite the decreasing percentage of Westerners with Mormon ties, demography and insurrection reemerged during the 1880s as arguments against allowing Mormon settlement. "The thoughtful people of the United States cannot view without alarm the arrival of ten thousand Mormons into Utah," read an 1882 column in the *Cleveland Herald.* "What [President] Garfield said…about the movement of the Chinese to our Pacific Coast being more of an importation than an immigration, applies with double force to these Mormon converts." To allow continued and unlimited Mormon immigration would be to "tamely submit to the building up within [U.S.] borders of a

[358] Naija Aarim-Heriot, *Chinese Immigrants, African Americans, and Racial Anxiety in the United States, 1848-1942.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2003.
[359] This interpretation of white supremacy winning out is likely influenced by C. Vann Woodward's *Strange Career of Jim Crow* and the more recent comparative work of George Fredrickson and others. See George Frederickson, *White Supremacy: A Comparative Study of American and South African History.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1981; C. Vann Woodward, *The Strange Career of Jim Crow*. Third Revised Edition. New York: Oxford University Press, 1974 [1955].

hostile nation until the latter is strong enough to wage a war for its independence."[360] Implicitly, as least, this column echoed the *Independent Statesman*'s argument against preferential treatment for Mormon immigrants based on race.

Visual culture helped to reinforce the sense of equivalency between Mormons and the Chinese as problem groups. Enslaved women, a longstanding visual theme of the anti-polygamy movement, appeared in cartoons during the 1880s as an anti-immigration trope. Images from the popular press depicted Mormon and Chinese women as literally enslaved by their greedy male counterparts. Depictions of Mormon and Chinese women shuffling from the gangplank of a ship or across a harbor and into a world of drudgery and exploitation played up the urgency of immigration restriction as a humanitarian cause.[361]

One such image shows Mormon women filing off of a ship, each marked with a particular role she would perform—i.e. washerwoman, cook, and chambermaid (Fig. 15). These women are servants or even slaves to the men herding them off the ship. That the image is placed on the Atlantic Coast expands the scope of the problem to the national stage, and was perhaps intended to revive the "twin relics" outrage among *Harper's Weekly* readers in the more familiar and personal setting of the East.

While echoing past anti-polygamy campaigns, the visual tropes of the 1880s reflected the anxieties of the moment. Exclusion Era imagery suggested that immigration restriction of Mormons, like the Chinese restrictions and particularly the Page Law, could be justified on the grounds of protecting helpless women. One image in this vein shows a

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[360] James Garfield made this statement during his acceptance of the Republican presidential nomination in 1880. "Increased Mormon Immigration," *Cleveland Herald*, 1882.
[361] The image of the "drudge" was also invoked by Indian reformers who saw assimilative policies as a means of liberating Indian women from their traditional cultural roles. See David D. Smits, "The 'Squaw Drudge': A Prime Index of Savagism," *Ethnohistory* 29 (1982): 281-306.

long trail of immigrant women marching into a skull marked "Utah," apparently doomed both figuratively and literally (Fig. 14).

In this image, Mormon women stream into the "cave" of Utah. The image dramatizes the perceived fate of female converts brought to the U.S. West to be exploited by the Mormon community.

Fig. 14 "Mormonism in Utah—The Cave of Despair." *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, February 4, 1882.

Fig. 15 Mormon Exclusionist imagery reinforced the idea that uncontrolled immigration of converts was a national problem, not exclusive to the West. "Pure White 'Mormon Immigration' On the Atlantic Coast," a Thomas Nast cartoon appearing in *Harper's* in 1882, illustrated the arrival of Mormon "white slaves" on the eastern seaboard. *Harper's Weekly*, March 25, 1882.

As demography shifted in the West, so too did themes in anti-Mormon propaganda. Initially linked to Indians and compared to Muslims and Catholics, Mormons in the 1870s and 1880s more often symbolized a diverse and chaotic West through rhetorical and visual connections to Chinese immigrants. As fears of Chinese immigration rose, anti-Mormon cartoons positioned the Chinese as "bedfellows" of the Mormons. The visual theme of a demographic challenge, established in the female militia pictures of the 1850s, took on a metaphorical role as the actual demographic threat of Mormon settlement subsided. Nancy Cott and others have pointed out the centrality of marriage and family structure to both anti-Mormon and anti-Chinese agitation. Many of the leading anti-Mormon figures in the West transitioned easily to the cause of stemming

Chinese immigration.[362] The inclusion of the Chinese within the polygamous family, rather than signaling a literal trend, suggested the urgency of Chinese immigration as a growing demographic problem in an uncontrolled West.

The link between the Mormon and Chinese Questions was invoked by U.S. Presidents from Grant to Cleveland. Grover Cleveland's First Inaugural Address, in March of 1885, was a succinct promise of reform. In just a few short pages, the new Democratic president asserted his agenda of civil service reform throughout the country—a continuation of his Republican predecessors' policies—and underscored his commitment to tackling the problems of the West. In outlining his Western agenda, the president alluded to three pressing issues facing the federal government in that region: Indian assimilation, Mormon polygamy, and Chinese immigration.

Cleveland kept his terms vague and did not name either the Mormons or the Chinese specifically in his address. Yet, his allusions would have been transparent to his immediate audience. "Promot[ing] Indians to their ultimate citizenship" would include eradicating Native American polygamy, to be sure, yet any nineteenth-century listener would read Cleveland's mention of "polygamy in the Territories" as a reference to Mormon settlement. The allusion to immigrants "of a servile class" who would "compete with American labor, with no intention of acquiring citizenship" was an even less thinly veiled reference to the debate over Chinese exclusion.[363]

Cleveland's style in laying out these Western problems had the additional literary effect of interweaving the issues and problems to which he referred. The reference to

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[362] Nancy F. Cott, *Public Vows: A History of Marriage and the Nation.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000; Jenny Ry-Tyng Chou, "White Slavery, Yellow Peril: Mormon Polygamy and Chinese Immigration Versus the American Family," Undergraduate Thesis, Harvard University, 1981.
[363] *Inaugural Addresses of the Presidents*, Vol. 2 (Bedford, MA: Applewood Books, 2001), 9-10.

polygamy immediately following a pledge to reform Indian policy is a case in point. While the Mormon referent is not lost, Cleveland's anti-polygamy statement applies just as easily to Native Americans and their civilization in preparation for citizenship. The lead-in to this paragraph, a commitment to regulate land distribution in the West, tied in with contemporary charges of Mormon land grabbing schemes involving Indian allotments. The seamless transition from the moral affront of polygamy to the mention of undesirable immigrants invoked both anti-Chinese sentiment and resistance to continued Mormon immigration.[364]

Cleveland's wording accurately reflected the frequent overlap between the Indian, Chinese, and Mormon Questions in public perceptions of social and economic problems in the Western states and territories. Samuel Bowles highlighted the three exotic Western populations in his popular 1869 book *Our New West*, which promised to "Includ[e] a Full Description of the Pacific Railroad; AND Of the Life of the Mormons, Indians, and Chinese," those "crude and conflicting civilizations" of the region.[365] Visually, links between these groups appeared within the framework of the family and the schoolroom (Fig. 16).

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[364] Placing restrictions on Mormon immigration was a debated issue following the successful exclusion of Chinese immigrants in 1885. Efforts to locate acceptable boundaries to immigration restrictions and stabilize foreign relations consumed much of Cleveland's first term.

[365] Samuel Bowles, *Our New West* (New York: J.D. Dennison, 1869), vi.

Fig. 16 “Uncle Sam’s Troublesome School,”
The Wasp, June 5, 1886.

While historians have acknowledged the ways in which Indian policy and Chinese immigration were discussed in relation to African American citizenship and settlement, they have paid little attention to these debates in relation to the Mormon Question.[366] Viewing these strands from a comparative perspective has a number of benefits in terms of historical analysis. This perspective helps to isolate the evolution of the Mormon Question through the late nineteenth century. In the first few decades of Western settlement, the Mormon community had seemed to pose a direct demographic threat to United States colonial control. As demography shifted, Mormonism became emblematic of a more diffuse demographic challenge. Mormons appeared in visual cultural as fountainheads of dissent in the West, both military (in the case of Native Americans) and demographic (in the case of the Chinese and other non-white immigrant groups).

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[366] Naija Aarim-Heriot, *Chinese Immigrants, African Americans, and Racial Anxiety in the United States, 1848-1942.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2003.

Chinese immigration added a new dimension to existing concerns about assimilation and diversity in the West. Sinophobia, though a national movement that attracted considerable support in the East, remained rooted in California and in the dynamics of western demography. The movement drew from "twin relics" rhetoric in order to argue against Chinese immigration as an anti-slavery measure. While Mormons were not usually charged with militarizing the Chinese, they were commonly yoked together as Western barbarisms to be extinguished by the advance of United States society.

In some ways, the Anglo response to Chinese settlement in the West paralleled the response to Mormon settlement decades earlier. At first tentatively welcomed as necessary forerunners to Anglo settlement and civilization, the Chinese quickly became seen as a potent threat to order and development in the West. White labor especially resented the Chinese. As Senator James T. Farley of California explained in 1882, the Chinese "have prevented white migrants from seeking a home in California" by filling the positions white laborers might otherwise have occupied. In addition to usurping white male labor, Farley charged the Chinese (presumably men) with "driv[ing] women from every-day employment by which they could earn a livelihood for themselves and their families."[367] This rhetoric drew on public sympathies for white parents and white families beyond the concerns of organized labor.

The upturn in anti-Chinese sentiment in the West during the 1870s forced the issue onto the national stage—and into the platforms of both political parties. This political trend coincided with the mainstreaming of anti-polygamy as a central party principle in 1880. Heading into a presidential election season, the Republican Party was

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[367] *Congressional Globe*, 47th Congress, 1st Session, 1549.

on the defensive. Reconstruction measures had slipped over the past four years and the future of the country—and of the South's place in the Union—was uncertain. As the opposition party, Democrats cast the election as a referendum on the Republicans' anemic policies. The Democrats took up the mantle of reform, including many of staple Republican issues, in an effort to regain a foothold at the national level.

Anchoring the Democrats' rather amorphous reform agenda was a strict anti-Chinese immigration stance. Republicans echoed the sentiment, as both parties jockeyed for California's electoral votes.[368] Democrats coupled their anti-immigration position with a new push against polygamy, traditionally a Republican issue. Republicans blasted their opponents as political opportunists searching for popular positions in a lackluster political environment. "No man can possibly see why the Democratic Party should be the foe of polygamy," huffed the *New York Times.* "In fact, there is nothing bad, from fraud to bad whisky, that has ever incurred the hostility of the Democracy."[369] Republicans openly voiced their fear that the Democrats had cut a deal with the Utah delegation to ease the way for Utah into the Union only to leave a Mormon majority to its own devices and in change of Utah's state regulations.[370]

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[368] There is a substantial body of literature on the politics of Chinese Exclusion in California. For a recent example of Chinese Exclusion within the state of California, see John Robert Soennichsen, *The Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882*. Santa Barbara, CA: Greenwood, 2011. California-specific studies have tended to overlook the connections between the arguments of Chinese Exclusion and other groups and causes across the country. Newer work on Exclusion has begun to account for this skewed perspective. As Andrew Gyory in particular has argued, historians must consider national political and labor priorities in evaluating the sentiments behind anti-Chinese legislation. Gyory, *op. cit.* Looking at Chinese immigration from the angle of demography family also necessarily requires a transpacific scope. See Adam McKeown, "Transnational Chinese Families and Chinese Exclusion, 1875-1945." *Journal of American Ethnic History* 18 (1999): 73-110; George Peffer, "Forbidden Families: Emigration Experiences of Chinese Women under the Page Law, 1875–1882," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 6 (1986): 28–46.

[369] "A New Democratic Issue," *New York Times*, June 18, 1880.

[370] The slow political season continued in the midterm elections of 1882. At that time, the *New York Times* reported, Democrats and Republicans could find so little to debate in a local Morristown, New Jersey race that they argued over the reopening of a water pump in town. There was no issue to debate in Morristown because "public interest could not be aroused in connection with Chinamen and Mormons," the two

Anglo observers of Chinese immigration pointed out connections between the Chinese and Mormon Questions. A few analyses were positive in favor of Chinese immigration, arguing that it could serve as a demographic counterweight to Mormons and Mexicans in the southwest. The Philadelphia *North American* suggested that, "as a mixed population is the safest reliance of our republic, the Chinese influx in California affords an admirable means of counteracting the Mormon despotism in Utah and the Mexican element in Arizona and New Mexico."[371] More commonly, Mormon and Chinese immigration were linked as undesirable settlers. "If the Chinese must go," reasoned the Philadelphia *North American* in 1880, "then, in the name of common sense, do not let the Mormons come."[372]

While in some ways very much of the moment, the comparison between Mormons and Asians extended back for decades. Anti-polygamy rhetoric had consistently characterized as Mormons as "Oriental," and spoke of Utah as "the Orient in the extreme Occident." Comparisons between Brigham Young and Mohammed, each with his harem and his loyal followers, had been the subject of commentary, cartoons, and plays since at least the 1850s.[373] Chinese polygamy was a known phenomenon, as was Mormon missionary activity in China. As early as the 1855, newspapers were noting with alarm the arrival of Chinese Mormons.[374] As with Native Americans, the proximity

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favored pariahs of the day, and "neither party was prepared to advocate either Chinese immigration or Mormon marriage." "A New Issue," *New York Times*, May 13, 1882, 4.

[371] *North American*, August 15, 1876, col. A.

[372] "The Heathen or the Mormon?," *North American,* September 8, 1880, col. B.

[373] "The Mormons, or, Life at Salt Lake City: A Drama in Three Acts," Thomas Dunn English. New York: S. French, 1858. For an analysis of this literary theme, see "'They Ain't Whites…They're Mormons': Fictive Responses to the Anxiety of Seduction," in Givens, *Viper on the Hearth*, 121-152.

[374] "It is said that a large number of Chinese, who have been converted to Mormonism, are arriving in California," read one article. "The people of the Golden State do not exactly relish that kind of population." This piece, which ran in an Ohio paper, quoted a California journalist as saying: "We want no class of

of Mormons to the Chinese in a Western context raised the possibility of expanding or sustaining polygamy in that region.[375]

The overwhelmingly male Chinese communities made polygamy within Chinatowns implausible.[376] The relative absence of Chinese families did not mean, however, that white families were safe from the effects of Chinese immigration. Both women and men, according to exclusionists, were arriving from China in a state of servitude. Anti-Chinese literature cast both Chinese men and women as unsuitable for American domestic life. Chinese men were depicted as corrupters of women, both Chinese and Anglo. At their best, according to this literature, Chinese men were unable to meet Anglo norms of order and cleanliness. An article in *Scribner's* illustrated the barbarism of Chinese men through their mismanagement of domestic space. "Individually, John Chinaman is a clean human," the author conceded, while stressing that "collectively, he is a beast. Follow him home and you will find…a herd of animals living in a state of squalor and filth at which even a Digger Indian would shudder."[377] The placement of Chinese men below Great Basin Indians on the scale of civilization suggested that they were even worse candidates for assimilation than the most "degraded" of Native Americans.

Anglo moral reformers expressed a particular concern about Chinese women as a threat to public health and morality. An 1876 task force appointed to explore the

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human beings in our midst to whom we cannot extend the right hand of republican fellowship." See "Chinese Mormons," *Ripley Bee*, February 24, 1855.

[375] The movement to quash the concubine market in American Chinatowns after Chinese Exclusion described the problem in terms of its comparison to Mormon polygamy. See "Polygamy in Chinatown," *Daily Evening Bulletin,* San Francisco, May 14, 1888, 2.

[376] Charges of Chinese concubinage did appear around the turn of the century, after Chinese exclusion and early restrictions on the importation of women.

[377] *Scribner's;* See Natalia Molina, "Interlopers in the Land of Sunshine: Chinese Disease Carriers, Launderers, and Vegetable Peddlers" in *Fit to be Citizens?: Public Health and Race in Los Angeles*, 1879-1939. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006.

"Chinese Question" focused particular attention on the "condition and character" of Asian female immigrants in the United States.[378] The resulting report portrayed Chinese women as soulless and predatory, lacking family infrastructure and maternal instinct. Operating outside of the family unit, Chinese women were charged with actively harming the American family through the solicitation of their bodies. The congressional task force of 1876 reported that Chinese prostitutes were willing to sleep with any male over the age of five, and were responsible for the spread of venereal disease to young Anglo men and women.[379]

Drug use, and the narcotics trade, was also a reference point for anti-Chinese agitators. Accused of introducing opium into American cities, the Chinese (and particularly Chinese men) were charged with the corruption of young white women.[380] Despite the lack of apparent connection between the largely abstemious Mormons and urban opium dens, anxieties over drug use also seeped into anti-Mormon arguments.[381] These fears dovetailed with longstanding charges of Mormon child abuse and neglect, used by anti-polygamists to show the inhumanity of plural marriage. Even Chinese immigrants not practicing polygamy were thus though to be contributing to the corruption and undermining of the Anglo familial ideal.[382] The anti-maternalism of Chinese women

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[378] "Report of the Joint Special Committee of Congress to Investigate Chinese Immigration," 44th Congress, 2nd Session, 1877. S Rept. 689, 2.
[379] "Report of the Joint Special Committee of Congress to Investigate Chinese Immigration," 44th Congress, 2nd Session, 1877. S Rept. 689, 14.
[380] See Diana L. Ahmad, *The Opium Debate and Chinese Exclusion Laws in the Nineteenth-Century American West.* Reno: University of Nevada Press, 2007.
[381] Mormon women had faced charges of child neglect since at least the 1860s, when articles appeared across the country alleging a particularly high child mortality rate in Utah (second only, one article noted, to Louisiana). "A Mormon graveyard is the most melancholy sight on earth," Cleveland *Daily Herald* item began. "One bishop here has seventeen children buried in one row, and the longest grave is not over four feet" because "two-thirds of polygamists do not and cannot attend properly to their children." See "Mortality Among Mormon Children," *Daily Cleveland Herald*, July 8, 1869, col. E. Chou, 46.
[382] "A Recent Marriage in San Francisco reveals something that will be of interest to the special committee appointed by Congress to investigate the Chinese question…" Milwaukee *Daily Sentinel*, April 11, 1877, 4.

made them dangerous to white families as well as possible vectors for a mixed race population.[383]

Mormonism and the Mormon family assumed the role of emblems of demographic challenges posed by a diverse population that included Chinese immigrants. Images of a chaotic Mormon bedroom represented an established comic theme by the 1880s (Fig. 17). Along with the standard gaggle of wives, this image also includes a large group of children in a long cradle. Among the white babies is one dark-skinned child. This image not only pokes fun at the apparent discord of a polygamous household but also, more subtly, points to the wider social disorder that polygamy could engender. Miscegenation as a visual theme was used to characterize a host of other, contemporary threats, including Chinese immigration.[384] Depictions of Mormons as encouraging or contributing to a diverse West through their own perversions of family life tied into broader anxieties about racial mixing and the disruption of orderly settlement.

