Wayward Saints

The Social and Religious Protests of the Godbeites against Brigham Young

Ronald W. Walker

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To Nelani

Without her love and help, this nor anything else would be possible.

Full of novelty's romance he found
The city of the Saints, and with it all
The stern realities of life. His hope,

Like morning mist, evaporated quite,
And with it, all his dreams of phantom bliss.
—John Lyon, "The Apostate," c. 1852

What, then, is the rightful limit to the sovereignty of the individual over himself? Where does the authority of society begin? How much of human life should be assigned to individuality, and how much to society?
—John Stuart Mill, "On Liberty," 1859

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Foreword

Jan Shipps

Brigham Young presided over America's intermountain Zion from 1847, when the Latter-day Saints reached the valley of the Great Salt Lake, until his death in 1877. One feature of those three decades was an unending stream of journalistic, political, and homiletical conjecture about what Mormon life was like. Speculation ranged widely: How, for example, did plural marriage really operate? Who was truly in charge in that mountain fastness, especially in the dimensions of existence that stood apart from religion? What did Mormons actually believe? Was it possible for them to differ with their ecclesiastical leaders and remain in good standing in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints?

A hundred years later, these and a great host of other speculations and conjectures became matters of academic interest. Historians, anthropologists, folklorists, and practitioners of other disciplines have been working steadily since the end of World War II, seeking to open to view the internal reality of life in the Mormon kingdom. One of the more significant findings yielded by academic research is a demographic profile of nineteenth-century Mormonism which reveals that the flourishing state of the Utah branch of the LDS movement was in large part a function of the combination of extraordinary numbers of converts the LDS missionaries made in northern Europe, and most especially in England, and the successful way in which the church's Perpetual Emigrating Fund enabled huge numbers of Scandinavian and British Saints to join the Mormon gathering in the west.

Historians have by no means ignored the implications of the presence in Zion of Saints from outside the United States. The extent to which they gave a definite foreign flavor to this nation's most successful "homegrown" religion is gradually becoming a staple of historical portraits of Mormonism, and the industry of the British, Danish, and Welsh Saints and their contributions to Mormonism are frequently noted and often celebrated. In this quite wonderful work,

Ronald W. Walker uses his considerable historical gifts to train the spotlight on a group of English Saints whose initial commitment to Mormonism had been strong, but who found the experience of being Mormon in Brigham Young's Zion somewhat less than entirely positive. In so doing, Walker moves beyond celebration to ask a whole new set of questions about the ramifications for Mormonism of having a substantial British component in the LDS cultural mix.

His focus is the so-called New Movement in which a group of intellectually and financially independent Saints—called Godbeites after William S. Godbe, one of its main leaders—mounted a challenge to Young's unitary vision of Mormonism. That this revolt, for that is what it was, is an important part of the story of pioneer Mormonism has long been recognized. Until now, however, only the main outlines of the conflict have been clear, and those have generally been used to paint a picture either of a struggle between liberal and conservative Saints or a personal contest between "Brother Brigham" and a set of contentious followers. By pointing to its cultural dimensions, Walker uses this episode to open a new window onto the Mormon culture that took shape under the leadership of the man Saints knew as the Lion of the Lord.

At the same time, because he places the Godbeite schism in a comparative frame by treating it as a classic case of heresy, Walker illuminates questions of a much more enduring sort. While he provides no answers, in a subtle but cogent manner he poses a set of important questions that have to do with the extent to which intellectual heterogeneity and the spiritual pluralism which it often engenders can be tolerated in a church with a standard worship pattern, rigid authoritative structure, and clearly defined doctrinal base.

Although this study is thoroughly analytical in its overall import, Ron Walker is a master of historical narrative. His collective biography of a set of fascinating individuals makes a whale of a good story. Open its pages to be enlightened. Most of all, read and enjoy.

Preface to the First Printing

When the New Movement or Godbeite revolt broke out in the fall of 1869, Brigham Young and the Mormon church at first seemed threatened. Led by able intellectuals William S. Godbe and E. L. T. Harrison, the New Movement clearly had a popular appeal. At the time, some Saints believed that Young had gone too far in defending his Great Basin Kingdom during the crisis-filled months following the completion of the transcontinental railroad. Nor was the opposition of these wayward Saints confined to words. During the course of their revolt, the men and women of the New Movement established a rival church, founded an opposition press, and built what most observers described as the most comfortable lecture and meeting hall in the territory. The Godbeite revolt was an important event in the making of modern Mormonism.

As it turned out, the New Movement's threat to established Mormonism did not last long. Similar to a Great Basin summer thunderstorm, Godbeitism was sudden and menacing at first, but it quickly passed. In the process, however, it raised important questions. The Godbeites wrote well-reasoned essays about the meaning of religion in the modern age, some of which remain as fresh and important today as when they were written. In addition, the New Movement explored the issue of religious authority. In October 1869, William Godbe and E. L. T. Harrison were summoned to a church hearing. In this hearing they defended personal conscience in religious matters; Young and other church authorities responded by asserting the claims of institutional authority. The church had experienced other dissenting movements, but never in the Mormon experience had the classic and often-debated question of ultimate religious authority been so ably and dramatically argued.

Conscience and obedience to authority are not abstract questions—they are issues that shape and influence individuals. This book, then, is not simply about a religious dissent or about the important intellectual questions it raised. It is also about the people who became religious dissenters. It is a collective biography not just of Godbe and Harrison but also of a cast of supporting dramatis

personae: the historian-dramatist Edward W. Tullidge, authors Fanny and Thomas Stenhouse, former apostle Amasa Mason Lyman, merchant and public advocate Henry W. Lawrence, and educator-lecturer Eli B. Kelsey. Of course, full biographical treatment of so many figures is impossible in a book of this size; my purpose is rather to provide enough of their biographies to tell the story of the New Movement dissent. Moreover, I have tried to be proportional in my treatment: the characters most important to the movement fill the most pages.

I hope my readers will find these people as fascinating as I have found them to be. Most were intellectuals, which I define broadly as having a serious interest in ideas and culture. None received a formal education, but each showed what personal and informal study under the influence of their new, striving religion could do. In examining their lives, I have tried to be respectful, not necessarily of their ideas or causes, but certainly of them personally, as fellow humans. Two of them, I confess, taxed my patience. The Stenhouses maligned Mormonism in their accounts of the church, hardly admirable behavior, though the particulars of their personal lives suggest at least reasons for their conduct.

Some readers may find my approach too full of equanimity. Matters of belief and dissent often evoke strong words, and these I have avoided. Rather than focusing on contention and personalities —finding heroes and villains in my narrative—I have emphasized ideas. Moreover, for the most part, these ideas seem to have been held by sincere and well-meaning individuals. These two elements—the people of the New Movement along with their ideas—seem to me to present a parable about the challenge of modern religious and intellectual life, from which readers, Mormon and non-Mormon, can draw their own conclusions. It is this parable that gives this topic a timeless quality.

My narrative centers on the question of dissent, but it goes beyond intellectual analysis or even biographical narrative. It has a methodological aim. John G. Gager's *Kingdom and Community: The Social World of Early Christianity* first suggested to me that religious

dissent in history has a broader meaning than simply identifying the arguments of a controversy. Gager argued that if the early Christian church "had not encountered heretics, it would have created them." In short, dissent and schism serve to help define what a religious community accepts and what it believes in.[1]

I have taken this insight and expanded it. Using dissent as a historical tool, my hope is to tell a larger story than Godbeitism. My argument is simple: During dissent, rebels and defenders each put forward cherished beliefs and values, revealing in the process the tensions, concerns, and values of a religious community at a specific moment of time. In normal circumstances these beliefs and values may be ignored or suppressed. But when a controversy occurs and when dissidents actually declare themselves, these beliefs become explicit; they become weapons in a fight to control the institution.

Using such a methodological tool and hypothesis, I argue that nineteenth-century Mormonism was actually composed of several kinds or varieties of belief, two of which the New Movement brought face to face. On the one hand was Brigham Young's Zion. Early twentieth-century scholars paid a great deal of attention to this American anomaly; findings have been summarized and greatly expanded in Leonard Arrington's landmark study, *Great Basin Kingdom* (1958), and still later by Arrington, Dean L. May, and Feramorz Fox's *Building the City of God* (1976). My brief treatment of the Mormon Zion adds little detail to these admirable studies, though I do stress Young's frequent—and often overlooked—refrain that Zion was a piece of practical social engineering designed to improve an immigrant people who had been drawn from the lower and lower-to-middle classes of European society.

The Godbeites opposed Young and his ideal community partly because they represented another strain of Mormonism, which I call "British Mormonism." Many of the New Movement men and women were products of the Saints' successful evangelizing of early Victorian Great Britain, and when these members traveled to Utah, they brought with them the values and practices of their earlier days. They prized the city life of their British nativity; they were

drawn to ideas and the arts; and they relished public debate. They also remembered British Mormonism's simple biblical doctrines and its abundant display of spiritual gifts. Finally, these men and women were used to challenging the status quo in Great Britain. All these tendencies were hard to set aside once they arrived in Utah. Indeed, this British heritage helps to explain the Godbeites' reservations about Brigham Young's agrarian, practical kingdom, with its stress on conformity, obedience, and unity.

Chapter 5, "Two Rival Visions of Society," places Young's Zion and British Mormonism side by side and provides the conceptual framework for this argument of the book. Chapter 6, "Merchant Wars and Declining Faith," goes one step further (again using dissent as a conceptual tool) by suggesting that Godbeitism was not simply a contest of ideas about religion; it also had an important economic dimension. Godbe, Lawrence, and other New Movement leaders were prominent merchants, a group whose motives Young had questioned from the beginning of his commonwealth: because merchants often accumulated wealth for their own uses, they were notorious, at least in Young's eyes, for not supporting Zion's communal, religious ideal. As the transcontinental railroad approached Utah in the late 1860s, promising the merchants more wealth and increased power, Young's exertions against them increased. He tightened an antimerchant boycott and began the ambitious Zion's Cooperative Mercantile Institution—steps which he hoped would dilute merchant power. Thus Godbeitism revealed another fissure in early Utah and Mormon society: a Zion-corrosive spirit of acquisition, personified by the independent-minded, secular merchant, who styled himself as an apostle of individualism and pluralism. It was hardly a coincidence that the New Movement began when Young's anti-merchant policies peaked.

The methodological tool of dissent also illustrates the tension between the Mormon community and the United States government during the post–Civil War era. Chapter 12, "Politics," briefly details Mormon political ambitions, but more especially the beginning of United States' punitive government policy toward the Mormon

church and Godbeite efforts to modify this legislation. The chapter places Godbeitism in a national context, arguing that national attitudes as expressed in the Cullom Bill were similar to Republican policies elsewhere. Prominent GOP party leaders, eager to achieve a new, more unified "American nation," had no more tolerance for "states' rights" or local rule in Utah than in the defeated South. In both places, the desire was "Reconstruction."

My study likewise offers new perspectives on Brigham Young's leadership and the mood of his Zion. Once Young understood that his policies were provoking schism, he abruptly tried to minimize these results, hoping to avoid conflict. This spirit of relative moderation was also evident in the ebullient anti-Godbeite humor periodical, the *Keep-A-Pitchinin.* Humor is a virtue no totalitarian state has ever learned to tolerate gracefully, much less to generate. Thus the *Keep-A-Pitchinin,* like Young's postschism policies, suggests the need to revise the still prevailing stereotype of Deseret's heavy-handedness. Although Young and his community did not always observe civil liberties, conditions were never as repressive as some critics made them out to be.

In sum, I have used the New Movement as a literary and historical device—both to observe the tension of personal conscience within individual lives and to study a historical era. In doing this, I have tried to keep the New Movement at center stage. Traditionally, historians have described Godbeitism as a contest between equally sincere church members. According to this interpretation, Mormon leaders defended conservative religion from the challenge of liberals who sought to bring their faith into modern times. This version of events had subplots: Brigham Young and his associates were intent on protecting the old pioneer "Great Basin Kingdom." They wanted to preserve Zion's unusual nineteenth-century alliance of church and state and its self-sufficient, semi-independent state within the American nation. At stake were the Mormon values of cooperation, unity, and central management under Young's direction.

Many of these themes were a part of Godbeitism. However, in the pages which follow, I suggest that the Godbeite revolt was more

than an argument between believing church members; Godbeitism involved religious conspiracy, séances and apparitions from beyond the veil, a dissenting Church of Zion that advocated rival religious beliefs, and a political and philosophical radicalism. I hope that my portrait—which adds religious dissent, spiritualism, and freethinking radicalism—gives the New Movement new perspectives and hues.

In tracing Godbeitism, I am particularly concerned with its ideas, which I document through their birth to maturation in a succession of periodicals: the *Millennial Star,* the *Peep O'Day,* the *Utah Magazine,* the *Mormon Tribune,* the daily and weekly *Salt Lake Tribune,* and the *Leader.* In this intellectual pedigree, the essays of E. L. T. Harrison, the main intellectual leader of the movement, are especially important. In addition to this task, I examine the books written by leading New Movement authors. The three works of Fanny and Thomas Stenhouse were significant literary documents, but of greater importance, their writing revealed (and probably intensified) the nation's negative image of Mormons. Edward Tullidge's histories—an antiquarian's delight of source materials and miscellany—fostered the LDS tradition of historical writing.

I also explore the intellectual climate of Utah's spiritualism. While many today may find the New Movement spiritualist phenomena strange and faintly disreputable, the Godbeites believed that they were on an intellectual cutting edge: they saw themselves as serious-minded advocates of reason, science, natural law, and the law of progress; they believed themselves to be progressive, even radical. In profiling Utah spiritualism, I seek to redress the wrong usually accorded to spiritualism, both in Utah and in national studies. It is not that spiritualism has been deliberately traduced. The infraction is greater: too often spiritualism is simply ignored and forgotten.

My interest in the New Movement goes back to the beginning of my professional career. A graduate student attending the University of Utah, I was interested in my intellectual heritage. I wrote two seminar papers on Godbeitism and then a dissertation, which took the form of more than a half-dozen published articles. Then, degree

in hand and career begun, I left my study of the New Movement to pursue other historical interests.

Several years ago, several colleagues suggested that I collect my old essays into a book. Jill Mulvay Derr, my colleague at Brigham Young University, was unusually persuasive. Another impetus came when University of Utah archivist Stan Larson telephoned with the news that the university had recently acquired some papers of William S. Godbe. I was aware of this collection, but these important papers had been unavailable to historians because of an ongoing but never completed biography.

Persuaded to begin a book, I resolved to put the project on a short leash—no more than two or three months of work. I would let my previous essays stand as written, but add several new chapters for a fuller treatment. I soon found that such a strategy would not work. My changed ideas, interests, and approach to the New Movement required new thinking and new research. Moreover, paragraph after paragraph of my earlier articles called for more detail. Then there was the challenge of writing. While occasional paragraphs and in some cases several pages lingered from my earlier articles, I soon realized that most of my previous work required reorganization and rewriting. As a result, most of the completed manuscript is new. It is also a larger and more ambitious book than I intended—and one that required more time to write than I at first foresaw.

In writing this book, I have incurred heavy debts. I give special thanks to my wife, Nelani, and to my children. They not only tolerated my many hours in my study, they also gave unflagging encouragement and understanding. When researching the book, I received courteous help from staffs of many research libraries, including the Henry E. Huntington Library in San Marino, California; the Hubert H. Bancroft Library, Berkeley, California; the University Library, University of Nevada–Reno; the History Division of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, Independence, Missouri; the Western Americana library at the University of Utah, Salt Lake City; Special Collections, Brigham Young

University, Provo, Utah; and most important, the Library-Archives of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City.

As is typical, my secretary Marilyn Rish Parks has been efficient in preparing the manuscript. Brigham Young University professor Don E. Norton and his staff, especially editor Kim Greenburg, saved me many months of rewriting by their careful copyediting. They materially improved the manuscript. I also owe a debt to the University of Illinois Press copyeditor, Patricia Hollahan, whose patient skills helped me to avoid many errors, word phrasing as well as document citing.

Readers representing a variety of viewpoints read the manuscript in its preliminary form. I am ashamed that I have prevailed on so many friends: Thomas G. Alexander, Leonard J. Arrington, Howard Allan Christy, Ronald K. Esplin, Klaus J. Hansen, Richard L. Jensen, Jill Mulvay Derr, Jan Shipps, and John W. Welch. Their suggestions greatly improved the manuscript, though of course the responsibility for its final shape and content is mine.

I also owe a warm debt to the Charles Redd Center for Western History, the Brigham Young University Religious Studies Center, and the Joseph Fielding Smith Institute for Church History for their financial assistance in publishing this book. During a time of rapidly rising publishing costs, such generous assistance is deeply appreciated.

Three comments about style and presentation: First, I have allowed the men and women of this story to speak for themselves by occasionally quoting their words and phrases; these people, after all, were articulate and even colorful, and their personalities emerge through their writing. Second, the notes are presented in a condensed form which will require the reader to search a list of abbreviations and an accompanying bibliography to secure a full citation. Third, the book opens with the arraignment of several of the main Godbeite leaders before the Salt Lake School of the Prophets, a communitywide forum of Mormon men. I intend this introduction to be more than a way to engage the reader. It treats the beginning of Godbeitism as non-Mormons at the time viewed the

revolt, and as a result, the portrait may seem unflattering to Brigham Young and Mormonism. Moreover, in this chapter I provide few details and explanations. But I hope that the remaining pages of the book contain the detailed, complex, and more balanced story behind this outward event. The introduction, in short, is an invitation to begin a journey of discovery.

Note

^1. Gager, *Kingdom and Community,* 79–80.

Preface to the 2009 Printing

When *Wayward Saints* was published in 1998, I suggested that its story had several layers of interpretation. On one hand it told the story of a group of talented men and women who broke from Brigham Young when the transcontinental railroad reached Utah in 1869. The movement became known as the "New Movement" or the "Godbeite Reform," named after William S. Godbe, one of its main leaders.

The book, however, was meant to be more than a good story about an important event. This study examined religious authority, personal conscience, and the role of faith in a dissenting controversy. The book also asked how Mormon leaders defined apostasy—the line between what was acceptable and unacceptable to church policy. During the New Movement, the Mormon church adopted a standard of conduct that became a precedent for church action.

These classic issues had an immediate feel about them. After all, the book was written in the early 1990s at a time when several leading Mormons, some of them my friends, were leaving the church. A few were even excommunicated. For me, the story of the Godbeites became larger than itself. It told how leaders defended their institutions. It suggested how complex the motives of protagonists could be—both defenders and dissidents—and how these motives often were different from the public language of a dispute. A little scholarly probing revealed that the Godbeites were influenced by a kind of radical free thinking popular in some American and European circles of the time. That radicalism included séances and disembodied spirits, elements of nineteenth-century spiritualism that surfaced in pioneer Utah.

I soon realized the New Movement was something of a parable. Certainly, there are lessons here for church leaders, church members, and church dissidents.

Finally, I hoped readers would learn about the nineteenth-century Mormon commonwealth: that unusual combination of prophet-led theocracy, rural community life, and plural marriage. At center stage, too, was Brigham Young. This work answers a series of questions:

What was the nature of pioneer Mormonism? How heavy was Young's hand and did he orchestrate most major events? How did the culture balance private conscience and obedience to authority? And did Mormons march in a single phalanx or did a variety of beliefs exist?

During the ten years since the first printing of this book historians have continued to ask these questions. In fact they were the themes of several recent books about the Mountain Meadows Massacre, one of which I co-authored.[1] Thus the story of the Godbeites remains relevant in the twenty-first century.

We have resisted the temptation to include new material or to rewrite information to reflect new knowledge, although we did correct typographical errors and make very minor clarifications for readability. The basic story is here, and there is little reason to change its main contours.

Ronald W. Walker

Salt Lake City, Utah

Note

^1. Ronald W. Walker, Richard E. Turley, and Glen M. Leonard, *Massacre at Mountain Meadows* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008).

Chapter 1

Rebellion in Zion

During the late summer weeks of 1869, the men of the rebellious *Utah Magazine* must have wondered if anyone was listening. The Tabernacle pulpit remained quiet, the "block teachers" had not come calling, and President Brigham Young issued no anathemas. Then in late September, the Lion of the Lord stirred. Without any explanation, Young quietly extended "mission calls" to editor Elias Harrison and writer William Shearman. These calls would require the men to leave their homes for several months to preach in the eastern United States.[1] Normally, such calls came during a session of the Mormon church's semiannual general conference, when a church spokesman would read a long list of prospective missionaries. But these were not normal times. Perhaps as a courtesy to the men or perhaps to avoid public excitement, Young extended his calls to Harrison and Shearman prior to the start of the conference. The assignments were confirmed during the actual conference a week later.

Some said Young used mission calls to punish certain church members. He denied it. However, he did admit to sometimes calling a few recalcitrant men to serve missions in order to do them "good" and to "give them a chance to get the spirit of God."[2] For the writers of the *Utah Magazine,* the distinction was a small one. At the very least, they believed that President Young wanted to hinder their efforts and perhaps close their independent press. Young's action followed the publication of the article "Our Workman's Wages," which had obliquely attacked Young's suggestion for a sweeping reduction in Utah wages.[3] Young was willing to make such unpopular suggestions if he believed conditions required them.

The missionary assignments may have given Harrison and Shearman reason for pause. At least, Harrison apparently gave his call serious attention. Perhaps for a moment it rekindled his old feeling for Mormonism. More likely, for tactical reasons he wished to

delay his long-brewing confrontation with Young. Harrison apparently sent word to headquarters that he intended to comply.

But on one point there was no compromise: the *Utah Magazine* would continue. Its next issue, published on 2 October, contained a "Notice to Our Patrons," which explained: "As, owing to certain Church requirements lately made on us, some of our subscribers may fear the suspension of the *Utah Magazine,* we beg to inform them that, under any circumstances, we intend to see that our issue does not stop for a single number. We have obligations to our subscribers which we intend to fulfill. They may rely on our continuing the publication of the Magazine in the same energetic spirit as heretofore, until it is in every way a perfect success."[4] This notice was signed by Harrison and William S. Godbe, the joint publishers. They planned to have Edward W. Tullidge, another of their associates, edit the magazine in Harrison's absence.[5] Tullidge had taken the editorial reins before.

Events, however, soon caused these plans to change. A day or two after Harrison and Godbe issued their statement, Schuyler Colfax, vice president of the United States, arrived in Utah for a second visit. Increasingly opposed to conditions in Utah, and furious over reports that Young had publicly called him a drunkard and gambler (a charge that LDS officials later took pains to deny),[6] Colfax refused the city's extended courtesies and instead met privately with some of the prominent opponents of the LDS hierarchy, including the editors of the *Utah Magazine.* Colfax sought to rally the flagging spirits of the "Gentile" merchants, who were increasingly tried because of Young's boycott of their goods. Colfax also spoke excitedly of the possibility of summary federal laws against Young and his followers, of military force, and even of a Utah Expedition like the one twelve years earlier.[7]

Colfax's harsh talk apparently convinced Harrison and Godbe that they could delay their showdown with Young no longer. Accordingly, the *Utah Magazine* dissidents confided to Colfax the "secret" of their planned "revolution," which they now resolved to push forward. Whatever their own conflict with Young and his ideal society,

Harrison and Godbe sided with the Mormon people, and they wished to avoid the stern measures that Ulysses S. Grant's administration seemed on the verge of taking. As a policy alternative, they held out to Colfax the hope of a "conservative, peaceful, [and] necessarily slow" reformation from within. Utahns, they promised, would work against Utahns, and Mormon dissenters would lead the way.[8]

T. B. H. Stenhouse, who several days before Colfax's visit had written a veiled anti-Brigham editorial on "Progress" in his *Telegraph,* and who increasingly was restive with conditions in the Mormon capital city, had the opportunity to explain his views to the vice president.[9] Invited to join Colfax on a private drive through the city, Stenhouse pressed for a Utah-led reform. At first Colfax was not impressed, and he again talked of the federal government's mailed fist.

"Will Brigham Young fight?" he asked.

The editor had no doubts about the answer to that question and was dismayed by the prospect. If the government used force, even the *Utah Magazine* nonconformists would "heal up the breach," return to full fellowship, and resist the federal army. What else could they do? Their families and life companions were Utahns. A better policy, Stenhouse insisted, was to cause a division between the people and their religious leader—and that could only be done from within. "Depend upon it," he said, "the Government had better let us alone with this business [of Utah reform], simply giving its protection to the 'New Movement men.'"[10]

Colfax left the city, pledging that the government would support local reform. But the question he had asked Stenhouse ("Will Brigham Young fight?") was haunting. Young was a fighter. What would he do about their proposed Utah reform movement?[11]

President Young's firmness was confirmed at the church's general conference held during the second week of October. During the conference, Young again had strong words for the Salt Lake City merchants. While some of these men, such as William Jennings, had gracefully yielded to Young's demands for mercantile cooperation, the president believed others were so "sore" over his policies that if

someone laid the "weight of . . . [his] finger" on them they would certainly "hurt." From the merchants' first days in the Salt Lake valley, they had defied Young with their unconscionable profits. In response he had "labored, toiled, preached, guided and counselled" them—but without appreciable results. Now, as he instituted the church's own system of mercantiling, they should expect no quarter.[12]

As Young spoke these words, the thought of William S. Godbe and his associates must have rested uncomfortably in the back of his mind. Godbe was a leading merchant in the city, and since coming into Utah almost twenty years earlier he had been Young's friend and loyal supporter. Godbe's business profit margins, while high, were still much lower than most. Young appreciated this civic-mindedness, but lately a gulf seemed to be growing between them. To date, Godbe had not joined Young's mercantile cooperative, and he seemed not to possess his former religious fervor.

During the first weeks of October, the pages of the *Utah Magazine* contained nothing more controversial than a call for personal purity in the Mormons' peculiar institution of plural marriage. But the 16 October issue had a very different tone. One article discussed religious obedience, a highly prized and almost unchallenged virtue in Zion—at least to members of the Mormon leadership. In contrast, the *Utah Magazine* suggested that obedience was "neither a virtue nor a vice." It could be either. Men and women should therefore avoid "blind obedience" and test any religious teaching by the "light of their own souls." If an idea or project was found to be wanting, a "manly, conscientious refusal to act" was then appropriate. It was time, concluded the article, to put aside "self-imposed mental tyranny," which was "far worse than African slavery."[13]

The article, written obscurely and abstractly, did not mention Utah conditions or President Young. But in the muffled atmosphere of Zion, where a direct attack by church members on Young's leadership was unheard of, the article was rebellious. Godbe later admitted as much. "Our aim was to reach the people," he said, who were "good" but "misled." "We did not wish to antagonize them or

anybody else or to come out broadly and attack their belief—their religion, but rather to influence them by reason to induce them to see as we did. Their allegiance to the priesthood was of course their fatal error and we were desirous of having them see as we saw."[14]

So theoretical was the article's style that Young himself might have agreed with most of its views, but another piece in the same issue, "The True Development of the Territory," struck at the heart of the Mormon temporal Zion. It ably argued that Utah must develop an economic "specialty" that would allow its citizens to compete nationally and gain needed cash. Without money, Utah would be doomed to the inefficient and unfair ways of its old barter system —"a nest of uncleanliness in practice." Utah's only hope, claimed the magazine, lay in opening its mines and putting the territorial economy into the American mainstream. "Here [in mining] nature needs no forcing to produce us what we need, she groans with profusion. . . . Our grand specialty lies almost untouched." To do otherwise, the magazine concluded, would be "to turn our back on the open hand of God, and shut our eyes to that providential finger and voice, saying, 'this is the way walk ye in it.'"[15]

This "providential finger and voice" was certainly different from the will of President Young. During the first twenty years of Utah's development, his economic policy favored the yeoman farmer, who he believed should be yoked with men engaged in "home" manufacturing. Favoring these two economic pursuits (farming and manufacturing), Young stoutly opposed mining, which, he feared, would attract to Utah a hostile population of outsiders, more allied to American ways than to those of his self-sufficient, religious kingdom of God. Moreover, in the fall of 1869 there was the question of timing. During these crisis-laden months, with non-Mormons openly declaring the new transcontinental railroad and mining to be the means of Zion's ruin, Young was particularly firm. For the present the mines must not be opened.

The men of the "New Movement," or "Godbeites," as they increasingly called themselves, were aware of these implications. Indeed, they intended them. As a result, they gave their *Utah*

Magazine article the care its importance required. Harrison reportedly wrote the first draft, which then was discussed and revised by his fellow dissenters, who closeted themselves at Godbe's Hampton bridge lodge on the Bear River. The manuscript was later quietly passed among a "council of merchants and men of the press" in Salt Lake City. The final draft, while trimmed of its most pungent anti-Brighamism in the hope of capturing the high ground in the debate that was sure to follow, was still a summon to arms. "Boys, I'll give you six weeks to stay in the Church," said merchant Henry W. Lawrence, after reading it. Stenhouse was more theatrical: "There was a general feeling that the hour of struggle was at hand."[16]

Events proved Lawrence's estimate to be unduly optimistic. The evening the magazine appeared on the city's streets, the Salt Lake School of Prophets—a communitywide meeting of Mormon elders—held one of its regularly scheduled Saturday night meetings, and Young was very angry. Looking over the congregation that was gathered in the Tabernacle, he called for the offending elders to explain themselves, but none were present. They had chosen not to attend. Young then spoke as the "prophet of the Lord," a mantle he seldom formally assumed but that on this occasion seemed required. He announced that a "great and secret rebellion" was under way, and he angrily predicted that it would "shake the entire church." Finally, he cited Harrison, Godbe, Stenhouse, Tullidge, and three others for "nonattendance" before the School and for "other causes" (one account reported "grumbling" as a cause). They were temporarily suspended from church membership, pending explanations of their conduct. "For months," Stenhouse wrote, "the events of that day had been anticipated, and longed for."[17]

From the Tabernacle, the news of the episode spread throughout the city, causing a sensation. Within hours, crowds gathered in the gentile stores to talk about the revolt, and on the next day, 17 October, normally the quiet Sabbath, clusters of people were still found on Main Street. One group included three of the powerful Walker brothers, long-standing merchant opponents of Young. "You

boys have struck the blow in the right place," said Rob Walker, referring to the essay on mining.[18] He was right. Nothing could have affected public opinion so much. For one thing, some rank-and-file Saints cherished hopes that the mines might be the means of making them rich.

Perhaps Young sensed his vulnerability on the point—or perhaps his natural caution in the face of crisis asserted itself, as it so often did. Whatever the reason, after his initial outburst before the School he abruptly changed course and sought to minimize the controversy. During the customary Sunday prayer circle service at his home, a day after he had peremptorily disfellowshiped the men, he asked Elders Orson Pratt, Wilford Woodruff, and George Q. Cannon, along with the usual Thirteenth Ward block teachers, to "work" with Harrison, Godbe, and Stenhouse. The delegation was well chosen for the task. The dissenters admired few men in Mormonism more than Pratt, and combining him with the soft-spoken Woodruff and the intellectually agile Cannon seemed to form a good group to bring a reconciliation. But when this committee called on the dissenters the following day, it found them in the "dark," Harrison especially having a "bitter spirit."[19]

Young's delegation wanted to know about the men's spirit. Did they pray? How did they feel about President Young? In addition, Pratt made a plaintive appeal. If it were his case, Pratt told Stenhouse, he would crawl upon his hands and knees to Young and the school to obtain forgiveness.[20] On occasion the independent-minded Pratt had done just that. Yet, despite such pleas, Harrison gave the committee hardly a pause. He was not willing to allow others to examine his personal religious acts, he said. Moreover, he spoke bitterly about Young's suspension of his membership. He had not been present when the action had been taken and therefore he had not been able to defend himself.[21]

The dissenters' mood did not improve during the week. On 23 October, the date set for the men's hearing before the school, the *Utah Magazine* was on the streets with a renewed defiance. In an article titled "Our Social Redemption," Tullidge argued that no sect

had a monopoly on the "right road to Heaven." For too long, good men of differing faiths had cursed each other in "religious zeal." In the better world of the future, Tullidge wrote, "There shall be no more social slaveries in *institutional forms,* no more partitions erected, either of Churches or States, in this 'New World,' to separate mankind and perpetuate religious and national hates; this is the 'Thus saith the Lord' to the age, not through one man, but through the best intellects of all humanity and great transpiring events. We may a little longer retain these pernicious distinctions and these wicked hates, but God, in the social redemption of this continent, will overrule us all."[22]

If Tullidge was willing to cast aside Mormonism's special mission and its one-man, inspired rule, Shearman focused on the "over-governing" of Zion. Still not mentioning Young by name, Shearman's editorial held that the best government, religious or political, was the one that allowed men and women the most freedom to make choices. "How long will it take us to learn that [human] nature needs encouraging and developing instead of guiding or crushing," he wrote. In the abstract, leaders might say that love is more important than fear, but "as the love of power grows upon them, they become impatient of this slow but sure means of accomplishing their objects and adopt the shorter but less enduring process of mental or physical compulsion." In a final, less-than-subtle allusion to Young's Zion, Shearman declared that the "day of force and coercion" was passing, as "the light, liberty, and glory of . . . heavenly Zion" were being ushered in.[23]

This same edition of the *Utah Magazine* carried an article by Harrison. Strongly autobiographical, the article looked back to Harrison's youthful ministry in Great Britain when the heavenly gifts seemed so close at hand. "We were [then] founding a kingdom whose glory was not the wealth of its people, the extent of their farms, or the elegance of their homes, but the fire of the Omnipotent spirit and the presence and influence of the great ones of the invisible world." Was this spiritual power present in Utah? Harrison thought not. Years had passed, he claimed, since Mormon

elders had reveled in such things as the gift of tongues, prophecy, or visiting angels. But Harrison envisioned a better future. A new inspiration would soon arise, he promised, that would equal or surpass the spiritual manifestations of the past.[24]

Clearly, Tullidge, Shearman, and Harrison had thrown down the gauntlet and expected to duel. On the morning of their scheduled arraignment before the School of the Prophets, they met to plan their course. How should Young be confronted? While "it was not altogether tasteful to either Mr. Harrison or Mr. Godbe to follow anyone to the block in their own movement," Tullidge later wrote, Stenhouse resolved to be the first to proclaim the rebellion boldly before the school. Fanny, his wife, had encouraged him several days before.

"Thomas," she said, "let us stand by the truth and assert our independence, though it should take the home from over our heads and the heads of our children!"

"We will, Fanny," he replied.[25]

But Stenhouse's resolve faded before Young's maneuvers. For it was a different Brigham Young who stood before the unusually large crowd of one thousand elders of the school that evening—for once, almost all the enrolled members were present. Instead of President Young's past temper, they saw artful strategy, even comedy. The Mormon leader exhausted the first hour with preliminaries, and this seemed to lessen the tension. Then he good-naturedly waved aside the charges against all of the defendants except Godbe and Harrison. The matter with Stenhouse, he explained, was a family matter (Young's son had married one of Stenhouse's daughters) and would be best settled privately.

Stenhouse sat immobilized.

"It is not courage that is lacking," he later wrote in a passage that may bear on this event. "Believers dread to assume the responsibility of breaking off from shepherds whom once they almost idolized, and making the things of eternity a matter between themselves and their Maker."[26]

Young's initial moves had not affected Harrison and Godbe, and now he tried to finesse the charges against them. Godbe was called to the podium, where Elder Woodruff conducted the inquiry.

"Do you believe that President Young has the right to dictate to you in all things, temporal and spiritual?" the apostle began. This was an article of faith in Mormon society since the days of founder Joseph Smith.

The defendant responded courteously by saying that he had followed Young's business advice in the past—sometimes against his own judgment—and matters had turned out badly. On theological questions, Godbe said he was no more sure of the president's leadership. Rather than depend on the counsel of a single man for all of God's people, Godbe believed that a better guide might be found in "the light of God in each individual soul."[27]

Godbe's speech, an electrifying denial of Young's leadership, went to the heart of questions about religious authority and religious truth. Godbe had raised generic questions that confront all religious organizations. Did God's voice come only to leaders? Or could followers listen, learn, and act on their revelatory knowledge too? What were the roles of reason and tradition in relation to the Spirit? As with many religious dissenters throughout history, Godbe had chosen to assert the unvarnished standard of the "Spirit." This revelation came to him personally and made him alone responsible for his actions.

Despite the seriousness of Godbe's response to Woodruff's questioning, Young brushed it aside. Young was a talented public speaker, and he sometimes used his natural comic ability to hold his audience. On this occasion, Young treated his would-be rebel with "aggravating mimicry," turning everything that Godbe had said to humor and ridicule. This was not an incident to be taken seriously, Young seemed to be saying. But on one point, the Mormon leader grew sober. He defended the value of his counsel. How could Godbe deny it? The merchant had been his "pet," and Young for many years had carried him in his "waist-coat pocket." While such comments may have been ungracious, they were partly true. Godbe's

prominence, even as he now stood before the elders of the school, owed a great deal to Young's mentoring and influence.

For the moment, Young had managed the controversy. Contrary to the dissidents' hopes just a few hours before, the meeting had not been a forum for boldly stated conscience, no Diet of Worms. But this was because Luther was yet to speak. Harrison, who from the start had been the movement's intellectual and spiritual force, now was invited to the pulpit. Instead of facing the assembled men, he turned directly to Young, who was seated behind him on the podium. As he looked the Lord's prophet in the eye, Harrison's voice thundered with defiance. Unfortunately Harrison's words were not recorded, but this much was clear: it was one of the few times since Young had assumed office twenty-five years earlier that he had heard such open accusation. Members of the school were understandably "astonished" and even "wrathful." Said Tullidge, "At a word from their chief they would have driven the bold heretic from their synagogue."[28]

It was a dramatic moment. In a few seconds, Harrison's railing had completely shifted the momentum. Here was a challenge that no leader could ignore. When President Young resumed the stand, he announced that a church trial for Godbe and Harrison would be held in two days. There would be no more maneuvers. Young's earlier ebullience was gone. Young did, however, take one last step. He made a motion that the assembled elders stop patronizing the *Utah Magazine.* The publication, he explained, was a "snake in the grass." All but a small group of elders raised their hands in support of the proposition.

Henry Lawrence's hand was not among the others. Along with others associated with the magazine, Lawrence wanted no part of Young's prohibition. "This was rank treason at the time," a violation of how church authority was then defined, Lawrence later admitted. Certainly a man who sat near Lawrence thought so. "Henry Lawrence voted in favor of the magazine," the man shouted, not wishing such disobedience to go unnoticed.

Lawrence was then called to the stand to explain himself. Again the historical record provides few details, but clearly he defended himself by espousing free speech and a free press.[29] Though his stubborn words must have displeased Young and others, who had their own definitions of these principles, church authorities made no effort to include Lawrence with the other defendants. Instead, Young simply asked that those men supporting the magazine surrender their admission tickets to the school. Harrison, Godbe, and Lawrence, as well as Fred T. Perris, Eli B. Kelsey, Edward W. Tullidge, and John Tullidge, did so. The meeting then closed. Young's attempt to foreclose or limit the rebellion had failed.

Thus began one of Mormonism's important dissenting movements. Godbeitism involved more than the usual jarring of personalities and ambitions that often accompanies religious dissent. It was a movement of intellectuals, and as such it raised important questions. Some of these had already been suggested by the *Utah Magazine.* What role should the modern mind allow formal religion? What value should the believer give to the competing ideals of religious authority and personal conscience? In matters of church government, can God's voice speak to followers as well as leaders? These and the many other questions raised by the New Movement transcended both its historical circumstance and, for that matter, Mormonism. They are questions that speak to the human condition and are relevant to people of all religions.

If Godbeitism is a case study in religious dissent, it also tells a great deal about a phase in the development of an increasingly important American and world religion. For religions are defined by more than dogma. Just as surely, the dissenting movements that rise against them reveal the kinds of ideas and policies that an institution is willing to tolerate—and not tolerate—at a specific moment in time. As a result, Godbeitism is like a historical snapshot. It stops the Mormon flow of events and allows the viewer to focus with precision on the captured images. While the process brings new discoveries about nineteenth-century Mormonism, it must be carefully used. Inevitably, behind the seemingly straightforward and clear lines

produced by the lens lie inconsistent, unspoken, and even hidden acts. This is the story of the Godbeite reformers that is yet to be told.

Notes

^1. *DEN,* 7 Oct. 1869, p. 2; *DNWeekly* 18 (13 Oct. 1869): 427; *SLTrib,* 22 May 1872, p. 2; and T. B. H. Stenhouse, *RMSaints,* p. 635.

^2. Minutes of the SL School of Prophets, 23 July 1870, LDS Archives.

^3. *SLTrib,* 22 May 1872, p. 2; *UMag* 3 (28 Aug. 1869): 262–64.

^4. Harrison and Godbe, *UMag* 3 (2 Oct. 1869): 342.

^5. *SLTrib,* 22 May 1872, p. 2.

^6. B. H. Roberts, *Comprehensive History,* 5:283.

^7. Tullidge, *HSLC,* p. 398.

^8. Ibid., p. 399; Tullidge to Rutherford B. Hayes, 19 Oct. 1879, "Letters Received by the Federal Government," Department of the Interior.

^9. T. B. H. Stenhouse, *RMSaints,* p. 638.

^10. Tullidge, *HSLC,* p. 399.

^11. Ibid., p. 400.

^12. BY, [sermon of] 10 Oct. 1869, *DNWeekly* 18 (1 Dec. 1869): 507–8.

^13. *UMag* 3 (16 Oct. 1869): 379.

^14. Godbe, "Statement on 2 September 1884," pp. 3–4 and 17–18, University of California at Berkeley, Bancroft Library.

^15. *UMag* 3 (16 Oct. 1869): 376–78.

^16. T. B. H. Stenhouse, *RMSaints,* p. 636. Also *SLTrib,* 22 May 1872, p. 2, and 22 Nov 1889, p. 4.

^17. Tullidge, "Reformation in Utah," p. 606; Wilford Woodruff diary, 16 Oct. 1869, LDS Archives; T. B. H. Stenhouse, *RMSaints,* p. 639; and Historian's Office Journal, 16 Oct. 1869, LDS Archives.

^18. Tullidge, "Godbeite Movement," p. 28.

^19. Woodruff diary, 17 and 18 Oct. 1869.

^20. *SLTrib,* 27 May 1872, p. 2.

^21. SL Stake Historical Record Book, 25 Oct. 1869, pp. 53–54, 56–57, LDS Archives.
^22. Tullidge, *UMag* 3 (23 Oct. 1869): 394–95.
^23. Shearman, ibid., p. 391.
^24. Harrison, ibid., pp. 390–91.
^25. Tullidge, "Godbeite Movement," pp. 30–31.
^26. T. B. H. Stenhouse, *RMSaints,* p. 11. Also see *SLTrib,* 27 May 1872, p. 2, and 22 Nov. 1889, p. 4; Tullidge, "Godbeite Movement," p. 31. The accounts vary in minor details such as the sequence of events.
^27. Tullidge, "Godbeite Movement," p. 31.
^28. Tullidge, "Reformation in Utah," p. 606.
^29. *SLTrib,* 22 Nov. 1889, p. 4.

Chapter 2

British Origins and Youthful Beginnings

About the year 1850, young William Samuel Godbe, not yet seventeen years old, met his destiny on the loading docks in Hull, England. At the time, his life was not easy. Food was meager and his work a drudgery. His job? Pushing ship stores on a stevedore's cart. Godbe had had no idea that things would turn out this way when he left family and friends several years before for an adventure at sea.

Initially, things had gone well. Filled with boyish dreams and a spirit of romance, he had sailed to see the wonders of the world, first as a cabin boy, and later as an able seaman. For this unusual lad, the monotonous days before the mast finally paid off when his vessel docked at famous and exotic ports. Then he could match the fancies of his mind, the results of his reading, with the sights and sounds of the real world.

Before landing in Hull, he had experienced more than most men and women of his time, or any time. He had sailed the Mediterranean, seen Egypt, walked the streets of Constantinople, traveled through the Bosporus, and visited the Crimea. He had relived Lord Byron's enthusiasms on the Greek coast. He had also visited Denmark, Germany, and France. Godbe's ships had even touched the coasts of Brazil and Africa. Now, as he worked on the dock in England, Godbe recalled these experiences. He remembered the seaman's elation of diving into tropical waters, of propelling his athletic body around and under his anchored ship. And there were memories of personal danger too. More than once during his adventures, he had survived a shipwreck.[1]

He seems to have made one mistake in this great adventure: before his last voyage, he had bound himself to a captain who stopped sailing to become a dockside ship chandler. To finish his legal obligation to the man, Godbe was forced to stevedore along the busy, but decidedly unromantic, Hull streets and wharfs. It was tiresome work, devoid of the excitement and glamour that naturally attracted him.

Then he found Mormonism. Somewhere along his daily route, he heard a Mormon itinerant missionary, who apparently preached in open air next to the docks. Godbe never recorded the name of the preacher, but the Mormon missionary had talent, and his words had a bold ring—just the kind of words that the eager, idealistic William liked. The preacher's text told of the mission and martyrdom of an American prophet named Joseph Smith. The missionary spoke of the Restored Gospel of Christ and of a "Latter-day Saint" Zion that Smith's successor, Brigham Young, had set up in the American frontier West. Godbe was further charmed as he read the writings of LDS pamphleteer and Mormon apostle Parley P. Pratt. Pratt's tracts set forth biblical prophecy and showed how ancient promises were fulfilled in this new American church. They blazed with fire.[2]

Now, as Godbe drank in these exhilarating words, he had new dreams to dream, and the teachings of the new religion worked deeply within him. He found in the religion the most "reasonable, beautiful, and humanitarian principles with which he was acquainted."[3] When he shared his testimony of these things with the assembled Saints at Hull, his preaching words were plainspoken and earnest, and they were delivered with a Saint Stephen's fervor. There was a reason for his power. Godbe, for all of his travels, retained a compelling innocence that set off his talent in a pleasing way. From his earliest days, he had wished for a "blameless life." And now, on the brink of manhood, he wanted to dedicate himself to "the elevation of humanity."[4]

When finally released from his stevedoring at Hull, Godbe left on a vessel bound for London, undoubtedly planning to tell his family of his decision to join the disreputable "Mormonites." During the ship's passage, Godbe engaged a stranger on the topic of religion.

"Stop," the man interrupted. "Is your name William?"

Godbe acknowledged that it was.

The stranger then told of his recent request for divine aid, by much prayer and fasting, and the visit of an angel, who promised that he would meet a young man by the name of William, who would "tell him what to do." William could scarcely refuse the

invitation, and the traveler, after listening to the teenager's preaching, became an instant disciple.[5]

The London-based Godbe family had substantial roots. Tradition said that they owed their name to the Anglo-Saxon "Godbewithus" (perhaps: "God be with us"), which subsequently took such forms as Gadsby, Gatsby, Godbey, Godby, Goodby—and Godbe.[6] William's line of the family had lived in Middlesex for several generations, and it was there that his father, Samuel, was born just before the start of the nineteenth century. The family remembered Samuel as being talented, "highly educated," and a trifle quixotic. As a young man, he prepared to follow his father in a career of medicine by "walking the hospitals." This meant learning the art of healing by practical, on-site experience, which, because of the state of Georgian health care, must have been an unsteadying experience. Perhaps this unpleasantness was why Samuel turned from doctoring to become a "professor of music." As such he successfully catered to a wealthy and upper-class clientele that may have included the royal household. Samuel however was more than a teacher: visitors to his chambers recalled "stacks" of original works, some of which were staged by the Royal Italian Opera House in Covent Garden.[7] Queen Victoria recognized him by making him the conductor of her Royal Orchestra.

No doubt it was a shared interest in music that led Samuel to become acquainted with Sarah LaRiviere. The LaRivieres were described as well-born French Huguenots who, after escaping the Red Terror of the French Revolution, successfully established themselves in London society. Sarah's father, Anthony, became a court violinist, conducted a dance salon in Soho, and assisted the queen with her dancing graces. Anthony's musical gift passed on to Sarah, who too played the violin. In about 1828, at a young but eligible sixteen years of age, Sarah married Samuel, who was more than a dozen years her senior.[8]

Materially, it must have been an insecure union for Sarah. The couple had at least five children, but Samuel had expensive, free-spending habits that did not always include his family.[9] When he

died at an early age in 1841, Victoria recognized the straightened circumstances of Sarah and her children by sponsoring a benefit "Grand Morning Concert" in the Convert Rooms in Hanover Square. At the time, Sarah was three months pregnant and only in her thirtieth year.[10]

William was almost eleven when his father died. Born 26 June 1833 as the first son and third child of the marriage, the boy inherited from his family, if not money, important values: a Huguenot sense of duty, energy, and purpose; a Victorian middle-class striving; and the LaRiviere-Godbe appreciation for culture and gentility. There was another legacy: like his father, William had a talent for making money and spending it.

Sarah's limited means probably did not allow William to enter either private or public schools. His education apparently was provided mostly by his family. The Godbe home had a small collection of medical books, likely once the professional tools of William's grandfather; these books may have quickened in William an apothecary interest that was later manifested in his career. Uncle Daniel Grant, "a superior old chap," had an engineering business in Liverpool.[11] Grant, who liked William, took his nephew into his office and apprenticed him in the rudiments of his occupation, which may have included bookkeeping, drafting, mathematics, and penmanship. The last especially took. In later years, Godbe could write, when unhurried, with the graces and flourishes of a Spencerian hand.[12]

He also read widely. He was drawn to the classics, the staple of the Victorian curriculum. He also enjoyed travel literature. A third subject of study was Nelson at Trafalgar and Wellington at Waterloo, England's twin military heroes of the Napoleonic wars.[13] None of this reading and learning could have reached far. William was on the sea during his early adolescence and spending most of his time earning a living. But he had advantages that many of his more privileged, school-educated peers did not. His memory was good (he seldom forgot the spelling of a word) and, more important, he had a strong passion for learning. As always, education lay not so much in the accumulation of knowledge as in its quest.

Anthony, William's younger and clearly adoring brother, remembered the excitement when William returned from a voyage. During these times, William seemed almost "like a god." He squired Anthony around town and stuffed him with fruits, sweets, and even money. This Jack-tar brother of his was "more like a man" than a "mere big boy," and he brimmed with news, knowledge, and jaunty assurance. And when he returned to the sea, William wrote clever letters that were full of "fun and description." Thought the impressionable Anthony: "There surely has been no better man on earth since time was."[14]

Members of William's family, usually excited by his adventures, were not impressed by his discovery of Mormonism. When William returned from Hull, they strongly discouraged him from being baptized. The whole Christian world was against him, they warned, and if he persisted in this new quest, destruction surely waited. "They pictured to me the awful precipice over which I should fall," William recalled.[15] But family and friends must have known they were speaking against the wind. He had already shown his independence: a lad who leaves his family, a secure business position, and a promising future for an unsanctioned adventure at sea is not easily put off.

In recounting the event in later years, he perhaps magnified the declaration of conscience. His "reason" and "judgment" had told him that baptism was the right thing to do.[16] This much is clear: already William was not frightened by formulas and anathemas based on majority opinion. He would pursue his own course. He was baptized a Latter-day Saint in June of 1850.[17] Of his family, only his brother Anthony followed him into Mormonism.

When he was baptized, William was eighteen years old. He stood a little above average for the time, perhaps five feet nine inches, lean and lithe in adolescence. A sturdy nose and wavy light brown hair set off blue eyes. His ears cocked at an angle, as if they had been only partly put in place. But such imperfections were easily overcome by his manner. Confident and self-possessed, he was

engaging, personable, and likable. He was someone who made friends easily and who took the reins of leadership naturally.

As his family may have feared when he announced his decision to be baptized, his future lay not in England but beyond the sea in distant Utah. He soon set out for the destination. After parting with his mother and family in London, the young man made his way to Liverpool, where he had stolen off to sea some years before. After a probable goodbye to Uncle Daniel, he signed on as an able seaman for New York City. Arriving, he hardly paused. His seaman's wages enabled him to travel by boat from Buffalo to Chicago through the Great Lakes. But the rest of his journey was undertaken in the most economical way possible—on foot, more than a thousand miles into the western frontier.[18] At Kanesville, Iowa (now Council Bluffs), he found that he was too late to join a regular immigrant company. Instead, William walked alongside the last commercial train of the season, that of Salt Lake City merchant Thomas S. Williams, who was bringing goods west. Godbe arrived in Great Salt Lake City, Utah Territory, the final week of October 1851, weary and footsore, but probably immensely pleased with himself and his adventure.[19]

William S. Godbe was one of several British converts who later became members of the Godbeite reform. Others included T. B. H. Stenhouse, his wife Fanny Warn Stenhouse, Edward W. Tullidge, and Elias L. T. Harrison. All of these people were enterprising and independent, baptized in England, and united with the Utah Saints in the 1850s.

Thomas Brown Holmes Stenhouse was born 21 February 1824, in Dalkeith, near Edinburgh, Scotland. He was the twelfth child of Elizabeth and George Stenhouse, who worked as a vintner, coachman, and innkeeper.[20] The boy was religiously inclined and wanted to make a religious confession. But he found the claims of his neighboring church unconvincing.[21] Mormonism, however, was different. He was baptized at the age of seventeen and almost immediately became an energetic missionary. He labored in Glasgow and Edinburgh, then in London and Hereford. So acceptable was his

ministry that church authorities sent Thomas, still in his early twenties, to Southampton to introduce Mormonism there.[22]

Stenhouse had apparently been dispatched to Southampton without a companion and told to preach under the New Testament mendicant provision of having neither "purse nor scrip."[23] Help was slow in coming, and the established clergy united to oppose him. Yet despite his loneliness and the lack of food and other necessities, within two months Stenhouse had witnessed five miraculous healings and seventeen baptisms, but also visitations by false spirits. Nothing seemed to deter him. "I find *no man* has power to stand against the power and force . . . [of] truth," he reported.[24]

About 1849, while still stationed at Southampton, Elder Stenhouse was given an additional duty. A local elder's heresies had badly divided the congregation at Jersey, one of the Channel Islands, and church leaders asked young Stenhouse to sort out the matter. Stenhouse traveled across the channel, quickly appraised the situation, and excommunicated every member of the congregation: he then rebaptized the penitent. The forceful action restored to the Jersey congregation a measure of peace.[25]

Stenhouse's labors in Southampton won him more than converts. Fanny Warn, who according to accounts possessed beauty, intelligence, and culture, became his wife. The daughter of a gardener and florist, Fanny was born in Jersey and had gone to Brittany as a tutor while a teenager. Six years later she returned to England to consider a wealthy Frenchman's proposal of marriage. It was at Southampton while visiting members of her family who had had already embraced the new religion that Fanny heard and accepted Mormonism. The handsome and charismatic Stenhouse, who had taught her the restored Gospel, suddenly felt the need to cultivate his French, with Fanny serving as his tutor. Thomas proved himself as able a suitor as a missionary. The two were married on 6 February 1850.[26]

Elder Stenhouse's two-year ministry in Southampton resulted in a prospering flock of five small congregations with 166 members. It was enough to call Reverend Enos Couch from London for a religious

debate with the upstart "Mormonite" preacher. Although six debates were scheduled between Couch and Stenhouse, the discussion ended after only one, sine die. "The first night settled the question," Fanny proudly remembered. "The next morning there appeared a notice in several of the leading papers that [said] it would not be in the interests of religion to continue."[27] Stenhouse had single-handedly routed Couch and the five ministers who assisted him.

By 1851, Stenhouse had served the Mormon church in Great Britain for almost a decade. During the next nine years, his missionary work continued—but now he worked primarily outside his native country. First, the LDS apostle Lorenzo Snow selected Stenhouse as "the most promising elder in Britain" to help open the Italian Mission. He thus became the first English elder to serve in a "foreign" country and evidently the first Mormon high priest ordained in Italy.[28] Stenhouse was later transferred to Switzerland, where Fanny joined him. The two labored diligently, at first without success, and sometimes without regular meals. Thomas's devotion impressed Elder Snow, who noted that the missionary had to face almost "insurmountable" difficulties.[29] Yet when his Swiss Mission presidency ended in October 1854, Thomas, now fluent in French, had issued several religious tracts and had produced the Mormon newspaper, *Le Reflecteur.* He also had baptized three hundred converts and sent two companies of relatively well-to-do converts to Utah.[30]

By late 1855, after an interval in London in which Thomas supervised the emigration of Saints to the United States, the Stenhouses boarded the *Emerald Isle* and headed for Zion. Their hope of a quick trip to Utah was dashed by Elder John Taylor, the presiding church officer in the eastern United States, who once more wanted to put Thomas's talent to work for the church. For the next three and a half years, Thomas spoke before various Mormon congregations in the East, supervised church affairs in the region, and helped to edit the *Mormon,* the New York LDS newspaper. When Taylor was recalled to Deseret, Brigham Young appointed Thomas to

preside over the Eastern States Mission and asked him to promote the church's interests in the New York press.[31]

Stenhouse was already doing the latter. Because the *Mormon*'s office was located near the headquarters of the *New York Herald,* Stenhouse had earlier met the famed editor James Gordon Bennett Sr. Impressed with the Mormon elder, Bennett hired him as a special correspondent and scientific writer for the *Herald,* a position which gave Stenhouse some influence over the newspaper's coverage of the Mormons. There were other indications of the Stenhouses' interests. While living in New York City, Thomas reportedly was one of the first to import to America a stereoscope camera, a soon-to-be-popular device that produced a three-dimensional effect. And on at least one occasion Fanny served as a midwife.[32]

In 1859, after eighteen years of unremitting church duty, Thomas, Fanny, and their five children joined the last emigrant company going west. One report had the family traveling the last eight hundred miles by handcart. If true, it meant the family had accumulated few items since joining Mormonism: much of the small wagon bed must have been reserved for the Stenhouses' three youngest children, aged six weeks, two years, and four years. The meager and precious cargo testified again to the Stenhouses' devotion.[33]

Clearly, William Godbe and Thomas and Fanny Stenhouse were not cut from ordinary cloth. Neither were two other British missionaries who were destined to join the New Movement, close friends Edward William Tullidge and Elias Lacy Thomas Harrison. Tullidge, who described himself as a small, "wiry" man with a large head, was born on 30 September 1829 in Weymouth, Dorset. He claimed that his "intuitive" and "revolutionary" personality were bequests of a Celtic ancestry,[34] but the family name—more properly "Tillage"—was Italian. Tullidge's great-great-grandfather, a man of some means, had left Italy for the southern English coast and purchased an "estate" in Abottsbury, about twenty miles from Weymouth. Years later there was still enough money in the family to provide a satisfactory station for Edward's grandfather. He was described as a

"gentleman shoemaker," who employed a number of workers in a large shoe shop.[35]

The family business made it possible for John Elliott Tullidge, Edward's father, to be raised in relative comfort. He attended Eton and received musical training from renowned pedagogues James Alexander Hamilton and Sir George Smart. John then pursued a respectable career in London as a tenor soloist, conducted local choir groups, and composed hymns and program music. He even sang with Mrs. Sunderland, later recognized as one of England's leading soprano artists.[36] But high living among the English elite did not bring financial security to his family, and Edward's mother, Elizabeth Jane Dawes, was left to make ends meet. "It was more than we could do to keep up appearances," said Edward's sister, as the Tullidges struggled on the edge of "genteel poverty," never having the means to maintain their inherited position in local society.[37]

Edward's grandfather had been an early and loyal convert to Methodism, and the faith had carried into the third generation. "Wesleyan parents, Sunday schools, and churches" characterized Edward's youth. But the Methodist church was not destined to be a permanent part of Edward's life. When twelve years old, Edward was apprenticed to his cousins Henry, Joseph, and William Bowring as a coach painter. Seven years later, on 23 September 1848, he heeded cousin William's teachings and example and joined Mormonism.[38]

Edward, then nineteen years old, began sixteen years of missionary activity in England. At first he preached to anyone who might listen, energetically crisscrossing the English countryside. In order to get something to eat, he remembered enough of the work of his grandfather's shop to repair shoes. Unfortunately this activity brought little income. During one month, Edward lived on three small loaves of bread a week. But if sacrifice was part of a British missionary's life, so also were the spiritual gifts. According to one report, Edward's ministry showed "great faith and power."[39]

For two or three years Edward returned home only to get new clothing and to renew his strength. During one of these short visits, he found his sister Elizabeth dangerously ill and the Tullidge family in

fear for her life. Edward dramatically laid his hands on her head and asked the Lord to restore her health. "From that time I commenced to recover," Elizabeth later testified, "and I knew that I was healed by the power of God."[40] Such experiences and the preaching of the British Mission president, Elder Orson Pratt, helped to convert Edward's two sisters and his brother. After the family emigrated to Zion, his father was also baptized.[41]

Edward's missionary work in England included two or three emotional struggles to retain his faith. When Elder Job Smith visited Tullidge at Buckingham in March 1852, he discovered that the missionary was living with a Deist and had joined a Deist society. According to Smith, not only had Tullidge repudiated the "whole system" of Mormonism but "his mind had become poisoned against every form of religion." Indeed, he blasphemously raved defiance. "If God should curse or otherwise punish him for disbelieving Mormonism, yea if he were consumed in hell by . . . [God], he would then rise up and damn him." Tullidge requested that his name be taken from the rolls of the church.[42]

Such verbal and emotional outbursts were not uncommon for the man; they may have been an outward symptom of the mental distress that occasionally plagued him. In this case, the aberration was brief. Tullidge soon repudiated Deism and returned to Mormonism with renewed intensity. "We have read the deist and the atheist," he later wrote, "and fell through infidelity into faith again."[43]

His personal antidote for Deism was its philosophical and practical opposite. First as a contributor and then in 1856 as an assistant editor of the British Mission *Millennial Star,* the reformed Tullidge extolled the virtues of the Mormon kingdom of God in the American West. Tullidge now argued that proper religion should "define the relation of man to man, and of man to God; to give the main motives of all actions, and to be the teacher of Art, Science, and Philosophy; in short, it is a Theocracy."[44] Thus, after a brief period of believing that God played a minor or perhaps no role in human events, Tullidge now saw God as an interventionist and the best society as a godly society.

There was in his enthusiasm for the Mormon kingdom a degree of personal aspiration. The experiment in godly government would require an epic chronicler. In a letter to Brigham Young in early 1858, Tullidge revealed that he was working on a fifteen-thousand-line poetical biography of Joseph Smith; excerpts of "The Prophet of the Nineteenth Century" had already been printed in the *Millennial Star.* But this was only a prelude to Tullidge's more ambitious project, a forty-thousand-line poem titled "The Empire Founders." Comparing his literary design with those of Homer and Milton, Tullidge ambitiously promised Young that his epic would be "three times as extensive and more complicated than any poetic work yet undertaken"—no hint of modesty or personal inadequacy here. Young himself would be "the chief hero" of the last third of the work. Tullidge's letter showed how extensive his self-appointed cultural mission was. For years, Tullidge explained, he had been working to improve the church's musical exercises; he included in his letter a new psalmody written by his father that aimed to do just that.[45]

When he wrote to Young, Tullidge was at a critical juncture in his religious and professional life: he had become a close friend to Elias Harrison, the man who later became the leading intellectual force of the Godbeite revolt in Utah. At the beginning of their friendship, Harrison was yet another of the early British Mission's bright and unusually able converts. Born on 26 March 1838 at Barking, Essex, Harrison had been converted to Mormonism as an impressionable teenager—just as had Godbe, Stenhouse, and Tullidge. While the actual date of Harrison's baptism is unknown, he had learned of Mormonism during the time of his employment at a London architectural firm, where he had begun work at the age of fourteen. More important than the actual date of his conversion was his reason for accepting Mormonism. It was, he later explained, because his "judgment" and "intellect" had been convinced.[46]

Reason, coupled with a religious quest, was always important to Harrison. When he was a lad, his mother—a nominal Methodist—had explained to him that more than anything else she wanted him to be "good." That much doctrine she knew, although she doubted other

Christian beliefs. At first the sensitive young boy was put off by his mother's independent, skeptical morality. More than once during his youthful religious seeking, Harrison retreated behind some haystacks in his Essex neighborhood to appeal for a greater light than that enjoyed by his parents. But his mother's example left a deep imprint, made all the more indelible by her death when Harrison was only eight. Thereafter, at critical moments in his life, he felt his mother's presence by his side—and the example of her critical, searching faith.[47]

His father—"a sincerely religious and upright man"—fulfilled his religious duty on the boy. Elias was given the advantages of a Methodist Sunday school curriculum, and this prompted him to study the Bible on his own. It also led him to ask serious questions quite beyond the scope of most young people. At the age of twelve, for instance, he asked, "How do I know that Jesus *is* the Son of God? I believe it, but how do I know it?"

The question brought an inner soliloquy that was pivotal for the boy. According to his later memory, it "transfixed" him and seemed "more spoken from without than within." The answer seemed equally transcendental: "I do not know that Jesus *is* the Christ," he remembered responding. "All I know is that he taught the most noble and Godlike principles of any man of whom I have ever heard. He must therefore have been nearer to God than any other man." Harrison believed both the question and answer was a case of "truth springing up intuitively in the soul." The experience satisfied him and gave him rest. It became the basis for Harrison's future independent thought.[48]

This same independence of mind—the willingness to consider and accept new, startling ideas—led him to Mormonism. Again, Harrison's active mind was at work. We can imagine him as a teenager returning in the evenings from his London architectural post: studying, thinking, probing, and studying anew. He eventually met the Mormon preachers, who seemed to confirm his earlier reasoning. "Alone and unassisted, he had arrived at most of the principles of which the Mormonism of that day was the herald,"

Tullidge later wrote. "[Harrison] simply attached himself to a system incarnating ideas which had strongly impressed themselves upon his mind. . . . He was following up the line of intuitional thought commenced in his boyhood."[49]

Harrison, however, was more than a rationalist. He yearned for a religion full of the dramatic signs and wonders of the ancient church. Others might find an unbridgeable gap between reason and miracles, between the rational and the spiritual. But Harrison's intellect—and, one suspects, his soul—demanded both. Should not the evidences of ancient Christianity be present in modern times? That Harrison could not find the answer to this question in his parents' Methodism—or elsewhere, for that matter—indicted the churches of his day and provided the spiritually minded Mormon preachers with an opportunity to teach.[50]

Mormonism, in fact, provided the perfect formula for Harrison. As preached by its fiery itinerants and by Orson Pratt's systematic tracts, which Harrison credited with playing a major role in his conversion, the religion spoke logically of the need for a restored church—not a lifeless communion of rented pews and formal liturgy but a church that joined reason and spirit. Mormonism boldly spoke of "direct spiritual evidences"—a restoration and renewal of past miraculous times. And it promised tolerance. "You could discuss anything," Harrison remembered of those days of the early British Mission. "Would they cut you off . . . for discussing a principle? . . . It was popery that did that. We were in the blaze of gospel light."[51]

Harrison recalled his feelings at the time of his baptism, which were an accurate gauge of the man's religious seeking. If reason had led him to the "watery grave," his emotions now flooded him with a "sweet and gentle influence" that seemed to confirm that Joseph Smith's mission was divine. Moreover, the Spirit seemed to say that Mormonism promised "a grand and glorious movement which must eventually bless all the people on the earth."[52] Reason and emotion had brought his conversion.

Having become a Mormon and put his hand to the plow, Harrison did not look back. Despite eight years of architectural training,

Harrison walked out of his London office to fulfill a higher duty: he wished to preach "the glorious doctrine of a present God in the affairs of men."[53]

We have only fragmentary records of Harrison's early ministry. As early as 1852, he became the Essex Conference secretary. Two years later, he was at Reading. Then he labored at Canterbury under Elder John Chislett.[54] The 1854 diary of fellow missionary Charles W. Penrose, who later became a member of the LDS First Presidency, recorded an important event in the life of Harrison: "[We] walked to Orsett," Penrose wrote, "when we saw Elder Harrison and his wife."[55] Harrison had married Jemima Camp, another British Mission convert.

Penrose liked Harrison. Harrison was small, with short legs, a short trunk, and an unusually large (some called it "massive") head. But friends like Penrose looked beyond Harrison's lack of physical proportion, which almost approached deformity. They spoke of his personality: his kindness, his temperance, and his exactness to detail and principle. "He was in those days a genial and pleasant companion," it was remembered, "witty and light-hearted, warm in his friendship and faithful in his Church duties."[56]

Because both Harrison and Penrose ministered in and about London, their paths often crossed. Penrose sometimes spent the night at Harrison's flat—Elias and Jemima willingly yielded the family bed to their guest. Once Harrison and Penrose helped deliver the child of a missionary couple. On another occasion, they discovered their shared penury when they were unable to pay the railroad fare of a fellow elder ("Oh, the poor Mormons," Penrose cheerfully mocked). In more prosperous times, Harrison and Penrose bought clothes for a shabbily dressed missionary and even attended the London theater. And at the British Mission's Finsbury Festival, the two bosom colleagues, with Jemima's aid, wrote and performed the skit "Mormons in the Family," which apparently burlesqued the unfavorable image that the popular English press gave the LDS elders. The production was so well received that it was restaged a few weeks later at another LDS social gathering at Epping Forest.[57] All these activities became a matter for later nostalgia.

In addition to cheerful camaraderie, Harrison's ministry had spiritual power. Harrison testified that on occasion he had performed "very remarkable healings." Moreover, when preaching to doubting crowds, thoughts and words that seemed far beyond his natural ability often came to him—but then again he was always given to eloquence. And during times of hunger and want, he believed that Providence had succored him. These experiences fortified Harrison's belief: they seemed a testimony to "the divine origin of his religion."[58]

Sometime after entering the British ministry, Elder Harrison began to contribute an occasional article to the *Millennial Star.* The magazine, surprisingly literate and wide-ranging in its interests, was like early Mormonism itself: it was aspiration and promise. It spoke of what *should* and *would* be in the life of the humble convert, if only the religion's refining and elevating power were allowed to work.

Harrison's first articles showed the *Star*'s elevating role working in his life. Without much more than a common education, Harrison first wrote haltingly, with the uneasy style of a young author consciously striving to prove himself. One of his early submissions praised architect Truman O. Angell's recently published sketch of the proposed Salt Lake temple: "Having spent seven or eight years of my life in the midst of designs of every description, I think it is but justice to Elder T. O. Angell, . . . to say, that the building as a whole is a most original conception; and the grouping of the various towers, but[t]resses, &c. one of the most harmonious pieces of architectural composition I have ever seen." Harrison's heavy prose was matched by his desire to make a moral point. The proposed building, he continued, was a "perfect feast" in an age of barren, gentile repetition, when old designs were used instead of relying on new inspiration. In Harrison's view, the new temple with its fresh design heralded the new Mormon kingdom. "We are coming! coming! coming!" he eagerly trumpeted in his conclusion.[59]

Harrison's style gradually improved as he submitted more articles to the *Star.* In 1857 he wrote a carefully organized and argued

refutation of the Spaulding theory of the origin of the Book of Mormon, which claimed that the Book of Mormon, rather than the ancient scripture that Joseph Smith asserted it to be, was based on an unpublished romance novel by Solomon Spaulding, an upstate New York clergyman. Harrison's article showed not only his growing maturity as a writer but also that he had been reading. It quoted a half-dozen English and American authors.[60]

There were other jousts with unbelievers. In 1858, Harrison published two more articles in the *Millennial Star.* The first sought to neutralize the bad press surrounding the so-called recent Utah War. Responding to an unfounded rumor of a Mormon rebellion in Utah, the United States government had dispatched twenty-five hundred troops to the Great Basin. The "war" eventually passed without casualties, but not before British journalists used the incident to castigate everything having to do with Mormonism. Such newspapermen, Harrison told the *Star*'s readers, were simply "shrewd speculators" who sold gossip as others sold "butter, cheese, or soap." They simply wished to sell newspapers. If someone asserted the wildest anti-Mormon fancy, Harrison mocked, "say that Brigham Young has gone mad, or that he has eaten his head, or has undertaken to build a tower that shall reach to the moon and scrape the rough spots from the surface," it would be reported in the British newspapers until "threadbare."[61]

A month after publishing his article on the Utah War, Harrison continued his sharp counterattack. Responding to the *Daily Telegraph*'s charge that Mormonism's appeal lay in its "sensual appetite"—a reference to the practice of polygamy and the promises that many missionaries made of a better life in the United States—Harrison challenged newspapermen to enter any LDS chapel and listen to some actual preaching. Instead of hearing that Mormonism meant "houses, or lands, or anything else but the pure love of principle," visitors would hear the doctrine of self-denial. "Our religion," Harrison stressed, "is bound to drag a man through such a chain of circumstances, that everything of . . . [a material] kind will be taken from him, until his heart is only set on things that never

fade."[62] These last words, no doubt, were personal. They described Harrison's own travail as a Mormon missionary.

Yet all was not as it seemed. Beneath Harrison's brave words in the press lay a hidden and perhaps harrowing personal doubt. The events of the Utah War had in fact badly shaken him. For men like Harrison and Tullidge, who were well read and familiar with the cultural currents of the time, the conflict between Mormon authorities and the federal government was, to use their plainspoken but private words, "very uninspired."[63] The conflict suggested that Mormonism might be guilty of a narrow and outdated sectarianism, or perhaps it revealed something even worse: Brigham Young's fallibility. "From the time I saw Utah drifting into a collision with the United States," Tullidge revealed years later, "yearly my mind has undergone radical changes."[64] Harrison's reaction was likely as strong. Shaken by the spectacle of marching armies in the American West, he took painful stock of his religion.

Harrison's faith was too deep to be drained by a single event. But clearly the Utah War had changed him and changed the kind of things he wrote for the *Millennial Star.* Later the hyperbolic Tullidge described what had happened. Leading church authorities had been called to Utah for the "war," so Tullidge, the assistant editor, was left virtually to run the magazine. Taking advantage of the opportunity, Tullidge claimed that he and Harrison had filled the magazine with "Protestant heresies." For Tullidge's part, these "heresies" seemed not much more than the downplaying of unique LDS doctrines and hinting that Mormonism, rather than being a unique revelation from God, was part of man's universal urge for faith.[65]

Harrison took a tack different from that of his friend. With increasing skill as a writer, Harrison set aside his proof-texting and proselytizing to write about inner religion. In "The Real Representative of the Most High," he argued that the church's authority, or priesthood, which was conferred on its male leaders, was not sufficient by itself to make a Latter-day Saint a true servant of God. "Some men possess that [priesthood], but nothing else," he wrote. "There is scarcely an attribute of Almighty God about them.

They walk in the authority of their appointment, but not in the virtue, the grace, or the righteousness of it. Strip such men of their authority, and there is nothing of God left to be counted."[66]

Further, he carried his argument beyond the individual "priesthood holders" to the church itself. Seeking to balance the extremes of LDS millennial preaching, Harrison claimed that Mormonism was never meant to be "a gigantic, almighty organization, that should awe the world and rule it with an iron rod." The church, as well as its members, must be a clean and kindly vessel. "It takes intelligence, ruled by meekness, benevolence, justice, mercy, and uprightness in spirit and in deed to celestialize," he reminded. Only by applying these virtues could men and their church truly be about God's errand.[67]

On the surface, "The Real Representative of the Most High" was a mild critique. On one level it served as a reminder of the need for Christian virtue. The article also affirmed the institutional authority of the church. But because the essay was written in the early and excited days of missionary Mormonism, when "questioning" and philosophical reflection could be perceived as a breach of faith, the article departed sharply from the usual: it probed issues which the norm counseled to let alone. Realizing that he had placed himself on uncertain terrain, Harrison tried to reassure others (and perhaps himself) that he had not gone too far. He wrote: "The man who questions the acts of those in authority, because he conceives they are not supported by proper virtues in those who execute them, even should he be right in his conception, is a rebel still: he is grappling with that which has eternal vigour and strength of its own, and which, supported or unsupported, will crush him in the struggle."[68] Although he was of course unaware of it, these words foreshadowed his own future struggles with his church.

Another Harrison article, this one titled "Divine Authority," followed a month later. Meant as a palliative to "The Real Representative of the Most High," this new article upheld the traditional LDS teaching that God's authority, or the priesthood, must be obeyed, whatever the spiritual worth of its administrator.[69] Yet despite his best efforts,

Harrison could not control his unconventional probing. In "The Eternal Realities of This Life," Harrison again contrasted personal virtue with outward priesthood ordinances. Some Saints, he said, foolishly thought that their church's "marriage for time and eternity" ceremony would bind and exalt a husband and wife eternally despite their personal shortcomings or sins. But Harrison believed in a different result. "When the bands are rotten, who can fasten together?" he asked.

Talk about the binding and the loosing power [of the priesthood]! It rests within ourselves. Jehovah's servants do but stamp and put the seal of office upon it, and make it legal and secure. We must bring to them a *prepared* document, written in imperishable attachments . . . ; we must bring them, in fact, something worth the stamping—something that will *naturally* keep together, or the seal will not be affixed; or, if it is, it will sever the quicker; for that which is unnatural and uncongenial [in marriage] cannot be united or riveted by the power of the holy Priesthood.[70]

Still more ambitious and novel was yet another article, "A Plea for Refinement, What Is Godliness?" Here Harrison tried to combine aesthetics with religious faith. Mormonism, which he expansively defined as "godliness," was "the education of our whole being" or the full realization of human potential, spiritually and intellectually. Harrison believed this perfected state could come only as the Saints cleared their souls of "deceit, impurity, lust, covetousness, pride, jealousy, or selfishness"—in short, as they repented. Second, refinement required education and personal development as men and women sought "the perfection of the intellect, the refinement of language, the correction of the demeanor, and the development of a taste for the precious, the beautiful, and the enriching." These last traits did not necessarily come from religious tracts or books of scripture. Rather they were the result of secular books ("interesting ideas"), art ("the beautiful or the graceful in form"), poetry ("beauties of expressions and feeling"), and music (the "sublime and exquisite" of melody). In sum, Harrison wanted a religion that balanced God's formal revelations with the best of man's world. It

was a quest, Harrison believed, that many Mormons had not begun, either spiritually or aesthetically.[71]

Harrison's intellectual explorations climaxed in 1860 with a series of eight short essays (he called them "chapters") titled "Tokens of Divinity in 'Mormonism,'" which the *Millennial Star* again printed. These essays, now all but forgotten, best expressed Harrison's new thinking and were among the most thoughtful writing of early Mormonism.[72] Typical of Harrison, the premise of these essays was human-centered and rational: men and women could find the "true church" or true religion by looking for certain rational proofs, which he called "fingermarks" or "tokens."

These characteristics of godliness—signs of true religion—could be seen in the LDS sacraments, patriarchal family life, plural marriage, and the church's smooth-running organization, all of which Harrison discussed at least in passing. But perhaps the greatest sign of Mormonism's truth was its daring assertion of humankind's divine nature—that men and women were literal children of God—and that earth life was only a way station for human improvement between a past and future heavenly life. Harrison rhapsodized over the implications of this teaching. Men and women carried "Jehovah's attributes" and were therefore "allied in their nature to the Infinite and Supreme." As a result, humankind was "ever soaring for mastery and might" and "penetrating, exploring, and unfolding." Here, then, was the key to understanding the creativity and energy of mortals and their reason for being. True religion, that is, Mormonism, understood these things.[73]

Harrison was correct: Mormonism highly respected and even praised the individual. Rather than stressing human depravity, the religion spoke of the almost limitless and divine potential of men and women; it proclaimed human progress on earth and in heaven. But the church also placed such teaching within a Christ-centered dogma that fully recognized Adam's fall and the need of Jesus' atonement: humankind's progress depended on Christ's sacrifice. However, Harrison gave little attention to these last points of traditional LDS teaching. Rather, his "Tokens of Divinity" was human-centered, and

God, removed offstage, manifested himself in "every natural power or ability implanted in man" and in man's "every artistic or constructive power." This elevated view of men and women, along with the moral teachings of Jesus, were the chief tenets of Harrison's new definition of Mormonism.[74]

Harrison's essays were remarkable in their conception and argument, but they subtly defined a position that was no longer mainstream Mormonism. Yet his writings did not seem to condemn him. Apostle and British Mission president Amasa M. Lyman appeared especially drawn to the young missionary's new philosophical view of Mormonism, and Lyman and other church leaders repeatedly called Harrison to responsible positions, including the management of the LDS Book Depot in London.[75] Under his efficient hand he stanched the losses that the bookstore usually accrued and even managed to turn a small profit.[76] Having gained the reputation for efficiency, Harrison next managed the finances of the Liverpool emigration office. This responsibility required him to receive money from prospective emigrants on the Continent as well as in England and to pay for their outbound expenses to the United States. To do so, Harrison designed a new bookkeeping system that once more won him praise.

During the last stage of his British missionary service, Harrison ministered more directly with the people. He received the appointment to preside over one of his church's most important overseas posts, the London Conference. The assignment called for him to direct the missionaries in the area, arrange and rent two dozen public halls, and minister to the needs of the church members in the twenty-four congregations. And when church affairs in Scotland lagged, he was appointed to lead the Edinburgh Conference, where he once more responded with efficient service.[77]

Everywhere Harrison went he brought his unusual mix of the intellectual and spiritual. After touring some of the Scottish congregations, he described (in his bookish manner) the "heavy cloud" of lethargy that prevailed in the northern kingdom, but he also told of the Saints' "spiritual gifts" which seemed to presage a

new harvest of baptisms. During his appointment at Edinburgh, he wrote and printed several thousand copies of what was described as "a pithy circular." Its nonepigrammatic title, "The Truth as It Is in Christ Jesus; Or, a Few Words about the Power of God," seemed also to reflect the same blend: rational "truth" and God's "power."[78]

More than a hint of each trait was evident in Harrison's remarks at a meeting of the British elders in Birmingham. Harrison spoke fervently of the spiritual "outward manifestations" of the church, and he testified to the beauty and truthfulness of Mormonism. Balancing these emotions were his warnings about the Saints' hard-line millennialism. Some Saints, he warned, believed that the church had been organized to serve as an "iron rod" to the nations and would in due course render realms and principalities like a shattered potter's vessel. These desolations might come, Elder Harrison believed, but the church's more important mission was to raise right-living disciples. Once more, Harrison's rationality cautioned him against emotional excess and returned him to the theme of a personal religion of refinement and proper conduct. Tullidge, also present at the Birmingham meeting, agreed with Harrison's cautions.

Some of Harrison's remarks at Birmingham seem poignant in light of later events. During his address he considered his spiritual standing and acknowledged the danger of his position. Always introspective and considering implications, he clearly understood the intellectual's precarious task of balancing mental detachment and insight with institutional commitment. "I must be very cautious, very considerate, very patient," he told the assembled elders, "lest in an incautious moment I should destroy the fair prospects and throw aside that bright hope of immortality which now blooms before me."[79]

At last, in 1861, after almost a decade of service, Harrison received permission to go to Zion. He and his family left Liverpool for New York City in the middle of May. Elias, Jemima, and their ten-year-old daughter Alice were part of an unprecedented 960 LDS emigrants who boarded the packet *Monarch of the Sea.*[80] Never had a ship carried so many Mormons across the Atlantic—and probably

never with such diverse backgrounds. Ten nations were represented by the passengers, the larger bulk of the non-English being Scandinavians.

Harrison's experience and talent placed him in the forefront of the Zion-bound Saints. He repeatedly addressed the emigrants on a variety of gospel-related and scientific topics (one discourse was devoted to "geography"). As "secretary" of the expedition, Harrison also recorded the spirit of the voyage, and he found much that impressed him. Despite the cultural diversity of the group, he found religious unity. "If signs and wonders would convince this generation of the truth," he wrote, "there would be no room for doubt after witnessing the oneness of faith, the unanimity of feeling, and the singleness of purpose that pervaded the minds of men and women in this company of Saints."[81]

Still back in England, Charles Penrose penned lines that no doubt spoke of Harrison's own excitement and yearning:

> How I've longed to your bosom to flee! O Zion! dear Zion! land of the free, Now my own mountain home, unto thee I have come; All my fond hopes are centered in thee.[82]

In a perfect world, such sterling hope as spoken of in the poem might have been rewarded with a happy trip to Zion. But Providence saw otherwise. Harrison's little party had been given no provision beyond their passage across the sea, and thereafter their travel became, according to one source, "a most painful experience." These carefully phrased words were actually a wrenching understatement: Jemima died and was buried somewhere on the plains.[83]

Harrison was likely the last of the five English converts to arrive in Salt Lake City. Godbe had made his journey to Zion over a decade before; the Stenhouses had come two years before Harrison. In turn, Edward Tullidge probably beat Harrison's pioneer company by two or three months—at least that was the margin that separated their respective departures from England.[84]

These five emigrants—Godbe, the Stenhouses, Tullidge, and Harrison—had more things in common than their British heritage.

They were unusually talented and devoted. And they shared something else: a future that would bind them together.

Notes

^1. Tullidge, *HSLC,* bio. appendix, pp. 50–51; *Dictionary of American Biography,* 4:337; and N. P. Browne to HamGodbe, 27 Mar 1974, HamGodbe Papers, University of Utah.
^2. Tullidge, *HSLC,* bio. appendix, p. 51.
^3. *NYHer,* 2 Jan. 1870, p. 8.
^4. Ibid.
^5. Tullidge, *HSLC,* bio. appendix, p. 51.
^6. HamGodbe to Steven Allan, 25 July 1956, HamGodbe Papers, University of Utah.
^7. Anthony Godbe to Anthony [Godbe], 6 Feb. 1914, HamGodbe Papers, University of Utah.
^8. Endowment House Records, #821, Book A, p. 33, LDS Family History Library; *Dictionary of American Biography,* 4:337; HamGodbe to Norman [Godbe?], 4 Oct. 1971, HamGodbe Papers, University of Utah.
^9. Anthony Godbe to Anthony [Godbe], 6 Feb. 1914, HamGodbe Papers, University of Utah.
^10. Benefit ticket, "Grand Morning Concert," HamGodbe Papers, University of Utah.
^11. Anthony Godbe to Anthony [Godbe], 6 Feb. 1914, HamGodbe Papers, University of Utah.
^12. HamGodbe, draft of an unpaged chapter, n.d., HamGodbe Papers, University of Utah.
^13. Ibid.
^14. Anthony Godbe to Anthony [Godbe], 6 Feb. 1914, HamGodbe Papers, University of Utah.
^15. SL Stake Historical Record Book, 25 Oct. 1869, p. 59, LDS Archives.
^16. Ibid.
^17. Endowment House Records, #821, Book A, p. 33.
^18. Tullidge, *HSLC,* bio. appendix, p. 51.

^19. Stout, *On the Mormon Frontier,* 2:408; JH, yearly supp. after 31 Dec. 1851, p. 10.
^20. "Marriage of George Stenhouse," Dunbar Parish, Scotland, 25 Dec. 1802, 706/5 and "Entry of Marriage," T. B. H. Stenhouse, 6 Feb. 1850, Somerset House, London, England. See also Dalkeith Parish Records, Dalkeith, Scotland, 683/5 and 683/10. This information was provided by members of the Stenhouse family.
^21. T. B. H. Stenhouse, *MStar* 12 (1 July 1850): 205.
^22. Fanny Stenhouse, in Minnie Godbe letter, 4 Nov. 1898, LDS Archives; *MStar* 10 (1 Jan. 1848): 16; *Times and Seasons* 6 (15 Nov. 1845): 1035.
^23. Luke 10:4, 22:35–36.
^24. *MStar* 10 (1 Jan. 1848): 16; (15 May 1848): 153; (15 Nov. 1848): 348–49, emphasis his; Fanny Stenhouse, in Minnie Godbe letter, 4 Nov. 1898.
^25. Fanny Stenhouse, in Minnie Godbe letter, 4 Nov. 1898.
^26. Fanny Stenhouse, *TIAll,* p. 32.
^27. Fanny Stenhouse, in Minnie Godbe letter, 4 Nov. 1898.
^28. Tullidge, *TQMag* 2 (Apr. 1882): 91; JH, 4 Nov. 1850, pp. 1–3.
^29. Snow to F. D. Richards, 7 Feb. 1852, in JH, 26 Jan. 1852, p. 2.
^30. JH, 1 Oct. 1854, p. 1; Fanny Stenhouse, in Minnie Godbe letter, 4 Nov. 1898.
^31. JH, 3 Jan. 1856, p. 2; 12 Apr. 1856, p. 1; 5 Oct. 1856, p. 6; 5 Apr. 1857, pp. 2–5; Fanny Stenhouse, *TIAll,* p. 204; *NYHer,* 30 Oct. 1869, p. 6; *Daily Alta California* (San Francisco), 8 Mar. 1882; B. H. Roberts, *Life of John Taylor,* p. 247; BY to Stenhouse, 8 May 1858, BY Letterbooks, LDS Archives.
^32. Jenson, *LDS Biographical Encyclopedia,* 3:710. Midwifery: Lyon family tradition, T. Edgar Lyon interview, 12 Mar. 1973.
^33. Fanny Stenhouse, in Minnie Godbe letter, 4 Nov. 1898; *NYHer,* 30 Oct. 1869, p. 6.
^34. Tullidge, "Leaders in Mormon Reform Movement," p. 33.
^35. Little, "Eight Pioneer Autobiographies," *OPH,* 15:99.

^36. "John Elliott Tullidge," Mormon Biographical Sketches Collection, LDS Archives.
^37. Little, "Eight Pioneer Autobiographies," *OPH,* 15:101.
^38. "John Elliott Tullidge," Mormon Biographical Sketches Collection; "Biographical Sketch," Edward W. Tullidge Papers, LDS Archives; and Tullidge, "Mormon Commonwealth," p. 353.
^39. Little, "Eight Pioneer Autobiographies," *OPH,* 15:101.
^40. Ibid., 102.
^41. "John Elliott Tullidge," Mormon Biographical Sketches Collection; "Biographical Sketch," Edward W. Tullidge Papers, LDS Archives; and Tullidge, "Mormon Commonwealth," p. 353.
^42. Job Smith Autobiography, p. 29, typescript; Job Smith, "Statement of 1869," LDS Archives.
^43. *UMag* 2 (14 Nov. 1868): 103.
^44. *MStar* 16 (7 Jan. 1854): 3–4. Also see ibid. 16 (1 Apr. 1854): 198–200, and 19 (16 May 1857): 320.
^45. Tullidge to BY, 19 Feb. 1858, BY Incoming Corr., LDS Archives.
^46. SL Stake Historical Record Book, 25 Oct. 1869, p. 64, LDS Archives, Tullidge, "Godbeite Movement," *TQMag* 1 (Oct. 1880): 83.
^47. Tullidge, "Godbeite Movement," p. 82; *NYHer,* 2 Jan. 1870, p. 8.
^48. Tullidge, "Godbeite Movement," pp. 82–83.
^49. Ibid., p. 83.
^50. Ibid.
^51. SL Stake Historical Record Book, 25 Oct. 1869, p. 63, LDS Archives.
^52. *NYHer,* 2 Jan. 1870, p. 8.
^53. Tullidge, "Godbeite Movement," p. 83.
^54. Special General Council minutes, 26–28 June 1854, in *MStar* 16 (29 July 1854): 467. Also see ibid., 15 (29 Jan. 1853): 79; 17 (3 Feb. 1855): 76; and 17 (11 Aug. 1855): 509.
^55. Charles W. Penrose diary, 10 Oct. 1854, LDS Archives.

^56. *DEN,* 22 May 1900, "Fiftieth Year" supp., p. 8.
^57. Charles W. Penrose diary, 2 Mar. 1855, 11 May, 1 June, 16 Aug., 28 Sept., and 6 Oct. 1857.
^58. Tullidge, "Godbeite Movement," p. 83.
^59. Harrison to O[rson] Pratt, 18 Nov. 1856, *MStar* 18 (6 Dec. 1856): 783.
^60. Harrison, *MStar* 19 (24 Jan. 1857): 49–56; for Spaulding hypothesis: Brodie, "Spaulding-Rigdon Theory," in *No Man Knows My History,* pp. 442–56; and Bush, "Spaulding Theory Then and Now."
^61. *MStar* 20 (10 July 1858): 434.
^62. Ibid., (28 Aug. 1858): 548.
^63. Tullidge, "Godbeite Movement," p. 83.
^64. *MTrib,* 19 Feb. 1870, 58.
^65. Tullidge, "Leaders in the Mormon Reform Movement," p. 33.
^66. Harrison, *MStar* 20 (9 Oct. 1858): 641–44, and (6 Nov. 1858): 707–8.
^67. Ibid.
^68. Harrison, ibid., 20 (6 Nov. 1858): 708.
^69. Harrison, ibid., 707–8.
^70. Harrison, ibid., 21 (4 June 1859): 358–60.
^71. Harrison, ibid., 21 (8 Oct. 1859): 645–48.
^72. The series began in ibid., 22 (20 Oct. 1860): 659–62, and continued for more than six months.
^73. Harrison, ibid., 22 (27 Oct. 1860): 677.
^74. Harrison, ibid., 22 (10 Nov. 1860): 709–10.
^75. Tullidge, "Godbeite Movement," pp. 83–84.
^76. Manuscript History of the British Mission, 10 Feb. 1857, LDS Archives.
^77. Tullidge, "Godbeite Movement," p. 84; Manuscript History of the British Mission, 22 Jan. 1859 and 11 Mar. 1861.
^78. Manuscript History of the British Mission, 19 and 20 Feb. 1861.
^79. Ibid., 2 Jan. 1859.

^80. LDS Emigration Records, Liverpool Office, British Mission, 1861–63, 55, LDS Archives.

^81. "Monarch of the Sea" minutes, *MStar* 23 (27 July 1861): 475–76.

^82. The poem now serves as lyrics to the LDS hymn, "O Ye Mountains High," number 34 in *Hymns of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (SLC: LDS Church, 1985).

^83. Tullidge, "Godbeite Movement," p. 84.

^84. *MStar* 23 (4 May 1861): 284.

Chapter 3

Godbe's Rising Star

When the eighteen-year-old Godbe arrived in Great Salt Lake City in 1851, the Mormon settlement was four years old. Striving and ambitious, he quickly tried to establish himself. One account has him forming a partnership with another enterprising young Mormon, Benjamin Hampton. Perhaps as early as 1853, these two men secured control of a strategic Bear River ferry located near the present-day villages of Collinston and Fielding in Box Elder County. It is unclear how the men secured this prized real estate, which straddled growing north-south and east-west trade routes.[1]

More important was Godbe's commercial activity. During the last part of his trip to Great Salt Lake City, Godbe had traveled with merchant Thomas S. Williams. Idiosyncratic, combative, and utterly untamed, Williams had swarthy skin and, when riding on the range, impossibly tousled hair. During such times, even his wife found it difficult to separate Williams from the Indians with whom he sometimes rode. Still, Williams was an able (some said brilliant) man, and shortly after the Saints' arrival in the Salt Lake Valley, he had established himself as one of Utah's first merchants.[2]

Williams liked Godbe and offered him a job in his Salt Lake City store. Two or three years later, this opportunity expanded further. In 1853 or 1854, Williams sent the young Godbe (still legally a minor) to northern California to act as his agent, perhaps to solidify Williams's ties with John M. Horner, the highly successful Latter-day Saint businessman who operated out of the San Francisco Bay area. Whatever the mission, it gave Godbe a chance to see California's mining industry firsthand. The result was another defining moment in Godbe's life. Godbe found himself strongly and almost mystically attracted to a new cause: he began to dream that the California mines could be replicated in Utah—with Godbe himself playing a leading role in the activity.[3]

Godbe's trip did more than nurture another lifelong dream; it gave him the chance to see more of the world and possibly the

opportunity to start his own business. After completing his California duties, Godbe sailed out of San Francisco for Central America, crossed the Isthmus of Panama, and traveled to New York City, where he ordered a small stock of wares and a selection of drugs for the Utah market. Then, teaming up with Williams, who was in the East buying his own supplies, and the legendary express carrier Ben Holladay, Godbe started west. On 26 August 1854, the Salt Lake City *Deseret News* reported that the three men, who were apparently riding horseback, had managed to travel from Fort Leavenworth to the Utah capital city in 252 hours and 25 minutes. At the time, a rapid ten-day journey made news, even down to the minute.[4]

Godbe's bootstrap business must have prospered. In April 1855, the *Deseret News* recorded another trip: Godbe had gone east "on drug business." Six months later, he had twenty-two wagons at South Pass with a load of merchandise that left at least one newspaper reporter clearly impressed: "We trust that the faith, good works and good health of the people will so abound that the stock of medicines will last at least until Utah becomes a State."[5] Never before had a merchant of sundries and drugs been so ambitious in trying to satisfy the Utah market.

Godbe, in fact, had established on the east side of present-day Main Street between First and Second South Streets Utah's first drugstore—and what was later said to be the first drugstore between the Missouri River and Sacramento.[6] One of his first advertisements suggested the scope and nature of his business. Godbe had returned from the East with a valuable collection of Merchandise, which will be open for inspection in a few days, comprising a complete assortment of drugs & medicines, chiefly Botanical—also a full assortment of the celebrated Graefenberg Family Remedies: Soaps, Oils and Perfumeries; Gunpowder, Caps, Knives, Toys; Fancy Goods of every description; Spices, Jams, Preserves; Cordials, Nuts, Candies; Lozenges; Medical Liquors; Which he proposes disposing of on the most reasonable terms. Don't fail to call and see him on East Temple Street, north of Hockaday's old stand. Soda water fresh from the fountain, . . . Customers

supplied with Medicinal, Astronomical, Comical and Historical Almanacs, free gratis for nothing at all.[7]

How had Godbe, still in his early twenties, managed to start such a business? Perhaps his apothecary interest extended from his early years when he had scanned his father's medical library; or perhaps Godbe had learned something about dispensing medicines during his voyages. These possibilities were preserved in later Godbe family tradition. Godbe's commercial know-how undoubtedly came from Thomas Williams. But whence had Godbe secured his money—the investment capital necessary for a new business? Perhaps the Godbe-Hampton Bear River ferry provided collateral for loans. Or Brigham Young and other leading Mormons may have helped: Young was uncomfortable with the slightly unsavory Williams. But the most important answer to the riddle of Godbe's rise lay with Godbe himself. He was a born entrepreneur: he had a restless passion for doing, an almost reckless self-confidence, and, most importantly, the ability to attract and lead others.

People liked Godbe, and with reason. He slashed the highly inflated prices charged by most Utah businessmen and thereby became known as "the first to bring down prices." (Godbe's margins nevertheless remained sufficiently high to ensure large profits.) In addition, Godbe earned the confidence of the people by conducting an efficient and honest commission business. Each winter and early spring, customers thronged to his office to ask him to make purchases for them in the East. Essentially, these patrons wanted to buy at eastern wholesale prices after paying transportation expenses and a relatively modest commission fee.

Each year he left the city in early April, just as the Wasatch Mountain snowpack began to melt. An early departure meant an early return, and he was in a race with competitors to bring the first new merchandise of the year to the valley. But spring travel over the soggy roads was difficult. If he took the stagecoach, as he sometimes did, he was forced to endure the constant jarring of the heavy coaches and the monotony of almost continuous travel, night

and day.[8] More often Godbe traveled in a small party, either riding a horse or driving a light wagon.

After establishing his business, Godbe made two dozen such trips to the Missouri River or beyond, or more than one and a half trips per year to the East. In addition, Godbe frequently traveled to California. When the transcontinental railroad brought these journeys to an end—both to the East and to the West—Godbe calculated that he had logged over fifty thousand miles of overland travel.[9]

Speed became a virtue, even at the cost of security. When returning to Mormon headquarters in 1865, Godbe learned that the stage would be delayed at Denver because of Indian raiding. Ignoring the possible danger, Godbe persuaded LDS missionary William H. Shearman and British convert George Reynolds to join him in a lightning trip to Salt Lake City. Godbe bought provisions, a light wagon, and a span of horses (later traded for mules), and the three men started out.[10]

Danger seemed everywhere. Ten minutes after the three men left Cooper's Creek in Colorado, Indians stampeded and drove off five of the community's horses; the day the Godbe party passed through Rock Creek, raiders killed three men there, wounded two, and burned the station. One night Godbe and his companions drove a remarkable eighty miles to escape harm. Even normal routines were difficult: the day usually began at four in the morning and seldom ended before midnight. The men allowed themselves only three stops during the day—and these breaks were forced upon them: without some rest, the animals would give out. Their safety lay in dashing through the Indian territory before the small party could be targeted for attack.

In Utah, the men found the road through the Weber Range washed out. They abandoned their rig and set out on foot, trailing their mules behind them. After a difficult eighteen-mile walk through rough mountainous terrain, the men stumbled upon an abandoned freight wagon's wheels, axles, and frame. They threw a board over this rudimentary device and hitched their animals. Then, clinging to

the rough plank, Shearman and Reynolds drove the last eighteen miles into Salt Lake City, arriving at about midnight on July 5. Godbe had the stamina (and the dignity) to walk.[11]

The next day, the men reported to Brigham Young. The president always appreciated a daring and successful adventure, especially if it showed Mormon grit and a corresponding lack of gentile energy and nerve. Several weeks later Young was still telling the tale. "With all the troops they have upon the road to guard their stations and accompany the coaches," he told the Saints in Great Britain, "the [stage] company cannot keep the stages running. 'The Indians,' they say, 'are so very troublesome.' But three of our brethren could come through by themselves without any difficulty, by exercising a good degree of vigilance!"[12]

By the 1860s, Godbe and other Salt Lake City merchants established a peculiar and now almost forgotten culture of pre-railroad wagon commerce. To people living on the frontier, businessmen like Godbe were not simply businessmen. They were "merchant princes." Newspapers followed their activities closely, especially when their long trains of wagons filled with difficult-to-get goods pulled into Salt Lake City each fall.

In 1855, the first year Godbe brought a large quantity of goods across the plains, the six leading merchants of the city used three hundred wagons and thirty-two hundred animals to transport 513 tons of merchandise.[13] On occasion, the merchants also sent Utah goods east. During the scarcity of the Civil War, Godbe carried four thousand pounds of southern Utah "Dixie" cotton to the States, which was expected to bring a price "that will pay him well."[14]

Before the coming of the telegraph and railroad, the traveling merchants were also conduits of news and culture. Godbe's 1862 letter to Brigham Young, written after the businessman arrived in the East, reported that some easterners were accusing the Mormons of being responsible for the recent wave of Native American depredations in the West. "I felt perfectly willing that all such shallow pates should enjoy their opinion uninterruptedly, as I considered it would be a useless expenditure of breath to attempt to

convince them to the contrary," Godbe wrote. The same letter reported Godbe's interview with Stephen S. Harding, the newly appointed governor of Utah Territory, who assured Godbe of his good intentions regarding the Mormons.[15]

The flow of information sometimes worked in reverse, as when Godbe informed the Saints outside of Utah and the United States about conditions in his adopted homeland. During a trip to England in the early 1860s, Godbe typically put the best face on Zion's spiritual health: "The people are rejoicing exceedingly in their religion, and attending strictly to its duties," he told the English Saints. These upbeat words, of course, were those of an ardent disciple.[16]

During these years when his fortune and influence were on the rise, Godbe firmly allied himself to the wishes of Brigham Young. Thus, when President Young undertook to rebuild Salt Lake City's commercial district, Godbe was there to help. Young was distressed by the influx of taverns and drinkers on Main Street, which had come after the establishment of the United States Army's Camp Floyd in the late 1850s (Young's sermons derisively called the street "Whiskey Street"). Young's plans included a new hotel opposite the Salt Lake Theatre on First South Street and a first-class business building one block west, on the southeast corner of First South and Main Streets. The latter was Godbe's assignment.[17]

The result was the imposing "Godbe Exchange Buildings," which despite its plural title was actually a single structure. By all accounts, the new building was magnificent, especially by frontier standards. Its first floor had a stone facade, set off by rock-cut pillars. The two upper stories had windows encased in sweeping arches. Seasoned eastern travelers found the structure "palatial in appearance" and were equally as impressed by the assortment of goods found in its interior. According to British literary critic William Hepworth Dixon, Salt Lake City's "great magazines," including Godbe's store, had "everything for sale, as in a Turkish bazaar, from candles and champagne, down to gold dust, cotton prints, tea, pen-knives, canned meats, and mouse-traps."[18] Hepworth Dixon's visit to Salt

Lake City must have been in the fall after the arrival of the merchant wagons.

A new building was only part of Godbe's dynamic business style. To meet the challenge of pioneer Utah's predominantly barter economy, Godbe issued his own currency.[19] When the *Deseret News* secured a color press, Godbe was one of the first to use it; he soon displayed "the largest poster printed in colors in this Territory."[20] He expanded his enterprises as rapidly as he could find the capital to finance them. Fragmentary records show that Godbe borrowed heavily, including numerous mortgage loans from the leading New York commercial capitalist Horace B. Claflin, who apparently underwrote the construction of the Exchange Buildings.[21] Some men accumulate their wealth gradually and cautiously, but Godbe prospered by plunging headfirst with a gambler's daring.

At first Godbe's aggressive entrepreneurialism brought good results. The 1860 U.S. Census listed him with $7,500 real and $8,000 personal assets, placing him in the upper 5 percent of Utah's citizens. During the next ten years, Godbe's income was the seventh largest in the territory and his net value approached a third of a million dollars.[22]

At the heart of Godbe's enterprises were his commercial businesses. These included his commission business and several retail outlets that Godbe established in the territory's main towns. Of course the Exchange Buildings housed the most important of these, both a general merchandise store and the more successful drug business, "Godbe and Mitchell," a partnership that Godbe had formed with his brother-in-law Frederick A. Mitchell.

According to tradition, "Godbe and Pitts" offered Salt Lake City's first soda water. Carbonic gas was mixed in the basement and then piped at 180 pounds to the main floor fountain, where it helped to flavor "a tasty, sparkling and refreshing drink."[23] No doubt the refreshment brought customers into the store, but profits came from larger items: sponges and brushes; linseed oil, varnishes, paints, oils; and, as the mining and industrial enterprises of the Intermountain West started to stir, explosives, assay chemicals, and

milling equipment.[24] The store also sold chemicals and cures and had the distinction of employing such British-trained apothecaries as Robert Cleghorn and William Pitts, who mixed the drugs for sale.[25]

Another of Godbe's ventures was the Bear River ferry, which Godbe and Benjamin Hampton further developed. In 1866, a legislative charter granted the proprietors the right to place a toll bridge on the property. When ice floes destroyed the original span, Godbe and Hampton quickly imported a crew of fifteen men and a pile driver to build a more substantial structure.[26] Near their bridge, Godbe and Hampton built one of the most costly stations on the "Salt Lake Cutoff," the pioneer road that connected Utah with points north and east. The Godbe-Hampton station had granaries, storehouses, barns, and shops, and, most importantly, an imposing eighteen-room hotel. The latter, described as a "first-class city hotel," boasted two-foot-thick limestone walls, ten bedrooms, a spacious kitchen, dining and sitting rooms, and a large fireplace that "provided both physical and friendly warmth." Next to the main building lay a "necessary house," which maintained the grandeur of the whole by having carpets, wallpaper, and plastered finishings.[27]

In addition to Godbe's commercial and hotel enterprises, there was a third investment, problematic if not faintly disreputable. Since entering Utah in 1847, Brigham Young had strongly discouraged his Saints from mining precious ores, in part because he did not want to attract hostile outside miners. Notwithstanding Young's policy, during the late 1860s Godbe and Hampton heavily invested in south Wyoming's mining "rush" on the Sweetwater River. Technically their investment did not violate Young's policy—their activity lay outside of Utah and Mormon jurisdiction. But mining activity, whether in Utah or Wyoming, must have caused some Saints to wonder about the reliability of a man so closely associated with the Mormon leadership.

The decision to invest in the Wyoming mines of course reflected Godbe's persisting dream that had begun when he had first visited California as Thomas Williams's young business agent. And now, as with all of Godbe's dreams, he pursued this new quest with

characteristic energy. Hoping to reap large profits by bringing an efficiency of scale to the Wyoming mines, Godbe and Hampton purchased several promising mining claims and deeds, consolidated the property, and sent to San Francisco for a five-stamp gold quartz mill, machinery that had never been used in the region. Purchasing the mill was the easy part: It next had to be shipped down the coast to San Pedro near Los Angeles and then painstakingly hauled across the southern California and Nevada deserts to Salt Lake City. The two men finally set it up on the Sweetwater—a prodigious 1,000-mile feat. Yet despite Godbe and Hampton's best efforts and a $25,000 investment, the undertaking apparently failed to show a profit.[28]

A more careful investor probably would not have taken on so many ambitious and risky projects at once. At about the same time that Godbe was constructing the Exchange Buildings, he had gambled on the Bear River hotel and the Wyoming mines. Rumors were soon circulating in Salt Lake City about his financial difficulty, and President Young wrote to advise him not to sell the Exchange Buildings. Young, who saw Godbe as a useful ally in his contest against the city's anti-Mormon merchants, was extending more than advice. "If you are under the necessity of disposing of that property for the means, call and see me," Young said helpfully.[29] Godbe's roughly sketched financial sheets charted an unmistakable decline: his net value was $317,667 in 1865; $208,940 in 1867; and $162,965 in 1868.[30]

By the middle and late 1860s, Godbe began to contract his holdings. In 1866 he sold his general merchandise firm to fellow merchants John B. Kimball and Henry W. Lawrence. The next year, Kimball and Lawrence bought the Exchange Buildings for $70,000, probably $10,000 less than the original cost. Godbe, however, retained his partnerships in the hotel and drug businesses.[31] He remained prosperous by pioneer standards, but he had obviously suffered major financial setbacks.

Young's offer to help Godbe was only one incident in their continuing relationship. Outwardly and probably genuinely, they

remained friends. As president of the church, Young seemed taken by this charming and talented convert. "I loved William S. Godbe," he was quoted as saying.[32]

While Godbe reciprocated Young's affection, Young's personality and policies must have given the younger man an occasional pause. Young actively intervened in almost all of Zion's activities, giving advice and asking followers to do his will. Indeed, from the moment Godbe began his career, Young's presence constantly hovered. Godbe had scarcely returned to Utah from his first independent buying trip when Young had a message for him and the other importing merchants. Young had noticed the high mortality rate of the teamsters' oxen and the other high costs of ground transportation (722 of the 3218 animals used in 1855 had died, or more than one in five). Young therefore suggested that the businessmen make greater use of the region's waterways, especially the Missouri River, when transporting their goods to Salt Lake City.[33]

No doubt some merchants did not welcome such counsel. It seemed intrusive. These able and successful men were accustomed to making their own decisions, and perhaps they believed, as did many western outfitters, that the thinly bedded rivers of the plains were difficult and often unreliable commercial thoroughfares. Why did not Young leave them to look after their own interests and make their own decisions?

In 1863, Young had more unwelcome advice for the merchants. In September, he invited four successful LDS businessmen—William Godbe, William H. Hooper, William Jennings, and Henry W. Lawrence—to his "East" office on North Temple Street. Disturbed over the high prices being charged in the Salt Lake City stores, Young urged the Mormon businessmen to unite and force the non-Mormon profiteers out of business. Perhaps the LDS businessmen could place agents in the East to secure the best available prices and then quickly transport the goods to Utah by a series of way stations. Young believed that the plan would allow the Mormons to dominate the local market, both in terms of lower prices and in the supply of new and fashionable goods.

The four men proved not malleable. Citing their high costs and supposedly narrow profit margins, they insisted that lower prices could not easily be secured. Young understood that he was being put off and made "many good suggestions," perhaps warmly expressed, on how the merchants might improve their practices. And there was a stern warning: the merchants should work for the good of the kingdom and "not forget their God and their religion in trying to get rich." Otherwise, Young predicted they would apostatize. Despite such strongly worded counsel, the meeting closed in an impasse. Godbe and his friends promised to give Young's plan consideration and expressed a vague willingness to "accomplish the object in view."[34]

Six months later, Young proposed another plan. He wanted the Mormon merchants to form a "Utah Produce Company." The proposed company, Young suggested, might eliminate the gentile middlemen who bought Utah grain at low harvest prices and then reaped the high profits of selling to the Montana mining trade. Could the Mormon businessmen gain control of this commerce and provide Utah's farmers with a better price?

According to the minutes of the meeting, "there seemed to be a cold indifference on the part of the merchants" to Young's plan. While their views were not articulated, or at least not recorded, it is likely that the merchants felt that Young was once more meddling with economic affairs that were best left to them. Nevertheless, apparently to please the Mormon leader and reduce the pressure he was exerting on them, the merchants consented to go forward with the produce company, and Godbe was chosen as one of its directors.[35]

Generally, however, Godbe supported Young's ideas, even when he believed their success to be uncertain. Godbe even invested in Young's plan to place a warehouse on the distant and difficult-to-navigate Colorado River: Young was again seeking to reduce transit costs into the territory. Godbe complied with these schemes, he later explained, to maintain social unity, yet all the while he was silently tallying their cost. Godbe claimed that his investments in the Utah

Produce Company and Colorado River warehousing cost him "thousands of dollars."[36]

Yet Godbe's self-portrait of a supportive disciple was largely accurate. Whatever his occasional doubts about Young's business projects, during the 1850s and early 1860s Godbe was as believing and sustaining a disciple as most in Young's gospel kingdom. Godbe had more than business investments to support his claim. In the spring of 1857, along with fifty other men, he accepted a mission to secure commodities left under guard on the trail near Devil's Gate during the previous emigration. These provisions were possibly the supplies and equipment abandoned by the Willie and Martin handcart companies when early snows made necessary a forced march into the settlements. Several hundred had died in the incident.[37]

In the spring of 1858, Godbe responded to a new and urgent request of Young. During the previous winter, Mormon ally Colonel Thomas L. Kane had hurried to Utah via Panama and California to mediate the threatening Utah War. On the way, he had left his personal papers, including his semiofficial credentials from President James Buchanan, at the Mormon colony of San Bernardino in southern California. At the time of Young's request, these papers were vital to any peaceful resolution of the crisis.

Godbe was asked to help get them, and in doing so he completed one of the epic rides of pioneer Utah history. At first he planned to stop in Nephi or Fillmore and give his dispatch to other riders. Instead, Godbe decided to continue on. His companion, Thomas Copley, gave out at Beaver. At Cedar City, Godbe secured a "light wagon" and fresh mules from John D. Lee (a "second rate outfit," Godbe murmured). With this assistance and a new companion, Godbe entered the southern Nevada and eastern California deserts: "We traveled day and night, stopping about 1 1/2 hours 4 times during the 24 hours to feed grain to our mules and cook food for ourselves," he explained. After a "wearisome" seven-day, 450-mile journey across the desert, the two men arrived in San Bernardino and recovered Kane's papers.[38]

Less than two days passed before Godbe was back on the trail. With Kane's documents in hand, the return trip was not so hurried. However, by the time Godbe returned to Salt Lake City, he had traveled fifteen hundred miles in a brief twenty-four days and three hours—or over sixty miles per day.[39]

There were other indications of Godbe's devotion to the Mormon cause. He became a polygamist, the nineteenth-century sign of full compliance to gospel law. Godbe had married his first wife, the fifteen-year-old Ann Thompson in mid-November of 1855. President Young himself officiated. Similar to her twenty-two-year-old husband, "Annie" was British-born, a native of Cumberland by the Scottish border. Then, shortly after his sealing to Annie, Godbe married Mary Hampton on 9 November 1856 and Rosina Colburn on 20 March 1857.[40] At the time of their marriages, Mary and Rosina were eighteen and nineteen years old, and both were "sealed" to William during the Mormon Reformation, which probably explains the closeness of the last two unions. The Reformation was a time of religious examination and more exact obedience—and many plural marriages.

The Hamptons were converts from Philadelphia and had lived only a few years in the valley when Godbe began to court Mary, the sister of Godbe's Bear River ferry partner Benjamin Hampton. According to family tradition, Mary, faced with two proposals (the other may have been from one of the eminently eligible and wealthy Walker brothers), decided to pray. She found her mind illuminated and chose Godbe—a decision, she claimed, that she never regretted.[41] Even less is known about Godbe's proposal to Rosina. The Colburn family had come to Salt Lake City from New York State in 1848 when Rosina was ten years old.[42]

The Godbe women had several traits in common: they appear to have been attractive, intelligent, and devout. A portrait painted eleven years after Annie's marriage by British-born illustrator Thomas Piercy shows her olive complexion and attractive face. Large, luminous hazel eyes were emphasized by abundant lashes and distinct eyebrows. Following the custom of the time, her hair

was parted severely in the middle, then flowed into shoulder-length ringlets.[43] Less is known about Annie's "sister wives" when they were young, though neighbors were complimentary about them. Mary was a slender, blue-eyed brunette, about five feet three inches tall. Rosina was also a blue-eyed brunette, but she was taller, perhaps five feet six.

The three women were willing to fulfill the scriptural injunction to "multiply and replenish." Annie had eight children, though four died in infancy and another when twelve years old; Mary bore five and adopted another; and Rosina had seven, although only four lived to maturity. Adding these families together, William fathered twenty children.

As she grew older, Annie became irritable and nervous. Some attributed this to the insecurity of her health—she apparently was an epileptic. Others thought the mortality of her children was responsible for her melancholy, and still others cited the jealousies and rivalries sometimes common in plural marriage. In contrast, the two other Godbe wives appear to have been more cheerful. Rosina and especially Mary clearly reflected the nineteenth century's feminine ideal. Prim, tidy, and good-hearted, they were willing to assume a role of satisfied satellites revolving around their husband.[44]

According to the 1860 census, the various Godbe families lived in Salt Lake City's Thirteenth Ward, apparently at close quarters. The Thirteenth Ward, like the other nineteen in the city, had both civic and religious functions.[45] Here the settlers worshiped, attended school, and acted out the rhythms and patterns of ordinary life. Located between the meridians of South Temple and Second South Streets on the north and south, and Main Street and Second East on the west and east, the ward was, with the possible exception of the neighboring Fourteenth Ward, the "leading" ward of the city. As one resident boasted, it had more resources than the entire church had when it was headquartered at Kirtland, Ohio, in the 1830s.[46] Wealthy merchants, church leaders, gentile territorial officials, and ordinary Saints all lived and interacted in the Thirteenth Ward.

The Thirteenth Ward also had Bishop Woolley and the Assembly Rooms.[47] The distinctive and unusual Edwin D. Woolley, a Pennsylvanian Quaker convert, had led the ward since 1854. Young was rumored to hypothesize that if Woolley should fall into a stream and be drowned, the body would be found upstream: Woolley was always swimming against the current. Woolley could be irascible, outspoken, and independent. But he was also kindly, instantly repentant of his misstatements, and fiercely dedicated to the members of his ward and to Mormonism itself. He served with distinction as bishop for over thirty years until his death in 1886.

The Assembly Rooms apparently were Woolley's idea. By all accounts, when the building was finished in 1860, it had the most resplendent chapel in Utah. The building was also designed to act as a school and to house cultural and social functions. Perhaps it was the Assembly Rooms' dance hall that had caused President Young to speak so forcefully and unfavorably shortly after the building was completed. Young apparently feared that the building might financially undermine the Saints' Social Hall on State Road. Had not Bishop Woolley ignored his wishes in planning the building?

In order to construct the building and later to improve it, Woolley had sold joint-ownership "shares." Godbe had bought generously, probably with no hope of realizing a return or even securing a marketable asset. Such openhandedness may have been one of the reasons why Woolley, in 1864, called Godbe to be one of his counselors.[48]

As a member of the Thirteenth Ward bishopric, Godbe found himself at the center of his neighborhood's concerns. There were civic meetings and especially religious meetings to attend: Thursday night prayer meetings, monthly fast meetings, "blessing meetings" in which infants and children were christened, and Sunday worship services. But the main role of the pioneer bishopric was to tend to the needs of members, which especially meant listening and responding to the reports of the "block teachers," who visited ward members to discover their needs. Shepherding the flock also meant

sitting as a member of the bishop's court and thereby mediating disputes and enforcing church standards.

The ward's minutes during the winter of 1867–68 mention some of the disputes and problems that Godbe and other ward leaders had to deal with. The bishopric sent a committee to work with the manager of President Young's property. "Disreputable characters," it was charged, were occupying one of the houses owned by the president. More serious, Woolley and his counselors had to deal with wayward members. One fashionable young lady had succumbed to gentile charm. She insisted that her prayers had not confirmed any creed—and definitely none that advocated plural marriage. The teachers reported that another member totally disregarded his prayers, not even asking a blessing on his family's food. And yet another refused to pay tithing.[49] In short, Counselor Godbe had become involved in the everyday life of his neighbors.

Godbe's religious activities extended beyond the Thirteenth Ward. Young often invited Godbe to speak at the Sunday worship services on Temple Square. When addressing these communitywide meetings, he revealed his wide-ranging interests by speaking on a variety of topics. Once, he "reasoned on people failing to live up to their knowledge of right and truth and traced a close connection between the righteousness of the saints and the salvation of the world." Even more imaginative was his discourse on marriage. According to the *Deseret News,* his text traced monogamy from "its introduction among the Romans in the Sabine raid."[50]

Godbe sometimes went on "tour" with Young. Once or twice each year, President Young and a company of church leaders traveled caravan-style through the settlements. Everywhere they went, flag-waving children, dressed in their best, energetically welcomed the revered Prophet. These visits, however, went beyond the ceremonial. Young typically conducted on-site inspections, sorted out local problems, and took the pulse of the Saints. The tours were also filled with a great deal of teaching and many public meetings; the report from Tooele in 1867 had Godbe preaching with Elders George A. Smith, Wilford Woodruff, Joseph F. Smith, and Brigham Young.[51]

Despite the gap in their age and position, Young and Godbe occasionally mixed socially. An 1865 dinner party at the home of William Jennings (described as having been "gotten up in No. 1 style") listed the two among the select guests. In addition, they both attended a leap-year social held at the Social Hall three years later. This party, planned by several of the city's leading women, including "Mrs. Godbe" (probably Annie), was a sensational innovation in Utah's patriarchal society. The president was buzzing about it several weeks later: "It was quite a novel feature to be waited upon by a lady partner to conduct you to the party in her carriage, pay for the ticket, invite you to dance, find you a seat, invite you to supper and escort you home." In a polygamy role-reversal, some of the women invited two or more men, who were admitted at the reduced admission price of thirty-seven and a half cents. Annie Godbe's sister Margaret Mitchell played this feature to the hilt as floor manager. Margaret referred to these men as "37 1/2 cent wallflowers," as she condescendingly gave them an occasional choice of dancing partners. President Young thought the evening was a great success, though he thought that such a party "would not easily bear too frequent repetition." The profits from the evening were given to the emigrating poor.[52]

By the mid-1860s, Godbe clearly had become a leading Salt Lake City citizen, someone worthy of church leaders' trust and favor. To past achievements, he added still others. In 1865, the citizens of the Thirteenth Ward made him a school trustee. His platform probably upset some property-owning taxpayers. Godbe wanted compulsory property taxes for education "so that the poor could have their children schooled as well as the rich."[53] The next year, President Young nominated Godbe as one of the nine Salt Lake City government councilmen. In Deseret's one-party system, the nomination was tantamount to election. Two years later, he was reelected for another two-year term, again without opposition.[54]

This active and expansive man had a growing reputation for kindness. When W. W. Phelps needed money to publish his almanac, Godbe promised $50. When actor T. A. Lyne left the Salt Lake

Theatre after an extensive run, the firm of "Godbe and Mitchell" sponsored a special benefit in his behalf. Godbe joined merchants William Jennings and Henry W. Lawrence to support a similar benefit for actor John T. Caine. For Godbe's friend, William H. Shearman, who had incurred debts during his proselytizing mission to England, there was another grant. And when the construction of the new meeting hall in distant St. George foundered for lack of funds, Godbe sent $200 in cash and merchandise.[55]

He was especially generous with emigrants. In 1865, acting on the request of British mission leaders, Godbe sent money to those in England who were starting their journey to Zion. He followed this gift with another donation after the emigrants reached America. For another group of traveling Saints who had just entered the United States, Godbe, then in the East, provided a "substantial repast" of rich sweet milk, bread, and fresh butter spread "in our liberal American style." While these refreshments were very acceptable, the Saints reportedly appreciated Godbe's earnest welcome even more. On still another occasion, when an early November snowstorm exposed some new arrivals camped in Salt Lake City's "Emigration Square" in the Eighth Ward, the city's bishops scurried to take care of their needs. Once more Godbe, along with several other merchants, responded with "benefit and comfort for the poor."[56]

Skeptics might discount these gifts as calculated business expenses. To be sure, Godbe's public benevolence cast him in a favorable light and probably helped to attract customers. Yet his good works were certainly done out of more than self-interest. Godbe was an idealist. He liked helping. Moreover, his liberality always reminded him of his humble beginnings. No one could have been poorer than he, when less than two decades before, he had trudged into the valley with scarcely enough clothes to cover himself. Perhaps Godbe regarded his charity as part payment for his own good fortune.

Notes

^1. Standing, "Friendly House," p. 234. Also Standing and Standing, "Road to 'Fortune,'" p. 264.

^2. Kimball, "Biographical Sketch of Thomas S. Williams," BYU; Chandless, *Visit to Salt Lake City,* pp. 195–96; Bullock, Minutes of Meetings, 27 Aug. 1854, LDS Archives.
^3. *SLTrib,* 2 Aug. 1902, p. 1.
^4. *DN* 4 (31 Aug. 1854): 3.
^5. *DN* 5 (4 Apr., 10 and 24 Oct. 1855): 29, 245, 260.
^6. HamGodbe, unpublished manuscript, no title or pagination, HamGodbe Papers, University of Utah.
^7. *DN* 5 (10 Oct. 1855): 248.
^8. *DN* 11 (3 Apr. 1861): 37.
^9. Tullidge, *HSLC,* bio. appendix, pp. 51–52.
^10. Reynolds to BY, Jr., 11 July 1865, *MStar* 27 (30 July 1865): 621–22.
^11. Ibid.; Shearman letter, 21 July 1865, ibid., 27 (16 Sept. 1865): 589.
^12. BY to Daniel H. Wells and BY, Jr., 24 July 1865, *MStar* 27 (7 Oct. 1865): 636. Punctuation altered and added.
^13. BY letter, *DN* 5 (21 Nov. 1855): 292.
^14. H. S. Eldredge to George Q. Cannon, 19 May 1863, *MStar* 25 (27 June 1863): 413.
^15. *DN* 16 (4 Aug. 1867): 253; WSGodbe to BY, 2 June 1862, BY Incoming Corr., LDS Archives.
^16. Letter, 13 May 1861, *MStar* 23 (25 May 1861): 330; George J. Taylor to George Q. Cannon, 14 May 1861, ibid., p. 332.
^17. *SLTrib,* 1 Apr. 1872, p. 3; Wilford Woodruff letter, 9 Feb. 1864, *MStar* 26 (16 Apr. 1864): 251–52.
^18. Hepworth Dixon, *New America,* p. 136.
^19. Letter fragment dated 1929, HamGodbe Papers, University of Utah.
^20. *DEN,* 12 Dec. 1867, p. 2.
^21. Financial notes: Shearman, 7 Mar. 1862; Franklin H. Head, 3 Apr. 1866; Abraham Smoot, 19 Mar. 1866; Claflin, 4 Dec. 1867; and miscellaneous notes of the SLC business firm of Kimball and

Lawrence. All of these notes are found in the HamGodbe Papers, University of Utah.

^22. U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of the Census, Eighth Census, 1860, SLC, Thirteenth Ward, p. 2, item 7; Arrington, "Taxable Income," pp. 33–34.

^23. Burt, "William J. Willes's Story," pp. 97–98.

^24. Ibid.

^25. Ibid.; also "Robert Cleghorn, Druggist," pp. 99–102.

^26. Standing, "Friendly House," p. 234; legislative reports cited in JH, 19 Feb. 1869, 7; *DNWeekly* 17 (2 Dec. 1868): 339.

^27. William H. Shearman letter, *DNWeekly* 16 (18 Dec. 1867): 355; ibid., 17 (2 Dec. 1868): 339; and Standing, "Friendly House," p. 235.

^28. Benjamin Hampton to "Tony" [Anthony Godbe?], 24 Apr. 1909, HamGodbe Papers, University of Utah; "William S. Godbe," in *Sketches of the Inter-mountain States,* p. 369.

^29. BY to WSGodbe, 24 Oct. 1864, BY Letterbooks, LDS Archives.

^30. Balance Sheets, 1865, 1867, and 1868, HamGodbe Papers, University of Utah.

^31. BY to Hiram B. Clawson, 19 Mar. 1866, BY Letterbooks, LDS Archives.

^32. *SLHer,* 2 Aug 1902, p. 8; Tullidge, "Godbeite Movement," p. 31.

^33. BY letter, *DN* 5 (21 Nov. 1855): 292.

^34. BY's Office Journal, Book D, 2 Sept. 1863, LDS Archives.

^35. "Documentary History of the Church," 3 Mar. 1866, p. 170; Historian's Office Journal, 29 Aug. 1864, 2:412, LDS Archives.

^36. Tullidge, "Godbeite Movement," p. 40.

^37. "Documentary History of the Church," 10 May 1857, p. 212, LDS Archives.

^38. WSGodbe letter, 31 May 1858, in JH; Lee, *Mormon Chronicle,* pp. 162–63 (10 May 1858).

^39. WSGodbe letter, 31 May 1858, in JH.

^40. CFI Records, A183374 and M183395, LDS Family History Library. Some Godbe family sources have Mary and William marrying on 13 Feb. 1857.
^41. Margaret Godbe Warnock to HamGodbe, 23 Aug. 1971, HamGodbe Papers, University of Utah.
^42. *SLTrib,* 17 July 1929, p. 28.
^43. Joseph H. Felt to his father, 1 Dec. 1855, JH, p. 7; Kevin D. Herring to HamGodbe, 8 Jan. 1977, HamGodbe Papers, University of Utah.
^44. HamGodbe to Gwynn and Marjorie Bland, 9 Dec. 1971; WSGodbe Family Group Charts, both in HamGodbe Papers, University of Utah; *SLTrib,* 17 July 1929, p. 28.
^45. Walker, "'Going to Meeting.'"
^46. Zarubbabel Snow, Thirteenth Ward General Minutes, 12 May 1863, LDS Archives.
^47. Arrington, *From Quaker to Latter-day Saint,* traces Woolley's life and provides information on the Thirteenth Ward.
^48. Bishops' Meetings, 3 Nov. 1864, 90, LDS Archives.
^49. For a sampling of such incidents, see Thirteenth Ward General Minutes.
^50. *DNWeekly* 15 (14 Dec. 1865): 76; 16 (26 Sept. 1866): 340; and 17 (27 May 1868): 125.
^51. George D. Watt letter, 18 Aug. 1867, *DNWeekly* 16 (21 Aug. 1867): 269; Irving, "Encouraging the Saints."
^52. Historian's Office Journal, 27 Jan. 1865; BY to Hiram B. Clawson, 17 Mar. 1868, BY Letterbooks, both in LDS Archives.
^53. Thirteenth Ward General Minutes, 2 Mar. 1865.
^54. JH, 12 Feb. 1866, p. 1; *DNWeekly* 17 (19 Feb. 1868): 11.
^55. Phelps: BY to Albert Carrington, 28 Mar. 1866, BY Letterbooks, LDS Archives; Lyne: *DEN,* 12 Sept. 1868; Caine: BY to Messrs. William Jennings, Henry W. Lawrence, and WSGodbe, 31 Jan. 1866, BY Letterbooks, LDS Archives; Shearman: Memorandum, 1 June 1867, HamGodbe Papers, University of Utah; and St. George: JH, 13 May 1865.

^56. Shearman to WSGodbe, 26 May 1864, HamGodbe Papers, University of Utah; Shearman to Daniel H. Wells, 17 June 1865, *MStar* 27 (22 July 1865): 461; Thomas E. Jeremy et al. to Cannon, 2 July 1864, *MStar* 26 (13 Aug. 1864): 524; *DN* 14 (9 Nov. 1864): 44.

Chapter 4

Intellectuals in Zion

William Godbe arrived in Utah shortly after the mid-nineteenth century and made his mark as a prominent businessman and mid-level religious and political leader. The early Utah careers of Fanny and Thomas Stenhouse, Edward W. Tullidge, and Elias Harrison also revealed abilities and achievements of the first order—as well as clues about their eventual apostasy. Apostasy seldom is sudden. It requires the sowing and the cultivation of the plant before the reaping.

Fanny and Thomas Stenhouse found careers in Zion that were more cultural and intellectual than Godbe's main early pursuits. First, Thomas served as a clerk in the Church Historian's Office and as a reporter for the *Deseret News.* Positions of greater prestige followed. He became proprietor of Salt Lake's first newsstand, publisher of a short-lived literary magazine, university regent, Salt Lake postmaster, United States postal agent for the Intermountain West, patron of the Salt Lake Theatre, a cultural lecturer at the Seventies' Hall, and eventually founder and publisher of the Salt Lake *Telegraph,* the city's first daily and at the time the most successful journal in the territory. Clearly appreciated for his social touch, Stenhouse frequently planned the territory's grand parties. As with Godbe, Stenhouse often joined Brigham Young when he toured the outlying settlements and briefly exhorted the Saints during their meetings. In the process, Stenhouse gained a reputation for preaching.[1]

As with most of Deseret's prominent citizens, Stenhouse entered into plural marriage. In 1863 he married his second wife, Belinda Pratt, the fifteen-year-old daughter of Elder Parley P. Pratt. She bore him three daughters. But it was Fanny who initially assisted in the building of the family fortunes, advertising herself as a "Milliner, Dress and Cloak Maker, First House West of the Tabernacle."[2] However, when the family became more prosperous, Fanny retired to care for her five sons and five daughters and to accept an occasional role at the theater. "We were surrounded by every comfort and

luxury which at that time could be procured in Salt Lake City," she later recounted. "No family in the Territory was better provided for than was ours, not excepting Brigham Young."[3]

Had the territory of Utah possessed a minister of public information and propaganda, Thomas Stenhouse would have been it. Stenhouse's *Telegraph,* less religious than the *Deseret News,* was "independent" only in ownership. Originally established as a foil to the anti-Mormon *Union Vedette*—the voice of Colonel Patrick Edward Connor and the California Volunteers at Camp Douglas—the *Telegraph*'s sentiments were never in doubt.[4] There were few, if any, gentlemen among the rabid antagonists of Mormonism, declared one of the newspaper's more forceful editorials: "On the contrary, those rabid, malicious, mendacious, unscrupulous antagonists manifest too many of the habits of climbing monkeys to ever be mistakenly regarded as men or gentlemen."[5] Since during this period Stenhouse filed pro-Mormon dispatches for the popular *New York Herald* as well as for several California papers, his journalistic voice was undoubtedly the most powerful in the territory.[6]

Stenhouse's role as a defender of the faith was by no means limited to newspapers. When in 1863 tension between the church and the California Volunteers threatened to end in open conflict, President Young asked Stenhouse to travel throughout the eastern United States to gain support. The Mormon publisher got favorable interviews with old LDS friend and Washington insider Thomas Kane; former territorial governor Alfred Cumming; chief agent of the Associated Press, D. N. Craig; the New York *Tribune*'s Horace Greeley; the influential postmaster general, Montgomery Blair; and even President Abraham Lincoln himself. The president received Stenhouse warmly, saying that if the Mormons would leave him alone during the Civil War, he would be happy to do the same.[7]

When military suppression of the Saints again seemed likely in 1866, Stenhouse once more sought out some of the nation's most influential citizens. Although managing only a brief introduction with President Andrew Johnson, Stenhouse did gain promises of support from Cumming, *New York Herald* publisher James Gordon Bennett

Sr., and General William T. Sherman.[8] Two years later Stenhouse used his influence with Leland Stanford in an effort to secure for the church a valuable Central Pacific contract for railroad ties.[9]

Thomas's and Fanny's charm and savoir faire were valuable community assets. Among Deseret's most cultured missionaries, they were introduced to virtually every prominent visitor to the territory during the 1860s—among them, American humorist Artemus Ward, Sir Richard Burton, Schuyler Colfax, Samuel Bowles, and British editor William Hepworth Dixon.

The fruits of the Stenhouses' public relations ministry were impressive. The tone of Artemus Ward's satirical essays on the Mormons changed markedly after his contact with Stenhouse. According to Stenhouse, Ward's essays became "more favorable and conducive to good than otherwise."[10] Likewise, Burton's view of the Saints was influenced by the Stenhouses. "For the first time I heard that phase of the family tie sensibly, nay learnedly, advocated on religious grounds by fair lips," the worldly and erudite traveler commented after Fanny's spirited defense of plural marriage. Burton met with Thomas Stenhouse every day during his stay in Salt Lake City. "[I] found in his society both pleasure and profit," he remarked; though the Mormon elder could see only "the perfections of his system . . . , his power of faith struck me much."[11]

William Hepworth Dixon, editor of the highly regarded *Athenaeum,* was equally impressed with Fanny, "a clever and handsome woman," and her defense of her husband's venture into polygamy. But Thomas evoked a reaction approaching awe. How could Thomas, Dixon asked, "perhaps the man of highest culture whom we saw at Salt Lake," who could make "jokes and quote the last poem," declare without reservation his personal loyalty to Brigham Young? The British editor claimed that Thomas had declared that "a man had better go to hell at once, if he cannot meet Brigham's eye." Clearly affected by Thomas's devotion, Dixon concluded that "no Pope in Rome, no Czar in Moscow, no Caliph in Bagdad, ever exercised such power as the Mormons have conferred on Young."[12]

By 1868, the Stenhouses had reached the high tide of their prosperity and zeal for Zion. Their religion had granted to them its highest temple rites and ordinances. Clara, their clever and lovely daughter, had become the fourth wife of Brigham Young's eldest son, Joseph A. Young. But these bonds proved not enough. Within several years, Fanny and Thomas, resolute missionaries and defenders of the faith during their entire adult years, would leave Mormonism.[13]

What happened? Fanny and Thomas had their version of events, which reflected their viewpoint. According to Fanny, it was plural marriage that estranged her more than anything else. She claimed that polygamy had put her off, starting when she first heard of the teaching in the early 1850s, but it was only in the late 1860s, after Thomas sought the hand of the talented and beautiful Zina Young, the daughter of Brigham Young himself, that her frustrations boiled over.

Apparently Zina was the center of public attention. As a leading young lady of the Salt Lake Theatre, she received, as Fanny unkindly observed, more "pretty" compliments than "any artist in the world deserves."[14] Thomas delicately approached Fanny and managed to secure her approval for the marriage by saying that his interest was religious—his priesthood required him, he explained, to take another wife. Fanny later learned that this statement was not the full truth. Her secret reading of the lovers' letters showed that the two were very much romantically interested in each other. "When I saw the intensity of the love depicted in those letters, I began to think that *I* had before known nothing about that tender sentiment," she said with more than a trace of envy.[15] By her own account, the effect was disturbing, even shattering. Fanny could no longer accept polygamy, and with that her faith in Mormonism began to wither. "To doubt one doctrine," she acknowledged, "was to begin to doubt all, and I soon felt that my religion was rapidly crumbling away before my eyes, and that I was losing confidence in every thing and every body. I was like a ship at sea without a compass, not knowing where to go or what to do."[16]

The proposed marriage, however, never came off. In 1868 the fifteen-month engagement ended abruptly when Zina suddenly became the third wife of Thomas Williams, a clerk in her father's office.[17] Zina's choice and the hastiness of the marriage—Williams was hardly Stenhouse's social equal—were embarrassing to the Stenhouses. Even the deeply troubled Fanny seemed wounded by the way her husband had been treated, and after the cancellation of the engagement, she claimed to have asked President Young to intervene on behalf of her husband.[18]

Stenhouse told an equally unhappy story about his business affairs. While the *Telegraph* had done well in the beginning, by late 1868, dull economic conditions in Utah threatened its suspension.[19] Nevertheless, according to Stenhouse, Young had ignored its weakened condition and advised that the newspaper be transferred to the new railroad center, Ogden City. With the transcontinental railroad nearly finished, many believed Ogden would soon dominate the territory's commerce. The church needed a strong journalistic voice in this potentially pivotal city, Young told Stenhouse.

Moving the *Telegraph* to Ogden was a step that Stenhouse did not wish to take. "If the *Telegraph* is removed from Salt Lake," Stenhouse protested in a letter to Young, "I am extremely doubtful of the longevity of the paper. . . . To move it to Ogden would be to incur a responsibility and risk . . . that I do not feel to assume from choice."[20] Yet when Young's counsel remained firm, Stenhouse—"to prove his obedience, cost what it might"—complied.[21]

In the best of times, the newspaper's survival was uncertain—and these were not the best of times. Almost at the same moment that the *Telegraph* was transferred to Ogden, the Union Pacific Railroad paralyzed local business by declaring bankruptcy and refusing to pay its Mormon subcontractors. The event pushed the Utah economy into a local depression, which was catastrophic for Stenhouse's newspaper. After less than ten weeks in Ogden, Stenhouse told Young that the venture was "financially, a failure." Trying to give a positive shading to the president's failed advice, Stenhouse admitted that had economic conditions remained stable, the transfer probably

would have succeeded. But, complained the newspaperman, the people's "pockets are empty" and "the town is dull." No business was going on. "Besides, there is so very little—indeed I might say nothing—on which to make a paper interesting to the general public."[22]

The last matter may have been decisive. Stenhouse liked to be in the center of things, and he regarded Ogden City as an exile. With Young's permission and hardly a look back, Stenhouse returned the *Telegraph* to Salt Lake City in the middle of 1869. Nevertheless, the newspaper suspended publication in December.

Requiring no new fuel to fire her apostasy, Fanny viewed the Ogden episode as a move by President Young to bankrupt them.[23] Her husband agreed. "I gave evidence of my obedience," Thomas told his wife, "and it brought ruin, as I expected. Henceforth I will follow the best experience of my life."[24] Twice now—first with Zina and now with the *Telegraph*—Thomas believed that Young had worked behind his back. Wasn't Young's advice to move the newspaper to Ogden just a maneuver to leave the *Deseret Evening News* unchallenged in the capital city? Shouldn't Young compensate him now that he had achieved his purpose?[25]

The Stenhouses' account laid most of the blame for their disaffiliation on the religious leader: Young had become unfriendly, arbitrary, and even grasping for their property. For his part, the church leader never gave his side of the episode, although the matter was clearly more complex than the Stenhouses described it. For one thing, Fanny had not been as determined and long-standing an opponent of plural marriage as some of her later accounts suggested. On occasion, as the case of her conversations with Richard Burton and William Hepworth Dixon, she had publicly defended "the principle." Moreover, she had consented to and had even defended her husband's espousal to Belinda Pratt. Indeed, upset with herself for opposing her husband's proposed marriage to Carrie Grant, the daughter of Salt Lake City mayor Jedediah M. Grant, she later agreed to a posthumous "sealing" of Thomas and Carrie, who had died before she could marry.[26]

Perhaps, like some other women polygamists, Fanny had felt torn between a personal dislike of plural marriage and the desire to obey a religious teaching. But it is clear that her opposition to the doctrine did not become paramount until after she discovered her husband's affections for Zina Young.

But why had President Young acted as he had? Clearly the Stenhouses failed to mention a factor of major importance: Young must have known of the domestic violence that was occurring in the Stenhouses' household—and Thomas's drinking that probably prompted it. Heber J. Grant, a future president of the Mormon church, recalled that Belinda Stenhouse rented rooms from his mother, and it was his job to collect the rent at Stenhouse's office. Grant came to fear Stenhouse: when drunk, Stenhouse could be a "perfect brute." According to Grant, while Stenhouse was a "great preacher," he "did not live his religion honestly."[27] The boy's stern observations apparently were not a community secret. An anonymous writer for the *New York World* spoke of Stenhouse's tattered reputation prior to his apostasy, "chiefly from the reported violence of his conduct in his own house."[28]

Thomas's drinking and spouse abuse may have involved Fanny as well as Belinda, although Fanny never reported it. If so, his conduct may have contributed to her disorientation and colored her views of plural marriage. In addition, his drinking probably explains other curious episodes. The *Telegraph*'s first Ogden issue reported the city's greatest news story, the driving of the Promontory golden spike and the completion of the intercontinental railroad. Though Stenhouse covered the event, he wrote no news copy. Returning to his office that evening, he retired to his quarters and went to sleep—unusual behavior for a reporter covering perhaps the most important news story of his life. Two clerks worked through the night rewriting his rough notes and preparing the inaugural edition.[29]

As a matter of policy, Young was long-suffering with the personal roughness of his people. He used their strengths to build Zion, and at the same time he hoped that they (or at least their children) would "reform and learn to live their religion more faithfully."[30]

Certainly abstinence from alcohol was not a condition for his fellowship, but avoiding drunkenness and disorder was. Nor was Young willing to overlook spouse abuse. For some time he had probably walked this narrow line with Thomas, granting him social and business opportunity but, despite his talent, withholding from him important church position. However, as reports of Thomas's drinking became more public and Belinda likely reported her domestic difficulties with her husband, the church leader may have moved to lessen the journalist's influence, and in Zina's case it is almost certain that he advised her not to marry Thomas. In all this, Brigham kept his own counsel.

The result of these various events and details was ruinous. By the end of the 1860s much of Thomas's career was in disarray. Faced with personal shipwreck, he would pitch erratically.

The cultured and quick-witted Stenhouses represented one type of religious disaffection. At its core was Fanny's dislike of plural marriage and Thomas's breach of the acceptable standards of Mormon conduct. On the other hand, Elias Harrison and Edward Tullidge experienced another kind of dissent. They were intellectuals who found Utah's soil too barren. In their view, Young's Zion didn't fit well with the modern world. This judgment was partly personal. Young's society did not fulfill their eager hopes or put their talents to use as fully as they wished.

Tullidge and Harrison both arrived in the Great Basin in 1861. For his part, Tullidge quickly set out to fulfill his personal dream. Continuing his earlier petition to Young, in which he had referred to himself as Mormonism's epic writer, Tullidge wrote to Young as an aspiring artist might approach a European patron. "I earnestly desire to enter your service," he began without any introduction. He wanted to be "entirely" placed in Young's hands and to have his life "directed" by the church leader. Perhaps he might work at shoemaking. "I care not in what form I am employed, within my capabilities, so that I am set to work by *you.*"

Tullidge's letter, which closed as abruptly as it commenced, apparently failed to bring the desired response, for in his next appeal

Tullidge was more blunt. He commended Young for recognizing the value of legitimate drama (the Salt Lake Theatre was then nearly completed), but noted that as "yet our people have no national drama; and in fact, properly speaking, no national literature." This omission Tullidge hoped to rectify. He wanted to help shape "our civilization and national [literary] destiny."

This second letter ended as Tullidge's first entreaty had begun, with a submissiveness that seemed to go beyond the reverence often shown to "the Lord's prophet." "Unless *you* direct me," he concluded, "I care not if I never again take up pen in a literary capacity but make shoemaking[,] which I now use merely to gain a livelihood, as the proper vocation of my life." Tullidge's letter revealed that he was working on a play titled *The King's Test, or The Least of the King's Servants.* This he promised to present to Young shortly. But he was open to other alternatives. "Any play that *you* set me to work upon or sanction, I shall produce with success."[31]

Young apparently ignored his eager convert's pleas—not even the spectacle of Tullidge working as a shoemaker influenced him. Failing to capture Young's support, during the next several years Tullidge wrote for the *Deseret News* and tried his fortune as a merchant, apparently as a job printer. But whenever he and Harrison could find the time (or a cause), the two men promoted cultural themes, an activity that seemed to preoccupy them.

One way to promote cultural awareness was to have a "Seventies Lecture," Salt Lake City's version of the Chautauqua. During the nineteenth century, the Latter-day Saint priesthood office of "Seventy" had a cultural and educational duty, and in 1861–62 Seventies planned an ambitious series of Wednesday evening public discussions, which was expanded to include Friday night lectures as well. During the years that followed, many of the men who would later become Godbeites gave lectures, among them Eli Kelsey on the history of France; William H. Shearman on education; Thomas Stenhouse on New York City's newspapers; George Watt on the "laws of life"; and William S. Godbe on the education, manners,

customs, and laws of the Spartans, with special emphasis on "the successful policy of Lycurgus."[32]

In addition, Tullidge, and particularly Harrison, often spoke at these gatherings. According to the *Deseret News,* the "spicy and instructive" discourse "Oddities We Meet with in Life," delivered in December 1862, satirized contemporary manners and conventions. A month later Harrison read a copy of Brigham Young's address, which had originally been delivered before the General Assembly of the State of Deseret, the Mormons' millennial shadow government. On other occasions, Harrison spoke on astronomy, "the pleasures of the sciences," and "modern lecturers and modern writings," which introduced Tullidge's lecture on "ancient and modern literature." And Harrison revived the old *Millennial Star* series the "Tokens of Divinity in Our Religion," which the *Deseret News* referred to as having "new and highly instructive" reasoning, confirming Joseph Smith's teaching "that man is the offspring of God."[33] Tullidge, in turn, spoke on such themes as the "universality of Mormonism" and the "intellectual development of the Latter Day Saints, past, present, and future."[34]

By 1863, Harrison's and Tullidge's often abstract and philosophical lecturing may have prompted a request, probably from President Young himself, for a reform at the Seventies Hall. While the people had responded positively to many past lectures, church authorities now felt that future discussions should place a greater emphasis on practical matters. Harrison, Stenhouse, and Tullidge were appointed to a seven-man committee to oversee the revision, though their personal desires on the issue may have been quite different.[35] Perhaps Harrison's strangely titled Seventies lecture two years later was meant as biting sarcasm. His address, it was reported in the city press, was called "Happifying Thoughts with Regard to the Future of Mankind, as Suggested by Geology and Science Generally."[36] Thereafter his appearances as a Seventies lecturer diminished.

However, Harrison's cultural mission with the Seventies was not over. Joining William H. Shearman, William S. Godbe, and other Zion intellectuals, Harrison in 1864 was made one of the twelve directors

of the Seventies' Library and Reading Room Association. Again the Saints' desire for enlightenment was evident. The association subscribed to such weekly newspapers as the *New York Evening Post,* the *New York Tribune,* the *Saturday Evening Post,* the *San Francisco Bulletin,* and *Scientific American.* The Seventies Hall reading room also had fifteen monthly periodicals, including the prestigious *Atlantic Monthly, Blackwood's Magazine,* the *Edinburgh Review, Harper's Monthly, Godey's Lady's Book,* the *North British Review,* the *London Review,* and the *Westminster Review.*[37]

Harrison was also very involved in popular culture. In 1863, the Deseret Agricultural and Manufacturing Society appointed him to help with the territorial "State Fair." His duty: to help arrange and display homemade and home-grown products at the Social Hall exhibition.[38] That same year, Harrison became one of the leading advocates of a proposed "Deseret Academy of Arts," whose ambitious aim was to create a school, library, and museum of art and design for Utah's artistically gifted young men and women. Harrison and his associates, including artists George M. Ottinger, William V. Morris, Ralph A. Ramsay, and Dan A. Weggeland along with photographer Charles R. Savage, offered their services at no expense. Pupils were required only to pay five dollars per quarter ("payable in advance" with "Produce, etc. taken in lieu of money") to meet the cost of incidentals and room rent. It was hoped that the Deseret Academy's graduates, or "fellows," would become a standing body to promote the arts in the territory.

Harrison, as secretary, wrote the rationale for the new academy, and it contained some strongly revealing, personal passages. According to Harrison, the Mormon religion viewed art, skill, and beauty as "emanations and inspirations of divinity" that, placed within each man and woman, continued to grow beyond the grave. The arts, accordingly, were part of humankind's "endless field of progress." Hitherto, Mormonism had concerned itself with "matters of utility and necessity," as the settlers struggled to make a living from the Great Basin wilderness. But Harrison envisioned a new day: "Everything now indicates that Providence, which established a

people in these mountains, and led them out [in] the minds of our leaders in plain practical directions, is now shaping our career as a nation towards a day of refinement and polish." Despite the academy's importance and promise, nothing lasting came of the project.[39]

In 1863, Harrison and Tullidge began a new cultural activity, and this time they hoped to make some money. The two men advertised themselves as editors of family histories. Harrison and Tullidge offered to take the commonly kept pioneer diaries and rework them into a "historical chain" of pleasing family history narrative. As evidence of their credentials, the editors announced that Elder Wilford Woodruff had already asked them to write his biography, using his lengthy journals. To establish their new business, Harrison and Tullidge opened an office on Main Street "at the late Ambrotype Gallery of Perris and Hopkins, next door to the Telegraph Office."[40]

This last venture caused Tullidge to approach Young once more. This time, in an elegantly penned letter, he sought approval to establish a literary school that would teach the technique and art of composition. Mormon missionaries especially required such training, Tullidge claimed. Tullidge also asked Young's approval for a "Deseret Literary Manuscript Magazine." In making these suggestions, Tullidge restated his personal ambition: "Those whose instincts are for literary labour, if they are true to their own natures, . . . are craving to become workers in erecting a glorious fabric of national literature." Once again Young withheld his approval.[41]

It is difficult to assess the level of Harrison and Tullidge's religious commitment during the time they were making these plans and petitioning Young. Since coming to Utah, Harrison had been ordained to the priesthood office of Seventy, and according to one (perhaps erring) source, he had served as a bishop's counselor.[42] Occasionally he had been invited to occupy the Tabernacle pulpit.

Yet as Harrison later recalled, even during this time of religious service, he experienced many nagging and faith-corroding doubts that seemed to center on President Young. The two men were poles apart in personality and manner. Each in his own way embodied the

contrasting virtues of deed and analysis, pragmatism and intellectualism, which hindered each from fully valuing the other. For Harrison this led to a dangerous question: in Utah's theocracy, where did Young begin and end and when did gospel teaching take over? There were, according to Harrison's own account, several years of "agony of soul" and much anxious prayer, which probably had begun when he found his hope of playing a major role in Deseret's cultural activity fading.[43]

Tullidge followed a similar path of religious questioning. If his later statements can be taken at face value, he careened badly. Despite an outward religious observance that included being ordained a Seventy, in 1869 he confessed an "unbelief of eight years." During these years, he had adopted a "philosophic state of religion," which anchored faith "in the Divine Mission of the World" instead of accepting "the mission of any special prophet." Paradoxically, he also claimed to have "never doubted" the mission of Joseph Smith, "though for years I have doubted nearly everything else in Mormonism." When missionaries representing the claims of Joseph Smith's sons proselyted in Utah in 1864, Tullidge affirmed that he had almost accepted their message and joined the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (RLDS). The reason he hesitated was spiritual: he claimed that Joseph Smith had appeared to him in a dream and counseled him to delay accepting the "Josephite" claims.[44]

These mixed and confusing strands surfaced in his next joint venture with Harrison: the publication of a literary magazine called *Peep O'Day.* Tullidge claimed that a talk with RLDS missionary Edmund C. Briggs had led him to start the magazine, which apparently was conceived as a second stage in a two-pronged battle against Brigham Young. The first would be the "Josephite" missionaries' proselyting attack. Tullidge's role in the second movement was to marshal the city's anti-Mormon merchants to support a "liberalizing" journal aimed at "the backbone of priestly despotism."[45]

Tullidge's proposed magazine dovetailed with Harrison's ambition: Harrison had long believed that he had a "mission" to publish a magazine.[46] Pursuing their joint hopes, in the fall of 1864 Tullidge and Harrison presented their plans to John Chislett, a former British missionary companion and now an anti-Brigham merchant. Chislett responded "nobly," apparently with cash, and more important, he offered to forge an alliance with other dissenting businessmen. As a result, Frederick and Sharp Walker, former Mormons who had also broken with Young, quietly promised to pay the expenses for a three months' run of four thousand copies of the magazine. They eventually contributed two thousand dollars. As Tullidge admitted, these merchants "cared nothing" about either Tullidge or Harrison or about making a literary contribution to territorial Utah. They wanted to weaken the LDS hierarchy.[47]

Thus began the *Peep O'Day,* apparently the first literary magazine of the Intermountain West.[48] Tullidge later claimed that the magazine heralded the "Josephite" mission: "I have loved Joseph the Prophet as much as you have loved him, [and] I shall be with his son Joseph when he comes [to Utah]," Tullidge supposedly told Elder Briggs when the magazine was first published.[49] However, one member of the Reorganization, Apostle W. H. Kelley, failed to understand the magazine in that light, and many years later he furiously denounced Tullidge's RLDS claims.[50] The inaugural issue of the magazine seemed to support Kelley's views. That issue promised that the *Peep O'Day* would be "independent of, but courteous to one and all."[51]

Tullidge and Harrison hoped to have their magazine printed on a press that would not bring controversy. They approached both the *Deseret News* and the *Telegraph* but were turned away; yet rather than abandon the project, they engaged the *Union Vedette,* the anti-Mormon newspaper published by Colonel Connor at Camp Douglas. Concealing the truth from their readers, the banner of the *Peep O'Day* advertised its place of publication as the "Twentieth Ward." The editors disingenuously explained that while the paper was edited in the ward it was printed "where we best can be served."[52]

The title of the magazine said everything. It signified, the editors declared, the dawning of a new, culminating civilization of "Truth, Art, Science and Immortality." According to Harrison and Tullidge, this developing culture promised to reach into all nations and people, including Zion, and they invited their readers to celebrate its "glorious uprising" and join in the chant "Hail to the Peep O'Day."[53]

Both Harrison and Tullidge felt that Mormonism should play a major role in this promised "immortal" culture, and pursuing this goal, they returned to the ideas that they had begun to develop in the *Millennial Star* several years earlier. Mormonism, Harrison argued, would someday mean more than prosaic Zion-building—more than "so many adobe walls" or "so many miles of fencing." It would become "the incarnation of all great, wise or lustrous principles," representing the best of theology, art, and science and sponsoring "all talent or God-sent genius." At the moment of its triumph, the new religion would "shine as a system, in which [other] creeds, the most distinct and varying from itself, will find the gentlest teacher and protector of their rights."[54]

Tullidge also saw Mormonism as assisting in the rise of a new culture. The world had grown old, he believed. It required "a new religious inspiration"—Mormonism—to energize and transform it. "The point of Joseph's mission is *Christianity reborn*[—]to become the soul of the new civilization of millennial glory," Tullidge wrote. "Such in brief is our view of Mormonism."[55]

These views could not have troubled President Young and other church authorities. What more could have been spoken in Mormonism's behalf? Mormonism, the Patron of the Arts! Indeed, the expertly edited journal was mostly filled with inoffensive literary writing and largely orthodox commentary. Yet its editorials—calm, judicious, and restrained—often had an unexpected twist that altered their surface meaning. For example, in discussing the "robust republican character" of Mormonism, Tullidge argued that while Mormonism had "its ecclesiastical organization and rule," its true spirit was "republican" and "universalian." This meant that Mormonism stood for "universal brotherhood, universal good,

universal liberty, universal truth and universal progress" in social, political, and religious matters. "Such we have dreamt it to be, and if it be but dreaming, . . . still let us dream forever."[56]

The technique was to condemn through praise. What Saint would deny such a lofty view of the kingdom? However, a more mature reading would reveal that Mormon republicanism and Mormon culture were more a "dream" than a reality.

Another editorial was more direct. Discussing "Mormons and the development of western America," the editorial's authors saw the Saints as another species of the "universal man," another part of the westward flow of American civilization. As such, there was no room for Mormon claims of exclusivity. "We hate sectarianism," the editors wrote, "whether it be Gentile sectarianism or Mormon sectarianism." Shouldn't the church join hands with non-Mormons to develop Utah's resources and bring the territory to social, political, and intellectual prominence? "If we cannot worship with them in the same synagogue, we will hail them on the common platform of universal man."[57]

Looking back on the *Peep O'Day* episode, Tullidge wanted to make the most of its rebellious content. The magazine, he declared, was a radical instrument of "social revolution."[58] Its "cardinal affirmation was that Mormonism was republican in its genius—a statement justly pronounced untrue by Brigham Young, and only affirmed by the editors to draw attention to its falsity."[59] On another occasion, Tullidge claimed that the magazine "was intended to rival priesthood, or at least to check it."[60]

Perhaps the editors were firmly committed to these "revolutionary" results, though it is more likely that their vision at the time was less clear. Tullidge and Harrison were feeling their way, not fully sure of their emotions and not aware of where their intellectual seeking might lead them. Yet at the very least, the *Peep O'Day* began to define the issues that later characterized Tullidge's and Harrison's more famous revolt: a rejection of the prevailing Mormon view that culture and society were in decline; a denial of the authoritarian spirit of Zion and its practical emphasis; a rejection of formal creeds

and claims of Mormon "separateness"; and a willingness to join with non-Mormons to develop Utah.

The *Peep O'Day* was hardly a major insurgency within the battlements of Zion. After six issues, it was suspended. It was not "more than born, when it died," mocked some Mormons. "It peeped, and went out."[61] The immediate trouble lay in the inability of the Camp Douglas press to secure newsprint and, despite the pleading of the magazine's editors, the unwillingness of Mormon leaders to allow the journal to be moved to their facilities. The *Deseret News,* it was explained, was simply too busy ("If you had the gold to pay . . . for the work, it could not be done").[62]

But there were other, ancillary reasons for the failure of the *Peep O'Day.* A literary magazine on the Utah frontier was premature. There were not enough readers. Moreover, the magazine's voice had been too subtle and confused, and the issues it raised were at the time too theoretical and abstract.

Nevertheless, for the moment Harrison and Tullidge congratulated themselves on having declared the wave of the future. "Six numbers out, Elias," Tullidge recalled saying, "and we win for the press, though we fail in seeming. Our enterprise will receive a new birth in the future. The *Peep O'Day* is the prophecy of that future." Utah poet Sarah E. Carmichael strengthened their feeling of accomplishment by sending her praise.[63]

A chapter had clearly been closed. As the year 1864 ended, Harrison apparently returned to the architectural work that occasionally occupied him. He had already helped design the interior of the Salt Lake Theatre, and presumably there had been other projects as well.[64] For his part, Tullidge began again to organize the Wilford Woodruff journals into a biography. Despite spending almost two years on the project, he left the task unfinished to work on a drama, *Eleanor DeVere.* Under the pressure of this writing, and supposedly burdened by "painful shocks" resulting from his deepening disenchantment with Mormonism, he began to lose control.[65] When Wilford Woodruff came home one evening, he found Tullidge "raving mad." According to Woodruff, Tullidge had lately

been "drinking very hard. . . . He now imagines himself the Great Bridegroom and many other foolish things."[66]

Tullidge and his family had been living at the Woodruff home, and the Apostle took a special interest in Tullidge's illness. The day after this breakdown, Woodruff visited Tullidge at city jail, where he had been placed in confinement. Exercising his faith, Woodruff cast from him the afflicting devils, and Tullidge, suddenly at peace, asked to be taken home. That night, however, there were new attacks and new blessings. The next morning, after "the Devil again Entered into him & he raged in a dreadful manner," Woodruff led him back to the police station. The illness continued for over a week, and according to Tullidge, "nearly sent me to the grave."[67]

The instability of Tullidge's family life must have played a role in upsetting his balance. By his own admission, from boyhood he had feared his cousin Jane Bowring because of her "dominant, almost demonic spirit." But after she converted to Mormonism, he had married her out of a self-confessed "love of family and Mormons." The unhappy union produced no children, leaving Tullidge with an "aching void." He had also married Eliza Kingsford Bowring, the wife of his deceased cousin William, apparently to provide her a home. Ten years his senior, Eliza was past childbearing age when sealed to Edward. Both marriages ended in divorce.[68]

After regaining his equilibrium, Tullidge left for New York City, full of renewed Mormon fervor. Ever the religious chameleon, he believed that he had been miraculously reclaimed from his illness, but perhaps more important, he thought he had won President Young's favor. Tullidge was overwhelmed by the prospect. "I am out [here] now with your fellowship and blessing," he wrote his leader. "When I have referred to the parting words and blessings you gave me I have been answered even in New York, 'My Dear Ned do not think that Brigham Young is too sweet upon you.' I have been told this and something like it too often. I will believe it no more. You said 'Go with my full fellowship and blessing.' I have come and will trust in it."[69] Tullidge translated Young's general blessing into a directive for a vigorous journalistic mission for his reclaimed faith.

Within two years after leaving Salt Lake City, Tullidge had published more than a half-dozen favorable, if not propagandistic, articles in two widely circulated periodicals, the *Galaxy* and the *Phrenological Journal.*

He had been especially successful in working with Samuel R. Wells, the *Phrenological Journal* editor. At first Wells had asked Tullidge to write a few brief notices on Mormonism. Tullidge responded with a tide of material, which step by step gained Wells's hesitating approval and resulted in published copy in the magazine. Tullidge was confident of the reason for his success. "The fact is I had been working with him for three months and the Lord had been working with him and he had got our people in his heart."[70]

The *Galaxy* published a Tullidge piece on Brigham Young and followed it with another, in which Tullidge contrasted the "spiritualism" of Joseph Smith with that of influential spiritualist Andrew Jackson Davis. Smith had received God and Christ, Tullidge argued, but Davis rejected both; Smith was a Christian prophet while Davis was an anti-Christ. The distinction between Smith and Davis, which became a settled tenet in Tullidge's mind, would later greatly affect him and his career.[71]

Always happiest while working for a cause, Tullidge found his time in the East rewarding. His letters to Young, his supposed mentor, detailed his hopes and feelings. "Never in my life have I desired wrong," he expressed in one of his letters. Yet, he realized that sometimes he had erred. He took spiritual refuge in knowing that God was forgiving and he hoped that Young would do likewise. "A word of encouragement and counsel from you will be O, so welcome."[72]

Tullidge believed that Providence had placed him in the East to enable him to find his true mission. Forgetting the uncertainties of the *Peep O'Day* incident, Tullidge asked Young whether he and Harrison might start a new church paper in New York City "to represent the cause of Utah and to battle for her." Tullidge thought that he and his friend, with God at their side, "would accomplish

more than is now seen." Godbe, then in New York City, promised funding.[73]

In another passage Tullidge renounced his desire for a professional career, though his recent publishing success seemed to promise a comfortable future as a writer. Instead, Tullidge, in a gesture of self-denial, asked to fulfill an extended missionary tour. Would Young allow him to stay in the field while his "young manhood" lasted? "I have found all the happiness of my life in laboring in God's service," Tullidge confessed.[74] To prove his sincerity, he voluntarily embarked on a four-month missionary tour from Philadelphia through Nauvoo to St. Louis, returning to New York early in 1867.[75]

For a time Tullidge relived the wonder and excitement of his days as a Mormon stripling elder in England. "I am full of prophecy," he told President Young. Tullidge preached to the usually fractious Philadelphia branch and had a "glorious" time. After visiting another congregation in New Jersey, he informed Young that some eastern members kept their Mormon membership a secret; in contrast, Tullidge proclaimed his willingness to be known to the world as "a Mormon Elder," and he underlined the phrase for emphasis. During a visit to Nauvoo, the former church headquarters, Tullidge found many to be the "very embodiment of satan against Brigham Young and the Church." As a result, he denounced the town as a "sepulchre" and "the abode of the damned," and he "fled" from its precincts as quickly as possible. The St. Louis congregation was only a little better. He and his companion described it as filled with gospel "dross and scum."[76]

These words might be expected from a young, excited elder engaged in his first tour. Tullidge, however, was in his middle thirties. Church authorities, of course, recognized his unusual emotion and suggested that he pace himself. Elder Orson Pratt, who was returning from one of his assignments abroad, counseled Tullidge "for the sake of . . . [his] health" to resume his shoemaking, which he did. Despite such good but personally deflating advice, Tullidge appreciated Pratt's warm prayers in his behalf. Listening to them,

Tullidge felt "comforted and blessed." They seemed to confirm that he was in the East "for a purpose of the Lord."[77]

In June 1867, Young responded to Tullidge with an affectionate, newsy letter that said nothing about Tullidge's proposal for a new magazine to be published in the East. Instead, the church leader warned against having too high hopes: Tullidge should be content with doing his best and allow Providence to determine the result. "If you take the right course," Young counseled, "live humble and faithful before the Lord, you are in a position to do considerable good."

Young's news from Deseret included several reports that were not uncommon: there had been Indian raids, early summer flooding, and a grasshopper scourge in Cache Valley. Sandwiched between these items was something more newsworthy. The church had recommended a trade embargo against the anti-Mormon merchants, and at the moment the campaign seemed to be going well. Some of these merchants had been unable to raise enough cash to pay their debts, but were hanging on. Others, Young reported, had abandoned their financial obligations and left the territory.[78] As Tullidge knew, these events were another skirmish in a long-term war. What he didn't know was how these events would involve himself and his friends in the near future.

Notes

^1. *NYHer,* 30 Oct. 1869, p. 6; JH, 22 July 1860, p. 3; 31 July 1862, p. 4; 30 Sept. 1863, p. 5; 2 Dec. 1863, p. 1; 15 June 1864, pp. 2–3; 20 July 1864, p. 3; 25 July 1864, p. 2; 24 Mar. 1866, p. 1; 2 Feb. 1867, p. 2; 23 Aug. 1867, p. 1; Alter, *Utah, the Storied Domain,* 1:435; *Daily Alta California* (San Francisco), 8 Mar. 1882.

^2. *DN* 10 (8 Aug. 1860): 184; 11 (22 May 1861): 96.

^3. Fanny Stenhouse, *TIAll,* p. 486; *Daily Alta California* (San Francisco), 8 Mar. 1882.

^4. Pedersen, "*Daily Union Vedette,*" provides background on the *Vedette.*

^5. *SLTel,* 24 Feb. 1869.

^6. Tullidge, *HSLC,* p. 317; Tullidge, *Galaxy* 2 (15 Oct. 1866): 363; and Fanny Stenhouse, in Minnie Godbe letter, 4 Nov. 1898, LDS Archives.
^7. Stenhouse to D. N. Craig, 13 June 1863, and Stenhouse to Montgomery Blair, 15 June 1863, Stenhouse Papers, LDS Archives; Stenhouse to BY, 4, 7, 13, and 19 June 1863, BY Incoming Corr., LDS Archives.
^8. Stenhouse's 1866 activities are detailed in almost a dozen letters to BY, May–Aug. 1866, BY Incoming Corr., LDS Archives.
^9. Stenhouse to BY, 13 Oct. 1868, BY Incoming Corr., LDS Archives.
^10. Stenhouse to BY, 22 May 1866, BY Incoming Corr., LDS Archives; Browne, *Complete Works of Artemus Ward,* compare pp. 63–67 with pp. 279–98. For an overview of Ward's Mormon experience, see Cracroft, "Distorting Polygamy for Fun and Profit."
^11. Burton, *City of the Saints,* pp. 223–24.
^12. Hepworth Dixon, *New America,* pp. 172–73.
^13. Fanny Stenhouse, *TIAll,* pp. 510–18.
^14. Hepworth Dixon, *White Conquest,* 1:210.
^15. Fanny Stenhouse, *Exposé of Polygamy in Utah,* pp. 125–26; emphasis hers.
^16. Ibid., p. 127.
^17. For information on Zina, who later married Charles O. Card, see *DN,* 31 Jan. 1931, sec. 2, p. 1.
^18. Hepworth Dixon, *White Conquest,* 1:211.
^19. Tullidge, "Mormon Commonwealth," p. 363.
^20. Stenhouse to BY, 28 Dec. 1868, BY Incoming Corr., LDS Archives.
^21. Fanny Stenhouse, *TIAll,* p. 553.
^22. Stenhouse to BY, Ogden, 20 July 1869, BY Incoming Corr., LDS Archives.
^23. Fanny Stenhouse, *TIAll,* p. 552.
^24. Fanny Stenhouse, *Exposé of Polygamy in Utah,* p. 139.
^25. Tullidge, *Tullidge's Histories. Volume II,* p. 167.

^26. Fanny Stenhouse, *TIAll,* pp. 446–54; Hepworth Dixon, *White Conquest,* 1:209.
^27. Heber J. Grant to Fred Grant, 25 Apr. 1896; Heber J. Grant to Thomas G. Webber, 17 Feb. 1902; and Heber J. Grant to Isaac K. Russell; Letterbooks 22:387, 34:387, and 61:293; Heber J. Grant Papers, LDS Archives. Heber J. Grant to Mrs. Thomas G. Webber, 18 Aug. 1920, First Presidency Letterbook 60:86, LDS Archives. Also see JH, 28 June 1882, quoting the *Ogden Daily Herald,* 28 and 29 June 1882.
^28. *New York World,* quoted in the *Ogden Daily Herald,* 29 June 1882, p. 1.
^29. Tullidge, *Tullidge's Histories. Volume II,* p. 168.
^30. *JD* 12 (16 Feb. 1868): 163.
^31. Tullidge to BY, [no day or month listed] 1861, and Tullidge to BY, 25 Nov. 1861, BY Incoming Corr., LDS Archives (Tullidge's grammar, emphasis, and capitalization). His migration is recorded in the JH, 23 Apr. 1861, p. 3.
^32. *MStar* 24 (26 Apr. 1862): 269.
^33. *DN* 12 (19 Nov. 1862): 164; 12 (25 Feb. 1863): 275; and 13 (2 Mar. 1864): 176.
^34. *DN* 13 (2 Mar. 1864): 176.
^35. Ibid., 13 (2 Dec. 1863): 152.
^36. Ibid., 15 (28 Dec. 1865): 92.
^37. "Documentary History of the Church," 18 Feb. 1863, LDS Archives; JH, 1 Jan. 1864.
^38. *DN* 13 (16 Sept. 1863): 64.
^39. Report, 25 July 1863, in *DN* 13 (5 Aug. 1863): 34.
^40. Tullidge and Harrison letter, 8 May 1863, in *DN* 12 (18 May 1863): 363.
^41. Tullidge to BY, June 1863, BY Incoming Corr., LDS Archives (capitalization his); JH, 5 and 16 Dec. 1862, 2 and 30 Mar. 1864.
^42. Temple Square: Wilford Woodruff diary, 16 Feb. 1862, 31 May 1868. Bishopric: T. B. H. Stenhouse, *RMSaints,* p. 630.

^43. *NYHer,* 2 Jan. 1870, p. 8; WSGodbe, "Situation in Utah," *Medium* (London), 15 Dec. 1871, pp. 406–7.
^44. See three narratives written by Tullidge, *UMag* 3 (27 Nov. and 18 Dec. 1869): 474, 521; and Tullidge, *Life of Joseph the Prophet* (1880), pp. 687–88.
^45. Tullidge, *Life of Joseph the Prophet* (1880), pp. 687–88.
^46. Harrison statement in *NYHer,* 9 Jan. 1870, p. 8.
^47. Tullidge, *Life of Joseph the Prophet* (1880), p. 688.
^48. Alter, *Early Utah Journalism,* p. 330; Tullidge, "Leaders in the Mormon Reform Movement," p. 33.
^49. Tullidge, *Life of Joseph the Prophet* (1880), pp. 687–88.
^50. W. H. Kelley to Joseph Smith III, 27 Feb. 1881, Joseph Smith III Papers, RLDS Department of History.
^51. Tullidge and Harrison, *PODay* 1 (20 Oct. 1864): 8.
^52. Tullidge, *Life of Joseph the Prophet* (1880), pp. 687–88; Tullidge, "Leaders in the Mormon Reform Movement," p. 33; Tullidge and Harrison, *PODay* 1 (20 Oct. 1864): 9.
^53. Harrison, *PODay,* 1 (20 Oct. 1864): 8.
^54. Harrison, ibid., 1 (4 Nov. 1864): 40–41.
^55. Tullidge, ibid., 1 (27 Oct. 1864): 24–25; emphasis his.
^56. Tullidge, ibid., 1 (27 Oct. 1864): 25.
^57. Tullidge, ibid., 1 (4 Nov. 1864): 41.
^58. Tullidge, *Life of Joseph the Prophet* (1880), pp. 687–88.
^59. Tullidge, "Reformation in Utah," p. 604.
^60. Tullidge, "Leaders in Mormon Reform Movement," p. 33.
^61. *MStar* 36 (24 Nov. 1874): 742.
^62. George Q. Cannon to E. W. Tullidge, 7 Dec. 1864, BY Letterbooks, LDS Archives.
^63. Tullidge, "Leaders in Mormon Reform Movement," p. 33.
^64. JH, 30 Sept. 1863, p. 11. Salt Lake Theatre: Paul Anderson, "William Harrison Folsom," p. 246, and Clawson, "Early Theatricals," p. 76.
^65. Tullidge, *MTrib,* 19 Feb. 1870, p. 58.
^66. Wilford Woodruff diary, 13–16 Mar. 1866, LDS Archives.

^67. Wilford Woodruff diary, 17 and 24 Mar. 1866; Tullidge to BY, Sept. 1866, BY Incoming Corr., LDS Archives.
^68. Tullidge to BY, 14 May 1867, BY Incoming Corr., LDS Archives; BY to Tullidge, 25 June 1867, BY Letterbooks, LDS Archives; and John Elliott Tullidge Family Group Sheet, LDS Family History Library. The latter has Tullidge also sealed to Lucy Bell. Since neither Tullidge nor Young mention this marriage in their correspondence, this sealing likely was a posthumous one.
^69. Tullidge to BY, 2 Sept. 1866, BY Incoming Corr., LDS Archives.
^70. Tullidge to BY, 18 Oct. 1866, BY Incoming Corr., LDS Archives.
^71. Tullidge to BY, 14 May 1867, BY Incoming Corr., LDS Archives.
^72. Tullidge to BY, 2 Sept. 1866, BY Incoming Corr., LDS Archives.
^73. Ibid.
^74. Tullidge letters to BY, 2 Sept., 18 and 23 Oct. 1866, and 14 May 1867, BY Incoming Corr., LDS Archives.
^75. L. D. Rudd to Orson Pratt, 6 Feb. 1867, and L. D. Rudd to F. D. Richards, 21 Sept. 1867, in *MStar* 29 (23 Mar. 1867): 189, and 29 (19 Oct. 1867): 666.
^76. Tullidge to BY, 2 Sept. 1866, and Tullidge to BY, 18 Oct. 1866, BY Incoming Corr., LDS Archives; Report of Lorenzo D. Rudd and E. W. Tullidge, 13 Feb. 1867, JH, same date; *MStar* 29 (19 Oct. 1867): 666.
^77. Tullidge to BY, 13 May 1867, BY Incoming Corr., LDS Archives.
^78. BY to Tullidge, 25 June 1867, BY Letterbooks, LDS Archives.

Chapter 5

Two Rival Visions of Society

Why study the process of dissent? For one thing, we can see human personality in action. In the cases of William Godbe, Elias Harrison, Edward Tullidge, and Fanny and Thomas Stenhouse, their early lives help to explain their later decision to leave Mormonism. Sometimes a clue can be found in a personality trait—perhaps an unusually restless independence of mind and manner (Godbe). Or it may be a consuming intellect that rejects traditional ideas and established authority (Harrison). In yet another case, part of the reason is a personal instability coupled with a desire to enroll in a cause (Tullidge). Or it may be as simple (and complex) a human pattern as personal estrangement (Fanny Stenhouse) or a personal failing (Thomas Stenhouse).

Another reason for examining religious alienation is broader and more important: the process helps to clarify a historical era. By defining the ideas and policies that divided the apostate from the mainline believer, we find what a former age valued—even to the point of defying old allegiances and old associates. In short, by studying dissent we gain the means to view a society as the participants themselves saw it—and not necessarily as we today assume it to have been.

For example, the men and women of the New Movement rejected the Zion society that President Young had built in Utah. In its place, they argued for another version of Mormonism—the kind of Mormonism they claimed to have experienced in their British homeland. Their argument, basic to many of their other concerns, suggests that early Mormonism may have been more than a single, unitary, homogeneous movement that basic history surveys and texts often describe. Early Mormonism was in fact several movements, two of which the Godbeite revolt brought into focus: "British Mormonism" and Brigham Young's "Utah theocracy." While each of these terms is a rough approximation (religious views can never be neatly categorized), they do describe two rival tendencies

of belief and practice that existed in early Mormonism. In the process, we add another layer to our understanding of why the men and women of the New Movement left their church.

Elder Heber C. Kimball and six missionary associates first landed in Great Britain from America in July of 1837. Their proselytizing was remarkably successful. Approximately fifteen hundred British citizens converted to the American religion within a year. "The Gospel is spreading," Kimball jubilantly wrote from England in 1840, and "the devils are roaring."[1] A second wave of Mormon missionaries under the direction of Brigham Young and the church's Quorum of the Twelve Apostles disembarked in 1840. The efforts of these missionaries were even more productive. Another seven or eight thousand British souls were soon baptized, and by 1852 the church had had perhaps as many as fifty thousand English conversions.[2] Such a harvest made Mormonism only a minor British sect, but to the fledgling church in Utah, these additions were of major importance. A visitor strolling down a Salt Lake City street in 1870 might have heard a clipped British accent instead of a Yankee flat-toned drawl. At the time, two-thirds of the adults living in Salt Lake County were British born.[3]

Just as the Mormon missionaries began their proselytizing, Great Britain was experiencing the uncertainty of change and innovation. The Great Parliamentary Reform of 1832 had not done much more than whet the reforming appetites of the middle and laboring classes. The subsequent Anti–Corn Law agitation sought to deliver a more substantial blow to the agrarian aristocracy (and to the inflated, tariff-protected wheat prices of their estates), while the working-class Chartists drafted a six-point political charter that aimed at a genuine English democracy. These reform movements, along with at least a dozen minor ones, filled the countryside with crusades, pamphlets, circuit-riding reformers, mass meetings, and journals full of exhortation.[4]

Victorian religion played a major role in this excitement. "Probably in no other century, except the seventeenth and perhaps the twelfth," George Kitson Clark has written of these times, "did the

claims of religion occupy so large a part in the nation's life."[5] Of course, Christianity had long influenced British culture; from the bishop of London's Lambeth Palace to the parish parsonage, it permeated society. But during the nineteenth century, especially among the nation's growing middle class, religion became, to use one of the catch phrases of the era, "vital." It replaced the old formal observances with personal emotion: it breathed energy, instilled conscience, imposed standards, and challenged the rough speech and manners of the age. "Active religion" became the Victorian norm and indelibly shaped those British subjects who became Mormons—men like William Godbe, Elias Harrison, and their associates.

Personal and vital religion, encouraged by the Wesleyan Methodists, the Low Church Anglicans, and some members of the dissenting Congregationalists, Presbyterians, and Baptists, instructed the unregenerate citizens to probe their souls for impurities and to cast off their sins in the redemption of Christ. They must be reborn. Sacrifice, enthusiasm, and service became the signs of inward grace. Externally, these virtues took the form of Bible study, Sabbath observance, sobriety, temperance, and the quest for family solidarity. Such inclinations were then translated into more than one hundred philanthropic societies. There were Bible, Sabbatarian, Sunday school, temperance, missionary, educational, and antislavery societies—and many more besides. The ferment was broad-based and seemed everywhere.[6]

Several new denominations arose, and these advocated an unvarnished, emotional, biblical religion, foreshadowing the Mormons.[7] The Primitive Methodists, for example, emphasized biblical literalism, employed a lay ministry, and found converts in the new industrial towns as they took the gospel directly to the people. "Our chapels," said one of their leaders, "were the coal pit banks, or any other place; and in our conversation way, we preached the Gospel to all, good or bad, rough or smooth."[8]

Some Christian churches attached themselves to Chartism—a mid-nineteenth-century movement of workingmen that wished to improve English democracy. Such lay preachers as Benjamin Ruston

and William Thorton denounced traditional Christianity's lack of concern for the untutored, urged higher standards of personal dealing, and hoped to improve society by preaching temperance or teetotalism. Like other radical sects, the Christian Chartists worshiped wherever two or three of the faithful might be found—in homes, public halls, and schools. The Chartists embraced a religion of the people—informal and unpretentious in style, yet responsive to the needs and issues of the working class.[9]

Later, in Utah, Godbe and Harrison would remember Owenism as another part of their early religious heritage: British Mormonism was a "Robert Owen kind of religion," said the Godbeite press.[10] Robert Owen, the New Lanark industrialist, social reformer, and religious agnostic, urged factory managers to be more mindful of the men, women, and children they employed; advocated parliamentary regulation of the mills; argued for the organization of workers into unions; and had taken steps to build an American utopian Zion at New Harmony, Indiana. Even more interesting to later "reforming" Mormons was the fact that toward the end of his career, Owen became fascinated with nineteenth-century spiritualism and the "advanced" freethinking that often accompanied it.[11]

This was, then, the setting from which the Latter-day Saints' religion in Great Britain grew. The American missionaries drew heavily upon the new factory towns for conversions. At a time when half the English population lived in communities of fewer than twenty-five hundred inhabitants, LDS emigration records reveal that nine out of ten converts making their way to the United States came from larger communities. Indeed, 40 percent of the new members came from cities of fifty thousand or more inhabitants. Such industrial districts as London, the West Midlands, South Wales, Lancashire, the West Riding, and central Scotland contributed heavily to Mormon conversions and subsequently to emigration.[12]

If typical British converts were urban, they were also drawn from society's humble ranks. The William Clayton diary suggests that the members of the Manchester Branch lived in boardinghouses and were transient and sometimes illiterate.[13] Jennetta Richards, the

wife of mission stalwart Willard Richards, was criticized by some British Saints because of her stylish veil and muff. Later she learned to "dress down" for her fellow Saints.[14] Church shipping records confirm the working-class origins of most converts. During the early 1840s, the occupational roles of the emigrants indicated that only slightly more than 20 percent could be roughly judged as middle class. Thereafter the percentage steadily declined until by 1860 it was less than 10 percent.[15] It was mainly "the poor and the ignorant," as Brigham Young described them, who converted to Mormonism in Great Britain.[16]

However, the converts were not on the very lowest rungs of the social and economic ladder. Mormon mission leader Asa Calkin drew a sharp distinction between those who were born and reared "steeped in sin, ignorance, degradation and wretchedness" and those who generally accepted the Mormon message. The latter, said Calkin, were the honest poor. They sought work but often found only low-paying, back-breaking, and even hazardous jobs.[17]

If the membership of the Manchester Branch was representative, most converts were in their twenties or thirties and unmarried. Without the ties of marriage or settled life, they had the freedom to accept a new religion and even a new citizenship in the distant United States.[18] Malcolm Thorp's study, based on the experiences of almost three hundred early members, shows that most of them came from England's more typical churches such as the Church of England and mainline Methodist and Baptist congregations. Nevertheless, if Mormonism did not draw upon the working-class denominationalism of the splinter Baptists and Methodists, it was at least propelled by similar currents.[19]

The American missionaries preached primitive Christianity restored. Elias Harrison claimed that Mormonism was then simply "a Bible religion," which preached the revival of the apostolic spirit and gifts.[20] When the 1840 missionaries landed in Great Britain, they found that the Saints had already discarded their Wesleyan hymnals. "They wanted new ones," they reported, "for the Bible religion, and

all is new to them."[21] In a similar vein, Parley P. Pratt's widely circulated tract *A Voice of Warning* argued that primitive Christianity differed unmistakably from modern Christianity. The former had apostles and prophets instead of false teachers; it had the gifts of the spirit instead of the wisdom of men, and it had gospel ordinances instead of the laws of men. The first taught Christ; the latter anti-Christ.[22]

Even before Heber C. Kimball and his companions preached their first sermon at Preston in 1837, they reported being assaulted by legions of full-formed evil spirits. Later in London, three angels rescued Kimball, George A. Smith, and Wilford Woodruff from Satanic attack. Forty years after the event, Eli Kelsey's ministry of dramatic healing in Scotland remained a topic of conversation in Utah. Perhaps as good a gauge of Latter-day Saint belief as any, the *Millennial Star* recorded over a score of devils cast out of a woman in Leamington Spa, the deaf and blind healed at Littlemore, and a night vision of the Apostle James received at Manchester.[23] "The man that did not then believe in being 'thoroughly spiritualized,'" Harrison later wrote, "was *the Apostate* of those times!"[24]

The Mormon elders also preached the apocalypse. The church's first missionary broadside printed in England, Elder Orson Hyde's *A Timely Warning to the People of England* (1837), warned that "the fire of God's jealousy" could soon consume the wicked. "Earthquakes, strange things and fearful sights" were at hand. As John the Baptist had been sent to prepare the way for Christ, even now the Lord's servants were laboring in the "vineyard at the eleventh hour."[25]

Along with their Bible primitivism, display of spiritual gifts, and belief in the last days, the Saints had the additional appeal of having a lay ministry. Their penury and lack of "airs" must have been appealing to their working-class congregations. When Brigham Young landed in 1840, he carried only a few coins, wore a homemade tattered cap, and had on a pair of pantaloons that the Liverpool sisters found so embarrassing that they pooled their means to buy a quick replacement.[26]

Whatever their dress, these Mormon preachers traveled through the land, speaking with "power and authority." The Restored Church, the Mormon missionaries claimed, had received God's priesthood from the angelic ministry of John the Baptist and later from Peter, James, and John. Thus strengthened, the Mormon missionaries spoke boldly. Parley Pratt, addressing Queen Victoria in a tract, informed her of approaching revolutions.[27] And young Mormon preachers, many in their twenties, fearlessly delivered the warning voice in unfamiliar and friendless neighborhoods.

Elias Harrison remembered how British Mormonism differed from many of its rivals. Most churches of the time, Harrison argued, had long, stereotyped prayers that were delivered "in tones that might be said to resemble the wailing of a broken-winded organ." They discouraged cheerfulness and seemed to suggest that humor was a carnal quality put into man's personality "by some contrivance of the devil." Moreover, Mormonism's rivals upheld a frowning God that damned "two-thirds of the human family" and seemed to enjoy himself with the "paltry balance." Most importantly, Harrison recalled how most Christian churches foreclosed the possibility of personal revelation working in individual lives, leaving mankind "to guess their way from a book, capable of being rendered by the most conscientious men a hundred different ways."[28]

No doubt Harrison's critique was a caricature, but it contained a truth. Particularly among British working-class men and women who found the formality of Anglican and Nonconformist worship uncompelling and traditional religion cold and distant, Mormonism had prospered because of its competition. Wrote Young and his companion Willard Richards, who served as missionaries in England during the early 1840s: "We find the people of this land, much more ready to receive the gospel, than those of America, for their priests have taught them but little, & much of that is so foolish as to be detached at a glance."[29] That of course was their perspective.

Every age has slogans that give meaning and security. The Victorians prized their "freedom"—every man and woman supposedly was the captain of his or her soul. In truth, the

"freedom" and "individualism" of the Victorians may have reigned more in the popular mind than in reality, but many British converts, particularly those who later proved unmanageable to Mormon leaders, brought such attitudes to Utah Territory in the nineteenth century. They remembered the free and vigorous talk of their previous life in the city, where lyceums, mechanics institutes, reading rooms, pamphleteering, debates, crusades, and the penny press abounded. And they remembered, if only unconsciously, when they themselves dissented against established religion. It was a behavior, once established, not easily set aside.

"Mormonism in England and Mormonism in Utah," wrote John Hyde, an English missionary-turned-critic of the 1850s, "are two very different systems."[30] The Godbeite "reformers" adopted this refrain, though they undoubtedly exaggerated actual conditions. "British Mormonism" and an "American Mormonism" shared most beliefs and practices—and they shared church leaders: British Mormonism never had been a government unto itself. Yet, even with these qualifications, it is likely the church in Great Britain had its own flavor. It was urban-bred; it stressed simple, Bible doctrines; spiritual signs and wonders were a strong part of its appeal; and many of its missionaries thrived in an atmosphere of British argument and debate. Here was the potential for making some British converts indigestible chaff for Brigham Young's Zion.

To understand the later Godbeite revolt, we must also take the measure of the man who stood at the center of Utah society—and examine the vision that gave meaning to so much of his life. Men and women have painted vastly different portraits of Brigham Young. A complex person, he defied simple analysis. Too, at various times he assumed very different roles. For instance, the pulpit had a way of transforming the mild-mannered man that many visitors found in his office into an outgoing and colorful preacher; when speaking to his Saints he could also be a demanding, impatient, sharp-tongued "Lion of the Lord." But much of the Brigham Young enigma had its roots in his hopes and philosophy, which were easily misunderstood.

Throughout his life, Young was fiercely loyal to a brand of Mormonism that today seems unusual.

Many travelers claimed that Young looked like an upstate New York alderman or perhaps a prosperous New England farmer—they described him as plainly dressed and seemingly unhurried.[31] A light complexion and blue eyes set off his sandy, almost auburn, hair. Then there was his mouth: "His lips came together like the jaws of a bear trap," recalled an acquaintance. They seemed to convey "great mental energy and indomitable pluck." When speaking, his words "slipped by the teeth, and [were] finally squeezed through the left half of the almost locked-up" mouth. About five feet eight inches tall (average for the time), he had a strong physique and, especially on official or public occasions, a self-conscious bearing: people knew when they were in his presence. All in all, as a California "forty-niner" later observed, "he was . . . a very good looking fellow" who "looked every inch a commander."[32]

Similar to many of his contemporaries, Young was self-made. He remembered spending his youth chopping logs, sowing and planting, or plowing barefoot in the midst of roots. If he could find "a pair of pants that would cover me I did pretty well," he said. Such a circumstance allowed little time for schooling, still less for polishing. "When I meet ladies and gentlemen of high rank," he later noted, "they must not expect from me the same formal ceremony and etiquette that are observed among the great in the courts of kings."[33] By his own account, the most continuous schooling he had was eleven days, and that after his twenty-first birthday.[34]

When Young was first called to the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles in 1835, some church members had murmured. The complaining men and women, Young heard, thought him an embarrassment to the House of Israel, someone who needed a stool to reach "high Enough to tie the shoes" of some of the more accomplished apostles.[35] This unkindness deepened a natural reserve, which he disguised at times with bluster and temper. "I used to think, until I was forty-five years of age [the age at which he assumed the Mormon leadership], that I had not knowledge, sense, or ability

enough to enable me to associate with the men of the world," he later admitted.[36]

Young's Utah office journal reveals how his life changed. It is evident from these daily accounts that he was interested in the microscope and the telescope. In addition, he learned about smelting and iron making and listened to his aides read scripts for proposed dramatic productions. He briefly studied phonography (today we would say "stenography"), and for many years he doggedly sought a revolution in English orthography. When time permitted, he walked a half-block from his office on South Temple Street to ensure sobriety at the Social Hall or to regulate the Salt Lake Theatre. Some said that he was better informed on stage management than many eastern professionals. Or Young and his circle of advisers might gather to discuss naval armaments, Nevada statehood, the politics of the national capital, the making of molasses, the production of rosin and turpentine, or the need to improve the inadequate rocking of Utah's wells.[37] To these interests and activities, when he could find the time, Young added work as a craftsman (he created one of the Salt Lake Theatre's elaborate chandeliers from a wagon wheel). Before joining Mormonism, he had been a skilled carpenter, glazier, and furniture maker.

And of course Young spent much of his time leading the church. This meant giving countless sermons, founding and supervising several hundred Intermountain West settlements, settling disputes, and teaching the theological lessons that he had eagerly learned from his mentor, Joseph Smith. Young's leadership style was both collegial and structured: Young listened to church subordinates and then forcefully made decisions which, with several exceptions, usually gained the quick acceptance of his people. His pastoral duty also required him to spend many hours in his office counseling members and dictating thousands of letters to be sent to members who lived in outlying settlements. These letters reveal Christian kindness and a generous, almost indulgent, tolerance for his people's weaknesses.[38]

As the Godbeite revolt unfolded, several of the "reformers" questioned the strength of Young's intellect and the breadth of his experience and talent. In this they were certainly mistaken. If judged by the standard of wide-ranging interests, creativity, practical shrewdness, ability to assess character, sense of detail, ability to inspire religious devotion, and the talent to make great things happen, Young had few equals. What separated the man from his critics was not any lack of mental depth on his part but the nature of his vision and his view of his own role in bringing it to pass.

During the winter of 1846–47, the Mormon "Camp of Israel" paused at Winter Quarters near present-day Omaha. Advance parties would soon seek a home for the Saints in the continent's western interior. It was a time for planning, and Brigham Young pondered how to organize the new commonwealth. He later claimed that his mind was opened to a vision that showed the Saints organized as "one great family of heaven." In this perfect society, everyone was willing to work for the good of the whole instead of aggrandizing themselves. Young's vision, no doubt strongly influenced by Joseph Smith's earlier teachings, also showed a community of "beautiful" harmony and great potential. It promised "the grandest results for the upbuilding of the kingdom of God and the spread of righteousness upon the earth."[39]

At the time, Young failed to describe his ideal society, perhaps because his subordinates, preoccupied with pioneering, seemed uninterested. But after the Mormon settlement in Utah began to take shape, early travelers quickly grasped that something very different was taking place in the American West. For example, Howard Stansbury, the amicably inclined U.S. Army surveyor who lived with the Mormons during the winter of 1849–50, was pessimistic about the Mormons' future relationships with their neighbors. While Stansbury acknowledged that the Mormons sincerely promised "the freest toleration" to those who might choose to live among them, he predicted that there would be "constant collision, jealousy, and strife." Mormon ways and non-Mormon ways were just too different.[40]

Captain John Gunnison, Stansbury's second in command, suggested a reason for this possible contention. Gunnison observed that the Mormons had thoroughly mixed civil and religious authority in their communities. Mormon bishops also served as petty justices; high priests acted as judges and legislators; while President Young assumed the responsibility of supreme authority in all matters in the territory, religious and civil. "A double name is therefore required, by which the same persons execute the functions in their different official capacities," Gunnison explained.[41]

Gunnison called this system a "theo-democracy," borrowing a term from the usage of many early Saints. To Gunnison, these religionists of the American West were like the ancient Israelites under Moses. Or they were latter-day American Puritans, transported from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century. Whatever the allusion, the Mormon commonwealth, startlingly enough, was a *theocracy,* existing and prospering within the boundaries of republican America.[42]

From where had such a government come? President Young and his fellow Mormons found much inspiration in Old Testament stories, in which prophets like Moses and Joshua had ruled. Joseph Smith's revelations added further inspiration. The Book of Mormon also told of religious leaders who held wide-ranging authority. No example, however, was probably more important than the antediluvian prophet Enoch. Enoch had gathered a wayward people and had gradually taught them to answer God's purpose. "They were of one heart and one mind," said a newly received scripture, "and [they] dwelt in righteousness; and there was no poor among them." So successful was his work that Enoch and his Zion were received to God's bosom: "From these went forth the saying, zion is fled."[43]

Few scriptures were more important to the nineteenth-century Mormon mind—or to Mormon acts. Joseph Smith's ministry had been devoted to fulfilling Enoch's example of "building Zion": Smith sought to gather and instruct a God-fearing people, and in the process he had assumed unusual powers for a nineteenth-century religious leader. Young, as Smith's disciple and following his example, did

likewise. He, too, had the duty to create a Zion-community by finding and preparing a godly people. It was an urgent and consequential work. As Enoch had done his work before the great flood, Young's ministry was set against the prospect of promised latter-day destruction.

Scores of Young's sermons detailed this work, step by step. Mormon missionaries began the gathering process by carrying to the world "the keys of life and death," which included the promise of a better life in the United States of America.[44] Young believed that the gospel net would be wide and indiscriminate. Some of the gathered people would be "half-hearted," some would be "wicked," and still others probably would have "no soul" whatsoever, he preached in his exaggerated and picturesque style. Thus, the early stages of his community would be a "mixed multitude," as "if thrown together by an earthquake and blown together by a whirlwind."[45]

These converts, mostly found among the struggling classes, would become grist for Young's social and religious mill. Young hoped to take the poor and make them "rich," transform "the foolish" into wise people, and make the weak "strong." Young vowed to continue his work until men and women of his community knew as much as "any other people on the face of the earth, in mechanics, in the arts and sciences, and in every true principle of philosophy."[46]

There was nothing abstract about this process. Young spoke of the need to show young women how to knit and be good housekeepers, and to teach young men how to plant corn. He would show his downtrodden people "how they should eat, how much to eat; how to feed, clothe, and take care of themselves and their children; [and] how to preserve themselves in life and health."[47] As he phrased it, "we not only believe in 'living and letting live,' but in 'living and helping to live.'"[48]

Young's ideal community was based on agriculture and hard work. He prescribed "some for the kanyon," perhaps to chop and gather wood, and others "for the plow or harvest." What mattered was that every class be organized and all perform their part.[49] He wanted his people to produce basic commodities: wheat and flour, cotton, flax,

silk, wool, fruits and vegetables, wine—anything that might grow in the Great Basin climate. For true wealth lay in the production of staples, not luxuries.[50]

This was another reason why he initially opposed the mining of precious ores. Such minerals as gold and silver, he feared, would bring the "slavery" and "groveling dependence" of a colonial economy. Besides, these metals distracted the people from the kingdom and brought "misery, poverty and corruption." On the other hand, he approved of the extraction of coal, iron, and other industrial minerals. These ores were practical and promoted wealth and general happiness.[51]

Young's emphasis on practical values carried over to the world of ideas. He seemed to distrust ideas for their own sake—ideas that lacked a hands-on application. Nevertheless, he valued learning. He often spoke fervently of the importance of education, possibly because he regretted having so little formal training himself. "Learn! learn! learn! continue to learn, to study by observation and from good books!" he encouraged his people. Gospel study was his highest priority, but he also urged the Saints to learn "history, arithmetic, reading, writing, and painting" and "all arts and sciences, and every branch of mechanism known and understood by man." Such learning would not only "fit us for increased usefulness" but also enable us "to improve our minds."[52]

Education was not the only way to make pioneer life more pleasant. Young thought that recreation was also necessary, in part because of a personal need. He confessed that at times he felt mentally fatigued—his mind was "like a man logging." For this reason, he was fond of "pastimes." They gave him a chance to "throw every thing off, and shake myself, that my body may exercise, and my mind rest." This lesson applied to others in his community, including youth. When parents prohibited novel reading, theater attendance, and other amusements in the name of religion, the result was often counterproductive. When these children matured, they became "more fit for companions to devils, than to be the children of such religious parents."[53]

While education and recreation were worthwhile, Young returned time and again to the theme of agrarian work, which he raised almost to the level of a theology. He understood the need to assemble the Saints to pray and preach, but he observed that religion by itself would not "raise our bread." Rather than simply preaching gospel principles, his text often centered on the practical tasks of "building the Kingdom." This meant learning how to yoke a pair of oxen, getting them across the plains, cutting timber in the canyons, making bricks, and hewing stone in such a way to create "comfort and happiness" for church members. "These are some of the mysteries of the kingdom," he said.[54] To the men and women of another congregation, he was more concise: "Every part and particle of this Kingdom is manual labor," he told them.[55]

One of the virtues of work was that it brought organization and discipline. Young wanted to keep the citizens of the Great Basin employed—every man, woman, and child—to prevent them from "hatching mischief" and perhaps destroying their spiritual hopes.[56] Other frontier communities might have their grog shops, drunkenness, horse racing, and street fighting, but Young wanted none of this activity in his communities.[57]

How much personal liberty did Young's system allow? Time after time he insisted on the right of others to worship as they wished and claimed that Utahns had more freedom "than any where else in the world." Mormonism would never "command or force any man or woman to obey the Gospel," Young asserted.[58] While these claims may well have been true for those acceding to his leadership, other citizens found that personal freedoms had to be based in "right conduct." During the first years of the pioneer community, when justice was often quick and simple, Young publicly approved the horsewhipping of those taking the name of God in vain. When public drunkenness seemed to rise alarmingly during the late 1850s, Young demanded that his members stop selling alcohol (if people should plead that they would die without their liquor, Young said, please have them "call upon me and get an order for their coffin"). And when a group of Gladden Bishop's dissenting followers sowed

discord in the community, Young and other leading Mormon leaders denounced them so strongly that some fled the community.[59] Clearly, Brigham Young's Zion was not a freewheeling, pluralistic society by twentieth-century standards.

Utah politics also defined Young's theocratic style. Here as elsewhere, Young wanted harmony. He was pleased that politics had not found their way into Utah. With "no speeches for 'Buncombe'" necessary, legislators had the time to enact "wholesome" laws. Young wanted Utahns to set aside partisanship and accept his leadership. "Do you think [in heaven] they get up different ones whom they will run for their king, governor, or president? Do you think there is an opposition ticket there?"[60] In Young's mind, political parties promoted "distrust and jealousy," which led to "discord and strife." Too, those elected to office were often incompetent: they would let "the nation sink for a can of oysters and a lewd woman."[61]

Concerning the upcoming 1851 election, Young pointedly told the citizens of Sanpete County that he wanted "no division in Israel." They should come to the polls with the voice of "one man." To ensure this result, he suggested that the voters convene before the election and agree on a single slate of candidates for local office, which Young himself nominated. "These are our wishes in relation to the Election," he told the Sanpete County voters, "and you will do right if you comply with them."[62]

He was not always so demanding. When Tooele settlers were displeased with his choice of a potential legislator, he was amenable to their desire. If the citizens preferred another man, "please yourselves," he said.[63] What mattered was unity. He had similar counsel for the badly split Fillmore settlement. "In all good conscience, Brethren, let your divisions cease," he told the settlers. Then and only then could they gain "favor and influence with God." He wanted "unity, peace, and love."[64]

Oneness did not imply the loss of individuality. Young recognized that one woman would "get up a certain fashioned bonnet, and another [woman] . . . another fashion." This was a law of nature, which he hoped his ideal community would take advantage of. If all

things were alike, talent and expression would decline. On the other hand, with variety in all her appointments, Zion would "show to the world an example worthy of imitation."[65]

He believed in individuality in economic matters as well. While some Mormons spoke of a voluntary equalizing of each member's wealth, Young argued that such an idea was foolish: within a year, there would be a new inequality requiring another equalization.[66] While ideally he agreed that there should be an approximate equality of wealth, the poor should not be lifted by taking away from the more prosperous.

To solve the problem of poverty, Young advocated the nineteenth-century maxim of stewardship. He wanted those with "ability" and "wisdom" to direct the work of those who were "poor and honest" until they, too, acquired "the same degree of ability as their mentors."[67] Thus, the enlightened man of means (and here Young's words were autobiographical) should instruct the unlearned how to cultivate the soil, plant gardens, orchards, and vineyards, care for animals, and make clothing. In the process, "rich, good men" would elevate the poor from "a state of destitution and want to a state of comfort and comparative independence."[68]

Such words were often a Gilded Age rationalization—a means by which the wealthy class justified its position and suppressed the poor. But Young's teaching had an antiestablishment flavor. At times he denounced "unrighteous monopolies," struck out at capitalists who tied up all the means "so that the people cannot get a dollar," and attacked monied castes that created distinctions without reference to "goodness, virtue or truth."[69] He especially spoke out against the money-mindedness of his own people: "It has caused my spirit to weep and mourn to observe their greediness, their cheating and lying, their scheming in every possible way to wring a picayune out of this man, or that woman."[70]

The problem lay not in wealth itself, but in its misuse. Young believed that the Lord had no objection to his people being wealthy, but God did object to people "hoarding up their wealth, and not devoting it expressly for the advancement of his cause and kingdom

on the earth."[71] Thus, when men or women indulged themselves with "rings" and "jewelry" and other items of useless adornment, they deprived the priesthood of the means of gathering the poor, preaching the gospel, building temples, and feeding the hungry. "Every yard of ribbon that I buy that is needless, every flounce, and every gewgaw that is purchased for my family needlessly, robs the Church of God," Young taught.[72]

Young's comments on Christian stewardship had other corollaries. He wanted people to focus on society rather than on themselves. When the Saints first arrived in their new Utah settlements, Young bluntly challenged them to stop trying to "trap" or "gouge" each other financially and instead to seek the general good. "I am going to be on the heels of every gouger that comes into this Valley," he warned.[73] Young also taught the Saints that God owned all: church members used terms like "my farm, my house, my cattle, my horses, my carriage," he once declared, "but the fact is we do not truly own anything." Young and his fellow Saints were simply stewards, God's hired hands.[74]

For Zion to succeed, Young understood that the Saints had to have enough independence from the East to put his unusual program into practice. The Mormons therefore viewed the semi-isolation of the Great Basin as an advantage. They called their location a "Sanctum Sanctorum," preserved by God as the perfect place for the Saints to build their cities, apart from the mainstream.[75]

Young encouraged such sentiment. He frankly admitted his desire to "lay the foundation of our independence" from the Saints' former persecutors in the East. "Every move we can make therefore, to accumulate to ourselves the necessities of life without being beholden to our enemies, it is our duty to do so."[76] Politically, this meant seeking statehood—but on Mormon terms, not necessarily the terms that prevailed at the time. The Mormons hoped to enter the Union as a semi-independent state, in theory like one of the original states after the ratification of the Constitution. Less clear to Utahns, but certainly apparent today, the Civil War made such a quest impossible. The new nation, proudly more uniform and

homogeneous, had little patience for a possible theocratic state in the West.

Somewhat less quixotic, whatever the outcome of his quest for statehood Young wanted Utah to be as economically self-reliant as possible. Hardly an article could reasonably be made in the Great Basin that Young didn't personally encourage or endorse. During the pioneer era, he spoke favorably of the production of cotton, linen, and silk. He hoped that Utah could produce its own leather, glass, and earthenware, even its own paper and pig iron. He took measures to produce Utah medicines, honey, sugar, wine, and whiskey. In 1852, to set a proper example, his own large family turned out five hundred yards of homemade cloth; he himself often wore homespun.[77]

He called this policy "home manufacturing." Partly ideological in origin, its purpose was to keep the Utah commonwealth free of eastern cultural impurities. But there was also an economic reason. "All the money paid to merchants for such [imported] articles is drained from the country, instead of being expended among us," Young explained.[78] It was a question of enabling Utahns to retain their money in what at the time was a colonial, dependent relationship with the East.

Young knew that Zion could never be sequestered—nor would such a policy fit his purpose. He wanted to retain contact with the rest of the world, as his transcontinental railroad policy illustrated. The first pioneer party traveling to the Great Basin had looked for a possible railroad route, and the early Utahns had repeatedly sent memorials to Congress to hasten the project.[79] The railroad promised better communication with the East and, it was hoped, a possible lessening of prejudice. There were other reasons: "We want it expressly to get our goods and factories, and machinery," Young stipulated, "and to send our Elders away [on proselytizing missions]."[80]

"Zion is a light set on a hill that shines round about," he reminded any Mormons who may have wished for a more complete break with the East. "The Almighty God never did set up his Kingdom on the

Earth from the days of Adam to this present time, but it always came in contact with all the other societies of the day, no matter who they were."[81] Zion's destiny lay outward as well as inward. It was not meant to be hid.

These, then, were the values of Young's social engineering: agrarian work, practical education, social recreation, narrow liberties and proper standards, order and control, cooperation, relative equality, the Christian stewardship of wealth, and semi-isolation. Because these ideas were combined into a religious commonwealth with Young himself in control, they were controversial. Nineteenth-century critics denounced the Mormon Zion as Old Testament, medieval, or Puritan in spirit. For them, Young's community was an anachronism that had been born out of its proper time.

Others had a kinder view. When *New York Tribune* editor Horace Greeley visited Utah in the mid-1860s, he looked into the faces of the Temple Square congregation and tried to evaluate Young's leadership. In contrast to Greeley's preconception that the Mormons were "ignorant, superstitious and brutalized," he found an intent and devout assemblage. Indeed, he doubted that any congregation "so largely European in its composition" could have a better appearance. "Not that Europeans are less intellectual or comely than Americans," Greeley tried to explain himself, "but our emigrants are mainly of the poorer classes; and poverty, privation, and rugged toil plow hard, forbidding lines in the human countenance elsewhere than in Utah."[82] Zion already was at work. The Saints were being refined and changed.

Captain John W. Gunnison also praised the results of the Mormon theocracy, though he doubted that Young's system could last long—at least in the form that he saw it in the early 1850s. Would the next generation of Mormons accept plural marriage? He sensed that already some Latter-day Saints thought the practice a burden. Moreover, could Mormonism withstand the forces of "education" and "modern" culture? What might happen if a Mormon leader advocated an unacceptable "novelty of doctrine" or pushed the people too hard? Finally, Gunnison considered Zion's polyglot members. Perhaps

some of Utah's Yankees or European emigrants (Gunnison called them "British Chartists") would resist and help to destroy the theocracy.

These thoughts led Gunnison to offer his solution to the "Mormon question": when formulating policy for the Great Basin and the Mormons, government leaders should take no radical measures and leave the Mormons largely to themselves. With the seeds of "distrust, ambition, and discontent" already sown in Mormonism's "fruitful soil," Gunnison believed all the government had to do was to wait for their germination. Such a policy of "benign neglect" would eventually lead the Mormon theocracy to collapse of its own weight.[83]

One of Brigham Young's achievements was to take Zion's disparate people and mold them into a relatively smooth-working and harmonious society. This success, however, was never complete. The fissures that Gunnison saw in Mormon society were real, something to be constantly considered and guarded against. Young wanted his society to be devout, practical, and agricultural. He valued cooperation, order, authority, and hierarchy. He frankly merged church and state functions and believed the result successful. Yet by the year 1870, fully one-third of Salt Lake County's adult citizens had come from Great Britain and had experienced a different kind of Mormonism. The miracle of Young's leadership was not that Zion failed to have its social tension and controversy but that there were so few open revolts against his vision and authority.

Notes

^1. Kimball to the Saints of the United States, Preston, Eng., 17 Apr. 1840, in Joseph Smith, *History of the Church,* 4:115. The understanding of British Mormonism has greatly increased with the publication of such works as Allen et al., *Men with a Mission;* Jensen and Thorp, eds., *Mormons in Early Victorian Britain;* two special issues of *BYU Studies* 27 (Winter and Spring 1987); and the popularly written Bloxham et al., eds., *Truth Will Prevail.* For the British impact on Mormonism and Utah, see Buchanan, "Imperial Zion," and Leonard, "William Allen's Clients."

^2. Allen and Alexander, eds., *Manchester Mormons,* pp. 4–11; Chadwick, *Victorian Church,* pp. 438–39. Conversion figures for the years 1837 to 1851 range between 35,000 and the upper figure given here, which assumes at least 6,000 converts left the church after their baptism.

^3. U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of the Census, Ninth Census, 1870, The Statistics of the Population of the United States, p. 373.

^4. Hollis, *Pressure from Without in Early Victorian England,* esp. intro.

^5. Kitson Clark, *Making of Victorian England,* p. 20.

^6. Briggs, *Making of Modern England,* pp. 66–74; Kitson Clark, *Making of Victorian England,* pp. 147–205.

^7. Thorp, "Early Mormon Confrontations with Sectarianism."

^8. Wilkinson, *Hugh Bourne, 1772–1852,* p. 32. See also Hobsbawm, *Labouring Men,* pp. 26–27, and Werner, *Primitive Methodist Connection.*

^9. Faulkner, *Chartism and the Churches,* pp. 42–58; Thompson, *Making of the English Working Class,* pp. 396–400.

^10. *SLTrib,* 25 Jan. 1872, p. 2.

^11. For a comparison of Owenism with British Mormonism, see Thompson, *Making of the English Working Class,* pp. 801–2 and J. F. C. Harrison, *Quest for the New Moral World,* pp. 93, 137.

^12. Taylor, *Expectations Westward,* pp. 148–49, 157.

^13. Allen and Alexander, *Manchester Mormons,* pp. 15, 22.

^14. Joseph Smith, *History of the Church,* 3:276–77.

^15. Taylor, *Expectations Westward,* pp. 150–51.