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[383] This report supported the necessity of the restrictions enacted in the Page Law of 1875, which barred "immoral" Chinese women from entering the United States. By targeting women, Kerry Abrams writes, "Congress was able to restrict Chinese immigration while maintaining a veneer of inclusiveness." Kerry Abrams, "Polygamy, Prostitution, and the Federalization of Immigration Law," *Columbia Law Review* 105 (2005): 641-716.

[384] In the context of California, these images were both allegorical and literal. In one image, a devilish Chinese baby sucks its thumb in the arms of a worried Columbia. Another image casts forward to a time when a Chinese man, as Mayor of San Francisco, attends the theater with his Anglo wife. See Philip P. Choy, Lorraine Dong, and Marlon K. Hom, eds., *Coming Man: 19th Century American Perceptions of the Chinese.* Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1994.

Fig. 17 “The Elder’s Happy Home.” *Chic,* April 19, 1881.

Bedroom imagery was common in visual depictions of the nation through the allegory of a “national family.” A cartoon from the San Francisco *Wasp*, a satirical magazine founded by Eastern European brothers, provides a good entry point into the visual theme.[385] In “Uncle Sam’s Nightmare,” the Uncle Sam figure lies sleeping in his bed, plagued by troubling visions. A large bell with a stereotypical Chinese caricature sits on top of him, along with the front quarters of a goat (Fig. 18). In the background, a line of goats dressed in bonnets crowd the right side of the frame. Behind the bell, a line of shadowy Chinese figures stretches on indefinitely.[386] The image links Mormon polygamy

[385] See Richard Samuel West. *The San Francisco Wasp: An Illustrated History*. Northampton, MA: Periodyssey Press, 2004.
[386] “Uncle Sam’s Nightmare,” *The Wasp*, March 24, 1882.

to the demographic threat seemingly posed by Chinese immigration without directly connecting Mormon and Chinese families.[387]

In "Uncle Sam's Nightmare," the imagery of the bedroom functions in a slightly different way from the "The Elder's Happy Home." The critical difference is one of balance. Although Mormon and Chinese populations both torment Uncle Sam in "Uncle Sam's Nightmare," Mormons are not directly linked to non-white settlement, The Mormons and Chinese appear as parallel challenges, weighing down on the sleeping Uncle Sam with equal force. In "The Elder's Happy Home," by contrast, the Mormon family is ostensibly directly responsible for breeding a mixed-race population signified by the dark-skinned baby in the cradle.

Fig. 18 "Uncle Sam's Nightmare," *The Wasp*, March 24, 1882.

[387] Despite the popular images of Mormon and Chinese families, few charges of intermarriage were ever articulated, and probably very few such marriages took place. Nonetheless the bedroom imagery cited in this chapter may well have had the effect of reminding readers of the potential for intermarriage and mixed-race populations. Concerns about "Mormon Chinese" did occasionally appear in newspapers from the time of the Gold Rush onward, although these references usually mentioned Chinese converts rather than offspring. See, for example, "Chinese Mormons," *Ripley Bee*, February 24, 1855.

The equity of blame or, from another angle, of anxiety expressed in “Uncle Sam’s Nightmare” was not unique. Many images of the period depicted Mormons, Chinese, Indians, and sometimes Africans are as meddlesome children, usually irking a teacher or mother figure in the form of Columbia (see Fig. 1). Schoolroom and domestic images featuring Mormons, Indians, the Chinese, and other allegorical figures as unruly charges reinforced the sense of a rising population. They also tended to suggest equivalency. These images present representations of racial and ethnic minorities who are equally galling to the nation, equally difficult to handle, and perhaps equally barbaric or ignorant in comparison to white Protestant Americans.

Fig. 19 An 1870 cartoon image of a mixed-race Mormon family, including A Chinese wife. “A Mormon Family out for a Walk” from John T. Sherwood, *The Comic History of The United States*, 1870 [388]

The common anxiety expressed in these images of family and schoolroom is of a mixed population that is out of hand and unable to assimilate or learn the ways of the

[388] The trope of Mormon patriarch as the literal or figurative father of a mixed-race population persisted in anti-Mormon propaganda beyond the formal renunciation of polygamy in 1890. See “Mormon Elder-Berry—Out with His Six-Year-Olds, Who Take After Their Mothers,” *Life*, April 28, 1904; “16-to-1,” *The Judge*, September 12, 1896.

civilized United States. Within this theme, Mormons appear as symptoms or incubators of a larger problem: an increasingly diverse nation, and a particularly unruly West (Fig. 19). This imagery reflects anxieties of a particular historical moment, when issues of immigration restriction dovetailed with debates over the rights of African-American citizens in the United States. Senators debated the plausibility and desirability of racial and ethnic diversity outright.[389]

The debate over and passage of Chinese Exclusion ignited Mormon Exclusion debates in congress as well as in the popular press. On the floor of the Senate, George F. Edmunds of Vermont emerged as a strong advocate of immigration restriction. Although ambivalent on the issue of Chinese Exclusion as a diplomatic matter (he argued in favor of restriction in the Senate but ultimately voted against the 1882 Act), perhaps no national political figure did more to integrate anti-Chinese and anti-Mormon sentiment than George Edmunds.[390]

Edmunds seized the moment of anti-Mormon enthusiasm in 1882 to shepherd a harsh anti-polygamy bill through congress. The Edmunds Act went further than any previous legislation in restricting the rights of citizenship for members of the LDS Church. Most significantly, the Act made polygamy a felony for the first time, with a

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[389] Thomas Nast illustrated this projection of a diverse national family in "Uncle Sam's Thanksgiving Dinner," published in an 1869 issue of *Harper's*. In this cartoon, Uncle Sam presides over a gathering of many racial and ethnic representatives, all sharing a holiday meal. This particular image is illustrative rather than accusatory. The dinner guests are not caricatured in a negative way, reflecting an acknowledgement of diversity without a repudiation of it, or even any obvious anxiety. See *Harper's Weekly*, November 20, 1869, 745.

[390] The Chinese Exclusion Act provoked controversy not only for its discriminatory and overtly racist thrust, but also because its passage meant the abrogation of the Burlingame Treaty. Although the Chinese government agreed to Exclusion, the passage of legislation in the United States deviated from the usual diplomatic course of such negotiations. Edmunds objected to the Act on these procedural grounds. For analysis of the different types of immigration restriction in the nineteenth century, including restriction by treaty, see "The Open Borders Myth and the Lost Century of American Immigration Law" in Gerald L. Neuman, *Strangers to the Constitution: Immigrants, Borders, and Fundamental Law.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996.

misdemeanor designation for "unlawful cohabitation." On a practical level, this meant that law enforcement could prosecute possible polygamists for living in a state of bigamy, without the burden of having to prove that multiple marriages had taken place. The Act also disenfranchised polygamists and prohibited them from holding public office.[391]

The Edmunds Act passed with broad grassroots support. Churches and community organizations boisterously organized pledges and resolutions in opposition to polygamy. Notices of anti-Mormon meetings and rallies appeared in newspapers across the country, and were entered into the congressional record at the opening of each session. The Act sent over 1,300 men to jail over the following two decades, reaching the highest echelons of the LDS Church. These prosecutions were perhaps the most sensational of late-nineteenth-century anti-polygamy tactics, and have been documented extensively by legal, political, and cultural historians.[392]

Despite the attention paid to the Edmunds Act, historians have not considered its significance in the context of immigration restriction. In the same year that Edmunds passed his anti-polygamy legislation restricting Mormon citizenship, advocates of

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[391] The majority of scholarly work on the Edmunds and Edmunds-Tucker Acts pertains to the legal significance of this legislation. See Edwin Brown Firmage and Richard Collin Mangrum, *Zion in the Courts: A Legal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, 1830-1900.* Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2001; Richard A. Vazquez, "The Practice of Polygamy: Legitimate Free Exercise of Religion or Legitimate Public Menace?," *Journal of Legislation & Public Policy* (New York University School of Law), Volume 5, 2001; Edward Stein, "Past and Present Proposed Amendments to the United States Constitution Regarding Marriage," Washington University Law Quarterly, Volume 82, 2004; Gordon, *The Mormon Question.* The Act appears as a culmination of anti-polygamy activities in broad histories of Mormon settlement, such as Arrington and Bitton, *The Mormon Experience.* Although immigration restriction and the dissolution of the PEF is mentioned in nearly all of these analyses, there has been no in-depth work on the relationship between Mormon Exclusion and other exclusionary legislation.

[392] The Edmunds Act became an excuse for local Utah authorities to keep anyone who did not renounce polygamy from full political involvement. The over-enforcement of the Act in Utah bred frustration and enduring resentment among non-polygamous Mormons. As Edward Hunter wrote to Nancy Kennedy, "if I live until June, I shall be ninety years old----and although I have done much for my country, and never broke a law, I am now deprived of my franchise, and cannot vote. My Country is fast coming to ruin, and if they should ever pass a law to disenfranchise our community on account of our faith, swift destruction will as certainly overtake them as the Lord lives. These are stirring times and behooves every one to learn the will of the Lord and then do it." MSS SC 1932; L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University.

Chinese Exclusion successfully sold their argument that Chinese immigrants should be barred, in part, because of their ineligibility for citizenship. If anyone sympathizing with polygamy was also ineligible for citizenship, as anti-polygamists including Edmunds hoped, then Mormon Exclusion arguments could mirror those of Chinese Exclusion. By broadening the premises of anti-Chinese restriction and advocating Mormon disenfranchisement, Edmunds attempted to categorize both groups as politically in the short-term, but would also bolster Mormon Exclusion by rendering Mormons unfit for the full rights and responsibilities of citizenship.[393]

George Edmunds also made it his mission to erode the legal distinctions between Mormons and the Chinese. One of the ways that Edmunds approached the fusing of the Mormons and Chinese Questions was to sidestep the issue of race. He did so by classifying the Chinese outside the definition of "immigrants." The Chinese were not immigrants at all, he reasoned, but migrants with no political allegiance to the federal government. Like Mormons, Edmunds argued, the Chinese had no plans to assimilate and were therefore rightfully placed in a distinct category from the majority of immigrants.[394]

The logical extension of this argument was that any group that either could not assimilate or did not wish to could be denied entry to the United States. Immigrant groups that could not or would not assimilate might constitute *imperium in imperio*, leading to a

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[393] The Edmunds Act in many ways paralleled the dismantling of Native American tribal governance, enacted through restrictions placed on polygamous Indians. Since polygamy demarcated social status within the LDS Church hierarchy and within many tribal social systems, targeting polygamists allowed federal authorities to strike at existing political structures. See Francis Prucha, *Americanizing the American Indian: Writings by the 'Friends of the Indian,"* 1880-1900. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1973. Recent scholarship on the subject has increasingly focused on Native perspectives on marriage and indigenous responses to religious reform activities. See Bethany Ruth Berger, "After Pocahontas: Indian Women and the Law," *American Indian Law Review* 21 (1997): 1-62; Quincy D. Newell, "'The Indians Generally Love Their Wives and Children': Native American Marriage and Sexual Practices in Missions San Francisco, Santa Clara, and San Jose," *The Catholic Historical Review* 91 (2005): 60-82; Laura F. Klein and Lillian A. Ackerman, eds., *Women and Power in Native North America.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995.

[394] *Congressional Record*, 47th Congress, 1st Session, 1716.

large population of disloyal inhabitants unfit for citizenship that might constitute a culturally and politically distinct entity. George Edmunds' rhetoric gave congressional voice to the sentiments of contemporary journalists like those at the *Cleveland Herald,* who worried aloud about "the building up within [U.S.] borders of a hostile nation" that might pose a separatist threat and destabilize the West. Utah's failure to assimilate into the national party system was cited as further evidence of political estrangement.[395]

The old argument that the Mormons constituted a separatist insurgency was only one classic theme of anti-Mormonism to reemerge in Exclusionist rhetoric. Edmunds' invocation of Mormon women as slaves, the "twin relics" metaphor popularized in the antebellum period, now referenced the 1875 Page Act as legislative precedent. Edmunds declared Mormon women incapable of thinking in their own self-interest. They were, in his estimation, "like the women of Central Asia at this present moment; they are dominated by the lords of creation." In this state of slavery, he argued, any opinions these women expressed must be considered the insensible products of duress.[396] This argument supported the sort of diplomatic maneuver that William Evarts had attempted several years earlier, restricting the movement of converts with the stated premise of protecting female immigrants.

Edmunds also used the rhetoric of family to make his case against both Mormons and the Chinese. Beginning from the basic metaphor of the nation as a family, Edmunds advanced an essentially racial argument that a family should not contain two or more

[395] "Increased Mormon Immigration," *Cleveland Herald*, 1882.
[396] *Congressional Record*, 47th Congress, 2nd Session, 3058. Kerry Abrams attributes the focus on women within the push for Chinese immigration restriction to the relative lack of political power among those women. The same argument could be made—and in fact, was made—in the successful movement to disenfranchise Mormon women in 1887.

races, and that the Chinese were therefore to be excluded.[397] California Democrat James Farley and others sided with Edmunds, arguing that the Chinese "are not of us; they are not entitled to be of us."[398] "The ground upon which we legislate against free love, and polygamy, and all other kinds of moral wickedness," Edmunds railed, "over which we have control by legislative power, is that it belongs to the will of the people as a body organized into a government to decide upon the conduct of persons who are in it or who are to come to it."[399] By defining a family as a self-regulating group of likeminded individuals, Edmunds and Farley suggested at immigration policy could exclude any person or group at will. Presumed "moral wickedness" could justify exclusion even without proof of wicked acts.

Edmunds' use of family metaphors attracted reactionary votes to the issue of immigration restriction. The language jibed with themes of United States visual culture that linked undesirable immigrant populations through depictions of the family and of the bedroom. Mormons and Chinese immigrants both appeared in these visuals as "troublesome bedfellows" for a perturbed Uncle Sam, and warned of an uncontrolled, mixed race populace. These visual themes played off of—and into—anxieties over miscegenation that were a staple of debate surrounding African American citizenship status and civil rights. Edmunds' use of the family metaphor in congressional debate allowed him to advance a similar agenda. If the United States was a family, then those who rejected immigration restriction might actually be advocating miscegenation and the blurring of racial lines.

[397] *Congressional Record*, 47th Congress, 1st Session, 1674.
[398] *Congressional Record,* 47th Congress, 1st Session, 1747.
[399] *Congressional Record*, 47th Congress, 1st Session, 1709.

Much of the congressional pushback against Senator Edmunds came from within the Republican Party, from Half-Breeds including George Frisbie Hoar of Massachusetts. Hoar rejected Edmunds' racial determinist view of the Chinese as unable to learn or thrive in Anglo-American culture. On the floor of the Senate, he entered into evidence testimonials from citizens across the nation who recounted positive first hand interaction with Chinese men and women. One such letter, from a woman in Connecticut, compared her adopted Chinese sons favorably to white men in the community. She described how these "noble and high-minded" youths "have become our own kindred." She described how her families' "hearts grow hot with indignation as we hear men who are not worthy to stand in their presence speak of our beloved brethren as belonging to an essentially and irreclaimably inferior race."[400]

Like Senator Hoar, this unnamed woman saw the Chinese Question as a logical extension of antebellum abolitionism. "It is seventeen years to-day," the letter opened, "since my brother…laid down his life on a Southern battle-field in defense of human rights, and his blood cries out against those who are trying to make us believe that God and our fathers meant only black and white when they declared the nations of one blood."[401] This interpretation implicitly challenged the racial definition of nationalism suggested by Edmunds' "national family" rhetoric.[402]

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[400] *Congressional Record*, 47th Congress, 1st Session, 1709.
[401] *Congressional Record*, 47th Congress, 1st Session, 1709.
[402] Hoar's voting record shows an intolerance for polygamy and strong support for the assimilative education of Native Americans. His call for pluralism therefore had its limits, and should not be confused with twentieth-century forms of multiculturalism. John Kincaid's statement that "battles against slavery and polygamy…signaled a rejection of territorially based multiculturalism in the United States" presents a broader argument about regionally specific cultures within the American nation in the nineteenth century. See John Kincaid, "Extinguishing the Twin Relics of Multiculturalism—Slavery and Polygamy—From American Federalism," *Publius 33* (2003): 75-92.

Hoar used these testimonials as the basis of an overarching argument about pluralism in the United States. In response to Edmunds linking of the Chinese and Mormon questions, Hoar made the broad argument that pluralism was in fact a positive for the country. He repudiated Edmunds and other exclusionists for ignoring what he called "the lesson of the Civil War."[403] Pennsylvania Senator John Inscho Mitchell made an interesting connection between Hoar's point, with which he agreed, and the course of empire. Mitchell argued that "homogeneity enforced against natural right and the march of empire may lead to stagnation and decay." In other words, "homogeneity" was a threat not only to the nation but to the economic and political viability of an expanding empire.[404]

Hoar's defense of Chinese immigration all but forced him to defend Mormon immigration as well. Hoar rejected as unconstitutional the premise that voting rights could be restricted based on personal beliefs. This position was not indicative of a tolerance for polygamy. During Indian severalty debates in 1881, Hoar raised a successful objection to an amendment "prohibiting the punishment of an Indian for polygamy who, at the time of the allotment, was practicing the same." Hoar's modification of the amendment made it inapplicable to Indians holding United States citizenship.[405] The critical distinction in the case of Mormon voting rights was between

[403] Attempts to define Mormons against antebellum factions proliferated in the 1870s and 1880s. While anti-polygamy rhetoric relied heavily on equating Mormons with slaveholders, more accommodating observers compared polygamists with abolitionists. "The position of the Utah Mormons and that of the early Abolitionists is precisely the same," wrote sea captain and prolific historian John Codman "—in all things loyalty and obedience to the government, excepting when the "higher law" comes into conflict." Codman, who favored anti-polygamy but not anti-Mormonism, described both Mormons and Abolitionists as rebellious but not fundamentally incompatible with American government or social values. John Codman, *A Solution of the Mormon Problem*. New York: G. P. Putnam's, 1855.
[404] *Congressional Record*, 47th Congress, 1st Session, 1753.
[405] "Forty-Sixth Congress," *New York Times*, Feb. 1, 1881, 3.

belief and practice. Hoar consistently voted for legislation enforcing anti-polygamy statutes but did not extend the same support to broader anti-Mormon policies.[406]

The role of race in congressional debates surrounding political rights was complicated by the instability of racial categories, particularly the category of "whiteness."[407] Hoar's argument that Mormons should enjoy the citizenship privileges of other "white persons" turned into a moment of fleeting tension on the Senate floor when Nevada Senator Henry M. Teller suggested that there were gradations within the general category of "white persons"—specifically arguing that Anglo-Saxons were the dominant subgroup. When challenged by Hoar, Teller testily proclaimed that: "the Caucasian race is superior in mental force, intellectual vigor, and morals than any other branch of the human family. Then I say that there are grades of the Caucasian race." Asked to explain this hierarchy, Teller told him that "I cannot stop now to discuss the question, but I will tell you some other time."[408] The lack of consensus on who constituted a "white person,"

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[406] See Richard E. Welch Jr., *George Frisbie Hoar and the Half-Breed Republicans*. Cambridge, MA : Harvard University Press, 1971.

[407] The extensive scholarship on "whiteness" has described the instability of racial categories in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, as well as the ways in which the definition of whiteness could be manipulated to meet specific political, economic, and legal ends. Since the initiation of the "whiteness studies" movement (touched off by the publication of David Roediger's *The Wages of Whiteness* in 1991), whiteness has embraced as a category of analysis by cultural and labor historians in particular. I introduce this subject into my own analysis with an awareness of its limitations and pitfalls. As Eric Arnesen points out in his critique of whiteness studies, historians have too often employed the concept of whiteness without clear working definitions of their terminology and without sufficient evidence of their subjects' racial views. Arneson takes particular issue with the use of "psychohistory" to illustrate how various groups "*became* white." For the sake of clarity and in light of Arnesen's observations, I will take a moment to define my terms and my goals. In this chapter, I discuss whiteness as a legal and cultural construct. I am discussing a moment at which the definition and limitations of U.S. citizenship in relation to race were in transition. Factions opposed to Mormon immigration used whatever rhetorical tools they could to try to exclude Mormons from the protections they enjoyed through their racial status and origins (for the most part) in Western European countries. Comparing Mormons to the Chinese made them seem less white in the sense that it made them seem foreign and culturally distinct from Anglo-America. See Eric A. Arnesen, "Whiteness and the Historian's Imagination," *International and Working-Class History* 60 (2001): 3-32.

[408] *Congressional Record*, 47th Congress, 1st Session, 1708. Teller was a Republican at the time of this exchange, although he was later elected as a Democrat.

although not discussed in depth in 1882, would become a perennial issue of immigration debates into the twentieth century.

Racial principles notwithstanding, some southern Democrats were very comfortable with Senator Hoar's argument that the government should have limited power in restricting immigration to the states. Senator Wilkinson Call of Florida argued that the government could no more mandate monogamy than it could mandate polygamy. "Where is there in the Constitution of the United States," he asked, "in regards to marriage, polygamy, or monogamy to authorize Congress to declare what shall be the domestic relations of the people of the several territories?"[409] This argument took the opposite extreme from that of Edmunds, not only rejecting immigration restriction based on marriage or religious tests, but also questioning the validity of any federal restrictions on marriage.

The Democratic inclinations of Mormons as a bloc made Call's position politically savvy for Democrats.[410] There may have been other benefits to continued Mormon immigration from a Southern perspective. During the period that Exclusion was under debate, some Southern leaders suggested the importation of Mormons into the South as a replacement for black labor. In July of 1883, the South Carolina State Grange and Agricultural Society considered the potential of Mormons as laborers in the south. Senator Matthew Butler, who had served as a major general in the Confederate Army, suggested that blacks be replaced "with Mormon laborers, and said that 200,000 negro laborers could be safely spared. He wanted them to go to Kansas, Indiana, or anywhere

[409] *Congressional Record*, 47th Congress, 2nd Session, 3171.
[410] Southern Democrats had concrete reasons for wanting to keep the mostly-Democratic Mormons enfranchised. See See David Smith, "Voting to Repress: The 47th Congress and the Mormons," *Conference Papers—Midwestern Political Science Association* (2009), 1.

else."[411] Butler's position never enjoyed widespread popularity, nor did Southern Democrats vote unanimously on these issues in congress. Those that did defend Mormon immigration, however, became unlikely partners of Half-Breed Republicans in their efforts to stem the anti-immigration fervor of the 1881-1883 moment.[412]

The failure of the anti-Mormon coalition to immediately pass Mormon Exclusion did not end the debate. In 1884, a federal Utah Commission recommended that the Chinese Exclusion Act be amended to "prevent the immigration of persons claiming that their religion teaches and justifies the crime of polygamy."[413] This official report spurred continued public confidence in the possibility of Mormon Exclusion. In December of 1885, a St. Louis man wrote to his cousin in Salt Lake City with news of the immigration debate. "Do you know that President Cleveland has advised the passage of law to prevent Mormon teachers bringing to this country recruits from foreign lands?" he asked, adding: "this is a move in the right direction."[414] A group of clergymen (also based in St. Louis) excitedly tried to drum up support for "a movement to suppress Mormon immigration into this country."[415]

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[411] Butler's views were "warmly opposed" by other attendees who noted the recent upswing in cotton production. "Against Negro Labor," *New York Times*, July 27, 1883. For more on anti-Mormon sentiment in the South, see Patrick Q. Mason, *The Mormon Menace: Violence and Anti-Mormonism in the Postbellum South*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2011.

[412] For an analysis of Asian labor patters in the U.S. South and Cube during the period in question, see Matthew Pratt Guterl. "After Slavery: Asian Labor, the American South, and the Age of Emancipation." *Journal of World History* 2 (2003): 209-241. African Americans also contributed to the push for Chinese Exclusion in the 1870s and 1880s. The testimony of Reverend Blakeslee before the Senate in 1877 intimated that the Chinese could not assimilate since they had not had the cultural introduction to the nation that slavery had provided to Africans. *Chinese Immigration: Its Social, Moral, and Political Effect*, Report to the California Senate of Its Special Committee on Chinese Immigration (Sacramento: State Printing Office, 1978), 247.

[413] This measure was advocated in newspapers including the *New York Tribune,* which argued bluntly that such an amendment "would cut off the chief source of support to the Mormon Church." *New York Tribune*, November 1, 1885.

[414] MSS SC 2162; L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University.

[415] "Mormon Immigration," *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, June 15, 1886, col G.

Mormon Exclusionism enjoyed particular popularity among Catholic immigrant groups. The movement found support among Midwestern and Eastern Irish and German societies, which organized events and distributed literature in opposition to Mormon immigration. An Irish immigrant was also reported among the rescue team that liberated a young Englishwoman from Mormon missionaries in 1884. After a fight broke out that left "one of the elders…flat on the deck," a member of the Irish opposition shouted at the elders and "threatened to lay them all out if they touched the girl again."[416] The interest of Catholic groups in defining themselves against Mormons probably stemmed from comparisons between Catholics and Mormons from the Protestant Anglo majority.[417] Showing contempt for Mormons projected the idea that assimilated Catholics shared mainstream Anglo values including opposition to the exploitation of women.

This approach mirrored the anti-Chinese rhetoric emanating from African American periodicals, which justified black political viability in juxtaposition with the unassimilable Chinese immigrant.[418]

The Mormon and Chinese Questions remained entwined in public discourse through the mid-1880s. Exclusionists expressed concern about Mormons and Chinese immigrants beyond lost jobs and corrupting influence. They argued that these groups could upset the international balance of power. Although Mormons and the Chinese were

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[416] "Mormon Immigration," *Daily Evening Bulletin*, San Francisco, November 12, 1884, 3.

[417] An example of contemporary comparisons between Mormons and Catholics is Josiah Strong's *Our Country*, which includes sections entitled "Perils—Romanism" and "Perils—Mormonism." See *Our Country: Its Possible Future and Present Crisis*. New York: The American Home Missionary Society, 1885.

[418] Helen Jun has described how African American anti-Chinese rhetoric reified the assumptions of the Exclusionist movement in order to present black citizenship as part of a modern U.S. political culture. See Helen H. Jun. "Black Orientalism: Nineteenth-Century Narratives of Race and U.S. Citizenship." *American Quarterly* 58 (2006): 1047-1066. For a recent analysis of anti-polygamy rhetoric in African American Methodist periodicals, see James B. Bennett, "Until this Curse of Polygamy is Wiped Out: Black Methodists, White Mormons, and Constructions of Racial Identity in the Late Nineteenth Century," *Religion and American Culture: A Journal of Interpretation* 21 (2011): 167-194.

rarely directly linked as populations, at least one conspiracy theory charged that Mormon and Chinese alliances with Mexico would do irreparable damage to the U.S.-Mexican relationship. The settlement of "Mongolians" in Mexico would allow the Chinese to "prostitute the industries of Mexico" and "swarm across the border into the United States" as Mexican citizens. Meanwhile, Mormon settlement in Sonora would create "an insuperable barrier to the advancement of American enterprise across the border" unless the U.S. allowed polygamy to continue within its borders.[419] These arguments paid no attention to individual morality for its own sake, but instead cast Mormon immigration as a matter of continental political stability.

Yet, creating a religious or ideological test for would-be immigrants, as the Utah Commission recommended, proved a thorny constitutional proposition. While efforts to advance definitive legislation stalled in congress, the question of whether and which Mormon immigrations could be banned from the United States played out at the local level. The case of the *S.S. Wyoming* in 1886 provides an example of this conflict. Stopped at New York's Castle Island by immigration officials, a ship full of Mormon converts—predominantly English—appeared before the Board of Emigration to defend their right to enter the country.[420] Commissioner Edmund Stephenson argued that all of the immigrants could be considered paupers since their money was not their own, but belonged in part to Church officials and the Mormon Immigration Agent in New York (see Fig. 20 for a depiction of this power dynamic). This argument sidestepped the question of religion by treating it as incidental to a less sensitive question of individual economic viability.

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[419] "Chinese and Mormons. Mongolians Paving the Way for Crossing the Southern Border," *San Francisco Evening Bulletin*, 1885.

[420] The ship's log shows that all but a few of the passengers were English, with a few Scandinavians as well. Ship's Loge, Aug. 28, 1886-Sep. 23, 1886 - FHL US/CAN Film [1027366]. National Archives, Washington, D.C.

Pauperism had been debated since 1882 as a possible justification for banning Mormon immigrants. The exclusion of immigrants on charges of pauperism had the advantage of legality. Even more so than polygamy, however, pauperism among immigrants was difficult to prove. (It would also have been an especially difficult route to Mormon exclusion, given the middle-class background of many Mormon converts.)[421] In the case of the *Wyoming*, these tactics yielded mixed results. The New York Board ultimately allowed all but five of the would-be immigrants to remain in the United States. The remaining five, all "evidently paupers," were sent back to Europe.[422] Although the deportation of these five immigrants could be considered a small victory for Stephenson, the ruling did not validate his larger argument about organized Mormon immigration in general.

The *New York Times* took issue with Stephenson's legal position, while maintaining a strong anti-polygamy position. "Mr. Stephenson holds that the Commissioners are authorized by the law to exclude the shiploads of Mormon converts who are brought here by the Mormon Church," the *Times* stated. "While we are of the opinion that the Nation suffers by the admission of these persons," the column proceeded, "we cannot see that the law provides for their exclusion." The conclusion reached in this editorial is that Mormons could not be excluded for religious belief alone, even though "thousands of people will sympathize with Mr. Stephenson" in his efforts to do so.[423]

The New York movement reached its climax later in 1886, when the Department of the Treasury responded to Stephenson's formal call for authority in banning Mormon

[421] A very small percentage of Mormon immigrants were deported due to pauperism, even after investigation. See, for example, "Pauper Immigrants," *New York Times*, June 4, 1883, 4;"Pauper Mormons from Switzerland," *New York Times*, May 26, 1883, 5.
[422] "The Mormons May Stay," *New York Times*, September 7, 1886, 8.
[423] "Paupers and Mormons," *New York Times*, August 2, 1886, 4.

immigrants. Speaking on behalf of the Department, Acting Secretary C.S. Fairchild rejected Stephenson's position. "With reference to the point urged by Mr. Stephenson that our immigration laws should be invoked for the purpose of excluding Mormon immigrants from our shores," Fairchild wrote, "it is sufficient to say that there is no warrant of law for any such course of procedure." Mormon immigrants who did not meet the requirements for admission would be rejected, Fairchild assured Stephenson, "without regard to the fact that they are Mormons."[424]

Fig. 20 "'The Twin Relic of Barbarism.'—The Wolves and the Lambs—Arrival of Scandinavian Converts in Charge of Mormon Missionaries, at Castle Garden, En Route for Salt Lake City." *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, December 15, 1883.

Despite the efforts of Stephenson and others, no general ban on Mormon immigrants became law at either the state or the federal level. Statutes barring polygamists and paupers were enforced but did not affect the majority of Mormon immigrants. In the Senate, however, George Edmunds found a way of pursuing the matter

[424] "Paupers and Mormons: The Question of Receiving Them as Immigrants," *New York Times*, August 26, 1886, 8.

of at the institutional level. The Edmunds-Tucker Act that finally passed in 1887 managed to curtail of Mormon immigration by dissolving the Church infrastructure, targeting the Perpetual Emigration Fund in particular. The PEF had historically provided money and guidance for the immigration and settlement of foreign converts—an essential element of Mormon Zionism. The dissolution of the PEF thus allowed federal authorities to undermine, if not control directly, the flow of Mormon converts into the United States. In this way, George Edmunds was able to at least advance his agenda of stemming Mormon immigration. The 1887 Act also continued to erode the rights and privileges of Mormons citizens in Utah without achieving the far-reaching restrictions that Edmunds sought. The Act did include the dramatic provision of ended women's suffrage in Utah.[425]

John R. Tucker, the Democratic Congressman from Virginia who cosponsored Edmunds' bill, saw the Edmunds-Tucker Act as a necessary check on the increase of Mormons in the West. The Mormons troubled Tucker because they upset his sense of the natural development of the country through immigration. Tucker favored European immigration and did not mean to restrict anyone "of the European races and of the Caucasian family." In an 1884 article, Tucker explained that European immigrants posed no threat because they readily abandoned "alien feelings" along with "foreign thoughts and opinions" that might threaten the nation. He placed this ability to "melt into the mass of native population" in contrast to the experiences and capabilities of the Chinese immigrant, "alien in blood, habits, and civilization."

[425] As in the case of the Page Law, advocates of Edmunds-Tucker argued that placing these restrictions on women was a humanitarian gesture. Over the sharp and organized protests of Mormon women, the provision received support even from reform-minded Anglo women living in Salt Lake City. See Peggy Pascoe, *Relations of Rescue: The Search for Female Moral Authority in the American West.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1990.

Tucker was troubled by the stubborn refusal of Mormon immigrants to "melt into the native population" as he expected. Disincorporating the LDS Church and inhibiting immigration would, in his estimation, correct the flow of Caucasian immigrants into the country and ensure the demographic domination of whites over non-whites.[426]

The Edmunds-Tucker Act passed in 1887 in the midst of a flurry of anti-immigration legislation proposals. Each plan introduced in that year set out a slightly different strategy for restricting or shaping immigration patterns. Among these plans, Edmunds-Tucker was not the only one to target Mormons explicitly. Senator Thomas W. Palmer, a Michigan Republican, introduced legislation that would address the "Mormon Question." "Senators [Justin] Morrill, [Charles] Farwell, [John] Reagan, and myself have each introduced a bill in Congress designed to restrict the evils attending immigration to this country," Palmer explained. "They are similar in scope, but mine differs from the others in that it includes a provision for the exclusion of Mormon proselytes."[427]

Unlike George Edmunds, Thomas Palmer talked about Mormon Exclusion in explicitly racial terms. The issue of gradations among "white persons," put on hold during the 1882 Exclusion debates, resurfaced in 1887. Palmer characterized his bill as a first step towards addressing immigration of people "who are hardly more homogenous with [us] than the Chinese." He included in this category Mormons as well as Eastern Europeans, "the slave population of Europe" beginning to enter the country in large numbers. "In a word," Palmer said, "the bill is desired as an entering wedge for

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[426] Tucker's most immediate concern, as expressed in this article, is the balance of black and white populations in the South. J. R. Tucker, "Race Progress in the United States," *The North American Review*, 138 (1884), 174-5.

[427] Palmer compared Mormon civil disobedience to the Chicago Haymarket Riot, arguing that the restriction of "un-American" immigrants would prevent such violent episodes. *Congressional Record*, 50th Congress, 1st Session, 653-665.

legislation which will be added as the exigencies of the times may demand." Imposing such a ban would have the effect of imposing a "moral quarantine" in the United States.[428] While Palmer's proposed restrictions did not become law in the moment of Edmunds-Tucker, his argument foreshadowed the immigration quotas and racial hierarchies imposed by United States immigration officials in the following decades.[429]

The debate surrounding Mormon Exclusion as a possible federal action engaged questions of pluralism and citizenship at a time when those definitions were in particular flux. The new constitutional rights of blacks, as well as immigration patterns shifting from western to eastern and southern Europe, inflamed debates concerning American identity. As anti-exclusionist George Hoar argued in the senate, the United States could either be "homogenous" or, as he preferred, remain open to a wide range of immigrants with different backgrounds and beliefs. The push to bar Mormon immigration suggests that the homogeneity pro-Exclusionists desired was cultural as well as racial. Black and Catholic opposition to Chinese and Mormon immigration, respectively, may have been based in labor concerns, but used the rhetorical approach of touting their own ability to assimilate over the profound cultural differences of the other group.[430]

While complicating the role of race in Exclusion era policies, comparison of the attempts to stem Mormon and Chinese exclusion reinforces the pivotal role of race and racism in passage and enforcement of restrictive immigration laws. The emphasis on racial antipathy by promoters of Chinese Exclusion, some of the same leaders who

[428] "General Telegraph News. To Govern Immigration. Senator Palmer Explains the Nature of His Bill," *New York Times*, December 30, 1887, 1.
[429] *Congressional Record*, 50th Congress, 1st Session, 665.
[430] See Helen H. Jun, "Black Orientalism: Nineteenth-Century Narratives of Race and U.S. Citizenship," *American Quarterly* 58 (2006): 1047-1066. For an interesting recent article on the relationship between Mormons and Catholics, see Matthew J. Grow, "The Whore of Babylon and the Abomination of Abominations: Nineteenth-Century Catholic and Mormon Mutual Perceptions and Religious Identity," *Church History* 73 (2004): 139-167.

advocated Mormon Exclusion, may have undermined their efforts to broaden exclusionary policy. Arguments for Chinese exclusion consistently conflated national identity with phenotypic racial types. “The Chinese are here in great numbers,” Oregon Democratic Senator James Slater explained in 1879. “Thousands of deserving white people have been, and now are, deprived of the means of deriving an honest livelihood by being driven out of employment by these hordes of Mongolians.”

Anticipating opposition to the extreme anti-Chinese nature of the bill, Slater argued that racial solidarity demanded action. “What kind of humanity is it that turns a deaf ear to the appeals of our own race” in favor of “Asiatics…who are alien to our shores and between whom and our people there is an impassable gulf of race distinction, to say nothing of the vices of their peculiar civilization which they seek to set up in antagonism to our own?”[431]

At the same time that Asians were accused of inherent vice, senators contrasted these undesirables with a favored class of immigrants: white, western European, and middle class. Senator Sargent, California’s zealously anti-Chinese advocate, repeatedly told his colleagues in 1882 that “the growth of American and the influx of European population is developing our resources healthily and rapidly; and it is better for us and out posterity that these causes which have made us a great nation should have unimpeded sway.”[432] Seeking a ban on Mormon immigrants in 1887, Thomas Palmer made the seemingly contradictory argument that only bad classes of immigrants should be restricted, not “German, Scandinavian, Irish, English, and Scotch” people, who could

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[431] *Congressional Record*, 46th Congress, 1st Session, 2263.
[432] Sargent, *Congressional Record,* 44th Congress, 1st Session, 2852-3.

easily integrate themselves with the existing U.S. populace.[433] Meanwhile, newspapers faithfully reported the origins of Mormon converts, most of whom were from the very places Senator Palmer had dubbed desirable.[434]

Assumptions regarding assimilation guided anti-immigration arguments against the Chinese. Most significantly was the widespread belief that even those Asians who sincerely wished to assimilate into American society were *incapable of doing so*. In 1879, Maine Representative James G. Blaine argued that Chinese kinship structure made them incapable of assimilation. Blaine refused to compare European immigration with "an immigration that does not recognize the relation of husband and wife, that does not observe the tie of parent and child, that does not have in the slightest degree the ennobling and civilizing influences of the hearthstone and the fireside." Lacking these attributes, Blaine argued, "the Asiatic cannot go on with our population and make a homogenous element."[435] The stated assumption that Asians could not meet an Anglo familial ideal coexisted, after 1880, with legal restrictions on intermarriage.[436]

While critics considered Mormons unwilling to assimilate, and dangerous for that reason, few seemed to presume that they were inherently incapable of doing so. In the late nineteenth century, the realities of weeding out Mormons from a sea of European

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[433] "General Telegraph News. To Govern Immigration. Senator Palmer Explains the Nature of His Bill," *New York Times*, December 30, 1887, 1.