^16. *JD* 13 (11 July 1869): 148. For two recent essays emphasizing the working class or "common" origins of British Mormonism, see J. F. C. Harrison, "Popular History of Early Victorian Britain," and Lively, "Some Sociological Reflections on the Nineteenth-Century British Mission."

^17. The quotation, conclusion, and phrasing is that of Lively, "Some Sociological Reflections on the Nineteenth-Century British Mission," p. 24.

^18. Allen and Alexander, *Manchester Mormons,* p. 22.
^19. Thorp, "Religious Backgrounds of Mormon Converts in Britain," pp. 58–64. In contrast to Thorp's finding, Owen Chadwick's survey of Victorian religion found many Latter-day Saints to have been weaned from working-class denominationalism (Chadwick, *Victorian Church,* p. 436). Also see Allen and Thorp, "Mission of the Twelve to England," esp. pp. 515, 519.
^20. Harrison, *Leader,* 6 Sept. 1873.
^21. *Times and Seasons* 1 (June 1840): 122.
^22. Pratt, *Voice of Warning,* pp. 97, 110–11.
^23. Preston: *JD* 3 (2 Mar. 1856): 229. London: Woodruff, *Discourses of Wilford Woodruff,* pp. 286–87. Scotland: Heber J. Grant diary, 15 Mar. 1887, p. 153, Grant Papers, LDS Archives. Leamington Spa: *MStar* 5 (July 1844): 26. Littlemore: ibid., 6 (1 July 1845): 28–29. Manchester: ibid., 9 (15 Jan. 1847): 29–30.
^24. *Leader,* 6 Sept. 1873.
^25. Hyde, *Timely Warning to the People of England,* LDS Archives.
^26. *JD* 14 (9 Apr. 1871): 80–81.
^27. Pratt, *Letter to the Queen of England.* De Pillis, "Quest for Religious Authority and the Rise of Mormonism," argues that Mormonism's authoritative voice was an essential ingredient for its American success—an argument that extends to England as well.
^28. Harrison, *Leader,* 25 Oct. 1873.
^29. BY and Willard Richards to the First Presidency, 5 Sept. 1840, Joseph Smith Papers, LDS Archives.
^30. Hyde, *Mormonism: Its Leaders and Designs,* p. 13.
^31. For instance, see Chandless, *Visit to Salt Lake,* p. 189.
^32. Sketch by S. A. Kenner in C. C. Goodwin, ed., *History of the Bench and Bar of Utah,* p. 12; *Chicago Times,* report filed 22 Feb. 1871, in Nibley, *Brigham Young,* p. 469; *NYHer,* 12 Aug. 1868; and "A 'Forty-Niner' Describes Brigham Young," in Hafen and Hafen, *Journals of Forty-Niners,* p. 276n.
^33. *JD* 14 (8 Aug. 1869): 103.
^34. *MStar* 16 (3 Oct. 1852): 596.

^35. Woodruff diary, 30 Dec. 1856, LDS Archives.
^36. *JD* 3 (23 Mar. 1856): 276.
^37. BY Office Journal, 27 Nov. 1855, LDS Archives.
^38. This spirit is captured in Young, *Letters of Brigham Young to His Sons* and is argued in Esplin, "From the Rumors to the Records."
^39. *JD* 12 (12 Jan. 1868): 153. Also ibid., 12 (30 June 1867): 94.
^40. Stansbury, *Valley of the Great Salt Lake,* p. 138.
^41. Gunnison, *Mormons,* pp. 24–25.
^42. Ibid., p. 23.
^43. Moses 7:18, 69, Pearl of Great Price. Compare also Smith's revelation, 2 Jan. 1831, currently sec. 38 of the Doctrine and Covenants.
^44. *JD* 8 (25 Apr. 1860): 52.
^45. Bullock's Minutes of Meetings, 9 and 16 Sept. 1849, LDS Archives.
^46. *JD* 13 (11 July 1869): 148; and ibid., 14 (8 Aug. 1869): 103–4.
^47. BY sermons, 3 Feb. 1867, LDS Archives.
^48. BY to G. M. Gore, 23 Dec. 1868, BY Letterbooks, LDS Archives.
^49. *JD* 15 (9 Oct. 1872): 221–22.
^50. BY sermons, 25 Oct. 1863, LDS Archives.
^51. BY sermons, 23 May 1858 and 25 Oct. 1863, LDS Archives.
^52. *JD* 6 (7 Apr. 1852): 317; ibid., 7 (31 July 1859): 202; ibid., 8 (4 Mar. 1860): 9; ibid., 13 (6 Oct. 1870): 263; ibid., 14 (9 Apr. 1871): 83; and ibid., 15 (9 Oct. 1872): 222.
^53. *JD* 1 (4 Mar. 1852): 30; ibid., 2 (6 Feb. 1853): 94; and ibid., 6 (27 Dec. 1857): 147.
^54. *JD* 10 (6 Oct. 1862): 25.
^55. BY sermon, 30 Mar. 1856, LDS Archives; Bullock's Minutes of Meetings, 13 Apr. 1851, LDS Archives; and *JD* 9 (23 Feb. 1862): 282.
^56. *JD* 2 (3 Dec. 1854): 144.

^57. Bullock's Minutes of Meetings, 30 June 1850, LDS Archives; BY sermons, 3 Feb. 1867 and 4 July 1870, LDS Archives.
^58. *JD* 14 (8 Apr. 1871): 97, 94–95; also BY sermon, 20 May 1855, LDS Archives.
^59. Horsewhipping: Wilford Woodruff diary, 12 Jan. 1851, LDS Archives; liquor prohibition: BY to Hugh Moon, 19 Apr. 1858, BY Letterbooks, LDS Archives; Gladdenites: BY Office Journal, 28 Mar. 1858, LDS Archives; also see Bullock's Minutes of Meetings, same date, LDS Archives.
^60. *JD* 16 (25 May 1873): 76–77.
^61. *JD* 7 (4 July 1854): 14–15; and ibid., 17 (3 May 1874): 51.
^62. BY to the San Pete Settlers, 21 July 1851, BY Letterbooks, LDS Archives.
^63. BY to Alfred Lee et al., 27 July 1852, BY Letterbooks, LDS Archives.
^64. BY to the President et al., at Fillmore City, 13 Mar. 1854, BY Letterbooks, LDS Archives.
^65. *JD* 6 (29 Nov. 1857): 93; ibid., 9 (17 Feb. 1861): 124; ibid., 11 (3 Feb. 1867): 305, and BY sermon, 3 Feb. 1867, LDS Archives.
^66. *JD* 12 (16 June 1867): 56; and ibid., 18 (6 Apr. 1877): 354.
^67. *JD* 18 (6 Apr. 1877): 354. See also *JD* 13 (2 Jan. 1870): 93; and ibid., 17 (3 May 1874): 53.
^68. *JD* 10 (31 May 1863): 193.
^69. *JD* 10 (28 Sept. 1862): 3; and ibid., 16 (25 May 1873): 77.
^70. *JD* 3 (8 Oct. 1855): 118; and ibid., 11 (3 Feb. 1867): 294.
^71. *JD* 3 (8 Oct. 1855): 118; and ibid., 11 (3 Feb. 1867): 294.
^72. *JD* 14 (6 May 1870): 18.
^73. BY sermon, 8 Oct. 1848, LDS Archives.
^74. *JD* 4 (27 Aug. 1856): 28–29.
^75. The theme of Zion's helpful seclusion was often stated from the Mormon pulpit, especially in the years immediately after settlement. See sermons of Parley Pratt, 7 Nov. 1847; Jedediah M. Grant, 26 Nov. 1848; Amasa Lyman, 25 Feb. 1849; Heber C. Kimball, 8 Apr. 1849, Bullock's Minutes of Meetings, LDS Archives.

^76. BY sermon, 17 Sept. 1853, Bullock's Minutes of Meetings, LDS Archives.
^77. BY to John Bernhisel, 28 Feb. 1852, BY Letterbooks, LDS Archives; BY sermon, 8 Oct. 1869, LDS Archives.
^78. BY to Jesse W. Crosby, 29 Nov. 1852, BY Letterbooks, LDS Archives.
^79. "Address upon the Advent of the Utah Southern Railroad to Provo," 25 Nov. 1873, BY Sermons, LDS Archives; BY to Daniel E. Morrison, 15 Sept. 1875, BY Letterbooks, LDS Archives.
^80. BY, 21 Jan. 1867, *MStar* 29 (19 Oct. 1867): 161–64; BY sermon, 3 Feb. 1867, LDS Archives.
^81. BY sermon, 30 June 1850, Bullock's Minutes of Meetings, LDS Archives.
^82. Greeley, *Overland Journey,* pp. 222–23.
^83. Gunnison, *Mormons,* pp. 23, 163–65.

Chapter 6

Merchant Wars and Declining Faith

A month after the suspension of the *Peep O'Day,* in January 1865, William S. Godbe and Elias Harrison began a close friendship and intellectual partnership that would last until Harrison's death thirty-five years later. To most people who knew them both, the new relationship seemed unusual. Godbe, then a promising member of the LDS establishment, was associating with someone who had a growing reputation for being a skeptic. Harrison seemed too prone to ask questions and too unsatisfied with answers, and some people wondered if he was suitably respectful of church leaders and their counsel.

Godbe deflected questions about the friendship by explaining that he was attempting to reclaim Harrison. Godbe even periodically reported to church leaders his progress with Harrison, giving specific details of their conversations. Harrison, if only his talents could be placed in the "right channel," was deemed capable of "a great deal of good," and church leaders were hopeful that he could still be "redeemed."[1] In associating with Harrison, Godbe was supposedly just being helpful.

Yet in making these explanations, Godbe could not have been entirely honest with church authorities, and least of all with himself. As the two men conversed about Zion, perhaps haltingly at first and then more frankly as trust and confidence grew, they found themselves disagreeing on very little. Godbe later admitted that the two had been friends for years and "saw eye to eye" on most important matters.

Presumably, this meant that Godbe accepted most of Harrison's ideas about Mormonism. Since coming to Utah, Harrison continued to believe that Mormonism encouraged thinking—or at least that it should. In fact, for Harrison, "eternal life" meant the continual refinement of the mind and spirit, a position he had begun to evolve and argue in Great Britain. Harrison also believed that Mormonism must be forward-looking; it must not flinch before the world's

marketplace of ideas. Taken together, these beliefs made it increasingly difficult for Harrison to appreciate Young's utilitarian Zion: Young's society seemed too practical and earthy, too inward-looking, and above all, too constrained by Young's powerful personality and leadership.

As the collaboration of Harrison and Godbe continued, their ideas and talents meshed comfortably. At first Harrison's role was to assert (for Zion) unconventional and usually unspoken ideas; Godbe's role was to listen and come to understand that these ideas were increasingly his own. Harrison was visionary, skeptical, theoretical, verbal; Godbe practical and forceful. Later, Harrison would be called the movement's "Luther" because of his deep religious feeling and his willingness to push his rebellion forward. If so, Godbe was "Frederick the Wise": he contributed balance, weight, and means. If Harrison appeared to play the greater role at first, it was Godbe's later leadership and support that gave their dissent the influence that it achieved.

Godbe shared many of Harrison's objections to Young's practical Zion. But an additional factor was the long-standing tension existing between Young and the territory's merchants—a matter that was to have a central role in the New Movement rebellion. Some merchants were non-Mormons who came into Utah and eventually allied themselves with Young and the local population. They were willing to sign Mormon-written petitions to the East, loan the church money, make liberal contributions to church and civic causes, and in the case of John B. Kimball even pay $13,000 in LDS tithes.[2] Still others, like merchants W. H. Hooper and William Jennings, converted to Mormonism. However, more of these men stood at arm's length; they were "drifters" who hoped to make quick money and leave the territory after a few years. It was this latter class that Young suspected of writing hostile letters to the East that resulted in repeated friction with Washington officials, including the misunderstanding that led to the Utah War in 1857.

Young denounced these non-Mormons for disturbing the peace, but he also directed enough sharp words at Mormons like Godbe to

leave a sting. One problem was that the merchants were too acquisitive. "They make five hundred per cent on some of their goods, and that, too, from an innocent, confiding, poor, industrious people," Young preached. "If they do not repent they will go to hell."[3] Young also was angry that most Mormon merchant wealth remained unconsecrated. Profits too often were used for individual purposes and not for the building of Zion.[4]

Clearly, the early commercial situation in Salt Lake City presented Young with a dilemma. If the church tried to control business, the likely result was petty misunderstanding and the undermining of social harmony. Young remembered the difficult experience of Joseph Smith as a merchant in Nauvoo. He had offered his customers credit, but some had failed to pay their bills while demanding still more credit. When Smith refused, the result was bitterness among even staunch church members.[5] On the other hand, if Young allowed the trade to go to the hostile merchants, he risked the growth of a rival secular power that could further harm or even subvert his Zion.

For more than a decade, Young did the latter, all the time complaining about church members' money-mindedness and the growing unsanctioned power in the Saints' midst. When, in 1860, almost a dozen LDS merchants proposed a church-sponsored cooperative wholesale plan to combat the non-Mormon merchants, Young held firm to his old policy of nonintervention. Besides, Young wondered if the Saints would put their means into the proposed cooperative, or for that matter, if they would trust the church to manage the proposed enterprise. As a counterproposal, Young renewed his encouragement of home manufacturing, which would keep money in the territory and minimize the economic role of the merchants who specialized in the sale of eastern commodities.[6] Following this policy, once during the pioneer period Young had asked the men not to dance with women who were not attired in homemade goods.[7]

Why had the Mormon merchants made their proposal? At first glance their proposed cooperative was a departure from their usual

policy, which was pursuing the greatest independence from church control. Perhaps they had been angered by the conduct of the non-Mormon traders during the Utah War. At the time, even the most friendly gentile merchants, rather than defend the reputation and interests of the local citizens, had packed up their goods and with their accumulated fortunes left the territory. In short, the Mormon merchants were saying that their non-Mormon counterparts could not be trusted and, as a matter of public policy, must be defeated.

It is likely that the motives of the Mormon businessmen were more self-serving. Young's constant criticism of merchandizing had created a prejudice against any Mormon who entered retailing. A cooperative association, if sanctioned by Young, would perhaps polish the LDS merchants' tarnished image and give them, for the first time, Young's public approval and a competitive advantage against their non-LDS rivals.[8]

Young may have come to regret his decision to reject the plan: commercial conditions in the city soon took a turn for the worse. After the Civil War, Utah, like the southern states, had its own band of migrant adventurers, many of whom were merchants. Allied with Edward Connor's troops at Fort Douglas, and increasingly backed by the "radical Republicans" in Congress, these merchants openly defied Young and sometimes the local community. The Mormons called this group of men "the ring" or "the clique." Elsewhere (borrowing the idiom of the time) they might have been referred to as "carpetbaggers," "scalawags," or "damnyankees."[9]

Some of these men were boosters—they wanted to develop the nation through rapid resource development and continent-crossing railroads. Some favored a stronger centralized government and less authority and diversity for states and territories. Others were less public-spirited and more acquisitive. Boisterous, aggressive, and opportunistic, hoping for government contracts and personal gain and not unwilling to jump the land claims of the old settlers, these men were in the West to make money. But whatever they were—new nation-builders or fortune-hunters (and many were both)—the men of the "clique" were opposed to the one-man rule of Brigham

Young and his collective theocracy. In spirit, mode of action, and personal goals, these new adventurers were poles apart from the old-line Mormon settlers in Utah.

Young believed that the members of the "ring" had the darkest designs. He spoke of their semisecret meetings in the basement of Gilbert and Gerrish's store, where, drinking liquor, they gave "vent to the vilest expressions and threats." Young was sure that these men would in a moment sacrifice the interests of the community in pursuit of their own.[10] The *Union Vedette* seemed to confirm such shrill charges. Street talk, which was probably true, said the newspaper was published with money furnished by ring members. Its anti-LDS editorials and features, even from the distance of more than a century, seem unusually strong and malicious.[11]

Young was certain that the non-Mormon business community was at the core of the rival faction. In December 1866, he wrote a scathing public rebuke that accused the merchants of being "avowed enemies" of the community. They had put into circulation "the foulest slanders" about the old citizens, even as the merchants sought the citizens' business. Moreover, Young believed the anti-Mormons had encouraged violations of law, fostered "vice and vicious institutions" (an allusion to liquor-selling and prostitution), promoted a "venal press," and tried to subvert majority rule by misrepresenting Utah's conditions in Washington. In short, the anti-Mormon merchants had sought to "change our city from a condition of peace and quietude to lawlessness and anarchy." They had even refused to pay school taxes.[12]

Yet, despite Young's strong accusations, the Mormon community continued to trade with the merchants, and the businessmen's power and profits continued to grow. By the middle 1860s, the merchant house of the Walker brothers, former Mormons, was buying wholesale goods in the eastern markets worth $250,000 annually. A few years later, these purchases climbed to the high six figures, and earnings were commensurate. At the end of the decade, the Walker brothers' monthly profits were reaching an extraordinary $60,000.[13] Other non-LDS firms seemed to be doing almost as well.

Faced with this situation, Young launched a counterattack on three fronts. First, he more effectively organized the Saints. During the late 1860s, the church began to hold regular Sunday school meetings for Utah's youth. While classes had been held sporadically for some time, church leaders hoped for a more consistent program that might immunize the coming generation from worldly influence. The Sunday school movement was later buttressed with congregational young men's and young women's meetings that also aimed at "retrenchment." For women, Young reestablished "relief societies" that drew on a Nauvoo and early Salt Lake City precedent. Young hoped these revivified societies would curb fashion, promote home industry, and curtail the influence of the commercial community.[14]

Young's most important organizational step was the founding in December 1867 of the all-male Salt Lake City School of the Prophets. Loosely based on a similarly named institution that Joseph Smith had established in Kirtland, Ohio, the school was a Mormon version of a Saturday night New England town meeting, only, in Deseret religious and civil matters merged. The school's "by-laws" required that the men pray; pay tithes and assist the poor; shun drunkenness and public disorder; keep their bodies physically clean; and maintain the Sabbath. They also pledged to keep up their fences, control their livestock, and not tempt "seducing spirits" by getting involved in table-rapping or spiritualism. And there were specific rules directed at the gentile threat. Members of the school must not trade with the anti-Mormon merchants. Mormons must not "build up the world."

The main School of the Prophets in Salt Lake City enrolled over 950 members, including Godbe, Harrison, Tullidge, and Stenhouse; and when branch schools were established in leading Utah settlements, membership swelled to 5,000 and included virtually every dedicated Mormon churchman in the territory. With such a broad brotherhood, the schools became effective coordinating councils. Young himself led the Salt Lake City branch, while the outlying units were presided over by local church leaders.[15]

Young's second initiative was aimed at the anti-LDS businessmen of the ring. In what must have been a difficult personal decision, in 1865 he reversed his former public policy of nonintervention. He endorsed the Mormon merchants (clearly the lesser of evils) and urged a boycott of their gentile counterparts. Even more strongly than before, Young now criticized church members who foolishly patronized enemies and in the process bought needless "gewgaws" and "frivolous things." As a result, the non-LDS merchants had taken from Utah's economy huge sums that should have been used to help the poor come to Zion and build up Mormon communities. Young's comments had urgency: "It is the will of God that we should sustain ourselves, for, if we do not, we must perish."[16]

The church's boycott continued through the next year, 1866. Young claimed to have no problem with the non-Mormons who were friendly to his people. "There are just as good men who do not belong to the Church as those who do," he reminded his followers. But he wanted no more profits for his enemies. How could the Saints by their trading give the anti-LDS merchants the means to "create trouble for us, and bring us to sorrow?" The law of self-preservation demanded otherwise.[17]

The ban was effective enough to prompt twenty-three Salt Lake City merchants to offer, in December 1866, to sell out. Claiming that Young was "intimidating and coercing the community," they announced their willingness to leave the territory if the church would assume their debts and purchase their inventories at a 25 percent discount on their supposed retail value. Young had no interest in the proposition. The merchants' terms, Young believed, were highly inflated. Besides, why reward a retreating enemy?[18]

Young's third policy, related to the other two, was cooperative merchandising. In 1863, three short years after rejecting the Mormon businessmen's proposal, he proposed a similar plan of joint purchases and community-wide wholesaling to the four leading Mormon merchants of the time—William Godbe, Henry W. Lawrence, W. H. Hooper, and William Jennings—but they rejected the proposal.

Prospering during the Civil War, the Mormon merchants apparently felt that they no longer needed such a plan.

The next year Young and other church leaders continued to push the idea of economic cooperation. Elder Lorenzo Snow, a member of the Quorum of Twelve, established the precedent of cooperative enterprises in his small Brigham City settlement. And in 1865, no doubt under Young's direction, the *Deseret News* began a series of editorials supporting the concept. In Great Britain, the newspaper told its readers, working men of limited means often "put their pittances together," purchased inventories, and sold at reduced prices. "Why should we not have such cooperative action here? By putting together what means they could spare for this purpose, there is nothing to hinder the people from becoming their own store-owners."[19]

Young clearly had become a convert to the cooperative idea. He probably had no choice. Despite his continuing pleas throughout the 1860s, the Saints continued to buy eastern "store-bought goods" instead of "homemade." They seemed quietly but alarmingly ready to reject Young's leadership. On Main Street most non-LDS merchants remained hostile, while their Mormon counterparts, having received Young's approval, now had no reason to abandon business-as-usual: their trade volume and profits were rising. These facts suggested an unhappy conclusion. The ideal of a self-sufficient Zion, with a roughly equal distribution of wealth and a one-man rule following the pattern of Enoch, seemed in peril. What the radical Republicans and members of the "ring" might fail to do, enriched and independent Mormon businessmen were on their way to accomplishing.

Tullidge presented the issue in typically earnest prose. The church was "brought face to face with implacable necessities which seemed about to weaken her; these necessities were of a commercial and financial character." Would the church allow the "vast money agencies" that had grown up in Utah to overwhelm it? Would the church subdue or be subdued? It was a point that "the dominant will of a man like Brigham Young could decide in a moment."[20]

Moreover, another factor influenced Young's decision. The tracks of the transcontinental railroad were approaching from both east and west. Across them would flow American culture, a fact that many easterners believed would mark the end of Mormonism. The *Chicago Republican* ran an editorial titled "Mormonism Doomed," and the *New York Herald* gratuitously advised that the Mormons should immediately reform Young's "extraordinary despotism."[21] Other newspapers in the East suggested that Mormonism, facing its most difficult crisis yet, might wish to remove itself "voluntarily" to Mexico, Latin America, or perhaps somewhere in the Pacific Ocean region.

The Mormons understood the seriousness of the crisis but tried to be confident. Addressing itself to the inflated prophecies of the eastern press, the *Deseret Evening News* noted how the transcontinental railroad had been figuratively held up to the Saints as "a severe pedagogue" who would shake his "ferule at a naughty scholar." "Only wait," the newspaper had the nation at large saying, "and you, Mormons, will see what will become of you. We'll fix you. You do as you please now; you delude yourselves with the idea that you have rights; but we'll show you when the railroad is completed."[22]

But no brave words could conceal the difficult fact that at the end of the 1860s, the Saints were under siege. This fact, and the Saints' perception of it, colored all the events that would follow. Certainly the Mormon commonwealth understood the need to act, not just react. "The waves of civilization are to boil and eddy and surge around us and burst upon us and swamp us by their violence and overflow," explained the *Deseret Evening News.* To meet this challenge successfully, the Saints could not "sit still and let these waves engulf and wash [them] away!"[23]

It was within this context that Young renewed his plans for cooperative merchandising: whatever the LDS merchants' resistance, economic cooperation would be the Mormons' main defense against the coming railroad. The church began with a series of unusually strong *Deseret Evening News* editorials, probably written by Young's confidant, Elder George Q. Cannon, that harshly criticized the

industrial conditions of Europe and the United States. One of the first, "Capital and Labor—Employers and Employed," argued that capital typically tried to keep working men in its power. It sought to "tyrannize" labor, "grind" it down, and feed "an insatiable desire" for profits and accumulation: capital interests were living on the "lives of their fellows, playing the part of ghouls and fattening upon their corpses." In response to these excesses, labor had also transgressed; it had reacted by doing the least amount of work possible.[24]

But Mormonism had a solution—as the first generation of Mormons knew that their religion had for all of society's wrongs, great or small. In this case, the solution lay in a perfected "order of Enoch," which aimed to unite the opposing interests of capital and labor and bring greater economic equality. The *Deseret Evening News* announced that the first step would be workers' cooperatives. This meant that Zion would pool its capital and buy goods in the eastern markets. Then the merchandise could be sold at lower prices in cooperative stores and profits shared.

More than a means of destroying the power of the anti-Mormon merchants, the *Deseret Evening News* promoted the cooperative plan as a means of ending the domination of capital and lessening the evil of economic inequality. Citing the British experience with mercantile cooperatives, the newspaper explained that the new plan was a means of avoiding the evils that often came with a powerful capital class: mercantile cooperation was "a combination against the hirer of labor, and against the capital that thrives on the necessities and unthriftiness of labor." In short, if merchandising and merchant wealth, Gentile and Mormon, were creating social inequalities, cooperatives offered a way out. They would end class consciousness among the Latter-day Saints, or at least minimize it, and show the world a better way.[25]

The campaign to mold public opinion continued in the ensuing months. Ten days after running the editorial on capital and labor, the church newspaper once more denounced working conditions in the East, particularly the treatment of the "sewing women" of New

England. Whatever its outward gilding, capitalism was a system "foul and corrupt to the core" that only the kingdom of God might remedy. Always defensive about plural marriage, the *Deseret Evening News* suggested that the Mormon system of matrimony had an economic advantage: it gave women husbands instead of placing them in sweatshops.

Then, within a fortnight, the newspaper restated some of its main themes. Cooperation had produced "extraordinary results, in Europe and elsewhere," the *News* believed, and it seemed especially timely for the Latter-day Saints. As yet Utah had not produced many large capitalists, and its resources were still distributed fairly equally. "By a judicious system of co-operation, all the benefits which capital affords can be obtained without the evils which are too apt to follow the concentration of capital in the hands of a few men."[26]

Thus as the railroad approached and Brigham Young considered the progress of his temporal and religious kingdom of God, he returned to the nemesis that had challenged his vision of Utah society from the beginning. The "merchant problem" went beyond the conspirators of the "ring" and other non-Mormons who might have been uneasy with the constraints of Mormon society. It rested also (but perhaps not so firmly) with the Mormon merchants, whose wealth and independence seemed to defy the "heavenly vision." Cooperation, at least implicitly, had become a weapon aimed against most denizens of Salt Lake City's Main Street, whether disciple or outsider, friend or foe.

Tullidge later claimed that Young's public embrace of cooperation had surprised the LDS merchants. They had been "startled" to learn that Young wanted them to reorganize their operations into a cooperative mold. If so, over the years they must have come to discount Young's constant, anti-merchant preaching, simply because of its repetition. But once Young had formulated his new policy, they could hardly mistake his resolve. He seemed driven. If the merchants failed to join in the new system, Young threatened to "leave them out in the cold, the same as the Gentiles, and their goods shall rot upon their shelves."[27]

Young's new commercial policy and the language in which it was couched must have tried Godbe's faith. While the details of the new system were yet to be worked out, Young agreed that the established Mormon merchants in Utah should play a major role. But there was no mistaking the fact that Young wanted a new organization; if he were to have his way, old ways would change, and the church would control the new design. And profit margins would narrow.

Godbe's main problem with the emerging system was probably not the loss of profits. An idealist, Godbe was capable of personal sacrifice. But he could not have been unaffected by Young's constant, biting public criticism of the merchant community. Probably as difficult for Godbe to accept was Young's seeming presumption: the church leader was too willing to intervene into what Godbe believed were his own business affairs. Moreover, there was the question of the values behind that presumption. To Godbe, Young's fight to control Utah commerce seemed too defensive, too narrow, and too out-of-touch with the world.

Religious shepherds, like politicians, spend their limited "capital of good will" on what they feel is most important. Young had done so, knowing that he would undoubtedly offend some men in the LDS business community. Godbe in turn reacted by increasingly making choices that were contrary to Young's will. These choices were often of minor importance, like his decision to involve himself in the Wyoming mines. On the surface, relations between the two men remained cordial. But increasingly—and on matters that mattered most—talk between them may have become strained, perhaps impossible. It was not easy in hierarchal, theocratic Utah to disagree with leaders, either publicly or privately. This lack of discussion produced its own results. As is usually the case when people stop sharing ideas, trust and confidence wane and are replaced by doubt and suspicion. The distance between Young and Godbe was widening.

By the summer of 1866 or 1867, Godbe was privately expressing his misgivings about Mormonism. During one of his frequent trips to

New York City, he and another Salt Lake City merchant, Frederick Perris, unburdened themselves in a private conversation, through which (and probably to the surprise of both) they discovered their "mutual dissatisfaction" with Utah affairs.[28] No doubt Godbe had similar discussions with other trusted friends.

Then in early 1868, Godbe had an experience that he later claimed caused him to leave Mormonism. Given his uncertain state of mind, the experience could not have been a turning point in his attitude, as he suggested, but more likely it was the last stage in what had been a long journey. As a member of the city council, Godbe was assigned to a three-man committee to investigate the pay of Alderman Dr. John "Jeter" Clinton, an ex officio justice of the peace and police magistrate. Some thought that Clinton's remuneration required an increase. What Godbe found stunned him. An audit of the justice's docket book and court records uncovered what Godbe believed was a pattern of default and fraud. For fourteen months Clinton had collected fines but had only selectively passed them on to the city. Several thousand dollars were missing. In addition, sources in the police department told Godbe that Clinton had waived the trial of one man who was charged with rape after privately receiving $150. In another case, $100 was supposedly enough to release a man accused of assault; and in another, gamblers working out of the Walker Building had reportedly paid the justice $250 for two months' "protection" from police surveillance and arrest.[29]

How many of these charges were true is uncertain, but they were clearly serious, especially in Brigham Young's usually puritanical city. At the very least, they required some delicacy—particularly since Clinton, in addition to his civic responsibilities, served with Godbe as a counselor in the Thirteenth Ward bishopric. Godbe therefore went directly to President Young with his concerns. After several interviews, the president suggested that the matter be quietly left to Mayor Daniel Wells, who also served as Young's counselor, and the president ended his last interview with Godbe with a cryptic but disturbing statement. According to Godbe's report written after he had left the church, the Mormon leader acknowledged having known

of Clinton's dishonesty for some time. The church leader apparently meant that the matter was complicated and was best left to himself.[30]

Godbe refused to let the matter go. Against Young's advice, he informed his city council colleagues of the results of his inquiry, and together the men once more asked Young to remove Clinton from office. When Young failed to reply to their formal letter, the persistent committee members approached Mayor Wells, whose reaction to the men was cool if not hostile. Their tenacity in pursuing the matter, Wells bluntly told the counselors, was "anything but pleasing."[31]

Wells's response of course was meant to end the episode. But it left Godbe upset and caustic. Wasn't the highest church dignitary winking at fraud? As a final gesture, Godbe sent Wells his formal report, which was signed by the city council; to this report Godbe attached several supporting affidavits from the Salt Lake City police force. And unknown to anyone but himself, Godbe placed the original draft of the report in his personal safe. If a future city council should reopen the case, Godbe wanted evidence that he had been diligent. He may have had an additional motive: if a future circumstance should require it, a copy of the report might prove helpful in his relations with Young.[32]

Godbe won one victory, however. Taking his findings outside their official channel, he informed Bishop Woolley and a Thirteenth Ward council of "block teachers" of Clinton's alleged misconduct. The response of these men was swift: "We do not feel [able] to sustain . . . [Clinton] in his position," said the minutes of the meeting. With no pause and no further investigation, two elders were dispatched to request Clinton's immediate resignation from the bishopric, which was tendered.[33]

The Clinton episode raised questions for which, then and now, there are only partial answers. Young later wrote a letter to Clinton acknowledging that it was Young's influence, "and my influence only," that had allowed the magistrate to retain his position after Godbe had finished his inquiry. Young also admitted that Clinton had

been finally removed from office, four years later, after the people would not bear Clinton's behavior any longer.[34] Clearly, Clinton was at least unpopular, if not guilty of malfeasance.

Why had Young waited so long to take action? Perhaps the matter had been as simple as an informal (and extralegal) arrangement between Young and Clinton to supplement Clinton's universally acknowledged low pay. A later incident, however, suggests that it was more. In 1877, nearly ten years after Godbe's investigation of Clinton, zealous Washington-appointed territorial authorities arrested Clinton on trumped-up charges, manacled his legs, and exposed him to extremely difficult prison conditions in the apparent but unsuccessful hope of forcing him to reveal "the secrets of Deseret."[35] Indeed, Clinton himself sometimes acted as if he had incriminating evidence. After being turned out of office, Clinton wrote several letters to Young that were filled with "threats half expressed, half implied" in which he sought compensation for his loss of office and a $5,000 "loan."[36]

The latter brought Young's thunder ("so far as I am concerned you are welcome to disclose anything and everything that you may know") and Clinton's abject apology ("I declare before God that I never intended to threaten you. I have got nothing to threaten you with. You never taught me an incorrect principle nor canceled [counseled] me to do a [w]rong thing in your life").[37]

Still, Clinton may have had information that, while not incriminating, could have been damaging, especially during the crisis-filled prerailroad times. In September 1857, during some of the most difficult moments of the Utah War, Young had written to Clinton and suggested that he was no longer willing to restrain the Indians from attacking the nation's communication and transportation lines: "It is peace and our rights—or the knife and tomahawk," he had written severely.[38] Young apparently hoped that such a strategy might pressure the government to seek a settlement to the conflict. The letter, if made public, would have deepened American suspicions that Young had played a role in the infamous Mountain Meadows Massacre, when, shortly after Young had written

to Clinton, over one hundred western-bound emigrants from Missouri and Arkansas had been killed in southern Utah by Indians and their local Mormon militia allies. Young certainly had never envisioned such a result; in fact, he had written a late-arriving letter instructing his followers to give the Missouri-Arkansas party safe passage.[39]

Yet, the possibility for embarrassment was considerable, and Young understandably said nothing to Godbe about his reasons for shielding Clinton. And equally understandable, the incident left Godbe further alienated from Mormonism and its leader. "I will state in justice to myself," Godbe wrote, "The [Clinton] experience . . . not only served to weaken my confidence in the divinity of a faith I had implicitly received in my early years, but . . . [it] led me to indulge in a freedom of thought which soon taught me that a system dependent for its support upon such props was unworthy of adherence, and calling it the 'Kingdom of God' did not justify that which, according to all accepted ethics or morality and justice, is deemed both dishonest and corrupt."[40]

In addition to Young's merchant policy and the Clinton inquiry, one final event marked Godbe's departure from Mormonism. In 1867, Harrison announced the forthcoming publication of the weekly *Utah Magazine.* The prospectus promised family reading, including "high-class" historical tales; new theories of modern thinkers; parlor games for youth; essays on social questions; "the cream" of current magazines and newspapers; short lessons in languages and essays on the sciences; and even practical instructions for mechanics, artists, farmers, and homemakers. All this would be done, it was promised, in a "lively and attractive style," for four dollars for a half-year or seven dollars per annum, "invariably in advance."[41] Harrison, once more seeking to realize his dream of editing a cultural magazine, was editor and publisher; Godbe's role was to provide the money.

Here, finally, appeared to be a magazine for Utah. After examining the first issue, the *Millennial Star* found it worthy of patronage. It was not like the "trashy" and "sensational sheets" that made their

way into the territory from the "corrupt cities of the East." The *Deseret Evening News* also found much to praise: the new magazine had "original" and "excellent" articles and was presented in an attractive style. But what especially pleased the *Deseret Evening News* was the magazine's practical contribution to the territory's balance of trade. "Annually our people send a large amount of money east for the purchase of serials," related one editorial. "If a good magazine were sustained here, it would stop in part this flow of money."[42]

Despite such praise and Harrison's best efforts, the magazine after nine months was not a success—it was in fact "fast hastening to a close."[43] The reason for its failure could have been expected: culture, even popular culture, was premature in Utah. The prospect of the magazine's demise must have deepened the melancholy of the two collaborators. From their perspective, nothing seemed to be going well. Since arriving in Utah, Harrison had not found a major role, certainly nothing commensurate with his talent. Godbe's business fortunes likewise remained in difficulty. He had lost the Exchange Buildings. Neither the hotel at Hampton Ford nor the Wyoming mine venture had prospered, and the local depression had severely hurt the drug and sundry trade of "Godbe and Mitchell." Moreover, Young's cooperative plans would require further adjustment and dislocation.

But most of all, Harrison and Godbe despaired over Mormonism. The two men had begun their religious journey in Great Britain with great expectations. Yet now, their religious faith seemed lifeless and jejune. The two men stood on the precipice: could they continue in Mormonism?

The issues of the *Utah Magazine* showed little of their disaffection. That remained concealed. But privately, Harrison and Godbe listed their objections, which they put forward in step-by-step propositions. First, from their perspective, LDS spirituality had declined. Certainly Deseret offered nothing of the early British mission's exciting spiritual manifestations. Second, President Young's "extraordinary assumptions" of infallibility and temporal power had made the men

of the Mormon priesthood servile. Harrison and Godbe agreed that Young was too much of an authoritarian who wanted to control too many details of everyday life. Third, the policies of Zion were coercive—not that Young literally forced his will on his followers; rather, Harrison and Godbe believed that Young's leadership was an example of moral coercion. His strong Temple Square preaching undermined the Saints' free thought and expression. And fourth, Young was hopelessly out of touch with the modern world. Even as the gentile influence was reaching into Utah, Young had refused to adjust to the approaching "new circumstances."[44]

These ideas, then, were the fruits of Harrison and Godbe's several-year collaboration. On one level, their opposition could be summarized by a single word: "Zion." What Harrison and Godbe found themselves opposed to was exactly what Zion was as defined by Joseph Smith and Brigham Young. To these church leaders and many members who were only several generations removed from the Puritan corporate policy of New England, the prospect of government control, whether by civil or church authority, did not seem unreasonable. However, to Harrison and Godbe—intellectually attuned to the laissez-faire currents of the post–Civil War era, imbued with a businessman's opposition to the control of profits, rooted in a British rather than a New England heritage, and not having been a witness to Joseph Smith's repeated unsuccessful attempts to create a Zion—the Utah Zion had become an anachronistic vehicle for Young's personal power.

The religious alienation of Harrison and Godbe illustrated something more than two differing views of society. Their dissatisfaction also showed that the territory was slowly coming of age. Each aspect of the fiercely contested merchant war of the 1860s suggested this trend. The attacks of the non-Mormon businessmen on the religious commonwealth; Young's boycott of the anti-Mormon merchants and his decision to embrace cooperative merchandizing; the coming of the transcontinental railroad—each of these developments presaged the end of the territory's early primitive economy and the beginning of a more secular and diverse

society. Just as New England's Puritan merchants brought a new worldly spirit and new worldly leaders to their seventeenth-century society,[45] the merchants of Deseret performed a similar function in Utah two hundred years later.

When considering the process of dissent and apostasy, the believer may be satisfied with Saint Paul's axiom: "The things of God knoweth no man, but [by] the Spirit of God."[46] According to this scripture, religious belief is sustained by inner, spiritual experiences. Perhaps Harrison and Godbe had not been spiritually dutiful during the time of their drift from Mormonism. Perhaps a greater spiritual earnestness could have inoculated them from the intellectual, cultural, and economic torments that confronted them in the later 1860s.

This much can be said: by the summer of 1868, for a variety of complex reasons, Harrison and Godbe were no longer orthodox by the standards then prevailing in Utah, and their alienation reflected their cultural backgrounds as well as their experiences in their adopted land. It had been a difficult personal process. Their feelings were deep and likely would not be quietly borne—they were not that kind of men. At some point, they would have to give up their new ideas about Mormonism or they would have to announce them and fight for them.

Notes

^1. George Q. Cannon, SL Stake Historical Record Book, 25 Oct. 1869, p. 59, LDS Archives.

^2. BY, interview with the former assistant assessor of the Eighth Division District, 31 Dec. 1870, in General Minutes, 1855–1877, BY Papers, LDS Archives.

^3. *JD* 11 (June and July 1865): 114.

^4. Remarks before the SL School of the Prophets, JH, 3 Oct. 1868.

^5. *JD* 3 (8 Oct. 1855): 120.

^6. Bullock's Minutes of Meetings, 6 July 1860, LDS Archives.

^7. William Jennings, "Material Progress," p. 1, manuscript, University of California at Berkeley, Bancroft Library.
^8. Meeting in the Historian's Office, 4 July 1860, Bullock's Minutes of Meetings, LDS Archives; Arrington et al., *Building the City of God,* pp. 80–81; and B. H. Roberts, *Comprehensive History,* 5:209–10.
^9. The parallels between Utah events and Southern Reconstruction, normally overlooked by Utah historians, find some expression in Poll, "Political Reconstruction of Utah Territory."
^10. BY to William H. Hooper, 3 Mar. 1866, BY Letterbooks, LDS Archives. Also see BY to W. T. Sherman, 12 Apr. 1866, ibid.
^11. Pedersen, "*Daily Union Vedette.*"
^12. BY statement, 21 Dec. 1866, *DN* 16 (2 Jan. 1867): 1.
^13. Jonathan Bliss, *Merchants and Miners in Utah,* pp. 152, 166–67.
^14. Jensen, "Forgotten Relief Societies"; Derr et al., *Women of Covenant,* pp. 75– 82, 86–97; and Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom,* pp. 251–54.
^15. Minutes of the SL School of the Prophets, 24 Feb. 1868, LDS Archives; Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom,* pp. 245–51.
^16. *JD* 11 (9 Oct. 1865): 139–40.
^17. 23 Dec. 1866, *DN* 16 (9 Jan. 1867): 10–11.
^18. "To the Leaders of the Mormon Church," 20 Dec. 1866, *Salt Lake Semi-Weekly Telegraph,* 31 Dec. 1866, p. 1; BY statement, 21 Dec. 1866, *DN* 16 (2 Jan. 1867): 1.
^19. *DN* 15 (30 Nov. 1865): 60.
^20. Tullidge, *HSLC,* p. 384.
^21. *DEN,* 9 May 1868, p. 2; *NYHer,* 4 Sept. 1869, p. 4.
^22. *DEN,* 9 May 1868, p. 3.
^23. Ibid.
^24. Ibid., 23 May 1868, p. 2.
^25. Ibid.
^26. Ibid., 3 and 12 June 1868, both p. 2.
^27. Tullidge, "Utah Commerce and Cooperation," p. 366.

^28. Reminiscent account contained in Fred Perris to WSGodbe, 15 Aug. 1877, HamGodbe Papers, University of Utah.
^29. WSGodbe, "To the Public and Especially the Mormon Portion of It," *SLTrib,* supp., 19 Feb. 1872.
^30. Ibid.
^31. Ibid.
^32. Ibid.
^33. Thirteenth Ward General Minutes, 29 Feb. and 4 Mar. 1868, LDS Archives.
^34. BY to Jeter Clinton, 20 Oct. 1876, BY Letterbooks, LDS Archives; *DNWeekly* 23 (15 July 1874): 385.
^35. *SLHer,* 23 Oct. 1877, p. 2; *DEN,* 8 Nov. 1877, p. 2.
^36. BY to Jeter Clinton, 26 July, 16 Aug., 16 and 20 Oct. 1876, BY Letterbooks, LDS Archives.
^37. BY to Jeter Clinton, 20 Oct. 1876, BY Letterbooks, LDS Archives; Jeter Clinton to BY, 29 Oct. 1876, BY Incoming Corr., LDS Archives.
^38. BY to Jeter Clinton, 12 Sept. 1857, BY Letterbooks, LDS Archives.
^39. Brooks, *Mountain Meadows Massacre,* p. 63. Another letter laid out Young's policy. "In regard to emigration trains passing through our settlements we must not interfere with them until they are first notified to keep away. You must not meddle with them. The indians [however] we expect will do as they please but you should try and preserve good feelings with them" (BY to Isaac C. Haight, 10 Sept. 1857, BY Letterbooks, LDS Archives).
^40. WSGodbe, "To the Public and Especially the Mormon Portion of It," *SLTrib,* supp., 19 Feb. 1872.
^41. *Utah Magazine* Prospectus [1867], LDS Archives.
^42. *MStar* 30 (21 Mar. 1868): 185; *DEN,* 18 Jan. and 15 Feb. 1868, both p. 3.
^43. T. B. H. Stenhouse, *RMSaints,* p. 630.
^44. WSGodbe, "Situation in Utah," pp. 406–7; Harrison and Godbe remarks, *NYHer,* 19 Dec. 1869, p. 8.

^45. Bailyn, *New England Merchants in the Seventeenth Century.*
^46. 1 Corinthians 2:11.

Chapter 7

New York Epiphany

Young Heber J. Grant, future president of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, admired the Godbe family. Heber's father, Jedediah, had died when Heber was only a few days old; six years later, the lad and his mother, Rachel, moved into a widow's cottage near Godbe's several homes in the Thirteenth Ward. Life was difficult. Heber needed a substitute father figure, while Rachel faced the lonely and difficult task of trying to make a living on her own.

William S. Godbe helped to meet both of their needs. Rachel often sewed for hire in one of the Godbe homes, and she and her son frequently left loaded with gifts. Recalling his "intimate association" with Godbe, Heber offered a favorable epitaph: "I never knew a more generous, bigger-hearted or more faithful man." Heber could not recall a man that he had loved more in his youth. Godbe spent time with the boy, and it was at his home that young Heber tasted pioneer delicacies, such as an orange. He remembered that the fruit seemed exotic and strange-tasting.[1]

Heber also recalled an incident that would take on greater significance later in his life. He and Rachel were working at the Godbe home a half-block south of their own when family members invited them into the parlor to play with a planchette, the nineteenth-century equivalent of a Ouija board. The planchette was a small, heart-shaped handrest, supported on its three ends by two casters and a small pencil. If its users were in the "entranced condition," the planchette could record messages from the world of spirits—or so many believed. President Young had sternly warned against using such devices, predicting that they would lead to faith-corroding spiritualism. At first the serious-minded Rachel refused to participate. However, the members of the circle were persistent, and to Heber's amazement, Rachel finally joined them. But the planchette failed to work, and Rachel had an explanation: "I told the Lord if he would give me the impression that it would not work, I

would go in. That is what happened, my boy, they could not make it work."[2]

Without a sequel, the event might have passed as another example of early Utah's many but quickly fleeting encounters with spiritualism.[3] As a movement, spiritualism began at Hydesville, Wayne County, New York, only a generation later and a few miles away from the origin of Mormonism. There, in 1848, Mr. and Mrs. J. D. Fox and two of their daughters, Kate and Margaret, heard strange snapping sounds that seemed to occur in response to their questions. When Kate and Margaret later moved to their sister's home in Rochester, the three Fox sisters used these mysterious sounds to contact deceased relatives and prominent historical figures. They learned that one knock or "rap" meant "no" and that three raps meant "yes." Their claims electrified Americans and Europeans alike, who assumed that the spirits were attempting to communicate with the mortal sphere. Thus began the modern spiritualist movement.

Soon men and women on both sides of the Atlantic were experimenting with planchettes in their parlors—and receiving awkwardly scrawled (and often awkwardly phrased) messages from the world beyond. Other devotees, also attempting to make contact with the spirits, used the professional services of human "mediums." These singularly gifted people claimed to be conduits between earthly and postmortem life; their séances were said to produce a variety of ethereal voices, lights, and other astonishing effects. And spiritualism had more than planchettes and mediums: hardly a "spiritualistic" device or phenomenon escaped being noticed and used by spiritualism's several million nineteenth-century believers.[4]

Some Mormons and former Mormons entered into this excitement. Elder Orson Pratt claimed that many old Kirtland and Nauvoo members had adopted the new spiritualist faith and had established themselves as mediums in St. Louis, Philadelphia, New York, and other eastern cities. "If you heard anything about these apostates," he said, "you would hear about them being great mediums . . . [who had turned] from every principle of righteousness." Pratt reported

that some of these men were "writing mediums," others rapped on a table, and still others displayed other spiritualistic talent.[5]

Another Mormon elder cited a specific individual case. Charles H. Bassett, recently returned from the East, told of the career of the peripatetic Gladden Bishop. After challenging Joseph Smith's leadership in Nauvoo and trying to set up a Mormon schismatic group in Ohio, Bishop became a practicing medium in Cincinnati. "The Spiritualists have music, praying & singing," reported Bassett. And they produced strong phenomena: in one case a mysterious hand, detached from its body, wrote an otherworldly message.[6]

Spiritualism enrolled more than eastern "apostates." Enough spiritualism existed in Utah to excite several rebukes from Temple Square. Elder Parley P. Pratt denounced spiritualism in his April 1853 general conference address. Brigham Young followed a year later with a more strongly worded discourse. When these sermons failed to cleanse the Saints, Young cleared Cottonwood Canyon of "quite a number of mediums" who had temporarily gathered there.[7] "If you do not quit your witchcrafts and soothsaying," President Heber C. Kimball threatened with characteristic hyperbole, "we will sever your heads from your bodies. You think you are in the dark, but the light can see you."[8] In the same year, 1854, a Mormon bishop returned from a tour of Utah County and reported troubling "spirit rappings," which he regretted "existed [there] in some measure."[9] Utah's first interest in spiritualism did not pass quickly; President Brigham Young's sermons addressed the theme of spiritualism from time to time during the following decade.

Spiritualism also influenced William Godbe and Elias Harrison—and in more ways than the playing of parlor games. In March 1868, their *Utah Magazine* began a series of articles that were tinged with supernatural and Gothic elements. The titles were instructive: "Swedenborg's Curious Powers," "Testimony of the Supernatural," "Chinese Spiritual Mediums," and the "Fakeer Who Was Buried Alive at Lahore."[10] By early summer in 1868, one of Harrison's editorials broadly defined spiritualism to include the beliefs of Mormonism (could not Joseph Smith's experiences with angels be described as

"spiritualistic"?). Using such an expanded definition, Harrison's editorial endorsed spiritualism as divine.[11]

The *Utah Magazine* articles were more than a detached literary or religious rumination: they likely revealed a growing personal fascination with spiritualism on the part of the magazine proprietors. The reason is not difficult to surmise. Spiritualism was almost the perfect salve for Harrison's and Godbe's religious distress. While Mormons found many of spiritualism's teachings to be antithetic to their own, and in some cases bizarre, other teachings were similar enough to make the transfer of faith from Mormonism to spiritualism possible. For someone struggling with the Mormon faith, spiritualism had an unmistakable appeal.

Besides the similar geographic origins of spiritualism and Mormonism, the two movements shared several main tenets. For instance, each believed that revelation (communication with the immortal sphere) not only was possible but was taking place. Both Mormonism and spiritualism accepted the eternal nature of humanity and thought that the quick and the dead could inhabit the same space or region. Both movements disdained historical Christianity and rejected many of its precepts, such as an ex nihilo creation, Nicene trinitarianism, and the literalness of the sacred host.

There were other similarities. Both displayed an interest in utopian ideas, believed in a premortal and postmortal life, and experimented with marriage and diet codes. The spiritualists' phrenological, psychometric, and physiognomic readers might be seen as parallel to the Mormons' patriarchal blessings, while spiritualistic "trance speaking" ignored formal, prepared sermons, as did the Mormons' extemporaneous "speaking by the Spirit." Members of each movement at times "cast out devils," though the spiritualists invoked "animal magnetism" as their power while the Mormons spoke of "priesthood authority." Finally, each movement had a strong sense of mission: the disciples of each wished to reform the world.

While some of these parallels were more apparent than real, they made spiritualism attractive to many Mormons—and not for these reasons alone. Spiritualism exalted "science," "rationality," and

"progress." It also answered the thirst of people like Godbe and Harrison for spiritual phenomena, even as it validated their previous experience in Mormonism. Looking at Mormonism through the prism of spiritualism, old Mormon spiritual experiences now seemed to be valid psychic events that had been earlier misinterpreted as uniquely LDS. Finally, spiritualism had a rakish, revolutionary quality that especially suited British converts. It questioned and challenged staid thought, just as their brand of British Mormonism had done. In short, spiritualism had many enticing parallels to Mormonism: it had intellectual appeal; it had phenomena; and it carried the banner of revolution.

Without the railroad and "cooperation" crisis of 1868–69, perhaps the appeal of spiritualism would have remained latent within Godbe and Harrison, simply a semisilent theoretical consideration. But the unusual times prompted the two men to reconsider their most basic ideas. Young was forcefully pushing his countermeasures to the feared results of the coming railroad, and a feeling of urgency was in the air. In this atmosphere, the principle of mutual escalation came into play: as Young increased pressure on the community to accept his policy, men like Godbe and Harrison increased their resistance; each new initiative by Young brought additional resistance. First, Godbe and Harrison had some mental reservations about Young and his theocracy. Next, they considered the alternative of spiritualism. Finally, the two decided that spiritualism must be investigated firsthand and Mormonism possibly set aside.

Tullidge described their condition: "These men had reached a critical point in their career. Their faith in the Church burned in the socket, but it was hard for them to obliterate the past with all its dreams, its attachments, and its strange romance. They must now decide for or against the 'Lord's anointed.'"[12] Godbe was probably aware that sometime during the October 1868 general conference, the church would likely announce a new cooperative system of business that Godbe, as a leading church member, merchant, and protégé of President Young, would be expected to embrace. It was

therefore not a coincidence that during the conference, Godbe and his friend Harrison were tending to "business" in New York City.

Godbe and Harrison's trip East in the fall of 1868 was a turning point in their personal lives and in the development of their revolt, not because it marked the beginning of their dissent, as Stenhouse later suggested, but because the trip focused on and gave impetus to the feelings that they had, for several years, kept private. Outwardly, the trip was planned for business and recreation (the editing of the *Utah Magazine* was a heavy strain on the nervous Harrison), but another of its major purposes was to decide on a course of action. Godbe and Harrison left behind them a Zion deeply unsettled, "in travail" over Young's new economic policy;[13] before them lay the questions of whether and how they should declare their deepening dissent.

Godbe later described his state of mind as he approached New York City. For a man who once regarded himself as Young's friend and protégé, Godbe now had what seemed an unusually bitter view of the man: Young had taken a religion full of spiritual displays and wonders and made it into a materialistic, "Mosaic" theocracy. In Godbe's view, the transformation of the church reflected Young's personality; Young had become a "great dictator," whose love of power and money had brought a "subservient priesthood." Further, instead of gracefully adjusting to the new circumstances the coming railroad offered, Young had seized "new prerogatives" and had arrogated to himself "extraordinary assumptions of temporal power." Because of Young, Utah was becoming more hostile to the outside world, while the church's anti-mining policy and cooperative plans prevented the territory from realizing its economic "manifest destiny."[14]

Godbe described Harrison's thinking as similar to his own, only more personally felt: Harrison so despaired over Zion that he wondered if his career had not been in vain. The Mormon ideals that had given Harrison's life its purpose and direction now seemed a vain illusion, a casualty of Young's "despotism." Together, Godbe and Harrison wondered how their disillusionment might end. They had

not entirely given up on Mormonism. But what should they do? Godbe put his (and Harrison's) anxiety and hopes in the third person: "Those who dared to think freely—and therefore honestly—whose faith in the religion was not quite extinguished, were anxiously waiting to see what the impending issue would be."[15]

The two men were not the only people anxiously waiting. Back in Salt Lake City, Rosina Godbe understood the purpose of her husband's trip East and the central role that Harrison had played in William's struggle. Writing William, she advised him not to stay up too late "trying to 'settle the question.'" Similar to her husband, she greatly respected Harrison: "I almost envy him the pleasure you take in his society—and wish it were in my power to contribute so largely to your happiness. I can see how easily you would be fascinated with a superior mind." This last sentence trailed off with a question and an enigmatic pronoun. "Is it no wonder," she asked, "that we fear them?"[16]

What had she meant? Who was causing members of the Godbe family to fear? Perhaps Rosina referred to Young and other church leaders and their anti-merchant policy. Or perhaps her question had more to do with Godbe and Harrison's trip to "settle the question" and was directed to the future. Had the Godbe family already discussed the likelihood of an open revolt and the possible consequences that might come from Young because of it?

Whatever the fears and anticipations surrounding the New York trip, Harrison and Godbe came to regard their experience in New York City as a personal epiphany. Yet despite its life-shaping importance, neither man left a detailed account of what happened. "I looked above and sought for light from its great fountain," Godbe later wrote.[17] His description was as vague on another occasion: "In the autumn of 1868 the lifelong desire of our souls for tangible, conclusive evidence of a future life was fully met." While the experience was of "no ordinary character," it was "irrelevant," he said, "to enter into the details."[18]

Fortunately, several friends of Harrison and Godbe supplied some information. According to Stenhouse, the two men lodged in a New

York hotel in "terrible mental anguish" and almost immediately began praying earnestly. To their astonishment, they were greeted by a comforting voice that began a series of revelations that confirmed their doubts about Mormonism and gave them instructions. "This is their statement," wrote Stenhouse, "and they firmly believe it."[19]

O. H. Conger, also an intimate associate of Harrison and Godbe, provided a less traditional religious narrative of the experience. Conger, a spiritualist, claimed that the Godbeite movement began with a visit to Charles H. Foster, a renowned medium. Conger maintained that the initial visit to Foster took place when a half-dozen Mormons, who were in New York City on business, sought a diversion by visiting a spiritualist salon. What occurred stunned them. As they entered Foster's room, the men, who had not as yet identified themselves, were greeted by their given names. "How do you do, Brother William?" "How do you do, Brother Eli?" The sensation of being greeted so familiarly was increased by the peculiar voice that Godbe and Harrison heard. It was not Foster's, but the well-known, unique, and totally unmistakable voice of Heber C. Kimball, Brigham Young's former counselor who had died just four months before.[20]

Conger's statement differed from other accounts. None of the other versions of the New York experience mentioned the possibility that several men had accompanied Godbe and Harrison to Foster's receiving room, nor that their purpose was diversion. Neither detail was likely accurate. The desire of Godbe and Harrison for spiritualist guidance was probably one of the main reasons (Godbe also was buying commodities for his business) for their trip to New York City—and the reason that, before Godbe and Harrison left Salt Lake City, Rosina Godbe and doubtless other family members believed a possible resolution to her husband's religious questioning might be close at hand ("settling the question"). Given these hopes and serious considerations, neither Godbe nor Harrison would have allowed others to have accompanied them.

However, Conger was likely accurate in attributing the central role to Foster. Thirty years after the event, the *Deseret Evening News* reported what appears to have been common knowledge in the city—that Harrison (apparently accompanied by Godbe) had indeed visited Foster during the New York trip. The rumor was supported by the Godbeites' later contacts with Foster and by Foster's continuing ability, during his Utah contacts, of summoning the voice of Heber C. Kimball.[21]

Godbe and Harrison were reluctant to admit a possible relationship with Foster, although Harrison later hinted that the two men had in fact used a medium. "We are not and do not profess to be Seers," he later wrote. "If that quality or organization exists in either Bro. Godbe or myself, it is at present underdeveloped. We were communicated with [in New York] by the only (or the best) method open to our organizations." To Harrison and Godbe, the term "seer" meant the talent of receiving visitations, so the statement seems transparent: lacking the ability to receive spiritual communications for themselves, Godbe and Harrison had engaged the services of a professional.[22]

If Harrison and Godbe did use Foster's assistance (it may never be known for certain), they met an interesting personality. Foster advertised himself as "the greatest Spirit Medium in the world," and many regarded him as such.[23] His "world tours" included much of the United States, Australia, and Europe, where he gave séances to the "great and small." The former included royalty: France's Louis Napoleon and especially the empress Eugénie; Italy's Victor Emmanuel; and Belgium's former king, Leopold (who sent Foster a diamond ring in appreciation for his service). In England, Foster demonstrated his spiritualist power to such leading figures as the duke of Wellington, Lord Palmerston, Edmund Yates, Robert Browning, Lord Tennyson, Thomas Huxley, and John Stuart Mill. After visiting Bulwer-Lytton at his Knebworth estate, Foster became the basis for the character Margrave in Bulwer-Lytton's tale "A Strange Story." And of course Foster had his American clientele, which included two presidents, Abraham Lincoln and Andrew

Johnson, who briefly engaged his services; industrialists Jay Gould and Thomas Scott; and literary figures Bayard Taylor and Walt Whitman.[24]

Foster's specialty was summoning familiar spirits, including the authors Camoëns, Cervantes, and Virgil, who, on request, proved themselves by quoting any stanza of their poetry. Foster also gave an additional "test" of his work. The spirits that Foster commanded often wrote their names on Foster's body, the signature appearing on his hand or forearm in "plain, distinct characters, in letters formed of . . . [Foster's] living blood." When a "Mr. Adams" visited Foster, Foster's traveling companion and manager remembered the medium's discomfort. Never, Foster said, had any man drawn so many spirits to a séance. Hours after the interview had ended, Foster's manager claimed to have counted eleven Adams family names written on the spiritualist's forehead, arms, and back.[25]

Foster was an American, born in Salem, Massachusetts, of a family gifted in "seeing spirits." His parents claimed that young Charlie's familiarity with the "other-world" began early: the spirits even seemed to rock his cradle.[26] "I am simply endowed with a peculiar power," Foster later testified after reaching maturity. "I know this, but I know nothing more."[27] He was similarly unpretentious in his personal dealings with others. Those who entered his salon found a full-faced, dark-complexioned, good-looking man, with black, penetrating eyes and a girth so considerable that he crossed his legs only with difficulty. He seemed nonchalant: below a heavy moustache hung what seemed a perpetual cigar. Said one observer: "He didn't fill the bill [of being] mediumistic at all, but seemed, as he proved to be, a self-possessed, impassive, jolly-dog sort of a chap."[28]

A New York City journalist described Foster's technique with the spirits. There was "no clap-trap" whatever, "no trances, no darkened rooms, no spirit faces, no music in the air, no feeling of hands and legs." Instead, during a séance Foster sat in a well-lighted room with a small table at his side, talking with his clients about the common subjects of the day. Amid this informality, Foster received the spirits: he claimed that they whispered their messages into his

consciousness. "It may be that there *is* some trickery in the matter," marveled the newspaperman, "but, if so, from the very nature of the case, it is so skillfully done as to amount to a positive miracle of skill; and certainly no one, as yet, has been able either to expose the trickery or to explain the phenomena."[29]

Many considered Foster a clever fraud, his moral character "hopelessly tainted." During Foster's 1861 tour of England, a leading American spiritualist, New York judge John W. Edmonds, warned his colleagues across the Atlantic of the New England medium's "sickening" criminality. The basis for Edmonds's charge is unclear. On the other hand, other spiritualists were equally confident of Foster's rare power. His flesh-writing technique, thought Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, another literary-figure-turned-spiritualist, "was so often repeated and so closely examined, that there can be no possible doubt as to the fact." But even defenders of Foster's skills had no illusions about his stability. His manager, George Bartlett, thought him an "unbalanced genius," not simply a Dr. Jekyll and a Mr. Hyde, but a half-dozen of each (indeed Robert Louis Stevenson's Jekyll-Hyde literary character may have been based on the real-life Foster). Strangely gifted, Foster was also "woefully deficient" in personal dealings. According to Bartlett, in one moment his heart went out to the poor; the next he abused his closest friends. He might work at his "table" from morning until evening for days with very little sleep, and then do nothing for weeks, turning away hundreds of dollars in commissions. Living for the moment and pliable to any whim and often to dissipation, Foster began to break down mentally and physically in his early fifties. He died a few years later.[30]

Almost certainly Godbe and Harrison knew of Foster prior to going east in 1868. Acquainted with the writing of Bulwer-Lytton, the two men may have known of the Foster-character Margrave, and this connection would have introduced them to the celebrated medium. But such speculation is beside the point. Foster was world-famous, and Godbe and Harrison, as investigators of spiritualism, would have known of him—just as they probably also knew of his checkered reputation. But information of this kind was not deemed to be

important. Most practicing spiritualists cared far more about a medium's spiritual talent and reliability than about his or her character. It was a medium's "results" that mattered, and Foster had the reputation for producing them.

If Foster acted as Godbe and Harrison's spiritual agent, he certainly did not disappoint them—beginning with the choice of their chief spirit-interlocutor, Heber C. Kimball. Kimball not only greeted Godbe and Harrison at their first séance but he continued to instruct them in the ensuing three weeks. The selection was uncannily fortunate. Apparently unknown to Foster, Harrison had long admired the rough-hewn Kimball, not for his intellectual capability but for his outgoing spirit and piety. The man effused "spirituality."

Shortly before Kimball's death, Harrison and Tullidge had sought the apostle at his home on a business matter, but the devout Kimball refused to delay his scheduled family prayers. Instead, asking his visitors to join his wives and children, Kimball prayed in his usual fervent but childlike manner. To Tullidge and Harrison, the experience was overwhelming. "Elias and myself came out of Heber's presence as from the presence of a God, and we marvelled one to the other," Tullidge later wrote. "I never in my life felt God so near me as then, never seemed so much in His presence before. Heber C. Kimball brought Him down into that room."[31]

That kind of experience gave Kimball, even in the spirit, immediate credentials to teach these two men. During the next three weeks, in séance after séance, Kimball's voice (his spirit was never seen) patiently instructed Godbe and Harrison in the "higher" doctrines prevailing beyond the veil. Punctual and consistent, these interviews were usually given "by appointment" and lasted two hours. The usual procedure was question-and-answer. While Godbe bought goods for his Utah customers during the day, Harrison remained at the hotel to write questions to take to Foster and Kimball in the evening. "Now, brother Elias, do you understand that?" the spirit-apostle might say in his down-to-earth manner. This was not table-turning, table-tipping, or the use of a planchette, the men later insisted, but a spiritual dialogue that left them excited and

remarkably at peace.[32] During these interviews, Harrison usually began the questioning, with Godbe joining in cross-examination. At each step of the discussion, the men insisted that the answers they received had to be satisfying and complete. Only then did they record the information with pencil and paper.[33]

Conger suggested that the process had been validated by one of Foster's famous body autographs.[34] But Godbe and Harrison did not require such a test to verify their experience. It was enough for them that the messages they received contained "lofty principles" and "beauty and goodness." Godbe and Harrison later stated the matter as clearly as they could: "The test as to whether good or bad spirits were speaking [in New York] was the nature of the communications and influences themselves." For Godbe and Harrison, substance or content determined everything.[35]

Godbe and Harrison believed that this criterion served them well. They reported receiving "so much more" than they at first had expected.[36] "The whole superstructure of a grand system of theology was unfolded to our minds," Harrison confirmed. "The object was not to make a grand display of words, but to remove superstition and ignorance, and teach us the laws governing the science of revelation, the facts of another life, and the philosophy or doctrine which should govern the Church of Zion." Such information included "advanced and wonderful ideas" previously unknown to humankind, which Harrison and Godbe were told to share with the world.[37]

In these colloquies, Kimball was not the only message-bearer. Harrison and Godbe also claimed to receive revelation from Jesus Christ, Joseph Smith, and Solomon; from the early apostles Peter, James, and John; and from the German naturalist Alexander Humboldt, who reportedly gave insights that promised to advance humankind past evolutionary theory, even as Darwin had gone beyond Moses. When Christ appeared, a dim light was seen, but on other occasions the "angelic beings," as Harrison and Godbe called them, were invisible and simply answered questions.

What had Harrison and Godbe learned about Mormonism? Not surprisingly perhaps, their New York experience confirmed their current mood. Sometimes there were what must have seemed to be technical departures from their old religion. For instance, the spirits told Harrison and Godbe that Latter-day Saint men were no longer obliged to accept proselytizing missions; they should do so only if the gospel light within them (rather than church leaders) told them to do so. Also, "Solomon" contradicted both the Bible and Book of Mormon during his interview by suggesting that he had no concubines, only wives.[38] The latter was symptomatic: the spirits suggested that the Doctrine and Covenants, filled with the revelations of Joseph Smith, was not to be fully trusted. This guideline seemed to apply to all scripture, modern-day as well as ancient.

The spirits disliked Brigham Young and the Mormon Zion, their words confirming Godbe and Harrison's new beliefs. But the spirits did not entirely repudiate Mormonism. They taught that Joseph Smith had been a prophet—or more precisely (and scientifically) a spiritual medium—who imperfectly strained divine light through his untutored understanding, and whose revelations, understandably, were inferior to the "new light" now being given.[39] According to this new version of Mormon history, even Young had made an inadvertent contribution. He had preserved and gathered "an inspirational nation." If his leadership had temporarily dimmed spirituality among his followers, the Mormon people could still be awakened "by the electric touch of communication with the invisible worlds."[40]

Here was the key to the New York message. Godbe and Harrison learned that "'Mormonism' had been started for a great and divine purpose." It had gathered "an inspirational people," who believed in heavenly revelation. Because of these beliefs, the Mormons could yet be molded to receive the higher truths of the "grandest" and "noblest civilization the world had ever seen."[41]

Thus the New York revelation allowed Harrison and Godbe to salvage a part of their old Mormon faith. Joseph Smith had simply

been an imperfect medium. Brigham Young, far less spiritually endowed, had fulfilled his mission by bringing the Saints westward, where they might soon be molded to the new heavenly purpose. But the church had done more than just gather an "inspirational" people who awaited the fire of spiritualism. The church's doctrines had elevated those it touched; it had the capacity to teach a new civilization; and it carried the promise of a superb priesthood organization. Spiritualism, always chaotic, would remain so until "the [Mormon] Priesthood, with its greater enlightenment, shall sweep . . . [the spiritualists] within its ample folds."[42]

The New York blueprint called for an evangelical spiritualism grafted onto Mormon roots. The reformed church would provide the system, its priesthood shorn of its temporal hopes and one-man disciplinary power. This system of governing, Godbe and Harrison believed, would still have enough power to regulate a new spiritualism, which in reality was not too different from the old. While Harrison and Godbe acknowledged the validity of the popular and faddish elements of the spiritualist movement (rappings, table tippings, and planchettes), they believed these manifestations taught limited truths. The higher truths were secured by seeking the most worthy spirits—the kind of spirit messengers that Godbe and Harrison themselves had spoken with in New York—usually through the use of mediums or seers. With this more dependable spiritualism allied to an "improved" Mormon priesthood, the seen and unseen worlds would join in a revolution that promised to lift humankind to a new civilization.[43]

Godbe and Harrison left New York City in 1868 with a sheaf of copied revelations, apparently transcripts of their conversations with Kimball and other spirit messengers. None of these "revelations" were ever made public. However, Godbe and Harrison did publish four formal revelations that were largely messages of personal comfort. Joseph Smith's revelation, apparently given at the end of the three-week series of séances, lent his imprimatur to information that had been given. "From our standpoint it appears to us that you are fully sensible of the importance of the work you are called to

perform," Smith's revelation began, in language that seemed bland when compared to Smith's revelations printed in the Doctrine and Covenants.

> We know the difficulties you will have to encounter, the obstacles that will be in your way—they will be great and numerous.
>
> We know the jealousies that will exist and the slurs that will be thrown out against you; yet we see that, in spite of all this, you will be triumphant, triumphant.
>
> You are instructed and sent on this mission by one that you once knew (Heber C. Kimball), and he [was] sent to you by others that he never knew (this is, in the flesh), and they by others that they never knew, and so on, link after link, until we reach the Highest Authority, all saying unto you: "Go and redeem Zion. Go and feed the people with rich ripe corn in the kernel, instead of the husks with which they have so long been fed."
>
> Remember this: and reflect well upon it: and thousands upon thousands will surround you, and greet you with songs of joy at your entrance to the immortal world, for the work you have accomplished for suffering humanity.[44]

The Apostle James, Christ's disciple, gave further assurance to Godbe and Harrison in two separate communications. The intent of the first was to buoy the intense and nervous Harrison, whose search for truth had brought him so much anxiety.

Far, far away, beyond the clouds—far beyond your vision, dwell those who are interested in the great and mighty Church of our Lord.

On this occasion, sent to you by angelic influences and divine providence, comes James, the Apostle, bringing with him Brother John on the left and Brother Peter on the right.

This is the first time that I have ever come since I left the earth, and spoken directly with mortal man. But the great interest you take in the improvement of the world and the regeneration of mankind

has brought us here, because we have seen two souls working for the elevation of humanity.

And you, brother [Harrison], I have seen your soul's torture, I have known the troubles you have bourn. You have been at the foot of the cross and have suffered an agony in your Garden of Gethsemane. Dear, dear brother, be comforted; consider that we have come to lead you to the truth, and appointed you to this great work. Do your duty; "think twice before you speak once"; be patient, be merciful, be prayerful, and all your obstacles shall be removed and the light will come with full effulgence. God bless you both. Amen. Amen.

This revelation elicited a minor complaint from Godbe, who asked James about his claim that he had not visited the earth since his mortality. The statement differed from a Mormon church tenet, which claimed that James had appeared to Joseph Smith when the fullness of priesthood authority had been restored. When challenged by Godbe, James clarified himself by stressing the second clause of his declaration: he had visited but had not spoken to Smith.

Initially, James's effort to console Godbe and Harrison failed. It was as though James's benediction made them realize that as the revelatory sessions neared an end, despite the excitement of the past several weeks, they now faced bleak reality. Could they possibly succeed in the mission they had accepted? Would Mormon opposition overwhelm them? Fortunately, James spoke further. He reminded Godbe and Harrison that Jesus had also stood "ahead of humanity" but had triumphed. As added solace, James called down on the men the blessing of a "Heavenly Zion," a phrase that contrasted Brigham's Zion with the new order of love and human achievement.

Jesus of Nazareth passed through the dark valley of Gethsemane. Jesus suffered and shed tears, for he stood alone; and his big heart beat for humanity and they felt it not; and the love he sent forth was only accepted by a chosen few, and thrown back again into that responsive nature.

The mission of Jesus was to unfold to the world the new truths of Zion, yet he passed from the earth like a murderer, like a thief—like one who had committed a terrible crime.

For all the love he showered upon humanity, his earthly life had to pay the forfeit.

Why was this? Because he was far ahead of humanity. No heart beat in unison with his. No heart pulsated with his own. No living being, except Mary and Martha, came near to the sphere of Jesus. Yet he was beloved and blessed with these. They filled a part of his nature, because they came to him spontaneously. Yet he stood alone in his work. He performed his mission and performed it faithfully, and left to join those members of Spiritual Zion who could appreciate his true worth.

He knew in his own soul he would come again. When he said he should come again, he felt the inspiration of a truth. He has come again to lift mankind out of a slough of despond[ency]; to show them the highest truths preached and acted out in Heavenly Zion. He is now acting on human beings to draw them up to him, that they may live in accord with his teachings given eighteen hundred years ago.

Christ speaks louder to-day to the hearts of humanity—louder than ever before; asking them to receive the truths of Zion—to come to God; yet the world still battle[s] against him—the world still crucify[ies] him. But light is soon coming with its full effulgence. The light is shining and will dispel these dark, dark clouds, and the Heavens will be open to man.

Pray for this in your inmost being that you may get so much of light, so much of truth from [the] divine sphere, as will enable you to do [go?] on your mission liberating human souls who are in bondage waiting to be freed.

You *shall* go forth, plough up the ground, plant the seed, and beautiful flowers shall grow, upon which the sun of divine light shall shine, whose fragrance shall go out into Zion.

And purity shall reign, and security shall be felt; and all shall be well with thee and thine, and with the chosen people of Zion.

The last of the four printed revelations purportedly came from Christ himself. Harrison later gave the background that prompted it. As a young man still in England, Harrison had seen a copy of a portrait of Christ supposedly made by Tiberius Caesar. The profile was later cut into a piece of jewelry and given to Pope Innocent VIII. Harrison had long wondered if the likeness was authentic, and without comment, during one of the revelatory sessions, he placed a picture of the jewel on the table. Christ answered Harrison's silent question and provided an insight into the meaning of his ministry.

"'I am the Light, the Truth and the Way.'" These words uttered by me nearly 2,000 years ago, live in the hearts of the people.

"I am the Light, and the Truth and the Way."

"The man who followeth in my footsteps need not stumble."

"I and my father are one."

"My Father sent me."

So strange were these truths that were uttered in my earthly existence that they have become distorted and perverted by men.

I come to-night with the light and the love. Last night you saw the light of my countenance. To-night you hear my voice saying to you, "You are the light, you are the truth and you are the way, and the men that walk in your footsteps shall not stumble, but they shall be led to where the waters are flowing peacefully, to a land of milk and honey."

Think well of my sufferings, troubles, trials and perplexities if it should be your lot to be placed in similar circumstances. And [what I] passed through was for my Father who sent Me—My Father that I worshipped—the God of Truth.

As I behold the likeness you have brought here to-night it recalls to my mind the days of Tiberius Caesar and Pope Innocent, and the man who cut that face in emerald, who was then under inspiration. This likeness is a correct and perfect representation of me as I was in those days.

I am sent to you as a comforter. Your thoughts have gone forth to the angelic world and have been made known to the controlling

> powers, and thus you hear the thoughts that I give expression to telling you that you are treading in the right path; that your mission is important, and that you will live to see the results of this great work. You will not suffer as I suffered[,] for you have too many powers, too many influences assisting you. You are not working alone. You are working with a force behind you impelling you to free the children of Zion.
>
> As you go forth think of me; think of me as a man born to bring light and truth into the world, but think of me only as a man performing his mission with singleness of heart and purpose to benefit humanity. And my love shall go with you, and my Spirit shall be in you, and the daystar of gladness shall illumine the sons of the children of Zion.
>
> I am called back to my Father's mansion; but I shall send forth forces to assist you in this work—the work of Him who died to save humanity.

The New York revelations of Harrison and Godbe were an important milestone. The relinquishing of a religious commitment is never easy, and for these troubled men the process seemed especially difficult. They had been fiery evangels of Mormonism. Their personal faith had been rooted in spiritual experience. Now, at midlife, when they could no longer harmonize their intellectual and spiritual experiences, their New York revelations eased their anguish. With Kimball confirming the "higher truths" they had already come to accept, and Mormonism's founder and first prophet, Smith, granting his approval, Harrison and Godbe felt sanctioned in their recent mental "advances." Even Christ gave his blessing.

None of the information regarding the new "superstructure of a grand system of theology" or the great, post-Darwinian scientific advances ever came to light. Presumably this information, when examined apart from the excitement of the séances, proved less satisfactory than originally believed. In fact, the New York experience seems to have been most successful in ratifying the spiritual and intellectual quest of Godbe and Harrison and not in providing them with new information. Foster, or whoever the

medium was, had read the needs of his clients and provided accordingly.

A careful reading of the New York revelations revealed how far Godbe and Harrison had traveled from their old faith. Gone were the Old Testament–sounding words of Smith's pronouncements—as Harrison and Godbe phrased it, the "grandiloquent" and "Alpha and Omega" style that "mankind had come to expect of God." In contrast, the language of the New York revelations corresponded to a "simpler, purer and more natural age."[45] Lofty-sounding and stern phrases were no longer needed.

The New York revelations also differed from Mormonism doctrinally. Instead of institutional or priesthood authority, the revelations spoke of the "inner light" of personal choice. Similarly, scriptural authority was gently set aside, as the canon became not so much an authoritative guide as a charter to be amended by human thought. The revelations spoke of a "suffering" rather than a "sinning" humanity; and Christ, the atoning God of traditional belief, became an instructor of love and truth who stressed his own humanity.

Some of these changes in doctrine came directly from nineteenth-century spiritualism. "God" had become "Truth" or the "Highest Authority," very different from the Mormons' personal Deity. An "effulgence" of truth seemed to replace Christ's literal second coming. Angels were now "controlling powers," operating through a chain of command, "link after link," even to the chief or highest spirit. The new gospel goal was the "regeneration of mankind"—lifting people from the "slough" of despondency—not mainline, redemptive theology. While more conventional-sounding phrases mixed with these innovations, the result was a clear pattern: the New York spirits were preaching a "new gospel" that centered less on familiar Mormonism than on the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century concepts of reasonableness (reason), naturalness (natural law), and human fulfillment (humanism). These values would later gain prominence in the Godbeite movement.

While the New York revelations failed to impart new (or at least usable) information to Godbe and Harrison, they did contain a message of overwhelming importance. The séances told Godbe and Harrison that they were to lead a revolt against Brigham Young. "Go and redeem Zion," the spirit of Joseph Smith had told them. Likewise, James spoke of their "great work," while Christ explicitly told them that they must "free the children of Zion." Godbe later summarized their instructions: the two reformers were to "emancipate" the Mormon people from that "chief of all soul-dwarfing dogmas, Divine authority in the form of erring man."[46]

Godbe and Harrison returned to Zion with a reclaimed sense of mission. In the months ahead, this mission would be embodied in their Church of Zion, whose name, aims, and teachings originated in the New York event.[47] Because the new program contradicted their former faith, Godbe and Harrison could not have been optimistic about remaining long in Mormonism. In fact, they were told by their band of spirits to "make almost any *personal* sacrifice" to retain their church membership. Until excommunication, they were instructed to sow "such advanced truths as would elevate the people and prepare them for the changes at hand."[48] "Conspiracy" is a strong word, but it seems to fit their hopes. Godbe and Harrison planned to advance their program as rapidly and smoothly within the church as possible until they might be called to task.

Notes

^1. Heber J. Grant, draft of a speech prepared for a Relief Society Conference, [1918?], box 156, folder 6, and Grant to Mary Hampton Godbe, 28 Apr. 1917, Grant Papers, LDS Archives.

^2. Heber J. Grant, draft of a speech prepared for a Relief Society Conference, [1918?], box 156, folder 6, and Grant Typed Diary, 2 June 1918, Grant Papers, LDS Archives.

^3. Bitton's "Mormonism's Encounter with Spiritualism" gives an overview of spiritualism in the Mormon experience.

^4. An early treatment of spiritualism is found in Doyle, *History of Spiritualism.* Moore, *In Search of White Crows,* provides a more

contemporary view. For Utah spiritualism, in addition to the already cited Bitton, "Mormonism's Encounter with Spiritualism," see Cannon, "Angels and Spirits in Mormon Doctrine"; Hefner, "Amasa Mason Lyman, the Spiritualist"; Homer, "'Recent Psychic Evidence'"; Homer, "Sir Arthur Conan Doyle"; and Homer, "Spiritualism and Mormonism."

^5. *JD* 13 (19 Dec. 1869): 70.

^6. Charles H. Bassett, Bullock's Minutes of Meetings, 3 Nov. 1855, LDS Archives. Also see Parley P. Pratt, ibid., 26 Jan. 1851.

^7. Pratt, *JD* 1 (7 Apr. 1853): 6–15; BY sermon, 12 Feb. 1854, LDS Archives; BY, 18 Nov. 1855, and 19 Aug. 1855, Bullock's Minutes of Meetings, LDS Archives.

^8. 30 Apr. 1854, Bullock's Minutes of Meetings, LDS Archives.

^9. Joseph L. Heywood, 14 Mar. 1854, Bishops' Meetings, LDS Archives.

^10. *UMag* 1 (7 Mar. 1868): 104–5; (28 Mar. 1868): 141–42; (16 May 1868): 222–23; and 2 (2 Jan. 1869): 172–73.

^11. Ibid., 1 (16 May 1868): 222–23.

^12. Tullidge, "Reformation in Utah," p. 604.

^13. Tullidge, "Godbeite Movement," p. 16.

^14. Godbe, "Situation in Utah," pp. 406–7. Also see Stenhouse's description, *RMSaints,* p. 630.

^15. Godbe, "Situation in Utah," pp. 406–7.

^16. Rosina Godbe to WSGodbe, 12 Oct. 1868, HamGodbe Papers, University of Utah.

^17. Godbe, *UMag* 3 (30 Oct. 1869): 409.

^18. Godbe, "Situation in Utah," p. 406.

^19. T. B. H. Stenhouse, *RMSaints,* p. 631.

^20. O. H. Conger letter, reprinted in *SLTrib,* 12 Nov. 1879, p. 2.

^21. *DEN,* 22 May 1900, p. 8. For Foster's later contacts with the Godbeites, see Amasa Lyman diary, 8 Mar. 187[2], 21 and 22 Nov. [1872?], Lyman Papers, LDS Archives; *SLTrib,* 18 Nov. 1873, p. 2; and Bartlett, *Salem Seer,* pp. 6, 84. The question is also discussed in chap. 14, "When the Spirits Did Abound."

^22. *MTrib,* 26 Feb. and 26 Mar. 1870, pp. 69 and 100–101; Harrison, *UMag* 3 (13 Nov. 1869): 438.
^23. *SLTrib,* 18 Nov. 1873, pp. 1, 4.
^24. Bartlett, *Salem Seer,* pp. 82–84.
^25. These details about Foster and those recorded in the paragraphs below are found in Bartlett, *Salem Seer,* esp. p. 11; Podmore, *Modern Spiritualism,* 2:52; Macabe, *Spiritualism,* pp. 71, 120; and Doyle, *History of Spiritualism,* 2:30–34.
^26. Bartlett, *Salem Seer,* pp. 44–45.
^27. *Daily Age* (Melbourne, Australia), as quoted in Bartlett, *Salem Seer,* p. 130.
^28. *Sacramento Record,* 8 Dec. 1873, as quoted in Bartlett, *Salem Seer,* p. 86.
^29. *New York Era,* as cited in Bartlett, *Salem Seer,* p. 16.
^30. Bartlett, *Salem Seer;* Podmore, *Modern Spiritualism,* 2:52; Macabe, *Spiritualism,* pp. 71, 120; and Doyle, *History of Spiritualism,* 2:30–34.
^31. Edward Tullidge letter, 24 June 1868, to the *DEN,* 15 July 1868, p. 2. Also see *UMag* 1 (27 June 1868): 294.
^32. Orson Pratt, *JD* 13 (19 Dec. 1869): 73.
^33. Orson Pratt, 19 Dec. 1869, *DEN,* 8 Jan. 1870, p. 2; *NYHer,* 2, 9, and 15 Jan. 1870, respectively pp. 8, 8, and 11; T. B. H. Stenhouse, *RMSaints,* p. 631; *MTrib,* 8 Jan. 1870, p. 12.
^34. O. H. Conger letter, reprinted in *SLTrib,* 12 Nov. 1879, p. 2.
^35. *NYHer,* 9 Jan. 1870, p. 8.
^36. Ibid., 2 Jan. 1870, p. 8.
^37. *MTrib,* 26 Feb. 1870, p. 69; *NYHer,* 9 Jan. 1870, p. 8.
^38. Orson Pratt, 19 Dec. 1869, *DEN,* 8 Jan. 1870, p. 2.
^39. [Harrison], *UMag* 3 (4 Sept. 1869): 282–83; Godbe, "Situation in Utah," pp. 406–7; T. B. H. Stenhouse, *RMSaints,* p. 632.
^40. [Harrison], *UMag* 3 (4 Sept. 1869): 282–83.
^41. Godbe and Harrison, ibid., 3 (27 Nov. 1869): 470.
^42. [Harrison], ibid., 3 (19 Jan. and 20 Nov. 1869): 199, 458.

^43. [Harrison], ibid., 3 (19 Jan. 1869): 199; [Harrison], ibid., (25 Sept. 1869): 328; Godbe and Harrison, ibid., (27 Nov. 1869): 470–73; *MTrib,* 8 Jan. 1870, pp. 12–13, and 26 Mar. 1870, pp. 100–101.

^44. *MTrib,* 29 Jan. 1870, p. 34, and *NYHer,* 15 Jan. 1870, p. 11, quoting a dispatch from SLC, 30 Dec. 1870. With two printings varying in wording and punctuation, I have where possible followed the former, which was prepared under the supervision of Harrison and Godbe. These sources also contain the revelations printed below.

^45. *NYHer,* 15 Jan. 1870, p. 11, quoting the 30 Dec. 1869 dispatch from SLC.

^46. Godbe, "Situation in Utah," p. 406.

^47. *MTrib,* 26 Feb. 1870, p. 69.

^48. *MTrib,* 8 Jan. 1870, p. 12; Godbe and Harrison, *UMag* 3 (27 Nov. 1869): 470.

Chapter 8

Interval before Rebellion

Returning to Salt Lake City in mid-November 1868, Godbe and Harrison began to gather opposition to church rule. By his own account, Godbe alone talked with "hundreds" of people, usually through casual contact. When he could find an ear, he spoke of Mormonism's change—how the system had moved from "spirituality and freedom to selfishness and despotism."[1] When speaking to men and women on the street, Godbe did not talk about his recent New York revelations, and he mentioned nothing about organized opposition to church rule. Godbe was simply stoking the fires of discontent.

In addition to these passing conversations, there were others that were more serious. During the past several years, Godbe and Harrison had gathered around them several people who shared their feeling about Brigham Young and his Zion. Fanny and Thomas Stenhouse were two of these dissenters. Edward Tullidge was a third. Returning from his recent enthusiastic LDS mission to the East, the unstable Tullidge took stock of his faith and once more found it wanting. Or perhaps his behavior was less about faith than about friendship and being enrolled in a cause. Joining with Godbe and Harrison allowed Tullidge to renew his long association with Harrison; it also gave him the excitement of participating in a reform movement.

At Harrison's invitation, Tullidge had joined the *Utah Magazine* staff; and when Harrison went east with Godbe in 1868, Tullidge edited the periodical. Despite his recent protestations of belief made to President Young, Tullidge soon returned to the irresistible themes he had discussed in the *Peep O'Day.* While outwardly supporting Young's cooperation policy, Tullidge's editorials at the same time complained of Zion's supposed chauvinist tendencies. In addition he reintroduced his "universalian" philosophy. "I am not fairly orthodox" on this point, he wrote. "I know it. I cannot in conscience deny this even to myself."[2] Harrison, returning to Salt Lake City, tried to

downplay his friend's lapses. He assured the magazine's readers that Tullidge was actually "unorthodoxically orthodox" and happily suggested, with perhaps some hidden prescience, the postponing of Tullidge's roasting as "a heretic to a more convenient season."[3] At this point, neither Harrison nor Godbe wished to reveal their plans.

Eli B. Kelsey was another associate. Born 27 October 1819 at Portsmouth, Scioto County, Ohio, Kelsey moved to Kentucky, where he apparently was introduced to Mormonism. He was baptized in July 1843 and was in Nauvoo when Joseph and Hyrum Smith were killed. He took special interest in the Smiths, because at the time of their deaths he was conducting the school their children attended. A year or two later, he experienced a severe personal trial: ten months before the church's migration across the Mississippi River, a sickness caused him to become blind. He credited a Mormon priesthood blessing for restoring his sight.[4]

Perhaps this healing gave him a special ardor. Whatever the cause, he performed his two or three missions to Great Britain so enthusiastically that he became an early Mormon missionary legend. He helped edit the *Millennial Star* and contributed numerous articles to the journal, many of which were unsigned. But it was the power of his teaching that people most remembered. He was like a tempest sweeping over the English countryside—converts, miracles, and stories of his preaching power following in his wake. He presided successively over the Glasgow, Warwickshire, and London Conferences. During the latter assignment, he baptized hundreds, organized tract societies, established congregations, and brought the London Conference to its early preeminence in the British Mission. When Elder Orson Pratt left Great Britain in 1850, he recognized Elder Kelsey's success by appointing him temporary mission president.[5]

In Deseret, Kelsey followed the pattern set by other intellectual dissenters. At first he seemed stalwart: he took plural wives, preached as a "home missionary," defended the Saints' health code, and preached from the Temple Square pulpit. Many remembered him as a "mild-mannered, kind-hearted" man, eager to do his duty

and fervent in the cause.[6] And like Godbe, Harrison, Tullidge, and Stenhouse, Kelsey became one of the city's leading cultural "lights." His historical discourses as a Seventies lecturer were especially popular.

Then his faith began to weaken. If Tullidge was Harrison's friend, Kelsey was Godbe's. The two men, like the continuing Godbe-Harrison collaboration, sought to reconcile reason with faith, and, when unable to do so, Kelsey experienced "mental travail." The process left Kelsey with a reputation as an iconoclast, "the sternest and the strongest" of the Godbe-Harrison group.[7] As Kelsey would later say, "The agitation of thought was the beginning of wisdom." And he was willing to agitate to the point of tearing down "every creed and barrier in the way of his investigations."[8]

The result was another repudiation of Brigham Young and his ideal society. In theory, Kelsey believed that the Mormon church was the most democratic church in the world. Its abstract principles and faith were the "grandest" he had ever seen. Yet these theories and standards were not Zion's actual practice, Kelsey claimed, and this fault he traced to the Mormon leader. "All that was grand and lifegiving in the system had been crushed out of it, and it had been degraded into an unmitigated priestly despotism."[9] With his speculations and negative view of Young, he came close to voicing Tullidge's "universalianism": Kelsey abandoned the dogma that God had ever chosen an "individual, a family, a race or a sect, to hold [exclusively] the Oracles, or the Keys of salvation." This position, of course, was a clear renunciation of church authority and church mission as Mormons defined them. His views, rejected by the Saints, lost him his audience, and he became "almost utterly ignored as a teacher in Israel."[10] The wonder is that Kelsey seemed surprised and upset by this response.

The fifth member of the inner circle forming around Godbe and Harrison was William H. Shearman, who had encountered Mormonism on his way to California in 1849. Apostle Amasa Lyman, Shearman's companion on part of the journey, charmed Shearman with the religion's broad claims to all truth—its willingness to accept

truth wherever it might be found. A stop in Salt Lake City further intrigued Shearman, but it was Brigham Young's personal challenge that eventually led him to be baptized. Responding to a letter that Shearman had written to him from California, Young asked him to taste the gospel's fruit. "The light of the Holy Ghost will bring you into the knowledge of truth and of our Heavenly Father, and His son, whom to know is life eternal," Young wrote.[11] Shearman responded. Setting aside his itinerant Methodist preaching and various business dealings, he left Sacramento for Salt Lake City. A half-dozen years had passed since his first discussions with Lyman.[12]

Utahns liked Shearman. Slender, with stooping shoulders, he tended to melancholia, but managed it partly by serving others. People recalled him as unusually generous, a man who would relieve another's distress without hesitation. Instances of his charity were "almost without number," the *Deseret Evening News* later eulogized.[13] He was also inquisitive and independent-minded and therefore naturally drawn to the territory's small band of intellectuals. Similar to Godbe, Shearman was a director of the Seventies' Library and Reading Room, and he occasionally lectured at the Seventies' Hall. His 1862 discourse dealt with the "great and vital question" of educating Zion's youth, a cause that increasingly drew his attention.[14]

In 1862, Shearman went to his native England as a missionary.[15] His first assignment was in the Liverpool Conference, where his superiors credited him with diligence and energy.[16] His several letters to the British Mission headquarters, later printed in the *Millennial Star,* revealed his interests and attitudes. After visiting the "ancient and renowned city of Chester" and touring its famous cathedral, he reflected on what he saw as the superstition of traditional religion. Another British town reminded him of the streets of Valetta, Malta, where he had walked many years before. But he saved his most extensive comments for the local Saints, whom he found to be a hard lot. Their spiritual torpor had prevented many of them from going to Zion, where they might have learned more fully the "ways of God and the principles of [correct] government."[17]

Shearman soon became president of the Liverpool Conference and once more wrote disapprovingly about his flock—perhaps his natural pessimism led him to focus on the shortcomings of others. The Liverpool Saints had "a great deal of that nasty, contemptible gentile pride" that generally plagued the world, he said. Since Shearman wanted to "root out" wrongdoing, tension inevitably grew between the members and their leader. Facing the "frowns" of "evildoers," Shearman took comfort in President Young's earlier warning to him that the faithful exercise of gospel duty usually brought obloquy. While Shearman at first had been puzzled by the statement, now, after hearing what the Liverpool members were saying about him, he understood Young's words.

Shearman's mission lasted three years and seemed filled with good works. His well-written letters from the Liverpool Conference apparently caught the attention of mission leaders, who soon asked him to serve on the staff of the *Millennial Star.* Later he again presided among the Saints, this time as the pastor of the Birmingham District, which embraced the Birmingham, Warwickshire, and Staffordshire Conferences. Before his mission release, he returned to Liverpool, where he was given another assignment at the mission headquarters. And when, at last, in 1865 he sailed on the *Belle Wood* for home, he served as president of the 636-member emigrating company.[18]

Shearman admitted that during his mission he had experienced depression, especially during a time when "the power of darkness" nearly overcame him. During such moments of difficulty, he yearned for President Young's blessing. "[I] could have given all I possessed in the world to have for one moment your hand on my head with the promises of victory," Shearman later wrote his leader. "I knew your words would be fulfilled; and I had no sustaining faith in any other being on Earth."[19]

Back in Utah, this missionary enthusiasm sustained him at first. Within weeks of returning, he was thinking of conducting a business and preaching tour through the territory's settlements.[20] And, in other ways, he continued active in the cause. He occasionally spoke

to the Temple Square congregation and was especially active in the Sunday school movement, a cause that sometimes found him, in his enthusiasm, even ahead of the plans of church leaders at headquarters. Responding to one of Shearman's initiatives, Young praised the suggestion but said, somewhat off balance, "I am not sufficiently acquainted with what you propose to give a definite answer," and referred the matter to a subordinate for consideration.[21]

Settling in Logan, Shearman "fathered" the Sunday school movement in Cache County. Recognizing his "unceasing interest," a general vote of the citizens named him as their superintendent, and this selection seemed to energize him still further. After one tour of the schools in Paradise, Hyrum, Millville, Providence, Logan, Smithfield, and Richmond, he noted the want of order and complained of the lack of "books," a deficiency that some teachers tried to meet by staging the money-raising drama *The Gold Farmer* and the farce *The New Footman.* Yet he remained optimistic. Generally the Sunday school children, he reported, were growing in their knowledge of gospel fact and principle.[22]

As well as being an educator, Shearman was a merchant. He had conducted business in Salt Lake City before his move to Logan. In Logan, he built a large and "handsome" rock building store, which the *Deseret Evening News* described as a "highly creditable piece of work both in design and workmanship." The building in fact reflected Shearman's ability: people throughout the territory credited him as a "shrewd all round business man." As further proof of his talent, for a time Shearman associated with the talented and up-and-coming Moses Thatcher, who was a decade away from ordination to the Quorum of Twelve.[23]

In this, as in so many things, Shearman was like William Godbe, whose path he often crossed. Since the early 1860s, Shearman had periodically loaned Godbe money. While in England, Shearman corresponded with Godbe; paid courtesy calls on Godbe's mother, sister, and brother; and received Godbe's gifts on behalf of the emigrating poor. Godbe and Shearman took that perilous 1865

wagon ride across Colorado plains and hills, narrowly averting Indian ambuscade. Also, Shearman had written a favorable *Deseret News* review of the Hampton-Godbe way station at the Bear River, and Godbe had periodically acted as Shearman's business agent. When establishing his business in Logan, Shearman had purchased Godbe's branch store.[24]

In addition, there must have been shared misgivings about Young's Zion. As the 1860s progressed, Shearman seemed increasingly irritated with church leaders and church procedure, and this probably influenced his reaction to Young's rising criticism of merchants. For one thing, there had been an altercation with church clerk Bernard H. Schettler. Shearman claimed that funds were owing him, and eventually he appealed the controversy to Young. "Bro Schet[t]ler does not seem disposed to give the matter . . . careful attention, nor to treat me with that courtesy that I think I merit."[25] How Young responded to the matter is unclear.

By the late 1860s, Shearman was questioning the acts of several church leaders, including Young himself. When Salt Lake authorities suggested a united program of "laying up grain," perhaps for the Utah Produce Company, Shearman publicly opposed the scheme. He took the Third Ward pulpit in Logan and so railed against the proposal that, according to the Cache County presiding bishop, Peter Maughan, the angry congregation could scarcely remain in their seats. Maughan further reported that Shearman questioned Young's decision to use church laborers to help construct the Union Pacific railroad. If the decision was calculated to build the Kingdom, he would sustain it, Shearman was quoted as saying. But if the policy was only for Young's aggrandizement, he "should oppose it for all he could."[26]

Some of the difficulty may have been an ongoing battle between Shearman and Maughan. The latter seemed willing to pass rumors about Shearman to authorities in Salt Lake City, including one account that said Shearman had tried to donate as tithing a blind mule of uncertain age. Rumors also came to headquarters that Shearman had "bitterly opposed" Young's fencing in of a portion of

the Cache County church reserve for his own purposes and that in response to Young's act, Shearman, in a fit of temper, had said that Young "ought to be shot." Upon learning of the incident, Young demanded an explanation from his convert.[27]

Shearman replied with a letter full of denials and a plaintive outpouring of soul. Never, Shearman insisted, had he entertained a "thought of evil" against Young. Indeed, many were the times when he had felt a willingness to place himself between his leader and danger. These assurances aside, Shearman's letter contained an important passage that confirmed that Shearman was not at peace. The passage defined an issue that probably lay at the heart of his growing estrangement from the church and the busybody rumors that seemed to be multiplying around him.

"I am so constituted," he tried to explain to Young, "that I cannot always receive a principle or idea on another's simple authority." In order to cooperate with a program, Shearman said that he had to understand it. "I may be wrong," he continued, "but if an Angel, whom I knew to be from God, were to reveal a truth to me, I am afraid I should not be satisfied unless he made it plain to my understanding." The letter ended with Shearman's pledge to remain in the church and implement Young's policies.[28]

The bottom of the sheet contains Young's reaction to Shearman's letter, apparently written in his own hand for a clerk's later transcription to Shearman: "You need not give yourself any concern nor think of it again." Young of course wrote to forgive Shearman for the unpleasant remark Shearman had apparently made in Logan. It is less clear that Young, in his magnanimity, understood that Shearman had written not only to apologize but to express an intellectual's concern about Young's authoritarian rule.

Despite this undercurrent of emotion, in 1869 Shearman joined the Logan Cooperative Mercantile Institution, Cache Valley's church-sponsored mercantile cooperative, apparently exchanging his business for stock in the new concern, and for several brief months served as one of the new company's directors.[29] It was in this position that the New Movement would find him.

Henry Lawrence was yet another citizen of Utah who was carefully weighing events and leaning toward dissent. Lawrence, born 18 July 1835, was British only in the sense that he was born in British-controlled Canada, at Pickering, Ontario. Joseph Smith and John Taylor, traveling in the region in the 1830s, had preached the Restoration message to Lawrence's parents and converted them. By 1838 the Lawrence family lived in Nauvoo, where five years later Henry's older sisters Maria and Sarah were sealed as plural wives to the founding prophet.[30]

Young Henry made the trek to Utah in the early 1850s. Only glimpses remain of these first years. With Godbe and perhaps a dozen others, Lawrence enrolled himself in a pioneer debating society. His church commitment was recognized when leaders called him as a seventy, though his congregational worship, like that of most Utahns of the time, was sporadic. He earned money by clerking in the store of his brother-in-law, Hiram Kimball, whose niece he would later marry. In 1859, when Lawrence was twenty-four, Kimball made him his partner. Lawrence quickly proved himself. Within a decade, he was, along with Godbe, one of the city's three or four leading LDS merchants. Among the city's businessmen, Lawrence's $15,387 in tithes (paid during the pioneer period up to the year 1870) stood only behind those of William Jennings ($43,794) and Godbe ($17,006). Lawrence earned $8,700 each year from 1862 to 1872, when a typical Utah worker might receive $600 per annum.[31]

Lawrence was a clear-eyed, steady, handsome man, whom even opponents credited with staunch integrity, trustworthiness, and a quiet and expansive charity.[32] President Young clearly saw him as a man of promise. During the Utah War, Young occasionally had the twenty-three-year-old at his side, perhaps as an informal aide-de-camp. Three years later Young recommended him to Washington authorities as territorial marshal. In 1866, Young approved Lawrence for the city council and oversaw his election, and by the end of the decade, Lawrence held the trappings of an active, committed Mormon man. He was a polygamist, and he assisted with the ordinances adminsitered in the two-story Temple Square Endowment

House. In his neighborhood he served as a counselor in the Eighth Ward bishopric.[33]

These, then, were the eight dissenters who became the inner group that provided the coming New Movement with its core leadership. Godbe, Harrison, Thomas and Fanny Stenhouse, Tullidge, Kelsey, Shearman, and Lawrence shared many characteristics. By the late 1860s, most were all in their middle or late thirties. Excepting Kelsey and Lawrence, they were all British converts who had not known Joseph Smith nor his Zion teachings firsthand; nor had most of them traveled the unifying Mormon hegira from Ohio, Missouri, and Illinois to the Great Basin. All eight, including Fanny Stenhouse, had at some stage of their careers been merchants. While Harrison, Kelsey, and Tullidge had not much more than dabbled at business, Godbe, Lawrence, and perhaps Shearman had secured success.

Their church experience had also been similar. Godbe, Harrison, Tullidge, and Shearman each described early spiritual experiences that had brought them into their new faith. With the exception of Lawrence, all of them had either served in the British Mission or had experienced its spirit. Three had presided over the London Conference. Only Kelsey was ever charged with moral transgression, an act that apparently involved taking a plural wife without permission during his British Mission. In Utah, most had held the evangelizing and culturalizing office of seventy. Godbe, Shearman, and Stenhouse had also helped to found the *Juvenile Instructor,* later to become the voice of the Mormon Sunday schools.[34]

As the dissent progressed, these talented churchmen were joined by more than a half-dozen others. While most did not immediately play an active role in the dissent, their sympathies were in that direction; all would later enroll in the New Movement and some would later become key participants. These sympathizers on the periphery included (1) John Tullidge, brother of Edward, musician, pioneer craftsman, wood grainer, and artist; (2) Frederick T. Perris, photographer, artist, surveyor, and commission merchant, whose alienation Godbe had discovered several years before in private discussions in New York City; (3) Orson Pratt Jr., organist and

composer, son of Mormonism's scholarly apostle; (4) Joseph Salisbury, labor activist and writer; (5) Daniel Camomile, newspaper and book dealer; (6) George Watt, Young's former clerk and the former church recorder; and (7) Amasa Lyman, a former LDS Apostle, already disfellowshiped for denying belief in the Christian atonement.

How much did the friends of Godbe and Harrison know of the New York revelation and the plans for a religious revolt? Stenhouse's version was generally accurate: "This little band [of associates] did not number altogether a dozen persons, and what they knew, or thought they knew, of the purpose of others, and the design among themselves, were matters secretly kept within their own bosoms."[35] In short, from the moment of their return to Utah until their excommunication a year later, Godbe and Harrison revealed their "secrets" slowly, confidentially, and probably never fully, even to their closest colleagues. And while Godbe and Harrison undoubtedly told some of their closest associates of their reform ideas, they were less open about the New York City experience. Could their friends accept séances, a medium like Foster, and spirit visitors from the world of Summertime beyond?