[434] See, for example, "Among the immigrants arriving at this port last week…" *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, July 3, 1880; "The steamship Nevada…" *The News and Observer*, July 5, 1882; "682 fresh Mormon immigrants," *The Milwaukee Sentinel*, September 12, 1883.

[435] Ironically, Blaine lost the 1880 Republic primary amidst accusations that he harbored secret pro-Chinese attitudes. *Congressional Record*, 45th Congress, 3rd Session, Feb. 14, 1879, 1301. Blaine—the Half-Breed primary opponent of Stalwart Ulysses S. Grant in 1880—made virtually the same argument here that Edmunds would promote in 1882.

[436] Intermarriage between Asians and whites became a criminal act in the state of California in 1880. For more on the relationship between race-based marriage restrictions and citizenship in this period, see "Consent, the American Way" in Cott, *Public Vows*, 132-155. For an interesting discussion of different angles on interracial marriage in the United States, including marriage restrictions, see Martha Hodes, ed., *Sex, Love, Race: Crossing Boundaries in North American History.* New York: New York University Press, 1999.

immigrants proved the unreality of that image. The unwillingness of European governments to nurture this particular prejudice also quashed the movement. These same governments proved much more willing to assist with the screening of Chinese immigrants from the United States (Fig. 21).[437][438] In this way, it may have been the racial perspectives and prejudices of European nations that kept Mormon Exclusion from becoming a reality in the United States while Chinese Exclusion held.

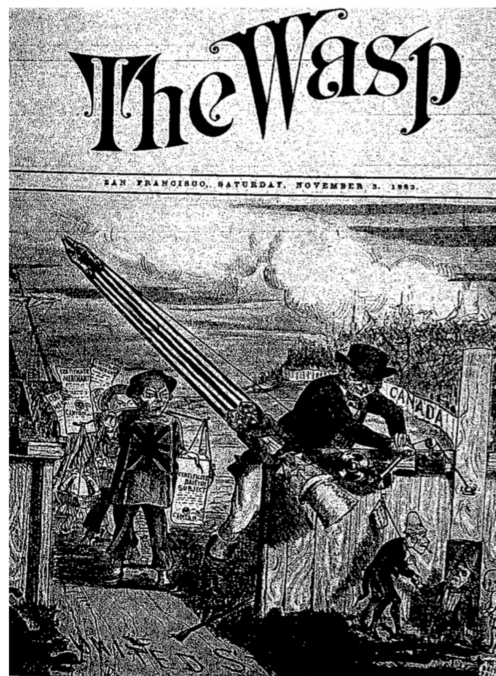

Fig 21. This cover of *The Wasp*, a San Francisco-based satirical periodical focusing on the Western scene, illustrates a paradox of Chinese Exclusion. While Chinese immigrants (marked here with the Union Jack) prepare to be stopped at the border, a few "British paupers" are allowed to enter through a small, unmarked entrance. *The Wasp*, November 5, 1883.

[437] As photography came to dominate immigration processes in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, whiteness defined by physical traits became increasingly significant. See Anna Pegler-Gordon. "In Sight of America: Chinese Exclusion, Photography, and the Development of U.S. Immigration Policy." *American Quarterly*, 58 (2006): 51-77.

[438] The British government, for example, agreed to work with the United States to keep Chinese workers from entering the U.S. either on British ships or across the Canadian border. English cooperation in Exclusion had in fact been a precondition of the 1882 Act, as a surprisingly large number of Chinese immigrants to the United States arrived from British ports, landing at Boston, Philadelphia, and New York.

The Mormon Exclusion movement of the 1870s and 1880s represents an overlooked moment in the evolving definition of United States citizenship and immigration policy. The ability of the Mormons to pull through these immigration debates as a white European group capable of full citizenship would influence the final drive for Utah statehood in the 1890s. Challenges to the integrity of the LDS Church were quickly snowballing, heading towards the tipping point of 1890 and the final push for statehood.

The failure of anti-Mormonism to take off as matter of diplomatic policy in the wake of Chinese Exclusion nonetheless marked a fortuitous outcome for the embattled Mormon infrastructure. As the leadership of a rapidly diversifying Utah Territory repackaged Utah history for a mainstream American audience in the 1890s, racial identity and a shared cultural heritage would help to stake their claim for statehood as a rightful inheritance.

Chapter Five

Marching in Harmony: Utah and the Reshaping of Territorial Identity at the 1893 Columbian Exposition

The Columbian Exposition of 1893 was a symbolic milestone in American history and has attracted the attention of historians ever since. In addition to introducing the world to the Ferris wheel, the hotdog, and neon lights, the Exposition offered a chance for Americans to assess and take stock of the continent's development since the time of European "discovery" of the New World. This "commodity spectacle" advertised American progress—and American products—as it triggered an outpouring of pride, optimism, and teleological reworking of history for the Anglo-American majority and their international guests.[439]

The Exposition elicited elaborate displays from around the world. The result was a surreal juxtaposition of grand classical architecture, impressionist murals, Viking ships, and African dance troupes. The United States, as host, financed the Fair's infrastructure and its core exhibits. Meant to celebrate the modern, the Fair included an entire administrative branch and Exposition building devoted to the achievements and contributions of women. Mary Cassatt's *Modern Woman* mural gestured towards women's engagement in the areas of education, culture, and philosophy.[440] Beyond the

[439] For more on the "commodity spectacle" as a way of forging national identity through performance (rather than, for example, print and the public sphere), see Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Conquest* (New York: Routledge, 1995), 56. The concept is discussed further in Anne McClintock, Aamir Mufti, and Ella Shohat, eds. *Dangerous Liaisons: Gender, Nation, and Postcolonial Perspectives*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997.
[440] Sally Webster, *Eve's Daughter/Modern Woman: A Mural by Mary Cassatt*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2004. The Woman's Building devoted a large percentage of its space to the religious

group of core exhibits known as the White City, buildings representing the states and territories—from massive log cabins to stately mansions—suggested the diversity of the sprawling American nation.[441]

For the Territory of Utah, long excluded from the Union and held apart from American historical narratives, the Exposition offered an opportunity for a more inclusive revisionism. The Exposition came at a watershed moment in LDS history: in 1890, following a string of judicial and legislative decisions undermining polygamy, the Church officially ended the practice with a statement known as The Manifesto. Statehood seemed probable if not assured and the Mormons—while still distrusted by some percentage of the American public—no longer faced legal barriers to full citizenship. Utah had now begun to seem an integral, if still somewhat exotic, part of the United States.[442]

This chapter will examine Utah's participation in the Exposition and the organizers' efforts to integrate Utah into mainstream United States cultural practices and historical narratives. In examining this process, it is necessary to take into consideration the changing population of the Utah Territory, and its changing leadership towards the

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publications of women from a wide range of denominations, including Mormonism and Buddhism. Candy Gunther Brown notes that this feature echoed the display of religious inclusion at the Parliament of World Religions, held elsewhere at the Exposition. In fact, the Woman's Building libraries were arguably more inclusive than the World Religions event, inviting a broader spectrum of religious communities to define their own belief systems. See Candy Gunther Brown, "Publicizing Domestic Piety: The Cultural Work of Religious Texts in the Woman's Building Library," *Libraries & Culture* 41 (2006): 35-54; John P. Burris, *Exhibiting Religion: Colonialism and Spectacle At International Expositions, 1851-1893.* Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2001.

[441] For images and descriptions of each building, see Daniel Burnham, *The World's Columbian Exposition*. Chicago: The Exposition, 1893.

[442] Church sanction of polygamy ended as it had began: through revelation. The revelation came at a time when polygamy presented a particular hurdle to Mormons and to the political future of the Utah Territory. It also followed years of explicit bargaining between Church elders and Washington officials about ending polygamy in exchange for formal Utah statehood. In terms of wealth and population, Utah easily qualified for statehood. The Territory enjoyed more wealth than several western states admitted before the Exposition, including Wyoming, Montana, and Idaho, referred to by critics as "pauper states." Thomas G. Alexander, *Mormonism in Transition: A History of the Latter-Day Saints, 1890-1930*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1996. For a contemporary editorial on the admission of Utah and the pauper states, see "Utah Wants to Come," *The Atchison Champion*, June 5, 1891, 2.

end of the nineteenth century. While still predominantly Mormon, Utah's urban population became increasingly diverse as the century progressed, shifting from an estimated 79% Mormon population in 1880 to just 65% in 1890.[443]

The Edmunds Act of 1887 led to a period of governance specifically excluding leading LDS officials from office and disenfranchising many potential voters. By the time of the Exposition, these rights had largely been restored. Economic and political leaders of the Territory, both inside and outside the Church, found common ground in the search for statehood and continued development of Utah's extractive industries. The Board of Commissioners for the Exposition reflected this alliance. Like the Territory as a whole and the Constitutional Commission to follow, the board was comprised of both Mormon and non-Mormon business and civic leaders within the Territory, many with strong ties to the mining industry.[444] The project also garnered broad public support in Utah. When funds ran short, the Territorial government solicited financial investments from Utah's citizens.[445]

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[443] Dean L. May, "A Demographic Portrait of the Mormons, 1830-1890," in D. Michael Quinn, ed., *The New Mormon History: Revisionist Essays on the Past* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1992), 133.

[444] The group included both Mormon and Gentile civic and business leaders, many of whom shared ties to the mining industry. The Commission's President, Robert Craig Chambers, was a self-made mining millionaire with no connection to the Church. Heber Wells, a Commission member with a strong lineage in the LDS Church hierarchy, was also a leading figure in the mining industry. Wells eventually served as Governor of Utah, running as a Republican. Another Commission member, Fred J. Kiesel, was a Gentile business leader who was elected Mayor of Ogden in 1889. P.H. Lannan was editor the *Salt Lake Tribune*, a paper founded by the so-called "Godbeite" apostates, who broke with the LDS Church over its economic policies. Information on Chambers from *Who's Who in America: A Biographical Dictionary of Living Men and Women of the United States, 1899-1900*, edited by John W. Leonard (Chicago: A. N. Marquis & Company, 1899), 122.

[445] Support for statehood was not universal in any demographic for a wide variety of reasons. The reasoning behind Gentile votes, and Mormon votes in favor of statehood, are well documented. The reasoning behind the limited Mormon opposition to statehood is a matter of interpretation. For a thorough analysis of Utah voting patterns around the moment of statehood, see Jean Bickmore White, "Utah State Elections, 1895-1899," Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Utah, 1986. A.J. Simmonds points out that nearly one-third of the electorate did not vote on the statehood issue. He also suggests that apostate Mormons may have had particular reluctance to vote in favor of a state government that might well be controlled by a hostile Church. See A. J. Simmonds, "A 'No' Vote," *Weber—The Contemporary West* 13 (1996).

The program that the commissioners developed addressed prejudices about Utah and its Mormon population built up over four decades of anti-polygamy activism.[446] The presentation of Utah's Territorial identity at the Exposition was crafted to attract settlers and capital, and possibly to ease the transition to statehood in spite of some continued opposition from both within and without.[447] The Manifesto, rather than the Exposition, tipped the balance of public and congressional opinion in favor of Utah statehood.[448] Examining Utah's displays at the Exposition provides insight into Utah's campaign for respectability beyond the polygamy issue.[449]

Racial identity and the relationship of racial hierarchy to labor and industry played a role in this process. Native American artifacts helped to attract crowds to Utah's Exposition exhibits. These artifacts made an implicit case for Anglo solidarity based on a shared racial identity distinct from Native Americans. The presence of a Native American mummy in Utah's exhibits positioned the Anglo majority apart from contemporary Native Americans, often seen as Mormon allies or pawns, and the primitive, distant past

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[446] In analyzing the motives and objectives of the Board of Commissioners, I am relying on my own analyses of the displays at the Fair, reports filed by the Commissioners, and a handful of contemporary newspaper articles. The official reports at my disposal, held at the Utah State Archives, do not include records of the planning stages of Utah's Exposition participation.
[447] Although statehood was heavily favored following the 1893 Enabling Act, the residents of Utah did not vote on a state Constitution until 1895. The final election included female citizens, who were reenfranchised for the purposes of the Constitutional referendum. See "She May Vote—Fair Ones Can Cast Ballots for or Against Utah's Constitution," *Rocky Mountain News*, August 11, 1895.
[448] Both the renunciation of polygamy and the integration of Utah into the national economy propelled the case for statehood. Regardless of whether the Manifesto "caused" statehood, however, there is no question that 1890 marked a major turning point in terms of anti-Mormon propaganda and the public image of Mormons in the press. Anti-Mormon sentiment did not disappear, nor did the Manifesto preclude revivals of anti-Mormon imagery in the twentieth century. Yet, the movement never regained the same force at either the state or national level. See "Uneasy Accommodation," in Bunker and Bitton, *Mormon Graphic Image*, 57-72.
[449] See "UTAH AT THE FAIR. Mormonism, Relieved of Polygamy, Becomes Respectable," *The Daily Inter Ocean*, October 18, 1893.

Indians represented to white observers. As a symbol of the "primitive," the mummy offered comparative evidence of the refined modernity of Utah's Anglo population.[450]

Living Indians had very little representation at the Exposition, and none of their own design.[451] African Americans were even more overtly shut out of the proceedings, from administrative positions to the custodial detail. Over the past couple of decades, historians have acknowledged minority experience at and resistance to the Exposition.[452] The contributions of Native and African Americans to the construction and performances at the fair have begun to be explored and understood. As Europeans and Anglo-Americans sought to impose order and racial hierarchy on the world through the Exposition, they met rebukes from those they excluded.[453] Newspaper editor and civil rights activist Ferdinand Barnett observed at the time that: "the Exposition practically is, literally and figuratively, a 'White City,' in the building of which the Colored American was allowed no helping hand, and in its glorious success he has no share."[454] Utah made

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[450] For more on the function of Native American imagery in American popular culture, see Steven Conn, *History's Shadow: Native Americans and Historical Consciousness in the Nineteenth Century*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004.

[451] Indians did participate in the Buffalo Bill Show, which culminated in a reeactment of Little Big Horn. At the Exposition, those Native Americans who demonstrated Native ways of life often had to be instructed by Anglo anthropologists on how to represent their own cultures. See Paige Raibmon, "Theatres of Contact: the Kwakwaka'wakw Meet Colonialism in British Columbia and at the Chicago World's Fair," The Canadian Historical Review 81 (2000): 157–90.

[452] See, for example, Christopher Robert Reed, *All the World is Here!: The Black Presence at White City*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000; Paige Sylvia Raibmon, *Authentic Indians: Episodes of Encounter from the Late-Nineteenth-Century Northwest Coast.* Durham: Duke University Press, 2005; Frederick E. Hoxie, ed., *Talking Back to Civilization: Indian Voices from the Progressive Era.* Boston: Bedford/St. Martins, 2001.

[453] The attention historians have given to this resistance is substantial enough to have provoked a backlash. In his 1993 analysis of the Exposition, Robert Muccigrasso acknowledges the exclusion of minorities from the fair while arguing against a dismissal of the Exposition's symbolism as simply racist. Muccigrasso points out the wide variety of cultures present at the proceedings, the unprecedented contributions of American women, and the representation of religions from around the world. See Robert Muccigrasso, *Celebrating the New World: Chicago's Columbian Exposition of 1893.* Chicago: I.R. Dee, 1993.

[454] Despite his personal prominence, Barnett is perhaps best known as the husband of Ida B. Wells. Wells edited the volume of essays on African-American exclusion from the Exposition in which her husband's essay appeared. Ida B. Wells, ed. *The Reason Why the Colored American Is Not in the World's Columbian Exposition. The Afro-American's Contribution to Columbian Literature.* With contributions by Frederick

it into the "White City." Examining the efforts of Utah's commissioners to claim a common Anglo-American identity helps to elucidate the racial dynamics of the Exposition, and the economic role its projected for the United States and its informal empire.[455]

The rebranding of Utah from a haven for criminals to a land of opportunity—albeit an unusual and eccentric one—predated the Columbian Exposition by decades. Thomas K. Hafen's 1997 article on the development of Salt Lake City tourism places the beginning of the city's new image in the late 1860s, with the completion of the transcontinental railroad. The golden spike moment marked a turning point in the relationship between Utah and the surrounding North American continent. Remote but now reachable, Utah increasingly became a place seen and experienced by travelers from every walk of life. Children gawked at the sight of plural wives on the streets (and expressed disappointment when none appeared). Utah became an anticipated stop on the transcontinental journey.[456]

Utah businessmen, both Mormon and non-Mormon, immediately saw opportunity to turn these expectations to their advantage—much to the chagrin of the more socially and economically purist members of the church.[457] Over the course of the next thirty

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Douglass (1818-1895), Irvine Garland Penn (1867-1930), and Ferdinand Lee Barnett (1859-1936). From the reprint of the 1893 edition, Robert W. Rydell, ed., Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1999.

[455] Mark Crinson has defined informal empire as "a form of imperialism by which control was established through ostensibly peaceful means of free trade and economic integration." Mark Crinson, *Empire Building: Orientalism and Victorian Architecture.* London: Routledge, 1996. For a description of marketing at the Exposition, see Mona Domosh. "A 'Civilized' Commerce: Gender, 'Race', and Empire at the 1893 Chicago Exposition." *Cultural Geographies* 9 (2002).

[456] Thomas K. Hafen. "City of Saints, City of Sinners: The Development of Salt Lake City as a Tourist Attraction, 1869-1900." *Western Historical Quarterly* 28 (1997): 342-377.

[457] Visitors to Utah were aware of the disputed between business and Church interests, and watched for signs of overt conflict. Theodore Bronson and Morris Jessup stopped in Utah on their way to California in 1880, a tour which also included an opium den in San Francisco. Bronson recorded the stories he heard in Utah about the dispute between the Walker Brothers, prominent local businessmen, and the Church

years, an active campaign to rebrand Salt Lake City resulted in tourist dollars and sustained public interest in "experiencing" Mormon society in Utah. Visitors hoping to literally hold a piece of authentic Mormonism routinely chipped off and absconded with pieces of the grave of Brigham Young, who died in 1877.[458]

As Salt Lake City cashed in on its public renown, the surrounding Territory also attracted attention. Boosters portrayed Utah not as a dangerous hinterland but, rather, a land of opportunity and enterprise. In many ways, this approach was region-wide, as the newer states and Territories worked to attract settlers and capital. In Utah, as in much of the West, the campaign presented the land as rich in mineral and agricultural wealth, with an inviting climate and notable natural beauty. In the literature supporting this view, Utah appears as a pristine wonderland prime for economic and cultural development. As Salt Lake *Herald* reporter Robert W. Sloan wrote in an essay, "Utah: Her Attractions and Resources, as Inviting the Attention of Tourists and Those Seeking Permanent Homes," the Utah Territory "has the resources of an empire." This argument cleverly turned the fears of Mormon separatism and expansionism into a positive in terms of national resources and economic growth.[459]

The push to brand Utah as a place of economic opportunity combated two specific prejudices: one against the Great Basin as a piece of real estate, and the other against Mormons as economic actors (or non-actors). In the minds and on the maps of those

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hierarchy. "They are looked upon by the Mormons with disfavor the following ditty is sung by a Mormon mother to her daughter/Oh Mother may I go out to shop/Oh yes my darling daughter/Be sure you go to the great Co-op –/ But don't go near the Walkers." Theodore Bronson Journal, 1880, 25-6, MSS SC 2938. L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University.

[458] Hafen, "City of Saints, City of Sinners," 26.

[459] Robert W. Sloan, "The Meears Essay Prize, 'Utah: Her Attractions and Resources, as Inviting the Attention of Tourists and Those Seeking Permanent Homes.' Prize awarded to Robert W. Sloan, Esq., of the Salt Lake Herald. Companion Essays by Col. O.J. Hollister, Collector of Internal Revenue, and S.A. Kenner, Esq., Editor of the Beaver Enterprise'", Mor 979.2 A1 # 161. L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University.

outside the Great Basin, Utah was an arid wasteland known as the Great American Desert. At the same time, much of the frustration with the persistence of polygamy and LDS control of the territory stemmed from the conviction that the Church leadership was actively impeding the development of this promising area. They were quite literally sitting on a gold mine, or a silver mine, and would not allow anyone access to the spoils. Both within Utah and beyond, pro-development interests charged the LDS leadership with "curs[ing] the Gentiles for opening up the mines of Utah" and building the railroads.[460] Although this charge diminished with the death of Brigham Young and the decline of the United Order movement, it lingered as an anti-Mormon stereotype.

At stake in the campaign to overhaul this image was not only Utah's economic prosperity, but also the related matter of political viability. Even after passage of the harsh Edmunds-Tucker Act in 1887, which disenfranchised many Mormons and undercut Church authority within the Territory, statehood eluded Utah. Pro-statehood propaganda produced by Mormon and non-Mormon sources portrayed Utah and its people as non-threatening, committed to progress, and recognizably American. Scipio Africanus Kenner, one of the Territory's leading literary figures, summarized Utah's development in the late 1880s. Once an "inland empire," Kenner wrote, "Progress has waved its magic scepter over the Territory of Utah and we no longer behold the rude huts of the savages, the monotonous array of barren vegetation or arid stretches of soil unfurrowed by the handiwork of the husbandman; we see in their stead the all-powerful sway of the genius of civilization."

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[460] "Mormonism Arraigned," *The Salt Lake Daily Herald*, October 4, 1879. This direct criticism of Brigham Young appeared two years after his death, suggesting the staying power of such charges and perceptions.

As part of his pitch, Kenner invoked Native American people and cultures as markers of primitivism, standing in contrast to contemporary Utah. Kenner remarked that "the sound of the church-going bell has supplanted the blood-curdling war whoop of the savage; the bison and the wolf have given way to the horse and the ox; the lightning wires penetrating to every nook and corner of the Territory have superseded the signal fires of the aborigines." The residents of Utah, Kenner's words strongly suggest, are American in their cultural practices, material possessions, and relationship to the land. Indians appear in this picture as emblems of Western violence, like the wolves replaced by Anglo draft animals. Indians are set apart from the new American geography, defined by "iron bands linking point to point, stretch[ing] out in all directions and unit[ing] us in bonds as strong as the metal of which they are composed." The transformation of land, space, and the ecosystem was central to Kenner's argument for Utah's inclusion in the United States.[461]

Statehood was also debated vigorously in Washington, D.C. In 1889, a Congressional Committee on Territories on the Admission of Utah as a State heard testimony on both sides of the issue. Advocates for Utah statehood, led by California born Isaac Trumbo, argued for admission on the grounds that Utah was an integral part of the national economy. "By reason of her geographical position, her immense agricultural and mineral resources, her accumulated wealth, and the general intelligence and industrious and energetic character of her people," these advocates urged, "it is of national importance that Utah should have a state government."[462] Trumbo and his allies

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[461] S.A. (Scipio Africanus) Kenner, 908, Mor 979.2 A1 # 161. L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University.

[462] Due to the summary nature of the written report, it is difficult to attribute particular quotations with individuals. *Report of the Committee on Territories on the Admission of Utah as a State, 50th Congress, 2nd*

insisted on the decency, patriotism, and good citizenship of Mormons living throughout the West, including Utah.[463]

The economic argument for Utah statehood received little opposition. On these grounds alone, Utah had an edge over the other territories seeking statehood at the time. The question of patriotism and church authority, however, remained controversial, particularly in those states and territories with large Mormon communities. The Idaho Legislature issued a particularly firm anti-statehood statement to Congress. Idaho's leadership insisted that "the turning over of a State government to the Mormon Church or the leaders thereof, would be unsafe and impolitic," and that "there is no severance of Church and State in Utah, all reports to the contrary notwithstanding." The Idaho statement reiterated popular arguments against Mormon citizenship on the grounds that "said church is composed by a large majority of the lowest and most densely ignorant classes of the Old World peasantry, who are in no way Americanized, and who have nothing in common with our aims or our republican institutions."[464] Idaho flatly rejected the possibility that Utah's Mormons could act as full citizens and operate a secular state

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Session, House of Representatives, March 1889, 6, Mor 320 A1 #41. L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University.

[463] Trumbo, whose mother was an LDS church member, described the Mormons as "intense Americans," more American than nearly any other group in the nation. For a more detailed history of the statehood debates, see Edward Leo Lyman, *Political Deliverance: The Mormon Quest for Statehood.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986. Trumbo also had an interest in the ability of a fair to boost a state's reputation. In 1892, he helped to design and manage the California Mid-Winter Fair, inspired by the Chicago Exposition. "There will also be a plaisance," noted *Harper's*, "which will have many of the interesting feature of its prototype in Jackson Park." "California's Midwinter Fair," *Harper's Weekly*, September 23, 1893, 914.

[464] *Memorial of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Idaho, Protesting Against the Admission of Utah as a State, in the Senate of the United States*, January, 1889; Americana Collection, Amer AC901 .A1a #937; L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University.

government. Without mentioning polygamy directly, the Legislature cast doubt on the LDS Church leadership's intention to assimilate in any way.[465]

The stalled state of affairs called for renewed energy in Utah's public relations strategy to refute Idaho's charges and reinforce the sense of an assimilated and non-threatening Utah. The marketing of the Territory as an area friendly to business and Anglo settlement found its most public and ornate place of display at the Columbian Exposition, conveniently scheduled just a few years off, in 1893. The planning committee intended Utah's exhibits to showcase the innovation and cultural development of the United States among the nations of the world. The placement of the Fair in Chicago was symbolic. The nation's second city, standing well beyond the urban centers of the Eastern coast, represented the opening of the western continent and the march of Anglo civilization and industry into the prairies four hundred years after Columbus' arrival in the New World.[466]

Utah's industrialists and statehood enthusiasts recognized the singularity of the World's Fair opportunity early on. Although not every state and territory launched its own exhibits at the Exposition, Utah dove into the process with a well-funded and orchestrated display.[467] The financing of displays became a point of competition, with Utah emerging as a major competitor among the Western states and territories. Hearing

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[465] Idaho, which became a state in 1890, had a substantial Mormon population and a strong anti-Mormon streak from the beginning. The Idaho Territory implemented a test oath around the time of the Edmunds Act, barring polygamists from sitting on juries and holding public office. This test oath achieved the effect of punishing those who *believed* in polygamy whether or not they acted on those beliefs. In 1885, twenty-nine polygamists were tried in Idaho. "Fighting Polygamy in Idaho," *New York Times,* October 23, 1885.

[466] The state of New York grudgingly contributed a state building after losing the competition to host the Exposition. Robert W. Rydell, *All the World's a Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876-1916.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987.

[467] Culmer, a publisher and chairman of the Salt Lake City Chamber of Commerce, toured sixty Eastern cities win the Utah Exposition cars, displaying mineral and archaeological samples and distributing pro-Utah literature. Orson Ferguson Whitney, *History of Utah, Volume 4* (Salt Lake City: George Q. Cannon & Sons Co., Publishers, 1904), 653.

that Utah would spend at least $500,000 in the Exposition, a Denver journalist agitated for greater Colorado funding. "With her varied and magnificent material wealth," the column read, "will her people be satisfied to have a display second to any at the great world's exposition, particularly of locations less bounteously favored by nature and with less brilliant industrial prospects?" The Colorado legislature sought to raise money for the fair to avoid being overshadowed by Utah, Texas, and other western locales. The imperative of creating an impressive display attests to the Exposition's importance as a forum for marketing and branding of a state or territory.[468]

The first opportunity for exposure came with the selection of a building lot. In Chicago, representatives of the states and territories met at Jackson Park to assign parcels of land. E.A. McDaniel, a Utah Exposition commissioner, recounted this process in his history of the fair as one of boisterous, if competitive, camaraderie. "Each member was provided with a blue-print plat of the grounds" at Jackson Park, McDaniel recalled, and each chose his favorite. Utah's representatives favored Lot 38, described by Exposition architect Daniel Burnham as somewhat remote but by McDaniel as a plum spot coveted by representatives of the eastern states. "At that time the members were but slightly acquainted with each other," McDaniel explained, and 'that feeling of brotherly love which afterwards sprang up did not exist." The contest became a "free-for-all" for the best site.[469]

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[468] *Rocky Mountain News*, January 8, 1891, 4.
[469] McDaniel's book-length reflection on Utah at the Exposition functioned as an official commission report. E. A. McDaniel, editor of the periodical "Inter-Mountain Merchant," probably shared his fellow Commissioners' interest in Utah's development as a trade center. See C.N. Caspar, *Caspar's Directory of the American Book, News, and Stationary Trade* (New York: Office of "The Publishers' Weekly," 1889), 279. E.A. McDaniel, *Utah at the World's Columbian Exposition*, Salt Lake City: Press of the Salt Lake Lithographing Co., 1894.

According to McDaniel, Utah's representatives found a fellowship with men from the other western states, who considered themselves at a common disadvantage in the selection of sites. "This unity of the West resulted in the determination that the older States were not to be privileged above their younger sisters." This unified defense, McDaniel reports, "gained the confidence and respect of the Eastern members, and when the Exposition closed, sectional lines were so completely obliterated that not even a trace of their existence could be observed."[470] Utah's representative finally won his preferred site, Lot 38, over his eastern competitors through a display of determination and staying power. When the committee arrived back at Jackson Park on the day of site selection, they found Utah's representative waiting for them, "sitting on a log in the center of the coveted lot, under an umbrella, smoking a cigar, while the rain came down in torrents."[471]

McDaniel's history, published shortly after the Exposition closed, is useful perhaps less as a source of accurate information than as a primary source reflecting the ways in which Utah's Commissioners hoped the Exposition would be remembered. In McDaniel's history, the Exposition is a clear turning point at which "alien" Utah becomes an integral and accepted part of the Western region and the nation as a whole. The sense of belonging and building of mutual respect that McDaniel describes in the picking of state sites very closely resembles the arc of his larger narrative. Utah emerges in the story much as Utah's representative emerges in the contest for building sites: victorious, due to a combination of cooperation and a particular tenacity.

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[470] McDaniel, *Utah at the World's Columbian Exposition*, 11-12.
[471] This story does not appear in other histories of the Fair and may be apocryphal.

Fig. 22 The Utah Building and Eagle Gate replica
(Image from McDaniel, *Utah at the World's Columbian Exposition*)

The Utah Building at the Columbian Exposition projected a specific vision of the Territory's identity, and one that challenged the characterization promoted by opponents of Utah statehood. Architecturally, the building represented the peaceful integration of Utah with the rest of the United States. The building was built in a neoclassical style and painted in a white and cream color scheme (Fig. 22). Although earlier plans called for a unique adobe facade, the building that went up in Chicago mirrored the style of many other state buildings as well as the structures of the Exposition's White City. In choosing the themes of the White City, the Commissioners opted for a structure that reflected Utah's place as one of many equal states and territories.[472]

[472] McDaniel, *Utah at the World's Columbian Exposition*, 27.

Visitors to the Utah Building first passed through the Eagle Gate, a replica of the iconic structure in Salt Lake City that would have been familiar as a tourist attraction. Once inside the building, guests found themselves in a large Reception Hall with a two-storey rotunda. The Reception Room showcased a mixture of New England refinement and frontier grit that became a theme of Utah's Exposition presentations. The ground floor featured sofas and chairs for visitors weary from a long day at the fair. Along the perimeter of the room were geological and anthropological artifacts within orderly glass cases. Animal skins and the territorial flag were draped over the rotunda railing. The tidy women's salon suggested the relatable domesticity of Utah's female participants. This image undermined the anti-polygamy trope that Mormon women were enslaved and degraded creatures with little sense of the outside world (Fig. 23).[473]

[473] Other states and territories also used architecture to help shape local identity and historical narrative. Virginia constructed a replica of Mount Vernon, within which exhibits interwove the history of slavery with national founding myths. Lydia Mattice Brandt, "Re-creating Mount Vernon: The Virginia Building at the 1893 Chicago World's Columbian Exposition," *Winterthur Portfolio* 43 (2009): 79-113.

Fig. 23 The Reception Room in the Utah Building
(Image from McDaniel, *Utah at the World's Columbian Exposition*)

Utah's presentation was rich and varied, from agricultural displays and mineral samples to architecture and musical performance. As a whole, these exhibits and events were designed to achieve two major goals: advertising Utah's natural resources and economic prospects, and revising attitudes and prejudices directed at the Territory and its people. "One of the reasons why it was desired that Utah should be represented was that her resources might be advertised to the world," stated McDaniel. Because of the scale of the event, and the international exposure it afforded, McDaniel believed "that no better opportunity could have been afforded in the way of advertising than by taking part in the Exposition."[474] The economic and social advertisements (such as they were) functioned

[474] McDaniel, *Utah at the World's Columbian Exposition*, 41.

together to outline what Sarah Barringer Gordon has described as a "marital economy." The exhibits portrayed Utah as a territory valuing capitalist innovation and individual property, with differentiated gender roles that comported with mainstream standards.[475]

The developers of Utah's exhibits knew that the Territory and its people were considered a novelty both nationally and internationally. This dynamic became apparent during the opening procession of the Exposition, in October of 1893. McDaniel noted that: "the renown of our citizens was sufficient to attract general attention" despite the "wonderful change in affairs in the Territory in the last few years."[476] Just as Salt Lake City attracted tourist attention, so too did the representatives of Utah at the Exposition attract uncertain spectators. ""The applause of the populace was both hearty and generous," McDaniel observed, "and while it was prompted in a great measure by curiosity, it served to pave the way for a better understanding of the conditions that now exist in the Territory among the mass of people in the United States."[477] The attention that Utah's Commissioners had anticipated was fundamental to the advertising spectacle they had arranged for the Exposition.

Utah's displays extolled the Territory's promise as a site for agriculture, mining, and industry. Particular emphasis was placed on natural resources. In addition to agricultural products, the Utah exhibits mentioned iron, asphalt, red sandstone, slate and clay as readily available commodities. The exhibits cut against the beliefs that Church leadership within the Territory stood in the way of mining and other extractive industry;

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[475] Gordon, *The Mormon Question*, 23.
[476] This is one of few oblique references to polygamy in McDaniel's book, the others consisting of speakers' comments at the Utah Day celebration regarding anti-Mormon prejudice. McDaniel, *Utah at the World's Columbian Exposition*, 24.
[477] Utah was represented in the parade by "the Governor and his military staff," rather than religious leaders or Mormon families. The religious and domestic dimensions of life in the Territory were addressed and represented in the Exposition's subsequent events. McDaniel, *Utah at the World's Columbian Exposition*, 36.

and that Utah was a desert lacking arable land. They also drew Utah into direct international competition with other producers of these resources. Utah's red sandstone excelled that of Trinidad, the exhibit labels explained, while its salts rivaled those of Liverpool. Utah appeared ready to become a part of international economic competition.[478]

The role of women and the status of domestic life in the Territory also received significant direct attention. The Board of Lady Managers took on the work of promoting a new vision of family life and women's morality in Utah through exhibits on education and silk production.[479] Mormon women had, several years prior to the Exposition, successfully petitioned to participate in Susan B. Anthony's International Council of Women. They were also included in the major women's administrative boards at the Exposition. While these boards denied the petitions of African American women to participate in their activities, the inclusion of Mormon women indicated the rising status and relative respectability of this group in the eyes of their non-Mormon counterparts. These privileges also gave these women power to directly shape the ways in which they were perceived.[480]

At the Exposition, Utah's Board of Lady Managers projected an image that undermined assumptions about Mormon women. They carefully decorated the Utah Building to convey a sense of welcoming domestic order.[481] The Board also coordinated

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[478] McDaniel, *Utah at the World's Columbian Exposition,* 33-35.

[479] The Board ultimately oversaw an ecclesiastical history of Utah, with a chapter on the Latter-Day Saints standing equally among chapters on Baptists, Catholics, Jews, and other Christian denominations. *World's Fair Ecclesiastical History of Utah*. Salt Lake City: George Q. Cannon & Sons Co., Printers, 1893.

[480] Reid Neilson makes this point in his unpublished paper, "Mormon Matriarchs: LDS Women, the World's Congress of Representative Women, and the 1893 World's Fair in Chicago," AHA Annual Conference, New York, January 2009.

[481] The issue of "domestic piety" and women's influence outside of the home was particularly paradoxical in the case of Utah's female participants. As Gail Bederman has argued, nineteenth-century concepts of

the presentation of Utah's silk production among the Territory's economic exhibits, indicating the willing engagement of women with the economy. The stated interest of Utah women in silk was significant, given the stereotype of the unfashionable Mormon drudge in homespun clothing and wooden shoes. These were women who cared about the refinement of their appearance and their possessions, if not international currents of fashion.[482] Mormon women also used the opportunity of the Exposition to take up leadership roles in the push for women's suffrage—legal in Utah between 1870 and the Edmunds-Tucker Law of 1887. Post-polygamy, Mormon women's pro-suffrage stance helped to ally them with female reformers who had previously sought to curtail women's rights in Utah.[483]

While many of Utah's exhibits created an image of modernity, its most popular exhibit recalled the past. Perhaps the category of greatest interest to visitors among Utah's offerings was its already-famous Native American artifacts. Within this category were ethnographic materials representing contemporary tribes and archaeological materials representing the so-called "cliff dwellers." Even during the planning stages of the Exposition, speculation abounded about the archaeological exhibits that Utah might present—with a particular emphasis on mummies and funerary objects. In the Exposition context, these exhibits contributed to the construction of a territorial identity for Utah and

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refinement focused on masculinity and femininity as expressions of civilization. Military drills by the territorial guard reinforced the masculinity of Utah's men—often depicted in anti-Mormon literature as weaklings, cowering behind their stronger wives. Gail Bederman, *Manliness & Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995.