Even as Godbe and Harrison encouraged the percolation of their ideas and quietly fostered dissent, the men outwardly carried on as before. For Godbe this meant taking a fourth wife. In taking this step, Godbe did not simply choose one of many available women of the Salt Lake City community. He chose Charlotte Ives Cobb, Brigham Young's adopted daughter, who by virtue of her heritage, admirable profile, and talent was Zion's closest approximation to high birth or aristocracy. Charlotte was the daughter of Augusta Adams Cobb, a Boston convert who had become attracted to Mormonism after hearing Joseph Smith and his brother Hyrum Smith preach in the middle 1830s. It had been an impressive occasion. The two men had reportedly walked many miles on their itinerant journey and their feet bled through their moccasins. Augusta took pity on them and offered to outfit them with new clothes and shoes. But what most affected her was the brothers' preaching. "These men

spoke as never men spoke before," she later testified. Converted but required by her "austere" husband not to practice her faith, Augusta silently bore her religious conviction until formally converting to Mormonism in 1843. Then, with Brigham Young helping, Augusta left not only her New England affluence but her husband and five of her children in order to gather to Nauvoo. Two children went with her, Charlotte, a child of seven, and an infant who died en route and was buried in a tin coffin.[36]

Augusta's circumstances to this day remain uncertain. Some said that she descended from the bluest of Boston's blue blood, the Adams family of presidents, politicians, and great minds. Others accorded her lineage to the Quincys, who were almost as lofty.[37] Whether an Adams or Quincy, or perhaps both, Augusta had married the "handsome, dashing, and [later] impecunious" James Cobb. One member of the Cobb family said the marriage broke up because of Cobb's long-standing interest in another woman, who became his wife after Augusta's departure.[38] At the time, however, public opinion placed the blame on Brigham Young and the Mormons. The sensational divorce trial of Augusta and James created "more than ordinary bad effect" in the East, it was said. The court's decision, which denied Augusta the custody of her other children, reflected the tide of prevailing opinion.[39]

On 2 November 1843, four years before her divorce, Augusta was "sealed" to Young at Nauvoo. It was, according to the expansive LDS marriage practices of the time, a marriage "for eternity only," that is, a promise of a future but not present conjugal relationship.[40] The ordinance apparently was done to ensure that she and Charlotte would be provided for; from the Mormon view, nothing sexual was implied by the arrangement.

Once in Utah, Augusta and her daughter Charlotte had a way of setting themselves apart. It was not only their Boston blood and their family relationship to Young. It was the way they carried themselves, royally.[41] Charlotte had lustrous hazel eyes and brown hair. She was a tall (at least for the times), five feet seven inches. A picture at midlife portrays her as plumpish, with a full face and

square-cut jaws, but she looked very different when young. Jules Remy and Julius Brenchley, international travelers who came through Utah in the late 1850s, described her as "one of the loveliest persons it has ever been our fortune to see." Others called her "the belle of Salt Lake City," while Benjamin Ferris, a territorial secretary who ordinarily refused the Mormons any compliment, described her as "handsome in face" and "accomplished in the peculiar graces which belong to female Mormondom."[42]

It may have been the latter that so many found appealing. Young sometimes had Charlotte, an accomplished pianist, entertain his guests.[43] She could also be clever in conversation, cultured, literate, and witty. In addition to these virtues, she had an abundance of self-confidence.[44] Yet, despite her charms, she remained unmarried into her thirties. Perhaps she waited to meet her match.

Just when Godbe began to court Charlotte, and other details concerning their relationship, are unclear. But it is a matter of record that the two were married at the Salt Lake Endowment House on 7 April 1869. Brigham Young, acting in his official capacity but also as a friend to Godbe and as the "father of the bride," officiated.[45]

In later years Godbe wished the interlude forgotten. When asked about it, he used circumlocution. "I would not care about mentioning the exact date of the last marriage for certain reasons I have," he told a researcher for historian Hubert H. Bancroft, when asked about his marriage. It had been a "very foolish thing," he admitted.[46]

Perhaps Godbe was reticent because he was embarrassed by the timing of the marriage and its obvious implications for his dealings with Young. The "sealing" occurred after Godbe had already decided on his anti-Brigham course, and it implied a lack of sensitivity if not deception. Beneath the hardy handshakes and expressions of good feeling at the plural marriage ceremony, which at the time allied families as well as couples, lay his pending rebellion. The conscience of many men might not be pricked, but this was Godbe, whose integrity and ideas of rightdoing were integral to his person. Throughout the episode and later, the inconsistency of his acts and his hidden thoughts must have troubled him.

Godbe may also have regretted the intensity of his passion for Charlotte, which became an indiscretion; by all indications this was a love match. The relationship brought unexplored emotions—romance and excitement—whose depth he probably had never felt before. Moreover, Charlotte brought an intellectual intimacy that he had never achieved with Annie, Mary, or Rosina—issues, ideas, and feelings could be discussed and warmly debated, or sometimes deeply felt, though unexpressed. Godbe's boyish enthusiasm for his new wife was enough to send tremors through his earlier marriages. Annie, always uncertain of herself, was especially tried. Family lore speaks of her threats and tantrums. Some said she demanded a divorce; others spoke of an attempted suicide.[47] In domestic matters, her husband had sown the wind and now reaped the whirlwind.

These last events likely remained behind closed doors. Publicly, Godbe continued to maintain the facade of business-as-usual. Throughout 1868 and during much of the following year, he seemed to conform to the demands of Zion—and to the instructions given to him by the New York spirits to retain his Mormon membership as long as possible. This policy seemed to work to the reformers' advantage. As the transcontinental railroad and increased contact with the East came closer and closer, Young enacted stronger and more restrictive countermeasures, and his language reached a still higher pitch. "It had been resolved," Tullidge conceded, "that Brigham should be allowed to work up the movement against himself in the public mind."[48] He seemed to be doing so.

Never since the coming of the federal army in 1857–58 had the Mormons felt so besieged. With eastern politicians and newspapermen openly speaking about the need to destroy the Mormon commonwealth, Young responded by exercising the full power of his office. He began by reemphasizing the political theocracy. Some church members, voting in a city election, had scratched from the official ballot the name of attorney LeGrand Young in favor of Edwin Woolley—both committed Mormons. While their disobedience failed to elect Woolley, it did bring Young's severe

castigation of those responsible for such a "division at the polls." A week later, at a public meeting of the School of the Prophets, the episode elicited the humble remorse of several leading churchmen, including George Q. Cannon and Young's counselor Daniel H. Wells for not being sufficiently "energetic and alive" in controlling the election. With confessions made and accepted, Young then continued with the meeting, which the minutes reported as having a "heavenly" spirit. Young had a way of mixing rebuke with spiritual uplift.[49]

As the important October general conference approached, most of the president's attention focused on merchants and merchant policy. At a meeting of the city's bishops a week before the start of the meetings, President Young declared his program: "We will be kind to our outside merchants by renting them our houses, selling them our grain at good round prices, for cash only, let our young men clerk for them, but we will not suffer the Latter day Saints to enter their stores and buy their goods." Further, he promised that agents would soon be placed in each of the city's wards to organize hay sales to outsiders; individual sellers risked disfellowship. The church president was insisting that the Saints accept Enoch's example. "A line will be drawn and a division made between those who are willing to enter into a oneness and those who are not." Two days later at another meeting of the School of the Prophets, he again spoke explicitly: Saints entering non-Mormon stores to buy goods would be cut off.[50]

When the conference began, for the first time in memory all members of the Quorum of the Twelve were present. The fact underscored the importance of the several-day proceeding as well as Young's careful planning. When the church leaders rose to deliver their discourses, their voices carried a unified refrain. Elder George A. Smith reportedly scored the "vast sums" of money made by the gentile merchants, who had no sympathy for the church. In the future, no one "strengthening the power of evil" or unwilling to "sustain the Zion of God" would retain fellowship, Smith promised. The scholarly Orson Pratt, often abstract and mild-mannered, was

precise and heavily sarcastic during his sermon. Had the non-Mormon merchants appeared friendly while in Salt Lake City? "O, yes, you would have thought they were the most friendly and polite people imaginable. Why the Latter-day Saints never saw such manifestations of politeness, gentility and friendliness. . . . But when they have made fortunes out of the Latter-day Saints and gulled them all they could they have gone and tried to destroy them."[51]

Young's own sermons during the conference emphasized Zion—the teaching that he had inherited from Joseph Smith and a key to much of his own ministry. "According to the traditions of our fathers the salvation of the body and the salvation of the soul have no connection the one with the other," Young began. "This is not in accordance with the doctrine which has been revealed to us in this our day." Young spoke of a literal kingdom—"a temporal kingdom and a spiritual kingdom"—in which the righteous might gather and improve themselves—a kingdom to which Mormon enemies would, as always, offer their opposition.[52] Here was a concept so important to Young that he was willing to defend it with all his energy.

Before the conference was concluded, Young laid his policy of not trading with the gentile merchants before the Saints. "That is a pretty good vote," he said, satisfied with the sea of raised right hands. Young's speech and the vote of the assembled Saints—the Mormon procedure for approving official policy—raised the economic boycott to a new level. In the future, the ban on trading with the non-Mormon merchants would be enforced at the cost of an offender's membership.[53]

The conference, however, closed without the presentation of a plan for cooperative merchandising.[54] On 9 October, following the close of the conference, Young began a series of "council" meetings with church and business leaders in which he challenged the Mormon merchants to design their own program. "Go to work and do it," he responded when the group asked for directions. The assembled men, many of whom were present because of Young's pressure, and anxious to minimize their involvement, again asked

what was expected of them. Once more, Young challenged them to draw their own blueprint.[55]

In the meantime, Young took the idea of cooperative merchandising to the people. He scheduled meetings for all Salt Lake City congregations and assigned to them the community's most prominent speakers, including members of the Quorum of Twelve. Later these men fanned out throughout the territory with the same message. Although details of the cooperative scheme were still yet to be worked out, one staff writer for the *Deseret Evening News* expressed his opinion about leadership: "President Young should dictate."[56] He already had.

Tullidge's analysis was correct: "It must be confessed, that of themselves the merchants never would have re-constructed themselves upon a co-operative plan."[57] For several days, the businessmen tried to delay. They recited the same litany of obstacles that they had used in the past to forestall action. A satisfactory plan seemed beyond them; at least they failed to produce one. But this time, Young would not be put off. Publicly and apparently privately, he relentlessly prodded.

Finally a plan for Zion's Cooperative Mercantile Institution (ZCMI) was announced. It was essentially Young's 1863 proposal of joint purchases and communitywide wholesaling. The Mormon merchants could buy stock in the institution by investing cash or by transferring to the new concern their old firm's inventories and capital assets. In strict terms, the wholesaling business was not a cooperative venture at all, but a joint-stock company that allowed investment and shared profits generated at much lower margins. As important as the lower prices, the church through its quasi-official ZCMI would gain control over the territory's commercial dealing. Young was designated as president of the new firm, with prominent church leaders and merchants serving as directors.

There was a retail aspect to the plan, too. Young hoped that the wholesaling entity might eventually sponsor several stores on Main Street through which most of the Mormon trade would be channeled. He also envisioned auxiliary "co-op" stores, financed and

run by the local Saints, in each congregation or community in the territory. During these early conversations, it was enough for the merchants to declare their support for the plan and invest in the ZCMI wholesale enterprise. By doing so, they qualified themselves to use the ZCMI imprimatur, which included the right to display on their building facades an "All-Seeing Eye," with the accompanying phrase "Holiness to the Lord." Young explained that the latter heralded the day when, "as the prophets have foretold, even the pots, and the bells of the horses shall bear this inscription of acknowledgement of Holiness to the Lord."[58]

By the first of the new year, it was apparent that Young was pushing a very heavy boulder up a mountain. Despite all the Salt Lake City merchants' statements of unanimous support of the cooperative plan and their willingness to display the signs and trappings of cooperation, they were in fact doing very little to support the new organization. Impatient with the lack of progress in Salt Lake City, where the plan's overall success or failure would be determined, in January 1869 Young threatened to make a group of more amenable Provo merchants his wholesaling agent for the entire territory. Faced by Young's threat, Salt Lake City's merchants finally fell into line.[59]

The businessmen were not the only recalcitrant ones. The bishops had been assigned to start and manage the local cooperative stores but had shown little heart for the matter. Their inattention drew Young's verbal shafts. In a private meeting, he called on the bishops to "repent" and turn to God and the Holy Ghost, from whom they would learn that "this great Cooperation movement was from God." Young wanted the people united, although others, presumably some bishops, were "alienating" their hearts.[60]

Comments like these were too much for Bishop Woolley. When President Young suggested that the women of the Thirteenth Ward could foster cooperation in the ward (apparently in sharp contrast with Woolley's efforts), Woolley believed his leadership was being questioned. He had led the ward for fifteen years, he replied with heavy sarcasm, and clearly he knew nothing at all. He had always

understood that the ward Relief Society was supposed to assist with the aged, poor, and helpless, and help to attend to the needs of the sick. What was this about women standing behind a business counter in a ward cooperative store?[61]

According to the minutes of the occasion, Woolley then made some "very cutting remarks on cooperation" and even attacked another of Young's pet projects, the idea that Utah could successfully produce wool. But the president's antibusiness language provoked the bishop's greatest ire. Woolley thought it "high time" to cease the "constant tirade against the merchants." If it were not stopped soon and the people governed by more "common sense" and less enthusiasm, Woolley predicted "we would have the greatest babel in our midst, than had ever been seen before."[62]

Woolley's remarks were intemperate and unusual for Deseret; they showed the tension that was building below the surface. Yet at the end of the meeting, when Edward Hunter, the Presiding Bishop, asked if the men intended to carry out President Young's cooperative plans, every hand in the small assembly rose, including Woolley's. The Thirteenth Ward bishop said things that other, more cautious men would not say, but he was always ready to do his duty, even when he thought it misguided.[63]

Woolley's fiery outburst and prediction of a schism in the community probably reflected others' thoughts as Young continued to apply pressure. Every agency of the church strained to demand compliance with the cooperative plans. There were sermons from almost every Mormon pulpit, editorials in the *Deseret Evening News,* and home instruction by the church's "teachers," whose duty required monthly visits to each Saint in the territory.[64] At one meeting of the Salt Lake City School of the Prophets, every bishop in the community was publicly quizzed, one by one, on his acceptance of the boycott. Under such questioning, Phineas H. Young admitted to buying one sack of sugar at the gentile-owned "Elephant Store." In response, Phineas and the other recalcitrant members were ordered to deposit their "tickets" of membership and told to leave

the assembly. No doubt Phineas suffered added embarrassment because he was Brigham's brother.[65]

Few times in Utah's brief history had President Young responded so forcefully. At another meeting of the School, it was announced that John Pack, a respected schoolteacher in the community, had sent a private letter to his son-in-law in Cache Valley that burlesqued cooperation. Despite the breach of Pack's private correspondence, George Q. Cannon made "pungent" remarks about Pack's criticisms, while Daniel H. Wells followed with a commentary on the ease of destroying instead of building up. Three weeks later, Pack attended the School and made a full confession, which apparently, after considerable discussion, was "finally accepted."[66] George D. Watt's case was similar. Watt, Mormonism's first baptized convert in Great Britain and President Young's former secretary, also stood before the School of the Prophets and apologized for deprecating ZCMI and for using "injudicious" words. Young responded mildly. "So long as a man's intentions were good," said the president, "we could afford to overlook his indiscretion."[67] Similar dramas were acted out throughout Utah, many at the outlying Schools of Prophets.[68]

When enforcing the edicts of Zion, Young wanted a kindly approach. On one occasion he urged his followers to avoid speaking "harshly" of their fellow Saints and even apologized for his own sometimes strongly worded views. His language could be "unbecoming," he admitted, though "the principles he advanced" were correct.[69] Young, however, had trouble taking his own advice, so strong was his feeling. Speaking to the presidents and bishops gathered at Nephi, Utah, he urged that recalcitrant Saints trading with Gentiles be cut from the church. "I wish the wicked would leave this church and go away, but they will stay with us more or less," he complained. He even had an unfortunate remark about some of the local Jewish merchants, which deviated from his usual tolerance. "There are Jews here," he said, "they are not our friends. Do not trade with them. They do not Believe in Jesus Christ."[70]

When the church's next semiannual general conference was held in April 1869, President Young admitted the opposition he had met.

He had heard more complaints in the past several weeks about cooperative merchandising, he said, than he had ever heard about the acquisitive practices of the profit-minded merchants. "Among this people, called Latter-day Saints, when the devil has got the crowns, sovereigns, . . . and the twenty dollar pieces, it has been all right; but let the Lord get a sixpence and there is an eternal grunt about it." As for the Mormon traders, he had little sympathy. Some, he knew, were feeling "very bad and sore": "They say 'you are taking the breath out of our mouths.'" He meant to do just that, he admitted, for "they have made themselves rich."[71]

This movement toward cooperation was not an isolated moment or tangential enterprise, Young later told another audience. "I have been striving for it ever since I have been in these valleys, and during the whole of the time have labored, toiled, preached, guided and counselled for its accomplishment." It was movement against "monopoly."[72]

By the middle of 1869, it was clear that Young would have his way. At his insistence, the ZCMI retail business had been organized, and several wholesale outlets opened their doors in the city's growing commercial center. Furthermore, most of the bishops had opened retail cooperative stores in their neighborhoods.[73]

It had been a remarkable achievement. Through the force of Young's personality and the willing compliance of a majority of the Saints, the Salt Lake City business community had been "revolutionized"—just as had been repeatedly promised. For the moment, "cooperation" had neutralized the power of the anti-LDS and Mormon merchants. As important, the prices of commodities on Main Street were reduced—aided, of course, by the lower transportation costs of the recently completed railroad. Too, the social and economic unity of the people had been preserved. Despite the "great railroad crisis," Zion had maintained her borders and defended her ramparts.

Yet, as with all revolutions, there were costs. Young's vigorous acts had left some Saints uncertain about their old faith and its leader. In a few cases his measures had violated what the modern world would

call civil liberties—those protections that, under law, preserve personal rights. Other Saints, consumers, felt that by making the gentile embargo a test of church fellowship, Young had crossed the line of reasonable and acceptable behavior. They could no longer shop where they pleased. It was, however, the merchants of the community whose patience had been most severely tested; their interests had been directly attacked. President Wells, Young's own counselor, acknowledged the controversy that Young had stirred. Many in and out of the church were criticizing Young, Wells confessed, and said that he tyrannized the people. In contrast, Wells considered Young a "great benefactor of the poor." He had brought them from the deprivation of the old country to the prosperity of the new.[74]

Of course a society can do both; it can curb personal liberty while at the same time improving the economic and social status of the people. Throughout history, two kinds of social organization have endlessly competed. One is given to individualism and a hands-off, laissez-faire government that hopes self-interest will promote the improvement of the entire community. The post–Civil War United States chose this option. Brigham Young's Zion pursued the other. It was a highly organized society of managed control, corporate and not personal in its spirit, heavenly and not secular in its goals. In the process of defending this last vision, Brigham Young had created a remarkable institution of cooperative merchandizing. But he had also given William Godbe and Elias Harrison, along with a dozen of their friends, both a complaint and an opportunity.

Notes

^1. WSGodbe remarks, *NYHer,* 2 Jan. 1870, p. 8.
^2. Tullidge, *UMag* 2 (21 Nov. 1868): 114–15.
^3. Harrison, ibid., p. 115.
^4. *DNWeekly* 34 (1 Apr. 1885): 169; *DEN,* 28 Mar. 1885, p. 5.
^5. Ibid.; *MStar* 47 (20 Apr. 1885): 247; Tullidge, *TQMag* 1 (Oct. 1880): 79–81; 3 (Apr. 1885): 455–57.
^6. *SLHer,* 27 July 1871, p. 2.

^7. Tullidge, "Leaders in the Mormon Reform Movement," pp. 35–36; T. B. H. Stenhouse, *RMSaints,* pp. 632–33.
^8. *SLTrib,* 27 Feb. 1877, p. 4.
^9. Ibid.
^10. Kelsey, *UMag* 3 (25 Dec. 1869): 537–38.
^11. BY to Shearman, 28 Mar. 1855, BY Letterbooks, LDS Archives.
^12. *SLTrib,* 27 Feb. 1877, p. 4.
^13. *DEN,* 20 Dec. 1892, p. 8.
^14. *MStar* 24 (26 Apr. 1862): 269. For his work with the Seventies' Library, see "Documentary History of the Church," 18 Feb. 1863, LDS Archives.
^15. BY to George Q. Cannon, 18 Sept. 1861, BY Letterbooks, LDS Archives.
^16. E. L. Sloan letter to George Q. Cannon, 8 Oct. 1862, Manuscript History of the British Mission, LDS Archives.
^17. Shearman letters, *MStar* 24 (16 and 29 Oct. 1862): 700–702 and 765–66.
^18. Manuscript History of the British Mission, 26 Mar. 1864; 3 Jan., 26 Feb., and 31 Dec. 1865.
^19. Shearman to BY, 29 June 1869, BY Incoming Corr., LDS Archives.
^20. Shearman letter, *MStar* 27 (21 July 1865): 589.
^21. BY to Shearman, 3 Dec. 1867, BY Letterbooks, LDS Archives.
^22. Shearman letter, *DNWeekly* 17 (18 Mar. 1868): 43. Also see letters, *DEN,* 10 Dec. 1867, p. 2; 20 Jan. 1868, p. 2; 18 Mar. 1869, p. 3; and William Budge letter, ibid., 5 Feb. 1868, p. 1.
^23. *DEN,* 18 Nov. 1868, p. 3, and ibid., 20 Dec. 1892, p. 8; Peter Maughan to BY, 18 Nov. 1869, BY Incoming Corr., LDS Archives.
^24. Mortgage to Shearman, 7 Mar. 1862; memorandum on Shearman's loss of $300 from Ann Carlson, 1 June 1867; Shearman to WSGodbe, all in HamGodbe Papers, University of Utah; Shearman letter, 20 Nov. 1867, *DNWeekly* 16 (18 Dec. 1867): 355; and *TQMag* 1 (July 1881): 539.

^25. Shearman to BY, 6 Nov. 1868, BY Incoming Corr., LDS Archives.
^26. Peter Maughan to BY, 18 Nov. 1869, ibid.
^27. Peter Maughan to BY, 18 Nov. 1869, and Shearman to BY, 29 June 1869, ibid.
^28. Shearman to BY, 29 June 1869, ibid.
^29. Simmonds, *Gentile Comes to Cache Valley,* pp. 11–12.
^30. Brodie, *No Man Knows My History,* pp. 336–37, 481–82; Arrington, "Taxable Income," pp. 34–35.
^31. Debate: Frank Kimball diary, n.d., LDS Archives; church activity: esp. 5 Feb. 1860, Henry W. Lawrence diary, Utah State Historical Society; Relation with Kimball: *SLTrib,* 14 Nov. 1871, p. 2; Tithing: BY, interview with the former assistant assessor of the Eighth Division District, 31 Dec. 1870, in Minutes, 1855–1877, BY Papers, LDS Archives; Income: Arrington, "Taxable Income," pp. 34–35. McCormick and Sillito, "Henry W. Lawrence," sketches Lawrence's life.
^32. *DN,* 5 Apr. 1924, sec. 2, p. 1.
^33. Utah War: Historian's Office Journal, 20 May 1858, LDS Archives; Marshall: BY to William H. Hooper, 4 Apr. 1861, and memorandum for J. M. Bernhisel, [Sept. 1861], BY Letterbooks, LDS Archives; Other appointments and career: *DN,* 5 Apr. 1924, sec. 2, p. 1.
^34. Tullidge, "Leaders in the Mormon Reform Movement"; Tullidge, "Godbeite Movement," pp. 15–17; Whipple, "Godbeite Movement," pp. 2–10, University of Utah; short biographies of Godbe, Harrison, Kelsey, Lawrence, and Shearman are found in *TQMag* 1 (Oct. 1880): 64–66, 77–79, 79–81, 82–83. For sketches of Kelsey and Shearman, see JH, 27 Mar. 1885, pp. 1–2 and 19 Dec. 1892, p. 5. The commercial experience of some of the men is mentioned in George A. Smith to J. W. Hess, JH, 22 Jan. 1870, pp. 2–3. For Kelsey's indiscretion, see Smith, *Essentials in Church History,* p. 445. Details of the magazine's founding are in "*Juvenile*'s Jubilee," pp. 5–6.

^35. T. B. H. Stenhouse, *RMSaints,* p. 637. See also *MTrib,* 8 Jan. 1870, p. 11.
^36. Charlotte Godbe, "Life among the Mormons," p. 352; Young, *Manuscript History of Brigham Young,* p. 154.
^37. Interview of Gordon I. Kirby by HamGodbe, 26 Sept. 1971, HamGodbe Papers, University of Utah. Kirby, an adopted son of Charlotte, claimed the family was also related to James Merritt Ives of "Currier & Ives" fame.
^38. Cable, "She Who Shall Be Nameless."
^39. Thomas L. Kane to BY, 9 Dec. 1847, typescript, Kane Papers, LDS Archives.
^40. Arrington, *Brigham Young,* p. 421, includes Augusta Adams in a listing of "Wives of Brigham Young by Whom He Did Not Have Children" and suggests the union was not connubial.
^41. Cable, "She Who Shall Be Nameless," p. 55.
^42. Remy and Brenchley, *Journey to Great Salt Lake City,* 2:152; Waite, *Mormon Prophet and His Harem,* p. 227; and Ferris, *Utah and the Mormons,* p. 264.
^43. *New York Times,* 12 Nov. 1855, p. 3.
^44. Many of these are the descriptive adjectives and phrases used by her adopted son in several twentieth-century interviews with HamGodbe. See HamGodbe's summary sheet, n.d., HamGodbe Papers, University of Utah.
^45. Endowment House Sealing, Entry No. 13042, LDS Family History Library.
^46. WSGodbe, "Statement on 2 September 1884," p. 23, University of California at Berkeley, Bancroft Library; HamGodbe to Alice and Harry [?], 9 Jan. 1972, HamGodbe Papers, University of Utah.
^47. Memorandum of HamGodbe, 1 Aug. 1971; Mrs. H. E. Hall to HamGodbe, 4 Nov. 1971; Douglas E. Godbe to HamGodbe, n.d. [1971]; and HamGodbe to Alice and Harry [?], 9 Jan. 1972, all in HamGodbe Papers, University of Utah.
^48. Tullidge, "Reformation in Utah," p. 604.

^49. Historian's Office Journal, 14 and 17 Feb. 1868, LDS Archives.
^50. Bishops' Meetings, 1 Oct. 1868, LDS Archives; JH, 3 Oct. 1868.
^51. George A. Smith, *DEN,* 8 Oct. 1868, p. 2; Orson Pratt, *JD* 12 (6 Oct. 1868): 306.
^52. Cannon, *JD* 12 (7 Oct. 1868): 289–97.
^53. *JD* 12 (8 Oct. 1868): 281–89 and 297–301.
^54. For surveys dealing with the organization of the Zion's Cooperative Mercantile Association, see Arrington et al., *Building the City of God,* pp. 90–110; Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom,* pp. 298–313; and Bradley, *ZCMI,* pp. 14–15.
^55. Tullidge, *TQMag* 1 (Apr. 1881): 367.
^56. "Documentary History of the Church," 9 Oct. 1868; *DEN,* 10 Oct. 1868, p. 2.
^57. Tullidge, *TQMag* 1 (Apr. 1881): 367.
^58. The prophecy is drawn from Zechariah 14:20. Also see Exodus 28:36 and 39:30 and Isaiah 23:18. Young's initiatives are traced in BY to Albert Carrington, 21 Oct. 1868, BY Letterbooks, LDS Archives; *DEN,* 16 Oct. 1868, p. 2; Historian's Office Journal, 16 and 29 Oct. 1868, LDS Archives.
^59. BY, 4 Feb. 1869, p. 265, Bishops' Meetings, LDS Archives. For Young's threat to use the Provo institution, see B. H. Roberts, *Comprehensive History of the Church,* 5:219, and Arrington et al., *Building the City of God,* pp. 92–93.
^60. BY, 13 May 1869, Bishops' Meetings, LDS Archives.
^61. Ibid., 18 Feb. 1869.
^62. Ibid.
^63. Ibid.
^64. B. H. Roberts, *Comprehensive History of the Church,* 5:224 n. 13.
^65. "Documentary History of the Church," 22 May 1869.
^66. Historian's Office Journal, 10 Apr. and 3 July 1869, LDS Archives.

^67. Ibid., 3 Apr. 1869.
^68. Minutes of the Provo School of the Prophets, 23 and 30 Nov. 1869; Minutes of the Payson School of the Prophets, 16 Oct. 1869, both in LDS Archives.
^69. JH, 26 Dec. 1868.
^70. Woodruff diary, 9 May 1869, LDS Archives.
^71. *DNWeekly* 18 (26 May 1869): 187; also see ibid., 18 (2 June 1869): 199.
^72. BY, 10 Oct. 1869, *DNWeekly* 18 (1 Dec. 1869): 507–8.
^73. BY to Albert Carrington, JH, 13 Apr. 1869.
^74. Minutes of the SL School of the Prophets, 9 Apr. 1870, LDS Archives.

Chapter 9

Before the Bar

As Young's anti-merchant exertions increased in pace and reached their peak in 1868–69, rumors of a possible division in the church circulated through the community. Apparently Young had heard these rumors, but he dismissed them as nothing unusual and certainly nothing to be feared. "Talk about apostatizing," he told a crowd gathered to dedicate the Fifteenth Ward's cooperative store, "why there are lots of people here who ought to have apostatized years ago!" It was his duty to preach the gospel and gather the righteous and not care who "comes or who goes." Could a "pure minded man or woman" leave the church? he asked. Someone might as likely put one of the Saints' meetinghouses in his "jacket pocket" and convey it to the eastern states.[1]

Yet even as he made such comments, Young must have been looking over his shoulder at men like Godbe. Obedient to his New York instructions, Godbe had remained publicly supportive of Young's policy. In December 1868, the merchant spoke on the "benefits of cooperation" before the School of the Prophets.[2] In May 1869, during the Saints' extravagant celebration to mark the completion of the transcontinental railroad, both Godbe and Harrison had raised toasts that seemed orthodox (Godbe: "The railroad; a mighty engine for the promulgation of the gospel of 'Peace on earth and good will to man'").[3] Several days after this festivity, Godbe toured Ogden City with Young and other leading dignitaries. The national railroad had built its tracks passing north of Salt Lake City, and Young wanted to build a connecting spur south. As the symbolic first sod was cut, members of the president's party spoke on such timely topics as the "Word of Wisdom," the "Order of Enoch," and "cooperation." Godbe not only lent his person to the occasion, but he also spoke.[4]

Yet for all of Godbe's outward cooperation, in matters that counted most there was no support for Young's plan: Godbe refused to invest money in ZCMI.

Other members of Godbe's inner group were more helpful. For example, Shearman became not only a director of the Logan cooperative but a member of its three-man executive committee. Lawrence, who had a branch store in Utah County, had played a leading role in the Provo cooperative that had forced the Salt Lake City merchants to accept a similar plan in the capital city. Once the Salt Lake City organization was in place, Lawrence also invested in it and became one of its directors.[5]

But Godbe still stood aloof. Young may have been thinking of him as he addressed the city's bishops in May 1869. Several Main Street merchants were "really very good men," he told them, but these men had continued trading in "their individual capacity" and were therefore acting in opposition to the cooperative movement. Young asked the bishops "to clear the street of all such," apparently by expanding the boycott to include them as well as the Gentile merchants.[6]

Although Godbe was willing to play a waiting game with Young on Main Street, Godbe had ambitious plans elsewhere. He needed a vehicle to voice his opposition, and therefore Harrison and Godbe decided to refurbish the *Utah Magazine.* Faced with declining public support even before the New York séances, the magazine clearly needed a face-lift. By the early spring of 1869, about the same time that ZCMI opened its several ward and downtown retail outlets, the transformation of the *Utah Magazine* was complete. "The originality of its matter, appearance, quality of paper and workmanship," opined the unsuspecting *Deseret Evening News,* bears "not the least affinity between it and the preceding volumes." Although the masthead listed "Messrs. Harrison and Godbe" as publishers, Godbe, as always, held the purse, perhaps aided in the coming months by the Walker brothers and by Lawrence. Godbe would later estimate that the two-year run of the periodical cost him $10,000.[7]

Godbe later said that he had approached Young and received permission to start the printing venture anew. Young denied this. According to Young, he had advised an immediate sale.[8] Yet with the magazine on the streets, Young graciously acknowledged receiving

the first copy of the new series. "Wishing you every success in your enterprise," he had responded.[9]

Young would not have been so generous had he known the magazine's purpose. Tullidge later said that the newly styled *Utah Magazine* "essayed a careful, well-planned revolution."[10] Godbe confirmed it. "We had a heavenly-appointed mission to help to free the Mormon people from their bondage," he wrote in 1871, and the *Utah Magazine* was "the means employed to disseminate our new truths." The idea was to give Utahns "rich, ripe corn of spiritual truth" rather than the "husks of a Mosaic theology upon which they had so long been fed" by a "practical" and "dictatorial" priesthood.[11]

The revised magazine continued its attraction to spiritualism, usually in veiled and shadowed passages, but one of Harrison's editorials virtually laid bare the New York spiritualist blueprint. "The Story of Creation" argued that civilization's next advance required "the light, the order, the science, the philosophy, the accumulated wisdom—of the great spiritual and intellectual ones who have for over six thousand years been passing away and studying the divine science in higher realms." At some point, Harrison promised that the veil separating humankind from these "immortals" would be opened and communication established. The resulting "interblending" of earthly and heavenly spheres, "so tender and so near," would permit a new order. "Men shall say 'Zion from above has come down' and 'the Tabernacle of God is with men.'"[12]

Clearly the *Utah Magazine* was no longer a bland literary magazine —especially if readers carefully read and understood Harrison's recondite phrases. As the reworked magazine gained momentum, its articles and editorials successively undermined Mormon millennialism, suggested the limited truth of all religions, including Mormonism, and repeatedly revealed a strain that rejected all standards of authority save the inner soul.[13] One passage might have been taken as the intellectuals' manifesto. It dared all persons "to think and think freely." It was foolish to believe that someone might go intellectually too far: "It is only those who think but seldom who are in danger of not finding their way back," assured Harrison.

Nor should anyone fear that the truth might itself be endangered by the process. "Depend upon it," Harrison concluded, "the truth can take care of itself. It can stand inspection, and rough handling, if necessary. If not, it is not that glorious thing we have taken it to be."[14] Harrison, of course, was inviting his readers to examine Mormonism anew.

By September 1869 the comments became even bolder. In "Our Workmen's Wages," the magazine challenged Young's policy of forcing a wage reduction so that Utah's products could compete with eastern goods now being carried on the national railroad. "Women and Their 'Vanities'" argued that Zion's emphasis on simplicity of dress could never counter women's supposed inborn desire for fashion and finery. In turn, "Steadying the Ark" denied by its ironic title one of the church leaders' favorite preaching images about rendering obedience: Mormons were repeatedly told to avoid the Old Testament example of Uzzah, who, without authority, reached out to steady the sacred ark of the covenant and was struck down by the Lord. "Think freely" and "think forever," the editorial told its readers, for God Almighty never "intended the priesthood to do our thinking."[15]

By early October 1869, events were hastening to a climax. The *Utah Magazine* proprietors probably wished for more time, but Young had brought the controversy to a head by including Harrison and Shearman in a group of men called to short-term missions. If Harrison chose to accept the mission call, the public controversy would likely be postponed for at least six months—and that apparently was too much of a delay. Taking stock of the situation, and buttressed by the support of Vice President Schuyler Colfax and Grant's administration, Godbe and Harrison decided to push ahead. The article titled "The True Development of the Territory" directly challenged Young's vision of Zion by urging the mineral development of the territory and by seeking the economic integration of Utah into the national economy. It had been "resolved to force a controversy with the president and the Twelve," Tullidge later wrote.[16]

With the exception of Joseph Salisbury, who had openly opposed the church's wage policy, no New Movement dissenter had been excommunicated.[17] But the publication of the most recent editorial began an inevitable chain of events: Young's angry denunciation of the *Utah Magazine*'s proprietors before the School of the Prophets, the visit of the block teachers and accompanying Apostles to their homes, and the confrontation before the School on 23 October, when the resolute Harrison directly challenged Young and his policy before the startled elders. That episode led Young to announce a church trial for Godbe and Harrison for Monday, two days later.

Since the founding of Mormonism, the religion had had its share of church trials and dissenters. While Joseph Smith was leader, he had repeatedly been forced to deal with those opposing him, and the issue was often his theocratic, temporal-secular vision. Indeed, he was killed during such a dispute in 1844. Since the Saints had arrived in Utah, there had been new dissents. The noisy, bothersome followers of Gladden Bishop had attempted to preach their gospel during the early 1850s, but they had been sent scurrying from the territory. Joseph Morris's revolt several years later had not been any more successful; when Morris raised a millennial standard in Weber County and refused to surrender several individuals who were being held against their will, a civil posse had suppressed them.[18]

The Godbe trial, however, would be different from its predecessors. It was the Mormon version of the celebrated trials of religious conscience held throughout history. Similar to the trials of Galileo in Rome, Luther at Worms, or Anne Hutchinson before the Massachusetts elders, the Godbe-Harrison trial pitted intellectual dissenters against a clerical establishment. The people were asked difficult questions. What are the proper ways of *knowing* truth—personal revelation or church authority? Are there limits to dissent in a Kingdom of God? And what makes a man or woman an apostate? Added to these questions was the immediate issue: Were Godbe and Harrison faithful church members guilty only of expressing a nonconformist viewpoint? Or were they heretics?

The trial did a better job of raising questions than answering them. Participants thought and spoke on their feet; no formal arguments were made. Moreover, the minutes were not a complete stenographic report. Yet the Salt Lake Stake clerk managed a remarkable feat—a forty-one page, fair-minded summary of the nearly all-day proceeding. This document in turn was supplemented by several accounts made by the Godbeite dissenters. Together, these documents tell of a remarkable proceeding that transcends its own time.[19]

The Godbeite trial went forward in an atmosphere of excitement. Sensing the situation, Young wanted no hint of secrecy. When the trial convened on Monday, 25 October, at 10:00 a.m. in the Council Chamber of the City Hall (a venue that showed how easily the spiritual mixed with the civil in pioneer Utah), the city's bishops, bishops' counselors, and block teachers crowded the interior, along with a half-dozen friends of Godbe and Harrison, who were given passes. Young went further. He apparently offered Godbe the choice of his own jury. Did "Brother William" want to be tried by a congregation of the Saints (perhaps even by women and children!), or, more seriously, by high priests, Seventies, or Apostles and the First Presidency? Young's options were meant to signal his openness and confidence. If a trial had to be held, he would try to shape public opinion.[20]

Godbe refused to choose his tribunal, claiming that whatever the composition of his jury, it would decide against him. This statement brought Young's retort: Yes, everyone "except those who wish to promote wickedness in the land."[21] Church authorities finally decided to place the charge before the twelve-man Salt Lake Stake High Council, the normal tribunal in such cases, but with the unusual feature of openness: instead of the accustomed confidentiality, the leading men of the city would be allowed to witness the event. Stake president George B. Wallace conducted the trial, aided by his counselor John T. Caine. George Q. Cannon prosecuted. Leading General Authorities Orson Pratt, Wilford Woodruff, George A. Smith,

and even Young testified for the prosecution. For their defense, Harrison and Godbe had themselves.

Despite its legal trappings (the case had "plaintiffs" and "defendants" and was called "George Q. Cannon vs. William S. Godbe and E. L. T. Harrison"), the trial was not a formal, adversarial hearing in the tradition of Anglo-Saxon civil law. High council hearings were religious affairs, and, as such, were flexible, with few guidelines. Church canon permitted witnesses, allowed defendants to face their accusers, and had the unique rule of requiring an arbitrarily selected number of the councillors to speak on behalf of both the prosecution and defense—that "equity and justice" might be secured and "insult and injustice" avoided. Cases not deemed "difficult" required only two councillors, and more difficult ones used four or even six. "Cannon vs. Godbe and Harrison" would have four. After listening to the testimony, the president of the council—the stake president—would be expected to make the decision, with the entire council sustaining the result, usually a pro forma exercise.[22]

The fifty-year-old Cannon led off, charging the two men with "harboring the spirit of apostasy." Others were Cannon's seniors in the apostolic quorum, but none was quicker in mind and tongue. As a preliminary step, Cannon listed the various offending titles published in the *Utah Magazine* which, he claimed, had worked to undermine the policies and influence of church authorities. Whether Godbe and Harrison were aware of it, he continued, they had given themselves over to a "spirit of apostasy." To support his point, he called for the testimonies of the teachers and apostles who had visited the men a week earlier.

The reports of the teachers, George Goddard and John Maiben, and Apostles Orson Pratt and Wilford Woodruff confirmed popular sentiment: Harrison, not Godbe, seemed to take the lead in the dissent. They reported that Godbe had behaved courteously during their interrogation. He observed the health code, "the Word of Wisdom," he said, and when asked about his willingness to serve a mission, he responded ambiguously. If called to go to a remote part of the territory, his compliance would depend on "circumstances"

and the "position of life he happened to be in at the time." The answer lacked ardor but was not heretical. Elder Pratt acknowledged that "up to the present time" he had esteemed Godbe as "one of the best men" in the Kingdom.

Harrison was another story. According to the block teachers, he seemed "very bitter" and "entirely opposed to the order of the Kingdom." The delegation's questions, and likely the delegation itself, strongly nettled him. When asked about the regularity of his prayers, he claimed to be insulted. He prayed, he told the teachers, even on behalf of President Young. But the practice of regularly scheduled prayers, in the morning and evening, he labeled "idolatry." Harrison had equally strong words for the priesthood's right to "dictate"—pioneer Utah's often used code word for church authority. The priesthood, he told the visitors, was placed on the earth to "teach, not to compel or coerce." Neither "God Almighty, nor Jesus Christ, nor any one else had power, right, or authority to force any man into the Kingdom of Heaven."

During the conversation, the two men repeatedly showed disturbing spiritual independence. The men, said Maiben, believed it was their privilege to have "their own ideas and notions in relation to the doctrines, ordinances, and institutions." They were responsible only to "the light of the spirit that was within them, not to the authorities of this Kingdom."

The report of the reconnaissance seemed to confirm Cannon's charges. Cannon concluded the opening phase of his prosecution by reading lengthy extracts from the *Utah Magazine,* which he called "sophistries mixed with truth." They worked toward darkening the minds of the people and created opposition.[23]

Having made the formal charges, Cannon yielded the floor to the dissenters. Godbe, the first to rise, was a compelling speaker, not so much because of the flow of his words, but because of his sincerity. He began by returning Cannon's expressions of goodwill; he bore no unkind feeling for anyone present, he insisted. Similar to Young, Godbe wanted to appear kindly. And like Young, Godbe understood

the most important verdict lay not with the Salt Lake Stake High Council but with the larger court of public opinion.

Having completed the pleasantries, Godbe turned to defending himself. He immediately signaled that there would be no retreat. The sentiments of the *Utah Magazine* reflected his views, he freely admitted, but this admission (he did not discuss his ideas in any detail) could not be taken as evidence of apostasy. For he had always believed in openness and discussion—from the moment of his conversion in Great Britain. "Hence I have not apostatized," he claimed. "I stand . . . [on these same principles] today."

It was a clever tactic. Instead of defending his views, which many in the chamber would have rejected as disloyal and apostate, Godbe tried to move the discussion onto the appealing high ground of principle. Could members openly disagree with church leaders and still be fellowshiped? he was asking. While acknowledging that any disagreement should be respectful to the "men whom we love," he claimed that the *Utah Magazine* had always tried to have such a spirit. And if Cannon regarded its views as "sophistries," he and Harrison thought otherwise. Besides, what was the magazine's danger? If its ideas were without merit, they would simply fall to the ground. On the other hand, if true, the arguments would serve to combat error and help the Kingdom. Church leaders, Godbe seemed to say, had to dismiss the *Utah Magazine* as unimportant or they had to admit its truth and helpfulness.

Godbe also returned to some of the themes that he and Harrison had used when the teachers visited them—epistemological themes of how one could best know God. Once more he spoke of the "light of Deity" within him. He knew of "no higher test" for religious truth. Using this light and the best judgment available to them, men and women had to decide all issues for themselves and not rely on others to think for them. Again, Godbe had chosen his words carefully. He advocated the appealing guide of individual seeking as the ultimate source of religious truth, not church-authorized teaching or a combination of the two.

Godbe also attacked the coercive nature of Young's anti-mercantile policy—how people were being watched in their trading habits and intimidated to ensure "correct" behavior. The prevailing climate in Utah, Godbe claimed, had driven many "good men" to "evasion and dissimulation." While outwardly supporting church measures, they quieted "their consciences with mental reservations, [rather] than come out in opposition to their brethren, whom, notwithstanding their difference of opinion, they both love and respect." Indeed, Godbe spoke of meeting a leading churchman on the way to the trial. The leader, sympathizing with the dissenter, admitted that he never dared tell the president "anything he did not want to know, meaning, anything that did not accord with the President's views."[24]

In making his defense, Godbe repeatedly raised the question of personal accountability. "I do not claim that it is fit or necessary in my case that I should see the thing [proposed] from the beginning—that [I] should see the tall ladder that reaches into eternity, but it is necessary according to my understanding that I should know sufficient of a measure to feel that it was not wrong." Even here Godbe was willing to yield some ground. He claimed to value the ideal of social unity, which would be lost, he recognized, if individual accountability were carried too far. Such unity, he said, was more important than "worldly wealth" and "more worthy than Gold." But Godbe did not provide a workable pattern on how individualism and social cohesion, usually natural enemies, could be reconciled. Nor did he mention his failure to comply with the ZCMI movement, Young's hope to maintain Zion's unity.

During his testimony, Godbe occasionally hinted of the New York City revelation. At one point, he spoke of the new principles that had led him "onward & upward"—to use his own phrase. While he and Harrison had not rejected the priesthood of Mormonism, he affirmed "the existence of a power behind the veil from which influence & instructions do come and have always come by which the will may be guided in its onward path." This was not apostasy, he insisted, as "God will in the early future make fully apparent." These carefully chosen words once more revealed his attitude toward Mormonism:

he had not rejected his old faith but had moved beyond it and redefined it. And looming in the future was Godbe's belief that Mormonism would soon be reformed in his own philosophical image.

Of course the religious defector is usually the last to understand his condition. As with others in similar inquests throughout history, Godbe clung to the self-deception of his own orthodoxy. His whole being seemed to demand it—his youthful, wrenching conversion to Mormonism, his separation from friends and family in Great Britain, and his eighteen years in Utah (ironically, the trial was held on the anniversary of his first arrival in the territory). When he began his final statement as a fellowshiped Mormon, probably none of these thoughts were conscious in Godbe's mind. For the sake of his equilibrium and the personal image he had so long cultivated and embodied, his words were less a calculation or pretense than a reflex.

"If I be severed from this church I do so against my solemn protest," he began. In arriving at this point in his religious journey, Godbe assured the assembled elders that he had been faithful to "the great fountain" of spiritual light that the Mormons often spoke of: he had experienced personal revelation as he prayed night and day—even three times daily—and in all matters "gone forth with God my guard." Finally, Godbe evoked the "kindness" and "love" of yesterday. Even as a nonmember, if the court should take from him his membership, Godbe pledged "to live that I shall have the spirit of kindness, blessing, liberality, and salvation."[25]

When Godbe took his seat, President Young must have had second thoughts about conducting a public hearing. Godbe had been convincing. Moreover, Harrison, always forceful, was yet to speak. During the past week, other dissenters had wavered, but not Harrison. Throughout, he had been determined—his words and acts brittle and defiant with intensity.[26]

Similar to his friend Godbe, when addressing the court Harrison did not concern himself so much with Zion's temporal policies; mining and the rapprochement with the East were mentioned only in passing. Instead, Harrison repeatedly returned to themes of personal

freedom, conscience, and the right of dissent, but the issue that most concerned him was President Young's use of priesthood authority, which he called the doctrine of "infallibility."[27]

Harrison argued that the LDS priesthood had been designed as a "grand institution" to teach and lead humankind, but never to coerce them. Thus he believed that every man or woman in the Church had the right to "honestly canvass" the teachings of church authorities without losing their membership. To Harrison, "canvassing" meant engaging in the kind of respectful public dialogue that the *Utah Magazine* had presented. Moreover, members should accept President Young's teachings only if they believed them—not because of the leader's authority.

Why was it right in Great Britain to question "sectarianism," but not now to "think" about Mormonism, Harrison asked. The monitor of the inner light was then acceptable. Why not now? Harrison continued to attack institutional authority. The power of "God or Jesus" might be great in the distant heavens, but on earth people bow to them because their principles are higher. Following this idea, Harrison claimed that he was willing to accept the teachings of a child if they were superior—but never to bow to a man simply because he presided.

Of course these comments were aimed at President Young. Putting the best face on his view of the man, Harrison claimed to see as little "fallibility" in Young as any person—but "I see some." How could the "man" and "God" within Young be untangled unless by personal judgment? That idea also applied to Zion. It would be a "curious Zion," in Harrison's view, if it were built on a foundation of forced belief. What if the proposed policy was incorrect? But even if a matter was apt, what were the implications of coercing obedience?

If apostasy meant disagreeing with President Young, Harrison admitted he had reached that point. He disagreed with Young on the forced reduction of workingmen's wages. Harrison also objected to Young's policies against the mining of precious ores. However, Harrison's greatest difference, he stressed, involved "infallibility."

Harrison's closing statement was similar to Godbe's, in content and in emotion. "Well now, brethren, my case will be very shortly laid before you," he began. "If you cut me off I shall be very sorry for it. But I will not allow you to cut me off from your affections. You shall never see me out of this Territory. Never. Never. Never. Cut me off if your laws require it, but let me have some of your respect as an honest man."

Whether by design or irresistible impulse, Harrison's conclusion also contained a hint of the new revelation. In a strange detour from the rest of his remarks, Harrison insisted that President Young had been led by the spirit of Joseph Smith and by the spirits of other just men made perfect behind the veil: "I stand as witness today that those spirits witness to him whether he denies it or not." Harrison's passion on the question undoubtedly came from information supplied by Heber C. Kimball and Joseph Smith during the New York City séances.

Harrison's final sentences were as familiar as any utterance made in a Mormon worship service. "I bear my testimony that Mormonism is true as a divine institution. I bear my testimony that Joseph Smith was called of God. I bear my testimony that polygamy is true & eternal. I bear my testimony that this is the gathering place appointed by God, & that Brigham Young is the legal successor of Joseph Smith." On one point only, he insisted, did he substantially differ with current church authorities, and that was the question of "infallibility."[28]

Before taking his seat, Harrison placed in the record a formal, eight-paragraph "Protest," which summarized the arguments of the two dissenters. Dated two days earlier, it had been prepared for presentation at the previous Saturday's School of the Prophets meeting, but President Young's maneuvers had prevented Godbe and Harrison from doing so. The document revealed that the comments of the two dissenters at their trial were not impromptu. Several days before coming into the church court, the two men had carefully crafted a position that framed their dissent on the highest

conscientious grounds of personal freedom from church intrusion and compulsion.[29]

After Harrison sat down, Godbe once more took the floor. Godbe was obviously concerned by Harrison's allusions to spirits and the spirit world and wanted to clarify their position. With regard to the "charge of spiritualism," he wanted the court to have his explicit declaration: "We do believe in revelation," he said, "but such only as come through the channels of the Holy Priesthood and we do not believe in the teachings of spiritualism."

According to trial minutes, no one had yet spoken of spiritualism, much less made a formal "charge." Without a reason for his statement other than unconscious self-justification, the sensitive Godbe seems to have accused himself. At this moment of personal crisis, Godbe did not want to see himself as an apostate or to have others believe so. The ministrations of Kimball's spirit, therefore, were by Godbe's special definition Mormonism, not spiritualism, whatever their medium or message.

As seen in the testimony of Godbe and Harrison, the Godbeite complaint involved more than the excesses of Zion. Godbe and Harrison had repeatedly challenged the priesthood's right to determine correct teaching—not just on mining policy or the claims of the theocratic Kingdom but on all basic church tenets. The church, they argued, should compel obedience only on matters of personal purity and the performance of the gospel's ordinances and sacraments. On all other matters, individuals should be free to act independently, with their inner "light and intelligence" guiding them.

Cannon, attempting to regain the prosecution's momentum, again revived the testimony of the block teachers and the inimical *Utah Magazine*'s passages.[30] But most of his words were aimed at "St. Harrison" for his "cunning" and "sophistical speech," which had been "so despitefully set forth." Harrison was a natural skeptic, Cannon charged, whose power Godbe had been unable to resist. To Cannon and other Mormon leaders, it was inconceivable that Godbe could be a full partner in the dissent. Later, during a pause in the testimony,

the conscientious Godbe set the matter straight: Harrison had not influenced him any more than he had influenced Harrison.[31]

Picking up the earlier hints of the New York revelation, Cannon wondered if some of the rumors circulating through the city about the possible spiritualism of Godbe and Harrison might be true. Initially, Cannon had discounted these rumors, but when Harrison during his testimony had mysteriously invoked the name of "a very prominent but unidentified man"—undoubtedly Heber C. Kimball—and then strongly alluded to President Young's receiving the spirits of dead men, Cannon was ready to reconsider.[32] Harrison "testifies in such a solemn manner" that "I am led to believe that this rumor is correct," said the prosecutor. Wasn't this evidence of preaching a "new Gospel" an attempt to "inaugurate a new movement amongst us fed and prompted and sustained by some power we know nothing about?"

Much of Cannon's rebuttal defended the priesthood's right to control the teaching of the church. Harrison wanted to do as he "pleased in the church," Cannon complained, but this was not the rule of God. Cannon believed that church leaders had the God-given right to withdraw fellowship from those who refused to agree to "work with them in building up the Zion of our God." While Harrison and Godbe might make pretensions of loyalty and be honest as individuals, their acts challenged the progress of the Kingdom of God, and their standing in the church could not be tolerated. If unrepentant, the two men would certainly be led by the "devils" to hell.

Cannon understood the popularity of the Godbeite platform to the outside world, and perhaps within the church as well. A decision to expel them from the church would bring excitement and probably label President Young with being "illiberal" and "not advanced enough." But freedoms within the Kingdom were limited. They did not include the right "to do wrong." While Zion had tolerated the sometimes scurrilous *Union Vedette,* now the question was whether an opposition periodical could be allowed to exist within the fold—a magazine written by Mormons for Mormons.[33] Faced by such a

threat, Cannon was no defender of the absolute right of public expression: a "free press" and "free language" were "catchwords of the devil and those who are influenced by him."

Cannon concluded by expressing his own spiritual witness. Those wishing to receive the new gospel as taught by "St. Harrison" could do so, said the apostle, once again emphasizing Harrison's blame in the matter, but "as for me and my house we do not want it." President Young's leadership had brought prosperity and peace. And as for the vaunted spiritual light of the two defendants, Cannon matched it with his own: "I have the voice of the spirit as well as these men," he claimed. "I profess to have revelations. I profess to know the truth and I can bear testimony more than they can or do to-day." Cannon's "light" testified that Joseph Smith and Brigham Young were prophets—and that the latter had the right to "dictate" to the people, who were free agents to obey and reject his message. "I [Cannon] pray that God may be with us and enable us to understand the truth and maintain it always."[34]

Cannon had defended President Young and church interests, and Cannon had called into question the orthodoxy (and heterodoxy) of the defendants. If Harrison had exalted personal conscience, Cannon's loyalty lay with church government and his own version of the "inner light." Yet, the statements of Godbe and Harrison had been so appealing that a troubling sense of incompleteness remained. From the first, the trial was less about breaches of the ecclesiastical law, which seemed clear from the start, than about swaying the hearts and feelings of the Saints. That result was by no means sure.

Hoping for a more convincing outcome, other General Authorities followed Cannon. The first was President George A. Smith, one of President Young's counselors. Smith was one of Zion's most unusual individuals. He was a man of considerable girth. On his head he wore an uneasily resting wig, which during the heat of a Temple Square sermon he might remove. To this nonchalance, he added a hardy, self-deprecating wit that some outsiders saw as Falstaffian. But beneath his peculiarity lay an uncommon common sense and an

absolute loyalty to the cause that his cousin Joseph Smith had founded. "Brother George A." wore well. Those in and out of Mormonism who knew him best usually came to like if not admire him.

On this occasion, Smith had difficulty containing his anger. Citing past church apostasies and reflecting the strong emotions of many in the community, President Smith branded Godbe and Harrison as "wicked and blind." No "blacker spirit" filled the souls of men. Their posture of innocence hid a guilt that echoed all the old apostasies: "Oh! I have such confidence in Brother Brigham! Such confidence in these brethren [leading the Church]! Such confidence, kindness and good feeling! I only want to cut their throats!" While the world sought Zion's destruction and Zion itself was in great danger, Godbe and Harrison had broken ranks and opposed the church's leaders. Why hadn't the two come to them privately and worked to resolve their difficulty in the spirit of unity?

At first Smith had thought that Godbe and Harrison were honest, only spiritually blind. But he now believed that "a studied scheme" existed "to divide the church and break it up." Their conceit was overwhelming: "'All the rest of you are fools. The Priesthood that has built up and guided this church and gathered us and brought us here is blind and we [Godbe and Harrison] have the right to fight against the Priesthood. We have the right to publish as Elders of Israel against Zion. We have all these rights.'" With these views, Smith strongly disagreed. "I say our rights are few. We have the right to do right, and we have no right as Elders in Israel to do wrong."

With that he sat down.[35]

Smith was followed briefly by Elders Wilford Woodruff and Orson Pratt, who supported the statements of Cannon and Smith. Then, as usual in pioneer Utah, President Young had the last word.[36] He was in no hurry. "There is so much to say upon this subject," he began—and he proved his point by continuing for over an hour. Almost a third of the trial minutes record the president's remarks.

Young's manner seemed quiet and reserved; he seemed burdened by events. There was none of "George A.'s" ebullient talk. Even

Harrison and Godbe later mentioned Young's generally respectful course. As a matter of fact, Young scarcely mentioned either of the defendants. He was interested in ideas and principles.

Young seemed to go back and forth about the trial's importance. "How little wisdom it takes to raise an excitement in the midst of wise men," he said disparagingly at first. But subsequent statement after statement showed how seriously Young regarded the episode. In fact, so serious were the issues that Young insisted that they should be given the widest airing. Everyone should "hear for himself" so that "all would be able to judge."

Godbe and Harrison had exalted "liberty." Young would have none of it. "Truth" was more desirable than individual freedom, he answered. He pursued the idea tenaciously. "Where is our liberty? In truth. Where is our freedom? In truth, in the truth of God, in truth no matter where it is found. Where is our strength? In truth. Where is our power and our wisdom? In truth. It is truth that we want. It is truth that exalts us. It is truth that makes us free. It is truth that will bring us into the celestial kingdom, and nothing else." These words became Young's text. All that followed in his discourse were explanations and emendations of this central theme.

For Young, "Truth" involved order, discipline, and obedience. He could not imagine "every man" in the church determining his own policy and teaching. "What confusion, what discord, what discontent, what hatred would soon creep into the bosom of individuals one against the other. . . . We have made no bargain to gather up to Zion to raise confusion." Young likened the church to a family. Each man or woman might receive God's guidance according to his or her position in the Kingdom, but no more. Hierarchical revelation led to hierarchical authority. Could you imagine a child telling his mother that he did not have to make his bed? Harrison's idea that British Mormonism had given him a lifelong lease to believe and act independently of church authority was "false." "I am at the defiance of any man to say that there ever was any such contract made."

Young understood that the Godbeite rejection of church authority was aimed at him, and he defended his stewardship: "I have never

sought but one thing in this kingdom," he said, "and that has been to get men and women to obey the Lord Jesus Christ in everything. I do not care what they say of me, if they will live so as to help build up his kingdom."

Godbe had cited the Utah Produce Company and the Colorado warehouse scheme as examples of Young's money-losing fallibility. In response, Young spoke of God's hidden hand. Who knew about such things? God's purposes were recondite and might be served through unexpected means. For example, if the produce company had failed in its immediate goals, perhaps the venture had taught the Saints not to throw away their means to gentile middlemen. Likewise, the experiment on the Colorado River had allowed the Saints to be the first to penetrate the region. Villages and cities—colonization—might likely follow. "By and by I expect brother Godbe if he comes [back] into the church will be coming to me and be thankful that he ever put means into that store house." To ensure the result, he promised personally to repay investors' losses.

This charge of money-losing fallibility obviously irritated Young. In response, he had a pointed question: Where did Godbe—his old protégé—get his money? According to Young, when Godbe first came into the territory he had been as poor as the rest of the Saints. Church policies—Brigham Young's policies—had made Godbe wealthy.

At another point in the trial, Young tried to address the issue of "infallibility" directly. Similar to his predecessor Joseph Smith, who made a determined effort to separate his personal and prophetic person ("A prophet was a prophet only when he was acting as such"),[37] Young did not try to conceal his imperfections. "I do not pretend to be infallible," he said, "but the priesthood that I have on me is infallible." So endowed, Young promised his followers that he would not (and could not) lead them astray on important, salvation-related doctrines. God would not let him.[38] But the problem remained: When in Young's ministry did the priesthood operate on him and when did it not? How could a church member know when Young's acts had the sanction of heaven?

Having defended his stewardship, Young toiled at length to refute Harrison's attacks on church authority and priesthood. Young, supposedly the empire-building pragmatist, pursued this goal with brief sarcasm: Godbe and Harrison knew no more about God "than my horse," he said. Young also met this challenge with a long, theoretical discussion of the LDS concept of priesthood. According to Young, priesthood was more than just authority; priesthood "is in all things, through and around about all things, and it is the government, power, and enlightenment that God dispenses to His creatures here on the Earth and on all others." When men and women placed themselves outside of priesthood's expansive power, they jeopardized their salvation.

Young tried to explain his point—and in the process refute Harrison's claims for individualism and personal choice within the Kingdom. True disciples, Young argued, gave up self-interest, which hitherto had been "the main spring in the world's progress," to help others. Therefore, "true Saints" suppressed "individuality" for the corporate good. For Young, this selflessness—and the godly obedience that accompanied it—was the only way the individual essence of men and women could be retained. To support his view, Young plunged into the heavy seas of Mormon doctrine: "The only thing that can sustain and uphold us in the Eternities that are to come and that will preserve our Identity is perfect submission to the will of God [and priesthood]. Those that go down to perdition, those that have had the privilege that our brethren [Godbe and Harrison] have & turn away and break off by degrees from these pure and Holy principles, will go back to their native element. . . . They will taste the second death and lose their identity. Now is this liberty or does it take away our liberty?" Young's teaching was based on the peculiarly Mormon idea that "righteousness" enlarged the noncreated "spirit" of men and women—their "intelligence," "truth," or "light." On the other hand, great sins, if not abandoned, could bring a loss of all contact with Deity and therefore the progressive loss of a person's elemental spirit to the point of extinguishing

identity. This last condition, as Young understood it, was the "second death" which scripture spoke of.[39]

Christian philosophers and theologians might debate these tenets, but most probably would not question Young's summarizing admonition: "Live so that the candle of the Lord is always lighted up within you," he challenged his Mormon audience, "and you will be always light [or spirit]. Live so that this spirit or monitor or right may dictate [to] you all the time."

Young often surprised his contemporaries. Just when people thought that they had taken his measure, he would do the unexpected. Now, before the high council court, instead of attacking Godbe and Harrison or defending his own prerogatives, Young had spoken abstractly and theologically. He had used complex Mormon teaching to suggest the limits to a "personal liberty" that ignored "priesthood," which he defined both as ecclesiastical leadership and as a unifying, transcendental essence of God's creations. Godbe and Harrison may not have been persuaded, but they had had the chance once more to see the unusual quality of their opponent.

At last concluding, Young set out the position of the church. Godbe and Harrison had the privilege of printing their *Utah Magazine*—but not as church members. They had a right to believe as they pleased, even dissenting from his leadership. But the Saints also had the option of refusing their magazine and traveling "the road the Lord wishes us."

With the court about to reach a verdict, Edward Tullidge, swept by Young's performance and as always unpredictable, stood from the gallery and asked Godbe and Harrison to reconsider. "I was overwhelmed with emotion at witnessing their ecclesiastical execution," Tullidge would later try to explain.[40] As with Thomas Stenhouse before the School of the Prophets two days before, when Young had faced him down, Tullidge showed that those long and firm in the Mormon tradition found it easier to plan a religious revolution than go forward with its consequences.

Godbe and Harrison were a different matter. If they paused, no one noticed.

Stake President Wallace now had to make his decision. Wallace thought the matter "as clear as the sun at noon-day." Lucifer "had as much right to retain his standing in the presence of God, after he had rebelled as these brethren had to be fellowshipped." Instead of having the spirit of truth to guide them, Wallace believed, Godbe and Harrison now seemed to be the subjects of "evil spirits." What had caused this change?

The question carried an implication, and Godbe knew it. Many Mormons believed that their most prominent dissenters had left Mormonism not so much because of principle but because misconduct had deadened them to the Spirit. Godbe, claiming his integrity had been impugned, demanded an explanation. Wallace quickly retreated: he knew of no blot against Godbe's standing, he admitted. But Daniel H. Wells, Young's counselor, believed the question remained open. "We have no proof that either of you have committed any sin," Wells said, "but then you *must* have done something of the kind or you could not be in the dark as you are today." President Young reportedly agreed. Rolling back in his chair, he said: "Yes, and it will come to light in due time."[41]

It was a passing moment in a long proceeding, and one recorded only by the Godbeites themselves, who may have embellished details. Hardly pausing, Wallace announced that Harrison and Godbe were cut off from the church and were "handed over to the buffetings of Satan." After the decision was announced, the high councillors raised their right hands in unanimity. Then, in a departure from usual procedure, the assembled churchmen in the City Hall chamber were also asked to sustain Wallace's decision.

Kelsey, Lawrence, John and Edward Tullidge, and two others—Joseph Silver and James Cobb (the brother of Charlotte, Godbe's most recent plural wife)—were the only men to refuse their assent. Apparently Kelsey and Lawrence went further; they may have publicly defended Godbe and Harrison. That was enough for Young to move and carry the proposition that Kelsey be summarily dropped from the church.[42] For the moment, no action was taken against the able and idealistic businessman Lawrence.

The spirit and equity of the hearing lay in the eye of the beholder. Harrison and Kelsey believed the rest of their lives that they had been dealt with arbitrarily.[43] Stenhouse was probably closer to the truth: "The trial was as fairly conducted as these things ever are," he believed.[44] In fact, both sides had kept intemperate remarks to a minimum. Nor could there be much doubt about the verdict. Godbe and Harrison had defied President Young's leadership; they had questioned the prevailing norms of Zion; and they had rejected church authority.

In addition, other issues were concealed beneath the surface. While Godbe and Harrison had repeatedly made what seemed to be faithful avowals, they had used the double or expanded entendre to conceal their real meaning. Their New York revelation had taught them that Joseph Smith was a prophet in the sense of being a talented, religiously inclined medium. It had also taught them that Young, under the prompting of the spirits, had led the Mormons west to await the higher truth, which would soon be revealed to him and others. Godbe and Harrison believed that this "higher truth" would remain as Mormonism, only a more intellectual and stirring version.

The Godbeite protest has traditionally been described as a revolt of faithful church members at odds with their church's temporal policy. Temporal concerns were important to Godbe and Harrison's dissent, and during the trial Young's homogeneous and unified Zion was discussed. However, by the time of Godbe and Harrison's arraignment, their protest reached far deeper. Participants at the trial discussed such issues as religious knowing, the limits of religious dissent, and the fallibility of religious teachers. Godbe, Harrison, Cannon, Smith, and Young were grappling with issues that will always challenge disciples, whether Mormons or members of another branch of institutional religion. These issues have hardly been resolved in the twenty-first century.

For those living at the time, the trial had its own meaning. As with the growing power of Utah's merchant community or the coming of the railroad, the trial also marked something greater than itself.

Previously, resistance to President Young tended to be mute or private; Zion's matters were closely restrained. The trial, however, raised the popular issues of free speech and conscience, and these values, once raised, could not be easily suppressed. The churchmen at the City Hall chamber had loyally raised their hands to support their leaders and to discipline Godbe and Harrison, but thereafter Zion's outward unity would never be quite the same. Combined with outward pressures weighing on Deseret, the court proceeding proved another wedge in Zion's close-knit, controlled society.

For Godbeitism the trial was also pivotal. It took the New Movement from the shadows of hesitancy and secrecy and placed it in a position to fulfill the logic of its beginnings: it began public Godbeitism and all that followed in its name. Confronted by this option, the men and women of Utah, orthodox and schismatic, now had to decide what role they would play. Would they accept or reject the "reforms" of the New Movement? To what degree would they participate?

For some these questions were a matter of routine. Elder Woodruff left the City Hall chamber and its lengthy, all-morning hearing to prune his garden's grapevines, probably unaware of the metaphor.[45] And President Young on the next day left the city for one of his tours of the settlements. Undoubtedly he wished to convey the image of business-as-usual. But whatever his hopes and plans, there was uncertainty if not turmoil in Zion.

Notes

^1. *DNWeekly* 18 (11 Aug. 1869): 319. Young's counselor George A. Smith suggested the circulation of rumors (*DEN,* 8 Apr. 1869, p. 2).

^2. JH, 12 Dec. 1868, p. 1.

^3. *DEN,* 11 May 1869, p. 2. Harrison's toast also affirmed the church and its leader: "Three cheers for the man and the men who pioneered these mountains, and thus paved the way for the construction of this great work."

^4. Ibid., 17 May 1869, p. 3.

^5. Shearman: JH, 16 Mar. 1869, quoting *DNWeekly* 18 (24 Mar. 1869): 80; Lawrence: BY to Albert Carrington, 21 Oct. 1868, in BY Letterbooks, LDS Archives; and Tullidge, *HSLC,* p. 401.
^6. Bishops' Meetings, 13 May 1869, LDS Archives.
^7. *DEN,* 3 May 1869, p. 3; Heller, "Study of the Utah Newspaper War," p. 26. For the possible financial role of the Walker brothers and Lawrence, see Frank J. Cannon, in *SLTrib,* 30 Dec. 1906, p. 4, and T. B. H. Stenhouse, *RMSaints,* p. 633.
^8. SL Stake Historical Record Book, 25 Oct. 1869, p. 84, LDS Archives.
^9. BY to Harrison and Godbe, 16 May 1869, BY Letterbooks, LDS Archives.
^10. Tullidge, "Godbeite Revolt," p. 16.
^11. WSGodbe, "Situation in Utah," p. 406.
^12. [Harrison], *UMag* 3 (25 Sept. 1869): 326–28. For other such themes, see ibid., 3 (18 Sept. 1869): 311, 325, 340–41; (25 Sept. 1869): 321–23, 337–39; and (16 Oct. 1869): 380.
^13. Ibid., 3 (10 July 1869): 150–51; (14 Aug. 1869): 231–32, 246–47. These articles were unsigned, but probably were the work of Harrison.
^14. Ibid., 3 (24 July 1869): 182–83.
^15. The scriptural citation is 2 Samuel 6:6–8; see also Doctrine and Covenants 85:8. For these and other editorial texts which seemed to undermine Young's Zion, see *UMag* 3 (28 Aug. 1869): 262–64; (4 Sept. 1869): 280–83; and (11 Sept. 1869): 294, 295.
^16. Tullidge, "Reformation in Utah," p. 606.
^17. Tullidge, "Leaders of the Mormon Reform Movement," p. 39.
^18. Saunders, "Fruit of the Branch."
^19. SL Stake Historical Record Book, 25 Oct. 1869, LDS Archives. Also see Harrison, *UMag* 3 (30 Oct. 1869): 406–7; Godbe, ibid., pp. 408–9; and "Statement of Henry Lawrence," *SLTrib,* 22 Nov. 1889, p. 4.
^20. SL Stake Historical Record Book, 25 Oct. 1869, p. 81, LDS Archives.
^21. Ibid.

^22. Doctrine and Covenants 102:13–19.
^23. SL Stake Historical Record Book, 25 Oct. 1869, pp. 52–58, LDS Archives.
^24. Godbe, *UMag* 3 (30 Oct. 1869): 410.
^25. SL Stake Historical Record Book, 25 Oct. 1869, pp. 58–61, LDS Archives. Grammar has been changed from the minutes to aid readability.
^26. The eastern press—not always a reliable source for events in Utah—reported a fact that might have contributed to Harrison's intensity. According to this source, as cited in Hirshon, Harrison's second wife died the same day as his church trial (*Lion of the Lord,* p. 295). If true, perhaps Harrison understood his wife was close to death even as he spoke. Local sources, however, do not confirm the incident.
^27. Harrison's remarks are contained in SL Stake Historical Record Book, 25 Oct. 1869, pp. 62–67, LDS Archives.
^28. Ibid., p. 67.
^29. The statement was later published in *UMag* 3 (30 Oct. 1869): 407.
^30. Cannon's rebuttal testimony is found in SL Stake Historical Record Book, 25 Oct. 1869, pp. 69–76, LDS Archives.
^31. Ibid., pp. 76–79.
^32. The trial minutes failed to record Harrison's comment about "a very prominent man's name" within a spiritualistic context; the matter, however, had obviously not escaped Cannon.
^33. Pedersen, "*Daily Union Vedette.*"
^34. SL Stake Historical Record Book, 25 Oct. 1869, pp. 75–76, LDS Archives.
^35. For these and similarly toned remarks, see ibid., pp. 76–79.
^36. For Young's extended comments during the trial, see ibid., pp. 80–92.
^37. Joseph Smith, *History of the Church,* 5:265.
^38. SL Stake Historical Record Book, 25 Oct. 1869, pp. 90–91, LDS Archives.

^39. The doctrine had its origin in some of Smith's most soaring revelations. See especially Doctrine and Covenants 93:21–39.
^40. Edward W. Tullidge to BY, Dec. 1872, BY Incoming Corr., LDS Archives; Tullidge, *UMag* 3 (6 Nov. 1869): 424.
^41. *MTrib,* 14 May 1870, p. 156.
^42. Henry Lawrence statement, *SLTrib,* 22 Nov. 1889, p. 4.
^43. Charles Ellis, *DEN,* 24 May 1900, "Fiftieth Year" supp., sec. 1, p. 8; Mills, "Life of Eli Brazee Kelsey," typescript, LDS Archives, p. 8.
^44. T. B. H. Stenhouse, *RMSaints,* p. 641.
^45. Wilford Woodruff diary, 25 Oct. 1869, LDS Archives.

Chapter 10

First Months of Revolt

Two weeks after his excommunication, Godbe wrote to President Young. Godbe felt compelled, he said, by personal respect and by their "uninterrupted friendship" of many years, to explain himself. He admitted that he had long known the inevitability of his trial and expulsion from the church. Under such circumstances, how could he justify his recent behavior? How had he been able to remain as friendly and intimate as before—even marrying the president's adopted daughter?

The sensitive and self-conscious Godbe did not want Young to think him a hypocrite—nor did Godbe wish to think such thoughts about himself. "The knowledge of the fact that I should have to come in conflict with you as President of the Church," Godbe wrote, "did not in the least alter the kind feelings I have always entertained towards you as a man." Godbe tried to explain that he had pursued his course of action because of "divine guidance," without which he would not have dared assume "the great responsibility that now rests upon me." For him this assurance had the "strongest reality." Yet, the gulf now separating Godbe from Young caused Godbe "more pain" than he could express. Perhaps in the "purer light of the life beyond," when both were bathed in the "richness of our Heavenly Father's love," Young might find room for forgiveness and renewed friendship. Godbe asked Young almost plaintively to acknowledge his letter.[1]

Godbe was not alone. Even at this late date, several dissenters found it difficult to break their personal ties with Mormonism and Young. The enigmatic churchman had earned their respect as well as their reproach. Nor was Godbe the only one to express a religious purpose for what lay ahead. These were earnest men who believed that they had once more been called to a spiritual mission.

Buoyed up by their religious feeling, most of the *Utah Magazine* inner circle followed Harrison and Godbe out of Mormonism, often with ambivalence and personal pain. Most initiated the issue. Two

days after the Godbe-Harrison hearing, Edward Tullidge, in a letter to Young intended for publication, resigned his membership. He acknowledged Young's "much tenderness" toward him. But "I see no virtue in multiplying words in justification," he confessed, "knowing myself to be heterodox. For years I have tried to shun the issue of this day, for theoretically I have been a believer in republican institutions and not in a *temporal* theocracy."

William Shearman's experience was similar. Young had met Shearman in Logan several days before the trial. The church leader had gone out of his way to manifest the "most fatherly kindness and affectionate interest" to the man he had helped convert to Mormonism.[2] Such generosity made Shearman's decision difficult. According to Tullidge, "it was a terrible trial to Mr. Shearman—worse than death—to oppose the President, and thus be placed in an attitude of apparent hostility to the Church and his brethren."[3] Nevertheless, on 7 November 1869, Shearman asked to be released from the preaching mission to which he had been recently called. Every conviction of his soul, every "duty to God and to humanity," he explained to Young, compelled him to sustain the *Utah Magazine.* "I must maintain and advocate what I consider to be right and true, regardless of consequences to myself." A week later Shearman wrote another letter, this one requesting that Young permanently excuse him from attending the Salt Lake School of the Prophets.[4] In effect, Shearman was resigning his church membership.

Several dissenters offered extensive reasons for leaving the church. Unaware of the added spiritualist dimension of Harrison's and Godbe's dissent, most spoke of Zion's constraints. John Tullidge recalled the sunny days of his British youth. "We [then] understood 'Mormonism' to be characterized by a different spirit than that which seeks to coerce the human mind and subvert our manhood," he observed. Mormonism was then grand and "universalian," a sharp contrast to the trivial concerns of the other Christian sects. In those days, the missionaries sang as a favorite verse:

> Freedom and reason make us men, Take these away, what are we then[?], Mere animals, and just as well, The beasts may think

of heaven and hell.

Tullidge wasn't abandoning his early faith, he contended. Young's "temporal and commercial Gospel" had left *him.* For seventeen years Tullidge had been loyal to his original ideals, and he would remain so.[5]

The explanation of John S. Lindsay, a popular Salt Lake Theatre actor and a Salt Lake City businessman who had not previously associated with the New Movement, touched on another Godbeite theme: Mormonism's supposed inability to stand before modern reasoning. Lindsay had been "cradled" in Mormonism, he politely explained in a letter to the School of the Prophets. His British parents had implanted in him the idea that the new religion promised a dispensation of gospel light. Yet as he grew older, he discovered that the outside world had much to admire, while Mormonism, like other churches, had its share of "inconsistencies and superstition." Instead of a "blaze" of glory, it offered only meager "sparks." In the future, Lindsay vowed to "venerate no creed or dogma old or new that does not fasten its claim to truth directly on my reason and common sense." Without such a test, what practical good could Mormonism do? Lindsay had weighed Brigham's world and found it wanting.[6]

Of all the reformers, Henry Lawrence's exit was perhaps the most torturous. For years he had defended Young and his policy. Lawrence had played a key role in organizing the ZCMI movement, and once it was underway he became a director, major investor, and public booster. For example, in early 1868, before a teachers' meeting in the Eighth Ward, where he served as a bishop's counselor, Lawrence had disclaimed the "growing tendency to patronize those who are not of us."[7] These words could have been said just as well by President Young.

But during the climactic events of the fall of 1869, Lawrence's LDS commitment wavered. Lawrence was privy to the behind-the-scenes maneuvering of Harrison and Godbe and may also have helped to finance the *Utah Magazine.* Three times during the last week of

October, Lawrence publicly defied church leadership, first before the exploratory meeting of the School of the Prophets on 23 October, next at the excommunication trial, and finally five days later, again at the school, when he was asked to explain his views. In mid-November, he returned his ticket to the school, thanking Young, with an air of finality, for "all the favors you have ever extended towards me." Despite these acts, no disciplinary action was taken, as church leaders worked to keep him in Mormonism. "Brigham Young pleaded with me to stay with the church as did others," Lawrence later disclosed. These interviews had lasted for "hours."[8]

"I was a sincere Mormon while I was one," Lawrence claimed years later. "I have heard men in the church admit they were there for policy. I did not belong to that class."[9] Slowly, however, Lawrence found that his views were changing. At first he had no plan to leave Mormonism, only to reform it; he wanted to make it more open and less restrictive. But as the events of 1869 unfolded, his attitudes hardened. By December, seven weeks after the Godbe-Harrison trial, neither Lawrence nor church authorities could ignore his growing opposition any longer.

The Eighth Ward court that was held to try his membership was poignant. Speaking to his incredulous friends and neighbors, Lawrence labored to explain his decision to abandon his faith. He had the best of feelings, he assured them, even toward church authorities; they had treated him kindly. He had tried to respond in a similar spirit, and without hypocrisy. As for the future, Lawrence expressed confidence: "God will control all things for the benefit of his Church, and he will do all things right," he said.

Lawrence's soft-spoken final words expressed his reflections on current issues, although it was recorded in the clerk's terse, abbreviated style. "We can honestly differ in some things in Mormonism," he began.

We must believe in progression but I know if a man advances things ahead he is considered to be opposing God. I do not believe in going along without asking any questions. I do not believe in being forced, but the principles must bear evidence upon their face.

I do not believe everything I am taught. God gives men light and intelligence for themselves, and I must be my own Judge as to what is right. I cannot support the present policy. I believe the President has been inspired a great many times but is not infallible. I support the view and sentiments of the Utah Magazine because I believe they are true and I must be my own Judge in the matter. I am just as anxious to do right as ever, but conscientiously believe there is a great change at our doors and I am willing to stake my all upon the issue.

The "Special Teachers' Meeting" found Lawrence, along with fellow merchant E. L. Butterfield, who was tried at the same time, guilty of "apostasy" and "unbelief." Their names were removed from church rolls.[10]

With the Eighth Ward hearing having reached its decision, the Godbeites now included Daniel Camomile, Eli B. Kelsey, Henry W. Lawrence, John S. Lindsay, John and Edward W. Tullidge, Frederick G. Perris, William H. Shearman, and Joseph Silver—and of course Godbe and Harrison. Other wavering Saints, like Fanny and Thomas Stenhouse, for the moment remained in the church. Those who did join the New Movement did not agree on all matters, and perhaps none—save Godbe and Harrison—were fully aware of the spiritualist content of the reform. This would be revealed only piecemeal as the movement progressed.

The vehicle for their advocacy, of course, remained the weekly columns of the *Utah Magazine.* The first issue to appear after the trial placed the New Movement on the highest conscientious grounds. It printed the "protest" that Harrison had read at the trial, as well as a detailed review of the Godbeite arguments that had been asserted there. Harrison's report of the trial emphasized three themes. First, the question of proper religious obedience: "Fifty thousand people acting in concert, building up excellent cities or doing any thing else well, but doing it mechanically, because they were told, was no sight to be admired." Harrison thought it would be far better for a dozen men and women, perhaps not so well organized, to do their work "intelligently."

Second, according to Harrison, Prosecutor Cannon had defined apostasy to include any opinion that was contrary to church policy. True, Young had vowed to protect freedom of belief and expression for anyone living in Utah, but not necessarily for church members wishing to stay in the church. For them, there were limits. "What freedom is this?" Harrison wrote disdainfully. If we disagree with President Young, "he will cut us off from the society of God and holy beings; separate us from all we hold dear in the Church, and wither up all our hopes of eternal life."

Harrison's final argument held the key to the forthcoming religious reformation. As at the trial, Harrison challenged the infallibility of President Young's teachings and consequently his authority. While duly appointed by God, Young, like all strong-minded men, was not necessarily inspired in all things, Harrison asserted. The personal and divine in such a person could easily be confused; and, worse, sometimes human concerns could prevent the Divine Spirit from touching the man and directing him. "God never did [n]or can work through any man further than that man's character and will may permit," Harrison wrote in one crucial passage: "On this account, all prophets or presidents must be fallible in their dictation, and to build upon them—even the greatest and the best, independent of the light of God within us—is to build upon the sand. Priesthoods and presidents are not given for man's infallible guides, they are merely aids or 'helps' for the cultivation of the greater and more absolute light within the soul. That light *is* infallible, because it travels beyond all earthly weaknesses, and drinks directly and immediately from the throne of God itself."[11] As with most religious revolutionaries, Harrison found ultimate authority (and personal justification) in exalting the "absolute light within the soul." Similarly, he placed at arm's length that other guide of religious knowledge, "authorized" church teaching.

For the next several months, the attacks of the *Utah Magazine* continued unabated, as the Godbeite authors explored the issues of religious authority and dissent. The Mormon experience probably had never seen anything quite like it. The article "The Limits of

Priesthood" renewed Harrison's argument that the Mormon priesthood, to be efficacious, required personal sanctity. Unless an administrator of an act or ordinance were holy, Harrison contended, his performance had "no more force or influence with heavenly beings than the whisperings of the wind." This "truth" protected members from "oppression and wrong"—a reference that had both general and specific application, including, in Harrison's mind, his recent disciplinary hearing.[12]

In fact, while the *Utah Magazine* avoided names and personal attacks, Young's presence hovered close to almost every editorial. "Where men cannot control by persuasion," proclaimed another slightly veiled passage, "they walk outside the limits of their Priesthood when they attempt to coerce by threats of excommunication." In reality, the priesthood was (or should be) "simply a great and grand institution for teaching and propagating truth"; it should never "*dictatorially* control." Jesus was its exemplar: "All harsh, authoritative dictatorial words were foreign to his nature," and in Him, "the true spirit of the Priesthood reigned." In contrast, ninety-nine of one hundred Tabernacle sermons spoke of "authority" and "doing as you are told."[13]

Harrison next approached the subject of obedience. Did President Young and church authorities have the right to seek unconditional loyalty from members? This was familiar ground for Harrison and his magazine, but it had never been so fully explored as now. He argued that the doctrine of "unconditional obedience" limited members' individuality as well as their mental attainments. "God could not govern on such a principle without killing the intellect, life, and energy of mankind," Harrison wrote. Men and women became automatons. Such a system might produce a great piece of social machinery, but there would be no soul to it. To support his point, Harrison cited what he believed was the "lifeless" and "monotonous" experience of life in Utah.[14]

LDS scriptures, Harrison admitted, seemed to grant great power to the office of president of the church. One of Joseph Smith's revelations spoke of the people of God receiving teachings from

earthly prophets "as if from mine own mouth."[15] But for Harrison, this was no license for a church leader to mingle divine truths with personal views and then demand that members accept both. To this objection, he believed that President Young was different from his predecessor: Smith had been a prophet and seer, while Young was simply a "president" who had received short-term legal authority to lead the Saints until a more spiritual man could be called. Harrison argued, "A man cannot be ordained a Prophet or Seer any more than he can be ordained to be six feet high, or to have red hair. The faculty of Seership and the Prophetic quality are matters of personal organization, and must—as in Joseph Smith's case—be born with the man."

Harrison was not the only *Utah Magazine* writer asking hard questions and providing unconventional answers. Godbe's essay titled "Divine Authority" tried to give the New Movement a legitimacy based on logic.[16] Godbe argued that divine authority in a broad sense rested on all men and women who wished to do good and improve humankind. Thus a Luther, a Wesley, or a "Father Hyacinthe" (the popular French priest Charles Loyson, recently excommunicated from Roman Catholicism for liberalism) found authority in a love of humanity and in "lofty inspirations" for "right," regardless of personal consequence. Would not God recognize the work of these reformers?

Godbe's essay, however, went beyond this speculation. Godbe was seeking to influence the Mormon mind and wanted to apply the question of "divine authority" to the present situation. Therefore, like Harrison before him, Godbe attacked President Young's claims of the infallibility of the LDS priesthood—that "the Prophet acting as Prophet" could not err. To illustrate his argument, Godbe turned to a much-quoted letter that Joseph Smith had written while confined in the Liberty, Missouri, jail. The letter said that the priesthood could be exercised only by "long-suffering, by gentleness and meekness, and by love unfeigned."[17] According to Godbe, this passage implied that when Mormon leaders failed to have these softening virtues (and it

was inevitable that they would sometimes lack them—they were human), their acts would not receive the sanction of God.

For Godbe, this was more than a theoretical possibility. He cited Old Testament figures whom God had called but who later stumbled: Eli, Samuel, Saul, and David. Given the possibility, even the probability, that men holding high priesthood office would err, what then? Correction could not come from outside the church. Nor would it come from the erring men themselves. Rather, Godbe argued that new men would rise from the membership to do the task—just as men commonly rose to defy and correct political "evils."

The Godbeite press was usually courtly, letting inference strike the blow, but Godbe's essay was direct. Despite "lofty considerations" and "fraternal ties," it was Godbe's "painful necessity" to charge the current LDS leadership (namely, Brigham Young) with "assuming—not wickedly, but ignorantly, to say the least—dictatorial control and exercising prerogatives that do not rightly belong to them." Fortunately, however, there was a solution. Godbe proclaimed that new leaders were in the process of being raised up, which promised the "dawning of a brighter day." Apparently modesty restrained Godbe from naming these men, although the reference was already obvious.

In contrast with Harrison and Godbe's philosophical essays, Edward Tullidge's writing took a characteristic historical or "sociological" view. The Godbeite "reform," wrote Tullidge, was an inevitable turning point in Mormon history, one that promised to help the Mormon cause by purifying and redirecting it. The movement was salutary, not disloyal. Such causes had been proclaimed by "patriots and reformers" in past ages—Reformation Protestants dissenting against Catholicism and American revolutionaries fighting the English crown.[18]

This view allowed some praise of President Young. Young was "one of the greatest rulers that the world ever saw"; he had been a "father" to his people, preserving them after the death of Smith when divisions seemed to threaten the church's future. Notwithstanding this service, Young's more recent policies were

bringing his "children" into "impossible social and religious conditions," which Tullidge called "unnatural and constrained" isolation.

Tullidge thought that Young's attempts to maintain Deseret as a distinct and semi-isolated entity were unwisely placing the Saints in the path of an irrepressibly expanding American nation. Young's acts were futile. "God has doomed the isolation of Utah to pass away," Tullidge wrote. "Were all the Priesthood in the world to resolve against it, the course of the United States would come up towards Utah, just as the course of the mighty ocean would be unbroken were we to resolve to turn it back."

Tullidge had a second argument. If resistance to American expansion was impossible, it was also unnecessary. Nothing in Mormonism required geographical or cultural segregation. In these matters, Tullidge believed that President Young needed the helpful ideas of the Godbeite reformers. "Thoughts which are firmly spoken in love, are more loyal than those which are conceded by the policy of adherents." In other words, the New Movement men were expressing to the Mormon prophet truths that his supposedly more loyal followers were unwilling to say.

Another of Tullidge's articles, "The Schism in Utah," again argued that Godbeitism was a helpful movement *within* Mormonism.[19] According to this argument, the reformers were working to restore balance to Mormon society. From its beginning, Mormonism had within its system two necessary but contesting opposites, Tullidge believed. One was "absolute" and "exclusive," embodied by President Young and his "theocratic absolutism." This conservative concentration of governing policy had been useful in preserving the people, as after Smith's assassination. But Young had continued to exercise this authority in Utah. In the process, he had created "the most clock-like piece of social machinery ever created in any part of the world." But Utah society was too efficient, Tullidge complained. It had been reduced to stiff authority and mechanical functioning. As a result, individualism, personal enterprise, and the rights of men and women had been diminished.

The other aspect of the Mormon personality was "liberal and universalian," as evidenced in the spiritual ministry of Joseph Smith and the legendary preaching of early British Mormonism, when "new thoughts, new ideas, new inspirations, were the very characteristics of the Mormon condition." Tullidge's blood stirred at the thought of this past era. "We were not *afraid* of contact with the world," he recalled. "Our Elders were veritable image-smashers in beating down the conservatisms of religions, and the consolidations of ages in institutional forms." Then, the Mormon missionary had been a revolutionary.

Tullidge believed that Godbeitism once more framed the issue between these two opposing tendencies: Would priestly absolutism triumph? Or would the "law of reaction" return church members to what Tullidge considered the "oldest" and "most universal" strain of their faith? Of course, his preference was clear. Tullidge predicted that the "hoops" that the Mormon leaders were trying to place around the Saints would soon burst, an inevitable result of Young's extreme policies. Then, "Joseph Smith will again come upper-most. . . . This is the solution of the whole Mormon problem. Cannot our friends abroad and our brethren at home understand, then, that this will be no schism?" The Godbeite movement would return Mormonism to its natural and pure state.

Shearman's pen was also active in the discussion; his various essays focused on what he believed was the confining spirit of the theocracy and a resulting loss of personal liberty. Under Young's leadership, Shearman argued that Utah's civil life was controlled as surely as if the land were under the "censorship of a military tribunal." Not that Young used physical violence to secure his will, or that the church leader was always aware of what went on in outlying areas. But the theocratic system itself brought repression, as the Saints felt that their salvation required them to be obedient. What might the future hold if a new leader proved not "so sagacious a man as President Young?"[20]

Obedience must be thoughtful and complex, not lockstep, Shearman wrote in another essay. He began with the premise that

not all of President Young's measures could be regarded as divine and worthy of "unthinking obedience." That possibility simply reflected Young's human tendency to err. Yet if men and women questioned a teaching, or objected to the doctrine of total submission itself, their neighbors subjected them to unkind suspicions: those who questioned policy lacked faith, it was believed, and "it was only a question of time" before they would leave the church.[21] Thus, according to Shearman, the questioner in Deseret indicted himself; the very process cast a pale on "thinking" men and women that left them alienated and frustrated.

The reformers had still other arguments—issues that they believed required correction. For instance, Eli Kelsey complained of the abuses in the church's missionary system.[22] Emily Teasdale, apparently the wife of future LDS apostle George Teasdale, wrote on "Liberty." John Tullidge, Edward's brother, wrote on improving the territory's music. Shearman penned several additional essays on furthering Utah's mineral development that faintly echoed the original "The True Development of the Territory," the editorial that had urged Utah's mineral development and had given the movement its clarion call.[23]

So it went. In one finely polished *Utah Magazine* essay after another, the self-proclaimed reformers called the Mormon leaders to task and laid the groundwork for their own coming movement. Those in the New Movement styled themselves as apostles of mid-nineteenth-century progress. They were rational, progressive, scientific, and modern. Putting forth their cause, more often than not they gave little hint of the virtues of their former faith—those things that had once attracted and held them so long within the church.

In a sense, all these articles were preliminary. They introduced and prepared the way for what was clearly the most important document published in the first several months of the controversy, the "Manifesto of W. S. Godbe and E. L. T. Harrison," published 27 November 1869. The two men called it "a plain statement" describing the reasons why they had left Mormonism. It was more. At last the men set aside their carefully phrased and often furtive

statements, designed to make themselves appear as loyal churchmen, for a public declaration calling for a new Mormonism.[24]

The manifesto began by rehearsing Godbe and Harrison's alienation from Mormonism. For the first time, the public learned that the dissent of Harrison and Godbe had not materialized in the last months of the mercantile controversy; it had deep roots of several years. The manifesto also told of the New York revelation, which was vaguely sketched in familiar Mormon religious terms. But the important news involved the future. The manifesto announced to Utahns and to the world that a "great and Divine Movement" was at hand. Mormonism was about to experience a second birth, which meant a rededication to the spiritual guidance of prophets, seers, and revelators, angels, and the workings of the Holy Spirit. No longer would Mormonism be diminished by one-man power or be encumbered by commerce and civil power. Thus freed, the religious movement would "move onward to her true destiny" to become, no less, "the Great Spiritual and Intellectual power of the earth."

The manifesto offered additional glimpses of what lay ahead. It promised a new church organization, with a new church name, the Church of Zion. How many current Mormon leaders would transfer their allegiance? The answer to that question depended on their willingness to seek and obey divine guidance. Nor was it understood who the future leader of the Church of Zion might be. This much could be revealed: the new leader would be neither Harrison nor Godbe; they were but forerunners, without the seeric gift. It was also known that the future leader must not monopolize spiritual power. "Light, Truth, Wisdom, and Revelation will, and should be, reflected by the whole body of the Church, as well as by its head."

The manifesto suggested that the new church would contain a blend of the old and new. On one hand, LDS ordinances and principles would be retained, and spiritual gifts in all their forms would be encouraged. But the priesthood (simply the means of "teaching and propagating truth") would be reformed to promote "the individuality of every man [and woman] to the utmost." It must never force. Godbe and Harrison also pledged that the Church of

Zion would reform the system of tithe paying. All future tithing was to be calculated on the basis of a person's annual accumulated gain, not one-tenth of total income, as was the usual Mormon practice. "The Church was not instituted as a machine for raising money," decried the manifesto.

The manifesto called for a more generous and universal faith. "Churches" and "denominations," Godbe and Harrison explained, were simply variations that providence provided to meet the "varied conditions of the different races and classes of mankind." Therefore, "all creeds . . . will be respected in Zion as fulfilling a great and a useful mission in God's hand." In this spirit, the term "Gentile" must pass away, as well as the artificial and hateful commercial distinctions on Main Street. In short, Young's trading embargo must end.

On social matters, Godbe and Harrison's manifesto had a modern liberal ring. Corruption and "wickedness" were not so much matters for rebuke as correction; sin had less to do with individual transgression than social injustice. Thus "ignorance," "false education," "unfortunate surroundings," and "tendencies . . . derived from parentage at birth" were responsible for most human misconduct. "Above all things," the manifesto declared the cause of women: "the Movement will strongly assert the necessity of the highest appreciation of woman, and of her highest development and culture, as the only basis of a high civilization." This aim held implications for Mormon plural marriage. Plurality, if authorized at all, must be practiced with "unity, delicacy and refinement." A "cold sense of religious duty" would not do, only "pure affection on all sides."

For the first time, Godbe and Harrison cautiously hinted of their acceptance of spiritualism. The phenomenon that had swept the United States and western Europe had validity, they acknowledged. It had brought "the realities of another life" to millions. Its problem lay with the diversity of the spirits. As with men and women of earthly mortality, most spirits knew nothing of the higher truths. These were reserved to the "Controlling Powers," or to those holding

the "Holy Priesthood" beyond the veil. The trick, then, was to establish communication with the "Controlling Powers," not with the spirit rank and file whose messages had little value.

These, then, were the major points of the Godbeite manifesto. Was the manifesto a full statement of Godbe and Harrison's thinking? Given the two reformers' past concealment of their ideas and program, the question was important. Were they at it once again? A single sentence in their three-and-a-half-page declaration suggested the possibility. "We will here say," the declaration read, "that the principles [here] enumerated are but the very simplest elements of a grand chain of truths which will widen illimitably as the movement progresses." Apparently the manifesto, bold as it was, was meant as another way station in the gradual unfolding of Godbeite thought. More would follow.

For the moment, this possibility was overlooked by most members of the Utah community, including the reforming friends of Godbe and Harrison. But no one could ignore the manifesto's ringing conclusion. "A Revolution is at our doors," it declared, "not one of bloodshed or strife; but a peaceful revolution of ideas." It would be an "intellectual battle," with "moderation" and "kindness" the battle cry, all done in the hope of a "more Heavenly Zion." The image of the *Peep O'Day,* so often employed by the New Movement, was again proclaimed: "As sure as to-morrow's sun will rise, the light will break, the truth will go forth in its majesty, and thousands of voices will soon echo our testimony."

Much to the disappointment of the Godbeite reformers, this challenge for an intellectual debate—letting the "truth prevail" in a public controversy—found very few takers among the orthodox. There was a reason. Wishing to give the New Movement writers neither the publicity nor the stature of equals in a public debate, President Young counseled church members "not to speak or write about . . . [the dissenters], [or] wish them evil."[25] Young wanted the dissenters to be left severely alone.

Church authorities put this policy in place the day after Godbe's and Harrison's excommunications. A public notice was published in

the *Deseret Evening News* that chronicled the recent events and denounced the *Utah Magazine* as harmful to God's work and unsuitable for reading. "Instead of building up Zion, and uniting the people," the official statement said, "its teachings, if carried out, would destroy Zion, divide the people asunder, and drive the Holy Priesthood from the earth." After having said so much, it was hoped that no further comment about the dissenters would be necessary. The letter was signed by all General Authorities then in the city.[26]

Still, as the *Utah Magazine* fired one fusillade after another, it was difficult to remain entirely silent. But instead of directly responding to the Godbeite arguments or mentioning William Godbe or Elias Harrison by name, the *Deseret Evening News* countered the threat by preaching theoretical but refuting principles.

One of the first of the newspaper's articles became a Mormon staple. George Q. Cannon, writing as editor of the *News,* asserted that during the trial neither he nor other church leaders had made the broad claims about church authority that some Godbeite writers were saying. Cannon's editorial defined church policy then—and since. "A friend . . . wished to know whether we had said that we considered an honest difference of opinion between a member of the church and the authorities of the church was apostasy," Cannon wrote.

We replied that we had not stated that an honest difference of opinion between a member of the church and the authorities constituted apostasy; for we could conceive of a man honestly differing in opinion from the authorities of the church and yet not be an apostate, but we could not conceive of a man publishing those differences of opinion, and seeking by arguments, sophistry and special pleading to enforce them upon the people to produce division and strife, and to place the acts and counsels of the authorities of the church, if possible, in a wrong light, and not be an apostate; for such conduct was apostasy as we understood the term. We further said that while a man might honestly differ in opinion from the authorities through a want of understanding, he had to be exceedingly careful how he acted in relation to such differences, or

the adversary would take advantage of him and he would soon become imbued with the spirit of apostasy, and be found fighting against God and the authority which He had placed here to govern His Church.[27]

Cannon's statement left many questions unanswered. Young did not sit on a formal throne like his papal counterpart and speak ex cathedra. How could church members separate the personal and divine voice in their president? Was the obedience that Cannon talked about still owing to church leaders when they unknowingly or unconsciously asserted their own views? On the other hand, for many believing Mormons, Cannon's definition of apostasy seemed roughly workable. It tested behavior. While proper conduct would always be a matter of degree and judgment, would a "real believer" establish an opposition press, receive conflicting "revelations," and seek to overturn priesthood authority? For most Mormons, especially as the full New Movement message was announced, Godbe and Harrison had clearly crossed the boundary of the acceptable.

Cannon's statement was the closest the *Deseret Evening News* came to debating the Godbeite claims. Instead, the newspaper usually resorted to general and often defamatory statements about apostates. Apostates tended to yield to "whoredom" and "adultery," charged the newspaper. Or they were fault-finders whose disloyalty destroyed faith. Some were slackers: "Out of all who have lost their fellowship and standing in the church from the beginning until the present, we never knew or heard of one, who lost it when in the full and active discharge of his duty."[28] Still others were dishonest: to prove its point, the newspaper cited the behavior of the dissenting Law brothers, William and Wilson, in Nauvoo. Apostates typically hid their true motives, complained Cannon, while at the same time they claimed to have superior virtue and wisdom. Another touchstone: apostates denied the leaders' right to dictate in "temporal affairs." "How curiously history repeats itself," Cannon summarized.[29]

During these months of public controversy, even the far-off *Millennial Star* had sober words for apostates. The apostate's path might have a few "Jack O'Lantern lights and meretricious

splendours," the periodical waxed, but generally it was a "dark and cheerless" journey, without God or hope.[30] Even Thomas Stenhouse's *Salt Lake Telegraph* resumed its LDS voice and defended the faith. "As for 'this tempest in a teapot of a schism,'" the newspaper mocked, "[A]esop drew its figure in a fable of a frog that tried to swell itself as big as an ox. It didn't succeed in doing it, but it did in bursting itself. Sensible folks here wonder what all the fuss is about."[31]

The *Telegraph* also printed a letter written by apostle Orson Hyde, who presided over the Sanpete County Saints, one hundred miles south of Salt Lake. Hyde either had not heard Young's counsel to ignore the dissenters or, more likely, he allowed his relish for verbal combat to get the better of him. "How oppressive and cruel was the Priesthood in heaven in casting out the 'Son of the Morning' and his adherents, by coercion, for the very slight offense of differing a little in opinion from the ruling powers in the country," Hyde mocked with heavy sarcasm. "Would it not have been far better for Lucifer to remain in heaven with all his difference of opinion, causing a very agreeable variety in the midst of the heavenly throng?" Hyde's allusion was drawn from a major Mormon teaching: for the crime of disobedience, God had cast Satan and his hosts from heaven prior to the peopling of the earth.[32] The parallel with Godbe and his followers probably missed no one's attention.

President Young may have had something to do with the *Telegraph* regaining its old role as a defender of the faith. Whatever his past difficulty with Stenhouse, Young apparently worked to keep Stenhouse in the church. According to William Clayton, a former church secretary who knew of the behind-the-scenes maneuvering in the city, Young made a "desperate effort" to rescue Stenhouse. But Clayton was not optimistic. The problem was Fanny. "When a man is led by a woman who is bitterly opposed to polygamy," Clayton wrote a correspondent, "I have no confidence in him."[33] For the moment, however, Stenhouse had enough rekindled faith to defend the church not only in his newspaper but to important "opinion-makers" during one of his trips east.[34]

Stenhouse wasn't the only Utahn in flux; President Young's policies left many church members feeling uneasy and dissatisfied, though their emotions are difficult to measure. Zion placed too high a premium on unity and loyalty for most Saints to express themselves openly. Yet a few responded with pro-Godbeite (often anonymous) letters that were published in the *Utah Magazine.* "Every thinking man has been waiting with calmness, and constantly watching for those very sentiments expressed in your magazine," said one correspondent. Another claimed to see the "finger of Providence" in what was taking place. And still another, describing himself as a former member of the British Mission's London Conference, saw the New Movement as the reawakening of heaven. He had long wondered if anyone was left to proclaim God's truth and challenge the "creature," apparently an unkind appellation for Young.[35]

No doubt these writers to the *Utah Magazine* had their silent, faceless counterparts throughout the territory. In southern Utah, the earnest disciple John D. Lee reported that "*many* were tincktured [*sic*] with the Godbee sc[h]ism." Upon learning of the Godbe-Harrison trial, Lee, who had served as subscription agent for the *Utah Magazine,* cut his ties with the publication and began a preaching tour in opposition. "The Heavens seemed opened to me while drawing the line between Truth & error," he wrote after one preaching foray. "The spirit of God accompanied My words & left a Marked impression on the assembly." These words were not simply self-glorification. Local church leaders found much to praise in Lee's work.[36]

There were other gauges of the movement's influence during its first months before the public. The pulpits of the various Schools of the Prophets were full of concern. In Provo City, President Abraham O. Smoot reminded the elders of Heber C. Kimball's alarming prophecy made just before his death. Kimball, always a voluble foreteller, had predicted a great imminent emergency. Were not recent events another evidence of Kimball's prophetic power? A week later, Bishop Aaron Johnson referred to the "many dead limbs in our midst" and spoke of the "sympathizing spirit" that some

church members felt for "those who have raised their heads and been cut off."[37]

Similar words were spoken in many of the Schools of the Prophets. At Parowan, a member spoke of the desire of "many" to break up Zion. Another speaker referred to the prevailing dissension and "the cause of it." In Payson, "Brother Kelsey," perhaps a relative of Eli Kelsey, noted "the spirit of apostasy," while Bishop Albert Thurber believed that "mining, Godbeitism, Congress and other things" were "drawing a line of demarcation" among church members. More extraordinary, the leaders of the Payson school readied their defenses. Apparently excited because of Godbeitism and pending anti-LDS congressional legislation, Stake President John Fairbanks asked each elder to secure a gun and forty rounds of ammunition. W. C. McClellan, a member of the same school, announced the organization of a military school to defend "homes and religion."[38]

The ranks were closing, if not militarily, then psychologically. Regrettably, part of the process involved demeaning the opposition. Thus Harrison became that "crazy[-]brained fellow." Another speaker said that Kelsey should have been cut off from the church seventeen years before for "violation of covenants." Controversies obviously encourage long memories. In yet another incident, a Payson settler referred to the past "vile actions" of Harrison and Tullidge, without explanation or proof. This statement encouraged a member of the Payson school to remember another of Kimball's supposed prophecies—that Godbe would someday lose his fortune and have not "raiment to protect his body." In Provo, when a former British missionary colleague of Harrison and Kelsey mentioned the good the two once had accomplished, another speaker would have none of it and rose in opposition. "If these men have done good in their day, they have now done enough to the contrary [to] let them go." For some at least, Godbe and Harrison were beyond the pale.[39]

These various men speaking in their local Schools of the Prophets were embattled disciples defending their cherished kingdom, and, as so often happens in a conflict, they and others minimized and depersonalized the enemy. As a result, some church leaders

preached the doctrine that there was a value to having some leave the church. President Young believed that the New Movement was a "purifier" for the church, eliminating a "few of the discontented." Utah County's stake president Smoot called the process "drawing off . . . scum," and claimed only to fear that not enough would be drained away. Bishop Thurber in Payson was pleased that the Godbe-Harrison group were at last showing their true colors; these dissenters were drawing a helpful division between the faithful and unfaithful. And speaking before the Salt Lake branch of the School of Prophets, philosophical George Cannon also looked for the silver lining. While regretting that men who were "loved and esteemed" were turning from the church, he thought much good would result from having the question of the priesthood's authority settled and each man and woman finally declaring his or her allegiance.[40]

So concluded the year 1869 in Deseret. It had been a difficult time. First the railroad had come and gentile society had washed closer to the shores of Deseret; next President Young's cooperative plans and his intensified boycott had stirred emotion; and then Godbe and Harrison declared their rebellion and defended their beliefs at their excommunication trial.