[482] McDaniel, *Utah at the World's Columbian Exposition*, 37.

[483] Andrea D. Radke-Moss, "Mormon Women, Suffrage, and Citizenship at the 1893 Chicago World's Fair" in T. J. Boisseau and Abigail A. Markwyn, *Gendering the Fair: Histories of Women and Gender at World's Fairs.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2010. For more on Mormon women and the suffrage movement, see Carol Cornwall Madsen, ed., *The Battle for the Ballot: Essays on Woman Suffrage in Utah, 1870-1896.* Logan: Utah State University Press, 1997; Provo, UT: Brigham Young University, 2006; Rebekah Janece Ryan, "An Uncovered History: Mormons in the Women's Suffrage Movement, 1896-1920," Thesis (A.B.—Honors in History and Literature), Harvard University, 2003.

also to a racial and ethnic identity for Utah's Mormons that interwove their history with grand narratives of European progress.[484]

The field of anthropology, which evolved into an American academic field in the mid nineteenth century, took hold in Utah almost immediately. This phenomenon had two major causes: the work of John Wesley Powell and the particular interest of Mormons in unearthing the ancient American past. John Wesley Powell, the famed one-armed explorer known for his expeditions down the Colorado River, became one of the leaders of American ethnology in its early days in the United States (Fig. 24).[485] Due to his prominence in this field, Powell emerged as a clear choice to head the Bureau of Ethnology at the Smithsonian Institution, where he devoted much of his time to the collection of ethnographic photographs and specimens from the West.[486]

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[484] In March of 1893, the Chicago *Daily Inter Ocean* reported that archaeologists had located mummies of two Native American children in the Utah cliffs. "Mummies from Utah, Prehistoric Tribes of Native Americans to be Represented," *The Daily Inter Ocean*, March 16, 1893, 7.
[485] Congress created the Bureau of Ethnology in 1879 and immediately entrusted it to John Wesley Powell.
[486] For a good recent biography of Powell, see Donald Worster, *A River Running West: The Life of John Wesley Powell*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2000.

Fig. 24 John Wesley Powell conferring with a Paiute guide, 1873[487]

As early as 1880, Utah was well known for a particular group of ancient inhabitants: the cliff dwellers. Powell reported to Stephen Baird, Secretary of the Smithsonian in that year that: "Much has been done in this branch of investigation especially in California, where the works of extinct races are buried in great profusion. Throughout Arizona, New Mexico, Colorado, Utah, and a part of Wyoming, ruins of ancient pueblos are also found in great abundance. The researches in this field have been of wide extent."[488] Under the auspices of the Smithsonian, Powell promoted and funded both archeological and ethnographic expeditions across the Great Basin.

Powell saw the 1880s as a time of ethnographic opportunity but also of necessary action. "In the progress of settlement the western portion of the United States is being rapidly filled by people from the eastern portion, so that at present there is no valley of

[487] "John Wesley Powell & Native American," Smithsonian Institution Archives Record Unit 95 Box 18 Folder 57; National Anthropological Archives; Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.
[488] NMNH Records of the BAE, Letters Sent, Powell to S.F. Baird, April 2, 1880; National Anthropological Archives; Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

magnitude uninhabited by white men," Powell told Baird. "Rapidly the Indians are being gathered on reservations where their original habits and customs disappear, their languages are being modified or lost and they are abandoning their savagery and barbarism and accepting civilization." Without challenging the importance or inevitability of this process, Powell felt a new urgency in light of the boarding school and reservation system successes. "If the ethnology of the Indians is ever to receive proper scientific study and treatment the work must be done at once," he insisted. In that year, Powell requested $50,000 from Congress to promote this time-sensitive work.[489]

Powell and other early ethnographers promoted a sympathetic view of Great Basin tribes at odds with Digger stereotypes.[490] "This desolate land is the home of a great family of tribes speaking different dialects or languages of the same stock," Powell explained to his readers. "To the white people they are known under various names as Sho-sho-nees, Bannocks, Ute, Pai-Utes, Mo-quis, Chem-a-hue-vas, Comanches and other designations…The popular idea of the Indian is that he is a savage and that he roams through the forest, across the plains and over the mountains like a wild beast. Nothing is farther from the truth." Powell carefully recorded the oral histories, linguistics, and cultural practices of the tribes he encountered.[491] His work inspired the collecting

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[489] NMNH Records of BAE, Letters Sent, Powell to S.F. Baird, April 2, 1880; National Anthropological Archives; Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

[490] "Digger" was a slur used to characterize tribes including the Paiutes, who subsisted primarily on nuts, plants, small animals and insects. A common stereotype cast these tribes as particularly degraded and primitive. See Allan Lonneberg, "The Digger Indian Stereotype in California," *Journal of California and Great Basin Anthropology* 3 (1981): 215-223.

[491] NMNH MS 798; John Wesley Powell, Indian Life c. 1878 National Anthropological Archives; Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. Powell expressed the centrality of specific geographies to Native identities. He explained the decentralized governance of many tribes, mentioning that (by his reckoning) two or three hundred tribes divided the Great Basin into districts marked by natural landmarks "and to each district there belongs a tribe of Indians who take the name of the land and the Indians are fixed to this land…An Indian will never ask to what nation or tribe or body of people another Indian belongs but to 'what land do you belong and how are you land named?'

expeditions of other ethnographers, including Edward Palmer, who contributed objects produced by Great Basin tribes to the Exposition exhibits.[492]

Among the majority of amateur anthropologists, archeology was significantly more popular than ethnography. Mormons and non-Mormons alike traversed the Great Basin, looking for specimens and evidence of ancient life. Newspapers reported harrowing tales of grisly discoveries and tragic accident. A prospector named Harvey Thomas was searching a mountain range south of Salt Lake City when he found an abandoned stone house with no doors or windows, "apparently…for the purpose of holding something which was never to get out." Breaking through the wall, Thomas saw the headless bodies of seventeen men, women, and children," whose bodies had been preserved in some way. The heads were never found.[493]

For other explorers, making the trip to Utah proved fatal. Frank N. Conroy traveled with a friend from Brooklyn "to examine the territory of the extinct cave dwellers along Nine Mile Creek." Losing his footing on the mountain, Conroy fell out of reach of his companion, landing on a small ledge over "what looked like a bottomless gorge." According to the companion, J.F. Barkelow, he has just turned around to leave when he heard Conroy scream. Barkelow turned to see Conroy "attacked by two eagles, who struck at him with their beaks and claws. At last they reached his face with their horrible claws." Conroy lost his balance and fell off of the ledge, "his screaming foes

[492] Palmer also encountered Mormons during his expeditions in Utah, Arizona, and Hawaii. See Edward Palmer Collection, MS AmW 2-2.298, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA.
[493] According to the article, Salt Lake City authorities speculated that the bodies could be attributed to "one of the early Mormon wars which took place when the country was being settled. "Headless Bodies Found," *The News and Observer*, May 25, 1892.

following him into the abyss." Barkelow, unsurprisingly, returned to Brooklyn as quickly as possible.[494]

Given these dramatic reports, those in search of treasures for the expedition proceeded carefully. "Dan Maguire, the antiquity man, of the Utah World's Fair Commission, is on the trail of some genuine Utah mummies, and if he succeeds in surmounting the rugged barriers that encompass their abode, something unique in the line of preserved humanity will be produced." The mummies resided in an "almost impenetrable portion of Southern Utah…where by a single misstep the traveler would be dashed to pieces." The article invoked the Conroy/eagle story as evidence of Utah's hardships, while maintaining confidence that "as [Maguire] is a veteran explorer he is likely to meet with success."[495] Communities across the country eagerly anticipated the unveiling of Utah's mummies at the Exposition.

Mormon explorers were at least as active in pursuit of archeological specimens as non-Mormons. The ancient American premise of Mormon theology gave New World archeology had a particular resonance for the Mormon community. Powell's correspondence as Smithsonian director included letters from authors and anthropologists requesting information that would substantiate claims of ancient North American civilization found in the Book of Mormon.[496] Visitors to Salt Lake City in the 1880s

[494] "Attacked by Eagles," *The North American*, November 3, 1892, 2.
[495] The Conroy story appears in a slightly variant form in this article, charging Conroy with upsetting the eagles' nest and provoking the attack. "Mummies from Utah – Relics of the Cliff Dwellers May Be Seen at the World's Fair," *The Daily Inter Ocean*, January 9, 1893, 3.
[496] See, for example, Pilling to Professor Cyrus Thomas, Youngsville, Pa., March 5, 1887: NMNH Records of the BAE Box 5, 1885-9; National Anthropological Archives; Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. The Smithsonian continued to receive similar correspondence through the Second World War. In the twentieth century, interest in Book of Mormon-related excavations shifted in geographic focus to South and Central America. This interest continues today. See, for example, Diane E. Wirth, *Decoding Ancient America: A Guide to the Archaeology of the Book of Mormon.* Springville, UT: Horizon Publishers, 2007. Mormon interest in archaeology also contributed to the development of historical archaeology. See

could view specimens in the Deseret Museum or the Museum and Menagerie of Salt Lake City.[497]

Edward Palmer's work for the Bureau of Ethnology resulted in a report published just after the Columbian Exposition, in 1894. The Report refuted claims that the so-called "mound builders" represented an ancient New World civilization.[498] Despite the varying interpretations of and premises for anthropological research, however, the findings from Utah gave the territory indisputable bragging rights at the Exposition. Spectators flocked to the Utah anthropology exhibit.

The centerpiece of the display was, as promised, a mummy. Nicknamed "The King of the Blue Mountains," the mummified man intrigued and moved viewers. One visitor, St. George Best, was inspired to write a sonnet entitled "The Cliff Dweller—On the Mummy Displayed in the Utah State Building, Jackson Park." Addressing the mummy, Best observes: "Little didst thou dream, long ago,/The white man's eyes should some time gaze on thee,/Striving with curious interest to know,/The secret of thy birth,

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Benjamin C. Pykles, *Excavating Nauvoo: the Mormons and the Rise of Historical Archaeology in America.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2010.

[497]According to a letter from the Curator of the Deseret Museum, Joseph L. Barfoot, to the Deseret News in 1880: "Since the opening of the Deseret Museum the various donation made to different departments of the Museum + Menagerie have been chronicled in your paper, as the official organ of the church, and as a record for the perusal of scientists, who visit our city to collate material for public reports." Barfoot wrote requesting back issues of the paper to write a history of the museum, founded in late 1869. MSS SC 1383; Deseret Museum Items (Folder 1); L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University.

[498] Palmer's research on mound builders focused on the Midwest and South, the primary sites of North American excavations at the time. For Palmer's thoughts on mound building, see Edward Palmer, *Arkansaw Mounds.* Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1990. Palmer was also a leading authority on the flora, fauna, and ethnography of Utah. He published one of the earliest ethnographic reports on the region, in 1878. Many of the specimens and artifacts Palmer collected during his fieldwork in Utah, where he studied Ute communities, appeared at the Exposition and are currently housed at Harvard University's Peabody Museum. See Edward Palmer, *Cave Dwellings in Utah.* 11th Annual Report of Peabody Museum of Archaeology & Ethnology (1878): 269-272; Edward Palmer, *Notes on the Utah Utes*. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1954.

eternally."[499] In McDaniel's opinion, "the consensus was that the early inhabitants of Utah were of Asiatic origin," with possible roots in the Middle East.[500]

Along with drawing in spectators, the "King of the Blue Mountains" had an important if unacknowledged role to play in Utah's revisionist project at the Exposition. The mummy aided in this redemption process in several ways. Utah's archaeological resources gave the territory a new claim to fame besides its infamous kinship practices. Archeology contributed to the effort to rebrand the Southwest from a violent wasteland to a historically significant region that could sustain a developed civilization. This narrative helped to create a cohesive Anglo identity for residents of Utah as well as other Americans by placing Europeans into one common category (those looking with "white man's eyes"), in contrast to Native Americans. United by heritage and modernity, the Anglo interest in the mummy used ancient relics to promote a common identity that shut out contemporary Native people and suggested a particular historical dynamic between Native and Anglo Americans. Since the mummy represented the only indigenous participation in the Utah exhibits, the interpretation presented in the Utah Building went unchallenged.[501]

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[499] The sonnet reads as follows: "Mute remnant of a long departed race,/Perpetual sleeper from the entombed cliff,/That liest yucca-wrapped, immobile, stiff,/With shriveled limbs, and meager, sunken face!/Robbed art thou now of thine athletic grace,/That laughed at dizzy heights, and urged thy skiff/O'er many a watery precipice, as if/Fear in thy naked bosom had no place./Little didst thou dream, long centuries ago,/The white man's eyes should some time gaze on thee,/Striving with curious interest to know/The secret of thy birth, eternally/Locked up within thy narrow, earth-worn shell,/Leaving thy tale for these poor tools to tell." McDaniel, *Utah at the World's Columbian Exposition*, 40.
[500] *Ibid.*
[501] This was largely true of the Exposition as a whole. Where living Native people did participate, their staged presentations of "traditional practices" suggested static and primitive cultures that were fading if not already dead. The racial implications of anthropology as a discipline had been scathingly critiqued by Frederick Douglass as early as the 1850s. Rather than justifying slavery, the depiction of Native Americans at the Exposition reified a sense of race-based progress, with whiteness representing modernity and brown or black skin representing the messy and conflict-ridden past. Bridget R. Cooks, "Fixing race: visual representations of African Americans at the World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893." *Patterns of Prejudice* 41 (2007): 435-465.

The presence of the mummy also linked back to Utah's implicit argument of economic nationalism. Mona Domosh has argued that "the turn-of-the-century discourse of American civilization that helped legitimize American economic imperialism was formulated from within, and built upon, the discursive construction of Anglo-American/Native-American relationships." American exports appeared at the Exposition as a new form of Manifest Destiny. Alongside images of defeated or anachronistic Native Americans, these displays helped to promote a narrative of economic expansionism that extended from the conquest of the West and its tribes to the civilizing of Filipinos through exposure to the sewing machine. The inclusion of Native American artifacts and bodies in Utah's exhibits distanced Utah from the indigenous West and wove its territorial identity into a larger national political and economic story. No longer plausibly the seat of a competing empire, Utah now publically joined the informal empire of the United States.[502]

Casting Indians as antithetical to Anglo progress served the immediate political purpose of building a case against tribal land rights in Utah. Along with the Enabling Act, which authorized Utah statehood, congressional delegate Joseph Rawlins was in the process of promoting a second cause: the opening of Indian reservation lands to white settlement. These millions of acres, described by the *New York Times* as "some of the richest agricultural and mineral lands in the Territory," had been designated as portions of the Wintah and Uncompahgre Ute reservations. The reasoning in favor of allowing

[502] Mona Domosh. "A 'Civilized' Commerce: Gender, 'Race', and Empire at the 1893 Chicago Exposition." *Cultural Geographies* 9 (2002): 183. Although Utah chiefly exported raw materials rather than goods, the territorial economy had an international dimension similar to the national displays of farm equipment and prepackaged foods. McDaniel stresses the international appeal of Utah's exhibits throughout his History, suggesting the importance of the Exposition performance in attracting foreign capital and the success such attention represented for Utah.

prospectors access to the land aligned perfectly with the territorial identity projected from Utah's Exposition exhibits. "The citizens of Utah reason that this country should not be given over exclusively to a few well-fed, lazy Indians," the article read, describing the Native inhabitants having "never attempted to cultivate those portions that are tillable" and living "in a state of savagery." According to the *Times*, "Mormons and Gentiles are a unit upon the questions of utilizing these reservations," and the introduction of Anglo settlers of whatever religion would help to develop the land appropriately and bring civilizing influence to the Native Americans now living there.[503]

The assertion of a unified Anglo-American narrative came through with particular clarity in the speeches delivered at the September 9th celebration of Utah Day at the Exposition. Utah Day was held in conjunction with a California fruit feast, which ended just as the Utah festivities began. "Of all the thousands present that occasion," McDaniel recounted proudly, "none went hungry for fruit." After the feast, the attention of the Exposition guests fixed on Utah. As McDaniel noted in his reminiscences, Utah Day "attracted more attention than was accorded the observance of most state days" because of the public curiosity about Utah's Mormon population, the role of the LDS Church within the Territory, and the statehood debates of the moment.[504] The President of Utah's Commission gave a similar report, telling the *Deseret Weekly* that "the Utah Day drew more people to the great Festival Hall than any other state day celebration that has taken place there."[505] The world waited for the people Utah to succeed or, possibly, to reveal their true colors.

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[503] "Utah's Valuable Indian Lands," *New York Times*, January 8, 1894, 2.
[504] McDaniel, *Utah at the World's Columbian Exposition,* 48.
[505] "President Chambers' Report," *Deseret Weekly*, October 14, 1893, 1.

The Utah Day program consisted of speeches by prominent citizens and Exposition administrators along with a performance by the Tabernacle Choir. Robert Craig Chambers, head of the Utah World's Fair Commission, spoke first. "Permit me to say," he began, "…that the people of Utah appreciate your presence here to-day. Such a vast concourse of people, representing…almost every nation of the earth, is seldom congregated under one roof." Rattling off a list of Utah's natural resources, Chambers took a moment to extol the generosity and patriotism of Utah's people. "The love the Union and the Union's flag," he insisted, "and, no matter what may have been said of them in the past, to-day they are marching in harmony with the men and women of this great Nation."[506]

In McDaniel's narrative, this is a climactic moment. The Tabernacle Choir begins to sing as spectators cheer "wildly," overcome by the musical talent of these underappreciated Westerners. The performance functions as a moment of redemption. McDaniel quotes one Easterner as saying that the Choir cured him of his "strong prejudice against the people of Utah as a whole." His mind is changed after hearing the Choir, finding himself unable to "mistrust a people possessed of such musical ability, which is certainly the outgrowth of refinement and noble aspirations. I am only one of thousands here to-day," the anonymous Easterner continued, "whose sentiments in regard to Utah and her people have changed."[507]

There is some evidence that others shared this spectator's experience. In his commemorative history of the Exposition, architect Daniel Burnham singles out the

[506] McDaniel, *Utah at the World's Columbian Exposition*, 51.
[507] McDaniel, *Utah at the World's Columbian Exposition,* 52. After Utah Day, the Choir gave one additional performance, in an Exposition-wide musical competition. They received second place honors.

Tabernacle Choir performance as a triumphant and defining moment for Utah.[508] Newspapers also fixed on the Choir performance as a highlight of the day. "The songs won heartier encomium for the people whose music was sung than has ever been accorded," judged one journalist, who noted that "Mormonism for once was presented as a refining instead of a debasing belief."[509] The refinement exuded by the Choir signaled for some observers a cultural and ethical convergence of Mormons with other Anglo-Americans that suggested a common sense of purpose.[510]

The speaker following the Choir, Governor Caleb Walton West, was explicit in his comparison between Eastern and Western pioneer stories.[511] "Utah is one of the oldest settled sections of the Great West," he began. "I need not dwell upon the struggle which the Pioneers had to make in order to gain a foothold in what was once known as the Great American Desert. The Pilgrim Fathers, or the first immigrants to Virginia, did not have more to content with or as many hardships to endure as the early settlers of Utah," West insisted. "The storm-tossed Atlantic had no more terrors for the early voyagers to the New World than the trackless plain between the Missouri River and the Rocky Mountains. The danger of shipwreck was no more to be feared by the one that the merciless savage was by the other." In short: "It required as much courage to plant the banner of civilization on the shores of the Great Salt Lake as it did on the Atlantic Coast."

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[508] Burnham, 153.
[509]"UTAH AT THE FAIR. Mormonism, Relieved of Polygamy, Becomes Respectable," *The Daily Inter Ocean*, October 18, 1893.
[510] David M. Guion. "From Yankee Doodle Thro' to Handel's Messiah: Music at the World's Columbian Exposition." *College Music Symposium,* 24 (1984): 81-96. The relationship between musical performance and political Progressivism in the U.S. and at the Exposition in particular is explored in Derek Valliant, *Sounds of Reform: Progressivism and Music in Chicago, 1873-1935.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003.
[511] West had recently received his second appointment as Territorial Governor from Grover Cleveland. His first term ran from 1886 to 1888. West, a Democrat from Kentucky, was replaced by a Republican Mormon governor, Heber Manning Wells, after Utah achieved statehood in 1896.

To West, these parallels proved "in the light of history, that [Utah's pioneers] are entitled to the highest honors that can be accorded the first settlers of any country."

West also insisted on the loyalty and patriotism of Utah's Mormon communities. As evidence, he framed Utah's founding as an instance of American imperial conquest. "These pioneers of Utah blazed the way for the westward course of empire, and at the time of their first entrance into the valley of Great Salt Lake planted the flag of the Union on foreign soil," he explained, "for the domain now embraced in the Territory of Utah was then a part of Mexico. It was a bloodless conquest, but a conquest, nevertheless, which eventually added vast wealth for the United States; for our flag has never ceased to float over the land that was then taken possession of, from that day until now."[512] West argued that Mormon actions were fully in line with a national expansionism won through foreign conquest and in pursuit of material enrichment, rather than the actions of a competing empire or a rogue state.

The retelling of Utah's history in a national context was timely and critical given the continuing statehood debate. Governor West concluded his remarks with a reference to the inevitability of admission to the Union. "Utah is about to enter the nation as a sister State," he stated confidently. "Her population, which to-day is greater than that of the States of Nevada, Idaho, and Wyoming combined, is made up of the descendants of the early settlers, immigrants from foreign lands, and people from the Eastern States, all combining to make a class of citizens that will be a credit and a bulwark to the nation." Industrious and hardworking, the people of Utah were also leaders in the domestic realm in one particular area. "In Utah," West informed the crowd, "more families live in homes

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[512] McDaniel, *Utah at the World's Columbian Exposition*, 52-53.

which they own than is the case in any other State of the Union in proportion to population."[513]

West addressed his audience as an equal. "Speaking in behalf of the people of Utah, I extend a fraternal greeting to the world," he said. "To the gentlemen who represent the several States I would say, that ere long Miss Utah will make her debut into the sisterhood of States, and I bespeak for her a hearty welcome." He promised that Utah would conform to national standards of productivity and patriotism. "None will be more fair, none more loyal, and in the years to come few will equal and non surpass her for stability," West said. "In the fabric of the nation Utah will be worthy of the firm reliance of all friends and supporters of good government, and no calamity can befall wherein Utah people will not be found loyal to the nation's supremacy." He concluded with an appeal to tourist curiosity. "I can only add to the invitation that has already been extended for all of you to visit Utah," stated West "and, for her people, say we will make you welcome."[514]

The following speeches, while religious rather than secular in theme, were similarly concerned with pioneer heritage. Wilford Woodruff, the President of the LDS Church and issuer of the 1890 Manifesto, gave a brief history of Brigham Young's leadership in founding Utah's settlements. Woodruff's history aligned with the general theme of the Exposition: white settlement, colonization, and cultivation of the land. Woodruff explained how Young had overseen the construction of Salt Lake City "in the midst of sagebrush, a thousand miles beyond the homes of white men." Like Chambers, Woodruff invited his audience to "visit the Mormons in their homes," ostensibly to see

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[513] McDaniel, *Utah at the World's Columbian Exposition,* 54.
[514] McDaniel, *Utah at the World's Columbian Exposition*, 53.

how familiar their domestic lives were to and Eastern audience, and how closely their cultural values hewed to a mainstream Anglo-American Protestant model.

Veteran newspaperman and religious leader George Q. Cannon reiterated many of the themes that Caleb West had developed, with a more personal—and more defensive—tone. He recalled the first Mormon pioneers, striking out into the "forbidding West…to find a place where they might exercise the privilege which had been denied them in eastern home, of worshiping their Maker according to the dictates of their own conscience." He repeatedly and pointedly mentioned the commitment of Brigham Young and his contemporaries to "religious liberty and the rights of man."[515]

Like West, Cannon pointed out the parallels between the founding of the original colonies and of Salt Lake City, contextualizing them further within the Columbian theme of the Exposition. "We, as the representatives of Utah," he said, "join with you in celebrating the discovery of this continent of America by Columbus, the man whom we regard as having been raised up and inspired by Divine Providence as the future home of Liberty, where the oppressed of all lands might find refuge." Cannon asserted the parallels between early American colonists and Mormon pioneers. "We bring our tribute to join with yours in loving pride of the of the glorious works of the revolutionary sires…for Utah, too, was founded by men who held to these same views and were actuated by the same high resolves."

Cannon none-too-subtly suggested that Mormon beliefs, like the beliefs of the New England colonists, were rightfully self-designated. "Our hearts mingle with yours in affectionate remembrance of the Pilgrim Fathers," he told the crowd, "and all the early colonists who came out from the Old World in search of that freedom of conscience

[515] *Ibid.,* 55.

which is the inalienable right of human kind."[516] Cannon's choice of words asserted a common heritage with the other state representatives while highlighting the hypocrisy of those who would restrict the freedoms of Mormons to define their own standards of behavior. This was the one sharp moment in the otherwise controlled Utah presentation.[517] Nonetheless, journalists covering Utah's festivities treated Cannon's remarks softly. "It is but natural that Mormonism should honor the chiefs," one column read, "for no apology is entered against the fading practice of polygamy by those who now announce that it is to be eschewed. Monogamy is an economic necessity, not a moral requisite, according to those who declare for the present status."[518]

The Utah Exposition Commissioners' final report to Governor West glowed with a sense of accomplishment. "For years there has been a widespread prejudice against Utah and her citizens," the report read. "We know that the exhibit we made at Chicago has served, in a great measure, to obliterate that feeling among the masses of the people, and the good seed sown will continue to bear fruit for years to come." The achievements of the Exposition performance, according to the Commissioners' Report, were both economic and personal. "Our citizens are as intelligent and enterprising as those of any other country," the Commissioners stated. "Our men and women challenged the admiration of the world." The representations of Utah's natural resources and its people would translate into outside investment in the Territory. "It was one of our main objects to demonstrate in a practical way that Utah is a rich field for the investment of capital,

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[516] McDaniel, *Utah at the World's Columbian Exposition,* 49.
[517] A similar reference to polygamy appears in the women's ecclesiastical history of Utah, published just after the conclusion of the Exposition. While unapologetic, this reference lacks the implicit charge of hypocrisy present in Cannon's remarks. *World's Fair Ecclesiastical History of Utah*. Salt Lake City, Utah: George Q. Cannon & Sons, Printers, 1893.
[518] "UTAH AT THE FAIR. Mormonism, Relieved of Polygamy, Becomes Respectable," *The Daily Inter Ocean*, October 18, 1893.

and offered many flattering inducements to the settler," the Commissioners explained. "We believe that in this purpose we were reasonably successful, and, as a direct result of the Exposition, we are sanguine that the Territory will increase materially, both in wealth and population."[519]

Utah's exhibits at the Exposition demonstrated in a tangible way the connections between the Territory and the march of Anglo-American civilization through economic investment and private property. These efforts probably did help to secure investment in Utah's industries and went some of the way towards repairing the public image of Utah's people. The Exposition supported the interpretation that Utah had truly assimilated following the renunciation of polygamy and the integration of local politics into the national party system. The Exposition displays, along with a flood of positive press (at least some of it purchased), eased the transition to statehood by promoting a common cultural, moral, and historical vision of Utah and the United States.[520]

To some extent, the Utah proceedings extended from the process that David Bitton has dubbed the "ritualization of Mormon history." Bitton's analysis considers the ways in which "the simplification of the past into forms that can be memorialized, celebrated, and emotionally appropriated." Although Bitton is focused specifically on celebrations of Mormon history, his ideas apply just as well to the Exposition efforts to integrate Mormon history into a national narrative. "Most dramatically," writes Bitton, "nations have stimulated national consciousness by developing a pantheon of heroes, monuments, ceremonies, and even standard narratives reminiscent of morality plays in their insistent simplification." The Exposition was an exercise in this sort of ritualization

[519] "Report of the Utah World's Fair Commission to Governor Heber C. Wells," Utah State Archives and Records Service, Utah World's Fair Commission Reports, Series 1123.
[520] See "Utah Fully Redeemed," *The Daily Inter Ocean*, July 5, 1891.

on a grand scale. Utah's Commissioners used the Fair not only to advertise territorial resources, but also to emphasize the intersections of Utah and Mormon history with national and Western narrative and myth. To the general public, national and international, Utah's exhibits offered an inclusive view of the Mormon people and their role in continental expansion and the taming of the West.[521]

The narrative into which Utah's exhibits integrated was one of increasing refinement and domestic stability along with the development of industry across the continent. It was also a narrative that defined progress against indigenous people and the natural environment of North America, in this case the so-called Great American Desert. Comparing the New England colonial experience to the settlement of Salt Lake City, the speakers at Utah's Exposition events asserted a story of conquest over Mexico, Native Americans, and the Great Basin terrain. The mummy that drew visitors to Utah's exhibits represented the ancient, indigenous past that had paved the way for enlightened European civilization. The contrast between the mummy and the refinement of the Utah Building silently made the case that Utah's people—Mormon and non-Mormon—were members of Anglo empire in the West, and were a bulwark against rather than agents of the chaotic and savage wilderness.[522]

The role of Native Americans in the Utah Exposition events was echoed in other historical narratives taking shape at the same moment. In July of 1893, about a month before Utah Day, the young historian Frederick Jackson Turner delivered his Frontier

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[521] Davis Bitton, "The Ritualization of Mormon History" in *The Ritualization of Mormon History and Other Essays*. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994), 171.

[522] In the years following the Exposition, Fairs held around the country reinforced a sense of shared racial identity underlying American characters. For an in-depth look at the ways in which African and Native people entered into the discourse of another Exposition, see Theda Perdue, *Race and the Atlanta Cotton States Exposition of 1895*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2010.

Thesis to a small group of unimpressed colleagues. Turner's basic argument—that American national character and institutions had been shaped by westward expansion—rested on the dynamic of interaction with the indigenous people and environments of North America. The Indian in Turner's thesis is a human extension of the natural world, challenging, changing, and finally giving way to the Anglo population.

The Indians and the environment referenced in Utah exhibits and speeches played a similar role to Turner's vision of the natural world. The Great Basin tribes once considered Mormon allies became sources of common opposition connecting Mormon pioneers, Pilgrims, and Jamestown settlers. Indians like the mummy in Utah's display represented a pre-modern race who had given way to the Anglo development of natural resources. The refined and indisputably Anglo-American Utah population who appeared at the Fair had come into contact with these Indians and with the harsh Western environment, had perhaps gone through a period of transition and rebuilding, only to come out the other side strong, patriotic, and highly civilized. Their frontier experience bound them to a lineage of exploration and hardship shared by Columbus and the early English colonists of the East Coast.[523]

The self-fashioning of Mormons as agents of American empire reasserted an earlier dynamic, established during the period of earliest Mormon settlement in the West. During this time, Eastern opinions balanced prejudice and distrust with an optimistic sense of Anglo-Saxon progress spurred on by Mormon industry. The repetition of the

[523] The selling of Utah as a place defined by the active subduing of the natural world continued into the twentieth century. As Matthew Baker has shown, Zion National Park functioned as a tool for drawing national interest to Utah in the first decade of the new century. Baker argues that the packaging of Utah as a place to access wilderness tied the state to rising national interests in the West as a place for spiritual cleansing and the reification of national values. Matthew Baker, "Selling a State to the Nation." *Journalism History* 36 (2010): 169-176.

theme of Mormon forbears making the desert bloom during the Exposition proceedings was intended to reset the relationship between Utah and the nation and reinforce a common cultural, political, and economic project. The power of this message, intensified by the immediate context of the Exposition and its nationalist fervor, provided a moment for revisionism and reconciliation for those who were inclined to reconcile.

The extent to which Utah's performance at the Exposition affected its national reputation is debatable. Although a poor performance would certainly have had the potential to forestall statehood, the positive political outcomes of a job well done are more difficult to gage. Unofficially, statehood was assured in 1894, months after the Exposition closed its gates, when Grover Cleveland signed the Enabling Bill recently passed by Congress. Formal admission to the union followed in 1896.[524]

Nonetheless, the political road remained rocky, and old tensions continued to flare up. The political machinations that resulted in authorized Utah statehood renewed public suspicion. George Q. Cannon, the publisher and LDS Church Elder who spoke at the Exposition, was accused of conspiring to deliver Utah to the Republican Party in exchange for statehood and plum positions for Cannon and his son. This charge, along with conflicting reports about the continuation of polygamy, continued to anchor Utah's cultural reputation even as increasing industry and railroad construction ensured its integral place in the national economy.[525]

The historiography of Utah's path to statehood has tended to single out the Manifesto Moment of 1890 as the turning point in the process. It is very likely that

[524] The addition of the forty-fifth star to the American flag occurred in August of 1895, nearly a full year before Utah's formal admission as a state. "A New Star for the National Flag," *New York Times*, August 29, 1895, 1.
[525] See Thomas G. Alexander, *Mormonism in Transition: A History of the Latter-Day Saints, 1890-1930*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1996.

statehood would not have moved forward with polygamy in place. Historians including Gustive Larsen have argued that the “Americanization” of Utah in preparation for statehood went far beyond the renunciation of polygamy. The surrendering of local parties in favor of national party membership and the triumph of Republicans in major Utah elections helped to give the surrounding country traction and thus a stake in a politically integrated Utah.[526]

Historiographical debates over Utah’s path to statehood frequently pit economic and political expediency arguments against social and cultural arguments. Either the renunciation of polygamy ensured statehood or it justified what was essentially a political deal.[527] This debate has overshadowed the ways in which Utah’s social and economic displays at the Exposition and elsewhere worked together to integrate the Territory and its people into grand narratives. The pairing of social and economic themes is unsurprising given the historical correlation of kinship and economic models in anti-Mormon arguments.[528] If the underpinning of Anglo-American economic expansionism by monogamous, capitalist values was not assumed by Exposition spectators, the designers of Utah’s exhibits made sure to remind them.

The lull in anti-Mormon imagery in the popular press following the 1890 Manifesto presented an opportunity for citizens of Utah to take control of their image as a

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[526] Gustive Larson attributes the achievement of statehood largely to this political reversal. Utah entered the Union as a state with its party orientation in question. Despite initial local victories for Republicans, the state went to William Jennings Bryan in the 1896 Presidential election. See Gustive O. Larson, *The “Americanization” of Utah for Statehood.* San Marino, CA: Huntington Library, 1971.

[527] The major players in this debate have been Edward Lyman, who emphasizes polygamy as the main issue in Utah’s progress to statehood, and Gustive Larson, who argues that political and economic alliance far outweighed social factors in granting statehood. Lyman, *Op. cit.*

[528] For a broader look at this phenomenon, see Faye D. Ginsburg and Rayna Rapp, eds. *Conceiving the New World Order: The Global Politics of Reproduction*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995. See also “Tribal Kinship and the Law” in Justin B. Richland and Sarah Deer, *Introduction to Tribal Legal Studies.* Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press, 2010.

broad community. Analysis of the Exposition is ultimately useful in discerning not when and why Utah remade its image for the public, but how territorial officials directed their efforts given their first national opportunity to do so. For many Exposition visitors, their trip to the Fair offered a first glimpse of the continent west of the Alleghenies. There, they came face to face with Utah. Like the civic leaders of Chicago, leading Utahns—Mormon and non-Mormon—seized the Exposition moment to claim a common purpose with the political and economic interests of the United States and its expanding sphere of influence.

Conclusion

In 1896, Utah took its place as a sovereign state. The growth of railroads, the movement of industry and homesteaders, and the establishment of new states around Utah had hastened its political transition. Still, the regional character of the Great Basin remained undefined in the public eye. Writing in the *North American Review*, irrigation expert William E. Smythe outlined some ways in which "Arid America" could engage with the nation to the most peaceful and prosperous ends.

"The arid region of America is a stupendous public property," Smythe began.

> "It is the heritage of the next generation of American citizens. To conquer and subdue it to the uses of civilization will be one of the mighty tasks of the twentieth century. What Africa is to the nations of Europe, Arid America is to the people of the United States—a vast, virgin field that lies open to industrial conquest—the natural outlet for surplus people and capital accumulated in more than two centuries of prosperity."

Smythe's vision for "Arid America"—this new region—required continued investment and settlement. His eleven pages of remarks include repeated references to homesteading and the ways in which economic and cultural integration would naturally arise from the settlement of families. According to Smythe, "Arid America" was on the cusp of a population surge that would help it to develop into a useful part of the United States. "It is sufficient…to say that a great percentage of the American people will some time live in the arid region," Smythe stated, "and that the time has come when the nation should have at least the beginnings of a statesmanlike policy to apply to the problems of a vast material heritage that awaits her children."[529]

[529] In 1891, Smythe founded the magazine *Irrigation Age*. Among these national responsibilities he mentioned in his *North American Review* article, unsurprisingly, was the construction of an irrigation

While Smythe alluded to Mormon settlement at several times in his essay, he largely relegated the "misunderstandings" of the region to the past. "Nature has written her story upon our arid lands in characters not easily legible to Anglo-Saxon eyes," he stated. Smythe's Utah (which he never mentions by name) is wild and unspoiled, waiting for Anglo-Americans to settle and tame it. In his view, the legacies of Mormonism remained unknown, though "how these influences will affect the destiny of the American people [is an] interesting subject for speculation." He had high hopes for "Arid America." "No fairer opportunity for material conquest," Smythe wrote, "awaits any other nation, or any other part of the world."[530]

The reframing of Utah within the regional designation of "Arid America" allowed Smythe to sidestep the associations many Americans still had with their new state. Utah joined the Union having shed polygamy as a mainstream Mormon practice, yet doubts about the future of the region and its populations continued. The end of church-sanctioned polygamy dampened, but did not end, the hardline national anti-polygamy movement. A scattering of publications and speeches charged the LDS Church leadership with trickery: feigning cultural assimilation until regaining political dominance.[531]

Anti-Mormon visual tropes also persisted beyond the 1890s. The most common of these were images of the Mormon family. A 1904 cartoon from the *Chicago Journal* revisited the half-century-old trope of polygamous families as a catylst for a population boom (Fig. 25). Another twentieth-century image revived the nineteenth-century visual theme of the Mormon family as a vector for a mixed-race population (Fig. 26). For the

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system throughout "Arid America." William E. Smythe, "The Stepchild of the Republic," *North American Review* 163 (1896): 37-46.