Finally, there had been the last several months of turmoil. Talented men in the kingdom had formally severed their relations with the church and begun a lively discussion of issues. These questions had hard implications, many of which were unsolved at the time. How realistic was Young's idea of a distinct and different society in the Great Basin? What were the "rights" of church members in their authority-minded kingdom? Were there proper limits to the ecclesiastical power of the LDS priesthood? What was the role of other churches and religions in God's unfolding plan? And Mormonism's role?

These were questions of "intellectuals," which in practical Utah could be largely ignored as unwelcome froth and chatter. Thus the public Mormon response, with the exception of Young's rebuttal at the church trial, was either to ignore the dissent or put it down as disreputable. Young's personal letters, pungent as always, were

characteristic. But they also carried a hint of resignation and melancholy. "It is the old story," Young wrote to his son and namesake, Brigham Jr., in the East. "The cares of the world have choked the good seed & the devil has taken the advantage." In Young's view, the New Movement was "a babble clique," whose message was "every man for himself & the devil for all." Young also reported his understanding that the dissenters planned to form a "bogus" church. "It makes it rather awkward for them that I cracked the shell before the chick was ready to hatch out," he said, referring to his speedy arraignment of the dissenters before the School of Prophets. "What kind of life the thing will have, if any, will soon be made manifest."[41]

That was precisely the overriding question as the year turned. Would the Godbeite "bogus" church, representing a new kind of society for Utah ("every man for himself & the devil for all"), present a credible challenge to the established kingdom? This question was on more than one mind as 1870 began.

Notes

^1. WSGodbe to BY, 9 Nov. 1869, BY Incoming Corr., LDS Archives.

^2. Tullidge, *TQMag* 1 (Oct. 1880): 78.

^3. Ibid.

^4. William H. Shearman to BY, 6 Nov. 1869, BY Incoming Corr., LDS Archives; Shearman to George Goddard, JH, 13 Nov. 1869.

^5. *UMag* 3 (13 Nov. 1869): 443. The verses continue to be sung by LDS congregations; see "Know This, That Every Soul Is Free," no. 240, *Hymns of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.*

^6. Lindsay to BY, 7 Jan. 1870, BY Incoming Corr., LDS Archives.

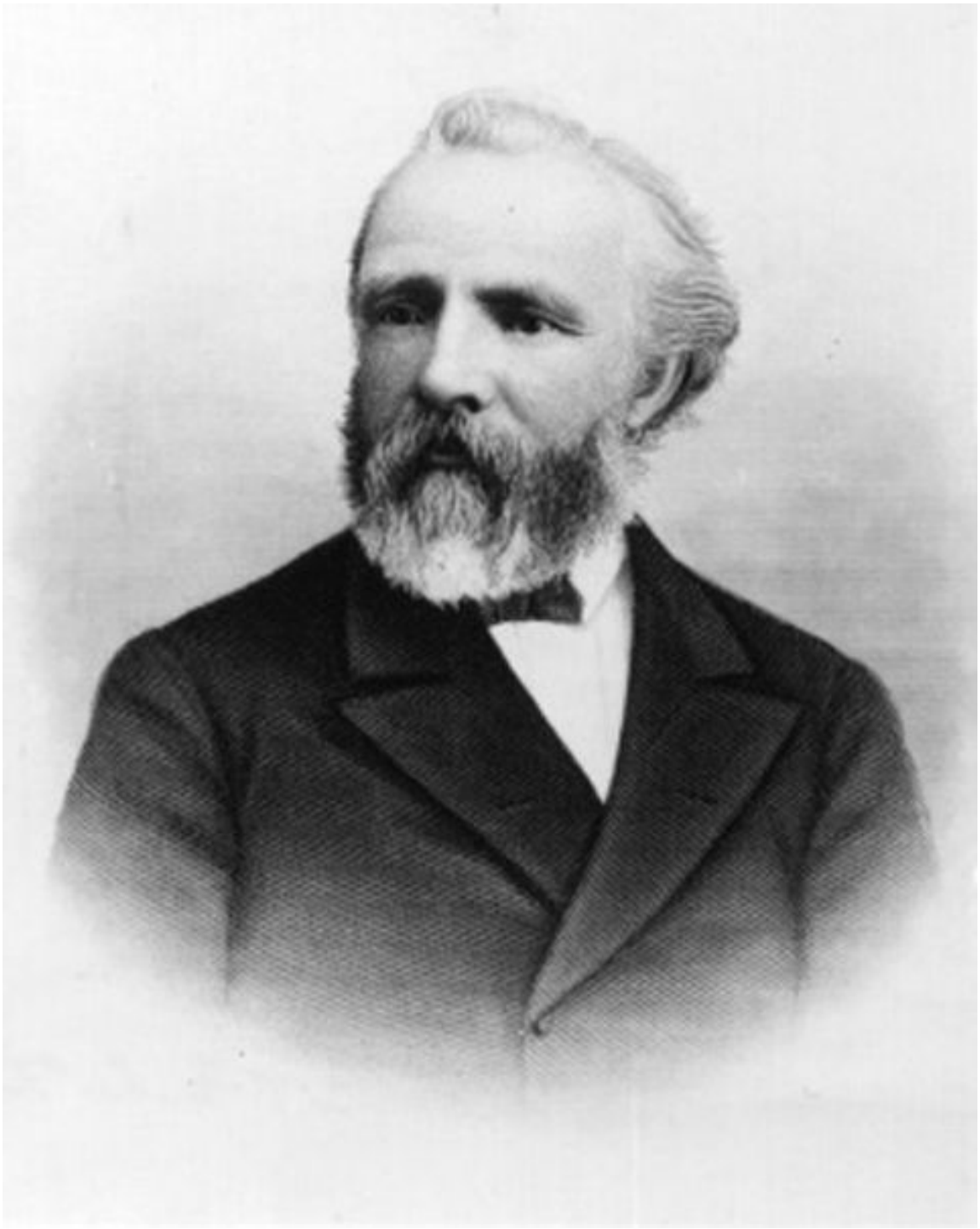
^7. Eighth Ward Historical Record, Book B, 5 Feb. 1868; BY to Albert Carrington, 21 Oct. 1868, BY Letterbooks; and "Documentary History of the Church," 29 Apr. 1869, 344, all in LDS Archives.

^8. Henry Lawrence statement, *SLTrib,* 22 Nov. 1889, p. 4; Tullidge, "Reformation in Utah," p. 606; JH, 30 Oct. 1869.

^9. *SLTrib,* 25 Nov. 1920, p. 24.
^10. Minutes of "Special Teachers' Meeting," 13 Dec. 1869, Eighth Ward Historical Record, Book B, 1856–75, pp. 180–82, LDS Archives.
^11. Harrison, *UMag* 3 (30 Oct. 1869): 406–8.
^12. Harrison, ibid., (25 Sept. 1869): 422–23.
^13. Ibid.
^14. Harrison, ibid., (13 Nov. 1869): 436–39.
^15. Doctrine and Covenants 21:5. See also Moses 1:25, 41.
^16. Godbe, *UMag* 3 (20 Nov. 1869): 452–53. Unless otherwise cited, Godbe's following statements on church authority come from this source.
^17. Doctrine and Covenants 121:41.
^18. Tullidge, *UMag* 3 (6 Nov. 1869): 424–26. The author returned to the theme of integrating Mormonism into the American mainstream in ibid., (20 Nov. 1869): 454–55.
^19. Tullidge, ibid., (13 Nov. 1869): 440–42.
^20. Shearman, ibid., (18 Dec. 1869): 523–25.
^21. Shearman, ibid., (25 Dec. 1869): 534–35.
^22. Kelsey, ibid., (13 Nov. 1869): 442–43.
^23. Teasdale, ibid., 3 (30 Oct. 1869): 412; J. Tullidge, ibid., (30 Oct. 1869): 427, and (20 Nov. 1869): 458–59; Shearman, ibid., (13 Nov. 1869): 435, and (11 Dec. 1869): 506–8.
^24. For citations, here and below, see ibid., (27 Nov. 1869): 470–73.
^25. Minutes of the SL School of the Prophets, 23 Apr. 1870, LDS Archives.
^26. *DEN,* 26 Oct. 1869, p. 2.
^27. Cannon, ibid., 1 Nov. 1869, p. 2.
^28. Ibid., 27 Oct. 1869, p. 2.
^29. Ibid., 8 and 27 Dec. 1869, respectively pp. 2 and 2.
^30. *MStar* 31 (10 Nov. 1869): 738–39. Also see ibid., (17 Nov. 1869): 755.
^31. *SLTel,* 5 Nov. 1869, p. 2.

^32. Orson Hyde letter, 28 Nov. 1869, in ibid., 2 Dec. 1869, p. 2.
^33. William Clayton to "Brother Jesse," 28 Nov. 1869, Clayton Letterpress Books, University of California at Berkeley, Bancroft Library.
^34. *SLTel,* 2, 3, and 22 Dec. 1869, respectively pp. 2, 2, and 2.
^35. *UMag* 3 (20 and 27 Nov. 1869; 18 and 25 Dec. 1869): 463, 477–78, 525, 540.
^36. Lee, *Mormon Chronicle,* 2:127, 132–33.
^37. Minutes of the Provo School of the Prophets, 9 and 16 Nov. 1869, LDS Archives.
^38. Minutes of the Parowan School of the Prophets, 27 Nov. 1869, 11 and 18 Dec. 1869, pp. 49–51; minutes of the Payson School of the Prophets, 6 Nov. 1869, 15 Jan., and 23 Apr. 1870, pp. 46, 52–53, 66–67, LDS Archives.
^39. Minutes of the Provo School of the Prophets, "Early Provo Records," n.d., microfilm, BYU; minutes of the Payson School of the Prophets, 13 Nov. 1869; minutes of the Provo School of the Prophets, 2 Nov. 1869 and 16 Nov. 1869, pp. 272, 279, both in LDS Archives.
^40. Smoot: minutes of the Provo School of the Prophets, 9 Nov. 1869; Thurber: minutes of the Payson School of the Prophets, 27 Nov. 1869; and Cannon: minutes of the SL School of the Prophets, 22 Jan. 1870. Also see minutes of the American Fork School of the Prophets, 6 Dec. 1869, all in LDS Archives.
^41. BY to BY, Jr., 29 Nov. 1869, BY Letterbooks, LDS Archives.

William S. Godbe, merchant, mining entrepreneur, and leading LDS dissenter. Courtesy of the Utah State Historical Society.



Elias Lacy Thomas Harrison, essayist, social radical, founding father of the Godbeite dissent. Courtesy of the Utah State Historical Society.

Eli B. Kelsey, Seventy lecturer, Godbeite dissenter. Courtesy of the Utah State Historical Society.

Fanny Warn Stenhouse, anti-Mormon crusader, author of "Tell It All." Courtesy of the Utah State Historical Society.

Edward W. Tulidge, poet, essayist, playwright, and historian. Courtesy of the Utah State Historical Society.

Thomas Brown Holmes Stenhouse, editor of the Salt Lake Telegraph and author of Rocky Mountain Saints. Courtesy of the Utah State Historical Society.

William S. Godbe residence, Salt Lake City, built with profits from Godbe's early mining successes. Courtesy of Special Collections, University of Utah Library.

Salt Lake City Hall, site of the heresy trial of Godbe and Harrison. Courtesy of the LDS Historical Department, Archives Division.

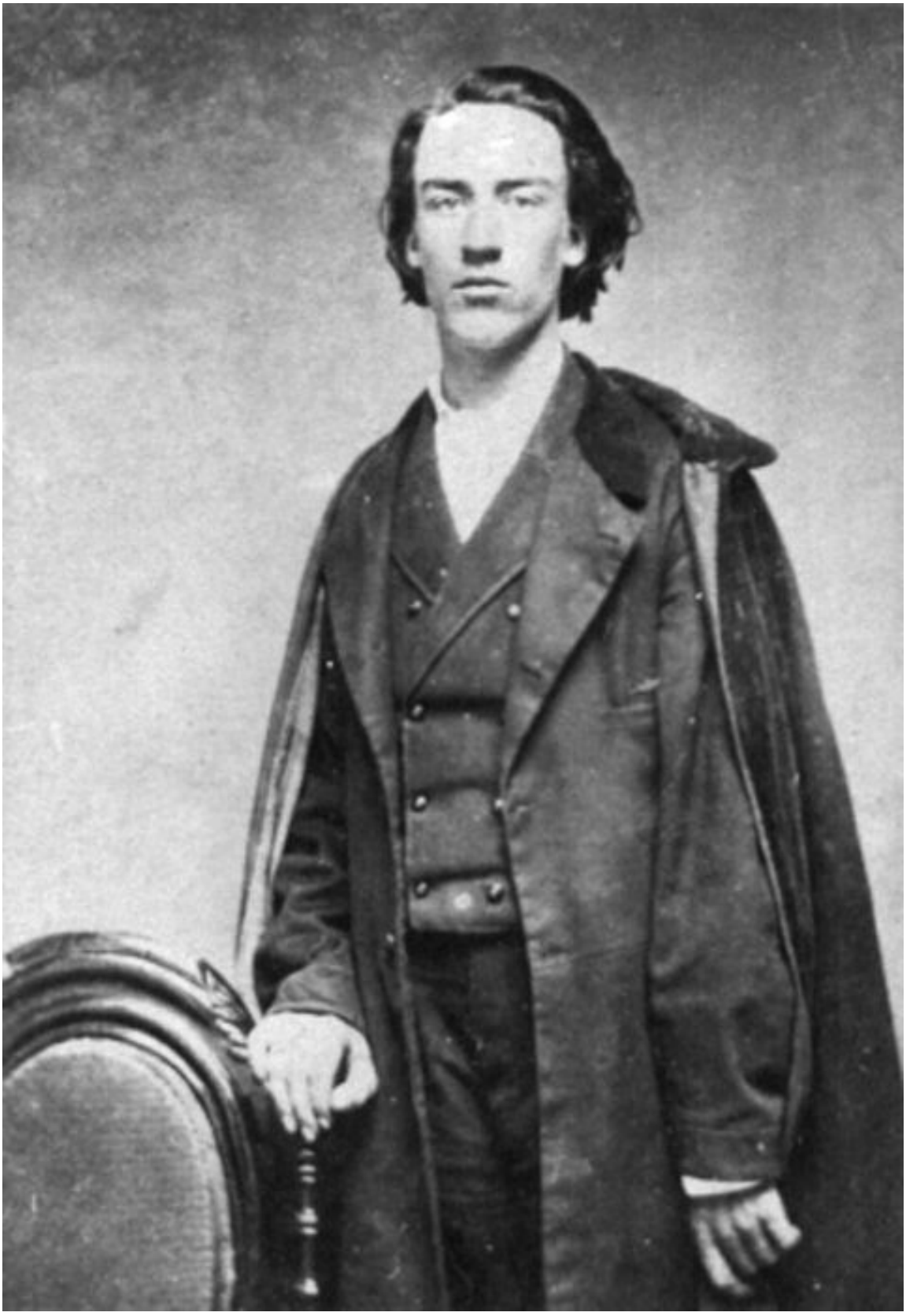
Liberal Institute and Godbe's Octagon House, Salt Lake City. Courtesy of the LDS Historical Department, Archives Division.

Charles Foster, spiritualist medium extraordinaire. Photograph from George C. Bartlett, The Salem Seer: Reminiscences of Charles H. Foster (New York: Lowell, Gestefeld, 1891).

Henry W. Lawrence, merchant, Utah political radical, and Salt Lake City commissioner. Courtesy of the Utah State Historical Society.

Amasa Mason Lyman, president of the Church of Zion, former Mormon Apostle, indefatigable spiritualist. Courtesy of the LDS Historical Department, Archives Division.

Charlotte Cobb Godbe Kirby, Salt Lake City belle, Godbe's fourth wife, and women's rights evangel. Courtesy of the Utah State Historical Society.



David H. Smith, son of the prophet Joseph Smith, RLDS missionary to Utah. Courtesy of the LDS Historical Department, Archives Division.

Edwin W. Woolley, bishop of the Thirteenth Ward, church defender. Courtesy of the LDS Historical Department, Archives Division.

Brigham Young, LDS president, Godbe's mentor and prosecutor. Courtesy of the LDS Historical Department, Archives Division.

Chapter 11

Church of Zion

The Thirteenth Ward assembly rooms were the finest any Mormon congregation could offer. Planned since 1854, the ten-thousand-dollar building was dedicated on New Year's Day, 1861. Its exterior was a chaste Greek Revival rectangle, sixty by thirty-five feet. Over the entrance, the transom displayed a transparency of the all-seeing eye. Nineteenth-century Mormons were fond of the motif, which reminded them of God's closeness and watchful care. The interior of the assembly hall was by all accounts one of early Mormondom's most richly appointed. Its pulpit and windows were draped in crimson. Two bronze chandeliers hung from the ceiling, and a "very fine" stucco cornice framed the interior. Moreover, Bishop Edwin Woolley and his building committee aimed to convey values: Over the chapel's ten large windows were hand-painted mottos. The front and south windows displayed "Virtue" and "Temperance." The east windows carried "Faith," "Hope," "Charity," and "Truth." Facing them on the west were "Justice," "Mercy," "Knowledge," and "Wisdom."[1]

On Sunday, 19 December, the assembled crowd needed these virtues. They had to evaluate the Church of Zion's claims at its inaugural meeting. Long before the appointed hour of 11:00 a.m., people filled the chapel. Many, unable to gain admittance, left disappointed. This was a dramatic moment for Deseret, where public controversies were rare and a direct challenge to President Young was rarer still.

On the raised platform to the north, where the speakers usually sat, the assembly hall had seats for seven or eight. These were occupied by Godbe, Harrison, Kelsey, Lawrence, Shearman, Tullidge—and Bishop Woolley. Woolley's presence was arranged by President Young. Several days before, Godbe had demanded the use of the chapel. When built, it had been funded with twenty-five dollar shares of stock, and Godbe had generously purchased at least 120 units—or three thousand dollars worth. "Tell Brother Brigham we have no desire to be unkind, and hope he will grant our reasonable request,"

Godbe and Lawrence told Woolley when making the request, "but we are resolved that if he refuses [to allow the use of the building] we will shut up the Thirteenth Ward assembly-rooms by a process of law."[2]

Young had reportedly not received the ultimatum kindly, but he nevertheless came to agree to Godbe's request. Likely Young was unmoved by Godbe and Lawrence's threat of legal action. While Godbe owned the largest block of the chapel's stock, he did not own a controlling interest, and it is difficult to see how the law might have been used to close the building. Rather, Young's willingness seemed motivated by his hope to manage public opinion. Public interest in the New Movement was running high, and withstanding this tide was probably impossible and certainly self- defeating. Young therefore advised all church members "to go and hear" and, in another expression of confidence, he allowed the Godbeites the use of the meetinghouse.[3] There were, however, several provisions. Woolley—the man whom Godbe served as a counselor a few brief months before—should be allowed to sit on the stand and represent the church's control of the building. Further, if deemed appropriate, Woolley should have the right to reply at a later meeting. Godbe agreed, but with his own stipulation that Woolley would in no way impede the Godbeite service.[4]

Prior to this meeting, the Godbeite inner circle had met privately in the Salt Lake City home of Shearman. At this private conference, Harrison had read several of the New York City revelations and explained them. The group had then formally enrolled themselves in the new Church of Zion. No Christian ordinance was apparently necessary—no baptism, no Eucharist, no confirmation of the Holy Ghost. Fanny Stenhouse, still more eager than her husband in accepting the new program, was the first woman to subscribe. She was followed by Elizabeth Tullidge, mother of Edward and John.[5]

The Godbeites generally had fine taste and knew how to organize an effective service. The public inaugural session began with the symbolic first song in the LDS hymnal. Its verse, written by apostle

Parley P. Pratt, had appeared in the first volume of the *Millennial Star:*

> The morning breaks, the shadows flee; Lo! Zion's standard is unfurled! The dawning of a brighter day, Majestic rises on the world.

The accomplished Orson Pratt Jr., nephew of the author of the verse and son of another apostle Pratt, played the harmonium. Orson Jr.'s lapse from Mormonism was not recent. His mother had been feuding with church authorities since Nauvoo days, and Orson Jr., perhaps influenced by her, had announced his disbelief in Mormonism six years earlier.[6]

Godbe was the first speaker. Before a hushed assembly, he rehearsed his life. From boyhood, he told the congregation, he had lived in the hope of a blameless life and had worked to elevate humanity. He had joined Mormonism because he believed its tenets were true. And as a young convert he had been dutiful. He had willingly complied with every request of church leaders. But then Mormonism had begun to change. Godbe charged that the system had slowly turned to "materialism," "selfishness," and "despotism," with President Young ignoring the true sentiments of the people. Godbe had talked with many Utahns and was sure that this judgment was shared by others.

Mormonism's change left him struggling to know what he should do. For days, months, and even years, he had intently sought guidance. Then, at last, he received an answer. "Angelic beings" told him that his aspirations were divine and that "reason, enlightened and purified by the Holy Spirit, with an honest heart, was a law of God, and the only thing that could be depended on." These words of course were a heavily censored account of Godbe's New York City epiphany. During this religious experience, Godbe continued, he and Harrison had received much more than they had hoped for, but the episode had left them with a serious duty. The two men had been given the mission of carrying to the world "the most advanced and wonderful ideas on various subjects that had hitherto been known."

Although Godbe insisted that he detested notoriety, he could not resist the "all-powerful impulse" that now compelled him: "The gates of glory stood ajar and the heavenly hosts were smiling on and awaiting the unfolding of the system."[7]

Tears welled in more than one person's eyes when Godbe took his seat.

Harrison, the second witness, spoke next. He confirmed his friend's testimony in his more fluent and assertive style. As with Godbe, Harrison told of his past experiences in Mormonism, of his conversion and later struggles. He also reviewed the arguments of the recently issued manifesto and more fully explained the declaration. In addition, for the first time, he publicly mentioned the revelations from Heber Kimball, Joseph Smith, Peter, James, and John, and Jesus—but without giving their New York City provenance. Avoiding all mention of spiritualism, Harrison said that he and Godbe had had revealed to them "not only a grand system of theology, which will be developed in due course, but all the great principles connected with the past and future history of the globe from the beginning to the time when it shall become celestialized." To all this he bore personal testimony that Jesus had come to him and that he had felt "the melting influence of His Spirit." Concluding, Harrison promised that deliverance from "Brighamism" was near. Even now "the sound of chariot wheels of freedom" could be "heard in the distance." Truth was on the way, its grandeur felt.

That evening the Church of Zion leaders assembled again, this time in the city's Masonic Hall in the upper story of Lawrence's store. Once more the crowd was large; one-third of those who tried to gain admittance were turned away. During this evening meeting, Godbe and Harrison again rehearsed their accounts, after which Kelsey and Lawrence spoke. The latter was especially outspoken. Bidding for the support of the non-Mormons, Lawrence vowed that reform would be carried out with such a will that neither Young nor his apostles would be able to suppress it.[8]

Those who attended these first New Movement meetings reported a spirit similar to that of a religious revival. It was as though a new

freedom had entered Utah and the theocracy had already been defeated. Members of the audience, no longer fearful of "being reported" and therefore indifferent to "consequences," openly punctuated the speakers' key points with "that's true" or an "amen." Every "good point" brought hearty applause. According to New Movement partisans, Utah had never seen anything like it.[9]

During the next several weeks the pattern continued. Before enthusiastic and standing-room-only crowds, many people coming from outlying settlements, the Church of Zion continued its Sunday routine of morning meetings at the Thirteenth Ward assembly hall, followed by evening services in the Masonic Hall. So large were the congregations that for a while it was rumored that the dissenters hoped to secure the Mormon Tabernacle (supposedly abetted by sympathetic federal authorities).[10] Instead, the Walker brothers, seeing an opportunity in their ongoing struggle against church leadership, offered the Movement their old store, which was renovated into a large meeting hall complete with galleries.[11] The Thirteenth Ward meetinghouse, not to mention the Tabernacle, was then left to the orthodox.

Mormon authorities soon began to reconsider their policy of "salutary neglect." There was too much excitement and obvious interest in the community to ignore the dissent any longer. Elder Orson Pratt signaled the shift. An hour or two after Harrison and Godbe had concluded the first meeting of the Church of Zion in the Thirteenth Ward, Pratt addressed the Saints in the main worship service of the Sabbath, their communitywide afternoon service on Temple Square. Pratt reported that as they were coming to the meeting, President Young had given him his text: "Every spirit that confesses that Jesus is the Christ is of God, and every spirit that does not confess is not of God." Pratt understood what his leader wanted.[12]

During his address, Pratt summarized the contest between good and evil spirits, from the early struggle of God and Lucifer through biblical history to more recent encounters. Spiritualism had been the last. Satan, unable to stop the unfolding restoration of the gospel,

had resolved to duplicate its spiritual power. But according to Pratt, instead of the effulgent messengers sent to Joseph Smith, bearing God's majesty and priesthood, the new manifestations came by spirit rappings, planchettes, table "dancing," and "automatic writing," when spirits purportedly took possession of mediums to dictate their false messages.

Pratt disclosed that he had met privately with both Godbe and Harrison to deflect them from their "foolish" course. First Pratt had called on Godbe, but the merchant had not been home. Fortunately, Harrison was there, and he and Pratt spoke for an hour or two. Later Godbe invited Pratt to another private interview. During these two meetings, Harrison and Godbe had plied Pratt with some of the details of their New York religious experience, no doubt hoping to convert the estimable apostle. They had even shared part of their revelations and instructions, mentioning the ministry of both Heber C. Kimball and Joseph Smith. But Godbe refused to show Pratt all the material that had been received.[13]

"Probably I was not strong enough in the faith to see it," Pratt quipped. As it turned out, the apostle proved to be poor material for the movement. He politely told the dissenters that he regarded their manifestations to be yet another delusion, and then he departed. But Pratt left these interviews not doubting the earnestness of the men. They have "joy in their works," Pratt told his audience. But sincerity would not save them. Pratt predicted that after "the mediums" had worked their will on them, the two would drift into infidelity and find no "truth in anything." It was, said Pratt, the same old story told by the Book of Mormon: by and by, the end will come, and they will be "hewn down and cast into the fire."[14]

The Mormon counteroffensive continued a week later in the Thirteenth Ward assembly hall. After the New Movement had used the building in the morning, Bishop Woolley announced that he and Elder Pratt would answer the Godbeite arguments that evening. It was a commentary on President Young's leadership that Woolley and Pratt, two men who had at times opposed Young, would represent the church. These were talented men respected for their

independence and integrity; Young understood their abilities and did not hesitate to put them to work now.

Pratt rehearsed many of the details of his sermon of the previous week, emphasizing for the local Thirteenth Ward audience the delusion of the spirits. The other address was more homespun and practical. Woolley's method was point-by-point refutation, as if checking off the items on one of his customers' shopping lists.[15] Woolley began by noting the New Movement's outward appeal. This new ship of Zion, with "all sails unfurled was so beautiful to look upon." Yet for his part, he thought it safer to continue with the old, weathered, trusty ship, Brother Brigham's model, which had survived so many past storms. This old model remained "staunch and sound." True, Harrison and Godbe bore a strong, burning witness to their new revelation; this very reason made Woolley distrust them. Past experience had shown him that those who were most fervent in their faith sometimes did not endure. He preferred men to have less outward faith if it would "last a longer time."

As with most Mormon leaders, Woolley believed that the responsibility for the schism was Harrison's, and he directed most of his remarks at him. For several years, the British-born intellectual had been a member of his ward, and Woolley recalled once asking Harrison to preach. He had responded with a sermon that scorned the temporal kingdom as "low and grovelling." Woolley remembered that Harrison had "preached himself so far from earth, from everything tangible and within the scope of our minds, that he had never yet come back"—he had been like the Irishman's horse that traveled so far in a single day that it required two to return. Woolley also pointed out what other, more articulate LDS spokesmen had failed to enter into the public record. Harrison's public statements, while quick to praise Joseph Smith and his mission, never acknowledged that Smith—not Young—had first set up the temporal kingdom. Young's ministry, Woolley argued, was nothing more than a continuation.

Woolley had many other items on his list, and each received attention. One was prescient. After listening to one of Harrison's

talks, Woolley's ear had detected an irreverence about established doctrine. Was Harrison changing his ideas about old Mormon teachings? Was the "cloven foot" already sticking out, Woolley asked. The nuance was enough for Woolley to predict that if Godbe and Harrison were not currently involved in spiritualism and "idolatry," they soon would be.

Because of his relationship with President Young, Woolley's closing statements were especially effective. Woolley too had visions and revelations, the bishop told his congregation, but his spiritual experiences never contradicted the teachings of God's prophets. Nor had his revelations suggested that President Young had fallen or had failed in carrying out the mission given to him by Smith. This knowledge alone was enough to allow Woolley to see ahead and predict "the end of this new movement."[16] He would stay aboard "old ship Zion."

Woolley's blunt comments failed to offend either Harrison or Godbe, both of whom expressed their continuing affection for the man ("He is my Bishop," said Harrison, "and I consider him the best Bishop in the Territory"). Perhaps the mildness of their reaction was due to Woolley's established reputation for eccentricity. People in the territory enjoyed and expected the bishop's outspokenness. But there may have been another reason, too. Harrison and Godbe may have felt that the bishop did not oppose them as strongly as it seemed. Harrison gave one indication: after his earlier Thirteenth Ward sermon about Zion's "low and grovelling" temporalities—the one that Woolley had criticized in his speech—Harrison claimed that Woolley's private remarks were much different. At the time of Harrison's speech, Woolley had reportedly told Harrison that his remarks were "correct enough," but "five years ahead of the people."[17]

The work of Elder Pratt and Bishop Woolley notwithstanding, the New Movement continued to gain momentum. By the end of December, the *New York Herald* was reporting that Godbeitism was "universally acknowledged" in Salt Lake City to be the "most serious schism" since the inception of Mormonism. Just months before, Salt

Lake City streets had been filled with talk of the claims and pretensions of the sons of Smith, especially "Young Joseph," under whose standard some talked of "reorganizing" Mormonism. For the moment, however, the New Movement had overwhelmed this predecessor. Godbeitism even prompted wild rumors. Some said that the whirlwind might lead to the assassination of President Young.[18]

Much of this talk was exaggerated, yet attendance at the Church of Zion meetings continued to grow. One meeting attracted seven hundred people—or almost one of every twenty citizens then living in the capital city. Another sign: newspaper reports at year's end told of "apostles, elders, bishops, and teachers" dispatched to talk privately with members and dissuade them from following this "new device of Satan."[19] On Christmas Day, even mild-mannered apostle Wilford Woodruff assumed the pulpit to denounce "apostasy."[20]

Others chose to defend the kingdom in a more spirited manner. In the first week of January, the dark-bearded, thickset Porter Rockwell, who some believed was "Brigham's Danite enforcer," entered a Godbeite Wednesday evening "fellowship" meeting and asked to speak. However, his manner and language proved so provocative that catcalls went through the chamber to "put him out."

Here was a chance, under provocation, to show an example of tolerance, and the New Movement leaders patiently asked that Rockwell be allowed to continue—which he did at some length. But when Rockwell, perhaps encouraged by too much intoxicating drink, told the audience that he had "just begun," the word amen began to roll from every part of the house and continued until the speaker was forced to his seat. Rockwell tried several more times to occupy the podium but was "kindly prevented."[21]

With Young and other church leaders signaling the need for greater public discussion of the schism, Elder Orson Hyde also entered a Church of Zion meeting and requested to speak. For some time, Hyde had been pungently attacking the New Movement up and down the territory, and Godbeite leaders, using a restrained adjective, regarded his sermons as "ungentlemanly." Given permission to speak, Hyde began his remarks by saying that he

understood the New Movement preached the universal truth of all religion. That, however, was not how Hyde read scripture. As Jesus himself had said of his rival religionists, "Ye are of your father, the devil, for his works ye do."[22]

Hyde must have understood that his pointed intimation would bring a strong reaction from his audience. When the uproar subsided, he continued coolly: "I do not apply this to the New Movement, but . . . I do not believe all are of God."

For a moment it appeared that Hyde's remarks were nothing more than good-natured thrust and parry. But Hyde's conclusion made clear his strong feeling: "I want to say one thing [more] to you," the apostle said, "that you will see the time when you will take back and lick up everything you have said against the Anointed of God." With that he left the auditorium under the din of a new pandemonium.[23]

After the initial meetings of the Church of Zion, the teaching of the new society gradually gained a sharper focus. For example, at its second Sunday meeting, Harrison explained the meaning of the church's name. Harrison reported that the new church, unlike the "old Zion," did not intend to build the temporal city—"to till the soil, fence lands, attend to tithing and accumulate property and be a big Church with a big pocket to buy the world." Rather, the Church of Zion was a glimpse of the progressive chain of life that reached from mortality into the afterlife. Countless millions of intelligences were moving through various progressive stages of learning and development, Harrison told his listeners, as they sought the "highest sphere" of celestial life. This he defined as full spiritual and intellectual refinement. Those on this path of progress, mortal and immortal, were members of the Church of Zion.

Godbe and Harrison both pled guilty to the Mormon complaint that the reformers had abandoned the church's claim to exclusive truth and power to redeem humankind. "We are not only *tending* towards universalism," Godbe said, "but are there already. We do not think that we should apologize for this, but rejoice in it."[24] Taking his turn, Harrison was even more emphatic: for the first time, men were

realizing that the "God of the Turk was the God of the European" and that the "God of the pagan was the God of the Christian."[25]

The two leaders also slowly inched their way toward a more honest recognition of their spiritualism. By January 1870, Harrison admitted that the New Movement was a "species of spiritualism"—Godbe called it a "phase" of the greater movement. But both men continued to insist that their phenomenon was a higher variety than most spiritualism; it was not the display of spirit phenomena for the sake of phenomena, but "heavenly inspiration" from more highly developed and refined spirit personages charged with the assignment of explaining the "science of life."[26]

With this new frankness came another hint of the Godbeite aspiration. The single feature of traditional Mormonism that the Godbeites most admired was its masterful organization—despite their repeated complaints about its supposed coercion. In contrast, the Utah dissenters understood that spiritualism had previously floundered in both Great Britain and the United States because it lacked an anchor; nothing in the movement gave it stability. The obvious solution was to graft spiritualistic principles—especially the higher truth taught to them in New York City—to the roots of Mormon organization. Then, Harrison prophesied, a "nation would be born in a day."

Godbe and Harrison believed that this promised revolution of Mormonism and spiritualism would bring spiritual power. The Utah (mortal) branch of the Church of Zion, Harrison promised, would see "the greatest miracles," "the greatest spiritual gifts," and "the greatest outpouring of the Holy Spirit" yet manifest. As a result, Utah would send an "electric spark of truth" to the world.[27] Perhaps as a harbinger, Harrison and Godbe published in January the text of several of their revelations.[28]

The two reformers also gave their new church a tentative constitution, further defining it.[29] Drawing on the Mormon precedent, the constitution proposed that the church be divided into three tiers of jurisdiction. "Wards," the smallest and most local level, would administer to the needs of the Saints living in small

settlements or towns. “Stakes” would supervise the several wards in a county or large city, while “grand stakes” would govern all smaller units in a territory, state, or foreign nation.

Governing officers included a First Presidency, in which Harrison and Godbe were to be “co-equal” counselors. The identity of the new president—the “Coming Man”—was yet to be revealed. The constitution also designated Twelve Apostles, whose duty was to travel as supervising missionaries throughout the world. The Seventies constituted the “theologic arm.” These men, learned in “science and divinity,” would in the future form colleges for the study of the “high science of the heavens.” Finally, high priests were expected to remain in Utah to perform church ordinances, of which only two were specified: baptism by immersion as a sacrament of “induction” (nothing was said about the expiation of sin) and the laying on of hands in confirmation.

The constitution called for a slate of local officers. A president was specified as the leader of each ward and was to be assisted by a council of teachers. The teachers’ duties included visiting and teaching the local members and reconciling misunderstandings. In addition, a bishop and six trustees were to assist these local officers and to manage expenditure of tithing and the economic welfare of members, especially helping the poor. To assist in neighborhood charity, the founding charter called for a Ladies Aid Committee, headed by a president, or “directress.” No one could “smooth the dying pillow or minister to the poor” as well as women, Harrison believed. Indeed, he happily suggested that charity should be a mix of “a little of bishop” and “a good deal of woman.”

Many of these suggestions drew heavily on Mormon parallels. Other items, however, were more fresh. Each level of church organization, whether ward, stake, grand stake, or general church, divided spiritual and temporal functions—something the Mormons had periodically tried but had never successfully accomplished. Temporal work was to be shouldered by bishops and their committees, with a “Presiding Bishop” and six Trustees-in-Trust heading the new church’s finances at the general level. Here,

conduct would be monitored by semiannual reports, audited by independent accountants. "We have tied the bag," said Harrison, no doubt referring to his belief that President Young had mixed personal and church funds.

There were other departures from established LDS policy. The new constitution called for church authorities to nominate men and women to office, but the people themselves had the right to confirm their officers by majority vote in secret ballot. If a congregation refused a nominee, the heavens would quickly yield, and a new name would later be presented. After all, Harrison explained, the controlling powers had waited six thousand years for a receptive people worthy of the Church of Zion; they could therefore be patient in the selection of officers. In the same spirit, Harrison promised that the new church would not require members to accept a new revelation "further than it approves itself to . . . [a member's] judgment as divine." Nor would men or women be expelled from membership because of an honest "difference of opinion" with authorities. Even in the case of mortal sin, transgressors would be tolerantly told to "go, and sin no more" (John 8:11).

The new constitution made tithing less arduous. When it was announced that only one-tenth of a person's annual "clear gain" would be subject to payment, one member of the congregation objected to any stipulated formula as a violation of "the love of Christ." Godbe agreed in principle: "When that beautiful sentiment of Jesus will live in our hearts so as to influence all our actions, we will not need a law of tithing; neither will we need many other laws which have now to be observed," Godbe replied. However, he assured the congregation that the general inclination of the new church authorities was to dispense funds, not receive them.

The Godbeite leaders stressed that only one general rule should bind the new organization: the principle of spiritual communication between those in the "immortal worlds" and those on earth. Everything else, including the constitution itself, was subject to further truth and enlightenment. As Harrison phrased it, he wanted the new church to have "plenty of room to get out from anything."

Outmoded beliefs would be easily cast aside. "We will 'apostatize' from this time forward from all the traditions we have ever held and from any conditions that may be incorporated into our constitution."

This flexibility prevailed when Harrison and Godbe moved that the constitution be ratified. Acceptance of the document, the two men emphasized, was provisional; the church's first general conference, scheduled to coincide with the LDS conference meetings in April, would again review the constitution, or perhaps present a new one. With this understanding, the assembly accepted the constitution by a voice vote, with only one member of the congregation dissenting.

With the constitution ratified, Godbe and Harrison began to make public their nominees for church office. Shearman received the appointment of the "spiritual" president of the schismatic Salt Lake Stake, with Joseph Salisbury and Orson F. Miles as counselors. When later appointed an apostle, Shearman was succeeded by Edward Tullidge, who also served as a Seventies president. Eli Kelsey became president of the Godbeite Twelve Apostles, while Henry Lawrence, again recognized for his practical gifts, became the church's chief trustee-in-trust. Still later, Fred Perris and Orson F. Miles became bishops of local congregations. As with the constitution, all these appointments were pro tempore, to be ratified by the coming conference.[30]

"As fast as the members develop themselves in the Movement, we shall fill up the Quorums," promised Kelsey. But that process proved difficult. When Godbe reportedly approached his old business partner, Benjamin Hampton, with a written revelation calling him to serve as an apostle, the outgoing, genial man wanted nothing to do with it. If all Godbe's revelations were as "big damned lies as this one," Hampton supposedly said, hugely enjoying the incident, Godbe should immediately go and make peace with Young. While Young may have become "a little bit dictatorial," said Hampton, Godbe's revelation calling Hampton as a Godbeite general authority had come from the "wrong source."[31]

More problematic was the absence of the "Coming Man." Kelsey had tried to explain the delay when he presented the provisional

constitution in the middle of January. The forthcoming president, he assured the congregation, was not meant to "free" the people from Young's yoke. That responsibility lay with Harrison and Godbe and constituted the present phase of the church. The new president, however, would have a different, yet-to-be-explained sphere of labor. Nevertheless, when the "Coming Man" did appear on the scene, there would be no doubt. Kelsey promised that "thousands upon thousands" would recognize him and would accept him willingly.[32]

The *New York Herald,* which was following events in Utah closely, believed that it understood the plan behind the shrouded and mysterious "Coming Man." The "secret idea," the newspaper informed its readers, was to gather all the "reconstructed" Mormons to the city on 6 April, the anniversary of Mormonism's first organization and the date of the LDS general conference. Then, with thousands crowding in the city, the selection would be announced.[33]

The Godbeite plan was an open Salt Lake City secret, including the name of the Godbeites' "Coming Man." The Godbeites hoped that Joseph Smith III, the son of the founding prophet, would accept their Church of Zion presidency. In selecting "young Joseph," the Godbeites demonstrated neither an interest in the Latter-day Saint succession controversy, which was attached to Smith's name, nor in the Reorganized branch of Mormonism which the man headed. Rather, Godbe and Harrison believed that they understood the obvious: Joseph Smith III was simply the best (or as politicians would say, the most "available") candidate to lead a Utah-based movement against President Young. "Young Joseph" had the attraction of his father's name and blood. Indeed, despite Young's more than twenty years of leadership, some Mormons still regarded Joseph III as a possible heir to the Mormon presidency.

Edward Tullidge revealed more details. At the very beginning of the Godbeite movement, even before its public announcement before the School of the Prophets in October 1869, the group of reformers had looked for Joseph III. "This was our dearest hope; for, with Joseph as our leader, success was certain." For this very reason, the Godbeites had moved slowly before proclaiming their movement.

While they had not sought out "young Joseph," it was believed that at the proper time the heavens themselves would speak to him and lead him to Utah.[34] The Godbeites were waiting.

During these months the *Utah Magazine* had at first glance seemed uninterested. The Reorganization (officially the "Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints") was simply that "little body in Illinois," Harrison had repeatedly and patronizingly written; it was few in numbers and limited in vision. Nor was the editor inspired by RLDS claims of hereditary succession. But like much of Godbeite prose, a few strategic sentences changed the apparent meaning of the essay. "To us, 'the Josephite' movement is one thing and the sons of Joseph another," Harrison had written. Another carefully written passage declared that the world did not need "heirship, but inspiration, power, force, life, genius." If a man had these latter qualities, he was called to the work.

Quite possibly the latter essay was meant as a summons: Young Joseph should abandon his small movement and assume "the royal signet of divinity," which came only through "inspiration, power, force, life, [and] genius." This was how God called men to lead His people, and this was how God was now calling young Joseph.[35]

Unfortunately for the New Movement, Harrison's excited feelings were likely unread and unfelt in Plano, Illinois, where Smith was headquartered. Smith had already denied himself a position of likely influence with the Utah Saints, partly because of his opposition to plural marriage. It was now highly "visionary" that he should consent to lead a group of schismatics, most of whom also practiced "the principle."

Plural marriage was not the only factor working against the Godbeite hopes. From the RLDS perspective, the Utah dissenters seemed guilty of deeper heresies. Reorganized Elder W. W. Blair, monitoring the situation in Salt Lake City, wrote Smith in late January 1870 and pronounced the New Movement to be a "phase of spiritualism." The comment was not meant to be favorable.[36] As a young man, Smith had dabbled in spiritualism, but that brief moment in his life had long since passed.[37] As RLDS prophet and

leader, Smith wanted nothing more to do with séances and spirits than did his reporter, Blair, in Salt Lake City.

The Church of Zion probably never tendered its presidency to Smith. Aglow from their spiritualistic experiences, Harrison and Godbe watched and waited for his coming—and watched and waited still more. "The Heavens must speak to himself," Tullidge reported, describing the feeling of the Godbeite leaders in these early months; "we had no power of our own to move him, and therefore we sought him not, but waited his coming."[38] However, as their organizational April conference approached, the Godbeites must have grown anxious. In March, Godbe left for the East "on business," and rumors circulated in Salt Lake City that part of his errand was to secure the "Coming Man."[39]

Perhaps Godbe did meet with Joseph III. The RLDS leader reported in 1876 that he had "previously met Godbe on a train between Plano and Chicago," but noted only that the conversation had been pleasant and that Godbe had expressed a wish to meet again if Smith were ever in Salt Lake City.[40] Some Utahns made the unlikely claim that the two had disagreed on remuneration: religious enthusiasts usually do not quarrel over such small matters.[41] More probably, if Godbe and Smith met in 1870, the conversation reached a polite impasse, with Smith not sensing (or not caring) that the New Movement leadership might have been his.

There were other ill portents besides the failure of the "Coming Man" to come. After the first months of 1870, crowds attending the Church of Zion's meetings began to thin. From the beginning, actual converts were few. Church authorities probably disciplined no more than one hundred Saints in Salt Lake City for Godbeite activity and only another one hundred members throughout the territory. While the number of Godbeite sympathizers undoubtedly was larger than actual excommunicants (Presiding Bishop Edward Hunter had cautioned bishops not to be too vigorous with their church courts), by early 1870 it was apparent that the Church of Zion was not gaining many members. Another indication that the movement had crested was the talk at the various local Schools of the Prophets and

other church meetings. Seldom now was the New Movement discussed. "The cheapest of all the apostasies," said Young privately, was failing to make the "headway its founders predicted."[42]

Young tested his verdict with a late spring tour of the southern settlements. Everywhere he went he met with "happy faces" and "joyous greetings." The good Saints, perhaps reacting in their own way to Godbeitism, showered him with unusual expressions of faith and hope. "There is nothing to fear," the obviously refreshed Young wrote to Utah's congressional delegate, William Hooper. "Those who are for us are far more than those who are against us, and all power is in the hands of Him who is our great Father and Friend."[43] Young's comments were aimed not only at Godbeitism but at pending anti-Mormon legislation in the nation's capital.

The reasons for the decline of the Church of Zion were several. For one thing, Godbeite idealism about church government had proven unworkable. The Godbeite formula for ensuring polity—reason, the "inner light," and church persuasion—eventually brought even Godbe to despair. "We have thought that a 'priesthood of love' was all the government we needed," Godbe was reported later to have conceded, "but have discovered that a priesthood of authority is equally necessary."[44] The iconoclastic members gathered by the Godbeites had proven difficult to control.

The Church of Zion, however, faced more challenging problems than church governing. Its "advanced" teachings, which leaders began to promulgate after the adoption of Zion's provisional constitution, failed to strike a responsive chord with most Saints. The list began with a non-Mormon view of Deity. Instead of a personal, exalted man-God who was joined in the godhead by Jesus Christ and the Holy Ghost, Godbe now spoke of the reality of but *one God,* the Great Spirit of the Universe, who "is in all things and through all things, and by whom all things are organized."[45]

Harrison urged a new view of resurrection. Mormons believed in a literal resurrection of the physical body, to be conferred on each human spirit sometime after death. This was only an "old theory," said Harrison disdainfully. The truth was that men and women were

complete at the time of death, "no going back necessary, no waiting for centuries upon centuries to put on the house of clay, but capable of immediately entering upon life in all its varied departments." Unlike the Mormon teaching, the Godbeite resurrected body was spiritual; it was the result of an individual's everyday acts that created the spiritual body within. This "spirituality" was immediately transferred into the next world at death, Harrison taught.[46]

There were other declarations. Shearman investigated "successive ordination" in the priesthood, or the conferring of authority from one man to another. He concluded that such a formal confirmation of authority was probably unnecessary.[47] Even more daring, Harrison had a corrective teaching about Satan. The "time had come for the destruction of the 'old serpent, the devil,'" he said grandly, and he "was happy to be able to announce to the audience the decease of that venerable and time-honored individual." Godbe was equally frank about scripture. "Even if the Bible *was* the divinest of all books," he said, "that did not say a great deal for it." For many Mormons, however, the greatest departure from their traditional teaching was Harrison's new views on the mission of Christ. Harrison denounced "the common blunder" of accepting Jesus' atonement as a central or even valid teaching. Rather, every perceptive student of Christ's life understood that true Christianity consisted in "the holy principles and divine spirit exemplified in the life of Jesus."[48]

There were lesser deviations from the old way of looking at things. The Godbeites rejected the teaching that Cain was the progenitor of the black race. They also refused to believe in a chosen "house of Israel" or that the Old Testament patriarchs provided an example for modern, moral living.[49] And a curious silence began to reign over New Movement meetings concerning the practice of plural marriage, once so stoutly defended by Godbe and Harrison at their church trial.

Taken together, these new Godbeite teachings seemed to document the LDS Church leaders' long-standing warning that the schism would lead to disbelief. "The 'New Movement' is developing with uncommon rapidity," Young wrote acidly to members in Europe.

"As was anticipated they are rushing into infidelity, but with greater strides than might have been expected. . . . Such is the 'natural history' of the Apostate of the present day."[50] For most Mormons, even those alienated from the church's current policies, Young's conclusion was both accurate and timely. The Godbeite "new doctrine" was altogether too advanced.

Still, the Godbeites held out hope that their first conference, scheduled for April, might lift their flagging fortunes. In so doing, they once more minimized Young's resourcefulness. In early spring, Young announced the postponement of the general conference until the first week of May—so that the gallery of the New Tabernacle could be completed. The announcement mentioned neither Godbeitism nor the Godbeite conference, although Young of course was aware that his postponement would ruin the dissenters' semipublic plans of formally inaugurating their church while the city burgeoned with conference visitors. Indeed, the month-long suspension of the LDS meetings signaled the reemergence of Young's old policy of ignoring the dissenters and restraining their public influence: "We do not publish them," he pointedly told a follower, "neither notice them in any way. . . . The fact is they are not worthy of notice."[51]

Without a face-saving option, Godbe and Harrison pushed ahead with their conference, which was convened in the familiar Thirteenth Ward assembly hall. Godbe, one of the first speakers, was so visibly affected by the importance of the occasion that he finally was forced to take his seat; his emotions would not allow him to continue.[52] Fortunately, other speakers carried on, explaining the new Godbeite doctrines of the atonement, resurrection, scripture, and Satan. As so often, Harrison set the tone. There were three LDS groupings, he told his conference audience. The "old organization" gave credence to "priestly authority." This was Brighamism. Second, the RLDS movement was fixated by a "faith in sacred books"; these people were more interested in sterile debate and in scoring debater's points. On the other hand, the New Movement, which was clearly in the lead, embodied "intellectual religious thought."[53]

Denied any influx of the curious, the New Movement general conference showed how little public support it actually had. Only two hundred people attended, a number that Harrison insisted was no index to actual members. But the reports from outlying branches were not strong. James Randall reported that South Cottonwood was still unorganized. Twenty members had joined in Tooele, although Elder Sagurs, the leader there, insisted that many more were closet believers. No summaries came from either Ogden or Provo. When the conference voted for its general officers, only 159 cast ballots, probably a fair index of the new church's strength. By April 1870, total membership probably didn't exceed more than several hundred.[54]

The conference came and went without the "Coming Man" appearing. RLDS Elder Thomas Liez, who was monitoring events for the Reorganization and Joseph Smith III, gave a perspective on the conference. "Scores" had hoped that "the son of a certain prophet" might appear and take the lead, Liez reported. "In consequence of the non-appearance of that person, the faith of many waxed weak, yet they feel like 'holding on awhile.'" Liez clearly was not enthusiastic by the tenets of Godbeite preaching. "Having abandoned what constituted its life, . . . [the movement] can find naught but death," he pronounced.[55]

Impatient with the heavens and with Smith, Godbe and Harrison sought a new candidate. They found one, Amasa Mason Lyman, who seemed waiting in the wings. Lyman was a former counselor to Joseph Smith and had been a Mormon apostle for twenty-five years. In the early 1850s, Lyman had furtively experimented with spiritualism while serving as one of the leaders of the Mormon colony at San Bernardino, California. During this time, he had attended several séances and had immersed himself in the works of Andrew Jackson Davis, a leading American spiritualist. Later, when presiding over the British Mission, Lyman's growing acceptance of theological liberalism led him to preach sermons that rejected the Christian atonement, a position in which he persisted despite several sanctions from Young and members of his quorum. Hoping Lyman's

aberration to be more a result of mental distress than infidelity, in 1867 church leaders finally cut the errant apostle from the Twelve, suspended him from priesthood activity, and instructed him to find practical activities, that "health of mind and body will attend you."[56] Yet Lyman retained his church membership.

In August 1869, two months before the New Movement declared itself, Godbe had spent a day with Lyman at his home in Fillmore, Utah. Two months later, Lyman visited Salt Lake City. First he attended the territorial fair with President Young and then dined with him in the evening. But most of the next several days were spent with Godbe, Harrison, and Stenhouse, only days before the publication of "The True Development of the Territory." Almost certainly Lyman was made aware of the coming dissent. Returning to Fillmore, he continued a correspondence with the New Movement men that had begun shortly after Godbe's first visit.[57]

Clearly, the Godbeites prized Lyman and worked to convert him. Harrison and Tullidge were particularly close to him, having served under Lyman's direction when Lyman had presided over the British Mission. At the time, their shared "advanced views" had bonded the three men and had led Tullidge to dedicate his poem "A Universal Man," published in the *Millennial Star,* to his president. The poem celebrated "independent thought," "truth," and the "freemasonry" of kindred believers.[58]

As with the other Godbeites who left Mormonism, Lyman seemed to pause before the precipice. He did not give his name to the New Movement during its inaugural meetings, nor was he present at the founding conference. But something was stirring within him. At the end of March, he spoke before the Parowan School of the Prophets. The record of his remarks, brief and fragmentary and reported in the third person, at first seems to confirm his old allegiance. Lyman, however, had said something that was not recorded in the minutes that angered President William H. Dame, the presiding local authority. During the Sabbath meeting the next morning, Dame publicly denounced Lyman's comments.[59]

Six weeks later, in early May of 1870, Lyman again came to Salt Lake City. Repeating the pattern of seven months earlier, Lyman first paid a courtesy call on President Young. Then for the next several days Lyman socialized with Godbe, Perris, and other members of the New Movement. Finally, on 8 May Lyman announced to a group of stunned family members his acceptance of Godbeitism. The news, according to Lyman's diary, gave his relatives "great pain," which was an understatement.[60] His son and future LDS apostle, Marion, tearfully remonstrated with him before retreating to his own bedroom, where the younger Lyman wept for "hours." Said Marion, "Father's death would have been a pleasure compared with what we suffered at this terrible announcement."[61]

News of Lyman's decision spread rapidly. President Young immediately informed the British Saints. "After various vain attempts, and several journeys of many thousand miles in divers directions, the coming man has at length been developed," Young reported. "I am told by several of the brethren that Amasa M. Lyman has consented to take the presidency of the 'New Movement' towards infidelity or spiritualism."[62]

Within several days, a troubled delegation from the Salt Lake Stake high council asked Lyman to clarify his religious status. Lyman's responses were anything but conciliatory. "He had smothered up his abilities to do good for 3 years," he told the committee, and he now "intended to take a course to preach the truth as he understood it." Lyman also informed the men that he no longer sustained Young and other Mormon authorities, although Lyman was less frank about his possible allegiance to the New Movement, giving evasive responses to their questions.[63] Mormon authorities excommunicated Lyman on 12 May 1870.

Lyman felt liberated. "My health is good and my spirits never better," he told one of his wives, his loss of LDS membership notwithstanding.[64] The Church of Zion also seemed refreshed. Crowds again began to drift back into the movement's meeting halls, curious to hear one of Utah's most able speakers discourse on liberal principles. Lyman, however, did more than preach. The redoubtable

former apostle actively proselytized on behalf of the movement, adding several of his long-standing friends and relatives to the Godbeite ranks; his recruits included men and women from such families as the Hanks, Tanners, Turleys, and of course the Lymans, all old-line pioneer stalwarts.

The Church of Zion's renewed momentum was short-lived, mainly because the latent spiritualism that had been a part of the movement from the first increasingly became frankly admitted—and a matter of complaint. In the middle of May, Joseph Salisbury declared before a startled Church of Zion audience that the "heavenly" doctrines of Godbe and Harrison were nothing more than the spiritualist teachings that Andrew Jackson Davis had introduced fifteen years before.[65] Never had a Church of Zion member spoken so publicly and honestly about its spiritualism.

This information was disquieting to the New Movement reformers who had accepted the movement primarily as a "reform" of Mormonism but who wanted no part of spiritualism. These men and women "begin to think they have been sold," reported the anti-Mormon and anti-Godbeite *Daily Utah Reporter.*[66] Edward Tullidge, for one, was furious. In a Church of Zion meeting, Tullidge denounced the proclamation of spiritualism and the earlier abandonment of Joseph III as a personal betrayal. Completing his dramatic protest, Tullidge resigned his Church of Zion positions and soon joined one of the six companies of Utahns going east to affiliate with the Reorganization. Perhaps trying to make the most of this moment, Tullidge estimated that Salisbury's speech cost the New Movement five hundred members, probably an inflated figure.[67]

For several months, Godbe and Harrison continued with their Church of Zion. In the summer of 1870, Harrison distributed an eight-page pamphlet, which sought to convince Mormons who were coming to LDS general conference, this time in October, to attend the Church of Zion meetings and perhaps join the cause. The pamphlet presented the familiar Godbeite litany of issues: Mormonism had abandoned its spiritual heritage to pursue Brigham Young's temporal Zion; the old faith no longer embraced intellectual

progress; and the Saints were now taught to isolate themselves from nonbelievers, especially merchants. These ideas were now expressed in blunt and indicting words that had a desperate quality to them. Replacing the grace and kindness expressed by the reformers at their trial, Harrison now declared that "failure, *failure,* failure" were written in all of Young's acts.[68]

The pamphlet, written as an invitation to reform Mormonism, did not produce any surging crowds—and for reason. The Godbeites' daring critique of mainstream evangelical Christianity and their embrace of spiritualism had taken them far beyond their natural constituency—those Mormons seeking to moderate Young's economic policies. By the fall of 1870, the men and women of the New Movement could no longer pose as simple Mormon elders seeking reform.

When Harrison and Godbe held their October meetings, they were ready to make over their Church of Zion faith. Indeed, they were wary even about the name that they had taken upon themselves. "The words 'Church' and 'Zion' are objectionable to a certain class of free-thinkers," the Godbeite press now admitted. Too often these words conveyed the idea of dictating creeds, which the Godbeite reformers wanted no part of. In contrast to this usual image of a church, the Church of Zion was simply "a system which aims to give the benefits of religious association and spiritual culture to its members," free of "every species of mental trammels."

It may be asked, why use the word "church" at all? We reply, because by long association that word is allied to the idea of a body combined for the development of holiness and purity of life. . . .

As to the word "Zion," we attach no fanatical or sectarian meaning to it. We use the word simply because it expresses the idea of something consecrated to the spiritual and the divine.[69]

Thus, the Church of Zion, which had started out as a self-proclaimed reform of Mormonism, had become a loose confederation of liberal thinkers. During the rest of 1870, newspaper notices for the Church of Zion spoke less and less of "worship" and more and more of "intellectual lectures." Then at the end of 1870, the

Godbeites stopped using the name "Church of Zion" entirely. A year later, the *Salt Lake Herald* and the *Salt Lake Tribune* dueled over the number of Godbeites left in the city—the *Herald* mocked that there might be "thirty-seven."[70] The comment, meant as an epitaph for the New Movement, was unfair and inaccurate. It did not convey the vibrancy of the Godbeite reform, which continued to express itself in new forums and in new issues.

Notes

^1. *DN* 10 (9 Jan. 1861): 357.

^2. Tullidge, "Godbeite Movement," p. 43.

^3. George A. Smith to J. W. Hess, 22 Jan. 1870, Historian's Office Letter Book, vol. 3: 1869–1886, LDS Archives.

^4. *NYHer,* 2 Jan. 1870, p. 8.

^5. Tullidge, "Godbeite Movement," p. 43.

^6. Van Wagoner and Van Wagoner, "Orson Pratt, Jr."

^7. *NYHer,* 2 Jan. 1870, p. 8. Unless otherwise cited, subsequent quotations about the Godbeite inaugural meeting are taken from this source.

^8. Tullidge, "Godbeite Movement," p. 43.

^9. T. B. H. Stenhouse, *RMSaints,* pp. 642–43; *NYHer,* 9 Jan. 1870, p. 8.

^10. George A. Smith to William H. Hooper, 24 Jan. 1870, Historian's Office Letterbook, vol. 3: 1869–1886, LDS Archives.

^11. George A. Smith to J. W. Hess, 22 Jan. 1870, ibid.

^12. The text was a paraphrase of 1 John 4:1–3: "Beloved, believe not every spirit, but try the spirits whether they are of God: because many false prophets are gone out into the world."

^13. Orson Pratt, *JD* 13 (19 Jan. 1869): 72–73.

^14. Jacob 5:42: "And now these which have once brought forth good fruit have also become corrupted; and now all the trees of my vineyard are good for nothing save it be to be hewn down and cast into the fire."

^15. Arrington gives a sympathetic view of Woolley during the crisis (*From Quaker to Latter-day Saint,* pp. 432–44).

^16. *NYHer,* 11 Jan. 1870, p. 8.
^17. *MTrib,* 8 Jan. 1870, p. 12.
^18. *NYHer,* 3 Jan. 1870, p. 7, and 4 Jan. 1870, p. 8.
^19. Ibid., 11 Jan. 1870, p. 8.
^20. Woodruff diary, 25 Dec. 1869, LDS Archives.
^21. *MTrib,* 8 Jan. 1870, p. 13.
^22. John 8:44. The original was even more scathing in implication: "Ye are of your father the devil, and the lusts of your father ye will do. He was a murderer from the beginning, and abode not in the truth, because there is no truth in him."
^23. *MTrib,* 21 May 1870, p. 162. The incident occurred six weeks before the Godbeite press printed it.
^24. WSGodbe, *MTrib,* 8 Jan. 1870, p. 12.
^25. *NYHer,* 11 Jan. 1870, p. 8.
^26. WSGodbe and Harrison, *MTrib,* 8 Jan. 1870, p. 12; also see *NYHer,* 9 Jan. 1870, p. 8.
^27. *NYHer,* 11 Jan. 1870, p. 8.
^28. Tullidge, *MTrib,* 29 Jan. 1870, p. 34.
^29. *MTrib,* 29 Jan. 1870, p. 36. For ancillary comments about the constitution, see the *NYHer,* 6 Feb. 1870, p. 4, and 7 Feb. 1870, p. 11.
^30. *MTrib,* 5 and 19 Feb., 9 Apr., and 4 June 1870, respectively pp. 45, 52–53, 116–17, and 181; *NYHer,* 6 and 9 Feb. 1870, pp. 4, 11; Tullidge, *Life of Joseph the Prophet* (1880), pp. 698–99, 705; and Tullidge, "Leaders in the Mormon Reform Movement," pp. 37–38. As with any organization, personnel and offices shifted.
^31. Heber J. Grant, Typed Diary, 2 June 1918, box 140, folder 2; Heber J. Grant to Adelaide H. Tincher, 22 Sept. 1933, Letterbook 70:949–50, both in Grant Papers, LDS Archives.
^32. *MTrib,* 29 Jan. 1870, p. 36.
^33. JH, 25 Jan. 1870, quoting dispatch filed for the *NYHer* on the same date.
^34. Tullidge, *Life of Joseph the Prophet* (1880), pp. 692, 698.
^35. Harrison, *UMag* 3 (4 Sept. 1869): 280, 283.

^36. Smith and Smith, *History of the Church,* 3:561.
^37. Launius, *Joseph Smith III,* pp. 62–63.
^38. Tullidge, *Life of Joseph the Prophet* (1880), p. 692.
^39. Joseph F. Smith to George A. Smith, 18 Mar. 1870, Historian's Office Letter Book, vol. 3: 1869–1886, LDS Archives.
^40. Joseph Smith, *Joseph Smith III and the Restoration,* p. 243. For Godbe's eastern trip during which he consulted with President U. S. Grant and other national figures on Mormon policy, see *MTrib,* 12 Mar. 1870, p. 85; Tullidge, "Godbeite Movement," pp. 58–59.
^41. *MTrib,* 28 May 1870, p. 171; *Keep-A-Pitchinin,* 1 May and 15 July 1870, pp. 20, 38.
^42. Bishops' Meetings, 3 and 17 Feb., 17 Mar. 1870, and 7 July 1870, LDS Archives. Stenhouse gave another perspective, claiming that church courts and excommunications were frequent, in *RMSaints,* p. 643; the discrepancy may be due to the eye of the beholder. For suggestions of excommunications in outlying areas, see Volney King to "Brother William," 7 Aug. 1870, in King, "Godbeites in Fillmore in 1870," 272, and Simmonds, *Gentile Comes to Cache Valley,* pp. 84, 90.
^43. BY to William H. Hooper, 12 May 1870, BY Letterbooks, LDS Archives.
^44. Joseph Smith, *Joseph Smith III and the Restoration,* p. 255.
^45. *MTrib,* 19 Feb. 1870, p. 61; 12 Mar. 1870, p. 85.
^46. Ibid.
^47. Shearman, ibid., 6 Apr. 1870, p. 106.
^48. Ibid., 6, 9, 16, and 23 Apr. 1870, pp. 106, 117, 124, and 133.
^49. Ibid., 23 Apr. 1870, p. 124.
^50. BY to Albert Carrington, 23 Apr. 1870, BY Letterbooks, LDS Archives. Also see BY to Brigham H. Young, 16 Feb. 1870, ibid.
^51. BY to Albert Carrington, 23 Apr. 1870, BY Letterbooks, LDS Archives.
^52. Daniel H. Wells to BY, 9 Apr. 1870, BY Incoming Corr., LDS Archives.

^53. *MTrib,* 9 Apr. 1870, p. 116.
^54. Ibid.
^55. Thomas Liez to Joseph Smith III, 2 May 1870, quoted in Tullidge, *Life of Joseph the Prophet* (1880) pp. 704–5.
^56. Letter of BY et al. to Amasa Lyman, 30 Apr. 1867, Lyman Papers, LDS Archives. Hefner, "Amasa Mason Lyman, the Spiritualist," and "From Apostle to Apostate."
^57. Amasa Lyman diary, especially 4 Aug. 1869; 4, 6, 8, 9, 10 Oct. 1869, Lyman Papers, LDS Archives.
^58. Tullidge, "Universal Man," in Lyman Papers, LDS Archives.
^59. Minutes of the Parowan School of the Prophets, 26 Mar. 1870, LDS Archives; Amasa Lyman diary, 27 and 30 Mar. 1870, Lyman Papers, LDS Archives.
^60. Amasa Lyman diary, 4, 5, 7, 8 May 1870, Lyman Papers, LDS Archives.
^61. Francis Marion Lyman diary, 8 May 1870, quoted in Hefner, "From Apostle to Apostate," p. 102.
^62. BY to Albert Carrington, 11 May 1870, BY Letterbooks, LDS Archives.
^63. Report of the Committee of the High Council, 12 May 1870, copy in Lyman Papers, LDS Archives.
^64. Amasa M. Lyman to Louisa Lyman, 20 May 1870, Lyman Papers, LDS Archives.
^65. *Daily Utah Reporter* (Corinne, Utah), 26 June 1870, p. 2.
^66. Ibid.
^67. Tullidge, *Life of Joseph the Prophet* (1880), pp. 699, 706.
^68. Harrison, *Address to the Visitors to Conference,* p. 3.
^69. *SLTrib,* 8 Oct. 1870, p. 4.
^70. *SLHer,* 17 Dec. 1871, p. 2, and *SLTrib,* 18 Dec. 1871, p. 3.

Chapter 12

Politics

If the New York revelations and the Church of Zion had not the power to move Utah, then perhaps political action could. The Godbeites had their hand in politics from the start of their movement, and the members' political activity steadily increased as the fortunes of their schismatic church declined. Their political work consisted of two complementary parts. First, as the Saints' opponents in Congress raised "the Mormon question" after the Civil War, the reformers allied themselves with congressional reform. On this front, the men of the New Movement played a role in shaping the proposed legislation—and moderating it, they later claimed. Second, the dissenters were busy locally. They helped organize the Liberal Party, Utah's first anti-LDS political party, which continued until the eve of statehood over two decades later.

Whatever the desires of the Saints, the United States government did not intend to allow Utahns to establish a semiautonomous government within its borders. It was this firm determination that prompted the "Utah Expedition" of 1857–58. Vice President Schuyler Colfax expressed this same determination as he stood on the Townsend House portico in Salt Lake City in October 1869. Colfax was part of a post–Civil War generation of Republican leaders who wanted an integrated nation, both geographically and conceptually. Utah and polygamy were no more acceptable than the "Old South" and its "peculiar institution" of slavery, abandoned at the point of a Republican bayonet. "Our country is governed by law," Colfax lectured his well-meaning and eager-to-please Salt Lake City audience, "and no assumed revelation justifies any one in trampling on the law." Colfax's next remark was even more direct: "I do not concede that the institution you have established here, and which is condemned by the law, is a question of religion."[1]

Everyone in the audience understood Colfax's clear, combative allusions. To the Mormons, plural marriage was nothing but religious. While more base motives may have entered the hearts of some,

most church members practiced plural marriage as a duty imposed by divine declaration. Congress and most of the American public, of course, saw the matter much differently: polygamy was immoral. In 1862, Congress enacted the Morrill Anti-bigamy Act, outlawing polygamy in the territories. President Abraham Lincoln, his hands full with secessionists, was pleased to let the law lapse during his administration. Nor was Lincoln's successor, Andrew Johnson, any more eager to embroil himself with the Mormons during the Reconstruction era. By 1869, the Morrill Act had become a dead letter, unused and toothless in its provisions—yet remembered and cited by some congressmen as evidence of important unfinished business.

Colfax's complaint against the Saints went further than plural marriage. Colfax had first come to the territory in 1865 with a politician's hope of arranging a quick fix with President Young. Once the Mormon leader was made to understand the rising power of the Republicans and the inescapable conflict and possible ruin facing the Mormon people, Colfax expected Young to surrender plural marriage and temper his policies. Then statehood might be extended. If this plan went as well as Colfax hoped (having solved "the Mormon problem"), the Ohio politician could expect his political stock to rise.[2] These calculations, of course, were based on an inaccurate reading of Mormon character. In Colfax's eyes, these Utahns were motivated by a narrow self-interest, and they would (and should) readily adjust practices when confronted by the "logic" of force.

Four years later Colfax had a different view. In the intervening years, Young had refused to be managed, and the vice president was clearly upset. As Colfax told his Townsend House crowd, he had earlier believed that "under wise counsels," Salt Lake City might have become the "great city of the interior." But he had been disappointed. Young and the Mormons had not "improved" upon their opportunities. What should the Mormons do now? Colfax's suggestions directly opposed Young's proscriptive policies. Colfax urged the Saints to encourage business and trade from all comers, accept eastern capital as a means of developing the territory, and

expand Utah's commercial power throughout the Intermountain West. "You should realize that wealth will come to you only by development, by unfettered competition, by increased capital."[3]

While many Mormons wanted a different economic policy than the one recommended by Colfax, they did agree with the vice president on one point: they wanted better relations with their fellow citizens in the East. During the early months of 1869, this hope became embodied in the advancing transcontinental railroad. When finished, perhaps the railroad would bring visitors, who, after mingling with the settlers, would find them to be industrious, patriotic, God-fearing, and worthy of appreciation. For this is how the Saints viewed themselves.[4]

Easterners failed to follow the script: familiarity seemed to breed more contempt than healing. With Utah suddenly more accessible, eastern newspapers reminded the Republicans of the unfulfilled promises of their famous 1856 political platform—the war cry that first brought the party to prominence—to rid the nation of the "twin relics of barbarism." The *New York Herald* typically called for the destruction of Utah's "beastly polygamic system," just as the South's slavery had been challenged and crushed several years before. Utah's "abominable excrescence" had to go.[5]

Congressman Shelby M. Cullom agreed. Cullom, as a young man, was among the Illinois citizens who had forced the Mormons to leave Nauvoo. "We had sent them, bag and baggage, after the Star of Empire," he boasted.[6] Now, twenty years later as chairman of the House Committee on Territories, Cullom was ready to carry his fight against the Mormons a major step further.

The Cullom Bill, H.R. 1089, more than answered this purpose. Seeking an end to plural marriage and the Mormon commonwealth, the bill had a dozen provisions, several of which were severe. The bill proposed transferring police power from Utah officials to federally appointed marshals and deputies. The bill imposed heavy fines and lengthy imprisonment for those guilty of practicing polygamy—and made that charge easier to prosecute by making "informal conduct"—the appearance of a couple living together or

"cohabiting"—into judicial proof. Another Cullom Bill provision stipulated that belief in (not necessarily actual practice of) plural marriage was grounds for depriving a man of the right to vote, serve as a juror, or hold an elective civil office. Such a "belief" would be determined by a "test oath"—in reality requiring Mormon men to renounce a key Mormon teaching in order to exercise their civil rights. The proposed legislation also sought to disqualify foreign-born polygamists from naturalization and to deny any Mormon practicing plural marriage the benefits of the homestead and preemption laws. Since no land office had been opened in Utah until 1869 and many land titles remained with the government, this provision meant that the land opened by polygamists would revert to government control. In some cases twenty years of Mormon pioneering would go unrewarded. Finally, to enforce the legislation, marshals and deputies would be empowered to use federal troops, which in case of resistance were authorized at the number of forty thousand men.[7]

The bill was Utah's version of Southern Reconstruction. It denied local control, disfranchised most citizens, made most local and general Mormon leaders (almost all were polygamists) liable to fines and imprisonment, and presented the possibility of a military government to be enforced by a hostile standing army. In addition to these provisions, the proposed legislation threatened local land ownership.

Mormons struggled to find words adequate for their outrage. "The slavery from which the blacks of the South have been emancipated would be delightful compared with the crushing bondage which this Bill would bring," declared the *Deseret Evening News.* Wasn't the bill clear evidence that the government wanted the Saints to renounce their religion or abandon their homes? As the Cullom Bill worked its way through Congress, Mormon rhetoric rose to the level of the perceived abomination of the legislation. This time, warned the *Deseret Evening News,* the Saints would not tamely submit themselves to "oppressive and repulsive slavery." There was "a flood-tide of reeking, seething corruption rushing through the land."[8]

At the beginning of January 1870, Brigham Young Jr., the president's son, returned from the East with the report that he had never felt a "more bitter spirit" than the one now raging against the Saints.[9] Congressional delegate William H. Hooper was also bleak. In a letter to President Brigham Young, Hooper described the popular anti-Mormon lectures of Colfax, which seemed both to encourage and reflect the anti-Mormon tide. Hooper also reported the still more alarming news that some congressmen wanted to dissolve Utah's territorial government and merge the jurisdiction into the surrounding territories, thus diluting if not ending the Mormon political presence. "There is a deep seated sullen demeanor towards us," Hooper warned.[10]

During these first months of 1870, when national politics seemed so threatening, the Godbeites saw an opportunity to broaden their influence and improve their fortunes. With the Church of Zion not drawing the kind of public support that the New Movement men hoped to receive, Lawrence especially argued for a political alliance of all local anti-Brigham parties. If Utahns were unprepared to accept a religious reform of Mormonism, they would possibly accept a political reform. Tullidge was even more hopeful about this prospect. "Nothing seemed more probable," he later wrote.[11]

The Godbeites must have had misgivings when they made their overtures for alliance. On one hand, they were seeking out the non-LDS merchants who were their business competitors; in some cases these men had been their old commercial and religious enemies. Other potential gentile allies were still more problematic. Included in this group were O. J. Hollister, Utah's collector of revenue and Colfax's brother-in-law; George R. Maxwell, Utah's federally appointed land registrar and a former Civil War general; J. M. Orr, the United States marshal; and R. N. Baskin, the Salt Lake City attorney who was the behind-the-scenes author of much of the Cullom legislation's first draft.[12] These and other men like them were transplanted Gentiles, bound by patronage and sympathy to the East. Many of them were critical of anything having to do with Mormonism, including Mormon dissenters.

Even further on the anti-Mormon spectrum were the men of Corinne, the territory's one settlement given over to Gentiles. There, newspapermen Dennis J. Toohy and J. H. Beadle were militant, "rule or ruin" agitators, Utah's version of the South's postwar radical reconstructionists.[13] These men could be expected to offer a still more difficult challenge to partnership.

From the start the Godbeite-Gentile grouping was an unlikely coalition. In contrast to the strident anti-Mormonism of many of the Gentiles, the Godbeites were bound by past and present sympathies to Mormon culture, which was made concrete by their practice of plural marriage. Godbe, Lawrence, Kelsey, and other New Movement reformers continued to be involved in the practice that the Gentiles most detested. In fact, only one element bound the emerging political movement together: their common opposition to Young and his theocracy. It was the old case of those with a shared enemy becoming partners.

Salt Lake City's municipal election, scheduled for 14 February, was the first test of the alliance. In preparation, a private caucus of the "independents" chose Kelsey as its chairman. It also selected a slate of candidates for the city's major civil offices, which included old-line Gentiles, reformed Mormons, and a scattering of active churchmen. The plan was to provide the broadest political base for the agitation. Henry W. Lawrence headed the candidates, offering himself for mayor. Aldermen and councillor nominees included Samuel Kahn and J. R. Walker, merchants and longtime opponents of Young; Orson Pratt Jr., Frederick Perris, and Anthony Godbe, William's brother—all Godbeites; Marsena Cannon, pioneer photographer; and "E. D. Woolley," perhaps the independent-minded bishop himself. The more militant members of the coalition remained in the background, showing, in Tullidge's felicitous phrase, their "political sagacity."[14]

To ratify the nominations, the independents announced a meeting of the "People" at the Godbeite meeting hall, the made-over Walker store, on 10 February. "Come one, come all," the widely distributed placards said. It was an invitation that Mormon authorities decided not to turn down—here was a chance to put the "reforming" upstarts

in their place. The *Deseret Evening News* accordingly urged its readers to attend the "People's" rally: "We want to see a good ticket nominated for City Officers, and the occasion is one in which every citizen should be interested," editor George Q. Cannon wrote with clear irony.[15] President Young also joined the plan. He dispatched church secretary A. Milton Musser to the city's local bishops with instructions to organize a large Mormon presence at the rally. Also acting in concert, the principal of the University of Deseret urged his students to attend.[16]

Thirty minutes before the meeting was scheduled to begin, a large crowd of LDS men took control of the area outside the Godbeite hall. When the doors were opened, they rushed to occupy every available seat, crushing in their excitement several flimsy benches. The only independents who managed access were the few who entered by a rear door.

The Mormon "capture" of the meeting was complete. J. D. T. McAllister, "acting" bishop of the Eighth Ward and a territorial law enforcement officer, walked to the front of the room, deliberately placed his cloak and hat on the table, and, clearly relishing the moment, moved that Jesse C. Little, a member of the LDS Presiding Bishopric, become chairman of the caucus. Under Little's direction the assembly quickly voted to accept each name on the Mormon ticket as the "People's Party" approved slate of candidates.[17] With the exception of the first several votes, when the few reformers who were present tried to protest the Mormons' tactics, the polling was unanimous.

The meeting now being concluded, tempers seemed dangerously on edge. The large, milling crowd seemed to wedge the few independents against the speakers' stand. For ten suspense-filled minutes, the well-armed Godbeites, believing that they were in danger, resolved, if violence began, to defend themselves. Finally, Kelsey "respectfully" asked the Mormons to withdraw, which they did, and the independents left the chamber without further incident.[18] The meeting had been an emotional tinderbox; fortunately, no one ignited the combustibles.

Later in the evening, there was a brief sequel. Still determined to have their meeting, the independents tried to move to another hall. But the determined, harassing crowd followed and "forbade it."[19] The Mormon action involved more than heavy-handed humor; the Mormons were making a statement. They, not the self-proclaimed leaders of a "People's Party," constituted Utah's majority, whatever the hopes and pretensions of their opponents.

The appropriateness of the episode lay with the beholder. At first, coalition members labeled it a "gross outrage," further evidence of a need for change in Zion.[20] However, others in the independent movement were less angry, especially as emotions cooled. It was the "damnest, cleverest thing" that Hollister had seen in some time, he was reported to have said. Hollister admitted to having been "out generaled" and suggested "the least said about it the better."[21] For his part, President Young savored the triumph ("the Planchetteites felt rather crest-fallen at the unexpected turn things had taken"). He wrote several letters describing the exploit in detail, and to prevent any "growling" about property loss, he indemnified his political opponents for the destroyed benches.[22]

The incident might have occurred in almost any city in the United States; rough-and-tumble politics were often the rule. But for Deseret, the event had a special meaning. By entering into a coalition with longtime church opponents, the Godbeites were drawing political lines which many Mormons found disturbing if not contemptible. Weren't these dissidents doing their best, one churchman acidly wrote, to put "Jews, Gentiles, apostates, drunkards and gamblers" in control of local government?[23] To this challenge, the Mormons responded with a political party of their own. Emphasizing the irony of the broken-up caucus and the independents' placards calling for the "people" to gather, the Mormons called their party the "People's Party."[24] It would dominate Utah politics for the next two decades.

The point was for more than local consumption. With the eastern United States full of newspaper editorials and congressional speeches about Young's supposed tyranny—how he enforced his rule

on the overwhelming majority of Utah's men and women—Young clearly wanted easterners to understand that his support was wide and deep and that, in comparison, the Godbeites and other Salt Lake City independents had a much smaller following. Unfortunately, the point was made at the cost of minority rights.

Several days later, Young and his associates tried to mold eastern public opinion still further. For several years the Mormon leadership (and leading Mormon women) had talked of granting female suffrage, to coincide with the long-standing LDS custom of allowing women to vote in church decisions. Now the timing for such a move seemed propitious. With the territorial legislature in session and the Cullom Bill pending, a female suffrage law was rushed through the Utah territorial assembly with a unanimity that only Young could exact. Acting Governor S. A. Mann, despite misgiving, signed the legislation into law on 12 February.[25]

Two days after Mann accepted the bill, Salt Lake City experienced its first contested election. It held "unusual interest," *New York Herald* acknowledged, for the ballots promised to reveal "Brigham's power at the polls" as well as "the strength of the schismatics."[26] As counterpoint, the election offered the curiosity of women voting for the first time in a territorial or state election (Wyoming had previously passed a woman's suffrage act, but no election had yet been held). As it turned out, the suspense was disproportionate to the results. The counted tally strongly sustained the kingdom and President Young, who exulted, "Opposition votes were 297, the legitimate ticket, 2004."[27] Nor had an attempt been made to turn out the women in order to pad the margin. Only twenty-five voted. Seraph Young, Brigham's niece, reportedly had the honor of casting Utah's first female ballot.[28]

The election became another of Godbeitism's turning points. Previously, the press, government officials, and the Godbeites themselves had cherished the hope that Utah discontent would bring quick results. Young and the theocracy might be overturned in weeks, perhaps months. But the poor polling of the "independents" led to a very different conclusion. If some Mormons were frustrated

by Young's cooperative policies, most had no desire to overthrow him. Young retained overwhelming support. This realization required a recalculation of policy by Godbeite and national leaders alike. Clearly, the cause of reform required much more time than originally realized. The Mormon people required protracted "education." And the focus for anti-Brighamism probably lay not in Utah with Godbeitism but in Washington with a Congress that might pass the coercive Cullom Bill.

The Godbeite leaders understood that the ground was shifting beneath them. They could not have been pleased—and not simply because their movement was losing momentum. They had never wished for a radical political or military reconstruction of Utah. Their moderation (in most things other than religion) had earlier led them to warn Colfax to forego military force in settling Utah's problems. Nor had their attitude changed. They opposed the Cullom Bill's severity. As Shearman said, he would feel just as opposed to the bill were it aimed at any other people than the Mormons, because he considered it "unjust, unconstitutional and impolitic."[29] There was also a personal quotient to the Godbeite opposition: as businessmen and polygamists, many of the dissidents would be directly affected by the proposed law and by the "irrepressible" civil conflict that promised to come with it.

The reformers decided to take their Cullom Bill views directly to Ulysses S. Grant. They had been earlier told, probably by Colfax or by one of the territorial appointees with whom they were now cooperating, that the president would welcome their advice. Tullidge was charged with the initial task of preparing a lengthy position paper that set forth Godbeite ideas on proper policy for the territory.[30]

The Godbeites never released the text of their document—nor has it since been found in official government papers. Tullidge made the unlikely claim that because the document had been submitted to the government it required confidentiality—even many years later. No doubt Tullidge's memorandum argued for a more conciliatory approach to Utah affairs, but it may have contained something more

sensitive. Its timing coincided with the Church of Zion's semisecret maneuvers to secure Joseph III for its presidency, and it is possible that the Godbeites, never humble in their hopes, wished to give Joseph III the political scepter to match the ecclesiastical miter. Or perhaps the Godbeites believed that their purposes might be met if Smith simply assumed the political office.[31]

About ten days after Tullidge completed his political "budget" and sent it to Washington, Godbe was sitting in the Executive Mansion in Washington, D.C. After Colfax introduced him to Grant, Godbe and the president huddled for what was described as a "'cozy,' confidential, but very important 'chat.'" According to Godbe, during the interview he strongly opposed the possibility of federal military action in Utah.[32] President Grant, listening carefully and claiming to be "solicitous" of the Mormon people, seemed to agree. Grant reportedly pledged that only enough new soldiers would be sent to Utah to act as a "moral force" and to preserve the presence of the federal government.[33]

While in the East, Godbe also lobbied Representative Cullom, with whom Godbe reviewed the congressmen's pending bill, section by section. Giving an account of the interview, Godbe stressed his moderating voice; he repeatedly suggested changes that would make the legislation better suited to "the peculiar conditions" of the Mormon people. "My G-d, Mr. Godbe, you would strike out all the points of my bill," the provoked Cullom said. Still Godbe persisted with a series of arguments: The Saints were a devoted people who had been ill-served by their leaders. Polygamy for many was a sincerely embraced teaching, which they were likely to defend. Given these circumstances, Godbe recommended "moderating time." Utahns needed the chance to learn that their old isolation was passing away and that new conditions were unfolding. They needed education.

Godbe left the interview believing that he had successfully soothed much of Cullom's anti-Mormon passion. Indeed, in later years it became an article of Godbeite faith that Godbe's mission had

rescued the Mormon community from a collision with the United States government.[34]

It was a possibility full of disturbing irony to the orthodox: could religious rebels perform a mission of deliverance? On the surface it appeared so. When the Cullom Bill passed the House on 23 March 1870, Cullom had removed some of its most punitive features, including the authorization for an army of occupation.[35]

The bill clearly had been softened, and Godbe had probably helped in the process. But there were additional factors working for amelioration. Before Godbe met with Grant or Cullom, Young had already adroitly managed eastern public opinion. Moreover, and perhaps partly as a result, Congress itself seemed increasingly wary of a stern Utah policy. During the third week of February, Nevada's Representative Thomas Fitch had delivered a withering attack on the proposed legislation that became a minor sensation.[36]

William H. Hooper, Utah's congressional delegate, had also played a major role. Unfailingly pleasant, "always laughing and lively," never "forward or Jesuitical," Hooper used his homespun ways and lavish parties to win a host of admirers, even among Mormon baiters.[37] Shortly before the scheduled vote on the Cullom Bill in the House, Hooper rose to defend his fellow religionists. Similar to Fitch's oratory several weeks earlier, Hooper's speech captured the popular imagination. Congressional printers ran a five-thousand-copy edition of it and then hurried to issue another. One observer believed Hooper's speech was read by more influential non-Mormons than any previous document issued by the Mormon church.[38] It may not have stemmed the tide in the House, but when coupled with other opinion-shaping events, it helped to form a strong sentiment against the bill as it made its way to the Senate.

By the middle of March, those close to the situation in Congress believed the tide had turned. "I can kill the Bill in the Senate," Mormon lobbyist and Washington insider Thomas L. Kane flatly asserted in a private letter to Young.[39] But those outside the corridors of power still believed the outcome was unsure. In Salt Lake City the potential for conflict and disorder seemed so serious

that even some Gentiles moved to ease the tension. On 26 March, two days after the news reached Utah that the House had passed the bill, merchants J. R. Walker and Samuel Kahn called a meeting at the Masonic Hall to discuss whether the non-Mormon Utah community should petition the government to modify the Cullom legislation.[40] To these deliberations, the leading Godbeites in the city were invited.

Those present had a variety of motives. Some businessmen were obviously worried about profits: social turmoil seldom helps the balance sheet. Others, including the New Movement men, spoke of fair play. For instance, Kelsey, one of the first to address the group, emphasized his desire to be law-abiding. Yet reflecting his own situation as a practicing polygamist, he "could not ask people to break up their families and bastardize their children." Kelsey was followed by Harrison, Shearman, and Stenhouse, who after months of wavering had finally joined the opposition. Each spoke for moderation.[41]

The Godbeites thereby revealed themselves to be a new kind of Mormon "apostate." Unlike the Hurlbuts, Avards, Fosters, and Laws of past LDS history, the Godbeites displayed little passion for destroying Mormonism once they had left it. It was precisely this moderation that failed to sit well with their new gentile associates. During the rest of this meeting with their new gentile "allies," the latter consistently expressed stronger views about the "Mormon question" than the Godbeites, and when the time came to elect a committee to draft the memorial, the Mormon reformers were noticeably excluded.[42] From the beginning, it was an uneasy alliance.

Later, the gentile committee met with LDS officials. With Young out of town, the committee was received by Elders John Taylor and George Q. Cannon. The Gentiles, hoping for a coordinated Mormon and non-Mormon petition to Congress, had a proposition. In exchange for a church pledge to comply with the old Morrill Act, the Gentiles would petition the government to leave the "past untouched." In short, future plural marriages would be traded for no

prosecutions. When Taylor and Cannon refused the suggestion, the non-Mormons, not understanding the Mormon loyalty to their "institution," angrily left the meeting. In the future, they vowed to fold their arms and "let events take their course."[43]

Fortunately the Cullom Bill crisis passed. The Senate, sensing the changing public mood and already hesitant about applying punitive measures, refused to bring the bill to the floor. For the moment, a combination of Mormon maneuvering, Godbeite intervention, and public and congressional caution had ended the threat.

The success, however, hardly stilled Deseret's waters. On 19 March, J. Wilson Shaffer, the newly appointed governor, arrived in the territory with orders to assert national authority. Shaffer, a former aide to General Benjamin F. Butler during the Union Army's hated occupation of New Orleans, had hoped for a less taxing appointment—his health was poor—perhaps as minister to Switzerland.[44] Instead, the Grant administration saw him as the ideal candidate to serve as Utah "war governor," a man with enough determination to end the semi-independent Mormon commonwealth. "Never after me, by G-d," he vowed, "shall it be said that Brigham Young is Governor of Utah."[45]

Shaffer's anti-Mormon attitude was intensified by the radicals who first streamed into his Salt Lake City office. They had all sorts of anti-Mormon stories to tell. "I am fully satisfied that this people are worse than their enemies ever charged," Shaffer told his superiors less than two weeks after entering Utah.[46] Though the Mormons serenaded him and offered a "calico ball" in his honor, Shaffer petulantly complained of official Mormon inattention. Few leaders came calling, he said, apparently unaware that most remained outside the city on Young's tour of south Utah.[47]

Kelsey's initial visit failed to lessen Shaffer's testiness. The two quickly entered into a warm discussion of the Mormon problem, with Kelsey telling Shaffer of his own situation. It was one that could be duplicated ten thousand times in pioneer Utah. "My wives entered into marriage relations with me with the purest motives, and from a conscientious religious conviction," Kelsey began. "They have

children by me. Before I will forsake my wives and bastardize my children, I will fight the United States down to my boots!" Kelsey asked the governor to put himself in Kelsey's place. "What would you do?"

Kelsey recalled Shaffer pacing about the room before giving his reply. "By G-d, Mr. Kelsey, were I in your place I would do the same!"[48]

The Godbeites cited the incident as crucial to tempering Shaffer's policy—and as another example of their influence and successful intervention. But there was little supporting evidence. Privately, the governor continued to rail against the Mormons and complain to Washington of Mormon power and his corresponding administrative weakness. "As affairs now stand the oath which I have taken to execute the laws is nothing more than a useless form, a mockery, a farce," he wrote to Cullom. Shaffer told the congressman that nothing less than the enactment of Cullom's bill, or something like it, would put him in a position to control the territory.[49]

In the eight months before his death, Shaffer did his best to clean Utah's "Augean Stables," as he unkindly described Utah conditions.[50] He swept from office several of the territorial officers appointed by his predecessors and placed reconstructionists in their place. He effectively disbanded the territorial militia, the independent-minded Nauvoo Legion, by replacing its Mormon commander, Daniel H. Wells, with the former Fort Douglas commander and LDS nemesis P. E. Connor. Shaffer then refused the local militiamen the freedom to muster, drill, or fight, despite a dangerous Indian skirmish in the southern part of the territory. Shaffer, like his mentor Butler at New Orleans, successfully exerted federal authority, but with a heavy, contentious hand. Shaffer's one regret, he said as he lay dying, was that he had not lived long enough to bring the Mormon "traitors" to justice.[51]

If unable to restrain Shaffer, the Godbeites did have some influence over federal army policy. Sometime during the spring or early summer of 1870, the administration dispatched to Utah the celebrated Civil War cavalry officer General Philip H. Sheridan, who

currently commanded the army's western detachments. Arriving in Salt Lake City, Sheridan immediately sent for Godbe. "Mr. Godbe," said the diminutive general, "President Grant has instructed me to come to you for my orders." During a meeting in the governor's office, Godbe, Harrison, and Kelsey argued that any new troops sent to Utah should be used only as a "moral force" to symbolize national authority, with fresh detachments placed at a yet-to-be-established base in Provo. Sheridan agreed, which may have contributed to Shaffer's complaint that the Godbeites had more influence in Washington than he did.[52]

The incident indicated the government's policy. During the first months of 1870, when Godbeitism seemed to threaten Mormonism, the Grant administration "gave countenance and favor to the Godbeite rebellion," said Tullidge, and would have "supported it by its military arm, had the opportunity occurred."[53] As it was, the government did what it could. In addition to consulting Godbeite leaders on policy, the government listened to their recommendations about patronage. It rented offices for territorial officials in the Lawrence-owned Godbe Exchange Building—in part to help the reformers' finances. Thus, for a brief several months in the spring and early summer of 1870, the Godbeites became, like the territorial officials themselves, an extension of the national administration's policy and power.

It was only natural, then, that the Godbeites, federal appointees, and the besieged Salt Lake City non-LDS merchants should try once more to work together in local politics. In the early summer of 1870, Federal Marshal J. M. Orr, chairman of the Salt Lake City independents, called for a convention to be held at Corinne on 16 July to choose a candidate for Congress. Corinne possessed many advantages to recommend it to the independents. With its heavy concentration of non-Mormons, it was hoped that the town might lead to the political "capture" of Box Elder County and thereby provide a geographical base for a new territorywide party. Moreover, Orr must have thought that by placing the convention at Corinne,

the movement would ingratiate itself with the local settlers and secure their cooperation.

The citizens of Corinne proved difficult to manage. From the beginning, they had expressed serious misgivings about the incipient Salt Lake City party of independents, especially the Godbeite wing. After attending a February meeting of the Church of Zion, James H. Beadle, former editor of the Corinne *Utah Reporter* and perhaps the town's most prominent citizen, dismissed the new church as appealing mainly to those seeking a "limited monarchical form of religion." It was too much like Young's Mormonism, only more convoluted, Beadle said.[54] Godbeite polygamy especially stuck in the Corinne craw. "The polygamist, of whatever clan or sect, we look upon as a traitor to the nation," said the *Reporter.* Clearly, the schismatics bore too many traces of their original Mormon sin.[55]

The Corinne men were almost as prickly with the other Salt Lake City independents. The Corinne men rejected Orr's formula for the seating of delegates at the upcoming convention, believing that Corinne was entitled to a greater share of representation. They also refused to coalesce behind the candidacy of Maxwell, the choice of the Salt Lake City independents.[56] The Salt Lake City contingent, however, won one small victory. The city's Gentiles and Godbeites insisted that the delegates name their new movement the "Liberal Party."[57] The name had been current in Corinne circles since at least April 1869 and probably met little resistance from the local citizens.[58] For their part, the Godbeites liked the name because it brought pleasant associations of Great Britain's party of reform. Similar to John Bright, Richard Cobden, William Gladstone, and a host of other liberals who were transforming the face of British politics, the New Movement men hoped to ally "enlightened" middle-class reformers with the cause of the common man.

With the formation of the Liberal Party, two fixtures of Utah's new political landscape were in place. Until statehood in the mid-1890s, the Liberal and People's parties would contest election after election, usually with the pro-Mormon party gaining lopsided majorities. This of course reflected demographics: the Mormon people greatly

outnumbered their opponents. But the margin of the People's victory also came because of a Liberal Party predilection. For many Liberals, victory at the polls was less important than maintaining a strong doctrinaire anti-Mormonism. While the Liberals might not carry Utah, their strident platforms and repeated challenges of election results could influence public opinion in the East, where many Utah reconstructionists believed the final issue of the Mormon theocracy would be decided. For the Liberal Party, politics was not a process of building coalitions but a crusade.

These factors were present in the campaign of 1870. Parts of the coalition came together—the Corinne partisans eventually allowed Maxwell to carry the new party's colors in the congressional campaign. But the party's anti-polygamy, pro-Cullom Bill planks forced the Godbeites to the sidelines.[59] The result was overwhelming: Maxwell received only 1,444 votes out of the 23,101 that were cast, or a little more than one out of every twenty ballots. Hooper was handily returned to Washington.

Although Harrison sat out the congressional election, he nevertheless took the opportunity to explain his views. On the question of plural marriage, his position had changed dramatically in the past half-year. Instead of seeing the practice as divinely sanctioned, as he had once maintained, Harrison now called polygamy Utah's "special horror." It had to be stopped, Harrison acknowledged, but the question was how. Sorting through alternatives, including federal compulsion, Harrison stated a basic principle: "We believe in the right of all men and women to decide their own marriage relations. We consider marriage purely a moral question, and we go in for unlimited freedom of thought as to what is moral or immoral. When we once allow political parties to define morals for us we are open to be hampered and chained to the views of any religious section that may have the greatest amount of influence. . . . In our opinion all that mankind needs is sufficient education, literature and the refinements of art, and every man is thereafter a 'Congress' in himself as to what is pure or impure."[60]

If the matter was left to the monitor within each man and woman, Harrison believed the practice of plural marriage would slowly disappear. At present, only a "cold sense of religious duty" seemed to preserve it, with Utahns everywhere talking about the need for change. Harrison wanted to encourage these attitudes. "We hold that the people of Utah are appealable to by reason as much as any other people, while they are just as hard to convert by legislative enactments." In short, government meddling would only impede the progress that was being made.[61]

Harrison was wrong in his forecasting, as another two or three decades of tenaciously practiced Mormon plural marriage would prove. Yet his argument against Cullom-type intervention was a classic statement in behalf of education and personal choice, precisely what Godbeitism, Harrison thought, had come to embody. The New Movement was libertarian; it existed to teach the people to "think for themselves," without the influence or direction of "religious leaders of any kind." Nor did Harrison want politicians to take the priests' place. Because the Liberal Party leaders aspired to do just that, Harrison would not support them.[62]

Soundly defeated in 1870, many Liberals hoped for something better in the county elections of the next year. Some even seemed willing to broaden their party. Reflecting this new spirit, in July 1871 Kelsey was made president of the Salt Lake City Liberals, and Lawrence, Godbe, and Salisbury received committee appointments.[63] A slate of Gentile but "conservative" nominees was selected, and a ratification meeting for these names was scheduled for 22 July at Salt Lake City's Liberal Institute building.

Sensing a change in the party's course, many Mormons came to the meeting; some perhaps were "shopping" for a new political party. Enthusiastic Liberal reconstructionists occupied the other half of the seats, and it was to this constituency that General Maxwell addressed his keynote remarks. Maxwell praised his party for bringing the rule of law to Utah and for opening the territory to mining, which now, he said, was the settled policy of almost all Utah citizens, including the Mormons. Then Maxwell turned to the

inevitable question of polygamy. It was a crime, he said, and he hoped that Mormon leaders would soon be punished for it—certainly before their polygamy-practicing "dupes" were prosecuted.

The insinuation that anyone practicing plural marriage was a "dupe" of LDS leaders touched many in the audience, both Mormons and Godbeites. As this portion of the assembly stirred uneasily, the speaker tried to soften his words. But when Maxwell concluded his speech, his surging emotions produced yet another thrust about plural marriage and the Godbeites. The gentile wing of the Liberal Party had protected these reform Mormons as long as possible, he said. In the future, even Godbeites would be thrown up "to justice."[64]

Maxwell's speech began a flow of anti-Mormonism that Dennis Toohy continued without hesitation. Toohy, now editor of the *Corinne Reporter,* spoke of Utah's "sensuality and crime"; it was a place where immorality had been "lifted up where virtue ought to reign." In Toohy's view, Mormonism had "seduced" the "best blood of Europe" to "bow down before a false shrine"—people from all over Europe had fallen prey to Mormonism with but one exception. No honest Irishman, said Toohy, himself a native of the Emerald Isle, had ever become a Mormon—not one, he insisted. "The Irishman who could become a Mormon and obey their priesthood—what flattery to call him a man."[65]

The speeches of Maxwell and Toohy apparently were inadvertent passion, foolish and lacking courtesy and common sense, perhaps, but not a deliberate attempt to force the Godbeites from the Liberal Party. The effect, however, was the same. When Toohy took his seat, an outraged Edward Tullidge demanded that religious beliefs in a political meeting be withheld—only quickly to break his own rule by reminding Toohy, a Catholic, that Rome's theocracy matched Salt Lake City's.[66] Kelsey was also furious. He had not identified himself with the Liberal Party to crusade against the Mormon people, Kelsey told the audience. He had sincerely entered into plural marriage, and now, even having left Mormonism, would "sacrifice his life rather than repudiate his wives and children." Toohy had called the Mormon

men "hogs," and Kelsey now returned the identical epithet, as the strongly divided audience reacted with cheers and hisses. With the meeting out of control, its managers gaveled a hasty adjournment, which the pro-LDS *Salt Lake Herald* thought tardy. "The Liberal Party is dead," the newspaper exulted, "disemboweled by its own hand."[67]

The bickering continued for several more days in the territory's newspapers. In a lengthy letter that was published in the *Tribune,* Kelsey once more asserted his opposition to the Mormon theocracy. But Kelsey was not willing to trade Mormon wrongs for gentile wrongs. The recent Liberal Party caucus had convinced him that the Liberals not only didn't want a connection with the Godbeites but were bent on war against the Mormon people, for whom he retained great affection. They were his people; many he had helped convert. He knew of their "fidelity to their religion, their morality, their industry, and sobriety." He would never support a movement aimed at their destruction. As for plural marriage, he would agree to a policy of no future plural unions, but would resist the dissolving of families already in place.[68]

Kelsey's comments were relatively mild compared to those of the *Salt Lake Tribune,* at the time the organ for the Salt Lake City Godbeites. For once, the moderate-toned reformers used extreme language. The speeches of Maxwell and Toohy were the acts of "brawling demagogues" and "violent, brainless men," who saw in polygamy a reflection of their own "vile" thoughts. Toohy? The *Tribune* dismissed him as a "bigoted Catholic."[69] In reply the *Corinne Reporter* had its own billingsgate. The newspaper believed that the Godbeite speakers at the Liberal Institute deserved the charity that "expresses itself in straight-jackets and opiates."[70]

The shouting match ended any chance for a strong Liberal showing in the coming election. When the ballots were counted, the People's Party again easily outdistanced its rival. But the results of the Liberal Institute fracas went beyond a single election. It showed that the radical Liberals, partly by design and partly by natural temper, had little interest in a broad-based coalition of independents. They preferred narrow anti-Mormonism. The radicals' previously

extended hand to the Godbeites, always tentative, would in the future be closely held.

Thus the election of 1871 marked the end of another Godbeite dream. There would be no political reform of Mormonism on Godbeite terms, either nationally or locally. The Grant administration, counting votes and sensing Godbeite timidity, soon gave its support to others. It increasingly put its Utah policy in the hands of Shaffer's successors, Governors Vernon H. Vaughan and George L. Woods, and especially Chief Justice James B. McKean.[71] Moreover, a decade later the Cullom Bill was disinterred. During the 1880s, almost every provision of the 1870 bill became law, as the national government embarked on its judicial raid on Utah.

Locally, the Godbeite influence over politics was as short-lived as its influence over federal policy. After helping to organize the Liberal Party, the Mormon dissenters became effectively disfranchised. The People's Party provided no home; nor could the Godbeites find safe harbor with the Liberals. During the 1870s and 1880s, Godbe, Kelsey, Salisbury, and especially Lawrence occasionally worked with the Liberals. However, Godbeitism and "coalition politics" were no longer mentioned. Participation after 1871 was on gentile terms, and Godbeite "moderation" was set aside.

Notes

^1. Colfax, *Mormon Question,* p. 4.

^2. This was Tullidge's explanation of Colfax's Salt Lake City excursion, which seems plausible; see Tullidge, *HSLC,* pp. 391–93. For details of the 1865 visit, see Martin, *Life and Public Services of Schuyler Colfax,* pp. 193–202.

^3. Colfax, *Mormon Question,* p. 5.

^4. During the months preceding the completion of the railroad, the *DEN* repeatedly expressed such views.

^5. *NYHer,* 10 Oct. 1869, p. 6; 10 Nov. 1869, p. 4; and 14 Nov. 1869, p. 6.

^6. Cullom, "Menace of Mormonism," p. 381.

^7. The bill's text when presented to the House is found in Cullom, *Speech of Hon. Shelby M. Cullom.* For wording of earlier versions and for the reactions of supporters and detractors, see Baskin, *Reminiscences of Early Utah,* pp. 28–31; *Senator Cullom's Anti-Mormon Bill;* and House of Representatives, *Execution of the Laws in Utah.*

^8. *DEN,* 5 Jan. 1870, p. 2. For other examples of LDS outrage, minutes of the SL School of the Prophets, 1 Jan. and 26 Mar. 1870, LDS Archives.

^9. Minutes of the SL School of the Prophets, 1 Jan. 1870, LDS Archives.

^10. William H. Hooper to BY, 17, 21, and 28 Jan. 1870, Hooper Corr., BY Papers, LDS Archives.

^11. Tullidge, *HSLC,* pp. 428–29.

^12. Baskin later conceded his authorship (Baskin, *Reminiscences of Early Utah,* p. 28).

^13. Jack, "Utah Territorial Politics," p. 155. For a treatment of Box Elder County's non-LDS city, see Madsen, *Corinne.*

^14. Tullidge, *HSLC,* p. 429.

^15. *DEN,* 10 Feb. 1870, p. 2.

^16. *MTrib,* 12 Feb. 1870; BY to Brigham H. Young, 16 Feb. 1870, BY Letterbooks, LDS Archives.

^17. Tullidge, "Reformation in Utah," p. 608.

^18. Ibid.

^19. *NYHer,* 12 Feb. 1870, p. 5.

^20. *MTrib,* 12 Feb. 1870.

^21. BY to William H. Hooper, 11 Feb. 1870, BY Letterbooks, LDS Archives.

^22. BY to William H. Hooper, 11 Feb. 1870, and BY to Brigham H. Young, 16 Feb. 1870, BY Letterbooks, LDS Archives.

^23. Elias Morris to Albert Carrington, 23 Feb. 1870, *MStar* 32:186.

^24. Tullidge, *HSLC,* p. 429.

^25. The historical literature dealing with woman's suffrage is divided over the questions of impetus and motivation, some arguing that LDS women were simply pawns of their leaders' desires to cultivate a favorable national public image and others suggesting a more active and important role for the female Saints in gaining the suffrage. Likely both influences were at work. For representative views, see Beeton, "Woman Suffrage in Territorial Utah," and *Women Vote in the West;* Alexander, "Experiment in Progressive Legislation"; and Van Wagenen, "In Their Own Behalf," and "Sister-Wives and Suffragists," pp. 18–19, 23.
^26. *NYHer,* 12 Feb. 1870, p. 4.
^27. BY to Brigham H. Young, 16 Feb. 1870, BY Letterbooks, LDS Archives.
^28. Tullidge, *HSLC,* p. 437.
^29. As cited in ibid., p. 468.
^30. Ibid., pp. 468–69.
^31. Ten years later, in another presidential memorial, Tullidge sought the appointment of Smith as Utah's governor (Tullidge to Rutherford B. Hayes, 19 Oct. 1879, "Letters Received by the Federal Government Regarding Polygamy," U.S. Department of the Interior).
^32. WSGodbe, "Statement on 2 September 1884," p. 11, University of California at Berkeley, Bancroft Library.
^33. Tullidge, "Godbeite Movement," p. 58.
^34. Ibid.
^35. William H. Hooper letter, 24 Mar. 1870, cited in JH, same date.
^36. *DEN,* 4 Mar. 1870, p. 4.
^37. *Chicago Tribune,* cited in the *MStar* 32 (22 Mar. 1870): 181.
^38. *MStar* 32 (31 May 1870): 348.
^39. Thomas L. Kane to BY, 20 Mar. 1870, Kane Papers, LDS Archives.
^40. *DEN,* 28 Mar. 1870, p. 3.
^41. Tullidge, "Godbeite Movement," pp. 59–61.

^42. *DEN,* 28 Mar. 1870, p. 3.
^43. Ibid., 9 Apr. 1870, p. 2, quoting statement of O. J. Hollister, 2 Apr. 1870, in the *Omaha Herald,* 6 Apr. 1870.
^44. J. W. Shaffer to U. S. Grant, 16 Mar. 1869, Letters of Application and Recommendation during the Administration of Ulysses S. Grant, 1869–1877, U.S. Department of State. For Shaffer's role in Utah's reconstruction, including some of his correspondence with government authorities in the East, see Dwyer, *Gentile Comes to Utah,* pp. 65–72.
^45. Tullidge, *HSLC,* p. 480.
^46. J. W. Shaffer to Hamilton Fish, 1 Apr. 1870, U.S. Department of State, Territorial Papers.
^47. *NYHer,* 22 Mar. 1870, p. 6; J. W. Shaffer to Hamilton Fish, 30 Apr. 1870, U.S. Department of State, Territorial Papers.
^48. Tullidge, "Godbeite Movement," p. 63.
^49. J. Wilson Shaffer to Shelby Cullom, 27 Apr. 1870, U.S. Department of State, Territorial Papers.
^50. J. W. Shaffer to U. S. Grant, 7 July 1870, U.S. Department of State, Territorial Papers.
^51. Tullidge, *HSLC,* p. 490. Shaffer's anti-Mormonism is treated in Layton, "Fort Rawlins, Utah."
^52. Tullidge, "Godbeite Movement," p. 63; Edward W. Tullidge to BY, Dec. 1872, BY Incoming Corr., LDS Archives.
^53. Tullidge, *HSLC,* p. 402.
^54. *Utah Tri-Weekly Reporter* (Corinne), 1 Feb. 1870, p. 2.
^55. *Daily Corinne Reporter,* 29 June 1870, p. 2.
^56. Ibid., 9 July 1870, p. 2.
^57. Jack, "Utah Territorial Politics," p. 162.
^58. Madsen, *Corinne,* p. 103.
^59. Beadle, *Polygamy,* pp. 421–22.
^60. Tullidge, *Tullidge's Histories. Volume II,* pp. 313–14.
^61. Ibid., pp. 313–14.
^62. Ibid.
^63. *SLTrib,* 13 July 1871, p. 3, and 14 July 1871, p. 2.

^64. Tullidge, *HSLC,* pp. 506–7.
^65. Ibid., pp. 507–8.
^66. *SLHer,* 25 July 1871, p. 2.
^67. Ibid.
^68. Eli B. Kelsey letter, 25 July 1871, *SLTrib,* 27 July 1871, p. 3.
^69. Ibid., 27 July 1871, p. 3, and 31 July 1871, p. 2.
^70. *Daily Corinne Reporter,* 31 July 1871, p. 2.
^71. These events are described by Alexander, "Federal Authority versus Polygamic Theocracy."

Chapter 13

Newspaper War

During the fall of 1869, when everyone was talking about the New Movement and the reformers still hoped to take over the leadership of the Mormon church, the *Utah Magazine* announced that it would become a weekly newspaper. It was hoped that a newspaper would reach a wider audience and popularize the forthcoming reform. Harrison and Godbe promised their readers that the new periodical would continue the *Utah Magazine*'s goal of "advocating freedom of speech and mental liberty." In addition, the newspaper, named the *Mormon Tribune,* would champion the "highest facts of science," the "noblest truths of religion," and the "widest sentiments of charity." This paper would demonstrate that the Mormon community was willing to "look any truth in the face, whether it may have belonged to our original belief or not."[1]

Thus began another Godbeite legacy—an impassioned and sometimes colorful newspaper war. The legacy had begun with the writing of Tullidge and Harrison in the *Millennial Star* and had continued with the *Peep O'Day* and the *Utah Magazine.* Next came the weekly *Mormon Tribune,* which in turn had its own offspring, including the ably managed and written daily newspaper the *Salt Lake Tribune.* Nineteenth-century Mormonism would have few foes more determined than the *Salt Lake Tribune.* Rising to the challenge of the New Movement press were newspaper opponents from across the spectrum of Utah society. One of these was the short-lived but popular *Keep-A-Pitchinin,* Utah's first illustrated humor periodical. The *Keep-A-Pitchinin* may have been flippant and superficial and at times trivial, but it charted Godbeite fortunes and contributed to their decline.

In introducing the *Mormon Tribune,* the Godbeites showed their usual idealism—and presumption. The title, which showed the New Movement members' care with words, said everything: the newspaper was to be a tribune of the people, defending their interests and protecting them.[2] To fulfill these promises, the

newspaper called on the best of Godbeite talent—many of whom had already worked for the *Utah Magazine.* Harrison and Godbe were officially the newspaper's proprietors, though the latter, showing his faith by his funds, was the actual patron. Harrison and Tullidge served as editors, Kelsey as advertising and business manager, and Daniel Camomile as canvassing agent. These men were later joined by Shearman and Perris. The project was delayed by a shortage of paper, but finally, during the night of 1 January 1870, the newspaper began its first run.[3] The anxious and historically minded Godbeites wanted the first issue to bear the date of the first day of the new year, even though the newspaper did not appear on the streets until the next day. Such things were important when proclaiming a new era.

The newspaper reflected the Godbeites' usual high standards. Even Brigham Young conceded that "it was a good sized sheet of 8 pages," though he fumed over the paper's obvious alliance with old church enemies.[4] The early issues extolled the events and program of the religious reform—explaining, persuading, debating. The obvious hope was to provide another forum, besides the Church of Zion's public meetings, to educate Utah's public. As such, the paper bore the stamp of the New Movement: it was literate, high-toned, and principled. It could also be wordy—and at times tedious. Some editions rolled off the press with little actual news to report; its columns were instead devoted to theological and philosophical questions.

One of the reasons for the new format must have been financial. The *Utah Magazine* had consistently lost money. Hoping to reverse this trend, Godbe and Harrison believed that a newspaper could contain more advertising and thereby defray costs and perhaps produce a profit. The resulting advertisements that the *Tribune* secured showed the Godbeites' new orientation. Most notices came from the community's non-Mormon and anti-Mormon merchants, who bought advertising in part to subsidize an opposition press.

Godbe wanted the *Tribune* to be first class. At considerable expense, he established on Main Street a modern newspaper plant,

which was described as "metropolitan" in "arrangement, size, and comfort." In fact, no newspaper outside the "great cities of the country" could equal it, its proprietors boasted. With the new facility came a vow: "We shall increase until the *Tribune* shall become the most popular, influential and widely-circulated newspaper of the mid-continent."[5]

In April 1871 the newspaper itself was completely reworked. The *Mormon Tribune* became a daily newspaper and, abandoning its Godbeite origins, it secured a new name, a new focus, and a new editorial management. The *Salt Lake Daily Tribune and Utah Mining Gazette* promised to be a "purely secular" journal, devoted to the commercial and mineral interests of the territory. This meant breaking down the old Mormon and non-Mormon trade barriers, opening up the territory to the outside world of commerce, and covering the news of Utah's mushrooming mining camps. On political and social questions, the newspaper promised to uphold the national government and oppose the Mormon church's alleged "interference" in civil and legislative matters. Further, it wanted a "free ballot," which meant putting an end to the current system of numbering and registering ballots. Miners, in particular, complained that Mormon authorities used this device to limit their voting.[6]

To effect these changes and put the newspaper on an expert footing, Godbe summoned Oscar G. Sawyer from New York City to act as editor. Sawyer had had ten years' experience with the *New York Herald,* having served as a European and Civil War correspondent and apparently as a staff writer and editor at the home office as well. Stenhouse, who advised Godbe on the *Tribune*'s retooling, had recommended Sawyer. If the *Tribune* were to succeed, it was thought that the amateur Godbeite editors had to be replaced with professionals.[7] To this point, the *Tribune* was as unprofitable as the old *Utah Magazine.*

Harrison left his post as chief editor with grace. His valedictory cited three years of "arduous editorial toil" and the need for a rest.[8] Perhaps some of this was true: the past months must have taken their toll on the high-strung Harrison. Godbe eased his friend's pain

at being removed by giving Harrison one thousand shares of stock in the transformed newspaper.[9] Moreover, a weekly *Tribune* was to be retained under Shearman's separate editorship. For this second publication, it was expected that Harrison and other Godbeite leaders would occasionally write New Movement editorials that would accompany a reprinting of some of the daily *Tribune*'s news.

At first, Sawyer styled the *Tribune* as a peacemaker. He promised that the newspaper would no longer make the usual "Mormon" and "Gentile" distinctions. Instead, he promised that the newspaper's goal lay in ending partisanship, encouraging charitable feeling, and promoting "better acquaintance." In short, the daily *Tribune* aspired to be a Salt Lake City newspaper in every sense of the word—for Mormons, non-Mormons, and even anti-Mormons.[10]

That resolve quickly vanished. Within days of becoming editor, Sawyer began to attack the Mormon establishment. One frequent victim was his rival, the *Deseret Evening News.* The writers of the church organ *News* were "splendid antiquarians," went one passage. They told readers about Abraham, Jacob, and Noah, but nothing of Lincoln, Grant, or the United States. "Would it not be well for them to enter upon a study of modern history, beginning with the Christian Era?"[11] Another object of criticism, of course, was President Young, who was described as Utah's money-grubbing "Boss Tweed." When the construction of a church-owned railroad spur to Provo was announced, the *Tribune* had faint praise for the Mormon leader: "That's better business than 'loafing round the throne' or preaching inflammatory sermons against the gentiles and the Government." Other Sawyer sallies were aimed at Young's commercial boycott, ZCMI, the People's Party, Utah's "fanatical population," and the Mormon political and religious theocracy, which was described as "bigoted and unrepublican." When the 1871 election was over and the votes were counted, the *Tribune* tried to explain the Liberal Party catastrophe: "We doubt not [that] mules and cattle voted," it said caustically.[12]

The *Tribune* had equally strong words for the Corinne reconstructionists, who had split the party in July at the Liberal

Institute. These men were "brawling demagogues," with no "higher object in view than the elevation of themselves."[13] In hurling these charges, Sawyer and the other editorial writers of the newspaper suspected what later proved true. Toohy's unyielding attacks on the New Movement reformers were attempts not just to drive the Godbeites out of the Liberal Party, but to weaken the *Tribune*—Toohy wanted to transfer his own newspaper to the Utah capital. With Corinne's fortunes clearly in decline, Toohy was looking for a new field of action, and he hoped to position himself and his newspaper as the champion of the most extreme gentile demands.[14]

Sawyer's position was difficult. He was open to attack on the left by radicals like Toohy. On the right were the more conservative Godbeites and the property-owning Gentile merchants, who nervously wanted to avoid social and political disorder, in part because of their business holdings. Beset on both sides, the *Tribune* behaved erratically, sometimes embracing the position of one Liberal Party faction only later to shift to another.

There was one constant: Sawyer endorsed the acts of James B. McKean, a Republican stalwart who had been recently appointed as Utah's chief justice. McKean came west hoping to enact many of the provisions of the Cullom Bill by judicial ruling and, in the process, to force an end to the Mormon commonwealth. To achieve his ends, soon after arriving in the territory McKean worked out a public relations alliance with Sawyer, now the most powerful gentile journalist in the territory. In exchange for favorable publicity, McKean began secretly to feed his new ally material supporting his judicial actions. Some charged that McKean actually ghostwrote editorials; others said he merely provided "background briefings." Tullidge believed that McKean even leaked confidential grand jury information to the *Tribune* editor.[15]

Some of the Godbeites, aware of McKean's misconduct, were willing to look beyond it. Whatever his excesses, McKean was viewed as "a good man at heart," which meant that his ends covered the impropriety of his means. However, Harrison was less forgiving—particularly of Sawyer, who used McKean's material. Both Sawyer's

"Bohemian" ways and his biting anti-Mormon editorials grated on Harrison, and the Mormon reformer began to respond to Sawyer's conduct in the *Weekly Tribune.* Sawyer tried to explain the deepening and embarrassing rift between the two Salt Lake City newspapers, each bearing the same name. The *Weekly Tribune* was a religious publication, while the daily *Tribune* was "free, independent, [and] secular," said Sawyer. His newspaper was not Godbeite, but served the interests of the whole territory.[16]

Events climaxed in November. The heavily vexed Harrison, who was still a principal shareholder in the publishing corporation, demanded a meeting of the *Tribune*'s board of directors. Condemning the lack of scruples that allowed Sawyer to accept McKean's anonymous writing, Harrison also criticized the daily's stream of abuse. The newspaper, he said, was never meant to be an enemy to the Mormon people. Harrison's censure apparently was passionate, determined, and ultimately successful. As others in the room joined his criticism, Sawyer finally realized that he must resign.[17]

When announcing his resignation to readers, Sawyer cited "journalistic incompatibility." He said nothing about the McKean embarrassment, which remained a private chagrin among insiders. With Sawyer gone, the newspaper published a series of formal resolutions that the directors claimed would be the newspaper's new policy. In the future "the Mormon question" would be discussed only with "moderation and kindness," it was promised. Moreover, the newspaper would avoid partisanship. Its voice would be "*Free, Liberal, [and] Independent,*" devoted to the interests of the "*entire* people of Utah."[18] Harrison's victory seemed complete.

The directors' promises, however, proved difficult to keep. The new, bland editorial policy appealed to neither Mormons nor Liberals. Without a natural constituency or readership, the newspaper continued to bleed cash—perhaps as much as two to three hundred dollars weekly.[19] Unable to shoulder the burden any longer, Godbe, who had not attended the board meeting that fired Sawyer, broadened the newspaper's ownership. In August 1871 he

transferred one thousand shares of his stock to Lawrence, probably to repay his friend's past subsidies to the newspaper. About the same time, the *Tribune* corporation raised cash by issuing six thousand new shares to a half-dozen additional investors. Six months later the corporation apparently diluted the stock still further.[20] By early 1872, the transfer of ownership was complete. The newspaper informed its readers that neither Godbe nor Harrison controlled its editorial policy—or for that matter, the publishing corporation. Instead, the *Tribune* was a large stock company, owned by "leading businessmen" who wanted the paper to be independent of party interests.[21]

But still the newspaper did not prosper. During 1871 and much of the following year, Godbeites Crouch, Tullidge, and Perris played leading roles at the newspaper, with "Mr. Slocum," a prominent California spiritualist, lending support. But the men were unable to give the paper a consistent editorial policy. "It was an 'opera bouffe' affair," said a critic harshly. "To-day it would be spiritualistic, tomorrow violently anti-Mormon, the next day, perhaps, running foul of christian orthodoxy. . . . It was everything by turns and nothing long."[22]

And expenses continued to mount. After two and a half years of heavy losses, the *Tribune* owners transferred the paper to Kansas newspapermen George F. Prescott, A. M. Hamilton, and Frederick Lockley, formerly of the *Leavenworth Commercial,* with the following agreement: the new owners pledged to maintain a "moderate" journalistic tone and to make no new financial demands on the paper's old shareholders.[23] It was a fire sale bargain. The Kansas group secured the newspaper by assuming whatever liability lay in continuing its operation. The newspaper's old owners, at all costs, did not want the embarrassment of seeing the *Tribune* go under.

The new owners pared expenses and dropped nonpaying subscribers and advertisers. Responding to the new owners' energy, the old cadre of *Tribune* supporters reemerged to help. Chislett, "a fluent and easy writer," contributed articles. Godbe also gave suggestions, while Stenhouse was "unstinted" in his help. Others

were free with advice: Liberal reconstructionists and miners bluntly told Lockley that they didn't want a nonpartisan journal. Put off by the alleged "arrogance and assumption of the Mormon priesthood," they wanted a "fearless and outspoken organ."[24]

These pleas had their effect. When first taking over the newspaper, Lockley pledged the reconstituted *Tribune* would be a family newspaper. Even the "most sensitive and delicate" readers would feel perfectly comfortable in receiving future copies, he had said.[25] Within several weeks, however, Lockley reversed course and was publishing a "pitch-in" paper that exceeded even Sawyer's malignity. The *Tribune*'s columns, while "bright" and "newsy," were "virulent" and often "brutal," wrote Mormon historian Orson F. Whitney in his turn-of-the-century *History of Utah.* "Everything that the Mormons held sacred was derided, burlesqued and defamed." Mormon women were called "mistresses, procuresses, 'old hens,' 'conks,' or concubines." When challenged about the tone of his opposition, Lockley reportedly explained that "decent language would not do justice to the subject they assailed."[26] More likely Lockley was in the business of selling newspapers.

While uncomfortable with many of Lockley's flourishes, many Godbeites understood that the man had probably "saved" the newspaper—and had rescued them from having one of their movement's most tangible "successes" become an item of public ridicule. But the scrupulous Harrison could not so easily swallow his sense of fair play. In a turbulent scene, he confronted Lockley in the *Tribune* office. Harrison's "eyes glared, he gesticulated wildly, and gave my desk a blow with his clenched fist, that set its contents dancing," Lockley remembered. He later complained to Lawrence of Harrison's behavior, but Lawrence passed the matter off lightly. Harrison meant well, Lawrence assured, though he was not always able to control himself.[27]

Lawrence's weak defense of his friend was symptomatic. Unlike the earlier episode when Harrison had forced Sawyer's resignation, this time Harrison would not have his way. "Realism" now reigned:

the principled cofounder of Godbeitism was firmly told not to bother Lockley further and to stay away from the *Tribune* office.[28]

For a while Harrison fought a rearguard action. When the *Tribune* had been handed over to Lockley and his Kansas associates, Harrison had been allowed to continue to publish the *Weekly Tribune,* now rechristened the *Leader.* As before, it was expected that the new periodical would reprint the most important news columns of the *Tribune,* while at the same time providing scholarly and spiritualistic editorials, thus preserving the flavor of Godbeite journalism that had begun with the *Peep O'Day* and the *Utah Magazine.*

One of the first editorials explained the new name of the new enterprise. The name "*Leader,*" Harrison wrote, was taken from a classical English journal that had the reputation of courteous discussion of prominent political, social, and reform issues. This approach Harrison hoped to emulate. "The solidity of argument[,] the fairness of spirit, the ability of style manifested in that paper years ago, . . . make us desire to establish one like it."[29]

Harrison was once more doing what he clearly enjoyed—writing. He had not contributed to the weekly or daily *Tribune* for over a year. During that time he may have tried to establish a magazine of his own. Whatever the nature of this earlier effort—only a brief reference remains of its possible title, the *Western Star*—Harrison hoped to make the *Leader* the finest "weekly in the West."[30]

He faced the usual difficulty of securing an audience among Utah's frontier, leisure-and-resource-meager citizens. There was the additional challenge of including in his publication Lockley's strongly worded copy. After two months of publication, Harrison acknowledged his newspaper's split personality: its editorials, he told readers, said one thing, and its columns another. Two weeks later, Harrison further dissociated himself from Lockley. "Within the past few months, the management of the *Daily Tribune,* as a financial experiment had been placed in the hands of the present managers," he wrote with disdain. But the Kansas managers had violated their agreement to write in "consonance" with the views of the old board

of directors, of which he was a part. Whatever the attitude of the other directors, Harrison wanted the public to know that Lockley's writing did not have his endorsement.[31]

The statement infuriated Lockley. Privately the *Tribune* editor spoke of Harrison's lack of energy; Harrison could not even "rustle for his own living."[32] The reference undoubtedly was to Godbe's willingness to support his friend's various publishing enterprises—and to Harrison's willingness to accept such largess. Lockley's public statements about Harrison were as scathing. In a rejoinder to Harrison's most recent editorial, Lockley wrote a *Tribune* column that called Harrison an ineffectual busybody and compared him to the proverbial gnat who, resting on a bull's horn, offered to fly away if his presence was tiring. "I did not know you were there," the newspaper had Taurus responding.[33]

Harrison shot back. He accused the Kansas journalists of taking the *Tribune*'s former "dignified, manly and conscientious opposition to political Mormonism" and of making it a platform for "low, scurrilous abuse . . . [against] any and every prominent individual in the Mormon Church."[34] This, however, was a war that Harrison had no chance of winning. Events had passed him by. The Gentile and Godbeite backers of the two newspapers, wearied by their losses and not unopposed to Lockley's forceful and more profitable style, no longer had a use for Harrison. He was told to close up shop.

Once more he retired with dignity. In his farewell editorial, he insisted that for the most part the *Leader* had been on the "increase" and seemed to have a promising future. However, because of his dispute with Lockley and his "radical disagreement" with current *Tribune* policy, he had been denied access to the *Tribune*'s presses, and the *Leader* could no longer be printed. Then, in closing, Harrison summoned several old Godbeite images. The *Leader* had sought the "peaceful harmonization of affairs in Utah" and "untrammeled thought." Harrison predicted that "scores of powerful agencies" would come forward to continue this reform agenda. An "army of free thinkers"—those who had "already

changed the face of affairs in Utah"—would continue to expand their ranks and influence.[35] At least that was Harrison's hope.

This, of course, was stouthearted talk in the face of overwhelming personal defeat. As from the beginning, Harrison had in his arsenal chiefly words. Now they seemed suddenly frail—the expression of a man whose talent and views no longer seemed important. To make the point even more certainly, Godbe made Harrison's valedictory possible by paying the *Tribune* to print the *Leader*'s final issue and by persuading the reluctant Lockley to do so.

Godbeite opponents met the succession of New Movement magazines and newspapers with their own press. For a half-dozen years before the outbreak of Godbeitism, the Mormons had defended themselves and circulated the news with two very different kind of newspapers. The *Deseret Evening News* was the church's sober-minded publication. It printed sermons, presented Latter-day Saint news and views, and incidentally spoke of the world at large. Somnolent and heavy, it was not suited to challenge the debate-eager Godbeite reformers. This task was made more difficult by President Young's policy of letting New Movement activities pass without comment.

Normally, Stenhouse's secular but church-committed *Telegraph* would have defended the Saints' interests during the dispute. But Stenhouse's personal failings and Young's apparent growing discontent with them had seriously undermined the *Telegraph.* Stenhouse's indecision before the School of the Prophets was the final wound. Two months later, during the first week of 1870, the newspaper finally ended its publication.

During the summer of 1870, the *Telegraph* was reborn as the *Salt Lake Herald.* It had a new owner and editor, but its personality was very much in the image of its predecessor. It remained a sister publication to the *Deseret Evening News,* supporting the local community and printing the secular news. None of these LDS newspapers—the *Deseret Evening News,* the *Telegraph,* or the *Herald*—gave much attention to the New Movement, either through policy or because of their publication calendar: the *Telegraph* had

suspended publication prior to the founding of the Church of Zion and the Liberal Party, while the *Herald* had not yet begun.

There was, however, an LDS publication on the scene to challenge Godbeitism. Salt Lake City's short-lived humor magazine, the *Keep-A-Pitchinin* (pronounced "keep a pitchin' in") was the unlikely vehicle seeking to fill this gap. Its chief editor, "Uno Hoo" (his editorial assistants were "Ubet Urlife" and "B.I.Z. Ness"), explained the paper's origin. "Everything was dull, dark and torpid," Uno Hoo wrote. "The world needed waking up."[36] In truth, the periodical and its goal of the "arousing of humanity" owed a great deal to the New Movement. The *Keep-A-Pitchinin* had started as early as 1867 as an occasional advertising broadside, but only in the first months of 1870 after the Godbeite movement began did the publication become a regular bimonthly. At this point, Godbeite leaders and events became regular victims of the paper's satire.

Although started and run by individual Utahns, the periodical had semiofficial sanction. The *News* recommended it. The church-owned press printed it. And men closely associated with church leaders wrote for it.[37] It is even possible that LDS authorities provided financial aid. Although the periodical floundered before the Godbeite revolt and failed after it, during the first months of 1870 when the dissenters were proclaiming their revolt, the *Keep-A-Pitchinin* enjoyed a surprising stability, given its limited advertising.

The identities of "Uno Hoo" and most of his editorial assistants were not hard to determine. The *Keep-A-Pitchinin*'s editor and publisher was George J. Taylor, eldest son and sometime business manager of John Taylor, apostle and later LDS president. George Taylor had impressive LDS credentials. He had been baptized by Joseph Smith and later served as a member of the Salt Lake Stake High Council, as a University of Deseret regent and instructor, as a Salt Lake City councilman, as editorial writer for the *Deseret News,* and as county coroner. In addition, George Taylor was an illustrator, art instructor, and music composer, and he had been a member of Utah's first debating club—along with a youthful William Godbe. As a

bachelor, George Taylor was a timid man who avoided marriage—a Mormon anomaly. But timidity did not subdue his humor.[38]

The rest of the *Keep-A-Pitchinin* staff members were cut from the same cloth. Their pseudonyms—"Marrowfat," "Resurgam," "Viator," and "Saxey"—were as colorful as Taylor's "Uno Hoo." Charles Savage and George M. Ottinger, who provided cartoons and articles, were partners in a photography business. Savage, a native of Great Britain, had been converted to Mormonism by Stenhouse, and the two men had later served together in the ministry. Savage later received national attention as territorial Utah's premier photographer. Ottinger had joined Mormonism after spending several years on the sea, and although he served as the Salt Lake superintendent of waterworks and as the fire department chief, his consuming ambition was to succeed as a painter of fine art.[39]

Equally talented were Joseph C. Rich and Heber J. Richards, sons of Elders Charles C. Rich and Willard Richards, members of the Quorum of Twelve. In his lifetime, Joseph Rich served as a surveyor, missionary, journalist, telegraph operator, merchant, lawyer, judge, and politician. Before contributing to the *Keep-A-Pitchinin,* he had proven his mettle as a humorist by creating, in his words, that "wonderful first class lie—'The Bear Lake Monster,'" Utah's transplant from Loch Ness. Richards was one of the territory's first young men to receive medical training in the East.[40] But of all the periodical's contributors, the most eminent and certainly the most anonymous was Orson Pratt, perhaps the Godbeites' most admired LDS apostle. George Taylor described the *Keep-A-Pitchinin* staff as a "brilliant array." In fact, most were among the ablest of Utah's coming generation.[41]

When the *Keep-A-Pitchinin* began regular publication in March 1870, the four-page bimonthly was warmly greeted by its serious sister journals. The *News* recommended the magazine to its readers, and the *Herald* found its fun "pretty good to take." Even the *Mormon Tribune* attempted to reply in kind by complimenting the "Orthodox party . . . on their 'New Move,'" borrowing the *Keep-A-Pitchinin*'s waggish epithet for the Godbeite "New Movement."[42] In April the

humor periodical announced that three printings of its first regular issue had been exhausted, and when an actor of the Salt Lake Theatre ad-libbed a comment concerning the *Keep-A-Pitchinin,* the audience roared with approval. The paper had gained a following.[43]

The *Keep-A-Pitchinin* used many of the comic conventions of its day. Like much of American nineteenth-century humor, especially that of the frontier, the paper's spirit frequently was gargantuan, filled with brag, overstatement, and mocking self-deprecation. "The first number of this paper, which caused such a revolution in the newspaper world, was issued in 1867," the editor declared in 1870 when the little magazine actually first began a regular publishing schedule. "Since then, it has been issued regularly to the minute according to the prospectus. There may be isolated individuals among our subscribers who have failed to receive all their numbers. This we attribute to the irregularities of the males."[44] The paper also reflected the nineteenth-century American delight for spelling and grammatical gaucherie, especially misspelled names. Harrison, Godbe, Tullidge, Salisbury, and Kelsey were rechristened, often with a touch of aptness, "Harrassing," "Goodboy," "Gullidge," "Sourberry," and "Ye Lie Kelsey," while Vice President Colfax became "Coldfacts." The woodcuts of the paper obviously owed a debt to the political cartoons of the day. Relatively prolix and complicated by modern standards, the illustrations were considered "wonderful" at the time.[45] These provided the *Keep-A-Pitchinin* with a distinction: the magazine was Utah's first illustrated journal.

While the *Keep-A-Pitchinin* satirized much in Utah society, Godbeitism was a staple in issue after issue. Under the headline of "New Lights for the City," the humor magazine responded to the dissidents' unending claims of further "light and truth." "We learn that the City Fathers design pulling down the recently erected lampposts and substituting a few personages of the New Move. That's as it should be," the paper lampooned. "The people require light, and while there is so much of it in the Movement, why not utilize it? This new gas does not equal the old in brilliancy, but this is made up in quantity."[46]

Taylor and his staff repeatedly mimicked the Godbeite use of words, which usage at times seemed more suited to specialized treatises than to persuading the common man or woman. Edward Tullidge's praise for the announced revelations of Harrison and Godbe, first published in the *Mormon Tribune,* became an irresistible object of attack. The *Keep-A-Pitchinin* article parodied Tullidge's tone and even borrowed an occasional word from the Godbeite revelations. The result was gobbledygook:

> The idiosincrasies of peculiar individualities, indicate the very incarnation of those inherent intellectual qualities, so natural to those of spiritual organic quality; giving to the whole being an impressible, inspirational tone which constitutes the divine essence of those lofty aspirations which permeate the circumambient atmosphere and lead to etherial constituents. Such susceptible embodiments of the sublimest conceptions venture into an infinitude of glorious periphery of thought; leaving the mundane circumstances of the terrestrial world they inhabit far beneath them, in their lofty flight in search of those heavenly gems of truth which were exemplified in the life of "the good Queen Bess." *Triumphant!* Triumphant!

"Uno Hoo's" postscript promised that a key to this treatise would be published "in the ensuing number of the *Tribune."*[47] The Godbeites, however, failed to comply.

The *Keep-A-Pitchinin* also satirized the Church of Zion's difficulty in finding leaders. "Wanted Immediately," said one classified advertisement, "1 competent Bishop and 1 1st Counselor." According to the *Keep-A-Pitchinin,* "faith [was] not much of an object, provided . . . [the candidates] like[d] *spirits* and don't believe in the d——l."[48] Taylor repeatedly mocked the reformers' inability to secure a president—the long-promised but mysterious "Coming Man." The journal's edition of 1 May contained a letter from "T. H. E. Gullidge" that explained the virtue of not having "a head." Two weeks later, another correspondent, "Gessoo Smith," reported that he had inquired of a Sister Williams, via a spiritualistic planchette, for a

"Zionific solution" to an "obstetrical wonder." How could an embryo grow arms but no head? The answer: "a false conception."[49]

The *Keep-A-Pitchinin*'s doubts about the Godbeites' head were not resolved by the ascension of the voluble Amasa Lyman. In one cartoon, the former apostle, dressed in a blacksmith's apron, was working hard to weld "universalism" and "spiritualism."[50] The humor magazine also contrasted the contemporary Amasa with his biblical namesake. The latter was a warrior who dealt in blows. In comparison, "the son of Roswell" found strength "in pretty words." A supposed sketch of Lyman's youth, full of nineteenth-century oratorical clichés, even accused the Church of Zion president of developing his skills by "reading novels whenever he could."[51] Novel reading in nineteenth-century Utah society was not usually a matter for praise.

The *Keep-A-Pitchinin* constantly ridiculed the New Movement's attraction to spiritualism. Announcing a solicitude for the rising number of Utah spiritualists, the paper promised a spiritual column to be written by Daniel Webster, Henry Clay, and a "few choice spirits who seem to have nothing better to do." Not much came of the promised feature, although the "transcendentally mediumistic" Wilkins Micawber did write from "Hot Springs, Purgettory" on "June 41th, 1870," to affirm the presence of "His Sul-furious Majesty." This, of course, was another barb at the Godbeite denial of Satan. When some Salt Lake City citizens claimed the existence of a mediumistically attained "spirit photograph," the paper confirmed the event by saying that "the spirit was in everybody's mouth." It employed the same play on words after Howard's Liquors moved into the old Church of Zion meeting hall on Main Street. The change, noted the *Keep-A-Pitchinin,* marked the trading of one kind of spirits for another.[52]

Uno Hoo and his staff showed the same serenity when discussing politics. Rather than getting angry over the Cullom Bill "Hum-bug," the staff printed a possible amendment to the proposed law that was once more written in the *Keep-A-Pitchinin*'s dense and misspelled prose:

> And be it furthermore, whereas, be it nacted notwitstanding howsever that them 40,000 trupes whats goin tu Utah tu keep peeple from marying their granmother, which is horrible and hadn't ought to be done ony in cases of extreme peril tu the nashun—cases where the popilation is going to Abrahams bosom faster than the law allows,—without any reciprocity treaty, be and the same trupes is hereby orthorized before tha start over the planes to clean out Washington, New York Shekargo, Bosting, and Sensinatty, eethr of wich has more law brakers than Utah, and the same trupes is by these presents orthorized too stop prostertution in all them places and to konfiskate all the property in them a fore said towns fur the benefit of the sitizens of the United Staits.

The *Keep-A-Pitchinin* was uncertain about the success of the new provision—too many respectable citizens might be disturbed by an attack on eastern "prostertution." On the other hand, Utah was an inviting field. Its small population meant that only a "few" people might be "exterminated" by an invasion of "40,000 trupes."[53]

The periodical denied the extravagant rumors being printed in the United States press about a Mormon insurrection. There was nothing in history like the current crisis, ridiculed Uno Hoo, excepting that occasion when "The king of France, with forty thousand men, / Marched up a hill, and then marched down again." To be sure, some Mormons were "up in arms" over the Cullom provisions, admitted *Keep-A-Pitchinin,* which then showed a cartoon of two children being held in the arms of a Cullom-Bill-distressed Mormon mother.[54]

After the bill lost momentum and the public outcry on the Mormon question temporarily lost force, Dr. J. P. Newman peremptorily traveled to Salt Lake City to challenge Brigham Young to debate the issue of plural marriage. Newman, who was President Grant's personal pastor, served as chaplain to the Senate and minister of the Methodist Metropolitan Church in the national capital. If Young refused to debate, bachelor Taylor and the *Keep-A-Pitchinin* were ready. However, Taylor's terms for the proposed debate were unique:

> The Dr. to try polygamy for six months, in order that he may get a practical knowledge of it, and we to enter into monogamy for the same length of time; at the end of which period, should the Dr. survive, we are to discuss the matter in the presence of our wives, socially, intellectually, physically, spiritually, morally, practically, syllogistically, somatically, materially, theoretically, temporally and eternally; neither to speak more than six hours at a time; and should the Dr. prefer it, we furthermore agree to occupy his pulpit in Washington, and edify his congregation there as much as he possibly could and draw his salary, as close as he dare to, while he takes our place in this city and draws our salary. We also intend to challenge the Pope of Rome and the Archbishop of Canterbury, and, should they fail (as we fully expect) to come to time, we shall publish them to the world as recreant poltroons and cowardly vagabonds.[55]

When Governor Shaffer took control of the Utah militia and ordered an end to all drilling, two members of the *Keep-A-Pitchinin*'s staff became involved in the ensuing controversy. Savage and Ottinger, along with others, violated the governor's sweeping orders by drilling in the Twentieth Ward with mock guns. The heavy-handed Shaffer had them arrested for "treason." But the *Keep-A-Pitchinin* refused to be thrown off balance. It described Savage and Ottinger's crime as: "one of the most daring and desperate attempts on the peace and safety of a nation ever recorded in the annals of crime. . . . The mind of man faints, staggers and falls back in its vain attempts to grasp the savage diabolism projected by these fiends in human form. Had they been successful, they would undoubtedly have slain the inhabitants, destroyed the nation and emptied the debris into the Gulf of Mexico."[56] A grand jury failed to indict any of the men involved in the "wooden-gun" rebellion, and Savage and Ottinger were set free.

The *Keep-A-Pitchinin* frequently dueled with the Godbeite magazines and newspapers. For instance, it gave the *Utah Magazine* what at first seemed a compliment. "We have seen some good things in that magazine," the *Keep-A-Pitchinin* observed. "We once

got a pound of sausages rolled up in it." "Uno Hoo" and his associates used the same joke to explain why the magazine had been transformed into the *Mormon Tribune.* The *Tribune*'s earlier format had served butchers and fishmongers for the wrapping of butter, lard, and bacon, it claimed. "Feeling encouraged by this liberal support and realizing from past experience what it [the *Utah Magazine*] was most useful for, and being desirous to extend its usefulness, the proprietors immediately enlarged it to a size better adapted to the wants of the community, in papering trunks, and enclosing packages of dry goods."[57] When the *Tribune* condescendingly noted the receipt of a copy of the *Keep-A-Pitchinin* via the daily newspaper's "hired hand," the humor magazine secured a "hired girl" to critique its rival. The choice undoubtedly was influenced by the *Tribune*'s embrace of the "women's movement."[58]

Feeling disadvantaged by the *Keep-A-Pitchinin*'s success, some Godbeites decided to fight humor with humor. In December 1870, James Bond and Daniel Camomile, active in the New Movement, began issuing the *Diogenes.* Daniel Wells described the contents of the first issue of the *Diogenes* as "intended to be very severe" against the Mormons.[59] The Corinne group however had a more positive reaction. The *Daily Reporter* thought that the new Godbeite humor magazine did the "work of regeneration better than all the schisms combined. . . . It keeps up a steady fire of good religious wit against the humbugs of the age."[60]

The *Keep-A-Pitchinin,* however, refused to take the challenge seriously. Confusing the spelling of the *Diogenes*'s new publishing schedule, Uno Hoo commented on the intention of the new periodical to be a "weakly." "This announcement is entirely unnecessary," Uno Hoo mused, "as the numbers already issued sufficiently indicate its nature. It is a significant fact that the *head scenter* of this institution has to turn away from home to find an honest man, and that his lantern emits rays of darkness instead of light."[61]

The orthodox humor paper at first rechristened its rival the "*Di-agonies*" and later, when rumors of its suspension spread, the "*Die-*

agonus."[62] "If they should succeed in getting out another number or two, we suggest that putting a joke or two in each paper would help the sale of it," said the *Keep-A-Pitchinin.* An alternative was to let the *Diogenes* "sink into that abyss of oblivion to which the 'New Move' is fast hastening."[63]

Because no issues of the short-lived *Diogenes* have survived, it is impossible to assess the *Keep-A-Pitchinin*'s criticism of its opponent. But the Mormon periodical was right about the rapid decline of the Church of Zion, which now made the New Movement seem almost beneath the *Keep-A-Pitchinin*'s notice.

Yet there were several last thrusts. One *Keep-A-Pitchinin* cartoon had the remaining Godbeites riding in the basket of a deflating air balloon, deliberating on the plight of their failing enterprise. The boastful *Keep-A-Pitchinin* took full credit for the demise. "Yes, we are happy to be able to say that it [the New Movement] is about exhausted, and that the *Keep-A-Pitchinin* has exhausted it. . . . We shall not charge anything for the obituary notice; as we stated in the beginning we will publish the marriage or death of any of our friends or contemporaries with pleasure."[64] Six weeks later the periodical proceeded with the figurative burial of its opposition. Unable to resist a final taunt over the Godbeites' inability to secure Joseph Smith III as their leader, the journal advertised for a stonecutter: "One who can cut a nice inspiration in granite to be placed over the sepulchre of the 'New Move.' No *Head* stone required but a simple inexpensive footboard with the following inscription[:] . . . 1871. Sacred to the memory of the 'New Move,' aged 1 year and six months. *Requi[e] 'scat' in pace."*[65]

Perhaps the *Keep-A-Pitchinin*'s jubilation should have been more restrained. Denied the prime object of its humor, the journal lost its own reason for being. On 15 February 1871, after only a year of bimonthly printing, the *Keep-A-Pitchinin* ended its regular publishing run. Taylor produced a special Fourth of July edition in 1871, and for several years he claimed the paper would once more be published. But its obituary of the Church of Zion proved the *Keep-A-Pitchinin*'s obituary as well.

In 1938, Cecil Alter's *Early Utah Journalism* declared that the periodical was "probably one of the longest remembered and least important of all Utah papers."[66] From today's perspective, Alter was wrong on both accounts. While the *Keep-A-Pitchinin* probably had only a minor role in defeating Godbeitism as a religious and political movement, its humor had helped to chronicle the times—something the serious Mormon press had failed to do. And the satirical paper had been effective in pointing out and undermining the New Movement's sometimes heavy pretensions. The *Keep-A-Pitchinin* was a perfect foil, contrasting Godbeite seriousness with Zion's lighter side.

Notes

^1. *Mormon Tribune* Prospectus, LDS Archives; also *UMag* 3 (27 Nov. 1869): 474–75.

^2. *UMag* 3 (27 Nov. 1869): 474–75; also Tullidge, *HSLC,* p. 590.

^3. Tullidge, *HSLC,* appendix, p. 9.

^4. BY to Albert Carrington, 2 Feb. 1870, BY Letterbooks, LDS Archives.

^5. *SLTrib,* 25 July 1871, p. 2.

^6. Ibid., 15 Apr. 1871, p. 2.

^7. Tullidge, *HSLC,* p. 589. For Stenhouse's letters of advice, the purposes of which were not always clear, see Stenhouse to WSGodbe, 17 Jan. 1871 and 13 Feb. 1871, HamGodbe Papers, University of Utah.

^8. *SLTrib,* 16 Apr. 1871, p. 2.

^9. Memoranda, 10 Apr. 1871, George W. Reed Papers, University of Utah.

^10. *SLTrib,* 15 Apr. 1871, p. 2; Tullidge, *HSLC,* appendix, pp. 12–13.

^11. *SLTrib,* 18 Apr. 1871, p. 2, and 6 May 1871, p. 3.

^12. Ibid., 2, 6, 18, and 27 May 1871, respectively pp. 2, 3, 3, and 3; 12 June 1871, p. 2; 5, 8, and 28 Aug. 1871, pp. 2, 2, 2; and 25 Sept. 1871, p. 2.

^13. Ibid., 31 July 1871, p. 2.

^14. Toohy made several attempts to establish a successful Liberal Party newspaper in the city, without success (*SLTrib,* 22 Sept. 1871, p. 2).
^15. Tullidge, *HSLC,* pp. 588-90. However, Alexander found no evidence to support Tullidge's charge ("Federal Authority versus Polygamic Theocracy," p. 98n.).
^16. *SLTrib,* 22 Sept. 1871, p. 2, and 4 Oct. 1871, p. 2.
^17. Tullidge, *HSLC,* p. 590.
^18. *SLTrib,* 16 Nov. 1871, p. 2.
^19. Tullidge, *HSLC,* p. 611; *SLTrib,* 25 July 1876, p. 1.
^20. Miscellaneous memoranda, Reed Papers, University of Utah.
^21. *SLTrib,* 1 Feb. 1872, p. 2.
^22. Lockley, "Memoirs of an Unsuccessful Man," part 5 (1873–75), chap. 1, p. 6, Huntington Library. See also Tullidge, *HSLC,* appendix, p. 13.
^23. *SLTrib,* 25 July 1876, p. 1; Lockley, "Memoirs of an Unsuccessful Man," part 5, chap. 1, p. 6, Huntington Library; and Tullidge, *HSLC,* appendix, p. 13.
^24. Lockley, "Memoirs of an Unsuccessful Man," part 5, chap. 1, pp. 10–11, Huntington Library; *SLTrib,* 25 July 1876, p. 1.
^25. *SLTrib,* 27 July 1873, p. 1.
^26. Whitney, *History of Utah,* 2:382.
^27. Lockley, "Memoirs of an Unsuccessful Man," part 5, chap. 1, p. 37, Huntington Library.
^28. Ibid.
^29. *Leader,* 2 Aug. 1873, p. 4.
^30. Ibid., 23 Aug. 1873.
^31. Ibid., 27 Sept. and 11 Oct. 1873.
^32. Lockley, "Memoirs of an Unsuccessful Man," part 5, chap. 1, p. 37, Huntington Library.
^33. *SLTrib,* 14 Oct. 1873, p. 2.
^34. *Leader,* 18 Oct. 1873, p. 4.
^35. Ibid., and 25 Oct. 1873.
^36. *Keep-A-Pitchinin,* 15 Apr. 1870, p. 15.

^37. Ibid., 1 May 1870, p. 19; *DEN,* 16 Mar. 1870, p. 2, and 26 Apr. 1870, p. 4.
^38. George Taylor Papers, LDS Archives. For other biographical details, see JH, 2 Feb. 1868, p. 3; 3 May 1897, p. 8, and 15 Dec. 1914, p. 2.
^39. Jenson, *LDS Biographical Encyclopedia,* 3:708–11; Leek, "Circumspection of Ten Formulators," pp. 21–29; George M. Ottinger Diary, LDS Archives; Stern, "Rocky Mountain Book Store."
^40. Rich, *Land of the Sky-Blue Water,* p. 180, citing the *News Examiner,* 17 Apr. 1947; Poulsen, *Joseph C. Rich;* Gemmell, "Utah Medical History," pp. 11–12.
^41. For Taylor's identification and characterization of these men, see his penciled and unpublished autobiographical sketch in George Taylor Papers, LDS Archives.
^42. *SLHer,* 16 July 1870, p. 3; *MTrib,* 5 Mar. 1870, p. 76.
^43. *Keep-A-Pitchinin,* 15 Apr. 1870, p. 16, and 1 June 1870, p. 28.
^44. Ibid., 1 Mar. 1870, p. 2.
^45. *MStar* 32 (26 Apr. 1870): 271.
^46. *Keep-A-Pitchinin,* 15 Apr. 1870, p. 14.
^47. Ibid., 15 Mar. 1870, p. 6.
^48. Ibid., 1 June 1870, p. 25.
^49. Ibid., 1 May 1870, p. 18; 15 May 1870, p. 24.
^50. Ibid., 1 Dec. 1870, p 73.
^51. Ibid., 1 Aug. 1870, p. 44.
^52. Ibid., 15 June 1870, p. 30; 15 July 1870, p. 39; 1 July 1870, p. 36; 1 May 1870, p. 18.
^53. Ibid., 15 Mar. 1870, p. 7.
^54. Ibid., p. 5.
^55. Ibid., 15 Aug. 1870, pp. 46–47.
^56. Ibid., 1 Dec. 1870, p. 76.
^57. Ibid., 15 Jan. 1871, p. 86, and 15 July 1870, p. 38.
^58. Ibid., 15 Mar. 1870, p. 7.

^59. Daniel H. Wells to BY, 10[?] Dec. 1870, BY Letterbooks, LDS Archives. The *MTrib* denied a connection with the new humor magazine (3 Dec. 1870, p. 1). For Camomile's withdrawal from Mormonism during the first wave of Godbeite dissent, see Daniel Camomile to BY, 9 Nov. 1869, BY Incoming Corr, LDS Archives. He later became canvassing agent for the *SLTrib.*

^60. *Daily Utah Reporter* (Corinne), 31 Mar. 1871, p. 2.

^61. *Keep-A-Pitchinin,* 15 Jan. 1871, p. 86.

^62. Ibid., 1 Jan. 1871, p. 82; 15 Jan. 1871, p. 86; 15 Feb. 1871, p. 94.

^63. Ibid., 15 Feb. 1871, p. 94.

^64. Ibid., 1 Jan. 1871, p. 82.

^65. Ibid., 15 Feb., 1871, p. 94.

^66. Alter, *Early Utah Journalism,* pp. 317–18.

Chapter 14

When the Spirits Did Abound

At the beginning of their rebellion against Mormonism, Harrison and Godbe hoped to blend their old Mormon beliefs and their new spiritualism into a "spiritual Mormonism." But as the movement progressed, the emphasis changed to become "Mormon spiritualism." Still later, the Mormon elements were washed out further. Harrison and Godbe became unqualified advocates of spiritualism, although they still revered much of their Mormon heritage. President Young had not been far wrong when he had warned that the protests of Harrison and Godbe against him and Mormonism would eventually lead them to a denial of all organized religion.

The result was an unusual chapter in Utah's cultural history —"when the spirits did abound." During the 1870s, Utah, like the nation itself several decades before, became the scene of enthusiastic séances and wonders. On one level, the territory witnessed table-moving, rapping noises, and the use of the planchette. There was more serious-minded spiritualism as well: leading spiritualist lecturers and spiritualist mediums, including the renowned Charles Foster, visited the territory. It is difficult to gauge the popularity of this activity. With Mormonism so strongly opposed to it, Utah spiritualism probably never gained the foothold that it did elsewhere in the United States. Still, spiritualism touched the Utah landscape with more than a light caress.[1]

Harrison and Godbe probably envisioned few of these results at the beginning of their movement. In early 1870, when arch-opponent Orson Hyde traveled through the territory to raise the cry of "spiritualism" against the reformers, Harrison had responded cautiously. At the time, Harrison was not drawn to the spiritualist movement's fads—table-moving and the use of planchettes. These modes were just the ABCs of the science, Harrison explained. In contrast, the Church of Zion relied on the higher order of phenomena, such as the "power of seership, vision, inspired dreams,

and inspirations."[2] These latter sources, more than the mere phenomena, brought truth and spirituality, Harrison explained. This was the meaning and purpose of the Church of Zion.[3]

Harrison made other declarations of belief. The heavenly world had specialists, he told followers. Jesus was the "Apostle of Love" (love was the most important department of learning), and He would visit those seeking his advice when this speciality was required. On the other hand, if the heavens wanted to teach mortals about astronomy or history, or to present "grander conceptions" of music or another science, Jesus would "bring out and honor his brethren" in their own areas of distinction. In those cases one should expect a visit from a Newton, Herschel, von Humboldt, Haydn, or Handel—those who had become expert in their chosen fields after a lifelong study, both on earth and in the world beyond.[4]

Notwithstanding Harrison's attempts to cast faddish spiritualism aside, Godbeitism inevitably stirred the spirits in Utah. In April 1870, Ellen Pratt McGary reported spiritualistic activity as far south as Beaver, Utah. There, several people had moved tables by commanding the spirits, but the use of the planchette had proven a disappointment: no messages were received. "Is it true that the Godbeites get their revelations through the Planchette & that Charlotte is their medium?" McGary asked a Salt Lake City correspondent.[5] The unidentified "Charlotte" of southern Utah rumor almost certainly was Godbe's vivacious and cultured new wife, Charlotte Ives Godbe.

There were other indications that the Godbeites were becoming interested in spiritualistic phenomena. Early in 1870, Frederick Perris published an article in the *Mormon Tribune* that foreshadowed the New Movement view of Joseph Smith. The Mormon prophet, Perris hinted, was a spiritualistic medium whose revelations were nothing more than an ordinary part of transcendental or universal truth.[6] Having come to this understanding, Perris and his friend John Lindsay were prepared to receive further light. En route to Europe, they visited a practicing medium's salon in New York City and

received great manifestations. An unnamed relative of one of the men told them "great truths."[7]

In the late summer of 1870, William Shearman was dispatched to visit California spiritualists. "The *really* spiritual among them are dissatisfied with so-called Spiritualism," he reported hopefully to the Salt Lake City headquarters. According to Shearman, the spiritualists wanted "something better and higher." They were looking for the "development of a *system* that shall unite them, give them power, and satisfy their higher natures."[8]

Shearman's comments reflected Godbeite hopes. From the beginning of the New Movement, there had been hints that Godbe and Harrison's mission involved more than the reform of Mormonism. Amasa Lyman later confirmed this. Shortly after taking the reins of the Church of Zion, Lyman had spoken expansively of extending the local movement "through our Territory and the world."[9] Shearman's trip to California was undoubtedly the first attempt to realize Godbeitism's greater goal. The Utahns intended to give the disorganized spiritualists the advantage of the Godbeite-reformed Mormon system of organization.[10] With this structure in place, spiritualism could be reborn and Harrison's promise fulfilled: that Mormonism would yet "sweep Spiritualism within its ample folds" and that a nation could be "born in a day."[11]

Shearman's ministry bore some fruit. The missionary advised Lyman that some of the most "progressive" California spiritualists had become impressed with the Utah movement and planned to visit Salt Lake City.[12] However, Shearman's hope of converting California Mormons to the New Movement met with greater opposition. Only Agnes Coolbrith Pickett, former wife of Don Carlos Smith, the founding prophet's brother, seemed interested in the New Movement message. Pickett's daughter, Ina Coolbrith, would become California's first poet laureate.[13]

Shearman later proclaimed the New Movement message in New York City, where some mediums were already speaking favorably of New Movement spiritualism, including no less a commanding figure

than Andrew Jackson Davis. Davis believed that the Utah New Movement had the promise of repossessing and purifying the Mormon soul, and he predicted that a reformed Mormon church would yet "become a very powerful movement."[14] Whether it was Shearman's mission that prompted these remarks is unclear.

After Shearman's ministry to the West and East Coasts, a stream of itinerant spiritualists began to visit Utah. Among the first was John Murray Spear, who during the next several years would return to Utah repeatedly. Spear had a reputation that defied easy analysis. As with many of his colleagues in spiritualism, Spear was an iconoclast, and because of this tendency, rumors and slander accompanied him as naturally as the spirits themselves.

Spear was most recently from the spiritualistic Lyceum of Self-Culture at Dashaway Hall in San Francisco. His roots in American spiritualism, however, went deeper. As early as 1853, he had achieved fame in Chautauqua, New York, where he had led a communal society that sought to extract wealth from what was reportedly a recently discovered mine. The group's alleged sexual experimentation led to public outrage and to the society's eventual collapse. Either during the commune's existence or soon after its failure, Spear announced that the world of spirits was organized in a series of distinct societies. There were "governmentizers," "educationizers," "agriculturalizers," "heathfulizers," and more relevant to his concern, "electrizers." The electrizers had told Spear how to construct a new electric motor—itself a living organism endowed with a living spirit. The motor promised to revolutionize industry and to shorten the workday. The existence of the device was a matter of public controversy; some viewed it as a fraud, while others claimed that the machine existed in a well-guarded shed. Challenged to produce it in public, Spear disclosed that a mob had destroyed it. Moreover, he said that the "Association of Electrizers," disappointed by the conduct of Spear's enemies, had concluded that humanity was not ready for the device and had forbidden Spear to rebuild it.[15]

Spear's missionary efforts had reportedly produced an "Order of Patriarchs" in Cincinnati. Yet another experimental commune, the "Order" claimed that a marble slab containing strange writing had been found. The message on the slab, deciphered by clairvoyance, told of the need to reestablish Hebrew polygamy. The group attempted to do this but was forestalled by unsettled and angry neighbors.[16] Spear was undeterred by the setback. "No set of men, no church, no state, no government shall withhold from me the right to re-beget myself when and under such circumstances as to me and any true woman seems fit and best," another spiritualist reported Spear as saying.[17]

Many nonspiritualists regarded Spear as bizarre, and even within the movement he had detractors. His belief that spiritualism should be linked to religious ideals and to a church organization angered the secular wing of the movement. But Spear also had many admirers, who viewed him as a man of unusually high character, believing he was "one of the most attractive figures" in modern spiritualism, having a "childlike simplicity."[18]

This was the perception of the Utah Godbeites. On 9 September 1870, Lyman, who was then ministering in southern Utah, received a telegram urging him to return immediately to Salt Lake City because Spear had arrived from California. Several days later Lyman recorded the excitement of discovery in his diary: "Mr. S. is a Spiritual medium," Lyman wrote. For the next several months, the traveling spiritualist met often with Lyman and the other Godbeites. In one séance Spear purportedly received a message from Joseph Smith. On another occasion, he blessed and named Mary Godbe's newborn child. And most impressive to Lyman, Spear, while in "the entranced state," gave Lyman a spiritualistic character sketch. "One must know this gentlemen long and intimately to judge of his real character," proclaimed the blessing. It concluded as favorably: "These [admirable] characteristics as thus combined render this gentleman in the noblest sense a Man." Lyman sent a copy of Spear's blessing to one of his plural wives to verify the truthfulness of his new faith.[19]

These were private matters. Spear's ministry in Utah also had a public side. During his first Utah visit, Spear spoke at the Corinne Opera House and lectured on the relations between Great Britain and the United States at Ballou's Hall in Salt Lake City. He also addressed Church of Zion meetings and was present when the Godbeites laid the cornerstone for their new meetinghouse. His remarks on that occasion indicated that he felt a kinship with the Utah reformers. He had traveled widely, he told his audience, searching for an elusive "*something*" that he seemed to have found in Utah. It was not anything that might be found written in books; rather it came from "heart speaking to heart," as friends joined in a universal, world concern. After having learned so much in Utah, Spear promised to speak favorably of the Utah movement wherever he might travel in the future.[20]

Spiritualists Dr. Roberts and Dr. Goss also arrived in the territory during the latter part of 1870. These two doctors used medicine only when "*absolutely necessary.*" They preferred to heal by the Swedish Movement Cure, a technique otherwise not defined, and by laying their hands on the afflicted person and then driving the illness from the body by "physical" or "animal" magnetism. One patient provided a certificate of testimony: for eighteen years he had suffered from "demoniacal possession." However, two weeks of treatment had brought a cure: "I am all right now, thank God" read the certificate. As further testimony, the *Ogden Junction* reported that Roberts and Goss had remedied several serious cases in Ogden City. With their practice burgeoning, the men remained in Utah long past their original 1 October departure date. In late January 1871, Roberts elucidated on his theory of healing before a New Movement audience. Three months later Roberts was still advertising his services in the local press.[21]

The arrival of professional spiritualists in Utah encouraged Harrison to speak publicly once more on the topic of spiritualism. He was increasingly frank. The New Movement encouraged spiritualism for the same reason that it encouraged the study of chemistry or astronomy, Harrison said. It was a science that contained truth. But

Harrison cautioned that private circles or séances were not an official part of the New Movement and should be participated in only with care. The value of such sessions, he warned, were like the pronouncements of Mormonism: they mixed truth and untruth; validity rested with a person's rational judgment.[22]

Harrison's statement on spiritualism further discounted Joseph Smith's mission. The Mormon prophet, so far as "spiritual manifestations" went, was hardly unique, Harrison now argued. Smith was "simply a medium," and, candidly, was not as talented as many modern practitioners. He had seen spirits, comparatively speaking, only rarely. In contrast, Harrison said that "hundreds of mediums" could now see and talk with "spiritual beings at any moment."[23]

The ministries of Spear and Roberts, and Harrison's public endorsement of professional mediums, set Godbeitism on a new course. All that had been theoretical and latent in Godbeitism now became openly practiced. Church of Zion president Amasa Lyman led the way. When first appointed president, Lyman attended numerous public devotionals and executive council meetings, but soon these institutional duties gave way to private séances. Facilitating these spiritualistic circles, Lyman had the good fortune to find that several of his children—Hila, Josephine, Lorenzo, and Lelia—had mediumistic talent, and this increased his testimony. His mediums were *family members,* of whose honesty "we had no doubt," Lyman told a disbelieving sister. Moreover, the information revealed in these private circles was remarkable. When the spirit of Lyman's daughter Ruth Adelia appeared, she related details that Hila, the medium, could not have known. Ruth had died at the age of four when the family had journeyed to Utah—years before Hila's birth.[24]

These family séances marked the beginning of an extraordinarily productive spiritualistic era for Lyman. During the next several years, he recorded almost two hundred mediumistic circles. Some months, he was engaged in a séance every night. Sometimes he was involved in several in a single day. The "appearing" spirits were often deceased family members. "At night [I] attended a séance at br.

Mannings," reveals one diary entry, "at which my Aunt and Daughter made communication[.] [It was] the first that have reached us from them." Three weeks later: "At night held private Séance[.] Br. Joseph [Smith] and Father Tanner and my Son Roswell came and talked with us by entrancement and [by] the Table[.]" And the next day: "My Father was with us for the first time[.] Also Mother Phelps and Mother Turley and Sister Flake[,] all of whom brought us words of kindly greating [*sic*]."[25]

The appearance of Lyman's father was particularly meaningful. Roswell Lyman had disappeared two years after Amasa's birth and had not been heard from since. Now came the reassuring news of his happiness—and his untarnished honor. He had not abandoned his family, it was learned, but had been "foully murdered."[26] To obtain further information concerning his father, Lyman sent an inquiry to Charles Foster, who continued his New York City spiritualistic practice. Foster replied that not only was Roswell "very happy" but other Lyman relations—Amasa's mother, uncle, grandfather, and daughter—also sent greeting. According to Foster, each of these family members was "near" Lyman, and they promised to help and prosper him in his New Movement work.[27]

Lyman recorded one message from Joseph Smith that was received through Mrs. Crouch, whose husband helped edit the *Tribune.* "I am happy to meet you this morning in the capacity of a circle," said Smith, who was aware of Lyman's dissent from Mormonism: "You are doing just what a good many others ought to do [at] the present time[.] Remember what I told you before concerning your own council[.] All will come out right. . . . Now a little word of caution[.] *Patience, Patience, Patience,* is a grand secret of all perfection[.] Nothing was ever discovered and investigated and done well in a hurry[.] We are around you and will try to help everybody who tries to help humanity[.] Our kindest love to those engaged in the same cause as yourself." The message was signed by Smith, Heber Kimball, Smith's brother Hyrum and "many friends," presumably other LDS leaders who had passed to the world beyond.[28]

The messages received at séances often seemed secondary to the excitement of the moment. Lyman recorded such things as table rappings, slate writing, and "spirit touches," during which a small human hand carrying flowers appeared. Lyman also told of a moving table that was suspended in air; the table was controlled by the presiding medium's "light touch." Such phenomena, according to Lyman, were physical demonstrations of "spirit presence and power" and evidence of "purpose and design."[29]

Lyman was not alone in his séances. Many family members and neighbors from central Utah joined him, no doubt recruited and initiated into the spiritualistic mysteries by Lyman himself. Participants also included such estranged Mormons as Sarah Pratt (Elder Orson Pratt's first wife and the mother of Godbeite Orson Pratt Jr.) and D. F. [Frederick] Walker, one of the merchant Walker brothers. In addition Lyman experienced séances with Godbeites T. C. Armstrong, Eli Kelsey, Henry Lawrence, Frederick Perris, Emily Teasdale, and William Shearman, some of whom had their own regular private circles. More frequent were Lyman's joint séances with Godbe and especially Harrison. For instance, Lyman was present when Harrison's mother greeted her son; when William and Annie Godbe's recently departed daughter, Clara, came to comfort her parents; and when Harrison and Godbe's deceased friends came with "kindly greetings" from their "bright home in the better life."[30]

Clearly, less than two years after their break with Mormonism, the Godbeites were deeply involved in spirit phenomena. In late summer of 1871, the dissenters publicly declared its allegiance. With Spear once more on hand to render advice, they drafted a petition in which they sought official recognition from the National Convention of Spiritualists, scheduled to meet in Troy, New York, in the second week of September. On 3 September, Harrison read the document to the assembled reformers, and after this, the *Weekly Tribune* attempted to get as many individuals as they could to sign the petition. The next day, Spear, speaking "in the entranced condition," addressed the inner group of New Movement leaders and apparently gave them added encouragement.[31]

The petition frankly declared the reformers' spiritualistic faith. It also acknowledged Godbe and Harrison's long-standing but concealed design to overthrow traditional Mormonism. "Unlike Movements started by the Spirit World elsewhere," the petition admitted, the Utah branch had had to "adapt itself to the mental growth of the [Utah] people." Utahns believed in "divine leadership" and "priestly organization." Hence the spirit world had counseled Godbe and Harrison to establish a "temporary institution," namely, the Church of Zion, which was meant as a "stepping stone to greater liberties." While this organization was speedily outgrown, during its brief career it had taught its members principles that were "as high and as broad as the most advanced conceptions of Spiritual Philosophy." In the process, the Utah spiritualists had defied "One-Man power," opened the territory to mining and to the march of civilization, and gathered hundreds of people into spiritualism.

The future also seemed promising, and here the Godbeites announced their towering ambition. According to the petition, the Utah movement was destined to become "one of the largest centres of Spiritualistic power" in the world. This movement existed among a "purely inspirational people," among whom were more "mediumistic persons in proportion to the population" than any other region or nation. Once these Mormon converts, already believers in "doctrine of revelation and angelic intercourse," fully experienced spiritualist power, they could help transform the world. Here was the larger and more important Godbeite mission.[32]

To speed this work, the Utah spiritualists invited the movement's "best mediums and speakers" to come to Utah. They also formally enrolled themselves into the "Utah Spiritual Movement." The movement's thirty-member executive council included nine women, an expression of the group's commitment to feminism.[33]

Godbe, Harrison, and Shearman traveled to New York to present the petition to the national convention. Distrust of Mormons in general and Godbeite polygamy in particular temporarily threatened to dissuade the delegates. But the free-wheeling spiritualists, usually willing to challenge social conventions, quickly warmed to the men

from the West. One woman reminded her associates that spiritualism's central belief was uncomplicated: It swept into its fold all who believed in the communication of "disembodied spirits with embodied Spirits [mortals]"; and further, it was "none of the business of spirits to inquire how many wives a man has, or what his previous beliefs were." Another delegate, agreeing with the woman's sentiment, insisted that morality was a personal matter and therefore beyond the proper consideration of the convention and of society. Still another delegate adopted a more extreme position. "Down with law, down with institutions, down with government," he reportedly declared. He would receive a petition for membership from "the lowest depths of hell" even if brought by the devil himself. This odious comparison was offset by results: the assembled spiritualists welcomed the Utahns into their group.[34]

Having accomplished their purposes with the spiritualists in the United States, the Godbeites turned abroad. In what appeared to be the second step in a concerted plan, later that year Godbe traveled to Great Britain to address the British spiritualists. Once more the hope was to advertise the Utah movement and attract to Utah the best spiritualistic talent to "educate" and "lift" the Mormon community. But also implicit in the plan was the Godbeites' broader goal: if the Utahns were to help organize and carry the spiritualists to new heights, they must first make themselves known.

Godbe's address, delivered in the heart of British spiritualism in the movement's Cavendish rooms in London, provides the clearest statement of Godbe's views about spiritualistic reform. Godbe began by describing Mormonism in terms that the Godbeite lecturers had already presented in Utah. Joseph Smith, rather than an imposter, was a spiritual medium. Because he lacked "intellectuality," Smith had misread his mission and placed his spiritual communications within the biblical context of his culture. Brigham Young, Smith's successor, was at first "conservative, kind, and fatherly." But as the years advanced, Young's practical and "Mosaic" tendency—and his desire for accumulation—recast a religion that had once abounded with spiritual manifestations into a "complete theocratic despotism."

This rule took its most extreme form in Young's program to control the territory's trade.

Perhaps most fascinating to the Cavendish audience were Godbe's references to Harrison and himself. Although Godbe spoke autobiographically, the Mormon reformer used third person pronouns: "Those who dared to think freely—and therefore honestly" had finally rebelled against Young's policy. For their efforts, they were rewarded by "tangible, conclusive evidence" of a future life, an experience that Godbe refused to describe any further than one of "no ordinary character." As a result of this experience, the reformers were freed from the "chief of all soul-dwarfing dogmas, Divine authority in the form of erring man."

Godbe emphasized the role of religious or spiritual feeling in the unfolding of the Utah movement. According to Godbe, he and Harrison had been impelled to undertake their "noble cause" by "that dauntless courage which an enthusiasm high and holy alone can give." So armed, the Utah spiritualists had achieved concrete results—unlike spiritualism's usual dismal record. The Utah movement had established a free press, built a large assembly hall, and helped open Utah mineral resources to development. In doing so, it had successfully resisted "one of the most complete priestly despotisms the world had ever saw."

Godbe also spoke revealingly about his beliefs. Perhaps eager to show the Utahns' relationship to the larger spiritualist movement, Godbe emphasized that men and books, including prophets and scriptures, had inevitable flaws. What, then, could be believed and where could faith be rooted? The answer, said Godbe, lay in the "infallibility of the Creator as He has revealed Himself in *His* holy book—the book of universal nature." This source of truth, which alone was divine, had two parts: the external or natural world and the internal or spiritual realm within each man and woman. "Blessed are those who have studied both these parts with minds unwarped by prejudice and free from *dogmatic bias,*" said Godbe.

There were several corollaries of belief. Godbe stressed the Utah spiritualists' acceptance of the "purest morals in all matters of

conduct." Likewise, nothing should inhibit the "universal fraternity" of men and women. But the capstone of conduct was "love," the "world's redeemer," the "mightiest" and "most beneficent" of all "saviours." The divine injunction to "Love thy neighbour as thyself" (Lev. 19:18) remained all important.[35]

The London spiritualists received Godbe's remarks warmly. As Godbe left the hall, well-wishing admirers hemmed him in, congratulating him on his remarks. So reluctant their adieus, it took the American half an hour to make his way from the rostrum to the exit. The next issue of the *Medium,* one of spiritualism's leading periodicals in Great Britain, was equally enthusiastic. Godbe's address, the magazine reported, had been characterized by "a clear philosophy, intelligence, promptness, energy, and a hearty philanthropic enthusiasm, aided and enlightened by spiritual truth." Moreover, the magazine was ready to reconsider its views of Mormonism. Clearly, the LDS community had been engaged in the important work of harmonizing social and political institutions with spiritual principles. While Young and his followers had erred in particulars, yet in "the ashes of their defeat," Utah might still in the future build "a structure to which the eyes of the world will in admiration be directed."[36] If Godbe had come to England hoping to convert the British spiritualists to his cause, he had taken an important and successful first step.

The appearance of the Godbeites before the American and British spiritualists in the closing months of 1871 signaled the final eclipse of the Church of Zion by "free-thought spiritualism." Henceforth, such expressions as "the Church of Zion," "the New Movement," or even "Godbeitism" were increasingly replaced by "liberalism," "radical reform," and "freethinking." And the Utah reform movement began to display its spiritualism more openly: spiritualistic public events began to be held in addition to private séances.

How many Utahns accepted the tenets of spiritualism and became devotees is uncertain. The Godbeite petition to the National Spiritualists in 1871 contained only 160 names drawn from the entire territory.[37] These represented the Utahns' willingness to declare their

allegiance openly and enroll in a formal organization. At the other extreme, a correspondent to the *Salt Lake Tribune* in 1873 optimistically claimed that Utah's capital city alone had five thousand informal investigators.[38] The actual number lay between these figures, and probably was much closer to the lower end of the two sums.

Whatever the actual numbers, spiritualism had become a part of Deseret. One index of its spread was the speeches of LDS churchmen. Beginning in May 1870, President Young repeatedly denounced the twin evils of free-thinking and spiritualism, though he never mentioned the Godbeites by name. Young continued to emphasize Mormonism's superior organization. "Here are system, order, organization, law, rule, and facts. Now see if they [the spiritualists] can produce any one of these features." Young believed that he knew the reason why spiritualism was chronically unstable: spiritualism was of the devil, Mormonism from God.[39]

The comments of the Mormon leaders were not confined to Salt Lake City. In distant Parowan and Beaver, two hundred miles south, church leaders were upset by the inroads that spiritualism was making within the flock. President William H. Dame declared that "many" members of the local School of the Prophets were tinctured by "spirits." Another speaker spoke of spiritualism's "avalanche."[40] Still further south, at the ephemeral mining town of Iron City, there were other spiritualists. "Spiritualism was pretty well accepted," remembered one Iron City citizen, "almost every gathering would try a séance."[41] Perhaps the unusually high incidence of spiritualism in southern Utah was due to Lyman's preaching in the area.

As spiritualism became more openly practiced, certain incidents reflected the times. After a California troupe of actors became interested in the workings of a planchette, the spirits instructed them to go to Salt Lake City. Although there were restive Indians on the trail, the actors were forbidden to bring arms or ammunition. Each morning and evening after the camp's mess, the actors met around the planchette for further instructions. "We passed deserted ranches, deserted and burned settlements, and went over hundreds

of miles of trackless desert in which not a blade of vegetation or [a] drop of water was present," recalled one of the travelers, but always the planchette directed them safely. Arriving in Utah, the members of the camp received a final message: they were to visit Brigham Young and receive his counsel. Young responded with typical pragmatism. He reportedly told the actors to be baptized into Mormonism, and then he engaged them at the Salt Lake Theatre. Thus recruited to Mormonism, the Cogswells and Carters became regular Salt Lake City dramatic performers, though most eventually drifted from Utah and Mormonism.[42]

The planchette was also the instrument through which a lengthy message was sent to Young by his predecessor. In January of 1871, an anonymous couple from Nevada wrote to inform Young that the peripatetic spirit of Joseph Smith had contacted them. A disaster awaited the Mormons, Smith warned, but he had been unable to contact Young, undoubtedly due to Young's lack of interest in using the planchette. Smith therefore had to wander the land until his message could be conveyed. The Nevada mediums promised to pass on further information if Smith should contact them again.[43]

David Hyrum Smith, the eighth and posthumous son of Joseph Smith who was rumored to be the heir apparent of either the LDS or RLDS movement, was also contacted by the spirits. Arriving in Salt Lake City as an RLDS missionary in midsummer 1872, Smith was immediately contacted by Amasa Lyman, who then sometimes listened to Smith's preaching. "I had no deep interest [in the discourse]," Lyman dismissed one RLDS sermon, "beyond the hope that it might agitate thought [among the Saints] and thus conduce[?] to more freedom from error."[44]

Lyman's main interest in Smith of course was furthering the cause of the New Movement: the conversion of a son of Joseph Smith might give the Utah reform a much-needed boost. David's investigation of plural marriage helped prepare the way. David had come to Utah steadfastly believing the RLDS tenet of belief that his father had not been involved in polygamy, but the weight of evidence that he encountered in Utah seemed otherwise. By July,

the likelihood of his father's participation in plural marriage had become "too great" for David to ignore, and with that private admission, his susceptibility to Lyman's spiritualistic ideas seemed to grow.[45]

During the fall and winter of 1872–73, the two men met often, usually to discuss ideas but also to participate in séances. The relationship may have led Smith to write an undated letter to Joseph III that explored the assumptions of organized religion. Its arguments seemed taken from a "Reformed Mormon" primer. "Reason is our only guide," Smith wrote. "Intelligence is never required to give credence to, or act upon, any proposition unless it is capable of demonstration." In contrast, Smith claimed that organized religion required a man or woman to express belief or faith "without actual demonstration or knowledge." To his mind, that process was "absurd."

The more Smith probed, the less confidence he had in faith as a means of knowledge. Didn't each movement within Mormonism use "personal revelation" to justify its own belief—whether "Brighamites," "Josephites," "Strangites," or "Morrisites?" How could these various claims be substantiated? "We are thrown back upon our reason again," Smith concluded. Moreover, he was disturbed by the characteristics of those who were most earnest in their faith. These "true believers" tended to be "the weak, ignorant, prejudiced laity" who mistook their own "internal emotion, superstition, and misguided, but honest consciences for the eternal spirit of God." In contrast, Smith believed that those who bore weakest testimony were often "the cultivated, well-developed, experienced, [and] observant reasoners"—in short, those who used reason.

While nothing in Smith's often rambling letter betrayed Mormonism or his Reorganized Mormon mission, many of the ideas seemed to have the imprint of Lyman's freethinking. Smith seemed to be expressing sentiments that the Godbeites called "universalian"—they were neither sectarian nor exclusive. The RLDS missionary now appeared ready to downplay many traditional Christian teachings

and to discount the claims of any church that asserted a monopoly on truth.

When Smith returned to Salt Lake City in the fall of 1872, he resumed his close association with Lyman. The two met on 29 October for another of their lengthy discussions, and three days later Lyman's diary recorded: "At night had a séance with D. H. Smith and company."[46] Yet when Smith wrote to his brother two and a half weeks later, David's commitment to the RLDS movement seemed firm. "Amasa Lyman wishes me to say that he would be with us and help us do a good work provided a *few* eccentricities of doctrine in him be borne with. He is a good man and very moral. Seems to be returning to Christ again. I advise his acceptance. He will be of great influence if with us."[47]

Was Smith trying to convert Lyman, just as Lyman was trying to convert Smith? How fully had Smith expressed his views? Answers to these questions lay only within Smith, who probably felt himself torn between his old and new worlds of thought. There was, however, enough of the "new" within Smith to ask whether his appeal for a tolerance of Lyman's doctrinal "eccentricities" did not include an unconscious plea for himself. Could Joseph accept the "rational" ideas now swirling within David?

When Smith recommenced his public Salt Lake City ministry, there were signs that his religious views were no longer mainstream RLDS. The *Tribune,* usually no friend of the Reorganization's claims, lauded Smith's sudden and growing sophistication. "Mr. Smith's ideas are original and brilliant, his eloquence fluent, and his views cosmopolitan," the newspaper applauded. "When his father declared before his advent to our atmosphere that he [David] should lead 'Israel,' it was one of the truest inspirations he ever had."[48]

The *Tribune*'s praise probably reflected not so much Smith's progress as a philosopher and elocutionist as his growing commitment to the "freethought" ideas that often accompanied the "harmonial" movement. By the end of 1872 Smith's discourses were increasingly filled with such themes, and when "eternal judgment" was announced as the subject of an upcoming lecture, the *Tribune*

predicted that Smith's address would not be "as orthodox as its title would imply."[49]

For the moment the spiritualists may have believed that they had the good fortune to be supported by Mormonism's crown prince. But Smith was not physically and emotionally well; he had long been subject to illness and dark moods. Now, the strain of séances, the conflict between important old and new ideas, and the split loyalties of family and new friends must have weighed oppressively on him. The somber poems he wrote at this time reveal his struggle with afflicting phantoms:

Heed not thou the dark sad spirit

That would speak to thee of death!

Turn away and do not hear it,

There is weakness in its breath.[50]

Several weeks later, in "Song of Endless Life," Smith again tried to look past death's shadow:

Though the waves of death flow o'er thee,

'Tis the rest that gathers power

For the endless life before thee;

Fear no dying;

Like the resurrection flower,

Death defying.[51]

In early February 1873, Smith experienced a "severe" attack of "brain fever," a nineteenth-century phrase for emotional illness. For several days he alternated between insanity and lucidity. Rumors swept the city in late February that Smith desired to be baptized into the LDS faith—and one witness said he was.[52] Several weeks later David penned a formal revelation in which he counseled Joseph III to invite new men into the leading councils of the Reorganization,

not knowing that Joseph had already done so. Joseph, separated from David by slow mail and not fully aware of the seriousness of his illness, had called him into the RLDS First Presidency two weeks before.[53] It was a revelation whose promise was difficult to keep. After David's nervous collapse in Salt Lake City, he would eventually be institutionalized the rest of his life.

Joseph later spoke of the events that led to his brother's confinement; and his account summarized, from his own perspective, what had taken place. During his 1872–73 mission, David had become acquainted with a group of "freethinkers" and spiritualists. According to Joseph III, these men had given David "much flattering attention" and had "insidiously" put into his mind the idea that his father, Joseph Smith Jr., had taught and practiced plural marriage. They had also involved David in their séances and had made him subject to the spirits who "lurk around in the twilight zone of human consciousness ready to take advantage of people still tabernacled in the flesh." In Joseph's view, the Salt Lake City spiritualists—and spirit possession—had caused David's destruction.[54]

With the departure of the ill-starred Smith from Utah, spiritualism lost what might have been its most significant convert. There were, however, important new additions to the Salt Lake reform group. In April 1874, George D. Watt, Mormonism's first European convert, Brigham Young's former secretary, and longtime church recorder, announced his new allegiance before a large audience at the spiritualists' one-thousand-seat meeting hall. Hundreds reportedly were turned away.

The title of Watt's address said everything: "Why I Became a Mormon, and Why I Left That Church and Became a Spiritualist." Watt complained of the "utter lack of 'power'" now found in the LDS priesthood. It was "nothing tangible, nothing real." In contrast, Watt portrayed himself as having always been a "spiritualist," or a believer in spiritual communication, even when he had been a Mormon. He concluded his lecture by condemning Young's Order of Enoch, which he claimed undermined personal freedom. During the next year Watt

continued to explore these themes in lectures to spiritualists in Salt Lake City and Ogden.[55]

Before Watt became a spiritualist, he obviously had struggled with his religious faith. He had left Young's employment in the late 1860s after the two had supposedly quarreled over Watt's demand for an increase in salary. Watt then entered an unsuccessful mercantile venture. In the summer of 1870 he described himself as having been on the "devil's harrow" for two years—perhaps an allusion to his business debts and to the growing distance he felt between himself and church leaders. When Young had formed the ZCMI, Watt complained that Young was being too accommodating to successful LDS merchants like Hooper and Jennings and not sufficiently helpful to the average Saint. It was probably these murmurings that had led Young to include Watt's name along with the those of the Godbeite reformers in the original proscription against the *Utah Magazine* in October 1869.

While Young had backtracked and worked to keep Watt in the church, Watt was stung by the incident—and by the whispers that circulated behind his back because of it. He was English and Scotch, Watt told his brethren of the Salt Lake School of the Prophets. His heritage and personality would not allow him to be traduced and coerced. On the other hand, the "kindness and sympathy" of church leaders and neighbors could easily persuade him.[56]

During the years leading up to his excommunication, Watt voiced similar assurances—and pleas. "As to [the] new Movement and old movements," he once wrote Young after the "teachers" from the ward had interrogated him about his orthodoxy, the dissidents had "no more of my fear or regard than the pooting[?] of a mouse a day old." Watt vowed to stand by his leaders, although in practice he apparently continued to criticize Young's cooperative plan.[57] On another occasion, Watt admitted that he had associated with several Godbeites and had been cordial to them. He had known Lyman and Godbe for years, Watt explained, and he did not think that their new religious views justified his discontinuing the relationship. In making these defenses, Watt probably was not entirely honest: he was in

fact weighing his beliefs. It is also true that, whatever his inner turmoil, it was not helped by the surveillance of his neighbors. "Espionage or adversity only stiffen[s] my neck and sets one in defiance," Watt wrote to one of his plural wives.[58]

The situation of Bishop Andrew Cahoon of the South Cottonwood District was similar to that of Watt. His faithfulness was questioned in an October 1870 meeting of the Salt Lake City School of the Prophets. While admitting that he had made "unguarded and unwise expressions," perhaps concerning Young and church policy, Cahoon denied that he had apostatized and become a Godbeite. Six months later, another charge surfaced: Cahoon had been overheard to say that he believed neither in "all the bible" nor in a devil. Defending himself, Cahoon admitted that he had taken the first volume of the *Mormon Tribune.* He had also read spiritualist tracts and had attended a Church of Zion meeting. These activities had challenged his Mormon faith and led him to begin a quiet study of the Bible and of Mormon scripture in his home. In the meantime, he assured the School that he sustained the Mormon leadership and priesthood.[59]

This seemed a tepid confession of faith for a Mormon bishop, and Elder George Q. Cannon wanted something stronger. If Cahoon didn't know that the religion of Jesus Christ was true, said Cannon, the man should promptly resign his office. Cahoon should be praying, not reading spiritual tracts. Two weeks later, Cahoon's avowals before the school were stronger, but he strongly denounced the faultfinding and persecution that he felt he was being subjected to. Church secretary A. M. Musser's outspoken crusading was especially offensive. After Musser's remarks at a meeting at the local chapel, Cahoon complained that some members of his congregation treated him like chopped up "mince meat."[60]

There were, then, similar threads in the experiences of Watt and Cahoon. Both men had felt uncertain about some Mormon beliefs, and both had explored ideas on the periphery. In the rigidity of the time, this searching was met by a lack of understanding by some of their neighbors, and this in turn deepened their alienation. Finally, both sensed that they might be more comfortable outside the LDS

communion. Cahoon was released from the office of bishop in 1872, and two years later he was cited for exerting a "very baneful influence among the people of his neighbourhood by teaching false doctrines."[61] In 1876, Cahoon, forty years a Mormon, followed Watt's pattern by declaring his new faith in a public meeting of the spiritualists.[62]

The men and women who became involved in Utah spiritualism provided one measure of the movement's influence. Another indication was the number of itinerant practitioners who, responding to the Utah reformers' ministry in California, New York, and London, visited Utah during the 1870s and early 1880s. Almost fifty spiritual professionals can be identified by name, although the actual count may have been much higher. These included some of the most celebrated spiritualists of the time: Emma Hardinge Britten, DeRobigne Mortimer Bennett, Hannah F. M. Brown, Warren Chase, William Denton, J. R. Newton, James Martin Peebles, Dr. Joseph Simms, Cora L. V. Tappan-Richmond, and Victoria Claflin Woodhull.

In addition, other outsider spiritualists, less well known, came to Utah and remained for several months and in some cases many years. Several of these played a continuing role in the radical and philosophical phase of the New Movement: M. M. Bane, J. C. Clayton, O. H. Conger, W. H. Holmes, Dr. Holland, and Mr. Slocum, who became one of the chief writers for the *Tribune.*

None of these itinerants apparently accepted the early Godbeite hope of a Mormonlike system of government for their movement. That proved a New Movement chimera: spiritualism was too diverse, spontaneous, and fractious to accept any regulating authority; most spiritualists did not want any priestly mediators or "standards" standing between themselves and their phenomena. Yet, if the traveling spiritualists failed to accept Godbeite organization, many national and international practitioners left the territory impressed with the results achieved by the Utah branch. Bennett spoke of "hundreds, and possibly thousands" of Mormon apostates, many of whom had become "Liberalists and Spiritualists."[63] Peebles was also impressed. He had found in Utah a "noble self-sacrificing band of

independent thinkers," the more enthusiastic being former Mormons. Their "devotion to the principles of harmonial philosophy ought to inspire, if not shame, many Eastern [spiritualist] organizations."[64]

The most extraordinary of the spiritualist visitors may have been Charles Foster, whose presence had apparently loomed over the movement from the beginning. In November 1873 Foster was en route to Australia on one of his extended tours and stopped in Salt Lake City. If Foster had served as Harrison's and Godbe's medium in New York five years earlier, neither of the reformers took the occasion to announce it, though Harrison did make Foster the subject of one of his lectures. The lecture, titled "Witches, Wizards and Spirit Mediums, versus Prophets and Apostles, or Charles H. Foster, the Medium," unfortunately was not reported in the Salt Lake City press.[65]

However, there were hints of a possible Godbeite connection with Foster. The medium was met at the railroad station by an unnamed delegation of "gentlemen who had met with him elsewhere," said the *Tribune.* Moreover, Foster seemed unusually well posted on Utah and Mormon matters. "He knows as much about our prominent men and our political condition as many who have lived months amongst us," marveled another *Tribune* report. Perhaps most revealing, while in Salt Lake City, Foster replicated one of the central features of Godbe's and Harrison's New York City experience. "No man but Heber C. Kimball could have talked as Mr. Foster did," claimed one astonished individual after observing Foster in trance produce the voice and mannerisms of Kimball. Obviously, Kimball's spirit was a part of Foster's repertoire.[66]

The *Tribune* advertised the New York medium as an antidote to LDS spiritual pretension. "The great Foster has come amongst us," the paper boasted, "to show the Latter-day Saints that some things can be done as well as others; that revelations from above are made to other people than the Utah Prophet." Later the paper trumpeted the visitor's successes: Foster read personal character at a glance. He sensed visitors' thoughts. He received spirit messages on his arm. Indeed, he gave more revelations in "ten minutes" than

Brigham Young had issued in twenty-five years. The newspaper claimed that nine out of ten Utahns left Foster's rooms at the Walker House satisfied.[67]

Even the *Salt Lake Herald,* usually eager to challenge its journalistic rival, felt the need to admire Foster's talents. After observing the light-hearted and charismatic Foster, the newspaper found it difficult to call the New York medium a simple fraud. Foster was probably an honest man, said the *Herald* begrudgingly; he probably used the power of "electro-biology" and "unseen influences" to summon spirits. But the newspaper was less sure of Foster's message. The spirits that he summoned were not always who they represented themselves to be, the newspaper claimed, and they brought news from the other world that did not seem important. "We do not see anything gained by their communication, except, perhaps, the idea of one being surrounded by his relatives, whom he might otherwise imagine were harping in heaven." Such was the *Herald*'s mild counterattack, rumored to have been written by Orson Pratt.[68]

One man named Myers, after visiting Foster in his salon and apparently being overcome by the reality of spirits and the world beyond, committed suicide. "I'm sure I don't know why he should have done so," Foster later said cavalierly; "perhaps he believed in the spirit world." The matter, said Foster, was "no consequence" to him.[69]

Notwithstanding this event, Foster's visit to Salt Lake City was generally described as a success. The traffic to Foster's hotel room was so great that soon clients made formal appointments. Foster recognized this growing interest by extending his Salt Lake City stay for a few extra days. He had come to Utah, he said, to show Mormons that their leaders were not the only ones who communicated spiritually. By doing this, he hoped to counteract their "pernicious influence." On other occasions, he was more kind. Seeking common ground with Utahns, he conceded that Joseph Smith was a talented medium—like himself; and if Brigham Young

was a "fraud," at least he had "done as well as he could." Young was simply "the uninspired successor of an inspired man."[70]

By the early 1870s, spiritualism had found a Utah following. To meet the needs of the local and itinerant spiritualists, liberal freethinking centers emerged in Park City, Cottonwood, Jordan, Beaver, Logan, Ogden, Mt. Pleasant, and Salt Lake City; at least the latter four communities had their own assembly halls.[71] The Ogden contingent, led by T. J. Stayner, met in Cordon's Hall, and then, beginning in January 1874, at the new Liberal Hall. The inaugural services, which were reportedly "crowded to excess," featured Watt as the speaker; afterward, local and traveling spiritualists continued the Ogden ministry.[72]

The spiritualists in Mt. Pleasant—the heart of LDS Scandinavian country—were also a part of a larger movement. The *Tribune,* eager to capitalize on LDS dissent, claimed that as many as eight hundred Scandinavian "reformers" were scattered throughout the territory. For a time these dissenters published their own short-lived spiritualist-reform newspaper, the *Scandinav.*[73]

The Salt Lake City spiritualists also occasionally met in neighborhood groups. "Prof. W. H. Holmes delivered on Sunday evening last the first of a series of open air lectures, in the garden of Mr. Lloyd, in the Tenth Ward," proclaimed one notice. Holmes, a fellow of the "Religio-Philosophical Society," later addressed the "East End Association of Salt Lake City Spiritualists."[74] But most of the Salt Lake City spiritualist activity was located at the Liberal Institute, where the public ministry of Utah reform was centered and where the important events of the spiritualists' liberal program were acted out. It has a story of its own.

Notes

^1. For other accounts dealing with spiritualism in nineteenth-century Mormondom, see chap. 7, n. 4.

^2. *MTrib,* 26 Mar. 1870, p. 100.

^3. *SLTrib,* 1 Oct. 1870, p. 4.

^4. *MTrib,* 5 Mar. 1870, p. 77; 26 Mar. 1870, p. 100.

^5. Ellen Pratt McGary to Ellen Clawson, 23 Apr. 1870, Hiram B. Clawson Papers, University of Utah. This correspondence has been published in Ellsworth, *Dear Ellen.* McGary accepted spiritualism and married a spiritualist. She also became active in Utah's woman's rights movement.

^6. *MTrib,* 19 Mar. 1870, p. 90.

^7. *SLTrib,* 24 Sept. 1870, pp. 4–5. Also see W. C. Staines to BY, 10 June 1870, BY Incoming Corr., LDS Archives, which is a less breathless version of the episode.

^8. Shearman to Amasa Lyman, 13 Sept. 1870, Lyman Papers, LDS Archives.

^9. Lyman to Sister "Lucy," 9 July 1870, Lyman Papers, LDS Archives.

^10. Shearman to Amasa Lyman, 13 Sept. 1870, Lyman Papers, LDS Archives.

^11. *MTrib,* 8 Jan. 1870, pp. 12–13.

^12. Shearman to Amasa Lyman, 13 Sept. 1870, Lyman Papers, LDS Archives; *SLTrib,* 17 Sept. 1870, p. 1.

^13. Shearman to Amasa Lyman, 13 Sept. 1870, Lyman Papers, LDS Archives. For background on Coolbrith, see Bogue, "Ina Coolbrith's Secret Mormon Heritage"; Herr, "Portrait for a Western Album"; and Rhodehamel and Wood, *Ina Coolbrith.*

^14. *SLTrib,* 23 Sept. 1871, p. 4, quoting an interview of Davis printed in the *New York World.* For additional contact with the eastern spiritualists, see *SLWTrib,* 24 Sept. 1870, pp. 4–5; and Amasa Lyman diary, 11 Apr. 1871, Lyman Papers, LDS Archive.

^15. McCabe, *Spiritualism,* pp. 82–86.

^16. Ibid.; Nelson, *Spiritualism and Society,* pp. 19, 21–22.

^17. Peebles, *Spirit Mates,* pp. 30–31.

^18. Frank Podmore, cited in McCabe, *Spiritualism: A Popular History,* p. 83.

^19. Amasa Lyman diary—see entries for Sept. 1870; Blessing, ibid., 22 Sept. 1870; and Amasa Lyman to Louisa [Lyman], 29 Sept. 1870, all in Lyman Papers, LDS Archives.

^20. *SLTrib,* 15 Oct. 1870, p. 4; *Daily Corinne Reporter,* 21 Sept. 1871, p. 3; *SLHer,* 29 Oct. 1870, p. 3.
^21. *SLHer,* 24 Sept. 1870, p. 2, citing the *Ogden Junction;* ibid., 9 Dec. 1870, p. 3; *SLTrib,* 10 Dec. 1870, p. 1, and 19 Apr. 1871, p. 3; and Amasa Lyman diary, 22 Jan. 1871, Lyman Papers, LDS Archives.
^22. *SLTrib,* 1 Oct. 1870, p. 5.
^23. [Harrison?], *SLTrib,* 3 Sept. 1870, p. 4.
^24. Amasa M. Lyman to "Sister Ruth," 26 June 1872, Lyman Papers, LDS Archives.
^25. Amasa Lyman diary, 20 Jan., 13 and 14 Feb. 1871, Lyman Papers, LDS Archives. The incidence of circles is calculated in Hefner, "Amasa Mason Lyman, the Spiritualist," pp. 84–85.
^26. Amasa M. Lyman to "His Sister" [Ruth], 24 Feb. 1871, Lyman Papers, LDS Archives.
^27. "Communication through C. H. Foster, New York," recorded in Amasa Lyman diary, Mar. 1871, Lyman Papers, LDS Archives.
^28. Ibid., n.d., recorded in Mar. 1871.
^29. Ibid., 6 Mar. and 4 Apr. 1871, 19 July and 7 Aug. 1872.
^30. Ibid., 11 Apr., 25 Aug., and 16 Oct. 1871.
^31. Ibid., 3 and 4 Sept. 1871; "Address of the Utah Spiritual Movement," *SLWTrib,* 9 Sept. 1871, p. 4.
^32. "Address of the Utah Spiritual Movement," *SLWTrib,* 9 Sept. 1871, p. 4.
^33. Amasa Lyman diary, 8 and 12 Sept. 1871, Lyman Papers, LDS Archives.
^34. *New York Daily Tribune,* 16 Sept. 1871.
^35. Godbe, "Situation in Utah," pp. 406–7.
^36. Editorial, *Medium,* 15 Dec. 1871, p. 409.
^37. *SLTrib,* 16 Nov. 1873, p. 4.
^38. Ibid.
^39. *JD* 13 (6 and 30 Oct. 1870): 266–68, 280–81.
^40. Minutes of the Parowan School of the Prophets, 18 Mar., 13 and 27 May 1871, 16, 23, and 30 Mar., 6 Apr., 19 June, and 13 July

1872. For a later statement against spiritualism's perils, see minutes, 4 Jan. 1876, Eighteenth Quorum of Seventies, both in LDS Archives.

^41. Cited in Bate, "Iron City, Mormon Mining Town," pp. 51–52.

^42. Lincoln J. Carter to George D. Pyper, 20 June 1905, printed in Pyper, *Romance of an Old Playhouse,* pp. 187–90; William J. Cogswell, "Was Brigham Young a Spiritualist?" 24 Sept. 1900, University of California at Berkeley, Bancroft Library; and Tullidge, *HSLC,* p. 757. Later the Cogswells and Carters performed at the Corinne Opera House. See Johnson, "Frontier Theatre," 290.

^43. Anonymous to BY, 28 Jan. 1871, Virginia, Nev., BY Incoming Corr., LDS Archives.

^44. Amasa Lyman diary, 18 July 1872, Lyman Papers, LDS Archives.

^45. David Smith to Shearman, 27 July 1872, David Smith Papers, RLDS Department of History. Also see Edwards, "Sweet Singer of Israel"; and Avery, "Insanity and the Sweet Singer," pp. 160–67.

^46. Amasa Lyman diary, 29 Oct. and 1 Nov. 1872, Lyman Papers, LDS Archives.

^47. David H. Smith to Joseph Smith III, 19 Nov. 1872, David Smith Papers, RLDS Department of History.

^48. *SLTrib,* 14 Nov. 1872, p. 3.

^49. Ibid., 30 Nov. 1872, p. 3. For Smith's other spiritualistic discourses, see ibid., 4, 14, 20, 27 Nov. 1872, each p. 3.

^50. David Smith, "My Message," 2 Nov. 1872, *Hesperis,* pp. 72–73.

^51. David Smith, "Song of Endless Life," 22 Nov. 1872, *Hesperis,* pp. 58–59.

^52. Isaiah Coombs diary, 8 Mar. 1873, as cited in Avery, "Insanity and the Sweet Singer," p. 190.

^53. Salt Lake City activity, *SLTrib,* 6, 12, 15, 22 Feb. and 6 Mar. 1873, each p. 3. David's revelation to his brother disclaimed any personal ambition (15 Mar. 1873, David Smith Papers, RLDS Department of History).

^54. *Saints Herald,* 22 Oct. 1935, pp. 1360–61.

^55. *SLTrib,* 12 Apr. 1874, p. 4. For other lectures, ibid., 12 May 1874, p. 2; 7 June 1874, p. 4; 19 July 1874, p. 4; 6 Dec. 1874, p. 4; and 9 May 1875, p. 4. I am indebted to Ronald G. Watt, for allowing me to use a draft copy of his biography of George D. Watt.
^56. Minutes of the SL School of the Prophets, 26 Mar. 1870, LDS Archives.
^57. George D. Watt to BY, 27 July 1870, BY Incoming Corr., LDS Archives.
^58. George D. Watt to Martha Watt, n.d., Watt Papers, BYU Special Collections.
^59. Minutes of the SL School of the Prophets, 15 Oct. 1870 and 1 Apr. 1871, LDS Archives.
^60. Ibid., 1 and 29 Apr. 1871.
^61. BY et al. to Andrew Cahoon, 24 May 1872, BY Letterbooks, LDS Archives; minutes of the SL School of the Prophets, 15 Dec. 1873, LDS Archives.
^62. *SLTrib,* 15 Mar. 1876, p. 2.
^63. Bennett, *Truth Seeker around the World,* 4:581, 590.
^64. Peebles, *Around the World,* pp. 12, 15–16.
^65. *SLTrib,* 30 Nov. 1873, p. 4.
^66. *SLTrib,* 20, 21, and 27 Nov. 1873, each p. 4.
^67. Ibid., 27 Nov. 1873, p. 4.
^68. *SLHer,* 22 Nov. 1873, p. 3. For rumors of Pratt's writing, see *SLTrib,* 25 Nov. 1873, p. 4.
^69. Bartlett, *Salem Seer,* pp. 86–87.
^70. *SLTrib,* 21 Nov. 1873, p. 4, and letter to the editor, ibid., 4 Dec. 1873, p. 4.
^71. *SLWTrib,* 9 Sept. 1871, p. 4, and 23 Jan. 1874; *SLTrib,* 12 Jan. 1872, p. 3; 24 Aug. 1872, p. 3; 23 Jan. 1874, p. 4, and 26 Jan. 1875, p. 4; and Lyon, "Evangelical Protestant Missionary Activities in Mormon Dominated Areas," p. 84.
^72. Cordon's Hall: *SLTrib,* 12 Jan. 1872, p. 3. Liberal Hall and subsequent meetings: *Ogden Junction,* 28 and 31 Jan., 14 and 28

Feb., and 7 Mar. 1874, each citation p. 3.

^73. *SLTrib,* 19, 24, and 26 Apr. 1874, respectively pp. 3, 1, and 1; 3, 5, and 13 May 1874, respectively pp. 1, 1, and 2; 16, 21, and 28 June 1874, respectively pp. 1, 1, and 4; and 7, 8, and 28 July 1874, respectively pp. 1, 2, and 4.

^74. *Leader,* 16 Aug. 1873, p. 5, and 30 Aug. 1873, p. 4. For Holmes's affiliation, see *SLTrib,* 2 Aug. 1872, p. 3.

Chapter 15

The Liberal Institute

In a time of the Chautauqua and the public meeting hall, when cultural values were established and reinforced by the pulpit and lectern, there stood in President Brigham Young's Zion the Liberal Institute, a free-thought forum dedicated to changing, if not overturning, the Mormon kingdom. The institute would survive fewer than fifteen years, but during its brief career, it would serve Mormon opponents as a courtroom, political hall, school, entertainment center, and lyceum. The institute also became a religious counterweight. Utah's earliest congregations of Protestants, Jews, and "Reorganized" Mormons met there. But the institute's primary mission lay with the maturing New Movement. The Church of Zion, the Liberal Party, and the *Salt Lake Tribune*—the reform's other institutions—either passed quickly from the scene or were imperfectly controlled by the former Mormons. In contrast, the Godbeite legacy at the institute was more lasting. If the ideas and spirit of a movement find expression in its enduring institutions, the Liberal Institute revealed Godbeitism as did no other thing.

That the dissenters chose to establish a public forum was hardly surprising. While they might share the Liberal Institute with others, especially if these co-laborers might weaken President Young and Zion, the dissenters' primary purpose was to further the Godbeite mission. The men and women of the New Movement needed a place where spiritualist public meetings, lectures, libraries, and séances might flourish, and where the word of their new revelation might go forth. In this they followed an established free-thought, spiritualist pattern. The landscape of the nineteenth-century United States was dotted with the spiritualists' "liberal" and "reform" institutes. Salt Lake City's Liberal Institute was one of the larger and more imposing of these.

Such a project was a major undertaking for the small band of reformers. To assist, Governor Shaffer penned an appeal for outside funds. He had already seen the "practical good" accomplished by the

reform movement. At great pecuniary loss, the reformers had established a newspaper that had "done more to weaken the power of the Mormon church than all other agencies combined." In the governor's mind, Utah reform now needed the proposed hall to join the *Tribune.* Shaffer's appeal was endorsed by the leading men of the local non-LDS community, including the territory's political appointees and such recently installed Christian pastors as the Methodist Reverend George M. Pierce. Leading Protestant religionists like Senate Chaplain J. P. Newman, who was continuing his anti-Mormon ministry, also signed the petition.[1]

The Salt Lake City merchant houses had their own circular, its darker content reflecting the merchants' long and continuing struggle over President Young's business policy. The establishments of the Walker brothers, Samuel Kahn, and Marshall & Carter characteristically addressed their petition to "Friends of Liberty and Reform." The reformers had "done much" to open Utah to "capital and enterprise" and to defeat "one-man power," said the merchant circular. Despite efforts to "crush" them, the New Movement men (they made no mention of women) were working for the "rights and liberties of all classes of American citizens." Therefore, the proposed hall was important to every citizen then residing in the territory.[2] For these merchants, broadly stated "liberty" and unmentioned self-interest easily merged.

To tap non-Utah sources, the dissenters sent Shearman to the East, circulars in hand. Lyman also sought money. He requested his southern Utah friends to "send us a helping hand at this time of our trial."[3] However, most of the fifty thousand dollar funding likely came not from abroad but from the beleaguered Salt Lake City merchants, especially William Godbe and Henry Lawrence. Godbe and his first wife, Annie, also donated property for the construction site. The new building was just north of the Godbes' recently built Octagon House on the east side of Second East street in Salt Lake City, between First and Second South streets.[4]

Enough funds were available to lay the cornerstone on 6 October 1870 during the Mormons' semiannual general conference. Chiseled

into the stone was the inscription "Church of Zion," an instant anachronism.[5] Two months later, Lyman, who visited the site regularly, pronounced the building "nearing completion," though another six months would be required to finish the interior.[6] Harrison drew the architectural plans, which, by conveying early Victorian mass and weight, gave the building the apt symbolism of a gentile rampart within Zion.

The structure was sixty feet square at the base. Its ceiling rose to an impressive thirty feet, while the seating was arranged in a half octagon, the podium being placed in one of the building's corners. The use of the gallery allowed an audience of one thousand, although on at least one occasion twice that number reportedly crowded into the facility.[7] Pioneer artisans Tullidge and McAvoy grained the woodwork of the interior, which tastefully set off the building's plastered walls. One panel displayed the portraits of George and Martha Washington—the latter an explicit expression of the movement's feminism. Later, heating stoves warmed the interior (in contrast, the Mormon Tabernacle was forced to suspend its meetings during the winter season), and a removable level floor was laid to permit dancing, dining, and other social activities. A cabinet organ, which promised to "supersede everything in the market," was imported from the East.[8]

It was, of course, another example of Godbe's generosity and idealism—and his inclination for the grand. The *Salt Lake Tribune* was probably not far from the mark: "For convenience of arrangement, beauty of interior finish, and acoustic properties, the Hall surpasses any hitherto erected in the city." The itinerant spiritualist J. M. Peebles believed that Utah spiritualists had shown "their faith by their works" and in the process had erected a "magnificent hall." The usually querulous *Corinne Reporter* was willing to use the same adjective: the institute was a "magnificent edifice," it said. Only the Mormon newspapers refused to join the chorus, continuing their studied silence on all things Godbeite.[9]

By the end of June 1871, workers and volunteers hastened with the finishing touches, and the *Tribune* proclaimed a "general bee" to

put up seats and clean the place.[10] Despite such last-minute work, the building was dedicated on Sunday, 2 July, with a few details remaining undone. But surging Godbeite emotions bore no trace of disappointment. Harrison's dedicatory prayer invoked "mental and religious liberty, progress, and humanity." Titular leader Lyman followed with a sermon on human freedom and the universal fraternity of man.[11]

Such sentiment was enough to draw from the audience a distinguished national visitor. Suffragist Susan B. Anthony, who was visiting Utah with Elizabeth Cady Stanton and was fresh from a recent lecture at the LDS Tabernacle, asked if she might be allowed to speak. She later recalled, "with a Quaker inspiration, not to be repeated, much less put on paper, I asked those men around me, bubbling over with the divine spirit of freedom for themselves, if they had thought whether the women of their households (many of them still in polygamy) were to-day rejoicing in like manner?" If mothers remained "slaves" and unequal, Anthony reminded the audience, they would continue to transmit "superstition" and "inferior ideas" to their children, perpetuating social evil. Free men required free women.