[530] *Ibid.*, 46.

[531] For a discussion of some anti-Mormon themes after 1890, see Givens, *Viper on the Hearth,* particularly "'Murder and Mystery—Mormon Style': The Mormon Image in the Twentieth Century*,"* 153-167.

most part, these images probably represented lingering impressions and prejudices rather than reflections on specific contemporary political issues. As Gary Bunker and Davis Bitton have shown, these images faded out for good around the First World War, and never came back into vogue after that point. Anti-Mormon sentiment continued to simmer, although its public profile as a reform movement lost its relevance.[532]

Fig. 25 "Up to Date Father Goose." *Chicago Journal*, March 9, 1904.

[532] The one major exception to this pattern was the surge in anti-Mormon imagery surrounding the election of B. H. Roberts, a former polygamist, to the U.S. House of Representatives in 1898. Cartoons responding to Roberts' election revived dormant visual anti-Mormon themes, including the interracial Mormon family. These themes appeared again following the election of Church apostle Reed Smoot to the Senate in 1904. Smoot had not practiced polygamy and ran for office as a Republican. His prominence in the Church was enough, however, to trigger an investigation from the Senate committee on privileges. Figures 1 and 2 are contemporaneous with the Senate hearings. See "Uneasy Accommodation," in Bunker and Bitton, *Mormon Graphic Image*, 57-72. For a monograph-length study of the Smoot controversy, see Kathleen Flake. *The Politics of Religious Identity: The Seating of Senator Reed Smoot, Mormon Apostle.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004.

Fig. 26 "Mormon Elder-berry—Out with His Six-Year-Olds, Who Take After Their Mothers," *Life Magazine*, April 28, 1904.

A good deal of the anti-polygamy sentiment expressed after 1890 was rooted in paranoia and lingering prejudice. To a certain extent, however, the persistence of these sentiments reflected the realities of polygamy as a continuing phenomenon. Some Mormons continued to practice polygamy both inside and outside of the United States after 1890. Colonies in Mexico faced little opposition from the government, while colonies in Canada's prairie provinces proved resistant to intervention. As in the United States, polygamists in Canada became arbiters of local power and national relationships with First Nations peoples.[533] Polygamist communities exist in the United States to this day, as recently publicized in the 2008 raid of the Yearning For Zion Ranch and the subsequent trial of patriarch Warren Jeffs. Scholars and the public continue to debate these phenomena in terms of human and civil rights.[534]

[533] Mainstream Mormonism, which does not include polygamy, has largely been able to peacefully exist within the nation. See O. Kendall White Jr., "Mormonism in America and Canada: Accommodation to the Nation-State," *The Canadian Journal of Sociology* 3 (1978): 161-181; Armand Mauss, *The Angel and the Beehive: The Mormon Struggle with Assimilation* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994), 437-460; O. Kendall White Jr. and Daryl White, "Polygamy and Mormon Identity," *The Journal of American Culture* 28 (2005): 165-177.

[534] Comparative scholarship of plural marriage articulates the variety of social and economic models across polygamous communities. See Cardell K. Jacobson and Lara Burton, eds., *Modern Polygamy in the United States: Historical, Cultural, and Legal Issues.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2011. For a recent

The "fundamentalist" splinter groups of Mormonism appear today as a theme in popular culture. The most high profile recent example of this phenomenon was the HBO television series Big Love, which followed the lives of a middle-class polygamist family living in the suburbs of Salt Lake City. The show contrasts its main characters with their communalist relatives at Juniper Creek, who resist cultural, economic, or political assimilation into mainstream Utah society. The suburban patriarch Bill Henrickson, on the other hand, is a local business leader who runs for high public office. The popularity of the show between 2006 and 2011 reflects remaining interest in the intersection of polygamy and "respectable" middle class America. Recently, A reality show starring polygamists—TLC's Sister Wives—has capitalized on the success of Big Love.[535]

The 2002 kidnapping of Elizabeth Smart provided a real-world example of the contrast between fundamentalist and modern Mormonism. Smart, a teenager from an affluent Salt Lake City suburb, resurfaced a year later and revealed that her abductors had been polygamists. Smart had endured nine months of sexual assault at the hands of her captors before her rescue. In this case, the "white slavery" element of nineteenth-century polygamy became manifest, invading the middle-class respectability of the modern

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reevaluation of polygamous family life in Utah, see Jessie Embry, *Mormon Polygamous Families: Life in the Principle.* Salt Lake City: Greg Kofford Books, 2008. For a debate on the relationship of polygamous communities to the state, see Steven A. Kent, "A Matter of Principle: Fundamentalist Mormon Polygamy, Children, and Human Rights Debates," *Nova Religio* Vol. 10 (2006): 7-29. Since 2000, several memoirs have been published recounting life within a polygamous family and community. See, for example, Carolyn Jessop with Laura Palmer, *Triumph: Life After the Cult, A Survivor's Lessons*. New York: Broadway Books, 2010; Elissa Wall with Lisa Pulitzer, *Stolen Innocence: My Story of Growing up in a Polygamous Sect, Becoming a Teenage Bride, and Breaking Free of Warren Jeffs*. New York: William Morrow, 2008; Dorothy Allred Solomon, *Predators, Prey, and Other Kinfolk: Growing up in Polygamy.* New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 2003.

[535] After the first season of the show, the Brown family underwent investigation of bigamy. They ultimately expressed their willingness to endure this scrutiny and possible prosecution in exchange for the opportunity to openly defend their family structure and way of life. "Utah: Reality TV Show Leads to a Bigamy Investigation," *New York Times,* September 28, 2010.

church. Although Smart's abductors were more deranged than devout, their actions echoed Utah's past in a way that threatened a culturally mainstream Mormon family.[536]

The place of Mormons in American politics and society remains a matter of debate. In 2011, *Newsweek* devoted a cover story to the ascendency of Mormons in American popular culture under the title "Mormons Rock!"[537] Despite recent landmarks in exposure, however, public skepticism regarding Mormons—bearing no direct relationship to the Church's polygamous past—also persists. As scholars have pointed out, the implicit charges against Mormon political candidates often boil down to heresy. This is sometimes visible in the reluctance of Christian conservative voters to support Mormon candidates based on assumptions of cultishness and, probably most importantly for the Republican base, the alienation of the sect from evangelical orthodox Protestantism. Like Unitarians, Mormons are often not accepted as Christian, and uncertainty about the relationship between denominations casts quiet doubt on Mormon religious values.[538]

Prejudice against Mormons as heathens or heretics occasionally appears explicitly in public discourse. In 2010, for example, Republican Senator Jon Kyl condemned Democratic Majority Leader Harry Reid, a convert to Mormonism, for keeping the Senate in session through Christmas, an action he described as "disrespectful to all Christians." Reid responded to Kyl's "sanctimonious lectures" with an official statement

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[536] The intra-faith dimensions of the case led to a discussion of Mormon history in the popular press. See Holly Welker, "Elizabeth Smart: A Mormon's Mormon Ordeal," *The Guardian*, November 16, 2011.

[537] "Mormons Rock! They've Conquered Broadway, Talk Radio, the U.S. Senate—and They May Win the White House. Why Mitt Romney and 6 Million Mormons Have the Secret to Success," *Newsweek*, June 6, 2011.

[538] In a 2011 Republican primary debate, candidate Herman Cain invoked opponent Mitt Romney's Mormon faith as a roadblock to electoral success. Cain stated that people in his hometown of Atlanta, Georgia, "are not clear on how does the Mormon religion relate to the majority of people's Protestant, Christian religion in the South." "Herman Cain defends Mormonism remarks," *Politico,* http://www.politico.com/news/stories/0811/61166.html accessed September 24, 2011.

on the matter. "As a Christian," wrote Reid, "no one has to remind me of the importance of Christmas for all Christian faiths and families across America."[539]

The current lightning rod for debate over Mormonism is Mitt Romney—the first Mormon to win the presidential nomination of a major party. Romney is an example of the economic and political successes of contemporary Mormonism (as was one of his 2012 opponents, Republican Jon Huntsman). The role of religion in the 2012 race has yet to be seen. Already, however, the campaign has triggered an outpouring of literature, commentary, and debate on the history of Mormons in America.[540] Polls show that many Americans still harbor prejudices against Mormons, and many more are hazy on Mormon beliefs.[541] Anti-Mormon prejudice polls higher than that targeting any other major religious or ethnic group. If not the most widespread, anti-Mormonism may be one of the most socially acceptable prejudices in the nation.[542]

In 2008, Romney held a press conference clarifying his beliefs.[543] This move consciously echoed the public statements of Catholic candidate John F. Kennedy, who in 1960 pledged his allegiance to the United States rather than the Vatican. Ironically, in distancing himself from the notion of a central LDS hierarchy that would direct his actions, Romney is in the position of characterizing religion as a private matter while

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[539] "Reid calls Republicans 'sanctimonious' for concerns over working through holidays," *The Daily Caller*, http://dailycaller.com/2010/12/15/reid-calls-republicans-sanctimonious-for-concerns-over-working-through-holidays accessed September 24, 2011.

[540] Jennifer Schuessler, "The Mormon Lens on American History," *New York Times*, July 2, 2012.

[541] See "U.S. Presidential election: Rivals face old prejudice in race to seize America's 'Mormon Moment': Romney and Hunstman vie to overcome years of intolerance towards faith," *Guardian,* July 6, 2011. For recent analysis of Mormons, business, and national identity, see James Carroll, "The ultimate organization men," *Boston Globe*, August 21, 2011.

[542] For an analysis of polls showing the relative prevalence of anti-Mormonism up to 2011, see William Saletan, "Latter-Day Sins," Slate.com, October 10, 2011. Saletan makes a case for anti-Mormonism as "the prejudice of our age."

[543] Garry Wills characterizes Kennedy's problem as a political one and Romney's as cultural and theological. Garry Wills, "Romney and JFK," *New York Review of Books,* December 19, 2007.

attempting to win over evangelical voters who see faith as a valid basis for policymaking.[544]

Beyond religious difference, the root causes and assumptions of contemporary anti-Mormonism are difficult to pin down. It is possible to trace some of the strands of anti-Mormonism that were openly expressed and debated in the nineteenth century. Some of these have changed profoundly, or even inverted. Images of Mormonism no longer have a racial dimension in the exclusive sense. On the contrary, modern manifestations of anti-Mormonism tend to characterize Mormons as racial elitists with a legacy of institutionalized prejudice. In this sense, race remains present in public perception of Mormons. Paradoxically, during the twentieth century Mormonism experienced significant growth worldwide, making particularly strong progress in African countries.[545]

It is also clear, in retrospect, that the Mormon polygamy crisis was neither the beginning nor the end of the debate over the control of marriage in the United States. While usually governed by states, the federal government has consistently played a role in defining and restricting marriage up to the present day. After 1890, polygamists and supporters of polygamy were, in fact, banned from entering the United States. This

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[544] Mitt Romney's father, George Romney, also ran for the Republican presidential nomination. The elder Romney was born in Mexico, where his grandparents had migrated after the 1890 Manifesto renouncing polygamy. His parents, who were not polygamists, moved to the United States with their young children to avoid the dangers of the Mexican Revolution in 1910. Romney eventually rose to the rank of Governor in Michigan before running for president. His 1968 campaign faltered after he misspoke on the subject of Vietnam, stating that he had been "brainwashed" into initial support for the war. Even before this episode, however, Representative Emanuel Celler challenged Romney's eligibility for the presidency because of his Mexican birth. "Celler Suggests G.O.P. Name Group to Investigate Romney's Eligibility," *New York Times*, May 15, 1967.

[545] According to LDS Church figures, there are currently 900 congregations and 318,000 converts across the continent of Africa, "the majority of whom have joined the Church over the past 30 years." "Mormons in Africa: A Bright Land of Hope," The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints Newsroom, February 22, 2011, http://newsroom.lds.org/article/mormons-africa-bright-land-hope accessed September 24, 2011. For a relatively recent incident that triggered a discussion of Mormons and race, see "There's something about Harry; Antiquated speech does not a racist make," *Washington Times*, January 15, 2010.

provision, which had failed in the 1880s, successfully kept some Muslims out of the country in the twentieth century. In 1967, interracial marriages banned by the states were deemed unconstitutional in the *Loving v. Virginia* decision.[546]

Most recently, the issue of gay marriage has inflamed controversy at both the state and national level. Debate surrounding gay marriage has brought the LDS Church into a conflict over marriage for the first time in over a century. In 2010, Mormon contributors to the Proposition 8 campaign in California numbered in the millions. These conservative contributors based their actions on commitment to "traditional marriage," an irony not lost on contemporary commentators. Church leaders denied active involvement in the fundraising, but were unsuccessful in dispelling the impression of hypocrisy. While racial barriers to marriage are no longer countenanced, the broader question of the relationship between marriage and social structure remains, as does the push-and-pull for power between the federal government and local communities.[547]

The problematic political relationship between Mormons and the United States was ultimately much more easily resolved than that of Native Americans. Tribal autonomy remains a subject of debate up until the present day. Within historical scholarship, the concept of empire and colonialism is now commonly invoked in analyses of indigenous experience. Empire and settler colonialism are established categories with which scholars of Native America history describe United States expansion. This process involved violence and geographic dislocation, while fundamentally relying on the

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[546] For more on the legacy of this landmark decision, see Peggy Pascoe, "Miscegenation Law, Court Cases, and Ideologies of 'Race' in Twentieth-Century America." *Journal of American History* 83 (1996) 44-69; C. Quince Hopkins, "Variety in U.S. Kinship Practices, Substantive Due Process Analysis and the Right to Marry." *BYU Journal of Public Law* 18 (2004): 665-679.

[547] "Mormons Face Flak for Backing Prop. 8," San Francisco *Chronicle*, October 27, 2008; "Mormons Feel the Backlash Over Their Support of Prop. 8," *L.A. Times*, November 17, 2008.

principles of settler colonialism as a means of "reproducing empire."[548] Ned Blackhawk and others have reframed Native American history as political and imperial—both before and beyond European contact. Rather than a clash of cultures, Native American communities engaged in empire building, organized warfare, and diplomacy in an organized fashion. Blackhawk's work uses an imperial framework to recast Great Basin history in political terms that transcend the periodizations of United States expansion.[549]

The body of literature regarding gender, marriage, and empire also continues to develop in interesting ways. Work on settler colonialism stresses the significance of marriage and family as political ideology on the international stage.[550] Comparative work transcends racial and ethnic boundaries, bringing indigenous and subaltern historiographies into dialogue with narratives of the nation-state. As understanding of the mechanisms of empire deepen, greater emphasis has been placed on the role of women, children, and family in the larger premise of imperial control—previously considered outside of women's "separate sphere."[551]

North American empires are slowly making their way into this transnational story. Although the majority of work in this area focuses on the period of overseas empire after 1898, Margaret Jacobs' acclaimed *White Mother to a Dark Race* has paved the way for new studies exploring North American imperial themes and processes at the family level

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[548] Laura Briggs's recent work on United States involvement in Puerto Rico indicates the ways in which sex, marriage and gender continue to influence American identity and diplomacy into the twenty-first century. Brooks considers abortion and family planning alongside eugenics and racial engineering experiments of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Laura Briggs, *Reproducing Empire: Race, Sex, Science, and U.S. Imperialism in Puerto Rico*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002.

[549] Blackhawk, *Violence Over the Land*; James O'Neil Spady, "Reconsidering Empire: Current Interpretations of Native American Agency During Colonization," *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History* 10 (2009); Pekka Hamalainen, *The Comanche Empire*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008.

[550] Tony Ballantyne and Antoinette M. Burton, eds., *Moving Subjects: Gender, Mobility, and Intimacy in an Age of Global Empire.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2009.

[551] Deana Heath, *Purifying Empire: Obscenity and the Politics of Moral Regulation in Britain, India and Australia*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010.

before the 1890s. The indigenous policy-based analyses of Jacobs and others have yet to intersect directly with visual studies analyses of empire.[552]

Examining representations of empire, as well as experiences on the ground, is essential to gain a fuller understanding of the significance of the cultural dynamics of marriage and family. These dynamics—certainly in the nineteenth-century American context—played off of racial ideas even when racial difference was not apparent. While the centrality of race and racism in this story will not surprise any scholars of American history, the contours of racial thinking have yet to be fully explored within the frame of expansionism. Analyzing the complex dynamics between race, religion, and nationalism in this period requires a broad source base because of the diffuse nature of prejudice and racial assumptions. As the case of anti-Mormon representation shows, these ideas and assumptions could be recombined and redeployed across space and time to meet specific ends. An image in one area of the "system of representation" could appear elsewhere in an altered form to address new or different concerns.[553]

In a recent reflection on the state of Reconstruction history, historian Elliott West called for a reevaluation of race and regionalism. "If I have a general premise," West writes, "it is that the acquisition of the Far West in the 1840s influenced, much more than we have credited, our racial history—how people have thought about race, how racial minorities have fared, and what policies our government adopted." West's hope is that this reevaluation of race will feed into a broader revision of Western history in relation to the nation. "Since race is always a bellwether of larger forces," he writes, "I think we

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[552] Sevando D. Halili Jr., *Iconography of the New Empire: Race and Gender Images and the American Colonization of the Philippines.* Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2007.
[553] "Systems of representation" are the means by which the concerns of ideologies are framed. The classic work on this subject is Stuart Hall, ed. *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*. New York: Sage, 1997.

need to consider that the great gulping of land in the 1840s had as much to do with shaping the course of our history as any event of that century, including the Civil War that dominates the story as we tell it today."[554]

Historians interested in the dynamics of race and empire have much to explore in the areas of Mormon settlement. Amy Kaplan's "Manifest Domesticity" points the way towards transnational study that employs concepts of nation, family, and home, in ways that seem particularly applicable to debates surrounding Mormonism. Kaplan writes that "another part of the cultural work of domesticity might be to unite men and women in a national domain and to generate notions of the foreign against which the nation can be imagined as home." Considering domesticity as the "process of domestication," Kaplan argues, casts it as "related to the imperial process of civilizing, and the conditions of domesticity often become markers that distinguish civilization from savagery."[555] The image of Mormons as simultaneously savage and civilized was at the heart of the vast majority of anti-Mormon representations of the nineteenth century, from the comic to the scathing.

Considering modes of representation within a larger system of communication allows for analyses that do not shy away from contradictions and fine-grained difference. This broad approach is indispensible in discerning how prejudices and assumptions arise, evolve, and also how they are constructed and deliberately challenged. The result may be more subtle analyses of racial thinking and prejudice that allow for many dimensions and perspectives on an image or theme. Tracing the ways in which these ideas decline, persist, or are repurposed over time within a colonial and national context has the

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[554] Elliott West, "Reconstructing Race," *Western Historical Quarterly* 34 (2003): 8.
[555] Amy Kaplan, "Manifest Domesticity," *American Literature* 70 (1998): 582.

potential to lead to fruitful and unexpected places.

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