The plea was telling. Some women in the audience wept. Several men were equally overcome. Godbeite leaders later told Anthony that after her remarks, they wanted to scream in exultation. For these men and women, burdened and estranged from Zion, the moment was one of exaggerated emotion and final liberation. Godbe accepted Anthony's critique and after some additional words closed the meeting.[12]

The suffragist felt that she had found soulmates. In an enthusiastic letter to her colleagues in the women's crusade, Anthony spoke of the good fortune she had had in attending the Liberal Institute's dedication. The Mormon reformers sang the "songs of freedom," she said, and engaged in the "beatitudes of soul-to-soul communion with the All-Father." She also spoke of meeting in the homes of one of the leaders of the Mormon reform, probably Godbe. She described him as having a "noble, loving[,] beautiful spirit—

nothing of the tyrant, nothing of the sensualist." She also found his wives and children admirable, and Anthony left with a fuller understanding of the complication of plural marriage. Should Godbe sever his old Mormon marriage ties, she told her sisters in the movement, the act would leave three of his four wives with "broken hearts" and three sets of children without a father.[13]

That evening, Elizabeth Cady Stanton made the institute's first day of services still more memorable. Stanton, like Anthony, had earlier addressed the Mormon women on the suffrage question but had withheld her more renowned lecture, "The True Republic," perhaps fearing an unpleasant reaction at the staid Tabernacle. But now, at the Liberal Institute, the famous organizer of the 1848 Seneca Falls women's rights conference and president of the National Woman Suffrage Association felt a great liberty. Anthony had told her of the dedication earlier in the day and no doubt recommended that she speak.

It hardly seemed possible, Stanton told her hastily arranged but full Liberal Institute audience, that people who had just "escaped" from Mormonism "could so highly appreciate the value of truth outside of creeds and place themselves so decidedly on the side of science." Science, she lectured, was the religion of the future. In the past, men who claimed to be God's earthly representatives—"kings, popes, masters"—had played on the people's religious feelings. Using special claims and church dogma, these leaders had perpetuated their power. But this could hardly satisfy a new world in which the laws of science promised to govern morals and theology. As men and women learned to control the elements, Stanton argued, they would feel a new pride and self-reliance that would elevate them beyond the old religion. Stanton also prescribed a new text for the churches. In the future they must deal with the "subjection of women, labor and capital, prostitution, war, finance, free trade, land monopoly, prisons, [and] criminal legislation."[14]

The lecture was, reported the *Tribune,* "perhaps the ablest ever listened to by a Salt Lake audience."[15] Stanton had been articulate and impassioned, but an additional reason for the newspaper's

excitement lay in her message. Her impromptu remarks and the text of her finely honed "The True Republic" carried themes that resonated with the Godbeite soul: science, progress, humanity (if not humanism), natural law, and social conscience, coupled with an impatience toward traditional religious practice. These were themes that over the next several years Liberal Institute speakers would set forth and argue continuously.

The beginning of the institute had been auspicious, even exhilarating, at least for New Movement believers. The momentum continued for the next several weeks. On Tuesday, 4 July, two days after the dedication, the building hosted a non-LDS celebration of national independence. Managers placed raised platforms outside windows and entrances to expand capacity. A band led a parade through Salt Lake City streets to advertise the program. (The parade included thirteen wagons from the gentile mining community, including a bullion-carrying rig from the Walker brothers' rich Emma mine with the mocking sign "Redeemer of Utah.")[16] Meant as a public display of strength, perhaps two thousand "Reformed Mormons," Gentiles, and curious onlookers from the territory crowded the institute. They wanted their own separate celebration.

Lyman, Godbe, and Harrison spoke during the program. Their messages mingled patriotism with fervent Mormon reform. ("Their souls were on fire with their new freedom," reported Anthony, who was present.)[17] Lyman hoped for "universal peace" and for a time when all would be united in "one great brotherhood." Godbe's and Harrison's speeches were more adversarial. Continuing his attack on the LDS theocracy, Godbe spoke of the American ideal of liberty —"mental, social, political, and religious"—and contrasted this sentiment with supposed deficiencies of traditional Mormonism. For his part, Harrison believed that the ongoing conflict in Utah between American republicanism and Mormon theocracy was a "life and death" struggle from which only one could emerge with victory.[18] For Godbe and Harrison the battle continued.

The next day the Liberal Institute hosted yet another meeting that further identified the movement's mission and spirit. This time the

women spoke. Several weeks before, "Brother and Sister" Spear, as Lyman labeled the San Francisco-based spiritualists who had already helped organize Godbeite spiritualism, had returned to Utah to organize a local women's rights movement. The reform women had elected Fanny Stenhouse as their president, Mrs. H. R. Stuart as vice president, Elizabeth Hunt and Mrs. E. L. T. Harrison as secretaries, and Annie Godbe as treasurer. The newly formed Women's Mutual Improvement Society dedicated itself to securing "equal footing with men in every issue."[19] It was an important declaration: Utah feminism would become a central New Movement teaching.

At the first meeting of the ladies at the institute, the officers took the stand, along with Anthony, Stanton, and Emily Pitts Stevens, editor of the feminist *San Francisco Pioneer.* The national suffragists informed the assembled women of efforts in the United States and England to advance the female cause "socially and politically" and tried to rouse in them "an ambition to more thoroughly understand themselves." The effort at least partly succeeded. Of the two to three hundred women present for the inaugural meeting, over one hundred gave their names for membership, and many subscribed to Stevens's journal.[20] After the session, Anthony remained effusive. She described Stenhouse as a "noble woman" and reported that the Utah reform women seemed deserving of the "fraternal clasp" of their national sisters. "Here is a missionary work," she advised, "not to modify nor ameliorate, but to abolish the whole system of women's subjection to man, in both polygamy and monogamy."[21]

For the next year, the Women's Mutual Improvement Society continued to meet at the institute and sometimes in the comfortable retreat of Annie Godbe's home. The program varied. At times, Stenhouse would deliver an "interesting" address, or Mrs. Cook would read "an instructive selection" from *Laws of Life.*[22] Or the women joined their male counterparts to protest the Mormon-led drive for Utah statehood. They also performed "good deeds." The ladies worked to assemble a library and on another occasion tried to organize an evening school for women whose education required improvement. Stenhouse herself volunteered to teach English to

French-speaking immigrant women. And for a time, the Mutual Improvement Society considered opening a school for boys and girls.[23]

Religious services were also a Liberal Institute staple. This included the occasional celebration of Yom Kippur and Rosh Hashanah, but more typically the worship of Utah's stripling Christian congregations. Without the resources to establish their own houses of worship, Roman Catholics, Methodists, Presbyterians, Jews, Swedish Lutherans, and "Josephite" Mormons turned at various times to the institute for shelter.[24] The *Tribune* explained the spirit of the place: "The Hall will . . . have Mr. Peirce and his [Methodist] flock in the morning and afternoon and the Reformers, with Mr. Harrison as speaker, in the evening. Neither party seems the least afraid of contact."[25]

The willingness of the managers of the institute to accommodate Utah's new congregations was motivated partly by a sincere belief in religious toleration. But a practical, more immediate reason entered into their policy as well. From the beginning, the Liberal Institute was meant to bring pluralism to Utah society and, if possible, to weaken the Mormon establishment. According to the *Tribune,* the forum destroyed old creeds, freed its audiences from religious thralldom, and introduced "broader fields of thought." Old-line Mormonism had "dictated" long enough.[26]

Of course in the minds of the men and women of the New Movement, spiritualism and freethinking had a key role in the projected reform. As evidence of how far harmonial thinking had taken root among them, they no longer offered their former half-apologies for spiritual phenomena. Such manifestations, the Godbeite *Weekly Tribune* now enthusiastically argued, destroyed religious superstition and broke up "priestcraft." In the process, a fertile field would be created for a higher system of thinking, which they called the "Church of Humanity." Whatever past disappointments and failures, whatever the former false starts, the Godbeites now spoke optimistically of the beginning of a new era. The much-heralded "spiritual dispensation" was at hand.[27]

Harrison and Lawrence, the building's usual managers, scheduled a variety of programs that, it was hoped, would define the new system. Some of these were worship services, held sporadically during the 1870s. They might begin and close with prayer, with Orson Pratt Jr. playing the organ and W. D. Williams conducting the choir. The format of the proceedings took the form of exposition, music, and culture, or simply discussion. Religion was flexibly described as the "beautiful or useful in Art and Science"—anything that refined. Presumably this dictum did not include the Christian sacraments; they continued to be excluded.[28]

One program began with Williams's choir, followed by readings from Pope, Tennyson, and the Boston poet Elizabeth Doten, a favorite of many spiritualists throughout the country. Essays and discourses then concluded the meeting, with John Lindsay giving the main presentation. Lindsay, once a principal actor of the Salt Lake Theatre stock company, argued that human perfection required art and science along with "moral and spiritual sentiment." This was a religion that drew heavily on philosophy and culture.[29]

Other times the services stressed discussion and debate, as the organization of the Lyceum of Free Discussion in 1872 evidenced. Harrison, frustrated by the lapse of regular spiritualistic devotionals, had urged that they be resumed. His associates countered with the idea of a broader forum, one patterned after Spear's Dashaway Hall in San Francisco. Such a lyceum, it was agreed, would discuss social, religious, intellectual, and spiritual subjects, restricting only the tinderbox topic of Liberal Party and national politics. Dr. O. H. Congar became the president of the new association, with Thomas D. Brown and W. H. Holmes acting as assistants.[30]

Whether under the direction of the lyceum or another of the institute's later organizations, discussion could be provocative. Topics included "God—what is He, and what do we know about Him?"; "Have the prominent religions of the past been more beneficial than injurious to the world?"; "The evidences offered of the truth of spiritualism are sufficient to satisfy the world that a new era has commenced"; and "Is the religion that venerates deity superior to

that which elevates humanity?" Institute managers invited all factions of the public to join these discussions with the goal of eliciting truth and encouraging "freedom of thought."[31]

As the worship sessions at the Liberal Institute continued, they grew more provocative. "If the Orthodox reader wants a genuine sensation," the *Salt Lake Tribune* promised in 1875, "let him attend a session of the Progressive Spiritualists." One recent meeting combined Mormonism, scientific materialism, Unitarianism, and atheism in a freewheeling and disjointed discussion. According to the *Tribune,* one speaker claimed that Abraham was "a liar and coward" and Jacob "a thief." This prompted a Mormon to defend the traditional view. Then "a wandering bohemian" spoke on the "Origin and Evolution of the God-idea"; he was followed by an "eloquent physician" suggesting that "the Bible was the worst book ever published, in that it taught the worship of a monster!" None of this discussion seemed too bothersome to the *Tribune,* which promised: "No matter what your belief is, if you want to be shaken clear out of the old ruts and set to thinking as to where you stand, go and hear the . . . [Liberals]."[32]

Several of the institute's programs were aimed against the Mormons. Harrison might lecture on the "excellencies or absurdities of Mormonism." Or Fanny Stenhouse or Ann Eliza Webb, both still angry after their experience in Mormonism, delivered their nationally famous exposés to local audiences. Stenhouse branded Brigham Young a "despot and Polygamy as a fraud," while Webb, President Young's former wife, addressed such themes as endowment house marriage, blood atonement, and the Order of Enoch—a speech described in the local press as her "master effort." Nellie Paddock also delivered her nationally famous anti-Mormon lecture at the institute.[33]

At times the old Godbeite dissidents also took up the cudgels. In 1874, before a crowded assembly at the institute, Harrison, Shearman, Kelsey, Lawrence, and Stenhouse denounced what they branded as the "last swindle" of Young, perhaps his newly defined "United Order," a system that called for increased community

cooperation. The audience, reported the *Tribune,* listened with "intense satisfaction" and "rapturously applauded."[34]

More often the institute's criticism of Mormonism was oblique. Its founders were content to sponsor a wide variety of spiritualistic and free-thought programs, which, it was hoped, would reveal the virtues of the new system without necessarily attacking the old. Such a policy was risky. The spiritualists knew that there were some disreputable workers in the movement—men and women who, by sleight of hand, tricked audiences into believing that they performed valid phenomena. Spiritualism was "about one-half truth" mingled with an equal proportion of "humbug," one letter reprinted in the *Tribune* explained.[35] Still, the Liberal Institute managers continued to offer a spiritualistic potpourri. Their faith rested in the marketplace of ideas—and in their conviction that the truth of their movement, despite adulteration by the dishonest, would eventually prevail. In the process, homespun Utah would slowly be transformed into something finer.

This mission of enlightenment and liberalism relied heavily on outside lecturers, who now traveled by transcontinental railroad. At first the LDS dissidents wanted "first-class intellectual matter," perhaps the lectures of such powerful advocates of reform as Wendell Phillips, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Henry Ward Beecher, Bayard Taylor, and Frederick Douglass.[36] When these possible lecturers proved unavailable, the Liberal Institute turned to the itinerant spiritualists.

Some of these men and women lectured. J. M. Peebles's three Utah addresses were especially well received. Peebles, like the local parishioners themselves, came from the Christian-oriented wing of the movement, yet he lectured broadly about the universal quality of all religious experience, whether the worshipers were "Jew or Gentile, Mohammedan or Pagan."[37] The local spiritualists were also impressed by Australian Charles Bright, who first gave his spiritualist testimony at the institute and then followed with a lecture on Thomas Paine in nearby Farmington, Utah. Pleased with Bright's efforts, Godbe, Lawrence, Armstrong, Fred Walker, and others

penned a recommendation that probably said as much as to how they viewed themselves as it characterized their visitor: Bright, they said, was "an eloquent champion of free thought" who conveyed his ideas by "invincible logic," fairness, and "scholarly ability."[38]

More esteemed in the movement than Peebles and Bright, nationally and internationally, were several female speakers who appeared at the institute. In 1874, the social, political, and sexual radical Victoria Claflin Woodhull arrived in Utah unannounced. Because of her prestige, she quickly preempted an already scheduled program. Her "latest and greatest speech," titled "Tried as by fire; or, the true and the false socially," earned her the unusually high admission price of one dollar.[39] Cora L. V. Tappan-Richmond, recently a lecturer at London's Hanover Square and described as one of the "highest representatives" of the spiritualist faith, also lectured at the institute. Her discourse, "Spiritualism, its relation to science and religion," gained local praise for discounting the more extreme forms of the movement.[40]

A third eminent female spiritualist to visit Utah was Emma Hardinge Britten, whose eye Mormon spiritualists had caught as early as 1870. Her 1870 book *Modern Spiritualism* reported that "many excellent spirit mediums" resided among the Saints (perhaps former Saints), especially in California and Nevada. These practitioners, she reported, excelled in prophecy and healing.[41] A decade later, Britten came to see these spiritualists for herself. With Harrison and Armstrong managing her three Liberal Institute lectures, Britten spoke on "The footsteps of angels," "The origin and destiny of the human soul," and "Free masonry, ancient and modern."[42]

Some of the itinerants demonstrated "trance speaking," that is, public speaking while being bodily possessed by another spirit. Despite her reputation for being the most talented trance speaker of her time, Tappan-Richmond was a Liberal Institute disappointment. The "spirit who prompted her numbers should never try his hand at poetry again," said the *Tribune.*[43] Other performers, however, were more impressive, among them C. Fannie Allyn, who gave rhyming

answers to the congregation's questions. The spiritualists believed that if Mrs. Allyn could have been heard at the recent LDS general conference, she might have "scattered to the winds all the notions of the Apostles and High Priests about their material-personal-Adam-God." But Allyn's second lecture was less successful; her comparison of polygamy to prostitution estranged more than a few in the audience.[44]

Several of the trance speakers claimed to bear messages from former LDS leaders. According to Mrs. W. H. King, Joseph Smith had earlier revealed himself to her and promised to visit Utah to converse with the Saints on matters of interest. Mrs. King's appearance before the Liberal Institute audience fulfilled the prophecy; her trance lecture on the past and future of Mormonism purportedly came directly from Smith himself. This presentation was later matched by Mrs. H. T. Stearns. She served as the mouth for the spirit of Brigham Young, who since leaving mortality four years earlier had apparently changed its mind about spirit phenomena.[45]

Unfortunately, the local newspapers failed to provide a report of the Stearns-Young lecture, and Young's post-life message remained unrecorded. It must have been an impressive performance, at least from the view of the Utah reformers, for they found Mrs. Stearns to be an attractive figure, perhaps equaled only by Britten. The oratory of Mrs. Stearns was "Ciceronian," her powers of intellectual analysis "wonderful." Moreover, she was spiritually impressive. In a process which was not described, she seemed able to disembody her spirit and to show it to the audience "as proof that we have souls and that they can exist out of the body."[46]

The test or "cabinet" speakers performed deeds as dramatic as those of the touring trance speakers. These practitioners conducted "tests" that were supposedly achieved by the intervention of the spirits; others charged that their works were mere legerdemain. The Keeler family, leading test performers, had reportedly attracted forty thousand people to their Moravia, New York, headquarters to see their spiritualistic marvels, which in 1876 were duplicated before a startled Liberal Institute audience. Several members of the family

constructed a "cabinet" that was six feet high, six feet long, and about three feet deep, made of blankets, with a wooden seat at each end. After a number of citizens had inspected the device, two prominent Salt Lake City residents tied a medium to each of the seats.

Then the excitement began. After the cabinet was closed, several bells that had been placed on a chair between the performers flew from the top of the cabinet. Yet when the door was opened, the mediums remained bound. Still more marvelous, the Keelers sometimes materialized phantoms, who appeared briefly before an aperture of the cabinet, perhaps displaying an arm or leg or visage. These and other manifestations left a deep impression. "Certain it is that no public séance has ever been given in this city, which has [so] excited the curiosity of the public," wrote an eyewitness.[47]

Other mediums, however, were less competent. Dr. Peck, who advertised himself as "the great materializing Spirit Medium," promised to "establish the genuineness of spiritual manifestations," apparently by summoning spirits. But the Liberal Institute crowd, judging Peck's demonstrations unconvincing, complained from the galleries. Trying to save the evening, managers excused Peck, read a quieting reflection from Robert Burns, and staged a public séance. The evening ended with an impromptu dance. Several weeks later, after a newspaper letter explained Peck's clumsy fraud step-by-step, the doctor quietly left town.[48]

To the credit of the institute directors, they occasionally booked lecturers who offered contrary evidence. Dr. Adolpheus Franklin's lecture pledged to show that "telegrams from the spirit land" were a delusion.[49] Charles B. Cutler, another debunker, exposed the tricks of the cabinet mediums. In a series of demonstrations, Cutler allowed himself to be tied with the most complicated knots, padlocked with an iron collar and handcuffs, and placed in a pillory. From each, and without the aid of the spirits, Cutler easily freed himself. He was as adept in "materializing" spirits. Bound with rope and put in a closed cabinet, Cutler produced a flurry of hands and faces that seemed to materialize in the window. After the demonstration, the committee

reentered the cabinet and found Cutler still firmly lashed to his chair.[50] It was a duplication of the Keelers' "spiritualistic" tests, point by point.

The Liberal Institute audience watched this debunking with clear hostility. "Certain believers were considerably annoyed at having the idols thrown down and broken," the *Salt Lake Herald* cheerfully reported after Cutler had ended his work. For a while the crowd was thrown into confusion, and there were indications that Cutler's demonstrations might bring a "row," but good order finally prevailed, and the entertainment "passed off in good style."[51] Although the incident may have left some of the Utah spiritualists briefly shaken, they may have taken refuge in the long-standing understanding that their movement mixed deceit with truth, the dishonest practitioner with the sincere.

In addition to the cabinet mediums and their detractors, the Institute also sponsored a half-dozen spiritualists who preached or practiced "magnetic" healing. Of these, Dr. J. R. Newton commanded the highest reputation and drew the largest attention at the forum. Earlier in his career, Newton had introduced the "vital recuperator," a device, he claimed, that promised relief from pain and chronic disease. But no such mechanism was required in Salt Lake City. Taking hold of John Manning, long afflicted with heart disease, Newton "made a magnetic wave felt by the audience," and then threw "out an electric shock which was felt by many persons." Using such techniques or the more conventional method of laying on of hands, Newton healed instantly, and by wholesale: over sixty cases of blindness, deafness, sore eyes, cataracts, heart disease, consumption, and lameness were reportedly cured during Newton's several days' ministry at the institute. For children or those unable to visit him personally, Newton required only a piece of their clothing. "Dr. Newton is certainly a wonderful man," testified the *Tribune.*[52]

Admiring science, personal growth, and social reform, the Godbeite reformers attracted a variety of other practitioners to their institute. Dr. Joseph Simms gave six illustrated lectures on physiognomy, a study that sought to show the relationship between

bodily features, health, culture, and future activity.[53] On the other hand, Wilhelm Poulson and William Denton were specialists in psychometry, the faculty of divining knowledge about an object, or about a person connected with it, through psychic examination. Poulson gave "psychometrical" readings at the institute, presumably character sketches based on his examination of articles belonging to his clients. In turn Denton gave lectures whose content, if his books were a guide, must have been unusual. His writings pushed psychometric discovery to include maps of the planets and sketches of their inhabitants. Martians, reported Denton, had three fingers and a thumb, dark skin, and wide mouths set off by a few bristles of whiskers on the chin.[54]

Phrenology, or the idea that mental and character traits were revealed by the shape of the skull, was probably the most popular pseudoscience in Utah. The Mormon Tabernacle had entertained phrenological lecturers, though some church authorities had warned of the practice's dangers. Elder George Q. Cannon, for one, believed that the highly flattering readings given to some New Movement leaders had caused them to lose their humility and had contributed to their apostasy.[55] For their part, perhaps because of their favorable readings, many Godbeites spoke highly of phrenology. The *Weekly Tribune* saw its perspectives as helping to explain the fault lines of Utah's religious society. In contrast to the reformers, the Mormons were servile and overly obedient to the priesthood. They were therefore high in phrenological "veneration" but alarmingly deficient in "ideality," "causality," and "combatativeness."[56]

On his national tour, the eminent phrenologist Orson S. Fowler raised these issues once more. Fowler compared two members of the institute audience, one a Mormon bishop and the other a Utah dissenter, in "veneration No. 7" and found the latter wanting. Upset with the comparison and for a moment forgetting the earlier Godbeite commentary, the *Tribune* briefly questioned the professor's expertise. But the newspaper quickly regained its equilibrium. "The lack of veneration," it concluded, "is eminently a *Gentile organ.* . . .

The Anglo-Saxon has a constitutional repugnance to bow to priestcraft or kingcraft."[57]

Fowler's greater error came at the end of his first lecture. Apparently sensing that the Liberal Institute was not Utah's mainline forum and fearing a resulting loss of influence and perhaps receipts, Fowler wondered aloud whether he should not be lecturing at the Tabernacle. "Certainly a man with the reputation of Professor Fowler should be able to draw a full house without depending upon any sectarian or political influences," the *Tribune* complained.[58] The solution, of course, was to use both the Reform and Mormon pulpits, which Fowler did. This decision, plus his well-received lectures on self-culture, the laws of health, the secrets of female beauty and male strength, and a phrenological proof of immortality, restored the lecturer to most Utahns' good graces. Fowler's last Salt Lake City discourse was his most impressive, described as the "greatest demonstration" of future existence ever given from a "scientific standpoint."[59]

Other issues and causes boiled in the cauldron of nineteenth-century reform. Continuing the tradition of the institute's first months, no question so consistently agitated its audiences as women's rights. Over the next several years, besides Anthony, Stanton, and Stevens, perhaps a half-dozen others spoke for the cause. These included Laura Cubby Smith, another celebrated suffragist, Mrs. C. H. Spear, and Victoria Claflin Woodhull.[60] In addition, most of the touring spiritualists lent their support. Many of them, in fact, were women, their proportion growing as the national spiritualist movement matured.[61] Spiritualism and feminism, both in Utah and elsewhere, went hand-in-hand.

Temperance also was an institute cause. Mormon authorities had only begun to enjoin the church's long-standing health code, the Word of Wisdom, upon its membership, and clearly a great deal of work lay ahead. Several circuit speakers introduced the cause, including Carrie F. Young, former editor of the *Journal of Health,* who imaginatively patterned her temperance address after the second, third, and fourth clauses of the Declaration of Independence.[62] More

systematic were the efforts of Dr. McKenzie and his Reform Club. Toward the end of the decade, McKenzie leased the institute for a well-attended temperance campaign. At one session, Judge Jacob S. Boreman gave an impressive speech urging all young men to come forward and sign a temperance pledge—"to make men of themselves." At least 208 men and 150 ladies requested membership cards during the crusade.[63]

Education was another constant institute theme. For Utah's older set, this meant edifying and informative lectures, with popular scientific topics often dominating. Local speakers such as E. M. Barnum, O. H. Congar, and W. H. Holmes lectured on the origins of life, the methods of science, and the solar system. Mr. Frink dazzled audiences with chemical experiments; he also used a microscope to change "a flea to the size of a horse," or so it seemed.[64] Bentham Fabian's unsuccessful lecture, "The Past History of the World," combined geology, biblical fundamentalism, and bloody sacrifices. Fabian's lecture had originally been planned for delivery before the touring Japanese embassy, and the *Tribune* was thankful it had been rescheduled: doubtless it would have had "a terrible effect upon their barbaric brains, causing spasmodic if not chronic congestion."[65]

Lectures on law, domestic relations, and especially popular culture were also frequent offerings. Miss De Wolf spoke on "Thoughts and their chariots," Judge P. H. Emerson on "Culture," Frank Tilford on "The Creations of Shakespeare," while Vice President Schuyler Colfax, once more in Utah though no longer in office, reminisced on President Abraham Lincoln. Professor Griffiths drew some of the largest crowds in the history of the institute as he displayed his talent at ventriloquism and declamation.[66]

Lyceums might broaden the perspectives of the mature, but the institute also felt a duty toward the young. A few months after the hall's start, the Liberal or Institute Academy was established under the direction of Professor Holmes. The school was not allied "to Spiritualism or any other 'ism,'" explained the *Tribune.* It simply represented "liberal sentiment and free thought."[67] The headmaster opened the academy to all elementary and secondary grades for a

two-dollar tuition charge per quarter, and for a time the school claimed to be "steadily on the increase."[68] But after only a year's operation, Holmes left Salt Lake City to pursue a lecturing tour, and the project collapsed.

The Children's Progressive Lyceum was less conventional. As with its predecessor, it claimed to have no partisan affiliation, but it took its name and philosophy from schools connected with the American Association of Spiritualists.[69] Not surprisingly given its origin, the lyceum advertised itself as an educational innovation. Unlike the children attending other Sunday schools, the lyceum's scholars were "taught to do their own thinking," free from creeds, ancient or modern. Explained an exponent: "The chief method relied upon is to draw out of the child what it knows and understands and develop its powers rather than to make it a little machine into which somebody else's wisdom is pumped."[70] In Salt Lake City, Mrs. Congar conceived the undertaking and remained as the school's "guardian"; W. H. Shearman was named conductor, and Godbe served as librarian and Lawrence as treasurer. In March 1874, after a year's service, the school had an enrollment of 150 children and a library of three hundred books. Throughout the mid-1870s, the lyceum's Sunday afternoon sessions and periodic concert recitations were a part of the Liberal Institute scene.[71]

Though the institute's tone was usually serious, especially in its early years, there were also lighter moments. The multipurpose floor allowed the institute to stage New Year's, May Day, and Christmas parties, while social entrepreneurs Professor Sheldon and John Manning periodically staged parties for profit.[72] Institute dances featured not only pioneer Utah's customary quadrilles and lancers but the more up-to-date polka, schottische, mazurka, and even the fashionable but slightly disreputable waltz. Always eager to cite numbers and make the most of their influence, institute directors insisted that 137 couples had attended one ball, instead of the seventy-seven mentioned in the Mormon press.[73]

Political reform was also a watchword. The Liberal Institute hosted many of the public meetings of the Liberal Party, including the July

1871 rally that broke into name-calling. A year later, the patched-up Liberal alliance held what it immodestly described as the "greatest political meeting ever held in the Territory." The rally laid plans for municipal reform in Salt Lake City, though twenty years would pass before the party gained power and began to carry out the plans. Political gatherings and speeches were not the only measures of the hall's political influence. When judges sought maximum political exposure for the belated trial of the supposed murderers of J. King Robinson, they used the institute. Believing the crime had LDS compliance, they used the large public hall in the hope of maximizing publicity.[74]

The men and women of the Liberal Institute found yet another cause in the National People's Convention of 1872. Called at the behest of Stanton, Anthony, Isabella B. Hooker, and others, the convention sought not only women's suffrage but the radical goal of equality, regardless of "race, color, sex or previous condition [of servitude]." Such a program, it was believed, would revolutionize "the entire politics of the nation." John Murray Spear and his wife C. H. Spear, once more in Utah, presented the proposed program to an institute audience, which responded with a local memorial of its own.

The drafting committee composed of Holmes, Armstrong, and Harrison proposed an ambitious and remarkably forward-looking program, no doubt patterned after the Spears' recommendations and ideas currently associated with the People's movement. "Hitherto it has never appeared to have entered into the minds of politicians that government should be a parental institution, upon which should rest the imperative obligation of caring for the weak, educating the masses, and studying the interests of the laboring classes," the Utah memorial read. This "higher place of government" would soon become the "duty of politicians," as the "science of government" came to include the social and economic hopes of citizens. The memorial, unanimously adopted by the institute audience, was given to the Spears for presentation at the National People's Convention.[75]

Several months after dispatching the Spears to the East, the Utah reformers apparently tried to begin a local party based on the newly stated "People's" principles. Under the bold caption of "a new deal" (it was Franklin D. Roosevelt's "New Deal" that later adopted much of the Populist program), the *Tribune* excitedly announced a forthcoming "religio-political development" soon to "surprise" Utahns. Unfortunately, no details were given; the new political movement never progressed beyond the stage of discussion.[76]

Despite all the high hopes and energy invested by the reformers in the institute, by the end of the 1870s an unmistakable decline was overtaking it. During its early and most prosperous years, its Sunday services were probably better attended than any Mormon ward meeting in the city, and church leaders expressed worry "to see so many of the saints drawn there."[77] But these "attenders" were probably motivated more by curiosity than conversion, and as the novelty wore thin, institute congregations sharply declined in number, and meetings became irregular. In 1875, the freethinkers tried to regain lost momentum by reorganizing themselves into the "Salt Lake City Society of Progressive Spiritualists," and occasionally the ministry of an itinerant lecturer gave them new interest. But these events were the flickering of a dying flame.[78]

Turning from its reform mission, the institute building welcomed popular entertainment, apparently to pay bills. At one end of the spectrum were the cultured Holbrook sisters, who rendered their stylish theatrical production without the aid of scenery, stage effects, or orchestra.[79] But the highbrow at the institute increasingly gave way to the mundane. In 1879, the hall staged what was probably Salt Lake's first sparring exhibition, as twenty-four light, medium, and heavyweights competed both for prizes and for the honor of being the "most scientific head puncher in the ring."[80] Two years later the building was temporarily transformed to permit a disreputable contest of billiards. Spectators enjoyed the spectacle, as well as the opportunity to gamble, the losers pocketing "their losses as good humoredly as the winners did their spare twenties and fifties."[81]

There was a final attempt to revisit old glory when a group of Salt Lake City citizens proposed in 1882 the organization of a "Free Thought Association." Some of the old Godbeites were part of the planned reorganization, including Armstrong, Harrison, Lawrence, Lindsay, Williams, and John Tullidge. At the inaugural meeting, the audience at the institute applauded warmly as several of the old-time reformers expressed a "thorough-going radicalism" and a willingness to "demolish existing institutions." According to a formal resolution, the association proposed to disseminate liberal ideas, resist oppression, and promote brotherhood among "liberals of all descriptions." But rhetoric at the institute always exceeded organization, and the movement came to nothing.[82]

The final blow to the institute came with the construction of the Walker Opera House, which quickly gained the non-LDS literary and theatrical trade. In the fall of 1884, after serving Utah reform for only thirteen years, the Liberal Institute was sold by Godbe and Lawrence to the First Presbyterian Church for the discounted price of $6,500. For several years, the Presbyterians used the building as a male dormitory for their Collegiate Institute (the forerunner to Utah's Westminster College).[83] Then the college razed it to make way for a new school building. "Nothing that ever went into its walls ever prospered," the *Salt Lake Herald* wrote, unable to resist a final jibe, "not even excepting the Liberals and the Rentz-Santley Minstrels."[84]

The *Herald*'s poor grace was truthful only in a narrow sense. While the Utah spiritualists were unable to secure the large number of converts that they had hoped and expected and Utah remained an unharvested field, still, the Liberal Institute had served the Godbeite purposes. The institute had brought spiritualism to the territory, formally and institutionally. Moreover, the forum had introduced new and "advanced" ideas into serious-minded and orthodox Utah—even a philosophical and political radicalism. At the beginning of their movement, the Godbeites had insisted that the winds of national assimilation were blowing hard against Zion's walls. In the case of the Liberal Institute, the Godbeites were proof of their own argument.

Notes

^1. Circular written by J. W. Shaffer, 9 Aug. 1870, *SLHer,* 21 Aug. 1870, p. 2.

^2. Ibid.

^3. Lyman to Robert Richey, 13 May 1870, Lyman Papers, LDS Archives.

^4. Salt Lake City Survey, Block 72, Plat A, Lot 4, 7 Nov. 1871, SL County Recorder's Office, SLC, Utah.

^5. JH, 2 Aug. 1871, p. 5.

^6. Amasa Lyman diary, 6 Oct. and 10 Dec. 1870, Lyman Papers, LDS Archives.

^7. *SLTrib,* 17 Sept. 1870, p. 4. Also see ibid., 22 June and 1 July 1871, both p. 3; and *Daily Corinne Reporter,* 5 July 1871, p. 2. Harrison's architectural contributions to pioneer Utah are traced in Allen Roberts, "Utah's Unknown Pioneer Architects."

^8. Graining: *SLWTrib,* 20 May 1871, p. 4; Portraits: *SLTrib,* 6 July 1871, p. 2; Heating: ibid., 3 Nov. 1871, p. 3; Flooring: ibid., 8 and 17 Feb. 1872, both p. 3; Organ: ibid., 22 Apr. 1871, p. 3.

^9. *SLTrib,* 28 June 1871, p. 3; Peebles, *Around the World,* p. 15; and *Daily Corinne Reporter,* 5 July 1871, p. 2.

^10. *SLTrib,* 28 and 29 June 1871, both p. 3.

^11. Amasa Lyman diary, 2 July 1870; *SLTrib,* 3 July 1871, p. 3, both in Lyman Papers, LDS Archives.

^12. *SLTrib,* 3 July 1871, p. 3; Anthony to the *Revolution,* 5 July 1871, reprinted in *SLTrib,* 19 July 1871, p. 4. The presence of the two women during the inaugural meetings of the Liberal Institute was probably not accidental. Godbe's uncle Daniel Grant reportedly had made the arrangements for their visit and Godbe, as a further indication of his possible involvement with their coming, greeted their party at the train depot and hosted their stay in Salt Lake City (*Revolution,* June 1871, as cited in Van Wagenen, "Sister-Wives and Suffragists," pp. 2, 53 n. 4).

^13. Anthony to the *Revolution,* 5 July 1871, reprinted in *SLTrib,* 19 July 1871, p. 4.

^14. *SLTrib,* 4 July 1871, p. 3.

^15. Ibid., 3 July 1871, p. 3.
^16. Ibid., 6 July 1871, p. 2. Rob Walker remembered the sign as "Zion's Redeemer" and put the date of the parade as 1868; see Jonathan Bliss, *Merchants and Miners in Utah,* p. 168.
^17. Anthony to the *Revolution,* 5 July 1871, reprinted in *SLTrib,* 19 July 1871, p. 4.
^18. *SLTrib,* 6 July 1871, p. 2.
^19. Amasa Lyman diary, June 1871, Lyman Papers, LDS Archives; *SLTrib,* 22 June 1871, p. 3; and Anthony to the *Revolution,* 5 July 1871, reprinted in *SLTrib,* 19 July 1871, p. 4. Several weeks before the organization of the Mutual Improvement Society, Mary Godbe had been holding meetings on her own devoted to the advancement of feminism (Beeton, *Women Vote in the West,* p. 43).
^20. *SLHer,* 8 July 1871, p. 3; Van Wagenen, "Sister-Wives and Suffragists," pp. 38, 68 n. 133.
^21. Anthony to the *Revolution,* 5 July 1871, reprinted in *SLTrib,* 19 July 1871, p. 4.
^22. This was probably Sarah Ann Sutton Cooke, a former LDS convert, who had become increasingly distressed with Mormon conditions. Cooke would later play an important role in the Utah suffrage movement (Van Wagenen, "Sister-Wives and Suffragists," pp. 251–55).
^23. *SLTrib,* 12 July 1871, p.3; 10 Aug. 1871, p. 3; 15 Aug. 1871, p. 3; 23 Jan. 1872, p. 3; and 14 Mar. 1872, p. 3.
^24. Catholics: ibid., 27 Feb. 1873, p. 3; Methodists: ibid., 12 Aug. 1871, p. 3; Presbyterians: ibid., 3 Jan. 1873 and 1 Jan. 1875, both p. 3; Jews: ibid., 17 Feb. and 11 Oct. 1872, 13 Sept. 1874, each p. 3 (see also Brooks, *History of the Jews in Utah and Idaho,* p. 74); Swedish Lutherans: *SLTrib,* 24 Jan. 1875, p. 4; "Reorganized" Mormons: ibid., 16 Sept. 1872, p. 3; 16 Jan. 1873, p. 3; 30 Aug. 1874, p. 4; 1 Sept. 1874, p. 4; 2 Dec. 1876, p. 3; 10 Dec. 1876, pp. 2 and 4; 20 Oct. 1878, p. 4; and 26 Nov. 1879, p. 4.
^25. Ibid., 12 Aug. 1871, p. 3.

^26. Ibid., 11 July 1872, p. 2; 31 Mar. 1873, p. 3; and 10 Dec. 1876, p. 3.
^27. *SLWTrib,* 9 and 23 Sept. 1871, both p. 4.
^28. *SLTrib,* 18 Nov. 1871, p. 3.
^29. Ibid., 21 Nov., 16 and 18 Dec. 1871, each p. 3.
^30. Ibid., 25 Mar. 1872, p. 3.
^31. Ibid., 15 July 1871, p. 3; 27 Apr. 1872, p. 3; 6 June 1875, p. 4; and 4 July 1875, p. 4.
^32. Ibid., 23 June 1875, p. 4.
^33. Stenhouse: *SLTrib,* 25 June 1874, p. 4; Young: ibid., 11 Sept. 1874, p. 4; Paddock: ibid., 17 Feb. 1872, p. 3.
^34. Ibid., 5 May 1874, p. 1.
^35. Reprint of letter of Theodore Tilton, see *SLTrib,* 14 Sept. 1871, p. 4. Shearman's letter made the point explicit: "I am a firm believer in Spiritualism," but "not all that is taught in its name" (*SLTrib,* 21 Dec. 1876, p. 2).
^36. *SLTrib,* 19 Sept. 1871, p. 2, and 9 Dec. 1871, p. 3.
^37. Ibid., 20 and 21 Aug. 1872, both p. 3.
^38. Ibid., 28 Jan. 1883, p. 4.
^39. Ibid., 13 and 24 May 1874, both p. 4.
^40. Ibid., 10, 21, and 26 Mar. 1876, each p. 4.
^41. Hardinge, *Modern Spiritualism,* p. 479.
^42. *SLTrib,* 19 May 1880, p. 4.
^43. Ibid., 26 Mar. 1876, p. 4.
^44. Ibid., 7 and 9 Oct. 1873, both p. 4.
^45. Ibid., 14 and 16 Apr. 1876, both p. 4. Stearns: *TQMag* 1 (Apr. 1881): 524–25; *SLTrib,* 14 and 17 May, and 9 Oct. 1881, each p. 4.
^46. *TQMag* 1 (Apr. 1881): 525.
^47. *SLTrib,* 27 and 30 June 1876, both p. 4.
^48. Ibid., 21 July 1875, p. 1; 22 July 1875, p. 1; and 15 Aug. 1875, p. 4.
^49. Ibid., 28 Feb. 1873, p. 3.
^50. Ibid., 15 Sept. 1876, p. 1.
^51. *SLHer,* 17 Sept. 1876, p. 3.

^52. *SLTrib,* 14 Oct. 1872, p. 3. Also see ibid., 12 and 15 Oct. and 4 Nov. 1872, each p. 3; Newton, *Vital Recuperator;* and Podmore, *Mediums of the Nineteenth Century,* esp. 1:51–66.
^53. *SLTrib,* 22 and 28 Sept. 1880, both p. 4. Simms had published widely, including his physiognomic text, *Nature's Revelations of Character.*
^54. Poulson: *SLTrib,* 18 Oct. 1873, p. 4; 24 Feb. 1874, p. 4; and *Leader,* 18 Oct. 1873, p. 5; and Denton and Denton, *Soul of Things,* p. 171.
^55. Minutes of the SL School of the Prophets, 20 Jan. 1872, LDS Archives. For Mormonism's reaction to the teaching, see Bitton and Bunker, "Phrenology among the Mormons."
^56. *SLWTrib,* 27 May 1871, p. 4.
^57. *SLTrib,* 31 Jan. 1872, p. 3, emphasis in the original. See also ibid., 30 Jan. 1872, p. 3.
^58. Ibid, 30 Jan. 1871, p. 3.
^59. Ibid., 1, 7, and 12 Feb. 1872, each p. 3.
^60. For instance, see ibid., 22 June 1871, p. 3; 19 July 1871, p. 4; 6 July 1872, p. 3; 13 May 1874, p. 4; and 16 Dec. 1877, p. 4.
^61. Ibid., 21 and 23 Sept. 1872, both p. 3.
^62. Ibid., 19 July 1873, p. 3. See also ibid., 20 Feb. 1876, p. 4.
^63. Ibid., 12 Feb. 1880, p. 4.
^64. Ibid., 15 Dec. 1871, p. 2, and 7 Jan. 1874.
^65. Ibid., 4 Mar. 1872, p. 3.
^66. Law: ibid., 8 Jan., 28 Feb., and 14 Mar. 1875, each p. 4. Domestic relations: ibid., 18 Aug. 1871, p. 2, and 19 Aug. 1872, p. 3. De Wolf: ibid., 12 Oct. 1872, p. 3. Emerson: ibid., 24 Mar. 1874, p. 4. Tilford: ibid., 12 July 1873, p. 3. Colfax: ibid., 20 June 1878, p. 4. Griffiths: ibid., 15 Nov. 1873, p. 4.
^67. Ibid., 6 Nov. 1871, p. 3.
^68. Ibid., 8 Feb. 1872. See also ibid., 4 Nov. 1871, 4 Mar. and 19 Sept. 1872, each p. 3.
^69. Peebles, *Seers of the Ages,* p. 354. Andrew Jackson Davis, perhaps America's leading spiritualist, claimed to have originated

the concept of the Children's Progressive Lyceum. See his book, *Beyond the Valley,* pp. 98, 136, 149, 153, 332.

^70. *SLTrib,* 10 Mar. 1873, p. 3.

^71. Ibid., 28 Sept. 1873, 4 Mar. 1874, 17 Oct. 1875, each p. 4.

^72. Ibid., 18 Nov., 12 and 28 Dec. 1871, 24 and 27 Apr., 3 and 9 May 1872, and 1 and 20 May 1873, each p. 3.

^73. Ibid., 22 Nov. 1871, p. 3, and 2 Dec. 1871, p. 3.

^74. Ibid., 15 Dec. 1871, p. 2, and 7 Jan. 1874, p. 4.

^75. Ibid., 20, 22, and 24 Apr. 1872, each p. 3.

^76. Ibid., 14 June 1872, p. 3.

^77. Sarah Decker, Mutual Improvement Association, Senior and Junior Cooperative Retrenchment Association Minutes, 31 Oct. 1874, LDS Archives. Also see "Honest Poverty" to the editor, *SLTrib,* 21 Jan. 1873, p. 2.

^78. For the spiritualists' organizational activities during the 1870s, see *SLTrib,* 12 Mar. 1875, p. 4; 21 Mar. 1875, p. 1; 31 Mar. 1875, p. 2; 25 Apr. 1875, p. 4; and 2 May 1875, p. 1. The spiritualists also held meetings at Cisler's Hall, sometimes in competition with the proceedings at the Liberal Institute (ibid., 6 and 27 May 1877, both p. 4).

^79. Ibid., 11 May 1875, p. 4.

^80. Ibid., 25 Jan. 1879, p. 4.

^81. Ibid., 27 Feb. 1881, p. 4.

^82. Ibid., 26 and 28 Apr. 1882, both p. 4; *SLHer,* 28 Apr. 1882, p. 8.

^83. Vinatieri, "Growing Years," provides a description of the early years of the Collegiate Institute.

^84. *SLHer,* 16 Oct. 1884, p. 7. See also *SLTrib,* 16 Oct. 1884, p. 4.

Chapter 16

The Spoken and Written Word

The men and women of the New Movement liked words and ideas. It is not surprising, then, that three of the Utah "reformers" became authors of the spoken and written word. For Fanny Stenhouse this meant giving anti-LDS public lectures and writing two versions of her autobiography that claimed to expose the evils of Mormonism. Her husband T. B. H. Stenhouse followed with a seminal history of the Mormons, which also indicted the movement. Edward Tullidge's five books and numerous essays were more bland than those produced by the Stenhouses. Tullidge's religious commitment varied in his writing, but there was one central theme that would predate twentieth-century scholarship. He consistently argued that Mormonism was more than a religion: it was a unique subgroup or subculture of American society.

As the Godbeite revolt went forward during the fall and winter of 1869–70, neither of the Stenhouses withdrew from Mormonism. Fanny, although ready, apparently waited for Thomas. Her husband's plural marriages (and likely his behavior in them) had deeply angered and alienated her—not so much from him as from the church that seemed to sanction his behavior. In private Church of Zion meetings, Fanny pledged her support for the New Movement and tried to persuade Thomas to follow her example.[1]

Thomas hesitated. "Why don't *the Lord* speak to me as well as to Godbe and Harrison?" he asked.[2] More than a matter of religious seeking, Thomas's departure from Mormonism was impeded by two factors. First, he remained married to his plural wife Belinda. This matter was taken care of on 25 November 1869, when Thomas agreed to Belinda's request for a divorce.[3] Second, Thomas struggled to save the *Telegraph,* whose success from the beginning had required Thomas's avowal of Mormonism. By January 1870, however, the financial burden (and perhaps the religious burden) of carrying the newspaper had become too great, and Thomas

transferred ownership to Chicagoan M. A. Fuller. Fuller took control in an agreement that canceled Thomas's publishing debts.

Thus freed from their outward ties to Mormonism, Thomas and Fanny were ready with their joint decision. After not attending a Mormon religious service since the preceding October, Thomas formally requested excommunication in August 1870. In his letter to President Young, Thomas confessed that he no longer had faith in "Brigham's claim to an Infallible Priesthood." In response, Thomas's name was dropped from the church on 17 August 1870. Inexplicably, no action was taken against Fanny, even though she had also signed the letter.[4]

Events seemed to confirm the Stenhouses' decision. Several days after the church action, Thomas and Fanny were assaulted by four masked men who were armed with "huge garden-syringes" containing "disgusting filth." In the confusion of the assault, most of the excrement hit Fanny, who probably was not the object of the attack.[5] The Salt Lake City newspapers reported that the incident resulted from "family" or "personal" difficulties, apparently a reference to the mistreated Belinda Pratt Stenhouse and perhaps to her outraged brothers. But Fanny believed that the act was carried out under the direction of the priesthood's alleged secret police, and even several years later her anger had not cooled. "I shall never forget that night," she would write. "I declared that henceforth I would tear from my heart every association—every memory—every affection, which still remained to bind me to Mormonism—not one solitary link should be left."[6] Indeed, the incident marked a final turned page: the Stenhouses now put behind them their Mormonism and began an opposition to everything that had given their adult lives meaning and direction.

Thomas's stage of action was New York City, where he resumed writing for the *New York Herald.* The location placed him at the fountain of the Godbeite revelation, and Thomas now had the chance to taste for himself. By early 1871 he was writing to Godbe with the passion of a true-believing disciple. "We have the same information and will see things alike," he wrote in January of 1871.

Thomas described himself as never "more single-hearted, determined and resolved."[7] A month later, another letter followed in which he again spoke of having knowledge of a secret, special mission for Harrison and Godbe. Once more the spirit of Heber Kimball appears to have been active: "Oh! Godbe, my ears heard important matters to-day. Elias & you must never expose yourselves. Confide not even in your own family—outside of Mary & Roxana. Keep your business & purposes to yourself. To-day seems to knit me to you by strange facts that my pen or tongue may never utter. Heber did tell me awful truths. I am true to you. Rely upon me and you will find a bosom on which your weary head at times can rest in safety. . . . You & Elias & all are kindly spoken of."[8]

The next day Thomas wrote another letter. Besides again offering his support ("I am your brother, and your work is sacred to me and your honor's mine"), Thomas urged Godbe to come east, perhaps to undertake new and unspecified steps in behalf of the movement. Thomas made clear that, despite the less-than-successful Godbeite enterprises—Church of Zion, the Liberal Party, and the *Mormon Tribune*—there was every hope of future success. "With you here," Thomas wrote impatiently, "everything can be put in such a position as will give the work an impetus that it has not yet seen."[9]

Where had Thomas learned of the mysterious and yet-to-be-completed mission of Harrison and Godbe? If the "Heber" in Thomas's letter referred to yet another appearance of the dead LDS leader, Stenhouse likely had visited Charles Foster's salon.[10] But what did the mission consist of? It could not have been the reform of Mormonism, for that had already been announced. Nor is it likely that the mission was the reform of spiritualism. There seemed something further—something so important that absolute secrecy was required and whose importance brought the greatest excitement.

For the moment, there were immediate tasks. Several months after Thomas's flurry of letters to Godbe, Fanny traveled east to visit her husband. She was accompanied by a traveling companion, whom Fanny described only as a "a highly-valued friend of my

family." It was probably Godbe—Thomas had earlier suggested that the two might travel together. Whatever the identity of her companion, Fanny heard from him a proposal: would Fanny write the story of her experience in polygamy?[11]

After arriving in New York City, Fanny was once more asked to put her experiences on paper. This time the plea came from an anonymous female friend, who visited her hotel room. When a Great Plains blizzard stopped all railroad traffic west and prevented Fanny from returning to Salt Lake City, she began to write. For three weeks, she hardly paused except to eat and sleep.

The result was her 1872 *Exposé of Polygamy,* which Fanny described as a pamphlet.[12] Actually it was a small-sized book of more than two hundred pages. Fanny told of meeting her husband and their first years as missionaries. She briefly detailed their coming to the United States and their early years in Utah. But the most powerful pages were devoted to Thomas's courting of his plural wives and the family's turn from Mormonism. As with most exposés, the book lacked balance and perspective, but it also contained passages of honest reflection and genuine emotion.

The book's eastern readers found it fascinating. The first edition was exhausted in ten days. A second and third printing sold almost as quickly, and Fanny began to consider writing a revised and expanded successor volume.[13] The result was her famed *"Tell It All,"* published in 1874, two years after her initial volume. This second book preserved the organization of the first, although several important deletions and additions revealed the author's purposes.

One change, of course, was the title. *"Tell It All,"* Fanny explained, came from the *Salt Lake Herald*'s "spiteful invitation" to tell polygamy's full story.[14] After reading her first book, the *Herald* asked for more balance, placing the "good" of polygamy next to the "bad." Fanny responded to this challenge to "tell it all" by using the phrase as her title and putting it in quotation marks to emphasize the irony. According to Fanny, the "full story" of polygamy showed how restrained her first volume actually had been.

The new book's purpose was also revealed by its seven-paragraph preface, written by famous antislavery campaigner Harriet Beecher Stowe. Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* had helped destroy one of the "twin relics of barbarism" and perhaps Fanny's book could vanquish the other.[15] "Let every happy wife and mother who reads these lines give her sympathy, prayers, and efforts to free her sisters from this degrading bondage," wrote Stowe.[16]

The substantially rewritten book seemed carefully packaged to achieve this result. Evidence of Fanny's personal weaknesses, obvious in the first book, was removed. In addition, most of the topics necessary for a standard anti-Mormon primer of the time were added: a description of the Mormon temple rites, a wife-by-wife analysis of Brigham Young's household, and (despite Fanny's lack of personal involvement and knowledge) vivid descriptions of the handcart disaster of 1856, the Mormon Reformation, and the Mountain Meadows Massacre. The revised text still conveyed some genuine emotions—as when Fanny remembered her conversion and her struggle with Thomas's ventures into plural marriage. But the general result was a story of Mormon excess and exploitation. Mormonism, Fanny wanted the world to know, was a trail of tears.

It was a story that the world apparently wanted to hear. During the nineteenth century alone, *"Tell It All"* was reissued at least ten times, with editions published in Great Britain and even Mexico. Later printings preserved the format of the original, except that a fervent appendage was added in the wake of John D. Lee's Mountain Meadows confessions.

Thomas's book was not as personal nor as impassioned as his wife's, but it bore a similar tone. While still a Mormon, he had hoped to write a historical vindication and had begun to gather sources.[17] But after he left the church, the projected *Mormon Saints* was changed to the *Rocky Mountain Saints,* and as the book came closer to publication, paragraphs were added that paralleled the harsh changes made by Fanny in her second book.[18] No doubt these alterations were a sign of Thomas's deepening LDS dissent. But they also reflected the demands of his publishers for a more marketable

product. In later years he reportedly admitted to having placed exaggerated and untrue statements in the narrative in order to improve the book's sales.[19]

When interpreting Mormonism, Thomas held to the Godbeite line. Once more, Joseph Smith was described as a gifted but unlearned medium ("one of the earth's most remarkable men"), who generally misread his spiritualistic messages. Thus there was "another mind" behind the Book of Mormon, a spirit who apparently provided Smith with an "incredible" translation.[20] In contrast to the generally favorable passages about Smith, Brigham Young was indicted for a "frenzied lust of power" and for a love of wealth. "Many who are silent now," Thomas affirmed, "will curse his memory for the cruel suffering that his ambition caused them to endure."[21] These portraits, with their conflicting themes and counterpoints, produced a text that at times was schizophrenic. The tone of the first third of the book was generally more flattering to the Saints than the rest of the book, which sometimes seemed in sharp discord.

There was much to praise in Thomas's history: here for the first time was a narrative history of the Saints from the founding of their church to the migration and settlement of Utah, written in a forthright and lively manner. The book used a wide variety of primary sources, and many of the author's views proved lasting. By placing side by side such concepts as the Mormon theocracy and the national government, sectarianism and pluralism, provincialism and contemporary culture, he helped create the ideas that have come to explain nineteenth-century Mormon and Utah history. Unfortunately, however, the book was often burdened by a spirit of accusation. Similar to Fanny's second book, Thomas's *Rocky Mountain Saints* left no doubt about Utah's tapestry of intimidation and terror, highlighted by Thomas's interesting and debatable position that "one single murder resulting from religious hatred" was more damaging than ten thousand homicides of passion.[22]

Rocky Mountain Saints was published in 1873, followed over the next thirty years by four more printings, two in America and two in England. Most reviewers liked the book. The *New York Times*

pronounced it a "fresh" and "thoroughly trustworthy record." *Harper's* called it "full" and "accurate." A year after its initial review, *Harper's* again looked at the Stenhouses' books and pronounced them restrained.[23]

These reviews showed how well the Stenhouses' books fit into the prevailing stereotypes of nineteenth-century Mormonism. Whatever the virtues and defects of the books, probably few historians today would describe them as "restrained." Thus, on one level, the Stenhouses' books had succeeded. They reinforced and shaped the image that nineteenth-century Americans and Europeans had of the Mormons and added to the growing national demand that polygamy and theocracy be ended.

Utahns did not seem to hold Thomas's book against him. Indeed, locally it sold well. Godbeite Daniel Camomile, the book's agent for the territory, reported sales beyond the "most sanguine expectations," as the Saints bought the book in part to read about generally tabooed topics: forbidden fruit always has allure.[24] Moreover, after Thomas returned to Utah, the citizens supported him in what might have been a personally damaging incident. A Salt Lake City magistrate charged Thomas with threatening and assaulting an admirer of one of his underage daughters. Even the *Deseret Evening News* favored Stenhouse, declaring that Thomas was within his rights in defending "the sacred precincts" of his family circle.[25] The charge was later dropped, and Mr. Derby, a clerk at the Walker House, married the girl.

During the 1870s, Thomas continued to file dispatches for the *New York Herald,* an occasional piece for *Harper's,* and presumably stories for local newspapers in the West. His reporting from the Nevada minefields resulted in the publication of a series of letters that reportedly received international attention. Fragmentary reports suggest that he may have represented the *Herald* as one of its agents in its coverage of the ill-fated Arctic expedition of George Washington De Long; the expedition was one of the celebrated events of the time. In 1875, apparently to further his journalistic career and perhaps to put his former Mormonism completely behind

him, Thomas and Fanny moved to San Francisco, where his dispatches defended his newly adopted city with accustomed fervor. He was, claimed one of his newspaper peers, "probably the best known active journalist on the coast."[26]

However, it was Fanny, not Thomas, who received the greatest public attention in the last years of their lives. Her central cause continued to be polygamy, and she opposed it both in Utah and in the nation. She had begun her campaign as early as 1872, when, hoping to secure statehood, the Mormons seemed to back away from defending plurality. Fanny immediately charged them with duplicity. She believed that the church, maneuvering before the onslaught of proposed national legislation, was simply being untruthful—saying one thing publicly but pursuing a different course privately. Her passion as always was aimed squarely at Young: he had "tortured and blighted" her existence for more than twenty years, she said, and now for the sake of "a little political power" was no longer publicly defending the institution that had caused her so much grief. "My soul is filled with indignation," she wrote.[27]

Fanny had misread the situation entirely, and Young found her letter "so rich" that he enclosed a copy to congressional delegate William Hooper in Washington. Young's purpose, however, was not derision but exhortation. For once he found himself at least partly agreeing with Fanny. On plural marriage there must be no equivocation: he urged Hooper to get a copy of Joseph Smith's revelation on plural marriage and read it prayerfully. "Then ask yourself the question whether we had not better cling to the Lord than hearken to the persuasions of men."[28] The territorial delegate apparently needed some stiffening.

In the fall of 1872, Fanny renewed her attack on plural marriage in a national speaking tour. She began in friendly and predominately gentile Corinne, Utah, and continued with selected sites in the West. Then, making her way east, she spent the winter season before receptive audiences there. Her address in Washington, D.C., was especially effective. An "immense audience" joined her at Lincoln Hall. The Mormons' old nemesis Dr. J. P. Newman introduced Fanny,

and when she challenged the nation to "never rest" until plural marriage was abolished, she received enthusiastic applause. So successful was her eastern lecture tour that Fanny was profiled in *Harper's Bazaar,* which noted that her "Polygamy among the Mormons" lecture had received "more than ordinary interest among the ladies in the Eastern States." Indeed, one Mormon observer credited Fanny's tour with deepening anti-Mormon sentiment in Congress.[29]

While in the East, Fanny did more than contest polygamy. Responding to one of Nevada representative Thomas Fitch's speeches extolling the social achievements of Brigham Young's Zion, Fanny challenged the congressman on every point with a public letter. The achievement of the Mormon settlers in Utah came not because of their religion, she argued, but in spite of it. Certainly Young had played no positive role. Fanny concluded her letter by invoking the theme that was earning her fame: no non-Mormon, man or woman, could understood fully the "horrors of Polygamy," she wrote. "Only a Mormon woman—the wife of a Polygamist—can tell the cruelty, the degradation, and utter bitterness expressed by that one word!"[30]

While Fanny claimed to speak for the Mormon women of Utah, her actual standing among them was less than convincing. To be sure, she seemed to have made many friends in Utah, and when *"Tell It All"* became available, five hundred copies of the book were rapidly sold in Salt Lake City alone.[31] But other indexes of Fanny's influence were less convincing. When she presented her famous lecture at the Liberal Institute in 1874, the invitation came from the territory's leading Gentiles and the Godbeites who remained in the city. Not a single prominent woman, Mormon or non-Mormon, signed the invitation, and while attendance was described as "good," the actual number attending seemed a disappointment after the publicity and canvass that preceded it.[32] Several months later in Bingham, only four people turned out for another presentation of the lecture. The embarrassment was explained by a scheduling error and the high, one-dollar admission fee.[33]

When replying to the invitation to speak at the Liberal Institute, Fanny made no effort to soften her words just because she was in Zion. "I care not who knows that I regard Brigham Young as a despot and Polygamy as a fraud," she wrote in a public statement, clearly twisting the tail of the "Lion of the Lord." Her statement also invoked the Victorian image of the defenseless woman that many outsiders found so charming about her. "Woman as I am, and weak as I am," she pledged to expose the evils of Mormonism "to the best of [her] ability."[34]

Of course there was nothing weak or defenseless about the woman, and she proved it when the *Salt Lake Herald* renewed its challenge for a more balanced discussion of plural marriage. Fanny testily countered with her own proposal. She publicly promised to reserve the seats immediately in front of the institute podium for the *Herald*'s junior and senior editors and their wives, many of whom she claimed to know personally. Following her lecture she would then entertain their questions—but with a proviso: "I shall at the same time ask the privilege of being permitted to ask . . . [the women] a few questions with regard to their domestic bliss in monogamy and polygamy."[35] The *Herald* did not respond to the challenge.

The newspaper did cover the event, though. It reported that when giving her lecture, Fanny seldom glanced at her notes. Enunciating smoothly and clearly, she rehearsed with passion and skill the lines she had given so many times. According to the *Herald,* the substance of the discourse was "bitter against polygamy," moderately soft on the Mormon people, but virulent about its leaders. "It always pays better to attack prominent persons," the newspaper said, flinging a final insult of the episode at Zion's tormentor.[36]

While in Salt Lake City, Fanny announced a new project. In collaboration with G. B. Densmore, who had successfully dramatized Mark Twain's *Gilded Age,* Fanny hoped to bring the play that she and Densmore had written, *Saints and Sinners,* to American and international audiences. According to an early report, arrangements

had been made to stage the play in San Francisco, New York, London, and even Australia. General P. E. Connor, Mormon critic and former commander of Salt Lake City's Fort Douglas, was scripted to be the "savior of the priest-ridden and down-trodden people." Young was to be the protagonist-villain, while George Q. Cannon's character was written as "the low comedy man." The *Salt Lake Tribune* thought the project promising: "Like the *Gilded Age,* there's millions in it."[37]

The play apparently was never produced, but Mormon leaders had had enough of Fanny. Either through forbearance or neglect, they had made no effort to discipline her despite her book or Eastern lectures. But her vigorous 1874 anti-Mormonism in the heart of Zion finally brought her excommunication.[38]

Few ties now bound her to Utah. She had already closed her "Emporium of Fashion"—the store that she had opened after the failure of the *Telegraph.* In another indignity "Oyster Jack" Clark took over that part of the building and made it into a popular eatery.[39] By 1875, having had enough of Utah, Fanny apparently joined her husband in Nevada, where she occasionally lectured.[40] The next year she took her famed "Polygamy among the Mormons" to Australia. The *Sydney Stock-Whip* joined the general newspaper chorus of approval but posed a dilemma: "Can polygamy, after all, be so bad a thing, when it can turn out such a graceful, self-possessed, intelligent, accomplished, sympathetic, and able a lady lecturer as Mrs. Stenhouse?"[41]

During her Australian tour, Fanny renewed her acquaintance with "W. Hyde," brother of Mormon dissenter and author John Hyde. Hyde—himself a dissenter—had known Fanny when she was first baptized a Mormon in England and later remembered the "delicate, depressed and careworn woman" who endured her husband's plural marriage in Salt Lake City. But now, during Fanny's lecture tour, he claimed to see a transformed woman—"a blooming, well-fleshed lady, whose rounded figure and sparkling eye and joyous laugh spoke volumes for the happy and salutary change wrought in her experiences by the exorcism of the demon of Mormonism." Hyde was

clearly attracted to his former friend, and he followed her back to the United States.[42]

A less satisfying picture of Fanny and her circumstances was painted by Charles R. Savage, who visited her in San Francisco in 1877. Savage, a Mormon stalwart who had been one of the *Keep-A-Pitchinin* writers, was a longtime Stenhouse friend. Thomas had converted him in Southampton when Savage was fifteen. The two had later worked together during the opening of the LDS Swiss Mission, and again in New York City when Thomas had influenced Savage's decision to become a photographer.[43] Few Utahns were closer to the Stenhouses than Savage.

He found Fanny living in a "lowly abode" on Bush Street, which he described as meager and poorly furnished. Calling on her unannounced, Savage obviously caught her in an awkward moment. She was "*en dishabille,*" which did nothing to conceal her graying and "very matronly" looks. Beginning the conversation, Fanny, the anti-polygamist, wanted to know if Savage had taken a new wife. He had—a fact that drew from her a "short venomous harangue against everything Mormon, and Polygamy in particular." For her part, she confessed, she had become estranged from not only Mormonism but from all religion—"it was all humbug," a "business like any other," she said. She allowed her children to attend the local Episcopalian services as a way to introduce them to society, but she took care to inform them of her own disbelief.

Family matters naturally arose during their talk. Fanny spoke of her affection for Savage's first spouse. Fanny also told of the talent and promise of her children. The burden of raising them had fallen on her, for since leaving Mormonism, Fanny reported that Thomas had "given [himself] up to drinking." Her comment apparently was meant to explain her ordinary circumstances. She had earned seven thousand dollars from the publication of her book, though she claimed that her publishers had "robbed" her of another thousand that properly belonged to her. Yet for all her difficulty she was optimistic. She had recently received several "brilliant offers" and planned to enter the lecture field once more, which may have

accounted for the presence of Hyde, who may have become her manager.

When Hyde entered the room, Savage withdrew to ponder the situation through the grave, principled prism of his belief. Whatever success Fanny had had in pulling Mormonism down, Savage believed it had failed to bring her any peace. And he wondered about his future friendship with her. "I think I shall not trouble her again," he penciled in his diary. "Such friendship is not what I seek. I will await the success of her actions and the just God we worship will meet [*sic*] to her and all such the true desserts."[44]

But Savage could not stay away. Nine months later he visited Fanny once more. He now found her "more agreeable and less vinagar [*sic*]." As during the previous session, talk turned to her old Salt Lake City friends. She admitted that she cared for them more than her new acquaintances, which brought Savage to place an editorial in his diary: "In other words (mine), apostasy had not enlarged her circle. . . . Those she had gone back on were her only true [friends]."[45] When he returned to Salt Lake City, Savage reported a shift in Fanny's feelings: Fanny was through "'bucking' against 'Mormonism,'" he announced. She now wished to return and live with her old companions, for she had been "more happy with them than elsewhere."[46]

Was Savage editorializing once more? Had he simply caught Fanny in a moment of regret and reverie? Or perhaps President Young's recent death had brought this dramatic change to her feeling; the man who personified Fanny's distress was gone. Yet with her views toward religion apparently unaltered, Fanny must have realized the impossibility of returning to Salt Lake City, even if Savage did not. While many Utahns would have welcomed her, the warmth of the old ties probably could never be rekindled. Her last interview with Savage had been nostalgic, but it was a longing for a past that was gone.

Thomas died in San Francisco on 8 March 1882, at the age of fifty-eight, a victim of jaundice, which the local newspapers said produced "deadly sickness and awful agony." He had been ill for two

or three months before his passing, bedridden for the final weeks. Several days before the end, he resolutely filed his last dispatch to the *New York Herald* by dictation, unable himself to write. After his death, the Improved Order of Red Men, Pocahontas Tribe No. 11, performed the obsequies; the minister of the Central Presbyterian Tabernacle gave the prayer. Pallbearers included the San Francisco postmaster, the presidents of the Merchants' Exchange and the Board of Trade, and leading journalists. Thomas was interred at the Lone Mountain Cemetery, described as "the most prestigious" of all of San Francisco's burial grounds. In life and in death, Thomas had a way of making his mark.[47]

San Francisco newspapers praised him: "He was a clever writer and a good newspaperman," said one, "an industrious news-seeker and keen discriminator as to its merits for publication." But the local journals also reported his family's straitened condition.[48] His burial expenses were met by Feramorz Little, Salt Lake City's former mayor, who happened to be in California on business.[49] Perhaps this lack of means partly explains Fanny's lecture at John Murray Spear's Dashaway Hall only a few days before Thomas's passing. Her lecture, "The peculiarities of the faith and social life of the Mormons," argued that Mormon women were betrayed into plural marriage by their natural willingness to sacrifice in matters of religion.[50]

Fanny survived her husband by more than twenty years. She may have lectured periodically, but her concerns increasingly centered in her family. In her last decade she was afflicted with near blindness, the result of a streetcar accident. Perhaps this final tragedy was cathartic. According to the memory of a great-granddaughter, her final years were marked by serenity and a face that spoke of an inner peace. Fanny died on 19 April 1904 in Los Angeles.[51]

If Fanny and Thomas Stenhouse lived their last years outside of Mormonism and wrote primarily for a national and not local reading audience, Edward Tullidge—another former Godbeite who turned to writing—was the opposite. From his first years as a young Mormon convert, Tullidge had seen himself as an epic chronicler of the

Mormon past—not only someone who would help to begin the Saints' tradition of historical writing and literature but also a writer destined to achieve the highest world fame. It was not surprising, then, that Tullidge returned to Mormonism, not perhaps as an orthodox believer, but as a member of Mormonism's cultural tradition. After all, how could he otherwise fulfill his destiny?[52]

His retreat from Godbeitism was well under way in the spring and early summer of 1870. The Church of Zion and the Liberal Party were faltering, and still more mortifying to Tullidge, the free-thought spiritualism of Godbe and Harrison was working its way to the surface. The result was another of Tullidge's personal crises. With doubts about the New Movement churning within him, it was probably Tullidge who was the object of a report circulating in Salt Lake City—citizens were talking about an unnamed Godbeite official who got so drunk that police were forced to lock him up. The official was later released on grounds of "insanity."[53] The incident paralleled Tullidge's earlier experience with drinking and mental instability, during the writing of Elder Wilford Woodruff's history.

In mid-1870, Tullidge decided to withdraw from his work at the *Tribune* and leave Salt Lake City. His farewell to the newspaper's readers had the air of a busy man who could no longer be troubled by trivial concerns. He announced that he was now working with nationally famous actor Neil Warner, who had offered him ten thousand dollars for his play *Oliver Cromwell.* Tullidge was equally optimistic about two other dramas, *Elizabeth* and *Napoleon.* "Occasionally I shall doubtless contribute to the *Tribune,*" Tullidge assured local readers, "but more than this is not possible, for I contemplate literary efforts in various directions." This proposed schedule of work promised to take Tullidge to the East.[54]

Harrison responded to this tactful departure by proposing to give his friend a public reading of *Cromwell* at Independence Hall. The *Deseret Evening News* refused to cooperate. After hesitating for two days, the newspaper finally rejected an advertisement for "A Night with Cromwell" as inconsistent with its policy. Harrison tried to compensate for the lack of publicity with an effusive but tardy

statement in the weekly *Mormon Tribune,* published just before the event: *Cromwell,* Harrison declared, was a "work of genius." Stirring local pride still further, Harrison reminded readers that the drama was the work of Utah's first and only playwright.[55]

Later, writing for an RLDS audience, Tullidge explained that he had left Salt Lake City in the summer of 1870 not for literary reasons but for a new religious allegiance: he left Utah with a group of RLDS converts who were going east to be with fellow parishioners. But at the time his private comments were by no means religious. He reportedly told a press corps colleague that he was finally "done with damned religion of every kind." Tullidge now planned to seek his fortune.[56] The episode was another example of his inconsistency and the caprice of his memory.

Notwithstanding his statements about the Reorganization, Tullidge was not through with the New Movement. Arriving in the East and apparently trying to salvage some meaning from the last several months of association with the Godbeites, Tullidge was once more enrolled in the liberal cause. Within a month of his departure from Utah, news reached Salt Lake City of his planned lecture in Washington, D.C., before the nation's political elite, with the Reverend J. P. Newman in the chair. The *Salt Lake Herald* unkindly hoped that Utah's traveling emissary would fill his new mission with "more credit to himself" than his last, apparently a reference to his aborted and possibly blemished work in the Church of Zion. Even more cruelly, the newspaper wondered if Tullidge's new venture was not related to "mental infirmities." Did not this activity suggest another of his "crazy streak[s]"?[57]

According to reports reaching Salt Lake City, Tullidge's lecture proved a failure, perhaps because he was unwilling to give the usual distorted stories about Utah that many audiences in the East expected and wanted to hear.[58] Several months after his unsuccessful lecture, Tullidge, still committed to changing Mormonism, tried to organize a branch of the reform movement in New York City and began another of his single-handed journalistic campaigns. He managed to place pro-Godbeite articles in both

Harper's and the *Phrenological Journal,* and for a short time he wrote for the *New York World.*[59] Ignoring the religious, intellectual, and spiritualist ferment that had motivated Harrison and Godbe and many of their followers, Tullidge's articles described Godbeitism as a "conservative" reform designed to sweep aside Young's theocracy and make the territory "republican."[60] Tullidge, the nineteenth-century historian of Godbeitism, had begun the process of remaking the New Movement in his own secular and "sociological" image.

Tullidge did not remain in the East long. Returning to Salt Lake City, he rejoined the *Tribune* staff. Outwardly, he supported the reform movement. Yet almost immediately, hints of a new, more conservative orientation appeared. Two weeks after returning to Salt Lake City, he challenged Dennis Toohy's anti-Mormonism at the Liberal Party rally at the institute. Following this episode, Tullidge took part in the anti-Sawyer coup at the *Tribune.* And there were quiet, out-of-the-way incidents that revealed that the attraction that he had long felt for Brigham Young was once more working on him. At first he anonymously warned the church leader of some of the maneuvers of Chief Justice Theodore McKean's judicial campaign against the Mormons. Later, in the *Tribune*'s boardroom, at least by Tullidge's own account, he quietly tried to shield Young from the worst excesses of the newspaper's editorials.

Then, in December 1872, Tullidge made his attitudes explicit. He wrote Young a long, self-justifying apology. "Edward Tullidge," he began, "has ever been your friend and brother." Tullidge disingenuously maintained that he had reluctantly supported the New Movement to convince easterners that the Mormons themselves would liberalize their regime and thus prevent the passage of the Cullom Bill with its harsh measures. He now longed "above everything in life" to see the Godbeites united once again with Young. "I cannot come around alone nor let them know *fully* what I am doing," Tullidge concluded, "but with a word of approbation and blessing from you I know what we can soon work out."[61]

Tullidge again appealed to Young a year later, once more by letter. This time the author desired Young's help. Tullidge wanted to stage

his *Oliver Cromwell* at the LDS Salt Lake Theatre and to place David McKenzie, Young's private secretary and one of the best of the local actors, in the lead role. To persuade Young, the author used flattery. Cromwell, Tullidge explained, was "the Brigham Young of England and the greatest man that ever ruled in that land." Moreover, Tullidge promised useful pedagogy: in this play, Cromwell would pay tithing "as all God fearing men should."[62] There is no record whether the play was actually staged.

Yet another letter to Young suggested a biography of the church leader. Tullidge had a personal exigency, he confessed. Since the *Tribune*'s new Kansas owners had discharged him the year before, Tullidge explained that he had been without salary or any clear direction to his life. Perhaps more important than securing money, the biography reflected Tullidge's literary ambition. For twenty years, his letter continued, he had hoped to write the book, for which he alone had the proper credentials. His eastern writing had secured him a national reputation for being a "profound" and "skillful" writer on the Mormon question. Moreover, his experience *"from all sides"*—apparently a reference to his religious wanderings—made him sensitive to different perspectives. "I shall write a Book that the world will not readily let die, but value for its justice, intelligence, and deep insight into the character of Brigham Young and the Mormons," he promised.[63]

If Tullidge's later recollections were correct, Young granted Tullidge access to the historical materials of the church and expressed the hope that the project would make his fortune. "Edward has had it hard enough," the church president supposedly said to LDS historian George A. Smith.[64] It is likely that Young had a larger reason for sanctioning the project. Here was a way, perhaps, to counter the various unfavorable eastern accounts about himself and the Saints.

Tullidge plunged to the task, but at some personal cost. After "fighting" with his themes and characters, Tullidge experienced another attack of "brain fever," which lingered for three weeks and nearly cost him his life. "In one thing at least I am a Mormon," he said ruefully after his nervous breakdown, "I am hard to kill."[65] The

completed manuscript, *Life of Brigham Young: Or, Utah and Her Founders,* was published in 1876. Unable to find a regional or national publisher, Tullidge issued the book himself.

Two other epics followed in close succession. Once again his genre was biography. His *Women of Mormondom* (1877) consisted primarily of autobiographies, tied loosely together by Tullidge's epic prose. Not only did the book give expression to his long-standing feminism, but it was designed to counter Fanny Stenhouse's *"Tell It All."* He resolved to "kill" her book, "not because she wars against her polygamic life with Stenhouse, which is very natural, nor against Brigham Young, which is also very natural with us Apostates, but because she has blasphemed against her sisters and the religious system that I have worshiped."[66] The *Life of Joseph the Prophet* (1878) concluded the sequence. Tullidge claimed that Young himself had commissioned this last biography and that George A. Smith, "on his death-bed," had solemnly charged Tullidge concerning the book.[67]

Succeeding church leaders were not enthusiastic with the finished product. In the preface to his *Life of Brigham Young,* Tullidge had identified himself as an apostate, "innocent of the spirit of Mormon propagandism." Yet in Utah he proclaimed himself a rebaptized Mormon. In a heated interview with the author in December 1877, John Taylor, now leading the church as president of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, accused Tullidge of a violation of honor. "When in the East," Taylor charged, "you are an apostate, because it is expected your book will sell better. . . . Here you are a Saint, because to be a Saint pays better."[68] The preface to *Life of Joseph the Prophet* angered Taylor and other church leaders even more. In an apparent effort to gain official sanction for his writing, Tullidge had credited Elder Joseph F. Smith and Relief Society president Eliza R. Snow with having read and revised the manuscript. Both denied having done so, though each had informally read the manuscript and had offered a few minor suggestions.[69]

Taylor's contempt for Tullidge's pliable ethics set the Utah author off on another of his religious quests. In May 1879, Joseph Smith III

wrote Tullidge to express his general approval of *Life of Joseph Smith the Prophet.* Recognizing an opportunity, Tullidge immediately traveled east to inform Smith of his intention to sell the volume's copyright, which the Reorganization purchased. Apparently this professional success renewed Tullidge's interest in the Reorganization. During the fall of 1879, Tullidge was received into RLDS membership and ordained an elder. He preached throughout the midwest congregations of the church, clerked at a semiannual conference, and became the movement's official historian.[70]

His primary task, however, lay in recasting the *Life of Joseph the Prophet* into an acceptable RLDS history. The second edition, which appeared in 1880, proclaimed its new commitment by denouncing Brigham Young and "polygamic theocracy." It was a "stern fact" that Mormonism had been "*betrayed* into polygamy," Tullidge now wrote in another of his about-faces. According to Tullidge, plural marriage was the creation of Young; it was the Utah leader's "incarnation," growing naturally out of his "image, likeness, and soul." In another damning passage, Tullidge spoke of his old mentor's ambition and seizure of power: Young had taken the "Melchisedek crown," as Napoleon had seized "the iron crown of the Caesars," and had placed it on his head with his own hands, declaring with exultation, "God has given it to me!"[71]

The Reorganization's lack of funds did not permit a thoroughgoing revision of the book. Instead, where possible, the original publishing plates were used and changes inserted as economically and briefly as possible. Still, too much of the original edition remained to please many members of the Reorganization. The book "purports to be a history of Joseph, the Seer, but Salt Lake and its institutions is the great theme dwelt upon in the book," wrote RLDS apostle W. H. Kelley in a blistering twenty-four-page attack that officials refused to publish in the church organ. "Brigham looms up as the 'big injun' of the whole narrative." However, Joseph Smith III was of a different mind; he liked the book but believed that resistance to it in the RLDS community came from Tullidge's "unsavory reputation" and his

"failure to reform himself." Evidently Tullidge was drinking heavily once more.[72]

After several months in the Midwest, Tullidge returned to Utah in October 1879 as part of an RLDS mission. For a moment, visions of great movements and revolution possessed him. He boldly denounced Utah Mormonism at an RLDS conference in Salt Lake City.[73] Still more dramatic was his letter to President Rutherford B. Hayes, which called for the appointment of Joseph Smith III as governor of Utah. If Godbeitism had revolutionized Utah society ten years earlier, the "invasion from the Monogamic Church under Joseph Smith" would complete the destruction of "polygamic theocracy." Despite Tullidge's passion, the government apparently failed to take his letter seriously.[74] Nor perhaps did Tullidge himself. His enthusiasm quickly cooling, he dropped the project and the Reorganization.

Utahns welcomed the return of their man of letters to the fold. Perhaps most citizens were unaware of his brief activity with the Reorganization. Or perhaps they had come to expect and forgive his deep swings of mood. In October 1880, leading Mormons supported the reading of his play *Elizabeth* and also urged the acceptance of his most recent enterprise, *Tullidge's Quarterly Magazine.*[75] The artistic and ambitious *Quarterly* had large, if sporadic, issues that emphasized local biography and antiquarian history; it also printed Tullidge's most lengthy treatment of Godbeitism.[76] The magazine ran to three volumes during the next five years.

In February 1883, Tullidge approached the Salt Lake City Council with the proposal to write a city history. An impressive cross-section of citizenry—Mormon officials, members of the New Movement, merchants, prominent women, and territorial officials—supported his petition. Despite the 244 signatures, at first the council, perhaps reflecting old Mormon wars, voted negatively, six to eight. The *Tribune* had earlier accused Tullidge of favoring the church camp—that he had written "Saintly lies for tithing office pay."[77] However, after some behind-the-scenes lobbying, one councilman changed his vote, and with Mayor Daniel H. Wells breaking the resulting tie,

Tullidge received his commission. The agreement granted him $1,500, which was later expanded to $2,500 when the manuscript proved much longer than anticipated—and subjected the entire work to a five-person revision committee.[78] Despite its massive bulk of over eleven hundred pages, Tullidge completed the task within three years. The result was more than a history of an intermountain city; it became a documentary chronicle of Mormonism and early Utah.

During the next several years, Tullidge gathered local history from throughout the territory for additional volumes. In 1889, some of this work was compiled in Tullidge's fifth and final historical survey with the descriptive but protracted title *Tullidge's Histories, Volume II: Containing the History of All the Northern, Eastern and Western Counties of Utah; Also the Counties of Southern Idaho.* Meant as a continuation of his Salt Lake history, the work closed his historical labor.

Tullidge's histories owed a clear debt to Thomas Carlyle's *Heroes, Hero-Worship and the Heroic in History.* "In striking down the massive consolidation of ages," Tullidge wrote in a virtual restatement of Carlyle, "destiny must raise up individuals as mighty battering-rams." These heroic figures, in Tullidge's view, became the determinants of history. They achieved influence not because of personal virtue or direct providential direction but as a result of their own ambition and genius. "Tell us not that he was a hypocrite," Tullidge wrote of Cromwell, whom he regarded as not only England's but Europe's greatest man. "It is a fool's explanation. Rather tell us that he was the inspired 'Captain of the Lord's host,' even if moved by no higher inspiration than that of his own mighty soul."[79] Tullidge identified these hero figures in his dramas, *Elizabeth, Cromwell,* and *Napoleon;* in essays that dealt with Charlemagne, Constantine, Cromwell, Mohammed, and William of Orange (published in the *Utah Magazine* and the *Phrenological Journal*); and in his historical biographies of Joseph Smith and Brigham Young.

Tullidge believed that there was a religious dimension to each of these great heroes. If God was unable to "manifest Himself through Priesthoods," he wrote, he worked his providence indirectly through

secular men and women. "If He has no Peter to build up His Christian Church, He will find a Watt, or a Stevenson [Stephenson] to inaugurate an age of railroads and steam;—if he finds no Luther for His advent of reformation, He will raise up a George Washington for some blessed revolution to carry along humanity's destiny."[80] Thus when Tullidge spoke of himself as an "apostle of sociology," there was no contradiction in terms. In his view, social institutions and social movements, when embodied within the hero, fulfilled a divine purpose.

Looking at Mormonism through the eyes of Carlyle's heroic theory, Tullidge saw Smith and Young as two of history's "men of destiny," summoned by Providence to give fresh life to society and its institutions. If Smith was a "master spirit" comparable to Mohammed, Smith's successor seemed to loom still larger. To Tullidge the world had seen nothing like Young for several centuries —and likely would not experience anyone similar for centuries more.

With Smith and Young as its hero protagonists, Mormonism promised to be a historical watershed. The Latter-day Saints were "not a sect; nor a mere community of church-builders; but religious empire founders." According to Tullidge's calculation, Mormonism was the first important religion to rise among the Anglo-Saxons and the "only absolute [authoritative?] religion of modern times." Symptomatic of its grand social promise, "Mormonism" in Tullidge's writings became "Mormondom," with the scepter and not the cross as its image.[81]

Tullidge's ambition permeated these ideas. Elizabeth had had her Shakespeare, and Cromwell's "other half" was Milton.[82] Brigham Young? An epic figure required an epic writer, who, Tullidge understood, stood in the shadow of the leader, supporting and recording. The writer thereby became a supportive but vital partner in civilization's progress, the "epic symbol of Providence and the grand themes of the age."[83] It was a mission that Tullidge gladly accepted.

Here was Tullidge's new faith, which in his view made obsolete the outward forms and faith claims of his early British Mormonism—and

explained his cavalier disregard for such Mormon requirements as an unwavering LDS commitment. No modern mind, Tullidge believed, could accept the idea that only one religion monopolized truth. Instead of priesthood sacraments, faith claims, and religious controversy, he wanted social reform and mankind's improvement. "In every nation," he wrote, "he that feareth God and worketh righteousness is accepted of Him without reference to sectarian names or religious creeds."[84]

However strange and perhaps disturbing to traditional believers, Tullidge's opinions were still religious—and clearly pro-Mormon. And there were limits to his willingness to accept every form and idea of dissent. To Tullidge, the spiritualism of Harrison and Godbe was too foreign to Mormonism's unique spirit; spiritualism seemed too confused and full of infidelity. While Tullidge's friendship and obligation to the New Movement leaders prevented too obvious a break on the question, his writings increasingly either condemned spiritualism or simply eased it from the historical record. As a result, Tullidge's seventy-page treatment of Godbeitism—long the standard history of the New Movement—contained hardly a word about spirits and séances or about theology and philosophical radicalism. Instead, it emphasized the social and political results of the dissent, and Godbeitism, in Tullidge's hand, became only a subplot in Mormonism's triumphant march to fulfill its social mission.[85]

During Tullidge's final years in Utah, he drew warm praise from the local citizens. Unfortunately, however, literary laurels did not translate into cash rewards. His quarterly magazine struggled through three volumes and finally failed in 1885. Even the *History of Salt Lake City* was not a financial success. Two thousand copies were printed, but in the first years after its publication only six hundred had been sold, with Tullidge's New Movement friends and Mormon church officials each purchasing one hundred of the three hundred copies sold within the territory. By 1890, two-thirds of the printing still lay unbound; the loose pages had little more value than waste paper.[86] Tullidge's lack of commercial success was a commentary on the times. Tullidge stood between two fires. Having too much

equanimity to please the Mormon-baiter and lacking the fervency to please the disciple, he struggled to satisfy either.

Tullidge's friends tried to help. A curious coalition of non-Mormon merchants and LDS leaders—ironically, the two opposing camps of the old Godbeite conflict—lent their assistance to the staging of *Cromwell.* With a promising start in Deseret, it was hoped that the production would make its way to London and be a commercial and artistic "triumph."[87] When the play was staged in Salt Lake City, local critics praised Tullidge's writing—the *Deseret Evening News* called the play a "masterpiece," filled with "beauty and power," while the *Ogden Herald* thought *Cromwell* might come to rank as one of the "chiefest tragedies" of the English-speaking stage.[88] Indeed the play contained some fine phrasing, but was burdened by a heavy, intense style. Acting was amateurish. Already cut to three hours of staging, which apparently did not include intermissions, performances continued past midnight, far too long for Utah's frontier audiences. Proportion and balance had never been the author's gifts.

Cromwell was followed by another attempt to save financially Deseret's "undoubted genius in poetry, history, and the drama." This time Tullidge's friends sponsored *Ben Israel,* which one critic delicately described as "almost too massive a picture to contemplate and realize at one sitting."[89] Despite the twin failures of *Cromwell* and *Ben Israel,* Tullidge plunged ahead. In 1888 the author began another literary magazine, the *Western Galaxy,* which lasted less than a year. In 1889, Tullidge's history of northern Utah and southern Idaho was published. This hastily put together volume had an abundance of local history and biography, but, in addition to its writing flaws, it had the poor timing to be marketed at the same time as H. H. Bancroft's popular *History of Utah,* which Mormon leaders unofficially endorsed and helped to sell.

As a result of these setbacks, Tullidge wondered how he might support his family. His first two marriages had ended in divorce, and he may have married Eliza F. Kingsford and divorced a third time. A final marriage, to Susannah Ferguson, for a time was more stable.

The couple had ten children, five of whom survived childbirth and infancy.[90]

Tullidge feared for their welfare. For years he had resolved never to sell the republishing rights of the *Life of Brigham Young,* hoping to ensure the support of Susannah and the children in case something happened to him. In August 1888, in an attempt to save his house from foreclosure, he reluctantly offered the book's rights to the son of Brigham Young, John W. Young, who disappointed Tullidge by declining.[91] Finally the historian turned to the Mormon leadership. No longer the humble supplicant before President Young, Tullidge now requested what he claimed was his due. He reminded his old friend, Wilford Woodruff, who now presided over the church, of his "constant" service of forty-two years. "I ought [not] to have been forced (as I have been) to sell my house from over the heads of my wife and children," he complained—all because of his effort to grace Mormon Utah with a literary reputation. That goal now seemed futile. The best that Tullidge hoped for was to close out his life "not unworthily." He wanted to secure his family from want and to provide a chance for them to live among the class to which they belonged.[92]

A second letter to Woodruff was still more poignant. The northern Utah history had been an "utter failure," Tullidge told church officials. Not even one hundred copies of the two thousand published run had been sold, and one-fourth of these had been bought by Tullidge's non-LDS friends, including multivolume purchases by Henry Lawrence and Ogden merchant Fred J. Kiesel. A month-long canvass of Cache County had brought only thirty orders, while a full-time worker in Tooele had not been rewarded with a single sale in two weeks. Faced with the prospect of bankruptcy and declining health, Tullidge reported that he was nearly overwhelmed. He was confined indoors and most of the time in bed. He feared to travel to the outlying settlements lest he should die away from his family. The letter was signed, "Your brother and servant," a salutation that of course overlooked his checkered career.[93]

In response to his letter, the church purchased fifty copies of the *History of Salt Lake City* and an equal number of his history of northern Utah and southern Idaho, but apparently refused to sponsor the latter.[94] A year later, LDS authorities responded favorably to another of Tullidge's requests, the nature of which is unknown. Wrote George Q. Cannon: "The business to which you refer in your communication has been assigned to Bishop [John R.] Winder to look after; and if he has not already seen you on the subject he doubtless will soon; and I trust that everything will be arranged satisfactorily between you."[95]

The end of Tullidge's life seemed taken from a Charles Dickens novel, only Tullidge's experiences were not fiction but hard and unrelenting reality. His alcoholism became more and more consuming—in part perhaps because of a strongly driven life that had not met expectations. When Joseph Smith III visited Utah, he despaired that "the church or religion could effect a reclamation." It was "another case of a naturally-gifted and fairly intelligent man going wrong," the RLDS president believed.[96] Tullidge died on 22 May 1904, when sixty-five years old.

Susannah died eight years later. She was a "Magdalene," reported the *Salt Lake Herald,* using the equivocal language that the Victorians often reserved for morally delicate situations. Her body had been found in the degradation of a "miserable" tent, with only a few frayed blankets to protect her from the cold winter ground. She had begun to drink excessively while she and Edward were still together, before Edward's own difficulties had caused their separation several years before his death. From that point, according to the newspaper, her descent was rapid. "Every depth of human degradation was sounded by her," the newspaper noted, "foul prison cells, wild debauches, [and] days and nights of continuous drunkenness." She committed suicide.[97]

While the *Herald* made the most of Susannah's example, the Salt Lake City newspapers gave Edward's death more dignity. The *Deseret Evening News* praised his literary ability and noted with local pride that "some of his writings will compare favorably with those of

the best writers of the country." The paper also focused on his Godbeite endeavor.[98] But his life was certainly more. Tullidge had understood the need for Utah's integration into the American mainstream and worked for it. He had defended personal liberty, championed the rights of women, and with *Ben Israel* defended and supported the Jewish cause. Philosophically, Tullidge was a moderate. However far he wandered from traditional Mormonism, he never yielded his affection for the movement, nor spoke or wrote according to the popular anti-Mormon prejudice of the time. Within this lifelong work, his historical writing not only chronicled events but became a primary source and a personal memoir.

Notes

^1. Fanny Stenhouse, *TIAll,* pp. 576–77.

^2. Tullidge, *Life of Joseph the Prophet* (1880).

^3. Fanny Stenhouse, *TIAll,* pp. 554–57; Hepworth Dixon, *White Conquest,* 1:208–9.

^4. Fanny Stenhouse, *Exposé of Polygamy in Utah,* p. 141; Excommunication File, LDS Archives.

^5. Fanny Stenhouse, *TIAll,* p. 580.

^6. Ibid., p. 582; *SLTrib,* 27 Aug. 1870, p. 1; *SLHer,* 20 Aug. 1870, p. 3, and *Daily Utah Reporter* (Corinne), 22 Aug. 1870, p. 2.

^7. T. B. H. Stenhouse to WSGodbe, 17 Jan. 1871, HamGodbe Papers, University of Utah.

^8. T. B. H. Stenhouse to WSGodbe, 12 Feb. 1871, HamGodbe Papers, University of Utah.

^9. T. B. H. Stenhouse to WSGodbe, 13 Feb. 1871, HamGodbe Papers, University of Utah.

^10. An additional circumstance suggests a link to Foster. When Foster's business manager, George C. Bartlett, was not allowed to place an advertisement in a "respectable" part of the *NYHer,* Thomas went out of his way to help. See Bartlett, *Salem Seer,* pp. 6–7.

^11. Fanny Stenhouse, *TIAll,* p. viii.

^12. Ibid., ix; Fanny Stenhouse, *Exposé of Polygamy in Utah.* For a more extensive review of the Stenhouses' career and a review of their writing, see Walker, "Stenhouses and the Making of a Mormon Image."
^13. *SLTrib,* 11 Apr. 1872, pp. 1 and 2.
^14. Fanny Stenhouse, *TIAll,* p. xiii. As with her earlier book, the title of her second sometimes varied with its edition.
^15. *SLTrib,* 10 July 1872, p. 2, and 16 Apr. 1874, p. 4.
^16. Fanny Stenhouse, *TIAll,* p. v.
^17. Ibid., p. 615.
^18. Compare the prepublication advertisement for Stenhouse's book with its published title page. Fanny Stenhouse, *Exposé of Polygamy,* backpiece advertisement, and T. B. H. Stenhouse, *RMSaints,* p. i.
^19. Statement of President Staples of San Francisco's Fireman Fund Insurance Company, recorded in Heber J. Grant diary, 25 Jan. 1892, Grant Papers, LDS Archives.
^20. T. B. H. Stenhouse, *RMSaints,* pp. 157–60, 182n., 524, 546–52, 644.
^21. Ibid., pp. 119, 207–8, 223, 416, 500, and 668.
^22. Ibid., p. 457.
^23. *New York Times,* 6 Mar. 1873, p. 3; *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 47 (July 1873): 299, and 49 (Nov. 1874): 885–86.
^24. *SLTrib,* 8 Feb. 1873, p. 3.
^25. *DEN,* 3 Feb. 1974, p. 3.
^26. *San Francisco Daily Examiner,* 8 Mar. 1882. For the De Long expedition, see Richard Bliss, *Our Last Explorers* and De Long, *Voyage of the Jeannette.*
^27. Letter of 18 Mar. 1872, *SLTrib,* 20 Mar. 1872, p. 2.
^28. BY to W. H. Hooper, 20 Mar. 1872, BY Letterbooks, LDS Archives.
^29. *SLTrib,* 3 Oct. 1872, p. 3, 1 Nov. 1872, p. 2, and 4 Mar. 1873, p. 2; "Mrs. Fanny Stenhouse"; and W. C. Staines to BY, 10 Oct. 1872, BY Incoming Corr., LDS Archives.

^30. Letter, 30 Nov. 1872, *Buffalo Courier,* cited in *SLTrib,* 16 Dec. 1872, p. 2.
^31. *SLTrib,* 4 Nov. 1874, p. 4.
^32. Ibid., 25 and 30 June 1874, each p. 4; 3 and 4 July 1874, respectively pp. 4, 2; *SLHer,* 3 July 1874, p. 3.
^33. *SLTrib,* 3 Dec. 1874, p. 4.
^34. Ibid., 25 June 1874, p. 4.
^35. Statement in ibid., 30 June 1874, p. 4.
^36. *SLHer,* 3 July 1874, p. 3.
^37. *SLTrib,* 12 June 1875, p. 4.
^38. Excommunication File, 5 Oct. 1874, LDS Archives.
^39. *SLTrib,* 18 Feb. 1873, p. 3.
^40. Ibid., 23 Feb. 1875, p. 4.
^41. As cited in ibid., 2 Nov. 1875, p. 2.
^42. W. Hyde letter, 19 July 1876, *SLTrib,* 23 July 1876, p. 4.
^43. "Charles Roscoe Savage," *LDS Biographical Encyclopedia,* 3:708–11. For additional biographical detail, see Richards, "Charles R. Savage."
^44. Charles R. Savage diary, BYU, 22 June 1877.
^45. Ibid., 9 Mar. 1878.
^46. JH, 16 Apr. 1878, p. 1.
^47. Tullidge, *TQMag* 2 (Apr. 1882): 91–92; quoting the *San Francisco Merchant,* 10 Mar. 1882; Fanny Stenhouse, in Minnie Godbe letter, 4 Nov. 1898, LDS Archives. For his burial, *LDS Biographical Encyclopedia,* 4:385. Hart, in *Lone Mountain,* lists no fewer than eleven former U.S. senators as having been interred at Lone Mountain, but her listing does not include Stenhouse.
^48. *San Francisco Examiner,* 8 Mar. 1882, p. 3; *Daily Alta California* (San Francisco), 8 Mar. 1882, p. 1; *San Francisco Weekly Bulletin,* 8 Mar. 1882, p. 6.
^49. *MStar* 45 (30 July 1883): 495; Heber J. Grant diary, 24 Jan. 1892, p. 23, Grant Papers, LDS Archives.
^50. *San Francisco Weekly Bulletin,* 8 Mar. 1882, p. 5.

^51. Winifred Young, "The Profit," manuscript, LDS Archives; *Los Angeles Times,* 19 Apr. 1904, p. 12.
^52. Tullidge, as historian, has received the attention of several scholars. In addition to my own work titled "Edward Tullidge: Historian of the Mormon Commonwealth," see Bitton and Arrington, "Edward W. Tullidge: Celebrant of Mormon Nationalism"; Launius, "Edward W. Tullidge and the Reorganization"; and Lye, "Edward Wheelock Tullidge, the Mormons' Rebel Historian."
^53. W. C. Staines to Albert Carrington, 19 Feb. 1870, in *MStar* 32 (15 Mar. 1870): 169–70.
^54. "Valedictory," *MTrib,* 4 June 1870, p. 180.
^55. Ibid., 4 June 1870, p. 180.
^56. *SLHer,* 13 July 1870, p. 2.
^57. Ibid.
^58. Ibid., 23 July 1870, p. 2.
^59. New York City Branch: *SLTrib,* 14 Jan. 1871, p. 1. Journalism: Tullidge, "Reformation in Utah"; Tullidge, "Leaders in the Mormon Reform Movement"; and Tullidge, *HSLC,* p. 589.
^60. See [Tullidge], "William H. Hooper," p. 330, and Tullidge, "Reformation in Utah," pp. 602–9.
^61. Tullidge to BY, Dec. 1872, emphasis his; and Tullidge to BY, 11 Aug. 1874, BY Incoming Corr., LDS Archives.
^62. Tullidge to BY, 22 Nov. 1873, BY Incoming Corr., LDS Archives.
^63. Tullidge to BY, 11 Aug. 1874, BY Incoming Corr., LDS Archives.
^64. Tullidge to President Woodruff et al., 11 July 1890, Woodruff Papers, LDS Archives.
^65. Tullidge to B. W. S. [Bathsheba Wilson Smith], 18 Jan. 1875, Bathsheba Smith Papers, LDS Archives.
^66. Ibid. For Tullidge's feminism, see Tullidge, *UMag* 3 (26 June 1869): 119.
^67. Tullidge, *Life of Joseph the Prophet* (1878), preface.
^68. James Clark, *Messages of the First Presidency,* 2:316–17.

^69. *MStar* 40 (18 Nov. 1878): 722–24. Also see James Clark, *Messages of the First Presidency,* 2:315–20.
^70. Smith to Tullidge, 9 May 1879, Joseph Smith III Correspondence, Joseph Smith III Papers, RLDS History Division; Joseph Smith III, "The Memoirs of President Joseph Smith," p. 1488. For Tullidge's activity with the Reorganization, see also Smith and Smith, *History of the Church,* 4:282, 287.
^71. Tullidge, *Life of Joseph the Prophet* (1880), pp. 536–37, 565–67, 569, 614–15, 628–29, and 657. The accusations were often conveyed by inference.
^72. W. H. Kelly to the editor of the *Saints' Herald,* 27 Feb. 1881, W. H. Kelley Papers, RLDS Department of History.
^73. *SLTrib,* 4 Nov. 1879, pp. 2 and 4.
^74. Tullidge to Rutherford B. Hayes, 19 Oct. 1879, "Letters Received by the Federal Government Regarding Polygamy," U.S. Department of the Interior.
^75. P. W. Woodruff, Louisa F. Wells, Emmeline Wells, Eliza R. Snow, and Zina D. H. Young were among those supporting the reading; JH, 11 Oct. 1880, p. 2, quoting the *DEN.* The pro-Mormon *SLHer* consistently expressed its approval of Tullidge's magazine. See its issues of 19 Aug. 1880, p. 3; 17 Aug. 1882, p. 8; 25 Mar. 1883, p. 12; and 10 July 1883, p. 4.
^76. Tullidge, "Godbeite Movement."
^77. *SLTrib,* 13 June 1877, p. 4.
^78. For a listing of those supporting Tullidge and the terms and history of the agreement, see *HSLC,* pp. 891–92; *SLHer,* 20 Feb. 1883, p. 8; *DEN,* 14 Mar. 1883, p. 4, 2 May 1883, p. 4, and 23 May 1883, p. 4; and *Ogden Daily Herald,* 3 Nov. 1883, p. 2.
^79. Tullidge, "Oliver Cromwell—His Life and Character," pp. 257, 281.
^80. Tullidge, *UMag* 3 (18 Dec. 1869): 521.
^81. For his temporal emphasis, see Tullidge's "Horace Greeley and Zion's Movement," pp. 76–77; "Views of Mormondom," p. 209; and "Mormons: History of Their Leading Men," p. 146.

^82. Tullidge, "Oliver Cromwell—His Life and Character," p. 257, and *MTrib,* 30 Apr. 1870, pp. 140–41.
^83. Tullidge, preface to "Oliver Cromwell," 147.
^84. Tullidge, *UMag* 3 (23 Oct. 1869): 394–95.
^85. Tullidge, "Godbeite Movement," pp. 14–84. For examples of his treatment of spiritualism, see Tullidge, *Life of Brigham Young,* p. 3, and Tullidge, *HSLC,* p. 428.
^86. Tullidge to Wilford Woodruff et al., 1 Feb. 1890 [?], Woodruff Papers, LDS Archives.
^87. *DEN,* 18 June 1887, p. 5.
^88. Ibid., 25 June 1887, p. 5, and *Ogden Daily Herald,* 30 June 1887, p. 1.
^89. *DEN,* 3 and 5 Nov. 1887, respectively pp. 3, 5.
^90. *SLHer,* 18 Mar. 1902, p. 4, and Edward William Tulledge [*sic*] Family Group Sheet, LDS Family History Library.
^91. Tullidge to John W. Young, 29 Aug. 1888, John W. Young Papers, LDS Archives.
^92. Tullidge to Wilford Woodruff et al., 1 Feb. [1890?], Woodruff Papers, LDS Archives.
^93. Tullidge to Wilford Woodruff, 11 July 1870, Woodruff Papers, LDS Archives.
^94. Wilford Woodruff diary, 15 Feb 1890, Woodruff Papers, LDS Archives.
^95. See George Q. Cannon to Tullidge, 18 June 1891, First Presidency Letterbooks, LDS Archives.
^96. Joseph Smith III, "Memoirs of President Joseph Smith," p. 1488; also see *Saints Herald* 82 (1 Oct. 1935): 1266.
^97. *SLHer,* 18 Mar. 1902, p. 4.
^98. *DEN,* 22 May 1894, p. 1.

Chapter 17

Godbe's Last Years

It was not easy for Mormons to measure William Godbe. Outwardly he seemed to be an ideal nineteenth-century Saint. He got things done, a trait important to pioneering Mormons who valued practical achievement far more than religious meditation. Godbe was an entrepreneur; he liked to bring a task to successful completion. Achievement was more important to him than money or position, which he appeared to regard as social trusts to be used to aid others. Ironically, and at least in theory, Godbe's entrepreneurial spirit and sense of stewardship had much in common with the ideals of Brigham Young's Zion, the very thing Godbe railed so strongly against.

Godbe also exhibited many Christian virtues. Even after his excommunication, Mormons used such adjectives as "gentle," "sweet-spirited," "kindly," and "tender-hearted" to describe him. To the present generation these words may seem slightly out-of-date remnants of a lost Victorianism. But to the Mormons at the time, they carried praise—and caused incredulity. How could such a man, who seemed to exemplify some of the best attributes of Mormonism, leave it? Seeking an explanation, many persons continued to blame the New Movement on Harrison. Surely, somehow, Godbe had been misled, perhaps victimized.

Yet behind the pleasing public exterior of Godbe lay other personality traits less congenial to the traditional faith. His broader experience in the world as a businessman, traveler, and student of history and culture led him to hold a wider and more detached view of Utah events. Moreover, his British roots fostered individualism, a belief in personal rights, and the right to speak and dissent. And concealed beneath his unassuming manner was a strong will. Surprising to many who did not know him well and who saw only his agreeable exterior, he was not easily dissuaded. Once resolved on a course of action and convinced of its correctness, he could be tough, even stubborn. He was a worthy adversary.

Of these various traits, some dominated. From early childhood Godbe had been deeply religious—not otherworldly or contemplative in his devotions, but practical, idealistic, and intellectual. These qualities at first found expression in his Mormonism and later in his freethinking spiritualism as he struggled to fulfill the mysterious and undefined mission that seemed to weigh on him. Over the years these facets of his personality ebbed and flowed and took new forms. But always, religion, ideals, and intellect resurfaced as the main themes of Godbe's life story.

When Godbe left Mormonism, he professed the best of feelings for his former church and its leader. However attitudes soon hardened on both sides of the controversy: Conflict inevitably breeds ill will, and never more certainly than in religious matters. Within weeks of the start of the protest movement, emotions so flamed that Godbe huddled in the basement of his store, listening to unlikely rumors that his life was in danger, perhaps from the semiofficial hand of Salt Lake City police chief Andrew Burt himself.[1] Giving such stories credence, for several weeks he and other dissidents feared to go into the outlying settlements to preach their new doctrines.

Other barometers of Mormon disfavor gauged more clearly. A month after Godbe began his LDS dissent, church leaders moved to end the privileged and money-making position that he had so long enjoyed as the territory's premier, unofficially recognized "Mormon druggist." ZCMI purchased the stock of his old non-LDS competitor, J. Bauman & Company, added more goods by quick purchases in the East, and opened a rival drugstore one door south of the Overland Telegraph Office on Main Street. The new ZCMI business advertised itself as having "the largest and best assortment" of drugs and sundries in Utah, while on-the-street Mormon talk inelegantly boasted that within ninety days, not a "grease spot" would remain of the former Mormon druggist.[2]

People were not far wrong. The ZCMI drugstore pushed its campaign in the next several years by hiring Robert Cleghorn, one of Godbe and Pitt's chief apothecaries, and by aggressively improving the church-controlled facility.[3] But the Mormons' most potent

weapon was a collective purse. They increasingly took their trade elsewhere. As a result, Godbe soon found his financial situation to be desperate. He owed the eastern wholesalers for inventory that at best sold slowly, while some Mormons refused to pay the one hundred thousand dollars they owed him—partly because of the difficult circumstances of the local depression and partly because they used his excommunication as an excuse to outlaw their debts. Godbe compounded his financial problems by his large outlays to establish the *Tribune* and the Liberal Institute. Thus, one year after withdrawing from the church, instead of being worth at least one hundred thousand dollars, he owed at least that much. Interest on his debt compounded at a difficult-to-manage rate of one thousand dollars per month.[4]

Godbe scrambled to meet his obligations. Seeking funds from every source, in February 1870 he demanded payment of a loan given to church authorities for the Deseret Irrigation and Navigation Canal Company, an ambitious but aborted scheme to control the water of the Jordan River in the Salt Lake Valley. In the informal days of the old theocracy, President Young might periodically seek money from the Mormon merchants for such special projects, and Godbe, Lawrence, Jennings, and others had complied with his Jordan River request. Most of the invested money had been repaid or otherwise discharged; now Godbe wanted his slightly more than five thousand dollars returned too.

Young's first impulse was to pay. He directed his clerk to determine the amount owed ("which I supposed had long since been settled") and arrange a settlement of the debt. But Young had his own difficult circumstances. The Union Pacific Railroad had failed to pay the church for its construction work on the road and Young had little money on hand. He nevertheless sent Godbe an interest-bearing note to be paid in five months.[5]

Neither Young's pledge nor his financial note relieved Godbe's exigency—apparently Godbe refused Young's paper, or perhaps the hard-pressed local banks refused to accept the note as collateral and give Godbe money. The merchant therefore continued to press

strongly for full and immediate payment plus interest. Responding to these entreaties, Young in April wrote Godbe to express hope that the "whole, or a large portion of that indebtedness" might be paid within several days, but these terms apparently failed to satisfy Godbe.[6]

The matter then entered the territorial courts, where Godbe obtained a judgment.[7] With tempers on each side rising, the church appealed the court's decision, and after a year of maneuvering, Godbe angrily charged Young with bearing a personal malice. Godbe now offered to compromise on the issue of back interest, the main issue of the dispute. If the church rejected these terms, he warned, he was prepared to begin another lawsuit, in which he would demand a full explanation of how his donated tithing had been used. "In the past I did not dare to question the method of dispensation of church funds," Godbe told Young, but "now I regard you as I would any other gentleman whose position as Trustee requires that a full and complete exhibit . . . be made."[8] Despite the threat, Young continued his appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court, but settled the case two years later as the court was readying its decision.[9] The unpleasant episode lasted more than three years.

William S. Godbe v. Brigham Young was not the only legal case in which Godbe was embroiled after leaving Mormonism. Eager to increase his drugstore's profits, he began to sell liquor without a city license. More than self-interest, here was another battle to be fought and possibly won against the theocracy. Mormons had long suppressed the free flow of alcohol in their capital city by requiring costly licenses, which in turn made the retail price of liquor prohibitively expensive. Godbe and the city's new non-LDS population wanted a change. As the *Tribune* phrased it, it was a question of the "ancient unquestioned rule" of the church versus the liberals' hope for "free and impartial measures" for all.[10] Also at stake was the easy availability of liquor.

First, city authorities fined Godbe. He responded by seeking an injunction against further city action, which seemed pending. The Utah Supreme Court denied the petition on the grounds that the

case belonged in a lower court. Later the city sued Godbe, charging that his activity had caused it a revenue loss of ten thousand dollars over a fifteen-month period. In these judicial proceedings, the advantage generally lay with Godbe and the other liquor dealers. The unfriendly non-LDS territorial courts struck down several of the local levies before finally sustaining an ordinance that contained a dramatically lower licensing fee.[11] In the meantime, Young and other Mormons bitterly assailed the moral decline of their community.[12]

Godbe must have known that this venture into liquor marketing, whatever its short-term gain, could only further prejudice his standing and business with the LDS community. Faced with this reality and the rising competition of the ZCMI drug store, he closed out his interest in his business sometime in the early 1870s, probably with mixed feeling. For over a decade and a half, the Godbe drugstore, with its various names and partnerships, had generously sustained his family. If this activity was now behind him, he could look forward to some new challenge for his entrepreneurial spirit to undertake.

Of course he did not have to look far. The prospect of successful mining in Utah continued to grip him. Was this his secret mission? Said a friend suggestively, "He believed that all the sentinels which nature has placed on guard around her treasures could, if earnestly solicited, be prevailed upon to reveal the secret doors behind which the treasures are locked, and he dreamed of achieving great wealth, not for the pride of possession, not to further any unworthy ambition, but to make good men better by taking from them their heavier burdens."[13] "The True Development of the Territory," the pro-mining manifesto that proclaimed the *Utah Magazine*'s opposition to Young, was yet another expression of Godbe's fixation.

Once excommunication freed him from Young's pro-agricultural policy, Godbe put his back into mining. With a pair of mules and a wagon, he traveled the territory. For two years, day and night, "with all my might and main," he sought his El Dorado. Stomping the local mining camps, he carefully watched and took mental notes. He knew

that he had to learn mining ways, and he knew that this peculiar curriculum would require labor and diligence.

His first strike was in Dry Canyon, near Stockton, in Utah's now legendary Ophir mining district. There, in 1871, he bonded the property that became known as the "Chicago." Without the capital to pay for or develop the mine, Godbe spent long seasons in Great Britain seeking investors. The result was the "Chicago Silver Mining Company," capitalized at seventy-five thousand pounds sterling, which bought out Godbe's interest, retaining him, however, as the manager of the property. The company later purchased the adjoining "Flaville Mine" for $130,000. The complex, along with the previously established Ontario, Emma, and Flagstaff properties, became one of the first prominent and successful mines in the territory.[14] For Godbe, the transaction had the happy result of discharging his debts and restoring him to his "former footing."[15]

These years were difficult for Godbe, as he worked relentlessly to fulfill the goals of his reform movement while at the same time hoping to maintain his financial balance. The period was equally trying for his wives. Annie, William's first wife, continued to be prickly, but not necessarily because of the New Movement, as some assumed. The root of the problem probably lay more with plurality and specifically with her husband's recent love match with Charlotte Ives, the fourth Godbe wife.[16] If Annie met Godbe's other wives on the street, she might not speak. And in the family circle, she frequently patronized her rivals. This behavior reflected her torment. According to one of her former friends, Annie became one of the most unhappy women she knew.[17]

Godbe had planned and begun construction of an avant garde dwelling that came to be known as "Octagon House," literally an eight equal-sided home that some reformers of the age had advocated. The plan was to place the first three Godbe wives and their families in separate apartments in the dwelling. But Godbe's financial reverses and the cross-currents within the family soon made the original hope impossible. Apparently never occupied by family members, by 1871 the "Octagon" was being rented out. "The

sociable of the Ladies Aid Society of the M[ethodist]. E[piscopal]. Church, meets at the residence of Rev. Mr. Pierce, in the Godbe Octagon House," said one notice. In another part of the structure, C. C. Nichols arranged for board and room for a "few gentlemen."[18]

Godbe probably was relieved that his original plan did not carry. Whatever his first New Movement statements about the inviolability of plural marriage, he soon was having second thoughts. How could the otherwise "advanced" and "respectable" Godbeite program bear the burden of defending such a social blemish? Initially the friends of the LDS dissidents, locally and nationally, were willing to turn a blind eye to this stain. But they became increasingly restive, especially the ultra-wing of the Utah Liberal Party. For these men, Godbeite polygamy disqualified the Mormon reformers from participating in the party; indeed, it became a weapon to exclude them.

By the summer of 1871, the effort to embarrass Godbe and his fellow plural marriage dissidents was well under way. Always in such matters, the *Corinne Reporter* led the way. In the first week of July, the newspaper demanded that the liberals declare themselves against polygamy—and "even the semblance of favoring it." The *Salt Lake Herald* and the *Tribune* followed with several anonymous letters, wanting to know why Godbe remained a polygamist and what his views were regarding the Mormon institution. The issue then exploded in the celebrated liberal caucus at the Liberal Institute at the end of the month, which left the *Reporter* furious: "Godbe and every other pretender to his class who defy the laws of the United States are not entitled to the recognition of brave or honorable men."[19]

More than a question of public embarrassment, plural marriage tore at Godbe's conscience. At stake were some of his deepest feelings. On the one hand, he felt genuine affection for his several families. But he also came to believe that he could not defend the marriage system as modern or responsible. Moreover, the taunts of the newspapers about his awkward silence afflicted his sense of probity. He did not want people to think that courage or principles were lacking. Finally, with all these pressures acting on him, he

announced that he would speak on the question at the institute. The lecture undoubtedly promised a full house, said the *Tribune* dryly, making the announcement.[20]

Godbe himself regarded the lecture as pivotal, both for himself personally and for the movement he headed. Accordingly he had his text printed as the booklet *Polygamy: Its Solution in Utah.* It revealed much about his thoughts and personality. In a passage that might have served as a charter for his dissent, he explained how Utah reformers examined religious teachings: "Instead of testing a doctrine by the revelation as they once did, they now reverse the process, and test the revelation by the doctrine. In fact, they no longer believe in revelations at all as emanating from the lips of a personal Deity, as claimed by the Mormon priesthood. The *only* divine relations in which they do believe are such as may come to the souls of all, to be held in abeyance, however, until sanctioned by reason and confirmed by experience."[21]

Using this guideline, Godbe declared plural marriage to be a "superstition," a violation of prevailing American mores and the message of the "still, small voice speaking to the individual soul" that women were equal with men. Having intellectually and religiously rejected polygamy, Godbe now dealt with the far more difficult question: how might the practice be ended? Maintaining his moderate approach, he again proclaimed that he was against harsh Cullom Bill measures: "No body of men, legislative or otherwise, has any right to dictate a standard of morality for individual members of society," he argued. Virtue could never be legislated, except indirectly by education or by laws restraining people from injuring others.[22]

What should people like himself do who were already engaged in the practice? Here Godbe's sentences became tortured reflections of his own situation. He defended the Mormon people as excelling in "industry, temperance and virtue."[23] Such men and women had entered plurality sincerely, and some had achieved unions of affection. Should these marriages be ended simply because of law and public opinion? Which wife should be discarded? Didn't a second

or third wife have as much a moral claim on a husband as the first? Emphasizing the difficulty of the issue, Godbe recognized that marriage was more than an arrangement for temporal support. A divorced man could provide "bread, clothes and shelter" for his wives. But what about human intimacy? "Can any change of views justify . . . [a man] in throwing off any part of his entire duty to them if it remains in his power to perform the whole of it?"[24]

The lecturer finally settled on some vaguely stated guides for conduct. Any dissolution must be by mutual consent, with a woman retaining the "supreme control" over her "person" and "mode of life." To increase her options, men should promote their wives' education and make them as economically independent as possible. Then a woman's decision could be made on principle and less on need. As each couple made its own decision, Godbe believed that the time would come when most plural marriages would cease. Parting would not be easy. It would be a moment, Godbe understood, not "unmixed with sadness," when the virtues of "tenderness and love" had to prevail.[25]

Gentle Godbe was, of course, saying goodbye. Though not fixing the time of his exit from plural marriage, he was announcing his desire and perhaps his intention. But even after working out the matter in his mind, it was another matter to abide by the decision. In October he left for the East, en route to England to raise money for the "Chicago." According to the *Corinne Reporter,* however, the trip involved more than business. It reported that Godbe intended to rendezvous with his "strumpet" Charlotte, leaving his "true wife" in the city with a dying child. "Let us hear no more 'opinions' from such a vile source," it demanded, with reference to Godbe's recently published interviews in the East. The *Reporter* continued its shrill anti-Godbe accusations for several days.[26]

William's decision was hard on his wives. Following the Liberal Institute address on plural marriage, Rosina complained of being "somewhat afflicted by my future prospects, which are not very bright at present." Perhaps her reference was to the hard-pressed Godbe family finances, or to having to endure the winter season in

out-of-the-way Kaysville. Still, the threat to end her marriage must have loomed in her mind, even as she expressed herself tenderly to her "dearest William."[27] At the time of her letter, she was carrying her last child, born on 28 April 1872, almost exactly nine months from the day of the plural marriage lecture.

Two years later there was no mistaking her meaning. She had been set aside. While she may have acquiesced in the decision to end her marriage, clearly it ran against her deepest feeling. Some of her sentences, written in another letter to William in England, carried her emotion. "My heart used to swell with joy at the words: coming home," she wrote, referring to William's previous letters announcing his plans to return to Salt Lake City. Now, however, she had no right to be thrilled with expectation. Her home no longer was William's. "Everything looks so dark to me in the future," Rosina confessed. "I try to rise above my trials and feel reconciled to my fate, but its hard to bear [it] alone." Rosina wondered if there might be a hidden compensation. After a moment's reflection, she had her answer: "Nothing will repay me for the suffering I have passed through."

One of Rosina's sons was traveling with William, and she wondered how Sarah Godbe—William's mother—felt about the boy and about herself. "I believe she is to[o] good to feel unkindly towards me," Rosina wrote hopefully. With her marriage to William dissolved, she and her children no longer had social station. Were her children illegitimate? Was she nothing more than an unlawful, discarded consort? Rosina's awkward position now failed to meet Gentile or Mormon norms—nor any she could understand herself.

Rosina ended her letter with an adieu that was both touching and ironic: "God bless you from your ever devoted and true."[28]

William's healing balm had even worked its effect on Annie, perhaps due to her reestablished position as William's only recognized wife. There passed between the couple letters as affectionate and caring as Rosina's. When William confessed to being "weak and depressed in spirits" over his financial struggles, Annie responded with wifely kindness. "Oh! how I wish I might have been with you to have comforted you," she wrote. Annie's emotions were

more than solicitous regard. She now spoke of being "miserable" without her "darling." Despite her graying hair, she acknowledged a growing physical yearning, "as in the days of yore," for her spouse. This attraction was in contrast to her feelings a few years before when her heart seemed dead to that "most beautiful impulse [of] love." Old fires were rekindled.[29]

William later gave an account of his withdrawal from plural marriage. He had been "very tardy" about cutting ties, he conceded, remaining in plurality until 1873, after having long "outgrown" it. This he had done in order to make the decision mutual: each of his wives, he insisted, had eventually agreed to the separation. Moreover, he understood his continued responsibility. Though no longer legally a husband to most of his former wives, he remained a "devoted protector and friend" to their children. "All I can possibly do for them, I do, and this with the greatest pleasure." As a result, he claimed that the most "unbounded confidence" and "pleasant relations" united his disparate family.[30]

The revival of his fortune enabled him to assist the Godbe women. Mary's portion was not mentioned. But Rosina received a large home on Fourth East Street between First and Second South Streets in Salt Lake City. Annie's residence was still more elaborate. Designed by Harrison, its exterior bore the gingerbread and filigree required by Gothic Revival. "A lovely lace Valentine," said one prominent Utah architect. Fireplaces warmed each main room, while the large, framed mirrors, scattered throughout the home, gave a sense of space. The interior design complemented the facade: there were narrow stairways, ascending ceilings, and dormer windows that jutted out from under steep gables. No doubt William intended his mansion to be a statement. Church authorities had given him over to the "buffeting of Satan." A decade after that event, William wanted the world to know that the condition had its pleasures.[31]

William's treatment of the regallike Charlotte was more formal. By 1873 the passion of their relationship had likely run its course, and thereafter, independent of William, she seemed to seek some kind of accommodation with Mormonism—she had "wobbled around in the

faith," she later admitted.[32] With flair and aplomb, she spoke on the issues of her time, assuming that her heritage and intelligence—and her effusive style—were credentials enough to gain an audience. Before an orthodox audience at the Thirteenth Ward Assembly Rooms, she lectured on "A Sequel to the Question of the Hour." Or she might defend the Mormon pioneers in a public letter to the *Deseret Evening News;* or address another to Mrs. Rutherford Hayes, wife of the U.S. president, defending those involved in plural marriage and asking for support in protecting the "innocent" women and children of Utah from widespread prejudice.

Charlotte wanted to improve social conditions, especially those stemming from the "drink," but above all she was a woman's rights activist. Since the dedication of the Liberal Institute and the coming of Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton to Utah in 1871, the Godbe wives had been enrolled in the national suffrage movement. During the early 1870s, both Annie and Mary had served the National Woman Suffrage Association as titular representatives from Utah, and Stanton had chosen Annie to coordinate Utah protests over the perceived slighting of women during the national centennial commemoration of 1876.[33] But it was Charlotte who was most actively engaged in the movement. In 1871, Charlotte became the first Utahn to assume a role on a NWSA working committee. She was even more actively involved with the NWSA's rival, Lucy Stone's Boston-based American Woman Suffrage Association.[34] Wherever Charlotte spoke, whether before audiences in Utah or in the East, her message was similar. "When earnest women can strike hands of fellowship and clasp them around the world in united effort," she said during one lecture, "then, and not till then, will men accept us as the power we really have . . . in us to be."[35]

In 1879, Charlotte and William recognized their informal separation of several years with a divorce. The agreement had two main provisions: Charlotte received an eight thousand dollar settlement, and the two agreed to return their personal letters.[36] Perhaps Charlotte's letters to William were among those seen by her only child, a son whom she adopted after remarrying later in life.

Reading some of his mother's correspondence stored in the family's attic, the son remembered them as revealing both Charlotte's love for William and her anguish when the separation occurred.[37]

There were family trials. William and Annie's son, the promising William C., suffered from severe headaches and depression. When these tendencies deepened, William hurried to Bullionville, Nevada, in order to bring the twenty-three-year-old man to Salt Lake City for rest. The journey was never finished. At Milford, Utah, William C. left their hotel room early in the morning and put a pistol to his head. Heber J. Grant, whom Godbe had so often befriended when he was a boy, was by chance at the Milford Hotel and recorded the event. Grant remembered the father "nearly wild with grief" as the boy's body, moments after the disaster, was returned to the hotel.[38]

The funeral provided an insight into William's current religious thinking. There were no prayers and apparently little theology. Shearman and Harrison, along with Professor Benner, warmly eulogized the young man's life and character. Grant, who was present, wanted something more. Hoping for the additional comfort of his own faith, the apostle silently wished that William and Annie were still Mormons.[39]

Grant and others tried to reclaim William. In later years he encountered William several times in New York City, and once, to renew ties, the older man changed his hotel to Grant's. The two then had dinner together, went to the theater, and talked. Why didn't William return to Mormonism? Grant inquired. It was the same question that Nelson Empey, the new Thirteenth Ward bishop, asked William. On such occasions, the old Mormon dissenter good-naturedly waved aside such probes with the comment that he had found "something greater."[40]

As time softened old resentments, Mormons had difficulty understanding what William meant; he seemed so much a part of them and their culture. When his son Murray married a girl from one of the branches of the Young family, William attended the wedding party and praised his new daughter-in-law, "one of the nicest wives ever."[41] And when corresponding with Tullidge, William paid his old

faith several tributes. While he didn't believe that only Mormonism would survive "the convulsion of modern ideas," he predicted that it would play "no insignificant part in evolving the great problem of our American civilization." Moreover, he appreciated the Mormon people, especially for their "integrity & single hearted devotion." Having lived so long among them, William confessed that their interests and future were "in no small degree identical with my own."[42] On yet another occasion, he called himself one of Utah's "liberal Mormons."[43]

However, in none of these comments was he orthodox. Godbe did not simply reject Young's old ideas of a Mormon theocracy and hope for a time when Mormons would readily accept mainstream American culture. Of course these and similar ideas were certainly a part of Godbe's view. Godbe went further by repeatedly declaring his "undying hostility to the priesthood," alleging that Mormon leaders, while usually sincere and honest, could be narrow and extreme.[44] One angry confrontation pitted him against Elder Joseph F. Smith, a future LDS president, who apparently had publicly criticized him. "Knowing your active nature & fanatical tendencies," the usually quiet-spoken Godbe blustered, "I did not expect anything very broad or universalian but I must confess I was not prepared for such an exhibition of ignorant bigotry and conceit." In contrast to Smith's supposed example, Godbe described himself as "one who is governed by truth" and who had never "yet been false in his convictions."[45]

Yet as in the first days of his dissent, his objections to Mormonism reached beyond the issues of theocracy and church leadership. This was due partly to his continuing interest in spiritualism. Ten years after his New York City experience, John Murray Spear, who had been present at many of the early Church of Zion events, reconfirmed Godbe's spiritualistic mission. Godbe had apparently sought career advice from Spear, and the medium responded by pressing Godbe's letter to his forehead and while in an entranced condition writing the requested "blessing." Spear sent the original

first-draft scrawl to Godbe, fearing that a copy might lose the original's "magnetism."[46]

Godbe prized the document enough to keep it in his personal papers the rest of his life, although destroying most others. The blessing affirmed Godbe's power of leadership: people naturally followed him because of his "leading mind." The blessing also explained his peripatetic nature. He tended to absorb the elements around him, Spear explained, and thereby he became "ironized, leadized, copperised, silverised, [and] goldised." So burdened, Godbe must periodically seek new enterprises and associations. He was in fact at such a crossroads now.

The blessing also explained Godbe's qualifications for his approaching mission. The "sun, moon, stars, hills, plains, mountains, lakes, oceans"—all spoke to him. Moreover, he had transcended ordinary nationality and had left creeds like Mormonism behind him. Godbe's mission was broader. The American nation had done its best work and now seemed in decline; even Europe seemed exhausted. Spear told of the need for a new colony, perhaps to be built in California, that would become a "light set on a hill," attracting people from all over the world, full of active life, health, joy, peace and harmony." This final chapter in Godbe's life would be his "last, highest and best work."[47] The old spiritualist zeal of Spear and Godbe had not died. It had only been postponed to the elusive future.

Another document in Godbe's private papers, less esoteric, also probably charted his feelings about religion—a tract titled *Truths for the Times.* The pamphlet argued fifty "affirmations" that defined "Free Religion." It held, for instance, that each of the world's religions had two distinct parts, the universal or spiritual element, which all varieties of faith contained, and a "special" or "historical" component that made them distinct. These two qualities were in a state of flux, as all religious movements in the modern age were slowly losing their unique quality and were becoming more universal. On the basis of his own experience in trying to reform Mormonism, Godbe marked and underlined the text to read "*very* slowly."

The resulting new, universal religion was "Free Religion," which promised to emancipate the individual from outward religious authority. Its "great law" lay in the "still, small voice of the private soul." Christianity stressed Christ. Free Religion emphasized "human nature" and worked to humanize the world. Christianity looked to a hereafter. Free Religion sought to make the individual "nobler" in the "here and now." Personal attitudes also divided the two systems: Christianity was "prostrate"; Free Religion stood "erect on its feet." The new system called for the supremacy of liberty, science, and ethics and sought to put the Bible on the level of all other books and Christ on the level of all other men, each to be judged by their inherent merits or demerits.[48]

The propositions of *Truths for the Times* help to explain Godbe's post-Mormon career and especially his attitudes about his former church. Godbe saw Mormonism as another "historical religion" that required purification. In his mind, his role had been to rid it of its peculiarities and in the process leave the distilled core of Free Religion. That meant rejecting Mormonism's doctrines, its traditions, and the governing authority of its priesthood. It also meant extolling the "inward light" and personal liberty of church members, and trading traditional Christian dogma for goals of human realization and progress. Godbe and Harrison had voiced these hopes in a softer version at their church trial, and nothing in the meantime had altered Godbe's views.

If his religious views remained relatively constant, his mining activity was the opposite. It proved as demanding and unreliable as the legendary gnomes that some said guarded the earth's inner troves. The "Chicago" and Godbe's other Ophir district enterprises disappointingly played themselves out before the end of 1870s. Then for the next two decades Godbe was in and out of more than a dozen enterprises in the Intermountain West. He enjoyed this kind of wheel-of-fortune life, buying and selling, putting together syndicates, seeking the large success that his destiny promised. Always around the corner was the big strike.

Godbe invested heavily in Montana's Alice Mine. He managed to find some antimony deposits in southern Utah despite their distance from a railroad spur. But most of his energy centered in three other sites. The late 1870s found him at the Frisco camp in Utah's Beaver County. Securing a contract to rework the Horn Silver's tailings, Godbe built a smelter that successfully processed twenty thousand tons of ore. The enterprise reportedly shipped twelve hundred carloads of silver-lead bullion valued at two and a half million dollars, though profits were much less. Nearby, he gained control of the Carbonate, Rattler, and Cave mines.[49]

Second, Godbe was in Nevada's southeastern Lincoln County. At Bullionville, ten miles south of Pioche, he secured the rights to one hundred and seventy thousand tons of tailings left by the once-rich Raymond and Ely mines. Building a smelter and concentrator and using a new leaching technique, Godbe duplicated his Horn Silver success at extracting ores that had been missed in the original processing. By 1884, he had shipped bullion valued at seven hundred and fifty thousand dollars and earned for himself what one Salt Lake City newspaper called a "little fortune."[50] Godbe talked expansively of his achievement. For a decade he had paid out "thousands of dollars" per day, given employment to many, and "cut a very important figure in the industry of the country." He boasted that all this he achieved contrary to the predictions of the priesthood, a fact that should open "the people's eyes a little."[51] The comment was revealing. After almost fifteen years and after enjoying so much success, Godbe still was trying to prove himself. His Mormon past, like a haunting spirit, refused to leave him.

During these prosperous years, he spent freely. Money was to be used. "I will make you this loan," he told one man who was down on his luck, "on a single condition."

"What is that condition, Mr. Godbe?"

"That you say nothing about it."

The loan was extended.[52]

Another anecdote told of an out-of-work laborer, a roll of blankets tied to his back, who was walking the western Utah desert to Frisco.

He asked the driver of a passing wagon for a ride. The railroad fare was two dollars, and the coachman demanded half that sum, which was paid. When the story was told at dinner that night, Godbe sent a boy to repay the fee and added another dollar to go with it.[53]

Seeking his big bonanza, in the middle 1880s Godbe worked hard to develop a site in Nevada's White Pine County, the third area of his activity. While the location was potentially rich in ore, it lacked the water to wash the gravel. Attempting to overcome this disadvantage, Godbe and his investors spent four hundred thousand dollars to buy surrounding ranches in order to get their water rights and to construct thirty-eight miles of transporting flumes. At first, prospects seemed encouraging. Godbe's daughter liked the place and hoped her father would not sell—"but you know what he is," she wrote a family member, with resignation born of much experience.[54] In this case, it was not Godbe's restlessness that prevailed, but nature. Several years of dry weather and slowing water flows convinced the owners that the undertaking was impractical. In a war with the desert, the desert won.[55]

Godbe hardly paused. He was soon back at the Bullionville properties, putting together a much larger scheme. Hoping to secure profits by securing economies of scale, he organized the Pioche Consolidated Mining and Smelting Company. Capitalized at five million dollars and spending perhaps a million and a half, the firm acquired most of the properties in the area. It also built two smelters and encouraged the Union Pacific to build a grade from Milford, Utah. To complete the gigantic project, Godbe constructed a sixteen-mile railroad line to connect with the proposed Union Pacific spur. After seven years' work from 1885 to 1892, profits began to accrue —just as the bottom fell out of the international price of silver. The project was abandoned. One moment, Godbe seemed certain to be a millionaire. The next, he was financially ruined.[56]

There was one last attempt to work a Lincoln County mine consolidation—the Delamar property, in a mining community of the same name. Godbe interested Utah investor Simon Bamberger, who later served as Utah's governor, to join him in the resulting April

Fool's company and was later elected its president. But nothing came of the new plan, and Godbe, citing poor health, resigned in January 1901.[57]

Godbe had been the mind and energy behind his many undertakings, and their fund-raiser as well. During his early years as a mining entrepreneur, he had turned to the London financial markets. New York interests had largely capitalized the Pioche project. A miscellaneous envelope in Godbe's private papers provides a hint of the task this money-raising must have been, requiring Godbe to tap every possible source. It contained what apparently had once been one of his shirt studs. Across the face of the envelope were the words "Pioche prostitute who helped finance Prince mine." The enigmatic memento obviously had enough meaning to Godbe, personally or professionally, that he retained it in his private effects.[58]

Godbe kept Salt Lake City as the base for his operations, though his Nevada mining projects during the 1880s and 1890s effectively took him away from his old battles with Mormon leaders. As a result, a mood of conciliation characterized the end of his life. Distance, both chronological and geographical, helped to heal old wounds. The process was sufficiently complete that by the middle 1880s Godbe was ready to return to where he had spent so much of his life. "I think I will reside permanently in Salt Lake," he wrote. "It is pleasant for me there, now."[59]

His stature in the community was such that the fast-rising national People's or Populist Party chose him as its candidate for Salt Lake City mayor in 1899, a reminder of the Godbeite embrace of Populist ideas in their early 1872 convention. While having no illusions about winning the election, Godbe likely wished to place before the public the reform issues of the protest party, which the campaign of Henry W. Lawrence, also on the ticket as a candidate for city treasurer, made explicit: these included the adoption of the initiative and the referendum at the ballot box, the municipal ownership of all public utilities, and the reform of the national currency.[60] Once more Godbe found it difficult to walk away from a "good" progressive cause.

As a credential for office, the Populists praised Godbe's ability to turn a profit with the Bullionville tailings during the hard times of the 1890s. Godbe had shown "determination" and "perseverance," which at times seemed "indomitable," said the official campaign biography. It chose its words carefully. Similar to the Salt Lake City public press at the time, little was said about the steady trend of mining failures that dominated Godbe's last fifteen years. A son-in-law, however, confirmed that prospects had become difficult. Percy Browne remembered Godbe apparently buying a small home across the street from Rosina's imposing house. Annie was with him. "Where he got the money [to get the place], I couldn't understand," recalled Browne. Unable to pay professionals, Godbe offered the house-painting job to the nineteen-year-old and inexperienced Browne.[61]

For some reason Godbe's financial conduct seemed fixed in Browne's memory, perhaps because of lingering family embarrassment—or disappointment. Browne claimed that Godbe was "a very poor man to handle money," a value judgment, of course, based on the supposed virtues of accumulation. Browne remembered that Godbe's money never lasted long: "He spent very freely."[62] In fact, this had been his way from the beginning of his career. Money, the open hand, the grand gesture, the big project—these were among the things that lay at the center of the man, and, at the end, helped to explain his death. According to Browne, Godbe's last illness probably had less to do with a physical ailment than the "colossal failure at mining projects and not being able to make any more money."[63] At last, Godbe, after so many exploits, sensed that he was defeated.

He spent his last several weeks at Brighton, the little community of Wasatch mountain cottages to which many prominent Salt Lake City citizens escaped in the summer season. For months his health had been deteriorating, and hope was that the cabin of his old friend and former brother-in-law, Ben Hampton, might be salutary. For a time Godbe seemed to revive. He borrowed a saddle horse and went riding. In his prime he had been a masterful horseman, and as he sauntered the animal down the mountain paths, perhaps he was

able to free his mind from his heavy financial strains and recall those early times of his life, often sunlit in memory's last moments, when as a young man he had daringly, even recklessly, ridden the prairies. Perhaps in his riding he recalled his early life in England and the call of that early LDS missionary that so changed his career: his conversion, emigration, the early Utah years, the commercial war, and his break with his old friend, Brigham Young. And perhaps during these last moments his mind turned to the unanswered puzzle of the last thirty years: the band of New York City spirits had been so certain. How could the failure of the New Movement be explained? What about his unfulfilled mission and destiny? If he felt regret or uncertainty about the past, he allowed it to remain within.

Toward the end of July, there was a sinking spell that took Godbe to his bed, his relatives despairing. Yet he was not ready to die. For a few days his celebrated will asserted itself, perhaps making a final protest. After this final rush of energy, he passed quickly, attended by several of his sons. His death certificate, for want of anything more precise, assigned the cause of demise to "cardiac exhaustion." When he died, on 1 August 1902, Godbe was sixty-nine years, one month, and fifteen days old.[64]

The eulogies were universal. Those old adversaries, the *Salt Lake Tribune* and the *Deseret Evening News,* after thirty years still dueling, for a moment lowered their voices and spoke with much the same message. "Kindness of heart, generosity and devotion to what he considered the truth, were the keynotes of his character," said the newspaper he had founded.[65] The *Deseret Evening News,* spokesman for forces that he had once challenged, was perhaps more eloquent, as an old adversary in situations such as this can be. The Mormon newspaper praised him as one of its own, which in a sense he was: Godbe never escaped his Mormon culture. According to the newspaper, he "was gentle in spirit, courteous in manner, liberal with his means, and tender and pleasant to all his associates." Even in matters of religion, the *News* granted his sincerity—his mistakes were "more of the head than of the heart" and were balanced by his "good and honorable intentions."[66] These words,

some of which might have made the conflict of 1869–70 more civil, were nevertheless appropriate and generous.

In Utah's still conflict-filled, Mormon-Gentile society, it was impossible that such an affirming, universal spirit should last long. Godbe, despite his absence from the community's recent religious quarrels, still symbolized the old era's issues and strife, and during his funeral some of these emotions rose to the surface. At first there was nothing untoward. Lawrence, who probably paid the expenses of the "elaborate" funeral, conducted.[67] During the services, actor John S. Lindsay, one of the few surviving Godbeite leaders, read Godbe's poem, "Immortality," which refused death's importance:

Then blanch not at the closing hour,

The crowning one of all,

But trust in thy immortal dower,

And let the curtain fall.[68]

The spell of reconciliation was broken by the *Tribune*'s former publisher and editor, the anti-Mormon fighter C. C. Goodwin, who gave the eulogy.[69] His speech avoided such words as "Mormon" or "Brigham Young," and a sentence or two actually praised Utah's pioneering. But in the end, Goodwin could not restrain his strong views on Utah's dominant faith. According to him, the meaning of Godbe's life lay in his struggle for conscience and personal freedom against an unbending priestly rule. Godbe's British democratic heritage—as well as his honor and sense of fair play—at length had made him defy Mormon authorities. At the time, Goodwin claimed, Utah was "surrounded with sharp stakes of intolerance and hate" and had a "deep fanaticism . . . cemented with fear." Because of his opposition to such things, Godbe had been pursued with a persecution "of a hungry wolf that scents possible prey." Yet through Godbe's terrible ordeal, Goodwin claimed that his friend had uttered no harsher words than the prayer "Father forgive them, for they know not what they do."[70]

Mormons denounced Goodwin's speech with a biting rebuttal: Goodwin was raising the "old, malicious spirit" of persecution, the "dropping [of] gall and venom." Stung by this reproach, in the following weeks Goodwin unleashed a still more violent volley in his *Goodwin's Weekly,* which showed, by comparison, how "moderate" he had been at the funeral.[71]

When LDS assistant historian Andrew Jenson placed Goodwin's published remarks in the "Journal History," a scrapbook collection of LDS history, Jenson added a few words of his own. Normally when cutting and posting excerpts into the archive, Jenson and his clerks made no editorial comment. Now, however, the historian was beside himself. He introduced the Goodwin article by writing a few sentences that called the *Tribune* editor "a characterless, vindictive, unvirtuous falsifier," who hated "every righteous principle," and whose "whole life and mission had been one of lying opposition to 'Mormonism,' and the people of God."[72]

These harsh words from both factions revealed how long-lasting the passions of the Godbeite dissent of 1869–70 had proven to be. After three decades, words still had not been spent, at least not for defenders on each side of the divide. Perhaps such passions may have been a factor in the dark judgment that Godbe made about life shortly before his death. "Life is a great sadness," he said, quoting a passage with approval. "The only possibility of joy we have is in the sympathy we give to those who live with us, and in the sympathy we get from them."[73] Godbe's long-standing charity tried to answer these requirements, and it was not an unworthy epitaph for this unusual man himself.

Notes

^1. Frederick Perris to WSGodbe, 15 Aug. 1877, HamGodbe Papers, University of Utah.

^2. *DNWeekly* 18 (24 Nov. 1869): 489; *NYHer,* 4 Jan. 1870, p. 8; WSGodbe, "Statement on 2 September 1884," pp. 5–6, University of California at Berkeley, Bancroft Library.

^3. W. J. Eldredge, University of California at Berkeley, Bancroft Library; "Pioneer Dentists and Druggists," *TPH,* 5:99–102.
^4. WSGodbe, "Statement on 2 September 1884," pp. 5–6, University of California at Berkeley, Bancroft Library.
^5. BY to WSGodbe, 12, 16, and 23 Feb. 1870, BY Letterbooks, LDS Archives.
^6. BY to WSGodbe, 21 Apr. 1870, BY Letterbooks, LDS Archives.
^7. Hosea Stout to BY, 9 June 1870, BY Incoming Corr., LDS Archives.
^8. WSGodbe to BY, 18 Aug. 1871, BY Incoming Corr., LDS Archives.
^9. Unaware of the settlement, the court found for the defense and ordered a new trial because of errors in the first hearing. The dispute throughout appears to have centered on the size and payment of the back interest. See *DEN,* 6 June 1873, p. 2 and *SLTrib,* 9 June 1873, p. 2.
^10. *SLTrib,* 21 Apr. 1871, p. 2.
^11. WSGodbe v. SLC, Petition Filed with the Utah Supreme Court, 25 July 1870, in HamGodbe Papers, University of Utah; SLC v. WSGodbe, Judicial Records, Utah State Archives; and *DEN,* 12 June 1873, p. 2, and 8 Apr. 1874, p. 2. The new licensing fees remained steep but not prohibitive, being reduced from a $3,600 per annum payment to $1,000.
^12. BY, *DEN,* 8 June 1873, p. 2. Also see ibid., 13 June 1873, p. 2, and 29 Apr. 1874, p. 2.
^13. Address of C. C. Goodwin at the Funeral of William S. Godbe, 6 Aug. 1902, Goodwin Papers, University of Nevada, Reno.
^14. *SLTrib,* 7 May 1873, p. 3, and 2 Aug. 1902, p. 1; *DEN,* 1 Aug. 1902, p. 4; and "William S. Godbe (Deceased)," p. 369.
^15. WSGodbe, "Statement on 2 September 1884," pp. 6–7, University of California at Berkeley, Bancroft Library.
^16. For Annie's alienation, see T. B. H. Stenhouse to WSGodbe, 13 Feb. 1871, and *SLHer,* 13 July 1871, p. 2.
^17. Joan Clark to Hampton C. Godbe, 10 Aug. 1971, and Virginia Godbe McCleery to HamGodbe, 21 Aug. 1971, HamGodbe Papers,

University of Utah; [Rachel Ivins Grant] to Lucy [Grant Cannon], n.d., box 116, folder 7, Grant Papers, LDS Archives.
^18. *SLTrib,* 17 May 1871, p. 3.
^19. *Daily Corinne Reporter,* 7 and 28 July 1871, both p. 2; *SLHer,* 23 and 25 July 1871, respectively pp. 3 and 2; and *SLTrib,* 24 July 1871, p. 3.
^20. *SLTrib,* 29 July 1871, p. 3.
^21. Godbe, *Polygamy,* p. 7.
^22. Ibid., p. 9.
^23. Ibid.
^24. Ibid., p. 12.
^25. Ibid., p. 15.
^26. *Daily Corinne Reporter,* 9, 16, and 18 Oct. 1871, each p. 2.
^27. Rosina Godbe to WSGodbe, 4 Nov. 1871, HamGodbe Papers, University of Utah.
^28. Rosina Godbe to WSGodbe, 29 Dec. 1873, HamGodbe Papers, University of Utah.
^29. Annie Godbe to WSGodbe, 31 Jan. 1874, HamGodbe Papers, University of Utah.
^30. WSGodbe, "Statement on 2 September 1884," pp. 22–25 and 27, University of California at Berkeley, Bancroft Library.
^31. For descriptions of the mansion, see Georgius Y. Cannon to HamGodbe, 12 Jan. 1971; HamGodbe to Percy Browne, 12 Feb. 1974; interview of William Madsen, 22 Dec. 1970; all in HamGodbe Papers, University of Utah.
^32. Interview with Gordon I. Kirby, 26 Sept. 1971, HamGodbe Papers, University of Utah.
^33. Van Wagenen, "Sister-Wives and Suffragists," pp. 105, 169–70.
^34. Ibid., p. 172.
^35. *SLHer,* 2 Sept. 1883, p. 11. For Charlotte's activity, also see *SLTrib,* 22 Nov. 1874; letter, *DNWeekly* 27 (13 Mar. 1878): 96; *SLHer,* 20 May 1879, p. 3, and 10 July 1884, p. 8; and "Documentary History of the Church," 30 Nov. 1878, LDS Archives.

The Mormon community at times reacted coolly to Charlotte's self-appointed ministry. Some of the difficulty lay in her ambition, "airs," and independent spirit, which bordered on peculiarity.

^36. Charlotte Ives Cobb Godbe v. WSGodbe, 17 Nov. 1879, SL City and County Records, Card Index File, #56412/F/979.225/Szdp.

^37. Interviews with Gordon I. Kirby, 29 May 1871, 26 Sept. 1871, and others, HamGodbe Papers, University of Utah.

^38. Heber J. Grant diary, 6 and 7 Feb. 1885, Grant Papers, LDS Archives. Also see *SLTrib,* 8 Feb. 1885, p. 2, and *DEN,* 7 Feb. 1885, p. 3.

^39. SLHer, 11 Feb. 1885, p. 8; Heber J. Grant diary, 10–12 Feb. 1885, Grant Papers, LDS Archives.

^40. Heber J. Grant diary, 26–27 June 1887, Press Copy Version, box 61, folder 1; Grant to Mary Godbe, 28 Apr. 1917, General Corr., box 41, folder 2; Grant to Adelaide H. Ticher, 22 Sept. 1933, Letterbooks, 70:952–53, all in Grant Papers, LDS Archives. On another occasion Godbe said that "instead of 'backsliding' from the Mormon Church, I have gone through it" (WSGodbe to [Edward W. Tullidge], 13 June 1875, Tullidge Papers, LDS Archives).

^41. Rachel Ivins Grant [?] to Lucy Grant Cannon, undated letter fragment, box 116, folder 6, Grant Papers, LDS Archives.

^42. WSGodbe to [Edward W. Tullidge], 13 June 1875, Tullidge Papers, LDS Archives.

^43. WSGodbe, "Statement on 2 September 1884," p. 14, University of California at Berkeley, Bancroft Library.

^44. *SLTrib,* 6 Feb. 1876; WSGodbe, "Statement on 2 September 1884," pp. 12–16, University of California at Berkeley, Bancroft Library.

^45. WSGodbe to Joseph F. Smith, 2 June 1876, HamGodbe Papers, University of Utah.

^46. J. Murray Spear to WSGodbe, 12 May 1879, HamGodbe Papers, University of Utah.

^47. Ibid.

^48. *Truth for the Times: Or Representative Papers from the Index, a Weekly Paper Devoted to Free Religion,* in HamGodbe Papers, University of Utah.
^49. "William S. Godbe (Deceased)," p. 369; WSGodbe, "Statement on 2 September 1884," p. 7, University of California at Berkeley, Bancroft Library.
^50. *DEN,* 1 Aug. 1902, p. 4; "William S. Godbe (Deceased)," p. 369; and Hulse, "Afterlife of St. Mary's County," pp. 243–45.
^51. WSGodbe, "Statement on 2 September 1884," pp. 11, 29, University of California at Berkeley, Bancroft Library.
^52. "A Philanthropist in Fact," unpaged anecdote, Goodwin Papers, University of Nevada, Reno.
^53. "Don't Come Back till You have Found Him," unpaged anecdote, Goodwin Papers, University of Nevada, Reno.
^54. Millicent Ann Godbe Brooks to "Tone," 25 May 1886, HamGodbe Papers, University of Utah.
^55. "William S. Godbe (Deceased)," p. 369.
^56. *SLTrib,* 2 Aug. 1902, p. 1; "William S. Godbe (Deceased)," p. 369. Apparently the Union Pacific, after having consented to build the line, failed to do so.
^57. *SLTrib,* 2 Aug. 1902; Hulse, "Afterlife of St. Mary's County," p. 245.
^58. The envelope is in the miscellaneous papers of the HamGodbe Papers, University of Utah.
^59. WSGodbe, "Statement on 2 September 1884," p. 28, University of California at Berkeley, Bancroft Library.
^60. *Great Campaign, People's Party Extra;* Griffiths, "Far Western Populism," pp. 399, 404.
^61. N. P. Browne to HamGodbe, 23 Apr. 1974, HamGodbe Papers, University of Utah.
^62. N. P. Browne to HamGodbe, 27 Mar. 1974, HamGodbe Papers, University of Utah.
^63. Ibid.
^64. Ibid. *SLHer,* 2 Aug. 1902, p. 8; SL County Deaths, #485–535, p. 98, entry #3786, Salt Lake County Vital Records.

^65. *SLTrib,* 2 Aug. 1902, p. 1.
^66. *DEN,* 2 Aug. 1902, p. 4.
^67. N. P. Browne to HamGodbe, 23 Apr. 1974, HamGodbe Papers, University of Utah. Browne again brought up the question of money. "Where . . . [the family] ever got the money [for the funeral] has always been a mystery to me."
^68. [Godbe], *Thoughts in Verse,* pp. 5–6. For a report of the funeral, see *SLHer,* 7 Aug. 1902, p. 8, and *SLTrib,* 7 Aug. 1902, p. 1.
^69. For Goodwin's peripatetic career as a Mormon critic, see Hulse, "C. C. Goodwin and the Taming of the *Tribune.*"
^70. C. C. Goodwin, "Judge Goodwin's Address," typescript, n.d., Goodwin Papers, University of Nevada, Reno.
^71. The exchange was recorded in JH, 16 Aug. 1902, pp. 5–10.
^72. Ibid.
^73. "The Open Door," in [Godbe], *Thoughts in Verse,* p. 15. This dark quality was also expressed in his poem, "Universal Prayer," ibid., pp. 1–4.

Chapter 18

Requiem

Unitarian lecturer Charles Ellis, a newcomer to Salt Lake City, was uneasy with the glib anti-Mormonism that he often heard on the Utah streets in the late 1880s. Certainly there must be something more to this religion than the negative stereotypes and malice he was hearing. Wasn't there someone who could help him understand Mormonism? When he met Henry Lawrence, whom he deemed "conservative," Ellis asked for Lawrence's recommendation. Lawrence told Ellis to visit Elias Harrison.

Early one evening, Ellis visited Harrison at his home on "Heber's Bench," north of the city's business district. Harrison greeted him warmly, and the two began an earnest conversation; Harrison spoke while his guest scrawled notes. Four hours later, Harrison's daughter interrupted with an "elegant" evening meal and explained to Ellis that when "Pater"—the familiar expression that she and her sister used for their father—found a willing listener, it was usually at some personal peril. "I want you to protect yourself with coffee and cake," she said cheerfully. Despite the good-natured warning, Harrison and Ellis hardly paused. They continued to talk until midnight, and in the coming months there were more conversations. Ellis was eager to learn, while Harrison was eager to teach. Clearly, notwithstanding his almost twenty-year spiritual absence from Mormonism, Harrison still had not purged himself of his LDS interest. He even talked about writing a book about his old faith. Mormonism lingered. Perhaps it tormented.

According to Ellis, Harrison continued to believe that Brigham Young had arbitrarily turned him out of the church. But even this belief did not appear to make Harrison bitter. Ellis remembered that in their interviews, Harrison spoke in a "mild, honest way," with not a "scintilla of malice" even for his old nemesis Young.

At the time, Harrison's mind remained clear. But the shadows were closing in. When Harrison met Ellis several years later, Harrison asked the minister whether Salt Lake City had yet secured a

Unitarian church. This inquiry came despite the fact that Harrison, along with Godbe, had earlier played a role in bringing the denomination to the city. Indeed, Harrison and Henry Lawrence had become charter members of the congregation, the latter serving on the church's governing board. "It was sad to see his bright, genial mind fading away," recalled Ellis. Yet there was at least one small compensation. Harrison in his prime could be waspish—perhaps his hearing impairment or high-strung nerves intensified a natural inclination. But as his mental faculties failed, he seemed happier, more cheerful, and childlike. The last time Ellis saw him, Harrison seemed as full of frolic as a "boy home from college."[1]

In his last several decades, Harrison faced other challenges. Three times a widower, before his death he lived with his two daughters. Their means were probably limited. Naturally a writer and editor of intellectual and religious ideas, during these last years Harrison had no outlet for his talent in Utah. Godbe had turned his activity and funding elsewhere, while church patronage was out of the question. Harrison seems to have supported himself primarily as one of the city's leading non-LDS architects, with the usual periodic uncertainties of that profession. Perhaps an indication of one downturn of his fortunes, in 1879 he advertised for sale his "elegant vil[l]a residence," described in his advertisement as one of the "most substantially constructed houses in the Territory" and "handsomely finished in every particular." The home, surrounded by shade trees and orchards, commanded a view of the surrounding lake, mountains, and city. Several weeks after this first advertisement, Harrison, perhaps desperately needing money, offered the property at half its supposed value.[2] Somehow, however, he managed to hang on, cover his debts, and retain his north Main Street residence.

Intellectually, Harrison continued on the same course that he had charted when he was writing and editing the *Peep O'Day, Utah Magazine,* the *Tribune,* and the *Leader,* or when presiding over the Liberal Institute. But the passing years had taken much of the sting from his old advocacy. Once he had denounced religious theocracy so ardently that he had knocked a tumbler of water across the

institute's platform and had caused, by the tremor of his slight but agitated body, the nearby lamps to swing within their sockets. During these first years, Harrison was confident that Utah's future would be determined not by Mormonism but by its outcomers and by the infiltrating Gentiles, who he believed would eventually merge.[3]

He clearly had been wrong. Contrary to his early expectations, Utah and Mormonism had adapted. Within several months after the start of the Godbeite dissent, the changes in Utah society were already dramatic. "The old residents themselves scarcely knew [the] Utah of the new era," proclaimed the *Salt Lake Tribune* in 1872 with a great measure of truth.[4] No longer did some local bishops quickly unchurch Mormon nonconformists, nor did they attempt to ostracize them. Such things are seldom attempted now, Harrison came to admit in 1878, or such procedures had so lost their power "to be scarcely worthy of special notice." Harrison believed that the "liberal side" of Mormonism had asserted itself, as a new group of church leaders remodeled old practices to meet the new conditions. With this change, Mormonism emerged strong and revivified.[5]

In this evolving, more tolerant era, Harrison continued to lecture on Mormon themes, some of which were similar to the ones that had first led him into Mormonism. One lecture recalled how "innovative" and "original" the new religion had first been when it stood in vibrant contrast to the creaky systems of established Christianity. Then Mormonism had had a "greater number of Liberal ideas than any other church." Now, even as a Mormon outsider, he conceded that the religion had much that was "rational and philosophical" to its theology. Its flaw, as he had argued at his church trial, was the inability of its members and leaders to separate the human element from Mormon teachings and policies. Members still had to learn that "all revelational or inspirational, like natural, light is invariably more or less colored, if not distorted, by the medium through which it passes." Notwithstanding this difficulty, the church seemed amenable to persuasion and education. Therefore, Harrison continued to urge

gradual and tolerant reform, not a forced federal policy of compulsion.[6]

When several of the Protestant ministers of the city criticized the institute's "Rationalistic Party," Harrison rose to its defense. In the process, he further explained the views that he had developed over the course of his lifetime. He remained, manifestly, a nineteenth-century man of rational progress. For him, "civilization" was the watchword, as discovery after discovery and wave upon wave of human progress had thrust up humankind, even as the earth's sediments had lifted and shaped the landscape. Thus the planet, rising from "sphere to sphere," was in the process of becoming the "happy world God intended it to be."

This principle extended to religion. Christianity, Harrison asserted, was a "stepping stone" from the lower to the higher, as the revelations of science and nature promised to replace the supposedly threadbare beliefs of traditional faith. The new religion, instead of having priests and ministers, would have as its oracles poets of the "grandeur of Nature." The result would be a higher creed, with God now found in nature, fully satisfying the minds and souls of men and women.[7]

It was an optimistic faith, born of western society's remarkable nineteenth-century scientific discoveries, its improving social and economic conditions, and the apparent decline of major strife. The next century would present another view. Its racial and religious holocausts, reemerging nationalism, and world wars showed how ephemeral and even naive such views as Harrison's had been. Certainly, a century later his au courant intellectual and religious faith could no longer be accepted with the assurance that Harrison had once given it.

By the mid-1880s, if not a half decade earlier, Harrison's influence had significantly declined. He no longer had a public voice. He had neither magazine nor newspaper nor, after the sale of the Liberal Institute, a lectern. His last public controversy was pedestrian: he was part of a citizen's committee that contested the city's inaccurately drawn survey of his neighborhood property lines. As

always, he was forceful. In a public letter Harrison complained that the work of his committee, as well as more than sixteen citizen petitions, had been laid before a temporizing city council. Unless officials soon took action, the "long and tedious work performed by the plat E committee on behalf of the plat of necessity must seemly amount to but little."[8] It seemed a small matter for one so intellectually gifted, one who once was at the center of Zion's controversies.

His death elicited kind remarks from his old Mormon foes. "He was not a bitter opponent of the Church and retained faith in many of its principles," eulogized the *Deseret Evening News,* obviously picking its way with care. The newspaper also allowed that Harrison's life had been marked with temperance, morality, and conscientiousness. The final judgment of his earthly labor, it declared with equanimity (and probably measured reservation), lay with a merciful if just Supreme Being.[9] At the funeral, when Godbe was too full of emotion to deliver the main remarks, Charles W. Penrose extemporaneously substituted. Penrose, Harrison's youthful companion in the British ministry, had taken a path different from his friend. Currently the editor of the *Deseret Evening News* and a future LDS apostle and member of the First Presidency, Penrose testified to Harrison's worth, integrity, and "conscientious course." The brief service ended with a prayer by John Henry Smith, a member of the Mormon Quorum of the Twelve.[10]

The other old Godbeite warriors followed varying degrees of resurgent fellowship and reconciliation. With the exception of the Stenhouses, Amasa Lyman probably remained the most obdurate. After his New Movement preaching tours, especially through southern Utah, his missionary ardor cooled. Thereafter he increasingly remained at his Fillmore farm, satisfied that if his labors had not brought Godbeite success, at least they had been correct. On religious questions he never looked back. Lyman contemptuously dismissed the traditional story of Moses as an "old story" fastened on the "credulity of the people."[11] When he occasionally ventured into a Mormon meetinghouse, his verdict was no less clear: the

religious entertainment, he scorned after one such occasion, was of "the old unimproved Mormon style."[12]

He retained his spiritualism longer than most of his Church of Zion associates. From 1870 to 1873 he recorded almost two hundred séances, and these continued, though with less frequency, until his death in early 1877. Moreover, Lyman continued to read from the spiritualist press and joined both the advanced Free Religion Association and the National Liberal League.[13] When his brother Nathan sent a message conjured from the spirit of "our old friend Joseph," perhaps Joseph Smith, Lyman found comfort. "It is good to have friends in Heaven when we are neglected by those on Earth," he wrote Nathan by return mail.[14]

The bite of Lyman's remark was not unusual. The cool treatment that he received from his neighbors during his last years embittered him, and he complained how church officials had declared him to be an "apostate," implying, in Lyman's mind as well as the minds of others, that he had been grouped with the "Liar[s], Thie[ves] and Murderers who have for those dark deeds been cut off from the Church." In contrast, his departure from Mormonism had been more principled, he insisted.[15]

Part of his frustration probably came from the growing disunity of his family. According to one account, six of Lyman's seven living plural wives left him after he abandoned Mormonism, though some were probably disillusioned less by his religious views than by his personal habits and his failure to support them.[16] After their divorces, several of Lyman's wives received homes from church authorities: President Young had directed that "none of them [should] suffer."[17] Partly offsetting the exit of most of his wives, several family members not only remained loyal to Lyman but also embraced his spiritualism. Maria Louisa Tanner, his first wife, occasionally proved an able medium, and three of Lyman's children, Agnes Hila, Josephine, and Lorenzo, continued to assist with séances. Another daughter left her husband, former church secretary and pioneer William Clayton, apparently over the issue of her father's religious beliefs.[18]

When Lyman died of pleurisy and "lung fever" at the age of sixty-three, he left instructions designed to emphasize the contrast of his last beliefs with those that had preceded them. Instead of the white burial robes reserved for LDS faithful, he ordered that his remains be clothed in a stark black coat and black pants. One of his former wives saw the occasion as a lesson for the faithful. She could not "attempt to describe" her feelings when seeing "the father of my children sleeping the sleep of death," she wrote in her journal. It was "grievous" to "think of the change a few short years had brought," and "how easily it is to be overcome with evil, if we are not continually on our guard."[19]

In later years, this idea increasingly took hold among Mormons, and they wondered how their once-stalwart apostle had descended so quickly and so low. Perhaps Lyman had been "diseased of the mind," they concluded. The hypothesis of mental instability in turn gave birth to several inventive corollaries. Perhaps a kick from a horse had fractured Lyman's skull, said one report, and thus begun his disorienting behavior. Or perhaps the freethinking Ira Burns had converted Lyman to spiritualism in San Bernardino when the apostle was in a state of delirium. These creative explanations may have played a role in the church's decision in 1909 to reconfirm Amasa's baptism and priesthood ordinances by proxy. More likely, the action came from the hope that Lyman had proven more tractable in the spirit world than during his last mortal years in Utah.[20]

At Lyman's funeral, his New Movement friends had their own meaning for the man's life. They once more voiced what had become a Godbeite tenet: for them Lyman personified Mormonism's nineteenth-century theological divisions and the conflict between them. He represented the daring, liberal, intellectual first era of Mormonism, now supposedly pushed aside by Brigham Young's temporal and priestly Zion, with its stress on conformity and compliance.[21] Lyman's death, like Godbe's, was a symbol.

Of all the Godbeites, Henry Lawrence gave himself most to politics and confrontation. Others in the movement increasingly were offended by the Liberal Party's broadsides against Mormonism. But

Lawrence, always more interested in civil and practical issues than religious questions, joined Mormon opponents as a full combatant in the trenches in a series of battles. When Young and other church leaders in the early 1870s sought statehood, Lawrence was a member of the Liberal Party delegation that traveled to Washington to oppose the effort. The action of Lawrence and the other Washington lobbyists left Young upset, and he complained privately of the "soreheads" who opposed his and the general will.[22]

Lawrence's efforts in the East were not his only anti-Brighamism. In 1873, Lawrence and Godbe renewed Godbe's earlier demand that the church return the tithing they had paid, and they directed their complaint specifically at Young. The two said that they were willing to withdraw their claim if the president could prove that their donations had not been used for Young's personal purposes; otherwise they would prosecute their claim to the full extent of the law.[23] Normally the threatened lawsuit might have been brushed aside as bluster. But with the Liberals controlling the territorial courts and the case offering an opportunity to expose and embroil Mormon finances, Young likely took the controversy seriously. Its disposition, however, never became a matter of public record.

When new *Salt Lake Tribune* editor Frederic Lockley began his anti-Mormon combat, it was Lawrence who led the attack. He wrote the lead article that criticized the Mormon-dominated city council: Mayor Daniel H. Wells and councilmen were portrayed as arrogant officials defending their long-standing privilege.[24] Lawrence, of course, had once served as a member of the council, then as a friend of the men he now attacked. Moreover, at Liberal Party rallies, Lawrence denounced his former church, claiming that "free thought was the greatest offense that could be committed against the priesthood."[25] And as a former officiator in the Mormon Endowment House, he testified about the proceedings there. Rumors said that Mormons attending the Endowment House were required, along with other religious ceremonies, to take an oath to avenge the murders of former LDS leaders Joseph Smith, Hyrum Smith, David Patten, and

Parley P. Pratt. Lawrence claimed these rumors were true, providing another example of supposed Mormon lawlessness and excess.[26]

During the turn-of-the-century Reed Smoot confirmation hearings before Congress, when Mormonism became once more a national cause célèbre, Lawrence was called on to testify. He reviewed the difficult times of the early theocracy. "There was risk in saying anything against the church," he testified. Criticism could bring "ostracism from your business, ostracism from society, ostracism from all family relations. . . . You were almost isolated." While Lawrence admitted that the "old tyranny" had moderated, still, anyone wishing to retain a good standing in the church "must obey the leaders in all things."[27]

By the late 1880s Lawrence had established himself as one of the Liberal Party's most hardworking members. He donated generously to its causes. He labored at party caucuses and conventions and soldiered in one campaign after another. As a Liberal, he ran twice in Salt Lake county elections and three times for Salt Lake City mayor. Lawrence probably never expected to win; rather, these elections provided him with the means of presenting his views and stirring opposition to Mormon control. "D——n the Mormons," the *Deseret Evening News* characterized his 1876 platform. During the 1888 election, Lawrence likened the Mormon-dominated city council to an army whose generals remained out of view. The council "does just what it is told by the unseen power," he charged, for "no man in the church can maintain his standing unless he implicitly obeys this power." Finally, with LDS Church members increasingly denied the vote by federal policy, Lawrence won election to the territorial lower house in 1891.[28]

There were other rewards for his Liberal Party activity. Lawrence was selected for several government posts, including reappointment as territorial marshal (he had served before when he was a Mormon) and, more importantly, as the second receiver of LDS property after the government seized LDS assets under the escheat provisions of the Edmunds-Tucker Act. The latter appointment was especially

galling to the Mormons. Their troublesome recusant now controlled their finances.[29]

The Liberal Party became a victim of the success of federal policy. As part of the peace that church leaders sought with the national government in the early 1890s, the old territorial political institutions gave way to those of the nation; both the local Liberal and People's Parties were dissolved. Looking for a new vehicle, the politically active Lawrence joined the Republican Party for a brief time, but then he yielded to his accustomed iconoclasm. In 1893 he helped found a branch of the national People's, or Populist, Party in Utah (not to be confused with the Mormon party of the same name), and during the next half-dozen years he became one of the party's main leaders. Once more he fought against established ideas and authority, as his 1895 Independence Day oration revealed: "Money power" and "Shylocks" had taken control of America, Lawrence protested. As a result, "money rules the Senate, money speaks in Congress, money sways our state legislatures." The United States had become a "country of millionaires by the hundreds," but "paupers by the millions."[30]

To counter these evils, Lawrence joined his Populist peers in urging a series of liberal, even radical, reforms. He believed that each town or city should own its local utilities, including water, light, heat, and transportation. He called for the adoption of the initiative and referendum and hoped for a people's ratification of all important statutes: no law should be enforced until approved by the people. To improve the common man's lot, Lawrence advocated an eight-hour working day, Henry George's single-tax ideas on land, the issuance of paper money and the free coinage of silver, and the curbing of "trust power" by appropriate regulating laws. And Lawrence remained a confirmed opponent of the old LDS theocracy. During the 1890s, he continued to claim that the Mormon church blocked social improvement and restricted personal liberty and judgment in political matters.[31]

Once more, now as a Populist, Lawrence ran for election: for governor in 1895, for Salt Lake City mayor in 1897, and for Salt Lake

City treasurer in 1899. When the Utah Populists joined William Jennings Bryan's "silver" Democrats in the 1896 election, Lawrence was chosen as a Democratic Party presidential elector.

With the agrarian Democrats co-opting much of the reform party's platform and thereby placing it in decline, Lawrence looked for a new outlet for his progressive radicalism. He found it once more on the periphery—in Utah's Socialist Party, which he helped establish and lead. During the first quarter of the twentieth century, the Utah Socialists placed almost one hundred of the party's candidates in office—including Lawrence himself.[32] In 1911, at the age of seventy-six, he secured election to the Salt Lake City Council and was placed in charge of the department of public affairs and finance. According to the *Herald Republican,* Lawrence, long an advocate of city reform and the new commission form of government, was selected by voters in part because of his familiarity with the newly adopted system. Moreover, with the old Mormon-Gentile passions cooling, the electorate respected Lawrence's business ability, his integrity, and, despite his many jousts with the LDS hierarchy, his fair-mindedness. He had the gift of contending without being contentious.[33]

The citizens' faith in Lawrence proved well founded; in office he refused to be an ideologue. When the Socialists directed him to support a pay increase for the city's firemen, he balked, arguing that the move was financially unwise. He had been elected to serve the entire community, he explained, not to act as a partisan. Lawrence's stubbornness cost him his membership in the party and brought a characteristically principled statement: "I am still a Socialist and always expect to be," he told his public. While he had been read out of the party, his ideals would not change. However, he voluntarily retired after a single term, though his reelection seemed likely.[34]

A few years later, Lawrence accepted an invitation to speak to that thoroughgoing bastion of the Mormon way, the Daughters of the Utah Pioneers. After all the decades of controversy, his presence marked another measure of his acceptance by the local community—and perhaps was evidence that even Lawrence, the longtime warrior, had taken a step or two himself to join the embrace. The

opportunity gave him a chance to reflect on his old Mormon membership, his break with Brigham Young and the theocracy, the founding of the *Tribune* and the Liberal Institute, and his long career as a political activist and reformer. During the meeting, a son of a prominent Mormon family gave him warm praise that, while perhaps not universally felt in the Mormon community, conveyed the reconciliation of the moment: "Mr. Lawrence," claimed Edwin T. Woolley, "was honest while a Mormon, and [is] still honest."[35]

Lawrence had been able to finance his political activity because he was successful in business. Nevertheless, like the Godbeite leaders, excommunication had initially cost Lawrence dearly. He calculated that his firm, Kimball and Lawrence, lost one-third of its mercantiling trade after he left Mormonism. Believing that his retailing was now at an end, he sought new opportunities, including hotelling. He hoped to turn his "Salt Lake House" into "one of the first hotels in the West," he said at the time. But it was in mining and especially real estate where Lawrence proved most successful. One account valued his estate at a million dollars at the time of his death.[36]

When he died at the age of eighty-nine in 1924, the obituaries said little of his business successes. Nor did they say a great deal about his earlier career in Mormonism. Even his radical and at times anti-Mormon activism received little comment. Rather, the emphasis was on moralism. The local newspapers spoke of his "staunch integrity," his "trustworthiness," and his willingness to help and serve his fellow citizens. The tributes, so far removed from the acrimony and fears of the winter of 1869, revealed the distance that Lawrence and Utah had traveled since that troubled season.[37] So much already had been forgotten.

As with most of the New Movement dissenters, Kelsey hoped that mining might prove "an ax laid to the root of the orthodox tree."[38] He therefore preached and practiced mining, especially during the first months after the outbreak of the New Movement. Kelsey toured the Atlantic and Pacific states. He lectured. He placed notices in prominent newspapers. He spoke to boards of trade and published a pamphlet, all with the purpose of proclaiming Utah's promise as "the

first mining country in the world." By the fall of 1870, Kelsey had attracted several eastern speculators, who, convinced by his boosterism, put up one hundred thousand dollars to dig exploratory shafts. Among Kelsey's converts was William Montague Fliess, who later played a leading role in developing the mines of Summit County.[39]

Kelsey was just as active on the local scene. When the *Mormon Tribune* was transformed into a secular mining newspaper in 1871, he sent his congratulations for a "real live daily paper, . . . devoted, without fear or favor, to the interests of Utah." Thereafter, as one of the newspaper's mining correspondents, he filed optimistic dispatches from Bingham and other western Utah camps.[40] There was a personal element to his promotion. Kelsey apparently was one of the first Utahns to seek underground ore-bearing lodes by using the technique of deep tunneling. His 237-foot tunnel at Bingham reportedly was successful, and during the late summer and early fall of 1871, he registered several "extensive and valuable" claims. The following spring, he left for New York and London to raise capital for the firm "Kelsey and Shearman." Still later Kelsey became president of the Utah Mutual Tunnel and Silver Mining Company.[41] Undoubtedly there were other mining projects as well.

None of this activity seemed to reap substantial or long-term personal success. Within a half-dozen years, perhaps satisfied that he had helped attract eastern capital that had in fact opened Utah resources, he turned to other pursuits. He advertised himself as a notary public and attorney-at-law, specializing before the land office and the police court, with a residence-office on First South Street, a few doors east of the newly created Deseret National Bank. Several months later, like Lawrence, Kelsey expanded into real estate.[42]

Kelsey's failure to reap rich rewards in mining may have dampened some of his enthusiasm for liberal reform. Kelsey seemed never so determined about transforming Mormonism thereafter. Or perhaps the deciding factor was the death of Brigham Young in 1877, which psychologically ended one era in Utah and began another. Whatever the reason, the iconoclastic Kelsey found himself mellowing. The

process began when he faced down the radical liberals at the 1871 Independence Day caucus at the institute. A year later, during the funeral of one of his daughters, he was clearly overcome by the kindness of his LDS neighbors. The best years of his life, he told them, had been spent among them, and he "loved them as ever." While now separated from the people in matters of religion, he acknowledged their "good influence" on his children. Because of it, he knew that his sons and daughters had been made better people.[43] On another occasion, he suggested that Mormonism, for all its faults, remained the "grandest religious faith the world has ever possessed."[44]

Yet despite such praise late in his life, Kelsey was content to stand apart: he never reembraced the Mormon sacraments. As Tullidge described later, Kelsey was "emphatically a Protestant Mormon Elder"—perhaps a *Mormon* in sympathy but even more a *Protestant* in mind and principle.[45] His investigations, having torn down "every creed and barrier," left him bereft of an institutional faith.[46]

The result, however, was enough to persuade Kelsey to end his Mormon opposition and to mix freely with his neighbors. His decision brought healing within the community. Said the *Salt Lake Herald* at the time of his death: "We wish that all men in Utah were as good, as true, as honest, as progressive, and as fair as the late Eli B. Kelsey." According to the newspaper, Kelsey had been one of a handful who had ever left Mormonism, undertaken a vigorous opposition to the church, and still retained the local citizens' good feeling.[47] In varying measures, the tribute might have been applied to most of the Godbeites at the end of their individual careers.

Ironically, this trait may have cost Kelsey. A week before his death, territorial officials, apparently offended by Kelsey's LDS sympathy, had charged him and members of his family with cohabitation. Since his excommunication sixteen years earlier, Kelsey had maintained two of his families—a third spouse, distressed by his Mormon opposition, had left him. However, for the past seven years, Kelsey claimed that his sole contact with his plural wife was weekly Sunday dinners. This, however, was sufficient to bring the dreaded subpoena

from territorial officials and words of outrage from the *Deseret Evening News.* Continuing its ongoing battle against federal authorities, the newspaper claimed that the grand jury action, while not the direct cause of Kelsey's death, likely had hastened the end of the "poor old gentleman."[48]

Of the original dissenters, only William Shearman returned to Mormonism as an orthodox and believing member. There were signs of his reconciliation within a half-dozen years of his excommunication. In 1876 when the itinerant Warren Chase denounced established Christianity at the institute, Shearman acted on his growing impatience with some of the radicals' finespun words. In a public letter sent to the *Tribune,* Shearman avowed his spiritualism—but not for all that passed in its name. He particularly challenged Chase's wholesale castigations of organized religion. Was it wise, asked Shearman, to "strip a man of his rags or to pull down his [religious] house" without furnishing something better? To be sure, Christianity had its faults, but was there less error elsewhere? And what had the spiritualists and radicals done to help humankind? Where were their practical fruits?[49]

A decade later, during the height of the judicial raid against plural marriage and Mormonism, Shearman once more issued a public letter. This one was more dramatic. Twice before in his life, he said, he had sacrificed everything and endured hatred and ostracism—presumably when first converting to Mormonism and later when renouncing it. He seemed ready to walk through adversity's fire a third time. "For many months past, in the seclusion and solitude of my chamber, have I carefully and prayerfully considered the subject and earnestly and disinterestedly sought to be led to [the] right conclusion," he wrote. He had deliberately counted the cost. On one side of the scales he placed lost reputation and friends, comfort, social recognition, and good living. On the other, there was "ostracism, probably financial ruin, suffering, possibly death, and duty."

Shearman, who always had a touch for the theatrical, was declaring his renewed allegiance to Mormonism. While stopping

short of declaring his intention to be rebaptized, he spoke of his lot being "unalterably" cast with his LDS neighbors. However, his sentiment, unlike that of many of the former Godbeites, went beyond a feeling of fellowship for the Saints. He also declared his "love" for his old church, which Shearman believed held the promise of blessing humanity, or at least those who would permit the religion to work within them. Finally, his statement had an element of confession. "I know whereof I speak," he said, "having tasted the sweetness and beauty and glory of the heavenly world, and the awful bitterness and anguish of the opposite."[50]

Sometime later, Shearman renewed his Mormon baptismal covenant, received a restoration of his priesthood blessings, and preached Mormonism in the eastern United States and in Europe. Locally he served as a Salt Lake Stake home missionary, and as a Seventy he ministered to the local congregations. Shearman's non-Mormon next-of-kin who lived in the East were either unsure or unforgiving of Shearman's final religious convictions. When he died in 1892, they asked for an Episcopal service for his funeral and, suspicious of a dark Mormon hand, requested an autopsy.[51]

In sum, few of the original dissenters found their way back to Mormonism. Lyman and the Stenhouses represented one end of the spectrum. Fanny particularly seemed unrelenting about her old faith, though occasionally she expressed a longing for her LDS friends. And Thomas, it was said, spoke nostalgically about the pleasant times when, as one of President Young's confidants, he had often met in the church leader's office for discussion and reverie. This is what he said he most missed about Mormonism. Lawrence, Godbe, Harrison, and Kelsey occupied various points in the middle—all intellectually and perhaps spiritually alienated. Finally, there were those who made peace with the Mormons. Tullidge, unable to renounce his personal cultural mission, returned with his typical unconventionality. Charlotte Ives Godbe, confessing her "wobbling" in the faith, reembraced Mormonism and even eventually came to champion it, particularly in the East.[52] Finally there was Shearman, who renewed some of his old evangelism and activity.

Most who joined the New Movement as members or followers never returned to their old faith. Each had his or her own story, some of which were poignant. For instance, George D. Watt, after committing himself to spiritualism and dissent, in later years seemed torn by ambivalence. On one hand he missed not being a part of the Mormon community, even while the tug of ideas took him elsewhere. Finally, unable to resolve his tension, Watt asked for readmittance to his old church.

In his letter requesting rebaptism addressed to President John Taylor, Young's successor, Watt explained his views.[53] He honestly admitted no longer believing in the Mormons' personal God who heard and answered prayers, the fall of mankind, or the Christian atonement. Rather, Watt told Taylor that salvation was man- or woman-made. It consisted of each person placing his or her life in harmony with the physical, spiritual, and moral laws of the universe. Scripture? Watt argued that the Old Testament came from Zoroaster and the Persians. It was "a very beautiful astroaligorical expression of the uncultured notions of primitive man."

Still, there were some things in his old religion that he believed and admired. Watt liked the doctrine of the eternal progress of men and women, which coincided with the New Movement's embrace of the law of progress. Moreover, unlike the spiritualism that Watt eventually came to mistrust (a "ghostly mirage," he said with unintended irony), Mormonism could get things done. When cleansed of its "superstitions," the faith still had the potential to improve, perhaps transform, mankind. Yet of all Mormonism's virtues, Watt seemed most attracted to its camaraderie and community, which lay at the heart of Brigham Young's old Zion.

Given the depth of Watt's unorthodoxy, Taylor not surprisingly refused Watt permission to be rebaptized, and although Watt persistently renewed his applications during the next several years, he remained outside the church when he died. Recognizing Watt's past work and perhaps his continuing sympathy, Taylor and a retinue of church leaders attended his funeral, where, according to family

tradition, Watt's remains were clothed in Mormon temple robes.[54] President Taylor at least was willing to grant this accommodation.

Watt was something of a case study. Try as they might, many of the old "New Movers" found their old beliefs and associations to be unremitting. Even the *Salt Lake Tribune* recognized the pull of the old ways and friendships. At one of the spiritualists' last organizational meetings in 1880, a correspondent to the newspaper found more than a trace of Mormonism, in spite of themselves. "There is something in the very air of Mormondom," he wrote, "which would seem to insist that we be 'devoutly thankful,' even when assembling together for a feast of reason and a flow of soul. That's a kind of salt . . . [that] seasons and tempers the profaner discourse of the ex-Mormon in this land of salt and Saints."[55]

The newspaper reporter's image, of course, had a broader meaning. Christian scripture also used "salt" to assess personal worth and right living: "If the salt have lost his savour, wherewith shall it be salted?" went the aphorism.[56] The Godbeite reformers, full of serious probity, would have wanted their acts to be measured by such a principle. That judgment, however, as in any parable, rests with each observer.

Notes

^1. Charles Ellis letter, *DEN,* 24 May 1900. For the Unitarian activity of Lawrence and Harrison, see Hance and Picht, *Founding of the First Unitarian Church,* pp. 11–12, 19–20, 24.

^2. *SLTrib,* 2 Sept. 1879, p. 4.

^3. *Leader,* 25 Oct. 1873, p. 4.

^4. *SLTrib,* 22 May 1872, p. 2.

^5. Harrison, *TQM* 1 (Oct. 1880): 129–40. This is an address delivered at the institute, 10 Mar. 1878, that was later published.

^6. Ibid.

^7. *SLTrib,* 18, 20, and 21 Feb. 1883, respectively pp. 3, 4, 4.

^8. *DEN,* 20 Apr. 1894, p. 2.

^9. Ibid., 22 May 1900, p. 10.

^10. Ibid., 23 May 1900, p. 1.

^11. Amasa Lyman diary, 25 Jan. 1874, Lyman Papers, LDS Archives.
^12. Ibid., Mar. 1876.
^13. Hefner, "Amasa Mason Lyman, the Spiritualist," pp. 84–87.
^14. Lyman to Nathan Lyman, 17 Oct. 1875, Lyman Papers, LDS Archives.
^15. Lyman to Marian [Francis Marion] Lyman, 27 Dec. 1874, Lyman Papers, LDS Archives.
^16. Hefner, "From Apostle to Apostate," pp. 101–2.
^17. BY to Bishop Thomas Callister, 12 July 1873, BY Letterbooks, LDS Archives.
^18. Hefner, "From Apostle to Apostate," pp. 101–2.
^19. Emily M. Partridge Lyman diary, p. 31, LDS Archives.
^20. Hefner, "From Apostle to Apostate," p. 103.
^21. *SLTrib,* 21 and 27 Feb. 1877, both p. 4.
^22. BY to W. H. Hooper and George Q. Cannon, 11 Apr. 1872, BY Letterbooks, LDS Archives.
^23. WSGodbe and H. W. Lawrence to BY, 8 Jan. 1873, BY Incoming Corr., LDS Archives.
^24. Frederic E. Lockley, "Memoirs of an Unsuccessful Man," part 5, chap. 1, pp. 14–15, Huntington Library.
^25. *SLTrib,* 6 and 8 Feb. 1876, both p. 4.
^26. Ibid., 22 Nov. 1889, p. 4.
^27. *SLHer,* 9 Feb. 1906, p. 1; *Proceedings before the Committee on Privileges and Elections of the United States Senate in the Matter of the Protest Against the Hon. Reed Smoot,* 4:114.
^28. As cited in McCormick and Sillito, "Henry D. Lawrence," p. 227.
^29. Lawrence's various appointments are cited in the *SLTrib,* 6 Apr. 1924, pp. 1 and 3, and in McCormick and Sillito, "Henry W. Lawrence," p. 229. For Mormon jaundice about Lawrence's position as church receiver, see Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom,* p. 377.
^30. *SLHer,* 5 July 1895, p. 8.

^31. McCormick and Sillito, "Henry W. Lawrence," pp. 233–34; Griffiths, "Far Western Populism," pp. 398–99; *Great Campaign, People's Party Extra,* Utah State Historical Society.
^32. McCormick, "Hornets in the Hive"; McCormick and Sillito, "Socialism and Utah Labor"; and Sillito and McCormick, "Socialist Saints."
^33. *Salt Lake Herald Republican,* 4 Sept. 1915, sec. 2, p. 4; *DN,* 5 Apr. 1924, sec. 2, p. 1. Also see Tullidge, *HSLC,* bio. appendix, p. 50.
^34. *Salt Lake Herald Republican,* 21 May 1913, p. 1; *SLTrib,* 21 May 1913; and *DEN,* 4 Sept. 1915, sec. 1, p. 4.
^35. *SLTrib,* 25 Nov. 1920, p. 24.
^36. Lost Trade: *SLTrib,* 22 Nov. 1889, p. 4; SL House Hotel: ibid., 20 Apr. 1871, p. 3; Real Estate and Mining: *DN,* 5 Apr. 1924, sec. 2, p. 1; and Estate: McCormick and Sillito, "Henry W. Lawrence," p. 220.
^37. *DN,* 5 Apr. 1924, sec. 2, p. 1.
^38. Eli Kelsey letter, 26 Apr. 1871, in *SLTrib,* 27 Apr. 1871, p. 2.
^39. T. B. H. Stenhouse, *RMSaints,* pp. 713–14. For a short biography of Fliess, see Tullidge, *TQMag* 2 (1883): 493–96.
^40. *SLTrib,* 19 Apr. 1871, p. 2; 27 Apr. 1871, p. 2; and 7 May 1871, p. 2.
^41. Ibid., 22 Apr., 4 July, 18 Sept. 1871, and 18 May 1872, respectively pp. 2, 3, 3, and 3. Utah Mutual Tunnel and Silver Mining: See certificate of stock, 1,000 shares, owned by Shearman and transferred to Lawrence on 23 Mar. 1877, LDS Archives.
^42. *SLTrib,* 16 Mar. 1878, p. 2, and 27 Oct. 1878, p. 4.
^43. Ibid., 25 Mar. 1872, p. 2.
^44. Tullidge, *TQMag* 1 (Oct. 1880): 81.
^45. Ibid.
^46. *SLTrib,* 27 Feb. 1877, p. 4.
^47. *SLHer,* 27 Mar. 1885, p. 5.
^48. *DEN,* 21 and 27 Mar. 1885, both p. 5; *SLHer,* 21 Mar. 1885, p. 8.

^49. *SLTrib,* 21 Dec. 1876, p. 2.
^50. *DEN,* 16 Apr. 1886, p. 2.
^51. Ibid., 20, 21, and 24 Dec. 1892, respectively pp. 8, 8, and 4.
^52. The phrase was reported by her adopted son (interview with Gordon I. Kirby, 26 Sept. 1871, HamGodbe Papers, University of Utah).
^53. George D. Watt to John Taylor, 5 Dec. 1878, Correspondence, John Taylor Corr. In the material below, I have relied on the interpretation of Ronald G. Watt's unpublished biographical draft, "Sailing the Old Ship Zion: The Life of George D. Watt."
^54. Stringham and Stringham, *England's First "Mormon" Convert,* pp. 108–9.
^55. *SLTrib,* 6 May 1880, p. 4.
^56. Matthew 5:13.

Epilogue

When Schuyler Colfax returned to Salt Lake City in 1878, he was struck by how much it had changed. Since his visit thirteen years earlier, the population had more than doubled. The city had a hospital, a waterworks, gas street lighting, a rapidly growing commercial district, and numbered addresses for its houses and businesses. There were well-built homes—some in fact were modeled after the latest styles of Georgian, Greek Revival, and neo-Gothic design. These changes, remarked the former vice president of the United States, were "marked and gratifying."[1]

In the same year, territorial delegate George Q. Cannon made a similar observation as he pled the Mormon case before Congress. Cannon, who had been the church's prosecutor at the trial of Harrison and Godbe, hoped to deflect the continuing possibility of harsh federal intervention by reportedly citing the "modifying influences" then at work in Utah.[2] Of course Cannon ultimately failed. Most of the provisions of the Cullom Bill, which Mormons and Godbeites had successfully parried in 1870, were enacted during the judicial crusade of the 1880s.

The changes in Utah that everyone seemed to acknowledge were not so much in capital improvements as in tone and spirit. Non-Mormons now had their own newspaper, public lecture hall, political party, and even hotel. Newly established congregations of Catholics, Jews, Protestants, and "Reorganized" Mormons challenged what had once been an LDS monopoly. Not only did they have their own worship services but many LDS parents sent their children to the Protestant-run schools. Moreover, during the 1870s and 1880s, Salt Lake City fathers complained of increasing prostitution and the difficulty in licensing liquor establishments. And perhaps even more suggestive, in the summer of 1877, five thousand baseball fans—one-sixth of the total population of Salt Lake County—watched the local "Deserets" defeat the Cheyenne "Red Stockings." For a territory that had repeatedly sought to declare its cultural independence from

the United States, the celebration of the national pastime was a sign. Utah in the 1870s was becoming Americanized.[3]

In later years, the men and women of the New Movement looked back on their break from Mormonism and tried to find meaning in their experiences. They spoke of Utah's dramatic changes and seemed to credit themselves for the transformation. Elias Harrison, for example, came to speak of the "wonderful" spirit of concession that was slowly making itself known by the "liberal side" of the continuing Mormon church.[4] In a similar vein, Edward Tullidge claimed that the Godbeite dissenters had been the "instruments of Providence." According to Tullidge, the New Movement reformers had boldly challenged church authority and in the process brought needed reform, which others within the church, including Apostles, came to accept. "The cause of Reform is a signal triumph!" Tullidge pronounced.[5]

The validity of these claims is difficult to access, partly because many of the New Movement's contributions were short-lived. Most of its movement's ventures—the Church of Zion, the Liberal Party, the Liberal Institute, and the *Salt Lake Tribune*—faltered or passed out of Godbeite hands. New Movement spiritualism was symptomatic. By the mid-1870s, meetings became increasingly irregular. Occasionally the ministry of an itinerant medium would revitalize the Godbeites, but more and more their gatherings celebrated the past rather than looked to the future. In the early 1890s, when the new, non-Godbeite Progressive Spiritualists of Utah recited spiritualism's history in the territory, there was no mention of earlier New Movement glories. The Godbeite protest, the faddish sweep of spiritualistic phenomena in the early 1870s, the well-reasoned spiritualism of the *Mormon Tribune,* the *Salt Lake Tribune,* and the *Leader,* the clamor of the Liberal Institute, and even the former tide of traveling mediums were not mentioned.[6] It was as though they had never occurred.

Still, everyone sensed that Godbeitism had made a difference. Perhaps the *Tribune* exaggerated, but its claims contained more than a kernel of truth: "Less than three years ago a revolution was

started in Utah," a reporter wrote in 1872. So complete was its effect that within a few months "the old residents themselves scarcely knew Utah of the new era."[7]

For one thing, the dissidents established a precedent for a vocal and "tolerated" opposing movement at the very center of Mormonism. Before 1869, the Mormon Zion had only begrudgingly recognized opposing viewpoints. Thus, when the wide-ranging Godbeite agitations burst on Utah, it was like a thunderclap. The Godbeite freethinkers were more orderly than most public, agitating partisans, but in the sensitized atmosphere of Zion, where any breach of unanimity was a violation of long-standing community ideals, the Godbeite movement had an effect beyond the relatively few people who joined its cause.

This new "freedom" was evident in the Saints' shopping habits. Opposition to President Young's gentile trade boycott had initially been muted and violations furtive, but after the Godbeites began their public meetings, many Saints reverted to their old ways and shopped where they pleased. The result was the quick collapse of Young's long-standing anti-merchant campaign. "The spell was broken," writes historian H. H. Bancroft. "During the conference of 1870 the [gentile- and apostate-owned] stores . . . were so crowded with purchasers that it was almost impossible for them to serve their patrons."[8] The acceptance of gentile merchants came partly because ZCMI had proven successful. The Mormon cooperative had lowered the objectionable high profit margins of many Salt Lake City traders. But the church's decision to abandon its vocal, anti-merchant proscriptions also came because many Utahns were simply no longer listening.

The search for precious metals also illustrated the new spirit in the community. After the Godbeites began their revolt and the railroad made mining feasible, less-than-obedient church members increasingly took to the hills with a prospector's pick and shovel. This mining activity appears to have been embarrassingly widespread and enthusiastic, as the various School of the Prophets meetings throughout the territory testified.[9] Mining enthusiasts justified their

disobedience by citing the alternative. If Mormons did not develop Utah's mineral wealth, the prize would go to the Gentiles.[10]

By early 1871, church leaders were recalculating their mining policy. Orson Pratt signaled the new approach. Announcing that "God's purposes [are] often secured in ways not clear at the time," Pratt declared that the time had come for Mormons to join in mineral exploration. However, he took pains to separate his advice from that of the Godbeite reformers. Pratt believed that the latter lay under "great condemnation" for their disobedience, though God overruled their sin for the "good of the people."[11]

The new church policy signaled a frank recognition that many Mormons were now prospecting for precious metals and that former proscriptions had lost their force. Pratt's speech also reflected the end of old fears. From the beginning of their settlement, Mormon leaders worried that mining might attract an unruly population to the territory. However, several years after the publication of the Godbeite pro-mining manifesto "The True Development of the Territory," the coming of the railroad, and the beginning of widespread Utah mining, the dreaded influx had not occurred. With the exception of two or three pockets of gentile mining activity in the territory, the Mormons remained in control. The *Tribune,* of course, chose to overlook this reason for the church's change in policy. Instead, the newspaper gleefully credited the Reformers with having "converted" the Mormon leaders to mining.[12]

There was another possible indication of the Godbeites' influence. During the October 1870 general conference, Young stunned the assembled thousands by tendering his resignation as the church's business or temporal trustee-in-trust. It was a dramatic moment. Despite the Saints' usual compliance with Young's motions, the highly agitated congregation refused to follow his direction. When casting their negative vote, many raised not just the customary right hand in the air, but, spontaneously standing, they extended both arms in a sea of protest. It was a poignant demonstration of affection for the aging leader.[13]

Had the biting criticism of the Godbeites and of some Saints regarding Young's temporal-mindedness influenced his attempt to resign? Or could the move be explained, as the church leader himself claimed, by his desire to escape the minutiae of the church's secular business? Whatever his motives, and they were probably mixed, Young proposed the same motion at another conference two-and-a-half years later, and this time he had his way. In addition, during the same month, April 1873, he also resigned from the presidency of both ZCMI and the Deseret National Bank. His trustee-in-trust duties were assumed by President George A. Smith and a committee of twelve assistants, and his corporate positions went to leading local investors.[14]

With some members ignoring the Mormon trade embargo, seeking mineral wealth contrary to counsel, and disparaging leaders (as perhaps evidenced by Young's resignations), it was clear that a new spirit was making its way into Utah society. Were the Godbeites responsible? Certainly Godbe, Harrison, and their followers had predicted many of these events and worked to create them. Yet, however ambitious their after-the-fact claims, the conclusion seems inescapable that the "New Movers" did less to shape events than reflect long-term trends. The transcontinental railroad would have brought precious ore mining with or without Godbeite support. Likewise, the end of Utah's relative isolation made inevitable the introduction of a broader-based and pluralistic society, ushering in an atmosphere of public debate and greater individual liberty. Ironically, the sweeping power of "Americanization" that the Godbeites welcomed and proclaimed made possible the achievements of the New Movement—and, in the end, eclipsed the movement itself.

The main Godbeite contributions to modern Utah and modern Mormonism, then, seem to be timing and effect. By drawing on the established resources of members within the LDS community, the New Movement initiated changes in Utah earlier and with a greater finality than outsiders might have done; Godbeitism did not have to wait for the slow growth of non-Mormon strength to start the *Tribune* and the Liberal Institute or begin the mining of precious

ores. Likewise, the Stenhouses' books did not so much create the Mormons' damning nineteenth-century image as reinforce it. As with so much of the Godbeite endeavor, the result was one of degree.

If Godbeitism's role as an agent of change was limited, it nevertheless was important. First, the movement was significant in terms of biography. The men and women of the New Movement were more than interesting; they were able individuals who articulately grappled with fundamental issues of religious dissent. Studying their lives provides insight into the human condition. Why does an individual dissent from his or her religion? And what are the benefits and perils of doing so?

Biographical study provides only partial answers. Religious commitment ultimately is a personal matter, often unexpressed or unconscious. Why some individuals abandon their faith therefore remains a mystery. Yet each of the New Movement reformers left hints that help to explain his or her actions. As is evident in this study, sometimes a preliminary explanation can be found in emotional instability, an unrealized ambition, an unbridled restlessness, or the incompatibility of opposing personalities. Or alienation might have its origin in a semiprivate disease like alcoholism. Clearly, some of these factors influenced the Godbeite reformers.

Men and women, however, are more than the sum of their emotional or physical struggles. Today, the Godbeites are interesting, not so much because of their human frailties but because of their ideas—ideas that eventually persuaded them to leave Mormonism. Unlike other intellectually inclined converts who remained Latter-day Saints, the Godbeites concluded that they could not reconcile the special claims of nineteenth-century Mormonism with the larger cultural world they encountered. In a contest between their religion and their intellectual understanding, their religion lost.

This intellectual struggle suggests another bequest of Godbeitism. By studying Godbeite ideas, we learn about nineteenth-century Mormonism. For instance, one of the concepts that most troubled Godbeites was the Mormon idea of prophetic leadership and related

doctrines. From the beginning of Joseph Smith's ministry, Smith insisted that he, as a modern-day Enoch, should direct the church and its members in practical as well as spiritual matters. This extensive claim of executive power was at the heart of several apostasies that disrupted Mormonism during Smith's life, including the one that led to his death. Clearly, some Mormon converts were unwilling to grant their church and its leader such a large jurisdiction over their lives.

For many church members this question was settled before Brigham Young led his followers west. Those Mormons who were unwilling to accept Joseph Smith's model of theocratic leadership remained behind along the LDS trail in New York, Ohio, Missouri, and Illinois. However, because most Godbeites arrived in Utah in the 1850s and 1860s, this struggle of faith came later, long after the earlier apostasies.

Two factors that predisposed them to dissent provide an important insight into first-generation Mormonism. First, most of the Godbeites were British-born or had strong ties with the cultural environment of Great Britain. They were therefore products of one strain of early Mormonism, which, in this study, I have called "British Mormonism." This was a fervent and relatively simple proselyting faith that held within it the seeds of social, economic, and especially religious revolution. Unlike Brigham Young's Zion in Utah, the Godbeites' homeland had conditioned them to many viewpoints, an atmosphere of dissent, and nineteenth-century liberalism. Second, many of the "New Movers" were merchants, particularly such leaders as William Godbe and Henry Lawrence. The huge merchant caravans that Tullidge spoke of so fulsomely were in fact symbols of a quest for personal wealth, which ran counter to Young's teachings of a community composed of roughly equal citizens. Merchants brought individualism, social and economic diversity, and a power base independent of the church's headquarters—anathema to Zion's first purposes and spirit.

Reflecting the Godbeites' intellectual, religious, and cultural background, the New Movement brought into focus two very

different and warring versions of society. On the one hand there was Brigham Young's Zion, with its emphasis on unity, cooperation, obedience, homogeneity, separateness from the society at large, Christian tenets, and centralized management and control. On the other hand, Godbeites rejected Mormonism's heavenly vision and instead called for integration with the prevailing currents of the time. The New Movement's tone was secular, material, and individualistic. Similar conflicts had convulsed other ideal American communities—such as John Winthrop's Boston or William Penn's Quaker commonwealth—as their societies evolved and matured. Indeed, the competition between managed and market-driven communities is one of history's longest ongoing struggles.

The New Movement also revealed something about the spirit of Zion. If events surrounding the Godbeite revolt are an indication, the Mormon Zion was no haven for pluralism nor was it a great defender of civil rights. While Godbe, Lawrence, and Stenhouse probably exaggerated the point, each of them complained of losing their fortunes because some Mormons refused to pay their debts after the Godbeites left Mormonism. Many of the dissenters also complained of being ostracized by neighbors and former friends, and they resented the fiery epithets pronounced upon them from the Mormon pulpit, many by second- and third-level Mormon leaders. Moreover, the Stenhouses were victims of assault. President Young might preach the inviolability of personal rights, but Utah was only then emerging from a frontier theocracy that had disturbing rough edges.

On the other hand, the Mormons had never been the iron-fisted autocrats of popular nineteenth-century imagination, and during the Godbeite dissent, leaders proceeded with relative moderation. Young's equanimity before the nonconformist *Peep O' Day* and later the *Utah Magazine,* his wish to avoid the confrontation that the Godbeite leaders, especially Harrison, thrust upon him, his temporary grant of the Thirteenth Ward Assembly Rooms for the New Movement's use, his continuing work with Henry Lawrence despite the latter's continued intransigence, and his counsel to fellow church members not to abuse or infringe on the rights of the

dissenters—these acts were partly pragmatic responses by a pragmatic man. Young wanted to avoid unnecessary confrontation and division. But his acts also suggested a warmer and more tolerant portrait than is often accorded the church leader. Indeed, the *Keep-A-Pitchinin* was proof that the community could respond to social stress with deflecting good humor.

The New Movement was also important because of the questions it raised. On one level, Godbeitism was an encounter between traditional faith and modernism, and many of the issues that the various New Movement periodicals raised had a timeless quality. How do church sacraments sanctify? Can only one church have special or unique authority? How may the claims of science and faith be reconciled? While believers answer these questions differently, the Godbeites had challenging arguments.

History seemed to bear out some of the Godbeite predictions. With the federal government continuing its exertions against the Mormon kingdom, church leaders during the 1890s finally abandoned publicly sanctioned plural marriage, their partisan People's Party, the large-scale gathering of the European Saints, and the church-based cooperative schemes that earlier Mormon leaders had so strongly defended. In their place Utah accepted American institutions, and "Mormon Country" became a subsection of the social, economic, and cultural national whole. The Mormons' bold experiment, their idiosyncratic "Great Basin Kingdom," was thus brought to a halt—but not before it had largely performed the mission that Young had hoped for it. The social machinery of Zion had transformed and elevated the Mormon convert. In the future, individual members, individual families, and individual congregations continued to pursue the ideal of Enoch, but not a geographically based, church-state society.

Of all the ideas raised by the Godbeites, the question of church authority, or the balancing of the respective claims of institutional and personal authority, had the most familiar or classic overtones. The Mormons had tried to find a solution to this age-old dilemma. As early as 1830, founding prophet Joseph Smith established and

defended hierarchal authority against the challenge of a supposed private revelation: "Thou shalt not command him who is at thy head, and at the head of the church," Smith told the erring elder.[15] But other revelations received by Smith had also required the members' "common consent" in church matters, and still others recognized an individual's need for private communion and inspiration.[16]

These revelations worked well enough when leader and follower agreed. They even worked in the case of minor disagreement: an organization probably becomes the more healthy by having a variety of views and ideas from leaders and followers alike. But what of the Godbeite claim for the supremacy of personal conscience in religious matters? What might have happened had Mormon church authority accepted such a claim?

There is, of course, no way of knowing, although the Church of Zion's struggle to maintain an organization based on severe individualism was instructive. Believing that the spirits would speak to others as they had to them, Godbe and Harrison assumed that the otherworldly voice, aided by reason, would be a reliable guide to govern their church. Instead, Young's predictions that spiritualism would be a "rope of sand" proved true. It is one of Godbeitism's ironies that it was unable to establish a workable organization in the face of its criticism of the supposed assumptions of Young.

Church governance was not the only matter that required the Godbeites to exercise their faith. Even as the men and women of the New Movement criticized Mormons for not being sufficiently "advanced," the "New Movers" own spiritualism and freethinking were tied to the times, more than they ever realized. This was evident in some of the unusual behavior that went on at the Liberal Institute. Magnetic healing, psychometry and physiognomy, trance speaking, séances, cabinet mediums—these colorful activities were very much nineteenth-century products that required a suspension of reason and intellect. The same was true of the Godbeites' acceptance of the ideals of progress and science. Twentieth-century wars, national and racial strife, and even the increasing awareness

of science's own unpredictability made faith in progress and science (and the link between the two) far less sure.

In determining the outcome of the New Movement, Young played a central role. The centrifugal tendencies of most young religions usually break them into competing schisms that eventually destroy the larger movement. Faced with the opposition of the New Movement, Young acted to keep his church intact—just as he had earlier in Nauvoo and during the perilous crossing of Iowa two years later. During the Godbeite challenge, Young had held an open hearing, and when the Salt Lake Stake court finally took action against Harrison and Godbe, there seemed little alternative to excommunication. While the full program of Godbe and Harrison remained concealed, Young had defended his church's authority and discipline.

More than one hundred years after the Godbeite revolt, unresolved questions remain. Could a softer attitude toward merchants and intellectuals prior to 1869 have kept many of the dissenters in the church? By limiting what Zion permitted and admired, had the theocracy unintentionally persuaded these merchants and intellectuals to take a radical and ultimately nonconformist position? Had such measures as the commercial boycott pushed these difficult-to-manage Saints further than everyone—including themselves—wanted? Or were the Godbeites more a victim of their own hubris? The Mormon view at the time described the reformers as having an intellectual pride that made them spiritually unmanageable.

Whatever the spiritual or inner forces working on the Godbeites personally, their revolt brought consequences both for Mormonism and for themselves. Mormonism was diminished by losing the diversity and talent of the reformers and their descendants. On the other hand, there were moments when the dissenters themselves seemed to feel a loss. Casting off the ballast of their old religious faith, almost certainly they sailed into deeper waters than they first intended, and at the end of their journey, many of them looked longingly backward, unable to cast off Mormonism's spell entirely.

Most of them continued to accept some of their old LDS teachings—especially Mormonism's positive view of humankind and its eternal perfectibility. Even more compelling to the Godbeites were the warmth and friendships of Brigham's social Zion, which, for all their complaints about Young's regime, continued to have a claim on them. And that serious, earnest, idealistic behavior that was so much a part of many nineteenth-century Mormons remained a characteristic of the dissenters' personal lives.

In the end, Mormonism passed through the commercial and railroad crisis of 1869–70 rather easily. In navigating this passage, the rank-and-file Mormon had a role. Those members who ignored Young's merchant boycott and who ventured into the mines were undoubtedly motivated by narrow, materialistic reasons. These members were secular Saints, living in the community but not partaking of its spirit. Still other Mormons, perhaps a majority, were unaffected by events. Either due to lack of interest or other pressing concerns, they did not get involved in community issues. A third group helped to determine the outcome of the Godbeite revolt. For many in this group, faith was enough: they did not need to know when President Young's voice was his own or when it spoke for Providence. They simply believed. Also in this group were people like the sturdy Bishop Edwin Woolley, who, while sensing the need for change within the community, nevertheless made obedience a virtue.

When the Godbeite revolt first broke out in October 1869, outsiders believed that they saw the issue clearly. Wasn't this a simple declaration against priestly, heavy-handed rule? Historical events are seldom so clear-cut, as this book suggests. An event like the Godbeite revolt remains compelling because of its complexity and because many of its opposing ideals and contrasting virtues remain dilemmas to the present time.

Notes

^1. *SLTrib,* 23 June 1878, p. 4.

^2. Ibid.

^3. Ibid., 18 Apr. 1877, p. 4, and 26 July 1877, p. 4.

^4. Harrison, *TQMag* 1 (Oct. 1880): 130.
^5. Tullidge, "Godbeite Movement," p. 86.
^6. Wells, *Charities and Philanthropies,* pp. 57–58.
^7. *SLTrib,* 22 May 1872, p. 2.
^8. Bancroft, *History of Utah,* p. 654; T. B. H. Stenhouse, *RMSaints,* p. 644.
^9. Minutes of the SL School of the Prophets, 16 July 1870; also minutes of the Provo School of the Prophets, 29 Mar. and 5 Apr. 1870, 327, 330, both in LDS Archives.
^10. Minutes of the Provo School of the Prophets, 29 Mar. 1870, 327, LDS Archives.
^11. Minutes of the SL School of the Prophets, 4 Feb. 1871, LDS Archives.
^12. *SLTrib,* 20 Apr. 1871, p. 2.
^13. *DNWeekly* 19 (12 Oct. 1870): 419.
^14. *SLTrib,* 9 Apr. 1873, p. 3, and 1 May 1873, p. 2; *DNWeekly,* 16 Apr. 1873, 22:169; BY to James Gordon Bennett, telegram, 10 Apr. 1873; BY to Willard Young, 14 Apr. 1873; BY Letterbooks, LDS Archives.
^15. Doctrine and Covenants 20; 28:6.
^16. Ibid., 26:2. For a sampling of revelations urging personal insight and revelatory discovery, Moroni 10:4–5; Doctrine and Covenants 1:34, 42:61, 59:4, 68:4, 76:5–8, 10, and 93:1.

Abbreviations

Names and Places

BY Brigham Young
BYU Brigham Young University
HamGodbe Hampden C. Godbe
LDS Archives The Library-Archives of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah
LDS Church The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints
SL Salt Lake
SLC Salt Lake City
WSGodbe William S. Godbe

Books

HSLC *History of Salt Lake City*
RMSaints *Rocky Mountain Saints*
TIAll *"Tell It All"*

Periodicals and Sources

DEN *Deseret Evening News*
DN *Deseret News*
DNWeekly *Deseret News Weekly*
JD *Journal of Discourses*
JH *"Journal History" of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*
JMH *Journal of Mormon History*
MStar *Millennial Star*
MTrib *Mormon Tribune*
NYHer *New York Herald*
OPH *Our Pioneer Heritage*
PODay *Peep O'Day*
SLHer *Salt Lake Herald*
SLTel *Salt Lake Telegraph*

SLTrib *Salt Lake Tribune, Salt Lake Daily Tribune, Salt Lake Daily Tribune and Mining Gazette*
SLWTrib *Salt Lake Weekly Tribune*
TPH *Treasures of Pioneer History*
TQMag *Tullidge's Quarterly Magazine*
UHQ *Utah Historical Quarterly*
UMag *Utah Magazine*

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Foreword by Jan Shipps